

# DOBSON AND BARLOW AND THE BOLTON ENGINEERS' STRIKE OF 1887

Grayson Holden

In 1887 a prolonged and remarkable engineering strike took place in Bolton which has been curiously overlooked by historians. The Bolton Strike marked the first major impact of "new unionism" in Lancashire and revealed its radicalising effect on existing 'craft' unions. Moreover it was notable for its scale of violence and community involvement in an industrial dispute in which the employers enlisted 'blackleg' labour, and the county police and the military from Manchester were brought in to disperse and control rioting strikers. It is an untold tale of British labour history.

By the end of the nineteenth century, Bolton was Lancashire's third largest engineering centre after Manchester and Oldham. Almost one in five male workers (over 9,000) were employed in the industry<sup>1</sup> and almost half of these men were employed by Dobson and Barlow at the Kay Street works.<sup>2</sup> The firm manufactured textile machinery for the preparatory and spinning processes of the cotton industry including scutchers, drawing and roving frames, and most importantly mules, for the Lancashire and overseas markets. In terms of output, exports, and employment the firm was second only to the Oldham giant, Platt Brothers.

The Bolton engineering workers had a long tradition of militancy behind them by 1887. A strike at Dobson's Black Horse Street works in 1831 was probably the first involving artisans since the industry had become factory-based.<sup>3</sup> The same firm's workers had been among those locked out in the major Lancashire and London dispute of 1852. This lock out which affected just under a thousand men at Dobson and Barlow's new Kay Street works lasted from January to April 1852.<sup>4</sup> It was the first major dispute involving the newly created Amalgamated Society of Engineers (A.S.E.) which has been regarded as the quintessential 'new model' union. From 1866 to 1868 there is evidence of a long war of attrition between artisans and management at the firm; the former requiring all the labour market advantages of their skill in order to maintain living standards and control over the labour process in the face of an inflexible, almost autocratic employer, Benjamin Dobson.<sup>5</sup>

In 1871, the Bolton ironmoulders had taken advantage of favourable economic conditions to follow the Sunderland engineers in their path-breaking campaign for a nine-hour day.<sup>6</sup> Four years later, the Bolton A.S.E. officials were able to push up the district wage rate for fitters and turners to 32 shillings a week which was then the equal of the best in the country. Significantly, this was achieved in spite of a rigorous blacklisting of strikers by the employers which operated throughout south-east Lancashire.<sup>7</sup>

Benjamin Alfred Dobson, nephew of Benjamin Dobson, joined the firm in 1873. He was the son of Arthur Dobson of Belfast and had previously been Mechanical Engineer of the Belfast and Northern Counties Railway.<sup>8</sup> Benjamin Dobson died in 1874 and in the following year the firm passed to a partnership of Benjamin Alfred Dobson and T.H. Rushton, son of a Bolton banker and solicitor. Dobson has been cited as an excellent example of a paternalistic Lancashire employer by Patrick Joyce.<sup>9</sup>



Benjamin Alfred Dobson, 1847-1898.

Indeed, on the centenary of the firm in 1890, the workers were treated to an excursion to the seaside with train fare paid, a day's wages for spending money and one shilling and sixpence for refreshments.<sup>10</sup> In return, Dobson and his wife were presented with an illuminated address which featured the words, "Long life to Mr. and Mrs. Dobson". However, the strike of 1887 and the record of industrial relations which both preceded and followed it, reveal a very different image.

In January 1886, along with other Bolton engineering firms, Dobson and Barlow had proclaimed that:

*In consequence of the depressed state of trade and the high cost of production in this district, the wages of all workmen in these works will be reduced by about seven and a half per cent or to the rates paid in the early part of 1879.<sup>11</sup>*

This reduction was immediately implemented. However, trade revived in 1887, and this brought an A.S.E. request for an advance in pay of two shillings per week on the basic time rate. This it was claimed, would bring the Bolton men on a par with their opposite numbers in Oldham, yet two shillings behind the Manchester engineers. The advance was proposed by the Bolton district committee of the A.S.E. which comprised delegates of the four branches in the town and which liaised with delegates of the smaller engineering unions in a joint action committee. Its initiative was independent of the London-based executive council which considered the

action premature, and to the disgust of Lancashire branches, withheld financial support when the strike took place.

The joint committee included the United Patternmakers' Association (U.P.A.), a splinter union which had broken from the A.S.E. in 1872 and had established its first Lancashire branches in Bolton and Manchester in 1875. The smiths were represented by the United Kingdom Society of Smiths and Strikers, and the better paid semi-skilled men by the United Machine Workers' Association (U.M.W.A.).

Dobson and Barlow refused to accede to the demand and so the unions replied by banning overtime. The firm's response was to put up notices stating that,

*workmen engaged in the works will be required to work overtime when necessary, and any workman refusing will be discharged at once, and this must be taken as formal notice thereof.*<sup>12</sup>

The result was a strike which commenced on 16 May 1887 and which almost immediately obliged several firms to concede the higher rate of pay. Dobson and Barlow and three other firms engaged in other branches of engineering: Hick Hargreaves, Woods Foundry and John Musgrove and Company, determined to resist and the scale of the conflict began to escalate almost immediately.

The strike thus ties in with, indeed pre-dates, most of the heightened militancy of the era of 'new unionism' which centred on 1889. The A.S.E. leadership was very suspicious, to say the least, of the emerging 'new unions' of semi-skilled and unskilled workers which in its eyes were closely associated with the ever-deepening threat to craft status coming from the new machine tool technology. However, despite this view which was shared by many older and more conservative craftsmen, a number of A.S.E. members, played a significant role in the wider movement of 'new unionism'. Most prominent among them was Tom Mann who was to play an important part in the Bolton strike as an organiser for the Marxist Social Democratic Federation (S.D.F.).

The Bolton strike is significant for several reasons. Firstly, it stands out for the scale of violence and destruction alone. Secondly, it is remarkable for the degree of local class solidarity with the strikers, and against the employers who brought in blackleg labour, the tradesmen who supplied the latter with goods and services, and the police and military forces who protected them. Thirdly, the strike reveals the first major impact of 'new unionism' in Lancashire with its radicalising effects on the A.S.E. and other craft unions, and in a more limited manner, on local politics. Fourthly, it is remarkable for its having almost completely escaped the attention of labour historians, including J.B. Jefferys, the author of the standard account of the A.S.E./A.E.U.

The violence in Bolton engendered by the strike was remarkable both in its extent and its selectivity. Within a week of the start of the strike three of the four firms involved, began to import blacklegs. Such was local hostility to them that none could find secure accommodation and so the firms were obliged to quarter them on their premises. On 24 May, crowds began to attack carts carrying bedding for the 'knobsticks' as they were termed, and this escalated into attacks on Woods' Garside Street foundry.<sup>13</sup> The continued importation of blacklegs, brought matters rapidly to a head. On 29 June, the manager of Woods was attacked by a crowd at Trinity Street railway station. He was only rescued, "with great difficulty", by police.<sup>14</sup>

On the following day, huge crowds massed outside Dobson and Barlow's Kay Street works, the textile machinery firm being seen as the worst offender as regards the use of knobsticks. The firm had anticipated trouble and had stationed men armed with swing hammer shafts to guard the works. In the resulting attacks, every single window on the Kay Street side of the works was smashed; even frames and shutters were knocked out by the sheer weight of the volleys of stones and iron bolts. Elements in the crowd demanded that the works be burned to the ground, and the defenders, who included local and county police from Manchester, Ashton, Bury and North-east Lancashire, were in danger of being overwhelmed. The crowd, estimated at between eight and ten thousand, was called upon to disperse by the mayor. However, when this resulted in his being stoned, the army was called in and the Thirteenth Hussars from Hulme barracks, Manchester, eventually succeeded in breaking up the mob.<sup>15</sup>

The violence was, however, selective and not indiscriminate. The firm of Musgroves, which had supported the others, but had refrained from using blacklegs, was left completely untouched, even at the height of the rioting. Moreover, on the night of the most serious troubles, 30 June, the crowd repeatedly pronounced, "cheers" for Musgrove, alternating with "groans" for Dobson, a point which casts some serious doubts on the picture of Benjamin Alfred Dobson as a well-loved paternalistic employer. The violence resumed on the following day, and recurred on a declining scale until 13 July. So great was the damage that the Kay Street works was closed completely for a week from that date so that essential repairs could be carried out.<sup>16</sup>

Apart from the violence, the strike was remarkable for the high degree of organisation shown by the strike committee (and by the employers). The strike involved 1300 men initially and subsequently over 2000, including non-society artisans, and financial support was well organised. Football and cricket matches were put on to raise funds and a brass band contest which brought ticket sales of 3500, was among the other events organised.<sup>17</sup> Lancashire branches of the engineering unions involved in the strike took an active supporting role. In Blackburn, non-society men were pressured to match the contributions of unionists to the strike appeal, whilst the Bury branches organised donations from 'setters-up', working as far afield as Russia. Wider union support came from several Lancashire textile unions, the Carpenters and Joiners, Felt Hat Makers, Tin Plate Workers, and the Typographical Association among others.<sup>18</sup> In addition, from its headquarters at the Rope and Anchor pub, the strike committee organised teams of pickets who intercepted the imported blacklegs and escorted them to the pub, where they were informed of the nature of the dispute and given the train fare home. This proved so successful that the firms needed police escorts to continue the bringing in of new men, a development which tended to provoke further crowd violence.

Almost from the start of the dispute, a local boycott was organised to deny any comforts to the knobsticks. Local employment was very much dominated by the engineering and textile trades; many of the machinery-making artisans had wives or daughters in the local mills. Thus in the central areas of the town where the affected firms were located, community solidarity was great, and local tradesmen and publicans owed their livelihoods to the custom of these workers and their families. The local newspapers, during the strike period, contained several





*T.H. Rushton and B.A. Dobson with Dobson & Barlow's foremen, 1872. Rushton is 4th and Dobson is 6th from the left on the front row.*

apologies from tradesmen who had dealt with the firms or their blacklegs. Munro's brewery, for example, apologised for supplying a cask of beer, "in ignorance", which had found its way to the knobsticks. A greengrocer regretted the sale of goods to a foreman and donated ten shillings to the strike fund, whilst a baker offered ten pounds as a challenge to anyone who could prove charges that he had sold bread to the blacklegs.<sup>19</sup> Even the local clergy were expected to conform to the boycott and risked the community's wrath if they didn't. One clergyman was persuaded by his own Sunday School teachers and pupils to refrain from giving spiritual guidance to the men besieged in the three works and was "chaired" away from Dobson and Barlows when he was suspected of having changed his mind. Another, who did conduct services in the 'knobstick barracks' was menaced by the crowd, his daughter being subsequently attacked and covered in filth.<sup>20</sup>

Finally in this connection, the strike committee made a particular point of condemning the local magistrates who had ordered the closure of pubs in those areas of Bolton near the strike-hit works. Magistrates had blamed the excesses of the rioters on the effects of drink, but the committee saw the move as a plan by sympathisers of the employers to shut off vital sources of financial support, since valuable collections had been organised in the pubs and the publicans themselves had strongly supported the strike.<sup>21</sup>

The attitude of the community towards the police and the military should also be stressed. The violence at the end of June and in early July 1887, was reminiscent of the north of England anti-police rioting of the early 1840s. The introduction of extra police from other Lancashire towns tended to exacerbate the problem. The editor of the *Bolton Journal* observed that,

*the general idea seemed to be that the menacing attitude of a number of police drafted into the town was one of the chief causes of the outbreak of the riot. The bearing of the men seemed to be altogether provocative and this attitude, even to a good humoured English crowd, is always resented.*<sup>22</sup>

By the end of July, a strong local campaign had been organised, with considerable middle-class support, to remove the County police and the Hussars who had been encamped in the town since the rioting on the night of 30 June. An estimated 3000 people attended an "indignation meeting" on 2 August,<sup>23</sup> and Radical M.P. Charles Bradlaugh was persuaded to take up the matter in the House of Commons. "The continued presence of this extra military force is obnoxious to the ratepayers and is producing irritation amongst the population", he claimed, and he asked the Home Secretary Matthews, "whether under the circumstances the Government will consider the advisability of withdrawal of the troops."<sup>24</sup> The troops, however, remained for a further week and Matthews justified this on the basis of the requests of the mayor. The ultimate withdrawal of the soldiers was mainly due to a second parliamentary initiative from Bradlaugh, and the arrival at Westminster of a strong deputation of Bolton citizens.

The Bolton engineers' strike is also significant in that it shows the extent of the impact of 'new unionism' in the Lancashire textile machinery making centres before 1889, the traditional starting point of this explosive development in trade union history since the writings of the Webbs.<sup>25</sup> The Social Democratic Federation (S.D.F.) organised its first Bolton branch meeting significantly on the day of the most violent clashes, 30 June.<sup>26</sup> Tom Mann came to Bolton during the strike, remarking to John Burns that he found the town, "easy to work", and in the following year the S.D.F. set up Mann as a newsagent and tobacconist, in order that he could build on the successful start made during the strike.<sup>27</sup> In spite of opposition from the authorities, Mann and other S.D.F. speakers addressed twice-weekly meetings from the Town Hall steps. Charles Glyde recalled that, "Tom drew very large crowds to the Town Hall Square. Street corner or propaganda meetings were held in the surrounding towns and villages".<sup>28</sup> The Bolton S.D.F. could, by the middle of 1888, claim a membership of 170.<sup>29</sup> Tom Mann joined the local A.S.E. branch and was sent as the Bolton A.S.E. delegate to the 1888 International in London.<sup>30</sup>

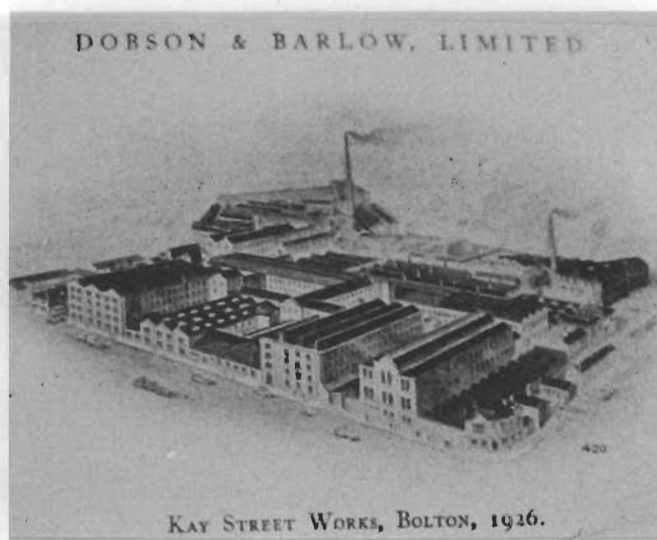
The Bolton Trades Council would not support S.D.F. candidates in the December 1887 local elections, and Harris sees the failure of the latter's nominees as a sign of the lack of political consciousness generated by the strike.<sup>31</sup> The Trades Council's own candidates were, however, successful; eight out of ten were elected, five topping the ward polls. One of the successful candidates, Finlay, was the licensee of the A.S.E. strike headquarters and club house, the Rope and Anchor; a second was Charles Haugh, licensee of the Falcon, a pub opposite the Dobson and Barlow Works on Kay Street. During the dispute he had chaired the strike committee, and prior to it had worked at the firm.<sup>32</sup>

In terms of the craft unions themselves, the strike provides a most notable illustration of a wider theme of the period, the failure of supposedly strong centralised union Executive Councils to control the grass roots militancy and enthusiasm of the membership. The United Patternmakers' Executive had, from the start, strongly supported the strike, and even voted a special allowance to cover the personal expenses of the union's delegate on the joint strike committee. However, it refused to grant the request of its Bolton branch for the General Secretary to join a mass demonstration through the town, planned for 13 August. The refusal brought resolutions, "from the whole of the Lancashire branches containing votes of censure upon the E.C. for refusing permission to the General Secretary to attend the recent demonstration in Bolton".<sup>33</sup>

The conflict arising between local and national interests in the A.S.E. was much greater. The Executive Council of the A.S.E. noted that,

*every effort was made to hold our members in check from striking, because it appeared to that body, that although trade was good in Bolton, it was not generally so, and the issue of a premature strike might defeat the object in view, namely a general return of the 2/- per week reduction throughout Lancashire in the early part of 1886.*<sup>34</sup>

In fact, the conclusion of the strike brought the censure of the Bolton branches by the Executive because the former had put "certain resolutions before an aggregate meeting of the men on strike in defiance of the direct and express orders of the council".<sup>35</sup>



*Kay Street Works, Bolton, 1926*

The aftermath of the strike brought progress in the organisation of the less skilled textile machinery workers. There is evidence of the creation of a union for labourers and drillers in 1888 and by 1892 of a Machine and General Labourers' Union.<sup>36</sup> The latter proved so successful that the increasingly powerful Gas Workers and General Labourers' Union which was organising the lowest paid sections elsewhere in Lancashire, was unable to establish itself in Bolton until the national lock-out of 1897-8.<sup>37</sup> The better-paid machine men of the U.M.W.A. had built up their membership in Bolton during the period of the strike, and the coremakers and plate moulders developed branches in Bolton in 1889 and 1891 respectively.<sup>38</sup> The A.S.E. itself, in Bolton, expanded its membership from 1,111 in four branches in 1887 to 1,279 in 1890 and 1,893 in six branches by the time of the lock-out in 1897.<sup>39</sup>

The employers' actions too reflected the increase in the scale of industrial conflict due to the Bolton strike. The three most resolute opponents of the strike attempted systematic recruitment of blacklegs from all over Britain to defeat the strikers. Further, the three iron works were quickly fitted out to accommodate the imported labour when it became clear that it was impossible to guarantee the safety of any men lodged in private dwellings or hotels. Dobson and Barlow's works acquired dormitories, kitchen and dining room, baths and recreation room and was described as a "model lodging house", by the press.<sup>40</sup>

The employers were also prepared to escalate the conflict by calling on the Iron Trades Employers' Association (I.T.E.A.) for support. Benjamin Alfred Dobson was in fact an Executive Council member of this predecessor of the Engineering Employers' Federation.<sup>41</sup> The I.T.E.A. General Committee brought together, "representative employers from every important engineering centre of the kingdom", and placed the Association's funds at the executive's disposal to aid the Bolton firms almost from the start of the strike. The level of support was stepped up in late July in the belief that the longer the struggle continued, the stronger the employers' bargaining position would become. The Association did, however, acknowledge the relative ineffectiveness of its propaganda effort by comparison with that of the strike committee and undertook to rectify that situation.



*Centenary celebration at Kay St. Works, 1890.*

After protracted negotiations which centred on the comparability of Bolton wages and conditions with those prevailing in Manchester and Oldham, the unions agreed to call off the strike on 29 October, 1887 and to return to work at the existing wage rates, while the employers agreed to confine overtime to breakdowns and shop repairs. Both sides accepted the appointment of a board of conciliation and inquiry, consisting of five men from each side, with the Oldham rates of pay as the basis of an eventual settlement.<sup>42</sup> However, perhaps inevitably, the board failed to agree on a settlement and so both sides decided to accept the final ruling of an umpire, the Recorder of Bolton, Samuel Pope Q.C. In January 1888, he ruled in favour of the employers, reasoning that the state of trade when the strike commenced did not warrant an increase in wages, and his decision was quietly accepted.<sup>43</sup> The unions did, however, achieve their wages advance by the middle of April 1888, following renewed pressure as trade improved.<sup>44</sup>

In spite of the somewhat inglorious conclusion, the General Secretary of the Patternmaker's Society concluded that,

*The unanimity of the men, the determination of the employers, the extraordinary interest taken in the progress of the dispute throughout the country by every class of society, and the splendid support given to the men on strike by their fellow workmen, constitute it the most important and memorable strike since the Sunderland strike.*<sup>45</sup>

Although thousands of people turned out to pay their respects at Dobson's funeral in 1898, his firm continued to have the worst industrial relations record in the textile machinery industry in the period up to the Great War.

The Bolton engineers' strike of 1887 was the basic theme of Allen Clarke's novel, *The Knobstick: A Story of Love and Labour*, which was published in 1893 and has recently been described as, "a contribution to working class and socialist literature that no critical reassessment of the period can afford to overlook".<sup>46</sup>

# THE KNOBSTICK:

A Story of Love and Labour.

By C. ALLEN CLARKE.



COPYRIGHT.



"I'LL KILL HIM IF I MEET HIM."

An illustration from Allen Clarke's novel, *The Knobstick*, based on the Bolton Engineers' strike of 1887.

Clarke's fictional town, Spindleton, is clearly Bolton; Puddle's Ironworks is essentially Dobson and Barlow's Kay Street works and, as in 1887, the blacklegs or knobsticks are brought into the town by train whilst the key meetings of the strike committee take place in a public house, the Blue Dragon. The vivid account of the strike riot mirrors the events of June 1887 but sets them three months into the dispute, when starvation has added to the desperation of the strikers and their families. Clarke's view of the Bolton strike, perhaps with the benefit of hindsight, is similar to the cautious approach of the A.S.E. leaders in London. His tragic hero, Belton, and the Spindleton district secretary of the engineers, Banks, both view the men's taking of industrial action with foreboding and the latter's comments provide a rational, unromantic and even pessimistic assessment of the strike weapon in the late nineteenth century.

*The men's gradely dissatisfied, an fully resolved to have mooar money. That's a very good resolve in its way but 't trouble on it's gettin' it. . . But t'men think as t' mesturs ull give in beaut much bother; but I durn't think they will, an Harry Belton's of the same opinion. It'll be a mighty struggle if it begins and there's dozens what'll never see o'er it. Of course eaur society's very rich at present and con howd eaut a good while; but t' mesturs con howd eaut longer. I'm willin for t' strike any day, but I'd rayther not. I con feight as weel as anybody I when I'm put to but it seems a silly gam to me.*<sup>47</sup>



But not all the workers were left with a legacy of discouragement and equivocation. The violent events of 1887 were followed by a strike of smiths' strikers from May to August 1891 and by a strike of spindle and flyer makers from October 1896 to February 1897. Dobson became a member of the Executive Board of the new Engineering Employers' Federation in 1897, and but for the rapid degeneration of industrial relations in London,

Dobson and Barlow might well have become the focal point of the origins of the national lock out of 1897-8 on the question of replacing skilled artisans by semi-skilled 'machine men'. In the troubled years prior to the Great War, the firm was again badly affected: by a fifteen-week strike of spindle and flyer makers in 1911, and by a further engineers strike involving over 2500 men in the winter of 1913-14.<sup>48</sup>

#### NOTES

1. *1901 Census*, p.148.
2. A. Boltonian (pseud.), *Bolton's Rise and Progress*, (Manchester 1925) p.59.
3. The strike was probably organised by the Friendly Union of Mechanics, a forerunner of the A.S.E. It followed the presentation of a 'round robin' petition which survives at Bolton Public Library, ZDB 2/31.
4. According to the *Northern Star*, 17 Jan. 1852, 986 men at the firm were locked out.
5. Fragmentary evidence of these shop floor conflicts is retained in files ZDB 2/6, 2/7 and 2/8 at Bolton Public Library.
6. H.J. Fyrth and H. Collins, *The Foundry Workers*, (Manchester 1959) p.77.
7. J.B. Jefferys, *The Story of the Engineers*, (1945) p.98.
8. Dobson and Barlow Ltd., *Samuel Crompton: A Brief Survey of his Life and Work*, with which is incorporated, a *Short History of Messrs. Dobson and Barlow Ltd.*, (Bolton 1927) p.109.
9. Patrick Joyce, *Work, Society and Politics*, (Brighton 1980) p.184.
10. Dobson and Barlow Ltd., *Samuel Crompton*, p.111.
11. Platt-Saco-Lowell Archive, Lancashire Records Office, Preston, DDPSL 2/38/3, Dobson and Barlow, Notices to Workmen.
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Bolton Journal*, 28 May 1887.
14. *Bolton Journal*, 2 July 1887.
15. *Bolton Evening News*, 1 July 1887. Significantly perhaps, only 20 men and three women were charged with offences related to the rioting. Seven were each bound over for two months; three others received fines of ten to forty shillings and the rest were gaoled for periods of up to two months.
16. *Commonweal*, 16 July 1887.
17. *Bolton Journal*, 16 July 1887 and 30 July 1887.
18. *Bolton Journal*, 9 July 1887 and 30 July 1887.
19. *Bolton Journal*, 28 May 1887, 2 June 1887 and 16 June 1887.
20. *Bolton Journal*, 23 July 1887 and 30 July 1887.
21. *Commonweal*, 16 July 1887.
22. *Bolton Journal*, 2 July 1887.
23. *Bolton Evening News*, 2 Aug. 1887.
24. *Hansard*, House of Commons Debates, 1887, vol.318, pp.1116-1167 and p.1529.
25. S. and B. Webb, *History of British Trade Unionism*, 1907 edition, pp.400-408.
26. *Bolton Chronicle*, 2 July 1887.
27. Dona Torr, *Tom Mann and his Times*, 1956, p.251.
28. Tom Mann, *Memoirs*, London, 1923, p.69.
29. Torr, *Tom Mann*, p.255. The S.D.F. had actually established a branch as early as March 1884 in nearby Blackburn, while Burnley to the north-east was to become the Federation's major provincial stronghold and the platform for H.M. Hyndman's attempts to gain electoral success.
30. Mann, *Memoirs*, p.70.
31. P.H. Harris, 'Class Conflict, the Trade Unions and Working Class Politics in Bolton', unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Lancaster, 1971, pp.30-31.
32. *Bolton Evening News*, 3 Nov. 1887.
33. United Patternmakers Association, Executive Council Minutes, 6 June 1887, 3 Aug. 1887 and 5 Sept. 1887.
34. A.S.E., Abstract of the Executive Council Proceedings, 1884-1887.
35. A.S.E. Monthly Report, October 1887. The Executive were critical of local agreements which failed to secure withdrawal of employers' 'enquiry notes'.
36. *Bolton Evening News*, 16 March 1888, and *Bolton Chronicle*, 24 Sept. 1892.
37. Gas Workers and General Labourers Union, Second Quarterly Report, 1898.
38. Amalgamated Plate and Machine Moulders Society, Minutes of Delegate Meetings, MSS 41/1/I, and Amalgamated Coremakers Society, Annual Report, 1918, MSS 41/4/I, Modern Records Centre, Warwick University.
39. A.S.E. Annual Reports.
40. *Bolton Journal*, 9 July 1887. All kinds of devices were used to smuggle these men past the vigilant pickets; one group was disguised as policemen and their escorts were armed with revolvers loaded with blank cartridges.
41. E. Wigham, *The Power to Manage*, 1973, p.18.
42. Mosses, *Patternmakers*, p.82 and *Commonweal*, 22 Oct. 1887.
43. *Bolton Evening News*, 17 Jan. 1888.
44. *Bolton Evening News*, 16 April 1888.
45. United Patternmakers Society, Annual Report, 1887. The Sunderland strike referred to in the report was the successful campaign for the nine-hour day in 1871.
46. H. Gustav Klaus, 'The Strike Novel in the 1890's', in H. Gustav Klaus (ed.), *The Rise of Socialist Fiction 1880-1914*, Brighton, 1987, p.85.
47. Allen Clarke, *The Knobstick*, Manchester, 1893, p.71.
48. G.G. Holden, 'Respectable Militants, the Textile Machinery Makers c. 1800-1939', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Salford University, 1987, pp.253-260 and 301-304, for further details of the breakdowns in industrial relations from 1891 to 1914.