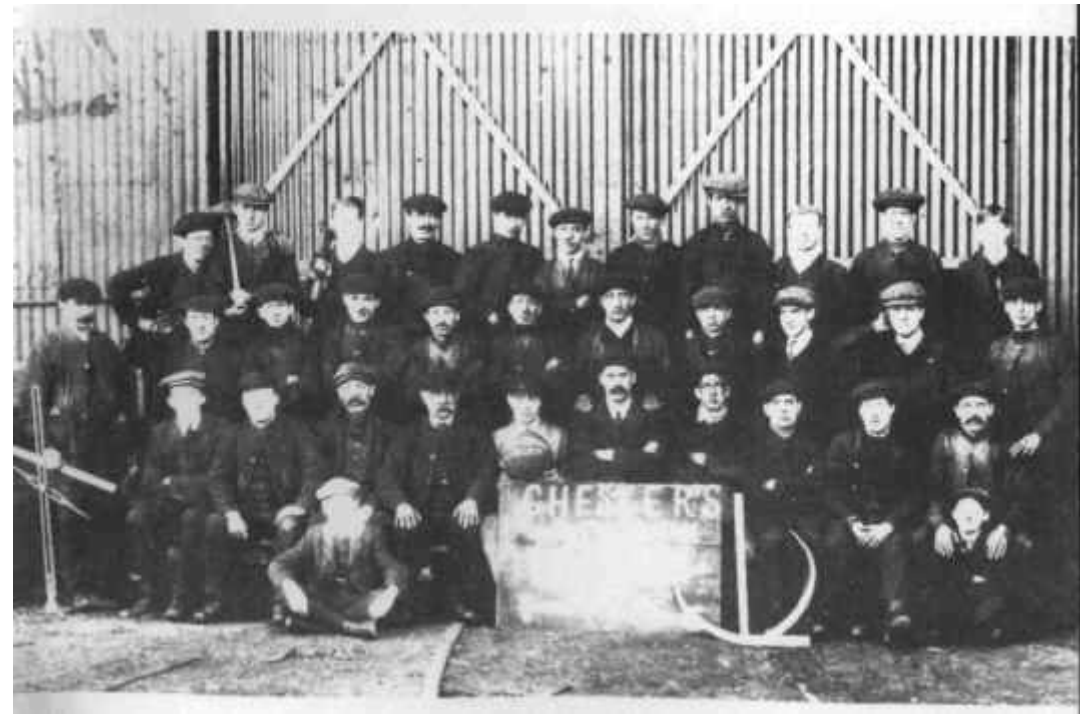


# OUR HISTORY

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## From Radicalism To Socialism Paisley Engineers 1890 1920



BY JAMES BROWN

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## **FROM RADICALISM TO SOCIALISM: PAISLEY ENGINEERS 1890-1920**

by **James Brown**

### **1. INTRODUCTION**

The town of Paisley is in South-West Scotland. Its principal industries are the manufacture of cotton thread and engineering. To its west, north and south lie the industrial towns of Johnstone, Renfrew and Barrhead. In the east its housing schemes form a dormitory to the city of Glasgow. It is the proximity to Glasgow which has to a large extent structured the evolution of social relationships in Paisley. Nevertheless there are details which can be brought out by a local study of a particular section of the working-class.

This short study will attempt to trace the changing attitudes of some skilled workers who were members of engineering unions in Paisley. The attitudes considered will be mainly industrial and political because of the limited nature of the sources.<sup>1</sup> The period concentrated on will be 1890-1920 which has been described as 'labour's turning point' because of the changes which were taking place in the labour movement nationally. Studies of the period link these changes to pressures created by the changing economic position of Britain in the world. This was reflected in the factories through changes in the organisation of production which brought tighter discipline, piecework and 'dilution'. Employers were felt to be encroaching on skilled workers rights and privileges established by past struggles, and this led to resistance by these workers on what they described as the "machine question". The scope and tempo of this struggle depended on the vigour of the employers' attempts to carry through the encroachments and this varied between trades, factories and regions.<sup>2</sup>

In the first part of this study there is a brief consideration of the traditions previously developed by the Paisley labour movement in the period of its formation. This tries to show some of the limitations of the radical challenge between 1790 and 1850 due to it not being taken beyond a limited radicalism based on anti-aristocratic rhetoric to a substantive radicalism seeing a need for fundamental changes. Some of the attitudes of Paisley's earlier radicalism provided later justifications for sectionalism in the labour movement by the use of concepts like a 'respectable working-class'.

The second part of the study is concerned with the challenges to sectionalism which developed as technological changes altered the working processes of the skilled engineers. These changes were vital in undermining conservative attitudes and behaviour and allowing socialistic alternatives to gain a hearing, and then to be taken up as more adequate explanations of the workers' position in engineering in Paisley.

## 2. THE RADICAL HERITAGE

In the period before 1790 there is little evidence of a radical movement in Paisley though there was some industrial action and in 1773 the linen and silk workers had struck work. It was the French Revolution which gave the impetus to a society with a radical programme being formed and delegates going to the National Convention in Edinburgh in 1793, and to the trial of Gerald and Muir<sup>3</sup>. A group of 'black neb' democrats existed composed of different kinds of weavers belonging to various sectarian religious connections with a democratic and egalitarian form.

At the same time as these democrats were beginning to form more coherent groups there was the formation of Scotland's first corps of volunteers and the setting up of a special constabulary in response. Though the major elements in the volunteers and special constables were businessmen, landlords and clerks, there is evidence that they did get recruits from the lower orders.<sup>4</sup> In addition an organisation attempting social control from above did exist in the form of the Society for the Reformation of Manners (1757-1862).<sup>5</sup>

In part the initial movements of Paisley weavers towards radicalism in the 1790s may be linked with changes which were taking place in weaving. From 1750 until the French Revolution Paisley had been an important centre of silk weaving, as well as linen and cotton weaving. The silk weaving was under the control of a few large capitalist employers who had a monopolistic position in the European market.<sup>6</sup> The weavers employed by them had relatively high wages which enabled them to have a distinctive life-style. This distinction was heightened by the different types of weaving taking place in different districts of Paisley. Cotton was centred in the East End and silk in the West at Maxwellton. Hence the occupational caste division was also expressed geographically and social intercourse limited.<sup>7</sup>

However, from the 1790s silk weaving was being removed from Paisley by the large capitalists, and by 1812 had disappeared. It was a time of growing hardship for weavers as cotton became the sole product, and the small masters who ran the industry overproduced and cut prices to try and gain markets.<sup>8</sup> The end of silk weaving meant Paisley weavers became more homogeneous in employment. Simultaneously the economic and cultural position of all weavers was being whittled away by the pressures of the economic situation in the trade. Thus, their expectations came into conflict with the situation, and their cultural-economic organisations became more active in defending their position. The activities of these organisations led to one of the districts the weavers lived in, Charleston, being called 'The Republic' in the 1800s.<sup>9</sup>

At every trade depression the discontent of the weavers came out into the open through political and industrial actions. In 1799-1800 there were combinations, strikes and food riots. The authorities felt that the ideas of the French Revolution had been taken up by the lower orders and the lord lieutenant and sherrif offered rewards for information about the leaders. In 1811-12 combinations re-appeared and a three month strike took place which ended with 14 weavers being tried and 7 being jailed.<sup>10</sup>

In 1816 in the West Relief Church in Paisley there was a meeting of radicals to call for the restoration of "their undoubted rights" by the Prince Regent through a

programme which involved reducing the army, abolishing sinecures, pensions, grants and emoluments not merited by public service. It also called for annual Parliaments with people choosing their own representatives. In January 1817 another meeting took place, this time in the East Relief Church, which issued 22 resolutions and called for universal suffrage and annual Parliaments.<sup>11</sup>

The years 1819-20 saw the political unions in Paisley, along with the rest of the country, develop their activities. An active correspondence was carried out amongst them, and even with some in England. In Paisley the unions were organised in groups of 10 to 20 and met in workshops after work to discuss their plans. A central council of its leaders met at least once a week, and sent delegates to other unions secretly.<sup>12</sup> On July 17, 1819 there was a meeting of 30,000 at Meikleriggs Muir which passed a resolution of appreciation of radical leaders and issued an address to the nation, (not, it should be noted, a petition to the Prince Regent or Parliament) This was followed by another meeting on September 11 in solidarity with Peterloo. The 14-18,000 at this meeting heard the chairman, Alexander Taylor, say the reformers did not want revolution but an end to strictures and a proper share in the legislation of the country. This meeting was followed by a provocation by the magistrates which led to riots in 4 of the next 5 days in which the 'mob' appeared 'quite audacious and self-confident, and seemed to be practising for future days'. People came in from the surrounding villages at night to join the rioters. After the riots the organisation of the weavers was stepped up and weapons for combatting cavalry manufactured. In areas like Maxwellton the troops stationed in Paisley were frequently stoned by weavers.<sup>13</sup>

The riots led to Paisley having a garrison stationed in it and barracks being built at Williamsburgh, on the Eastern boundary of the town, for half a regiment of foot. The Earl of Glasgow held a meeting on the 5 November to raise a regiment of yeoman cavalry and a volunteer rifle corps.<sup>14</sup> This did not stop an underground organisation of radicals trying to co-ordinate a rising in Paisley as a component of a national rising to start on April 1, 1820.<sup>15</sup>

Monday, April 2, saw a general strike start in Paisley and a mass meeting at Maxwellton to discuss the means to be used against the authorities. Groups were sent out to try and get arms, and one worker was killed in the process. On April 3, the military authorities continued their domination of the whole area and began a search for arms among the weavers. By April 4 this had become a house-to-house search and the arrest of those radical leaders they could find. Paisley by this time was garrisoned by the 10th Hussars, 13th Infantry, Artillery, Corps of Yeoman Cavalry, Rifle Corps volunteers and other volunteers from Port Glasgow and Greenock.<sup>16</sup>

From 1790-1820 there was some continuity in personnel, ideas and tactics in Paisley radicalism.<sup>17</sup> A tradition of liberty, egalitarianism and republicanism was formed. Radical organisations and aspects of working-class culture had been created prior to the factory system. It was a culture based on shared experiences of economic and political exploitation, and formed by a series of struggles which sought to end this exploitation by changing the Government and its legislation.

This class culture of Paisley radicals was not as developed as that formed in parts of Lancashire, like Oldham. In Paisley it does not seem to have had as sharp a class analysis which could have given an understanding of the causes of the repeated crises and the need for a new social system. The tone in Paisley was not so much class

hostility as anti-aristocratic. Much of the attack on the aristocracy was based on criticising them for the iniquity of their lives as individuals rather than what they did as a class.<sup>18</sup> When the radicals did try and outline the causes of crises the reasons they gave were the introduction of paper money, wars, and the national debt "the great source of all the calamities and misery which the people endure".<sup>19</sup> Paisley radicalism does not seem to have moved from the ideological parameters set by Paine and Cobbett.<sup>20</sup>

These weaknesses were continued in the radical agitations after 1820. There was wide agitation for Reform in 1831-52 and a Political Union was formed calling for votes for all male households.<sup>21</sup> The agitation was, perhaps, inhibited by a cholera epidemic in 1832.

Chartism gained a mass following in Paisley, but was deeply divided between moral and physical force adherents. A 'Moral Force Political Union' was formed in imitation of the Birmingham Union, and excluded 'physicalists'. Its main driving force and ideologist was Reverend Brewster, who insisted that only constitutional methods were used and they operated "cautiously" and "prudently" within a framework of "peace, law and order".<sup>22</sup>

The Moral Force Chartists saw unity with the middle-class as essential because of the Church and aristocracy were against them.<sup>23</sup> This unity was to be on terms laid down by the middle-class. In this it contrasts with Oldham's Chartism where the unity was on the terms of the working-class.<sup>24</sup> This emphasis by Paisley Chartists meant that in 1842 during the biggest turn-out in "extent, simultaneousness and protraction" Paisley Chartists held a number of lecture meetings, stressing the necessity for middle and working-class unity, and condemning those who violated public peace by violence and split the classes.<sup>25</sup> It was this attitude which led to them supporting the Anti-Corn Law League, which was the main political force in Paisley in the 1840s.<sup>26</sup>

A reason for this particular characteristic of Paisley Chartism may be the almost collapse of cotton weaving in the town. From the 1820s on Paisley had been in almost perpetual depression with mass unemployment. Throughout the Chartist period it intensified, so that in 1841-43, 67 of Paisley's 112 firms collapsed. The town was declared bankrupt and 18,000 were on relief in a population of 50,000. The effect of this long-term mass unemployment may have been to erode the radicalism of the weavers and to destroy the remnants of their culture. It was Brewster and the Anti-Corn Law League who were most active in calling for actions on behalf of the unemployed. The Moral Force Chartists saw the cause of distress as the "unjust and exclusive system of class legislation, whereby aristocracy have made the laws to serve their own selfish purposes".<sup>27</sup> This gave a common ground for actions with the ACLL.

In addition to the economic causes behind the decline in radicalism other factors can be considered. There were cholera epidemics in 1832, 1834 and 1848 which would mitigate against people meeting together.<sup>28</sup> Emigration Societies existed throughout the period, which amalgamated into a United Emigration Society in 1843. This sought funds from local businessmen on the basis that many who wanted to emigrate had been Chartists.<sup>29</sup> Also, there was the debate before and around the Church disruption of 1843, which saw many secede in Paisley and involve themselves in activities around this.

Thus it can be seen that Moral Force Paisley Chartism perpetuated many of the themes of earlier radicalism. It continued to be inadequate in economic analysis and failed to link Paisley's economic problems to those of a social system. In the language of Moral Force Chartism some of the concepts can be found used to justify sectional divisions of the working-class. It developed later the concept of a "respectable working-class" which acts in certain ways and has particular interests which distinguish it by abstinence and education for instance from the rest of the class.

In common with other areas of Britain Paisley moved into calmer ways in the 1850s as the working-class stopped acting as an independent political force.<sup>30</sup> Politically, Paisley became a Liberal Party stronghold. It was a period in which the composition of the town's labour force had altered. Cotton weavers were replaced by thread spinners working in factories employing mainly women and children, many of them Highland and Irish.<sup>31</sup> Thus, a group of men with their own unique characteristics were liquidated by the developments of British capitalism—but it was this group which laid the foundations of the labour movement in Paisley and defined to an extent its values, political economy and practices.<sup>32</sup>

### 3. THE RISE OF ENGINEERING IN PAISLEY

Amongst the new groups composing the labour movement were the engineers. Their strength came from a work process based on the division of workers by demarcated skills. Previously the weavers had been able to call on the unity of a relatively homogeneous community as in 1818 when Paisley's population of 34,000 included at least 7,000 weavers assisted by 3—4,000 boys. In contrast the engineers sought strength through exclusiveness.<sup>33</sup> They were based in industries which were in the process of expansion from the 1830s due to the overcoming of technological bottlenecks.<sup>34</sup> It was this process which enabled Britain to become the "workshop of the world" for 20 years, and which laid the basis for the emergence of a 'labour aristocracy' as a privileged stratum. These privileges combined with the attitudes described above in Moral Force Chartism led to a level of collaboration with employers on the basis of a perceived mutual interest. Thus, at Johnstone Engineers soiree, where a local employer, William Shanks, was in the chair, the ASE branch secretary told him the purpose of the ASE was "modest self-reliance, combined with industry and sobriety ...".<sup>35</sup> At the same time these attitudes did not stop the ASE members being the only resistance to the employers' autocracy in the factories, and involved in protracted disputes.

In Paisley, Balir and McNab had built their first steam engine in 1837, and their first steamship in 1838.<sup>36</sup> In 1852 a branch of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers was formed in the town, probably replacing earlier societies.<sup>37</sup> In this period the engineering firms in Paisley were small and ephemeral.<sup>38</sup> In 1812 there were 7 firms, in 1823 14, 1844-5 18. None of the firms of 1812 or 1823 existed in 1844-45, and only 4 of the 1832-3 firms. The size of these firms may be gauged by the fact that 181 people were employed in engineering in 1831. It was only from the 1840s that partnerships and companies began to be formed in Paisley which continued to exist down to the 1900s. The number of firms operating in Paisley was as follows:

**TABLE 1 FIRMS OPERATING IN PAISLEY**

1862	-	13	1888	-	24
1867	-	9	1892	-	21
1869	-	12	1828	-	18
1875	-	12	1904	-	18
1879	-	16	1908	-	34
1881	-	16	1914	-	24
1883	-	20	1924	-	38
1886	-	19			

From this it can be seen that the number of firms fluctuated with the trade cycle. As well as firms with a permanent existence throughout this time (Hanna, Donald and Wilson, Thomas Reid, A F Craig) many ephemeral ones came into and then went out of existence. This illustrates the small amount of capital needed to set up an engineering workshop, and the precariousness of doing so.

From the 1870s through until 1914 there was an almost continuous growth in the engineering industries in Paisley. Simultaneously the size of the firms began to increase in size as amalgamations began to take place from the mid-1870s, though this was not a far-reaching process in the pre-War period.<sup>39</sup> The growth in Paisley engineering throughout the period can also be seen by the growth in the numbers employed in engineering and their percentage in the total population.<sup>40</sup>

**TABLE 2 NUMBERS EMPLOYED IN ENGINEERING**

1831	-	181	(0.5%)	1881	-	1394	(2.4)
1841				1891	-	1373	(2.1)
1851	-	222	(0.4%)	1901	-	4960	(6.3)
1861	-	581	(1.0)	1911	-	5400	(6.5)
1871	-	661	(1.4)	1921	-	8921	(10.4)

This can be compared with the numbers employed in textiles in the later period: 1871 it was approximately 9,000; 1901 it was 8,000; in 1911 it was 8,000; in 1921 7,000. The majority of those employed in the textile mills were women and children (eg in 1891, 1931 children), working for low wages and with little organisation.<sup>41</sup>

From the 1890s the fairly balanced employment situation for males was moving towards an engineering bias. A major source for this movement may have come from the growing market for machine and heavy goods exports. Paisley and Renfrew had a virtual world monopoly of certain specialised small crafts and dredgers. Eadie Brothers exported to the USA, China and India. Shanks set machine tools all over the world. Pollocks sent gas and oil engines to Holland, Belgium, Russia and South Africa. At the turn of the century the major firms in the area were in the process of extending their factories, bringing in new machinery, electrifying, expanding their labour forces and adopting more exploitative methods of production.<sup>42</sup>

**TABLE 3**

	Engine Machine Makers	Turners & Fitters	Boiler-makers	Ship B'lders	Foundry	Black-smiths	Mechanical Engineers	Tool-Ship-maker wrights	Potter-maker	Mill-wright	Machinist	Others
1831	-	56	-	-	17	108						
1841	-	-	-			97		32				
1851	89	-	2					10				
1861	293	65	65									186
1871	500			171				95				
1881	356	306	228	1481				412				
1891	197	421	235	169								566
1901		972	327		892 <sup>2</sup> 51	309			157	7	237	275
1911		1041	403		1193 <sup>2</sup>	355		25			311	656
1921		1040 <sup>1</sup> 72	542 <sup>1</sup> 277		1529	472	566 <sup>1</sup> 311 <sup>1</sup>				1433	933
	1. Labourers											
	2. Ironfounders											
	3. Brassfounders											
	4. Involved in iron making											
	5. Shipbuilding labourers											
	6. Car Manufacturer											
	7. Skilled											

That new techniques were being introduced and new categories of workers being created can be seen by looking at a breakdown of those involved in engineering by skill (see TABLE 3). In 1831 there were 56 turners. Then this category disappeared until 1881. The 1851 Census shows 89 Machine Makers and 32 Millwrights. By 1861 there were 239 and 10 respectively and by 1811 500 with the category of millwrights disappearing after which this category also disappeared. From 1881 a major growth area is in fitters and turners. In 1901 machinists appear as a category, and in 1921 mechanical engineers. Both these categories eventually outnumbered fitters and turners. Thus one can assert a development from machine makers, to fitters and turners, to machinists. This gives the impression of an increasingly specialised workforce in Paisley. No longer was an engineer the carpenter of metal but more and more a machine minder.<sup>43</sup> Technological change was objectively undermining the position of the skilled man and removing the features which differentiated him from the less skilled.<sup>44</sup> The changes were reflected in the growing threats of casual employment for skilled workers from the 1880s, and the increasing bitterness of labour-capital disputes as Masters' Associations sought a permanent unity to enforce conditions of employment.<sup>45</sup>

#### 4. TRADE UNION POLITICS

In Paisley the expansion of fitters and turners as an occupation was reflected in the formation of a second branch of the ASE in 1891, and ASE 3 in 1897, although the stimuli for founding these branches may have also come from the events of 1888-90 and the reaction to the 1895-6 lockout on Clydeside and Belfast. The growth of machinists led to the founding of United Machine Workers' Association (UMWA) branch and a Society of Amalgamated Toolmakers (SAT) branch in the 1900s.<sup>46</sup> In addition to these societies workers in other skills in engineering were organised by their own sectional craft societies: Blacksmiths, Boilermakers, Shipwrights, Heating Engineers, Ironmoulders, Iron dressers, Brassfinishers, Patternmakers and Electricians. The less skilled were also organising in the 1890s in various unions which were represented on the Trades and Labour Council by 1909, eg. National Amalgamated Labourers' Union, Enginemen and Cranemen's Society and the Workers' Union.

However, in Paisley in the 1890s it was mainly the skilled who were organised. The great movement of unskilled workers in areas of England appears to have had little effect in the town, with only the miners' joining Keir Hardie's Ayrshire Union.<sup>47</sup> The density of organisation in engineering may be illustrated by the fact that in the 1897-98 lockout in Paisley only 700 of a possible 3,000 involved belonged to affiliated organisations.<sup>48</sup> It is possible that it was the unskilled who constituted the bulk of this unorganised area of the workforce. This may be partly explained by the fierce anti-unionism of the Clyde Masters seen in their lockouts, eg in 1860, 1877, 1895-6, 1897-8, as well as by the exclusiveness of the unions.<sup>49</sup>

From the 1890s there was a sharp increase in the pressures on those factors around which a skilled engineer defined his identity within society as a member of a distinct section in opposition to other sections of the working-class and the broad community. It is possible to pose the existence of such identities from the existence of the unions catering for skilled workers in engineering.<sup>50</sup> These suggest consciousness which compartmentalised workers according to narrow definitions of skill. Further evidence

can be found in the statements of union leaders and members. Thus on February 12, 1912, the UMWA minutes report the General Secretary as saying that: "no section of engineering has a brighter future", and if members are as loyal to the society as it has been to them they can look forward to great improvements. He stressed that the society has raised the "status of the machine worker".

The expression of this approach in action involved a great concern to avoid the encroachment of other unions on what was considered their constituency: the ASE with the Boilermakers, the UMWA with the ASE, on October 30, 1911, January 20, 1912, January 19, 1914, January 18, 1916. At the same time this concern with protecting the union can be seen as reflecting the pride the men had in their societies and their determination not to allow their union to be demeaned by others. Their societies embodied an important aspect of their identities. Thus, on September 10, 1910, the branch president of the UMWA, before the initiation of new members, asked the members present to act in a manner becoming to the branch. He thought it was the duty of every member to be sincere and diligent. On September 16, 1912, in the same branch, a member was told that if he had any "manliness" he would withdraw an insinuation made against another member. When he refused to do so he was asked to leave the meeting.

A narrow conception was held of what was legitimate action for a trade union. Thus, there was opposition to the Trades Council "going in for politics" from the UMWA on January 11, 1911. The Trades and Labour Council itself would not let non-union delegates take part in the discussions on trade union matters. On November 11, 1911, the TLC gladly accepted the resignation of the Social Democratic Party. Russell of the ASE (later to be President of the TLC) had previously protested at the SDP being affiliated since it had "no sympathy with trade unionism", and had been supported by Bird of the ASE.<sup>51</sup>

The attitude shown above to have been developed during the Chartist period can be found amongst skilled workers when they divided the working-class into those who were respectable and independent, and those who were undeserving and unable to think for themselves.<sup>52</sup> Thus Russell in analysing the school board elections and the Kilmarnock Burghs by election said on September 27, 1911 that the "moral from the election defeat of Labour... (is) that as long as the working-class placed Labour at the bottom of the pile they will have to suffer the decisions. After the November town council elections the blame for their defeat is placed on the "weather, trade, church and opponents plentiful supply of canvassers who drew out uninformed females ..." Stress is placed on the need to improve their organisation. No attention is paid to the policies put forward or the assumptions on which the existing organisation was based. For the 1911 election campaign the TLC had just made itself an election committee, "which with other organised workers should seek election of its candidates" (TLC, October 12, 1911). In the period after this election there was no consistent attempt to extend organisation into new areas, although there were tendencies in the Trades Council who realised the importance of this type of organising. Thus, in February 1900, a local workers' conference had been called by the Trades Council for "A united effort... by all classes of workers to force upon the attention of Parliament reforms..."

The attitudes held by the skilled workers can further be illustrated by the fact that the TLC sent representatives to appear on the platform with the Town Council for the Coronation Dinner for the poor of Paisley in June 1911. This would seem to show an

acceptance of a society which had poor, and how the organised, skilled workers, viewed their position in relation to the poor. One could conjecture at the linkages made in the minds of the poor and unorganised between the TLC and the Paisley Town Council, which had representatives of the local employers on it.

These were the forms of involvement of the TLC in local politics. The rationale was given by its President, Russell, on August 30, 1917, when he said its function was the "elevation of the workers by more and more". On September 20 it defined its objectives as the "moral and social elevation of the people", "considerations of such questions as affect the interests of labour, and the securing of independent representatives to all local and national groups ... who will stand as Labour candidates and form distinct Labour Groups", and will report back periodically. The last objective was the subject of debate, and proposed amendments (one by W Gallacher) trying to get the candidates made delegates of the TLC on the Town Council which were defeated.

One can see the conception of Labour in Paisley held by the skilled workers was that it was a district group in the community, working within the consensus of the community and defending its values.<sup>53</sup> So on October 4, 1911 the TLC condemned the Town Council for refusing to give the let of a hall to the Independent Labour Party since it believed "all sections of the community should have the same fair and equal treatment".

There is a sense in which this precludes a class appeal in elections. It meant elections and general agitations by the Labour movement were around questions of local and national reforms of symptoms, eg bad housing, poor educational facilities, etc, without them being linked to causes. In Paisley housing was an important issue since Government reports found the worst overcrowding in Britain there, and the highest death rate of the six biggest towns in Scotland. In 1890 31.4% of families lived in one-roomed houses, by 1906 it was 50%, and it was to get worse in the War.<sup>54</sup>

Paisley TLC was active in this campaign from 1900. On February 7, 1900, it sent two delegates to a conference on Housing and Land Reform organised by Glasgow Trades Council, while on May 2 it called for housing interest to be cut to 2% with repayment over 100 years; local authorities were told to use profits from other schemes to build houses; and for there to be the provision of Fair Rent Courts. This type of activity continued in the pre-War period. Early in 1912 it organised three meetings and a demonstration involving trade union branches, the ILP, BSP, United Irish League and Orange Lodge.<sup>55</sup> The nature of the campaign can be gauged by a leaflet used by the Paisley TLC in elections which was called 'Punish the Slum Owners'. The indictment for conditions was directed against a group of small-time property owners and not any deeper causes.

## 5. THE CHALLENGE TO SECTIONALISM

In the period 1890-1914 the conceptions of what were the legitimate issues and actions for trades unions were under debate. A Left trend was seeking to redefine this around more militant action and a wider range of issues. They sought to change the unions from benefit societies where the worth of a General Secretary was measured by his ability to conserve funds towards more tightly organised unions diffusing knowledge of economic and political issues.<sup>56</sup> The impetus for this trend came from

the reactions to technological changes in the engineering industry which affected all who worked in it. These changes in technology made necessary a change in the skilled man's actions in response to them, and the new experiences gave openings for new ideological influences to explain what was happening.<sup>57</sup> The type of problems the changes were causing can be found in the minutes books of the Paisley branches, ASE 2: June 4, 1892 members involved in a piecework dispute in Clydebanks which continued into 1893; May 1895: a dispute over nightshift at J Reid & Sons in which the District Committee had to intervene to try and get a settlement: ASE 3: July 21, 1897 discussed irregularities at the recently opened Babcock & Wilcox. This was to be the start of a host of difficulties for the unions with this firm, involving the UMWA in particular. November 14, 1908; a conference on piece and time rates in B & W machine shop; July 24, 1902: the branch wrote to the Parliamentary Committee of the TUG over B & W to try and get their difficulties raised in Parliament; March 19, 1910 both the UMWA and SAT complained that piece rates were so low in B & W that machinemen could not make a living wage. To try and improve their position the men used their traditional first line of defence, the maintenance of the standard rate<sup>58</sup>. This meant inspecting wage slips and sanctioning men leaving employers who did not pay the rate. In addition demands came from the branches for the introduction of full-time officials in Scotland to strengthen organisation and help defend their position: ASE 2 called for this on March 30, 1891; UMWA on 5 May 1908 and 9 November 1914.<sup>59</sup>

The problems faced on the shop floor came to a head twice in the 1890s as the Masters attempted to get a decisive settlement in their favour on the use of machinery, the hours worked, overtime and types of payment. In November 1895 the Belfast Masters locked out the workers and this was followed by the Clyde Masters. Paisley was not affected by this lockout since the Masters' Association did not have any Paisley members, although some Paisley engineering workers who were employed in Glasgow were affected. Nevertheless in the aftermath of the lockout there was a recruiting drive by the engineering unions. Between February and March 1896, ASE2 recruited 54 new members and at the beginning of 1897 ASE 3 was set up. Simultaneously attempts were made to strengthen shop floor organisation by the election/appointment of shop stewards in some factories<sup>60</sup> eg T Whites (2), Fullertons (4), Bow McLachlans (6), Craigs (2), Campbell & Calderwood (7), Flemings (3), Reids (2) and Fishers (1).

The second lockout started in July 1897 and lasted until January 1898. Paisley, along with the rest of Scotland, was forced into the struggle by the Masters' Federation spreading what was initially a London-only fight. This illustrates that it was not just the unions who recruited after the 1895-6 lockout. The Clyde District Delegate of the ASE made statements which show that the union did not want to be involved in the fight. On July 29 he said Scotland was not yet ripe for the 8-hour movement.<sup>61</sup> It was the Masters' who were against compromise. They aimed to "play the game out to the finish, and with the intention of winning"<sup>62</sup>, This led to them putting pressure on firms to join the lockout as it progressed.<sup>63</sup>

The response of the workers to being locked out was strong and intense. In Paisley there were a number of mass pickets of 700 to 800 against blacklegs and the importation of labour.<sup>64</sup> In Johnstone a picket of 500 burnt an effigy of a blackleg outside his home.<sup>65</sup> There were also a number of court cases of assault and intimidation, and one engineer, James Blackie, received 30 days.<sup>66</sup> At the mass meeting to welcome him home on November 30, Gorman the Trades Council President said the men had

been dependent on the employers' too long and now had to stick up for their rights. It was better to continue the strike than suffer in the future. Russell of the ASE said that Blackie had been "convicted by class-made laws in the benefit of employers".<sup>67</sup>

During the course of the lockout the engineers were addressed by George Green of the ILP on 'Capital, Labour and the 8-Hour Day', who spoke of the need for workers to take over the state; by Tom Mann<sup>68</sup> and by Keir Hardie who spoke against conciliation and called for other unions to help or for a general stoppage.

The Trades Council helped organise a demonstration on October 18 which had a number of speakers, most of whom, according to the Paisley Daily Express, gave "temperate" speeches, though there were some "destructive and insane" ones from the ILP. 4,000 took part in the demonstration, and 10,000 met them at Brodie Park where the ASE burnt effigies.<sup>69</sup> On November 17 the Trades Council asked for help for the engineers from those not affected by the "new capitalism".<sup>70</sup>

During the lockout there seems to have been tensions among those involved. Firstly, the ASE branches issued statements disclaiming any responsibility for the mass picketing. They organised football matches and afternoon concerts in order to draw men away from picketing.<sup>71</sup>

Secondly, within the ASE solidarity seems to have been strained by the lockout and there were two cases of men taking lockout benefit and at the same time working.<sup>72</sup> Thirdly, there were strains between the engineers and labourers over benefits. These were discussed within the Trades Council after the Labourers' Union delegate had attacked the skilled men's attitude in thinking that "all labourers needed was a strong back and a weak mind".<sup>73</sup> This led to them getting money from the Emergency Fund at the same rate as non-unionists, 10/- a week, and matinee concerts were put on to raise funds for them.<sup>74</sup>

The Lockout does not seem to have been a decisive defeat for Paisley engineers.<sup>75</sup> They were "incredulant" at the news of settlement and voted against the Masters' terms: December 10, 1897, 570: 2 with 200 not voting; December 26, 600: 4; January 26, 1898, 233: 51, with 94 'neutral' and 316 not voting. The important thing which emerged from the Lockouts was that old methods of industrial relations like conciliation and arbitration which were favoured by the unions could only be successful if the Masters accepted them too as they had, for example, over paying a weekly wage in 1897.<sup>76</sup>

Among some of the men a realisation was forming that the unions were faced by a "new capitalism" and new methods and ideas were required. Though what specified this "new capitalism" had not yet been worked out fully.<sup>77</sup> The interdependence of the various skills had been shown by the lockouts but this did not necessarily lead to positive conclusions among all those involved. It could, and did, lead to calls for more conciliation, and attacks on the leadership of the ASE as too militant and blaming it for the lockouts.<sup>78</sup>

Changes were beginning to become noticeable in the ideas of Paisley engineers. In part they were beginning to see the problems and weaknesses of sectionalism and the need to develop organisation among the less skilled. Practical lessons of the effect of having no organisation among the unskilled had been given in the lockout of 1897—1898 when the Masters in some Paisley factories put labourers on the machines.<sup>79</sup>

However, there was still little practical attempts to organise all grades of workers in engineers. The weaknesses persisted and can be found in the minutes. On October 2, 1911, UMWA reported that they were unable to get B & W to pay a wage rise and concluded that "extreme action was useless since so many working as labourers could work the machines" and that there was "a need to organise". Cole believes events like this had some psychological impact on the skilled and less skilled.<sup>80</sup>

In addition to disputes at the point of production a number of other events were having an effect on the engineers' attitudes in the 1900s. This can be seen in the Trades Council Minutes. On December 13, 1900, it sent 10/- to the Taff Vale Case and members promised "heavy support" in their societies; on August 30, 1911, it condemned the use of troops to help the railway companies against strikers; on December 6 it gave its support to the National Peace Council's call for Anglo-German understanding; March 27, 1912 it condemned the arrest of Tom Mann as an infringement of free speech and agreed to hold a demonstration; on January 10, 1912, it sent a resolution to Paisley's Liberal MP against the attempt to increase legal liabilities on unions. Thus, Paisley's organised workers were being forced into action in new fields owing to the changing actions of the Government and the state machine. A reconsideration was becoming necessary owing to the difficulties the new circumstances were creating for their narrow craft interests and previously self-contented restricted fields of attention. That this was leading to new actions by engineers can be seen from the UMWA sending two delegates to an ILP-Fabian meeting on the 'War Against Poverty' on October 28, 1912. Before that it had sent two delegates to an SDF meeting which had Tom Mann as a speaker on 19 October 1910. A more impressionistic type of evidence for the changes which were taking place among a minority of Paisley engineers' consciousness can be found in the fact that it was in the period 1898-1912 that Willie Gallacher moved from temperance agitation through the ILP to Marxism and joined the small Paisley branch of the SDF.<sup>81</sup>

## 6. THE EFFECT OF WAR

There were no dramatic transformations in the class-consciousness of the mass of Paisley engineers before 1914. It seems to have been the events of the War which led to qualitative developments which resulted in new sets of loyalties and relationships. A growth in feelings of homogeneity seems to have emerged among skilled engineers.<sup>82</sup> The big increases in unions' membership may have helped here since new members would not be so assimilated to the parochialism of the societies.<sup>83</sup> This may have been reflected in the growing willingness shown by the unions to work together. On September 21, 1915, SAT called for co-operation with the ASE and kindred societies against the Munitions Tribunal Act since it was "against workers' interests". On November 17, 1917, UMWA sent a resolution to its District Committee urging them to contact other societies for amalgamation discussions. And on November 11, 1919, SAT asked the ASE to ask its stewards to take concerted action with Toolmakers' stewards.

Tensions did still remain, many of them generated by the attitude of the ASE members toward other societies which caused resentment. For instance, the Vice-Chairman of the UMWA branch refused to come out during the Clyde Wages Dispute because he "was not going to be a cat's paw or lickspittle to the ASE".<sup>84</sup>



The moves towards unity amongst the various engineering unions was probably aided by the intensification of common problems which they faced as the employers sought to carry through measures designed to settle matters to their own advantage, and to get the Government to help them in this.<sup>85</sup> It was the struggle around these problems which helped to develop the shop stewards as a movement defending the rights of the workforce and increasing its cohesion. The minute books are full of references to employers actions against the skilled engineers. May 15, 1915, SAT claimed Arrols were dismissing turners to hire women; July 25 their District Organiser said that no tradesman was bound to teach a labourer if it might cause him to be dismissed; March 27, 1916, UMWA were having problems over 'dilution' at B & W; September 25 B & W refused to pay the new rate to some men since it had trained them. When finally forced to concede the rate at a conference, B & W responded by taking the men off the machines and putting them on the shop floor with the loss of the 3/4d increase. When the men tried a traditional response to non-payment of their rate of leaving B & W to seek work elsewhere, the company responded in March 1917 by telling the army if men left their employment. This was not an isolated challenge to the craftsmen's ethos of independence since the TLC minutes for May 10, 1916 report that an engineer was going to be compelled to join the army because he refused to work for less than ASE rate.

While this traditional tactic was failing in the new circumstances, the more militant tactic of striking or threatening to strike was proving its efficacy. Financially there was a growth in wages during the War at a rate almost equal to the rate of inflation. In November 1914 a machinist was getting 8<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d an hour and a fitter 7/3d a day. By 1918 they were getting over £4 a week having agreed an increase of 16/6d between July 1917 and July 1918. In response to the threat of conscription of engineers they threatened to down tools at the end of January 1918 if any men were taken by the military. This echoed a decision taken by the TLC in January 1917 after a discussion initiated by the BSP.<sup>86</sup>

A new understanding of trade unionism, politics and the role of the working-class began to develop and solidify, which at its point of farthest development in 1918-20 began to link itself with Bolshevism. This understanding developed from a broad mass ferment and bitter class antagonisms in every sphere. Thus, in October 1915, the SAT asked the TLC to organise the people of Paisley in the same way as those in Glasgow to resist rent increases and a demonstration took place on October 19. The same branch passed a resolution on April 13, 1915, to allow a free hand for the discussion of union affairs at the TLC rather than having it exclusive to unions. On January 14, 1916, the UMWA sent delegates to a meeting in Paisley town hall against profiteering and the unequal distribution of supplies. On August 2, 1916 the TLC condemned the Chairman of the Board of Trade for giving South Wales Coal owners an extra 2/6d profit per ton; on May 23 it sent a delegate to the United Socialist Council meeting at Leeds to discuss the Russian Revolution and the actions of workers in this country against "Imperialism and Profiteering"; on July 4 it called a conference on peace along with the ILP and BSP, and affiliated to the National Guilds League because it was a body propagating the "power of the working-class to control their own destiny and by doing this they would reach a higher level than they had ever done before"; and on September 6 the President's actions in refusing to accept the Provost's invitation to meet King George V was ratified by 18: 16. The UMWA had sent two delegates to the Workers' and Soldiers' Association District Conference on July 30, 1917 and put forward John MacLean and Scrymgeour for its EC. On July 1, 1918 it sent two delegates to the local Defence Committee

which was part of the Clyde District Defence Committee; on September 23, 1918 it protested against the batoning of peaceful citizens and wounded soldiers on July 1, and called for a "public enquiry". It said it was "indignant of working-class liberties being suppressed", and called for the release of John MacLean.<sup>87</sup> In February 1917 the TLC had organised a welcome celebration for Willie Gallacher when he returned from his deportation and said he had suffered in the cause of labour and would not be forgotten.

These type of actions continued into the immediate post-War period when the UMWA sent three delegates to the Ways and Means Committee. It supported the 40-hour demand and thought many good points were made in regard to 30 hours, and sought more information. During the 40-hour strike they refused to vote on 44 hours, since they were out for 40 and voting for the 44 would affect their claims for Contingency Benefit. Both the UMWA and SAT sent delegates to the 'Hands Off Russia' meetings on June 16, 1919 and January 12, 1920, though the UMWA voted 27: 20 not to send delegates to its first meeting in 1919. The TLC affiliated to the People's Russian Information Bureau on July 23 and held a demonstration in favour of the Government making peace with Soviet Russia on December 13, 1919.

From October 1916 the TLC had set up Educational Classes for trade unionists, and in April 1919 it affiliated to the Scottish Labour College and advised its branches to levy for it. More significant than these actions, however, was the Toolmakers' decision to invite political speakers into branch meetings to initiate discussions. The significance of this is increased by the fact that this branch had refused a paper on Trade Unionism and Political Action' on July 7, 1914. Now it was opening itself to propaganda from highly conscious, politically active working men. On December 2, 1919 it had the Scottish Organiser of the SAT, Malone, speaking on the need for Socialism and placing his confidence in the rising labour vote. He did this because he was not certain that workers' control was feasible since the "governing classes" were entrenched financially, and there would be problems of maintaining the currency. Then on February 17, 1920, William Gallacher of the BSP spoke on "workshop control" and was listened to with "rapt attention". He gave a talk on what would seem to be the materialist conception of history, and concluded by saying industrial unionism was a necessity in the new situation with modern combinations of capital. The branch invited him to return in the future to talk about 'Parliament and Soviets'.

The developments mentioned above were creating a new identity amongst the skilled engineers, though elements of the old parochialism remained. The independence and initiative of the tradesmen were being given new contents by the propaganda and agitation world, the Workers' and Soldiers' Associations, the Clyde Defence Committee, the Ways and Means Committee and the 'Hands Off Russia' campaigns. Beliefs were rising in the ability of workers to run their own communities and industries, and these were taken up by a number of unions in the post-War period, as well as by the Labour and Communist Parties. The political capacity of the working-class was enlarged and this was particularly true for its most politically conscious elements. Its critical and conscious ability to consider and analyse events and adapt to them had grown, and connected with a confidence in its ability to govern itself politically and industrially.<sup>88</sup>

Within the engineering unions the polarity of debates had changed from between the old aristocratic attitude and the left, to one which saw a struggle between a reformist,

labourist trend and a smaller revolutionary element.<sup>89</sup> The two talks to the SAT in Paisley illustrate this new division and its expression in the assessment of the abilities of the working-class. Malone attacked the "parasites whose sole aim is to make a profit", but was pessimistic of the workers' ability to run industry. Gallacher, on the other hand, advised them to prepare themselves for changes in their workshop and political activities, and posed the importance of industrial unionism. His talk and advice show him seeking to connect the struggle for socialism to the means available for the mass of workers. The fact that he was prepared to talk on 'Parliament and Soviets' shows that he had considered the question of the transition to socialism and the limits of the existing democratic institutions.

Thus, in the Paisley of the 1920s there was a re-emergence of radicalism based on the demands for working-class liberty and egalitarianism. However, this was more of a substantive analysis than had existed previously. In part this may have been due to the contents being strengthened by the introduction of a new ideology and source of inspiration. Republicanism and France which had given the impetus for the early radicalism were replaced by Bolshevism and Soviet Russia. In the Paisley of the 1920s, with its engineering industry in a precarious and unstable condition, a continuation of personnel for a revolutionary movement were created. These workers provided the core of the working-class organisations and practices that defined the class in opposition to capitalism and for a Socialist Society. However, as with the radicals of 1790-1820 the revolutionary core formed during the War was a small minority and only able to connect with the mass of workers in specific instances of struggle.

## NOTES

1. The sources of this study are the minute book of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, Paisley 2, 1891-98; ASE, Paisley 3, 1827-1900; United Machine Workers' Association, Branch 67, 1907-20; Society of Amalgamated Toolmakers, 1914-20; Paisley Trades and Labour Council 1909-20. These do not allow a full consideration of the 'styles of life' of the workers; see G Crossick, **The Labour Aristocracy and its Values, Victorian Studies**, Volume XIX, 1976; R Q Gray, **The Labour Aristocracy in Victorian Edinburgh**, Oxford 1976.
- For the national developments in this period see J Foster, **British Imperialism and the Labour Aristocracy** in J Skelley, ed. **The General Strike**, Lawrence and Wishart, London 1976; K Burgess, **The Origins of British Industrial Relations**, Groom Helm, London, 1975; J Jeffreys, **The Story of the Engineers**, Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1945; A Tuckett, **The Blacksmiths History**, Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1974; J Hinton, **The First Shop Stewards Movement**, Allen and Unwin, London, 1973.
- C S Black, **The Story of Paisley**, Gardiner, Paisley, 1948, p14; D Gilmour, **Paisley Weavers of Other Days**, Gardiner, Paisley, 1876, appendix **The Pen Baptists**, p54.
- Black, *ibid*, p184; see **Paisley Pamphlets**, 1820, pp 558- for an account of the history of the special constables. There were 500 who "are generally acquainted with their neighbours, and consequently, in case of any seditious movement or public disturbance, the leaders can hardly escape detection". See W Roach, **Radical Reform Movements in Scotland 1815-22. PhD Thesis, University of Glasgow, 1970**, p367, for a more general survey.
- Black, *ibid*, p144. From the 1820s Orange Lodges existed and were opposed by Ribbonmen. See M McCarthy, **A Social Geography of Paisley**, Paisley Public Library, 1969, p109.
6. W Metcalfe, **A History of Paisley, 1600-1908**, Gardiner, Paisley, 1909.
7. D Gilmour, **Paisley Weavers**, 1828 edition, pp230-2.
8. J Foster, **Class Struggle and the Industrial Revolution**. Methuen, London, 1977, pp109—11; D Gilmour, **Paisley Weavers**, p13; McCarthy, *ibid*, p108.
9. Black, *ibid*, p.152. The cultural aspects of the weavers' lives can be gauged from D Gilmour, **Paisley Weavers**. Vernacular poets existed and wrote for a weaver audience. The most famous were Tannahill and Alexander Wilson. The latter was twice jailed for radical activities and writing verse attacking the employers. This verse can be found in **The Hollander or Light Weight**, Caldwell, Paisley, 1818.
10. Metcalfe, *ibid*, p372.
11. *ibid*, pp 373-8.
12. J Parkhall, **The History of Paisley**, Stewart, Paisley, 1857, pp43-5. Parkhall was involved in the radical agitations in 1819—20.
13. Metcalfe, *ibid*, p378; Parkhall, *ibid*, p48.
14. Black, *ibid*, p191.
15. Parkhall, *ibid*, pp50—6 gives an account of a delegate being sent to Nottingham in December 1819 to see how prepared the English radicals were, and another delegate being sent to England early in 1820. The underground organisation of radicals in Paisley may have been a long tradition since it is possible a 'United Scotsman' branch existed in the 1790s—1800s, see M Donnelly, **Thomas Muir of Hunterhill**, Bishopsbriggs, 1975, p23.
16. Parkhall, *ibid*, pp59-65.
17. D Gilmour, *ibid*, pp121—2 gives an example of this when he tells how his father's involvement in the '93 movement rendered him an object of suspicion into the 1820s; J Foster in **Class Struggles, ibid**, details its existence in Oldham; F K Donnelly and J L Baxter, **Sheffield and the English Revolutionary Tradition, 1791-1820, International Review of Social History**, Volume 20, 1975, does the same; while F K Donnelly, **Ideology and Early English Working-Class History, Social History**, Volume 2, 1976, gives examples of it for areas of England.
18. C M Burns, **Industrial Labour and Radical Movement in Scotland in 1790s**, Strathclyde University, MSc, 1971, p91, makes this point. Gilmour, *ibid*, pp34, 69, 121, reports conversations of weavers which back it up for Paisley.
19. See **Paisley Pamphlets** 1821—3 at a meeting to celebrate release of Orator Hunt from prison on October 31, 1822.
20. This can be contrasted with Oldham. See J Foster **Class Struggle, ibid**.
21. Black, *ibid*, p192.
22. See James Maguire, **Paisley Chartism**, Strathclyde University BA. Dissertation, passim.
23. Report of a speech by Brewster in **The Paisley Advertiser**, 1842, July 30.
24. J Foster, **Class Struggle**; it can be compared with Leeds, however, see A Tyrrell, **Class Consciousness in Early Victorian Britain: Samuel Smiles Leeds Politics and the Self-Help Creed, Journal of British Studies**, Volume 9-10, 1969-71.
25. **The Paisley Advertiser**, 1842, September 10, September 17, September 24 reports meetings at which the necessity of union between the middle and working-class was the subject.
26. Maguire, *ibid*, pp39- 65-9, 77-9.
27. **The Paisley Advertiser**, September 10, 1842 report of unemployed meeting.
28. K Maix, **The Class Struggles in France, 1848-50**. Progress, Moscow 1975, p91, makes the point about cholera and the exodus of the unemployed from Paris making for less violent responses to events.
29. Maguire, *ibid*, pp94,97, 102.
30. See J Foster **Class Struggles, ibid**, for an account of the reasons for this.
31. McCarthy, *ibid*, pp103-4.
32. J Foster in **The General Strike, ibid**, p19, makes this point.
33. See P L Robertson, **Demarcation Disputes in British Shipbuilding before 1914, International Review of Social History**, Volume 20, 1975; H Pel ling, **The Concept of the Labour Aristocracy, p50, in Popular Politics in Late Victorian England**, Mac Millan, London, 1968; S & B Webb, **The History of Trade Unionism**. Longmans, London, 1911, pp129-308.

34. A J Musson, **Joseph Whitworth and the Growth of Mass Production Engineering, Business History**, Volumes XVII, 1975, pp116-7.
35. **Paisley and Renfrewshire Gazette**, February 25, 1871; for reports of other sources involving workers and employers see, **ibid**, January 7, Turners of J and P Coates, Ferguslie Mills; February 11, R&J P Kerr & Co. Employees; April 18, Renfrew Engineers soiree; October 28, workers of David Speirs & Co. The paper carries no report of the involvement of Paisley engineering workers in the hours movement of 1871.
36. **Black, ibid**, p167.
37. B McQuilkin, **Scottish Marxist**, 13, 1977, p32.
38. Information from **Paisley Directories**.
39. T J Byers, **Entrepreneurship in the Scottish Heavy Industries, 1870—1900**, in Payne, ed. **Studies in Scottish Business History**, Cass, London, 1967, p.262, points out that in 1900 half of the big shipbuilding and engineering concerns were still privately owned.
40. Figures from the Census of Population. This source has problems due to changes in the definitions of skills. Also, there is no way of knowing where the men worked. Paisley engineers could work in Glasgow, Renfrew, Johnstone, etc.
41. McCarthy, **ibid**, pp.98-9.
42. This information comes from a series of 20 articles on firms in the Paisley area published in **The Paisley and Renfrewshire Gazette** during the Lockout of 1897—98.
43. Jeffereys, **ibid**, pp122-4; G D Cole, **Trade Unionism and Munitions**. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1923, pp33-5; J M Laslett, **Labour and the Left**, Basic Books, New York, 1970, pp151—3 gives an account of the process in the USA; while D Montgomery, **Workers' Control of Machine Production, Labour History**, Volume 17, 1976, gives an account of responses.
44. Cole, **ibid**, pp35, 45-6; Burgess, **ibid**, pp27-8.
45. E Wigham, **The Power to Manage**, MacMillan, London, 1973, gives an account of the reasons for the formation of the Employers' Federation; see, too, L J Williams, **The Coal Owners of South Wales 1873-1880, Problems of Unity, Welsh Historical Review**, 1977, for the forces and counter-forces to unity.
46. Cole, **ibid**, p41, deals with the differences in recruitment by the societies. Webbs, **ibid**, p308, suggest that ASE exclusiveness led to the development of other societies.
47. **Paisley Daily Express**, October 5, October 12, November 22, 1889.
48. **Paisley Daily Express**, July 6, 1897.
49. D C Cummings, **A Historical Survey of the Boilermakers and Iron and Steel Shipbuilding Society**, Robinson, Newcastle, 1905, pp60, 69-70, 96-7.
50. Tuckett, **ibid**, p119; Mortimer, **ibid**, p186; Webbs, **ibid**, p.308, tell of the break away of the Patternmakers from the ASE; **AUEW Journal**, March 1977, gives the Patternmakers' reason for the breakaway; **AUEW Journal**, September, 1977, gives the reason for the creation of the Electrical Trade Union in the ASE refusal to let electricians join.
51. This statement may have some truth in it given the ambiguity of SDF statements. See T Rothstein ed. **The Socialist Annual for 1906**, Twentieth Century Press, where E Irving attacks the strike as a weapon.
52. A similar division was made by Socialists, though with altered boundaries. Thus in **The Socialist Annual for 1910**, Fred Knn says Tories use the word Socialism as "a bogey to frighten the mind of the average elector..." p54.
53. The political consensus in Paisley may have been under pressure from the 1880s. The Liberal Party had split then and a branch of the Liberal Unionists formed. While in the late 1820s the Co-operative Society was involved in a dispute with local shopkeepers who had turned a Trade Protection League against it.
54. **McCarthy, ibid**, pi 16.
55. The involvement of Irish emigre organisations may have been linked to the fact that the Irish lived in the worst overcrowding. McCarthy, **ibid**, p109.
56. See D Torr, **Tom Mann and his Times, 1890-92**, in **The Luddites**, ed. 2, Munby, Katanka, London, 1971, pp207, 219-20.
57. Laslett, **ibid**, pp148-53, gives an account of this in the USA for the International Association of Machinists. (IAM)
58. Cole, **ibid**, pp47-8.
59. Cummings, **ibid**, passim tells how the Boilermakers would appoint Fulltime Officials between 1870 and 1890 and have to dismiss them in bad trade because they could not pay wages.
60. In the minute book of ASE 2 'election' had been written then crossed out and 'appointed' put in. Tuckett, **ibid**, p99, gives the position for Blacksmiths' shop delegates; Jeffereys, **ibid**, pp165-6 for the engineers. R Stewart, **Breaking the Fetters**, Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1967, pp25,29,31 -32 gives a biographical account of the shop stewards job.
61. **Paisley Daily Express**, June 30, 1827.
62. **ibid**, July 3, July 8.
63. **ibid**, September 6. Shanks and Co. locked out though it was busy and had put on a night-shift. Most of its orders were from federated firms. October 5 Langs locked out though it thought the contest suicidal; October 18th, McDonell's locked out dispute big orders and men on nightshirt.
64. **ibid**, August 3, August 26.
65. **ibid**, October 30.
66. **ibid**, August 28, G Watt fined 30/- for assaulting a foreman and an engineer; September 11, J Gallacher fined £1 or 14 days for abusing a foreman; September 25, A Law, J Irvine, A Cochrane, J Stewart and J Wotherspoon charged with being part of a disorderly crowd.
67. **ibid**, December 1.
68. Tom Mann had spoken in Paisley during the 1895-6 Lockout, **Paisley Daily Express** November 14, 1895. The fact that he spoke in Paisley in 1897 can be contrasted with the situation in Barrow where he was not allowed to speak because the Chairman of the Lockout Committee felt he would be unacceptable to the members. See W Todd, **Trade Unions and the Engineering Industry Dispute at Barrow-in-Furness, 1897-98. International Review of Social History**. Volume 20, 1975, p28.
69. **Paisley Daily Express**, October 18.
70. **ibid**, November 17.
71. **ibid**, September 2, 8.
72. **ibid**, October 25.
73. **ibid**, July 14.
74. **ibid**, July 28, September 8, September 18, November 17. Though the tension in Paisley appears mild compared with that in Barrow, see Todd, **ibid**.
75. Gray finds this true for Edinburgh too, although A Tuckett, **The Scottish Carter**, Allen and Unwin, London, 1967, pp38—9 believes the defeat of the Scottish miners and Clyde-side engineers had a depressing effect on all labour and set the carters back 15 years. Certainly other lockouts followed eg Cabinetmakers, see S Harrison, **Alex Gossip**, Lawrence and Wishart.
76. Cummings, **ibid**, p152; Tuckett, **Blacksmiths, ibid**, p108.
77. See S MacIntyre, 'Imperialism and the British Labour Movement', **Our History**, 64.
78. Cummings, **ibid**, p149, Tuckett, **Blacksmiths, ibid**, pp103—4.
79. **Paisley Daily Express**, August 6, 1997. Apprentices were also doing the work. Gray, **ibid**, p173 reports the same things happening in Edinburgh.
80. Cole, **ibid**, pp 1-3.
81. William Gallacher, **Last Memoirs**, Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1966, p36. Gray, **ibid**, pp173—4 says that industrial experiences at this time were leading to a growing impact of Socialist ideas in Edinburgh.
82. Cole, **ibid**, pp34-5. B A Waites, 'The Effects of the First World War on Class and Status in England, 1910-20', **Journals of Contemporary History**, Volume 2, 1976, pp34-5.

83. Cole, *ibid*, pp27—8,198 gives figures for the growth in membership.
84. In the UMWA minute books there are complaints of ASE members ridiculing the UMWA in the factories.
85. Cole, *ibid*, pp54, 57.
86. This can be compared with the situation in Sheffield, see Bill Moore/Sheffield Shop Stewards'. **Our History 18**.
87. This call for the defence of "working-class liberties" can be compared with the TLC call given above of October 14,1911 for "fair and equal treatment" for all sections of the community. A self-conscious and aggressive class position was being taken, and liberty was being given a class bias.
88. A Gramsci, **Soviets in Italy**, Spokesman Pamphlets, Number 11 , pp36—39.
89. C F Brand, 'British Labour and the International During the War', **Journal of Modern History**, Volume 8, 1936 believes the split of 1914 on support/opposition to the War became a permanent division in 1918 with the creation of the Third International. P Stead, "Working-Class Leadership in South Wales, 1900-1920", Welsh Historical Review, Volume 6,1972, traces the emergence of new types of leaders. R Martin, **Communism and British Trade Unions**, Oxford, 1962, looks at the struggles between reformists and revolutionaries within the unions. D Schneider, **The Workers'(Communist) Party and American Trade Unions**.John Hopkins, Boston, 1928, pp8-9 and Laslett, *ibid*, p172-3 do the same for the I AM in the USA.

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**TABLE 3**

	Engine Machine Makers	Turners & Fitters	Boiler- makers	Ship B'ders	Foundry	Black- smiths	Mech- anical Engineers	Tool- maker	Ship- wrights	Potter- maker	Mill- wright	Machinist	Others
1831	—	56	—		17	108							
1841	—	—	—										
1851	89 <sup>1</sup>		2			97					32		
1861	293		65					33			10		186
1871	500			171									
1881	356	306	228	148, <sup>1</sup> 169 <sup>1</sup>				95					
1891	197	421	235					412					
1901		972	327		892 <sup>2</sup> 51 <sup>3</sup>	399					7	237	566 <sup>4</sup> 27 <sup>5</sup>
1911		1041	403		1193 <sup>2</sup>	355		25		157		311, <sup>1</sup> 271 <sup>1</sup>	666 <sup>4</sup> 119 <sup>6</sup> 155 <sup>6</sup> 460 <sup>1</sup>
1921		1040, <sup>1</sup> 72 <sup>1</sup>	542, <sup>1</sup> 277 <sup>1</sup>		1529	472	566, <sup>1</sup> 311 <sup>1</sup>					1433	933, <sup>7</sup> 201 <sup>7</sup>

1. Labourers
2. Ironfounders
3. Brassfounders
4. Involved in iron making
5. Shipbuilding labourers
6. Car Manufacturer
7. Skilled