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THE GENERAL STRIKE IN SALFORD IN 1911

by
Edmund and Ruth Frow

They are few, we are many! and yet O our mother,
Many years we were wordless and nought was our deed,
But now the word flitteth from brother to brother;
We have furrowed the acres and scattered the seed.
William Morris

Working Class Movement Library,
Jubilee House, 51 The Crescent, Salford M5 4WX
1990

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These verses were sung at meetings of seamen, dockers and carters in Salford to the tune of "ONWARD, CHRISTIAN SOLDIERS":

Onward, sons of labour: onward to the fight,
Heart and hand united, we must win the day;
Shoulder pressed to shoulder, firmly let us stand,
Till the hosts of labour triumph through the land.
Onward, sons of labour, on to battle on.
Smash the tyrant's power, victory is won.
Workers of the nations, we are brothers all.
Hark, the cry is sounding, hear the trumpet's call;
Rise in all your millions, marshalled round the earth,
Smite the God of Mammon, justice brings to birth.
Will you sell your birthright, for a paltry crust?
Will you slave contented grovelling in the dust?
Rise up men, be free men, cast the tyrant's gibes,
Strike for home and honour, strike for loved ones' lives.

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INTRODUCTION

For many years, historians accepted the 1926 General Strike as a unique occasion in British history. Recently, local studies have pointed to the fact that the 1842 Chartist strike also merited the title 'general' because it embraced the majority of the workers in the areas in which it took place. The research on which the following booklet is based would indicate that Salford in 1911 during the months of July and August fitted the definition of a general strike outlined by Crook in the Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences:

> *"General strike involves the sympathetic cessation of labour by the majority of workers in all the vital industries of any locality or region."*

Salford in 1911 involved workers in all the basic industries, particularly transport, and the strike committee found itself having to issue permits in order to allow essential supplies to be distributed. Crook's further elaboration, that:

> *"....the vital element in the general strike, whether it involves an entire nation or is restricted to a single locality, is the more or less complete paralysis of the economic life of that community in order to bring about certain desired ends",*

fits the Salford situation like a glove. The desired ends were a rise in pay and reduction in working hours together with union recognition. These ends were, in the majority of cases, achieved.

Such a victory on the part of some of the lowest-paid and least-organised workers indicated a degree of central control and co-ordination Looking at the people involved, it looks as if Tom Mann's Syndicalist League could have been that unifying factor. Leaders of the strike included such men as A.A. Purcell, a known advocate of syndicalism.

But one of the features of the strike was the emergence of names as speakers and leaders of whom practically nothing is known. This included a number of women, always the most difficult to follow up. By its nature, the strike committee did not publicise itself. Victimisation was a very real threat and jobs were not easy to find. Written evidence of the work of the committee is apparently non-existent and although press coverage, particularly in the local papers, was plentiful, only the highlights were reported and the day-to-day organisation was unrecorded. It is possible that there are still people living whose memories go back to their childhood in the heady days of the summer of 1911. It would be a service to history and Salford if those memories were captured on tape.

Salford, in this story, overlaps into Pendleton, Pendlebury, Eccles, Broughton and Manchester. In 1911, Salford was much smaller in area than today and it was bordered by townships in their own right.

Salford Docks, also called the Port of Manchester, was constructed in the township of Pendleton, with the exception of Pomona Dock, which was in Manchester. Growth of trade in the port rose steadily from thirty million pounds of imports in 1910 to thirty-two and a half million pounds in 1911. The strike did not affect this growth, possibly because of its short duration or the rapid clearance of the backlog that accumulated by overtime working.

The introduction of troops into the area as the authorities took an increasingly serious view of the situation was probably the only occasion when this happened in Salford. Certainly the police and armed forces found themselves unable to control the situation. A degree of power passed into the hands of the strike committee, and neither blacklegs nor the forces of law and order were able to break the strike. It was recognition on the part of employers that concessions had to be made to meet legitimate and very modest demands that made a resumption of normality possible.

This episode in Salford history has been lost in obscurity for the best part of a century. So much labour history and, in particular, that which involves women workers, has been lost or ignored; there is surely a responsibility on our part to remove the wraps and present the facts to the present generation.

THE 1911 GENERAL STRIKE IN SALFORD (1)

There were a number of reasons why the period 1910 to 1914 was called **THE GREAT UNREST.** It was a time of severe industrial conflict when many different groups of workers decided that the time had come to change the appalling conditions under which they were working and also found a unity in their struggle. The reasons for the workers' revolt are complex and defy easy interpretation. But some of the factors were only too obvious. The 1906 General Election sent a group of twenty-nine Labour Members to Parliament. This gave rise to expectations that something would be done to improve wages and conditions. In fact the reverse took place. Real wages declined from a base of 100 in 1900 to 92 in 1911. The 1910 General Election was marked by apathy despite the demagogism of Lloyd George who confidently expected that the Insurance Acts which he had guided through Parliament would have given him a clear advantage.

The Trade Board Act and the National Insurance Act created five thousand new jobs. But many of these positions had been filled by trade union officials and lay officers and this tended to discredit political action and turned the activists toward industrial action which was being advocated by the Syndicalists. Ben Tillett, the General Secretary of the Docker's Union, wrote:

> *"The House of Commons and the country which respected and feared the Labour Party, are now fast approaching a condition of contempt towards its Parliamentary representatives ... The safety of a Parliamentary seat is too big a price to pay for the neglect of the millions of homes affected detrimentally by poverty; even at the risk of losing the empty vanity of Parliamentary honours the Labour Party should be rebels in everlasting and open warfare with the powers that be."*(2)

The poverty that Tillett wrote about was widespread in 1911 in Salford where the population was predominantly working class. Although there was a complement of skilled workers in engineering and other industries, the majority of workers were classified by the employers as 'unskilled'.

In engineering, the labourers worked a fifty-three or fifty-four hour week for a take-home pay of seventeen shillings. Out of this they probably paid four and a half shillings rent. They were underpaid, underfed, lacked adequate clothing and lived in hovels.

Among the railwaymen, there were many low-paid workers such as porters and engine cleaners who earned between sixteen and eighteen shillings a week.

Most dockers were casual workers having to take their turn to discharge heavy and dirty cargoes. They were lucky if they worked two or three days in the week. It was dangerous work, especially when handling carbon black or charcoal or iron ore. Twice a day they had to be 'on call' where they were herded like animals in a pen so that the stevedores could select sufficient for the job in hand.

Miners in 1911 were trying to sort out the vexed question of abnormal working. A hewer paid by piece work might find himself in such abnormal conditions that his earnings were halved or even less for the same effort. Moreover, the Butty system, whereby a Charter Master, sometimes a local publican, employed gangs who were not directly employed by the pit owner, led to much abuse. The issue of a minimum wage was a district issue in 1911 and the refusal of the mine owners to reach agreement led to rising discontent culminating in the national strike in 1912.

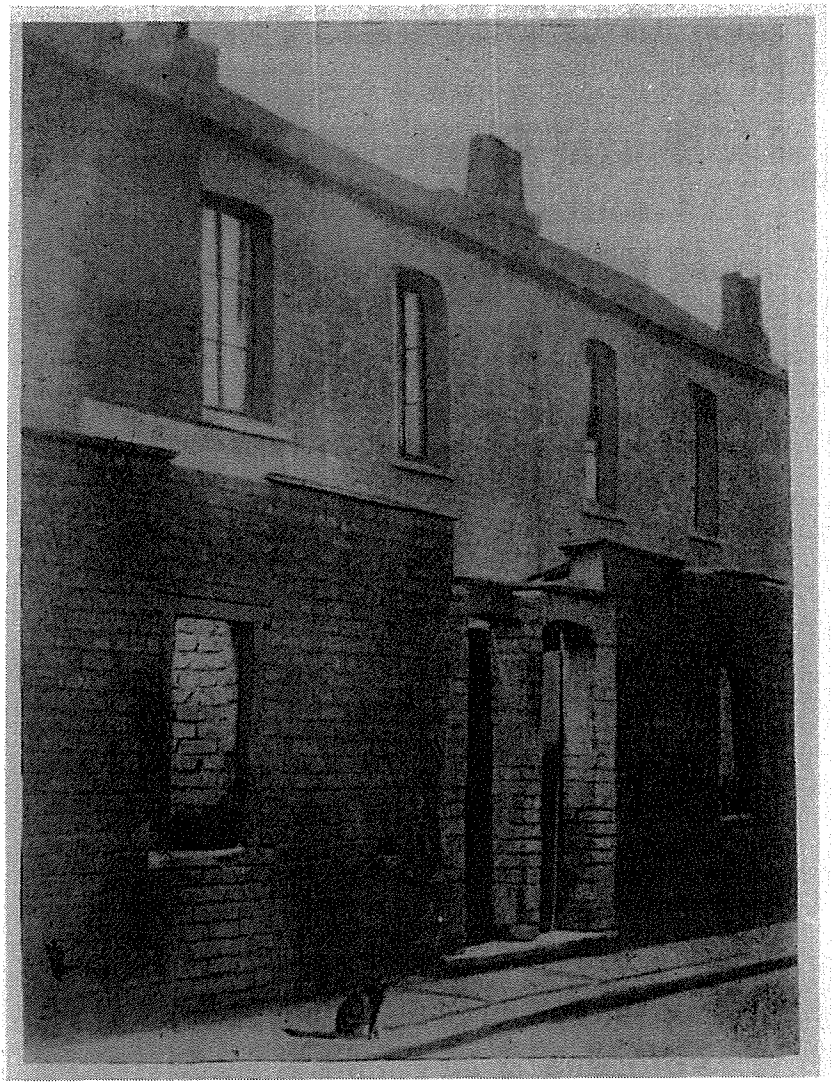
Salford had a number of sweat shops and homeworkers, many of whom were women and children. In Lower Broughton, adjacent to Strangeways and Cheetham, the clothing industry and furnishing trade predominated. These were notorious sweated industries. Work and pay were irregular. Driven by poverty and ill-health, the workers competed with each other to drive down the pay. These workers were extremely difficult to organise in trade unions and they often worked abnormally long hours, to the point of exhaustion, for starvation pay.

Living conditions were abysmal. There were rows of back to back or two up and two down houses which were small, cold, dirty and verminous. Often there was one candle for light and a single tap to a number of houses. Earth closets and open middens were in general use. Children were frequently covered in sores and had rickets. Smallpox, typhus fever, enteric fever, scarlet fever and diphtheria were rife.

Salford was a cauldron of injustice and social ills wanting slight encouragement to boil over.

SOCIALISM AND SYNDICALISM IN SALFORD

> *"Some historians have discerned in all this turmoil a proletariat ripe at last for revolution. In thinking so, I believe they have seriously misunderstood the mind and temper of the working men of the time ... Nevertheless, the syndicalist ideas of men like Tom Mann, aimed at uniting workers, industry by industry, into great unions, had some success and lasting results with the semi-skilled and unskilled, especially among railway and transport workers."* (3)



In Salford. A back Street. Note ashpits without doors.
All ashpits in this street in same condition.

SOCIALISM

Social Democratic Party

SOUTH SALFORD BRANCH,

HYNDMAN HALL,

LIVERPOOL STREET.

Opposite Prince of Wales Theatre.

EIGHTEENTH COURSE

OF

WINTER LECTURES

ON

Sunday Evenings,

From October 1st, 1911
To March 31st, 1912,

INCLUSIVE.

Chair to be taken at 7-30.

ADMISSION FREE. ***Discussion Invited.***

WORKERS of all Countries UNITE.

You have nothing to lose, but your Chains, you have a World to Win.

An economist commented:

> *"Profits have gone up enormously without wages rising, and the workers have begun to find it out. Then there has been the influence of Tom Mann. His personality can hold a crowd of 5,000 labourers and make them act as one."*(4)

The low wages and terrible living conditions would not, on their own, have led workers to revolt. They needed a lead and guidance as to how to conduct the campaign. This was provided by the socialists and syndicalists.

During the period of the Great Unrest, there was a marked increase in socialist teaching, organisation and activity. Many pamphlets were published and the socialist press increased its circulation.

The South Salford branch of the Social Democratic Federation was one of the largest in the country. Formed in 1884, it had its headquarters at Hyndman Hall in Liverpool Street. After 1908 the Federation became the Social Democratic Party and, in the Autumn of 1911, at the Socialist Unity Conference held in Caxton Hall, near the Flat Iron Market at the bottom of Chapel Street, the name was again changed to the British Socialist Party (BSP).

The South Salford branch organised regular open air meetings and conducted a lively social and educational programme at Hyndman Hall. The members were working men such as William Logan and Tom Savage, who were dockers, and James Gorman and Jack Forshaw who worked in engineering.

Many Salford socialists, both in the Social Democratic Party and the Independent Labour Party, active in the strike, were attracted to syndicalism. Details of their followers in Salford are obscure and strike committees under the conditions operating in 1911 kept no records.

To socialists prepared to engage in class struggle, the ideas of syndicalism appealed. It made sense to join together in action and the divisions between skilled and unskilled workers were beginning to be seen as weakening to the movement and contrary to socialist principles. Tom Mann, who in 1911 was the most prominent advocate of syndicalism, attracted the support of local activists such as A.A. Purcell.(5)

Purcell was typical of many socialists who found syndicalism compatible with their outlook on life. For him, industrial syndicalism had become *"....far more important than the political labour movement".*(6) Tom Mann, who had re-appeared on the British scene in 1910, was a powerfully-built man and a born leader. The impression he made on his audiences was described by Bonar Thompson:

> *"I have never seen anyone like him. Fire, vehemence, passion, humour, drama and crashing excitement ... Everything gave way before the tremendous torrent of his oratory which he let loose upon his audience ... He swept over the crowds like a whirlwind. His mastery of the art of oratory was superb."*(7)

TOM MANN

Mann plunged into the struggle for a militant industrial policy and for organisation. He launched a small journal, **THE INDUSTRIAL SYNDICALIST,** and found Manchester and Salford to be most receptive areas. He decided to organise an **INDUSTRIAL SYNDICALIST EDUCATION LEAGUE** and chose Manchester for the inaugural conference. He declared that the time *"....was ripe for industrial action as distinct from trade action".* At the conference a resolution was passed, with only two against, asserting the need to spread:

> *"....the principles of syndicalism throughout the British Isles, with a view to merging all existing unions into one compact organisation for each industry, including all labourers of every industry in the same organisation as skilled workers".*(8)

A.A. Purcell was in the chair and there were nineteen delegates from Salford.(9) They represented miners, carters, railwaymen and tramwaymen as well as the Gasworkers and General Labourers' Union branches. A District Committee led by Purcell was established. Rank and file industrial militants from railways, engineering works, carters and building trades workers were all represented.

> *"The existence of a strong syndicalist movement can no longer be denied ... Its rapid development has taken everyone by surprise, including both the older trade unionists ... and the socialists who have dominated them."*(10)

When the storm broke in the following summer, this committee was able to exert considerable influence, hammering home the need for unity of all workers and the efficacy of strike action. Salford in 1911 was like the sea shore when the tide is coming in. As fast as one wave of discontent broke and receded, another followed.

JUNE AND JULY 1911

The years from 1910 to the declaration of war in 1914 saw fierce class conflict. Transport workers, coal miners, cotton weavers, jute workers, cab drivers, metal workers and construction workers were among those who went on strike. The extent of the strike waves, the sharp clashes between strikers and the police and army make this period outstanding in the history of the British working class. It was characterised by mass picketing, sympathetic strikes, defiance of the law and of trade union officialdom. Decisions of importance on policy and tactics were taken not in smoke-filled rooms but outside, in open-air mass meetings.(11)

In June it was reported that the recently-formed Salford branch of the Dockers' Union had 1,200 members and special reference was made to the splendid work which Tom Mann had done for the Dock, Wharf, Riverside and General Labourers' Union.

First Conference on Industrial Syndicalism

HELD AT THE

COAL EXCHANGE, MANCHESTER,

On November 26th, 1910.

I.—List of Delegates and Bodies Represented.

Societies represented.	Names of Delegates.
I.—WITHIN MANCHESTER DISTRICT.	
A.—Unions.	

The spark in Salford was provided by the National Union of Seamen and Firemen's call for a national stoppage. The call coincided with the arrival in Salford Docks of several ships so that there were an unusual number of seamen in port. Sectionalism was thrown on one side as stewards and firemen, although in separate unions, came out with the sailors and made common cause. Outside the Seamen's Union office on Trafford Road hung a banner reading **"SEAMEN'S INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT: STRIKE HOME AND HARD FOR LIBERTY".**(12)

As the strike gained momentum in Belgium and Holland, solidarity in Salford was developed when foreign crews refused to sign on the 'KITTIWAKE' bound for Amsterdam. Rather than blackleg, the men booked a passage home.

It soon became clear that the key to the situation lay with the dockers. At a series of mass meetings, A.A. Purcell and R.H. Capner, the Secretary of the Seamen's Union, urged the dockers to strike in support of the seamen. Purcell argued that a victory for them *"...meant a victory for all classes of workers throughout the country".*(13) At last, on 23 July, a mass meeting of dockers passed a resolution refusing to cargo vessels manned by blacklegs in defiance of their officials. A telegram was sent from Head Office to Salford branch warning them that any such action would be unofficial. This created a new situation. The dockers felt that their trade union officials were against them and the result was that the rank and file of the union determined the pace and intensity of the strike.

Havelock Wilson, the Seamen's Secretary, planned to compromise with the employers in return for union recognition and the establishment of a Conciliation Board. But owners who reached agreement with the union found that it was not accepted by the men. The bitter experience of Railway Conciliation Boards had not been lost on the seamen.

In Liverpool, Tom Mann took the initiative and appealed to all transport workers to strike. He urged an end to sectionalism and advocated united action by all port workers. Capner took up this appeal, and in Salford, at a mass meeting of dockers who were waiting orders to strike, he asked for direct action. The Liverpool dockers responded to Tom Mann's calls and three days later Salford dockers also ceased work.

One feature of the stoppage was that non-unionists came forward together with union activists to give leadership. The result was that *"....the strike fever swept the Docks with the rapidity and all-inclusiveness of a prairie fire".*(14)

The press report stated:

> *"The movement spread unchecked. Men ran along the dock shouting 'Strike! Strike!' and with hardly an enquiry as to why they were striking, men stopped work."*(15)

A. A. PURCELL,

President, Manchester and Salford Trades and Labour Council, 1917.

On Tuesday 27 June, the dockers formalised their decision. James Wignall, General Organiser of the Dockers' Union, *"....was at some pains to explain the position of his organisation in the struggle in which it had become involved".*(16) The union had realised that in order to gain some control, it had to recognise the strike. A list of demands was drawn up to be presented to the employers. Eight hundred non-unionists present decided to join up. Ben Tillett said that the Dockers' Union *"....increased wonderfully ... in some instances as quickly as cards could be issued".*(17) Havelock Wilson for the seamen boasted:

> *"We cannot get contribution cards printed quickly enough ... We joined nearly 3,000 last week."*(18)

Responding to the appeals of Purcell, Capner and Tom Mann to join their union, workers began to feel their collective power in mass meetings to determine union policy. As a result, the union leaders were swept along by events as they tried to gain credibility. Ben Tillett, whose initial reaction had been to warn against the strike, had to identify himself with the militant sections of the rank and file and began to advocate the syndicalist policy of *"....direct action and the necessity of revolution at every opportunity".*(19)

Another important feature of the situation was the support of women. Wives of seamen and dockers attended the mass meetings and on one occasion over a hundred of them assembled at the dock gates to encourage the strikers, urging them to remain firm.

On Thursday 29 June, a meeting at Broadway on Trafford Road was attended by 5,000 workers. It was addressed by Capner and Wignall, officials of the seamen's and dockers' unions, and two local men, William Horrocks and Alf Purcell, both staunch advocates of socialism and syndicalism.

The following day, a number of carters were persuaded to abandon their horse-drawn lurries and join the picket line. Over the weekend, the strike escalated. On Monday morning, two hundred carters, members of the General Railway Workers' Union, employed at the Oldham Road Goods Depot of the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway Company, refused to handle goods from the Ship Canal and then walked out. They marched to Salford Goods Depot, where they induced five hundred men to join them. They then proceeded from one goods yard to the next, singing *"Join in and follow me"*(20), until by evening there were five thousand carters out. As they included both those employed by the railway companies and those in contracting firms, all road transport throughout Manchester and Salford was stopped. On 5 July, colliers at Pendleton helped carters to barricade a road outside the pit to prevent the movement of blacked goods by the police. This episode proved decisive in persuading the colliers to join the strike. One thousand, five hundred of them downed tools in support of the carters.

They were joined by some of the colliers at Agecroft pit. It was three days before the colliers returned to work. Delaney, President of the Lancashire and Cheshire Miners, told the coal owners that the strike was without union support. However, the miners had been represented at the 1910 conference on syndicalism and the agitation of Alf Purcell and others had borne fruit.

Although the seamen, dockers and carters made separate demands to their respective employers for a minimum wage, fixed overtime rates and for union recognition, they each made it quite clear that they would not return to work until all demands had been successfully met.

The transport workers' strike began to have a momentum of its own. Mass meetings at Broadway were attended regularly by up to six thousand workers. There was daily evidence of a solid class interest over-riding narrow sectional interests as seamen, carters, dockers and miners joined together on picket lines. After Monday 3 July, there were pickets at all docks, goods yards, large works and warehouses. The strikers were determined to stop all goods being transported into the docks or markets. The lurries were either turned back or overturned and the contents tipped into the street. Harry Williams, who later became Mayor of Salford, recalls seeing one such incident when aged 11:

> *"I remember on the way to school one day, getting to the corner of Tatton Street and seeing a convoy of horse-drawn lurries carrying coal drawing nearer. As they reached the corner, a group of men ran up, pulled the pins from the lurry side and most of the coal dropped onto the road. The police came up and the convoy moved off."*(21)

The provision market which relied on goods from Denmark and Sweden was hard hit. Captain Godfrey, Chief Constable of Salford, reported:

> *"Matters commenced to assume an ugly shape ... Pickets were formed and posted in great force at such centres as to practically disorganise the goods traffic of the Borough and neighbourhood. Applications by telephone and letter commenced to reach me in great numbers from the Mills, Works and Firms for protection of their premises, and for police to escort convoys of carts, lorries and other vehicles laden with all kinds of produce ... I turned out every available man, and had them detailed in parties for escort duty ... the pickets had by this time adopted a most arrogant and aggressive attitude ..."*(22)

General the Right Honourable Sir Nevil Macready related:

> *"I was suddenly sent for to the Home Office and at 10.30 p.m. the same night found myself with 200 Metropolitan Police en route for Salford, where the transport strikers were causing anxiety. Two squadrons of the Scots Greys and a battalion of infantry arrived next morning. There was no exhibition of violence on the part of the strikers, and having distributed troops at various centres in case of accidents, there was little fear that any outbreak would occur."*(23)

Soldiers on strike duty 14th July 1911 at Hulse & Company,
Machine Tool Makers of Regent Bridge, Salford.
The photograph was taken during the engineering labourers' strike.

An estimated forty thousand workers were idle as mills and factories closed down due to lack of fuel. Thousands of pounds worth of perishable goods were rotting in ships' holds. Boatloads that had already gone bad had been thrown overboard. The situation was explosive. The Tory press condemned the strikers:

> *"It is being carried on in defiance of the advice of the leaders of the unions and it is being conducted with the aid of all kinds of illegal actions. It is a kind of war on society."*(24)

Robert Roberts experienced these events and described how his mother's shop was affected:

> *"At home in our own shop my mother was racked with indecision. She stood heart and soul with the strikers - but how much more food could she let go to those who, we knew, had no money to pay for it at week-end? One wholesaler had finally stopped supplies; another threatened. 'A few more days of this', she said, 'and we'll have to close'".*(25)

The strikers were not cowed into submission by police brutality. Capner advised them:

> *"If it comes to violence, for God's sake do it well. If it comes to a fight and the police use their batons, then by God we will bring something too. If it comes to batons, let them have batons for all you're worth."*(26)

Only the arrival of the Scots Greys eased the authorities' problems. However, all the king's horses and all the king's men could not enable blackleg labour to move any significant amount of goods or radically improve the food and fuel situation. There was only one course of action open to the employers, and that was to negotiate.

Lord Asquith, the chief Government trouble shooter, was sent for. He spent five days and nights in Manchester Town Hall attending innumerable conferences with *"....employers and employed, debating, discussing and almost fighting".*(27) As the negotiations were reaching a conclusion and agreement was being reached, the women swung into action.

The strike had not, so far, included women workers, but they had been conspicuous in their support of the men. They were prominent on the picket lines and sometimes *"....seemed more interested in stopping lurries than the men"* even though several of them were carrying babies. *"When there was nothing passing, they discussed the position loudly and while the men awaited the laden lurries in sullen silence, the women hooted at the drovers and especially at the police escorts."*(28) Women speakers addressed mass meetings. Mrs Walker was a regular speaker at Trafford Road and later, towards the end of the strike, she was joined by Margaret Ashton, Mrs Aldridge and Mrs Emily Cox. On Friday afternoon, 7 July, a procession of dockers' wives assembled at Broadway and then moved off up Cross Street more than a thousand strong. They marched down Chapel Street, across Blackfriars Bridge, and went via Victoria Street and St. Anne's Square on to Deansgate.

The Reporter described it as *"....one of the saddest spectacles it would be possible to witness"*. Nineteen out of twenty women had no head covering and *"....many of them bore marks of privation and of their struggles to keep their homes going on small wages"*. One veteran woman of over eighty was given pride of place at the head of the march and the younger women assisted her along the route. In her print bonnet and faded, old-fashioned clothes, she appealed for help from the onlookers and coppers and small silver coins were put into the collecting tins. The women received sympathetic assistance along the route. One publican gave ginger beer when asked for water, and when the procession reached Albert Street police yard, milk was served to the hundred or so children who had accompanied the women. The women carried five banners and were preceded by a band playing 'Hearts of Oak' and 'Tom Bowling'. The banners had slogans:

NOT MERELY ALMS, BUT A LIVING WAGE

LIVE AND LET LIVE

OUR POVERTY IS YOUR DANGER - STAND BY US

GIVE US EACH DAY OUR DAILY BREAD

OUR RIGHT TO LIVE

In the police yard, Rev. Schofield Battersby, who had given support throughout the strike, addressed the exhausted women together with Mrs Craig, Mrs Gordon and Mr McLachlan. Mr Battersby was scathing about the numbers of police and military called in to control the strikers and he asserted that people were prepared to conduct themselves properly. After the speeches, the women went to the Dockers' Union Headquarters where a meal had been prepared for them from meat and bread donated by sympathetic tradesmen. As the Reporter commented,*"....the prospect of a good meal undoubtedly lightened the tramp back to the neighbourhood of the Docks"*.(29)

Mass action was accompanied by political discussion. It was reported that:

> *"....at the street corners, little groups of men are discussing the situation with animation. Everybody seems to be on the qui vive in anticipation of something happening."*(30)

PHILLIPS, MAYOR.

COUNTY BOROUGH OF SALFORD.

WARNING.

As CHIEF MAGISTRATE of the Borough, I hereby give WARNING that I have received complaints of acts of violence, and other unlawful acts, committed by persons in connection with the

PRESENT LABOUR DISPUTE.

NOW, THEREFORE, I GIVE NOTICE

That military aid has been called for to assist the civil authorities in maintaining order, and that I shall, if necessary, exercise my full powers as Chief Magistrate, under the Riot Act, or otherwise, to prevent any further lawlessness.

The Public is warned that TWELVE or more persons assembling together after the Proclamation under the Riot Act has been read is an unlawful assembly, and will be dealt with according to law, and, if necessary, with the aid of

MILITARY FORCES.

FRANK SAMUEL PHILLIPS, Mayor.

Town Hall, Salford, July 5, 1911.

Ben Tillett raised the issue of the use of the armed forces at a mass meeting held on the Trafford Road croft with between four and five thousand workers present. He was reported as saying:

> *"And after all the years of experience to have the hysterical hooligan of a Mayor bring in the military!"*(31)

He was glad to know some of the men had told their officers they were not out to murder their own class. The strike was certainly successful. All workers won concessions from their employers.(32) The seamen secured ten shillings a month increase and union recognition; the dockers received five shillings for a nine hour day, fixed overtime rates and union recognition and the carters got fixed overtime rates and a minimum wage. At a victory demonstration, the syndicalist message was loud and clear. Alf Purcell won loud applause when he said the struggle would continue until they had *"....emancipated themselves from the capitalist system".*(33) Ben Tillett pointed out that the lesson was *"Workers of the World, Unite",* and Tom Mann said that syndicalism *"....hoped to improve the condition of the workers not by means of strikes but by perfect industrial organisation".*(34) The transport workers viewed the result as having

> *"....put new hope for the future in the hearts of all workers, even the foremen and stevedores. Every man appeared to be assuming the actions of a man, and now walks erect".*(35)

AUGUST - THE HOT MONTH

To outward appearances the strike was over and calm restored. It was, however, the lull before the storm. The lesson of the transport workers' victory proved to be an inspiration to low-paid and severely exploited workers. August 1911 was a momentous month of fierce clashes between capital and labour. In Liverpool there was almost a state of civil war. Railwaymen, carters, dockers and tramwaymen came out on strike. The employers replied with a general lock-out. The Strike Committee, led by Tom Mann, declared a general transport strike. Winston Churchill, the Home Secretary, had 7,000 troops and Special Police sent to the City while two gunboats anchored in the Mersey. A brutal police charge was made on a demonstration on St. George's Hall plateau on 13 August. This became known as 'Bloody Sunday'. Moreover, two men were killed when troops opened fire on workers trying to stop a prison van.

In London, the port was closed down in scenes reminiscent of 1889. The dockers demanded a wage increase from sixpence to eightpence an hour to operate from 3 July. Winston Churchill strengthened the London garrison and threatened to send twenty-five thousand troops to unload the ships in port. However, solidarity grew and in August one hundred thousand workers marched to Tower Hill. Eventually the dockers won their increase and the rest of the transport workers won pay increases and other concessions.

In Salford there were four factors which characterised the new strike wave. The engineering labourers from all works in Manchester and Salford went on strike for more pay; the railwaymen's unofficial action which led to the national strike call; the ship owners violated the agreement by which men active in the recent strike were not to be victimised and people working in sweat shops and extremely low-paid jobs rose and demanded justice.

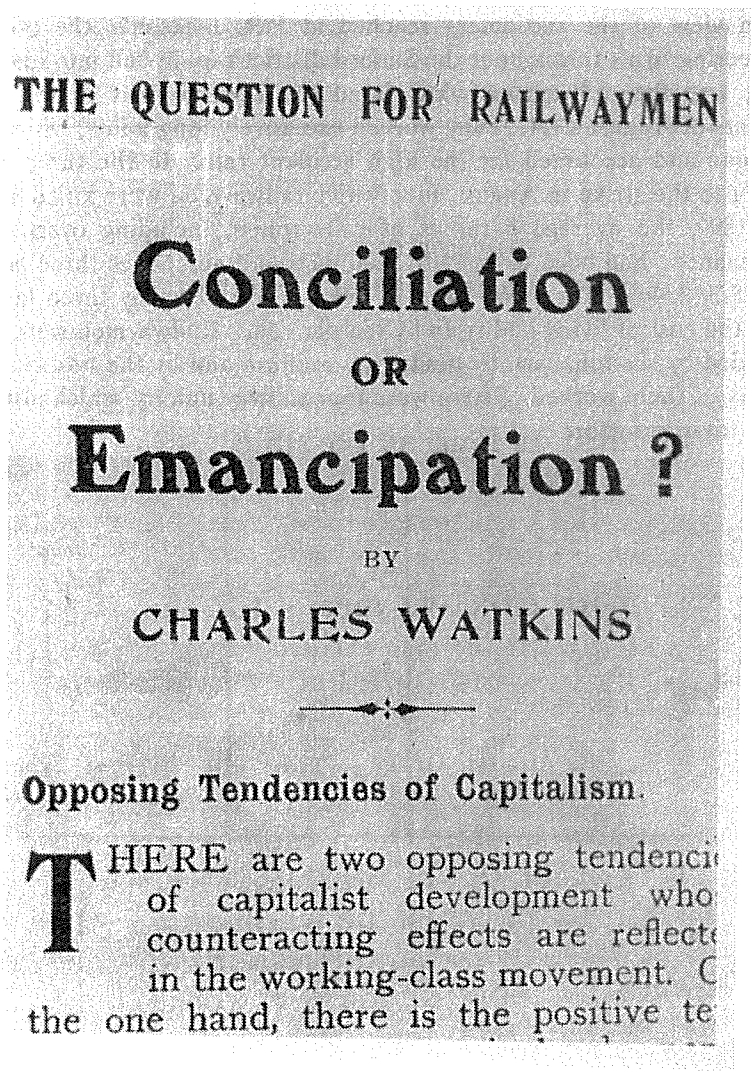
Engineering labourers were paid about seventeen shillings a week for fifty- three or four hours. This was exactly half the wage of a skilled craftsman. They had no union representation and were banned from membership of the skilled craft unions. Socialists and syndicalists had begun agitating against such conditions as early as 1910. They called for a wage of one pound a week minimum for labourers, two shillings increase for the semi-skilled workers, together with trade union organisation and recognition.

Before the end of July, there were nine thousand engineering labourers on strike in the Gorton district of Manchester and in Salford, in early August, the strike started at P.R. Jackson's works in Hampson Street. The management agreed to raise the wages by two shillings, but the offer was refused because it did not include all men. Alf Purcell spoke and urged the men to join a trade union. There was a short strike which led to the firm capitulating and agreeing to pay a pound minimum to all labourers.

In view of the settlement reached at P.R. Jackson's, the other engineering firms throughout the Salford district rapidly fell into line.

It was the railwaymen who played the decisive part in the stormy events of August 1911. They worked excessively long hours, which led to fatigue and accounted for the high accident rate. In the three months prior to the strike in August, ninety-five railwaymen were killed at work. In 1899, the average earnings of railwaymen, including overtime and allowances, had been twenty- five shillings and ninepence three farthings (£1.5s.9 3/4d). Ten years later, in 1909, it had risen by three farthings, but the cost of living had risen by ten per cent. Railwaymen were deeply divided by sectionalism, by grades, by uniform and by the unsocial hours many of them worked. There were four railway unions, which also acted as a divisive factor.

The lessons of the successful actions earlier in the year when other transport workers overcame their sectionalism and by united strike action had won considerable concessions were not lost on railway workers. Eighteen men from all grades in Manchester and Salford had attended the 1910 conference on syndicalism and an informal network of syndicalist railwaymen had been established. The May issue of **THE INDUSTRIAL SYNDICALIST** was called *"THE RAILWAYMEN" and the main article was by Charles Watkin on "Conciliation or Emancipation".*



THE QUESTION FOR RAILWAYMEN

Conciliation

OR

Emancipation ?

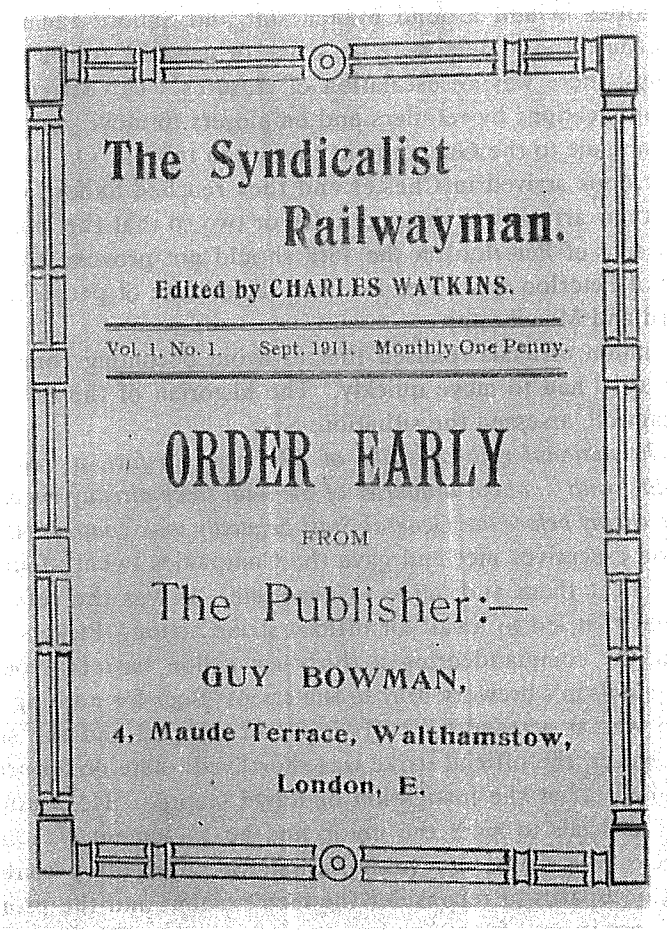
BY

CHARLES WATKINS

Opposing Tendencies of Capitalism.

THERE are two opposing tendenci
of capitalist development who
counteracting effects are reflect
in the working-class movement. C
the one hand, there is the positive te

Watkin, from Clay Cross, was a member of the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen. He attacked the official union and Labour Party policy of nationalisation of the railways, arguing that this would not benefit the railway workers because the state *"....sends British soldiers and police to protect blacklegs and bludgeon British workers who are fighting for their bare right to existence"*. He continued by saying that the state *"....could hardly be expected to inspire the workers with much confidence as to its intentions as an employer of labour"*.(36) He predicted that discontent among railwaymen would lead to a revolt and finally he announced the publication of a new journal,**THE SYNDICALIST RAILWAYMAN.**


The Syndicalist Railwayman.

Edited by CHARLES WATKINS.

Vol. 1, No. 1. Sept. 1911. Monthly One Penny.

ORDER EARLY

FROM

The Publisher:—

GUY BOWMAN,

4, Maude Terrace, Walthamstow,

London, E.

The press lords, however, did not appreciate the situation. An article headed "CHAOS" characterised the strikes:

> *"The old were carried on under the advice of tried and tested leaders; the new, so far as they have any leaders at all, are started by irresponsible agitators who, once they have set their dupes going, are quite powerless to stop them."*(42)

The charge of chaos was ill-founded scaremongering. The strikes were orderly and well-disciplined. The need for mass picketing hardly arose.

Demands were formulated calling for the abolition of the Conciliation Boards together with an advance of two shillings a week for all grades and a fifty- four hour week.

As factories in and around Manchester and Salford ran out of coal, either because the miners were on strike or it could not be moved from the sidings, there was an escalation of closures. The Strike Committee refused applications by retailers and employers to move goods. Appeals were then made to the Government to send in troops. On Wednesday 16 August, troops arrived in Chester and they reached Salford on the 21st. Possibly their arrival was delayed a day or two so that the anniversary of the Massacre of Peterloo on the 16th should not provoke trouble. The memory of Peterloo was never far from the surface of people's memories in Salford and Manchester.

Trade union officials realised that to avoid becoming completely discredited, they had to move quickly. The historian of the railway union, Philip Bagwell, assessed the situation:

> *"The national railway strike of 1911 was, in fact, a 'soldiers' battle' with ... about a quarter of the total force already engaging the enemy before the General Staff belatedly took control".*(43)

The union executives met and gave the Companies twenty-four hours in which to meet them and agree to negotiate. It was the refusal of the Companies that led to a call for official strike action. Pickets in Salford celebrated by commandeering a thirty-six gallon barrel of beer which 'fell off' a Wilson's brewery dray to the cry of "Beer for nothing".(44)

Salford was at a standstill. Trading had stopped and the strike was solid. However, the official strike was shortlived. Late on Saturday night it was called off at the instigation of Lloyd George. He persuaded the Company officials to meet the union and an agreement was hammered out. There was to be no victimisation, the immediate convening of Conciliation Boards to reconsider the men's claims and the promise of a Special Commission of Inquiry in return for calling off the strike. This

was progress in so far as the union officials had been recognised by the Companies and it was regarded as a great victory. A telegram was sent to each district saying that the strike had been settled, that it was a victory for trade unionism and that the men should return to work at once. The press was jubilant.

The men resumed work but the terms of the settlement were greeted by the railwaymen with "feelings of incredulity, anger and amazement". W.C. Anderson, who later became a Member of Parliament, said: *"Never in my life have I seen workmen so bitter and indignant."*(45)

The strike slowly began again. Men stopped work and began picketing. The walls around the stations were chalked with slogans: DON'T RETURN TO WORK - THROW OUT YOUR LEADERS - NO SURRENDER. Alf Purcell's view was that *"....the whole thing had now collapsed because they had brought politicians in to help them"*.He said that he never knew of a case in which the intervention of politicians had ever been of any use to the working classes in an industrial dispute.*"Hang the railways"*, he said, *"war is war. What is the use of declaring a strike if you are going to put on kid gloves?"*(46)

In Salford, a meeting of five hundred railwaymen rejected the agreement. However, the men in the higher grades were unwilling to carry on an unofficial dispute. Although strikes did continue at some depots and stations, by 23 August work had been resumed everywhere. But many returned to work feeling betrayed by their union leaders and aware that Alf Purcell and Tom Mann had articulated the true trade union principles.

THE GREAT STRIKE

The July events in Salford were followed by even more exciting strikes, huge mass meetings and clashes with the police. The strikes of engineering labourers and the official and unofficial railway stoppages had led to the closure of factories and food shortages. It seemed that the lowest-paid, unorganised workers were shocked out of their apathy and galvanised into action by such an extraordinary situation in the town.

The Chief Constable, Captain Godfrey, recognised the seriousness of the situation and he applied for assistance to twenty-four local authorities as far away as Bristol. Thirty-eight invitations were sent to local Territorial Regiments asking for volunteers to be sworn in as Special Constables. Those who were sworn in remained on duty until 23 August when they were placed on reserve. The 7th and 8th Lancashire Fusiliers, who were Territorials, were ordered to return their rifles to the Drill Hall in Cross Lane, presumably in case they might be tempted to use them on the wrong side. The 15th Lancers were sent from Chester to Salford.

For about three weeks in August Salford was riven with one strike after another. Railwaymen, carters, dockers, colliers at Pendleton, Pendlebury, Clifton, Newtown and Agecroft were involved, together with workers in small sweat shops and a range of factories. These included J. and H. Charlton's finishing works in Strangeways, W.T. Glover's in Trafford Park, Frederick Smith's Wire Works in Lower Broughton, Broughton Copper Works, Ellison Cabinet Works in Blackfriars Road and Broughton Flax Works.

While each works presented separate demands and reached separate agreements, because all action took place at the same time it assumed the aspect of a general strike. They supported each other morally and in many other ways. They attended the same mass meetings and demonstrations and met and discussed their grievances on the streets and in the pubs.

By 1911, the Hanover Works of Louis Ellison in Riga Street, Lower Broughton had become one of the largest cabinet-making factories in the old Jewish quarter of Salford. Nearly two hundred craftsmen, machine men and polishers were employed to manufacture furniture for both retailers and private customers. Some understanding of the wages the firm paid can be gathered from the fact that a worker had been employed before the strike to make two mahogany Queen Anne sideboards for three pounds. The labourers' wage was twelve shillings for a fifty-nine-and-a-half hour week.

Alf Purcell lived in Great Clowes Street near to Ellison's works. On the day the strike began, he addressed a dinner time meeting and urged the skilled workers to down tools together with the unskilled. Within two days, the works was at a standstill with all grades united. Ellison took Purcell to court on a charge of intimidating his workers. The case was adjourned and when agreement had been reached and the strike ended, the summons against Purcell was withdrawn. The settlement established a minimum wage for labourers of twenty shillings with a reduced working week.

The flax industry enjoyed an unenviable reputation. People who worked at the flax mills were among the poorest of the poor. Robert Roberts commented:

> *"Some employees there were among the very poorest of our customers at the shop. Even in those times one had to be hard put to it indeed to take a job in flax and labour for 'starvation wages'. After a week of 55 1/2 hours heavy work a woman drew 9s with a bonus of 1s 6d provided she had lost no time. Girl helpers of eighteen years of age got 5s. Men received 15s 6d for a 55 1/2 hour week or 17s 3d for one of 64 1/2 hours. Spurred on by 'agitators' from outside, members of a cotton union, the whole mill struck work: six hundred women demanding an increase of two shillings a week and the men a minimum wage of £1. Helped by sympathisers all over the town, they held out against employers adamant in their refusal to concede any increase whatsoever. 'We consider', they said, 'the women's demands unreasonable'. But failing to get workers from elsewhere, and after a deal of hard bargaining, they caved in and finally agreed to pay 'females an extra shilling and men one pound for a 55 hour week'."*(47)

At a meeting of strikers outside the mill, Mr Cox of the Ashton Cotton Operatives' Union told them that he had never heard of such terrible conditions. It was a disgrace that it should be allowed to exist. Mrs Malcolm of the Midwives' Union distributed 250 quarts of soup and three dozen loaves to the strikers in the Cannon Street premises. There was also considerable support from workers in adjacent factories and the Manchester and Salford Co-operative Society issued one shilling tickets to each striker to be used in the Stores. When the management refused to negotiate, the workers occupied the premises. They organised a sit-in and thereby ensured that blacklegs could not enter.

At a meeting on a croft outside the works, Miss Cox and Councillor Margaret Ashton of the Women's Trades Union Council organised a Flax Workers' Union. Alf Purcell, who had also been involved, addressed the meeting. The success of the flax workers' tactic in occupying their factory was not lost on other workers.

The Chief Constable reported:

> *"The strikers at Broughton Copper Works, at Smith's Copper Wire Works and at the Flax Mill returned to work and threatened to prevent persons from working at those places, and also to resist the transport by vehicles of any goods in or out of the works, about which strong pickets were placed."*(48)

It is probable that the works mentioned co-ordinated their efforts under the guidance of Alf Purcell.

Women workers, who were the most exploited section of the workforce, were foremost in the strikes. The militancy of the women was commented on in the press: *"Women were very active in trying to incite the strikers to extreme measures."*(49)

The duration and outcome of the strikes of lower-paid workers and those in the small sweatshops in Lower Broughton varied. Almost all achieved some success and the general level of wages for a large number of workers in Salford was raised substantially. Robert Roberts reported:

> *"Unrest continued throughout the winter and many realised that the turbulence no longer stemmed from traditional trade union disputes. 'These upheavals', cried one of our street corner speakers, uttering a common thought, 'are spontaneous uprisings on the part of large sections of the working class against poverty and want. They are, to a great extent, vast unorganised outbursts against a system in which the poor get poorer and the employers wealthier.'"*(50)

An editorial in the Journal of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers stated:

> *"The lesson to be learned by working men from the result of the recent industrial upheaval is that when they strike they must strike hard. Never before have the unification of labour interests and the solidarity of labour organisations been so thoroughly advertised."*(51)

The concept of working class unity had indeed won widespread support during the strikes. For example, Manchester and Salford postmen refused to carry mail for blackleg drivers and their union told the Post Office authorities: *"If the department insists on using men as strike breakers, we shall be obliged to take the men out."*(52) Furthermore, the postmen were stimulated by the 1911 strikes and the display of solidarity to press their own demands.

The significance of the strikes was discussed at a meeting organised by the Trades Council and held at the Grand Theatre on 5 October. A resolution was moved by Councillor Titt and seconded by Sarah Dickenson, Secretary of the Women's Trades and Labour Council. It read:

> *"This mass meeting of workers, while viewing with satisfaction the recent advances made by organised labour, desires to emphasise the absolute necessity for more general and effective organisation in the future to secure still further betterment of working conditions for both men and women."*(53)

After some discussion a further resolution was put condemning the action of Mr Churchill in sending troops to Manchester during the rail strike. This had been done *"....in complete disregard of the wishes of the Lord Mayor and the Watch Committee"*. The military had been sent, it was pointed out, *"....not to protect property, but to intimidate the men who were involved in an industrial dispute"*. William Mellor, Secretary to the Trades Council, drew the lesson of the stirring events. 1911, he said:

> *"....did not simply make a record, it ushered in a new era in industrial conflicts. For the first time in England, the 'sympathetic strike' was evoked on a large scale and effectively used as a weapon of industrial warfare".*

One notable feature of the labour advance was that it was mainly confined to the least well organised and poorest paid workers. Mellor pointed out that there had been an *"immense increase in membership in many of the unions engaged in this industrial crusade"*. The railway strike in August, he said, was:

> *"a movement that brought home to the nation in the most dramatic fashion the complete dependence of the community on an unregarded section of the workers for the bare necessities of life"*
>
> and that
>
> *"never before was the nation so nearly face-to-face with a food famine as it was during the railway strike of 1911".*(54)

The new syndicalist paper, **THE SYNDICALIST RAILWAYMAN,** was launched in September with the message that:

> *"If the general public dislike the inconvenience caused by strikes it should help the workers to establish a social system that will give them democratic control over their working conditions and a voice in the disposal of the wealth which is created by their social labour - social ownership of the industries, and social appropriation of the wealth socially produced is the only solution for the modern labour problem".*(55)

Bob Holton, the historian of syndicalism, wrote:

> *"The working class militants of the 'labour unrest' deserve to be remembered and honoured by posterity for their persistent aggression against the centres of capitalist power, and the sheer vitality and sense of creative purpose brought to bear in conflict with employers, politicians, the judiciary, the police and the armed forces."*(56)

The participants in the Salford strikes in 1911 must have been a significant proportion of the population. Their stand against disgraceful conditions was a step towards the incomparably better situation we enjoy today. They certainly should be remembered and honoured.

SALFORD AFTER THE STRIKES

Tom Mann strongly influenced the Salford situation in 1911. His thrilling oratory, dynamic personality and militant policy appealed to activists and rank and file workers. He inspired hundreds of thousands of workers to unite across craft and sectional barriers and to struggle to improve their wages and working conditions.

He was deeply concerned at the use of troops during the industrial disputes and on 14 March 1912 he raised the question of the use of armed forces at a meeting in Salford Town Hall. He told his audience what had happened in Liverpool and then, in his own words, *"....directed attention to the imprisonment of my comrades in connection with the DON'T SHOOT letter, read the letter to the audience and declared I believed in every sentence in it".*(57)

The DON'T SHOOT appeal had been written by Fred Bower, a Liverpool building worker. It had been published in January 1912 in the first issue of **THE SYNDICALIST** and it stated clearly: *"When we go on strike to better our lot, which is the lot also of your Fathers, Mothers, Brothers and Sisters, YOU are called upon by your Officers to MURDER us. DON'T DO IT."*(58)

Reading the leaflet was considered by the authorities to constitute incitement to mutiny and Mann was tried and sentenced to six months in Strangeways prison.

The labour movement was outraged. A Defence Fund was set up and protest meetings and demonstrations organised. Manchester and Salford Trades Council played an influential part in the campaign.

Within seven weeks, Tom Mann was released and in his MEMOIRS, he commented that it was due *"....to the many meetings held and resolutions passed ... plus the determination to take further action if necessary".*

Tom Mann's close friend and colleague, Ben Tillett, said at Tom's eightieth birthday celebrations:

> *"We love you. Whatever you do and whatever you say, we love you Tom Mann. You have always fought for your class, and when you have fought for your class you have always fought for humanity."*(59)

HALT! ATTENTION!!

Open Letter to British Soldiers.

This letter to British soldiers, reprinted from *Sheldrake's Military Gazette* (Aldershot), of March 1st, 1912, is the subject of the charge against Crowsley, Guy Bowman, the Buck brothers, and Tom Mann. Read and judge for yourself. Let the voice of the PEOPLE be heard.

Men! Comrades! Brothers!

YOU are in the Army

So are WE. YOU in the Army of Destruction. We in the Industrial, or Army of Construction.

WE work at mine, mill, forge, factory, or dock, producing and transporting all the goods, clothing, stuffs, etc., which make it possible for people to live.

YOU ARE WORKING MEN'S SONS.

When WE go on Strike to better OUR lot, which is the lot also of YOUR FATHERS, MOTHERS, BROTHERS, and SISTERS, YOU are called upon by your officers to MURDER US.

DON'T DO IT!

You know how it happens always has happened.

We stand out as long as we can. Then one of our (and your) irresponsible Brothers, goaded by the sight and thought of his and his loved ones' misery and hunger, commits a crime on property. Immediately YOU are ordered to MURDER US, as YOU did at Mitchelstown, at Featherstone, at Belfast.

Don't YOU know that when YOU are out of the colours, and become a "Civy" again, that YOU, like US, may be on Strike, and YOU, like US, be liable to be MURDERED by other soldiers.

BOYS, DON'T DO IT!

"THOU SHALT NOT KILL," says the Book.

DON'T FORGET THAT!

It does not say, "unless you have a uniform on."

No! MURDER IS MURDER, whether committed in the heat of anger on one who has wronged a loved one, or by pipe-clayed Tommies with a rifle.

BOYS, DON'T DO IT!

ACT THE MAN! ACT THE BROTHER ACT THE HUMAN BEING!

Property can be replaced! Human life, never.

The Idle Rich Class, who own and order you about, own and order us about also. They and their friends own the land and means of life of Britain.

YOU DON'T. WE DON'T.

When WE kick, they order YOU to MURDER US.

When YOU kick, YOU get courtmartialed and cells.

YOUR fight is OUR fight. Instead of fighting AGAINST each other, WE should be fighting with each other.

Out of OUR loins, OUR lives, OUR homes, YOU came.

Don't disgrace YOUR PARENTS, YOUR CLASS, by being the willing tools any longer of the MASTER CLASS.

YOU, like US, are of the SLAVE CLASS. WHEN WE rise, YOU rise; when WE fall, even by your bullets, YE fall also.

England with its fertile valleys and dells, its mineral resources, its sea harvests, is the heritage of ages to us.

YOU no doubt joined the Army out of poverty.

WE work long hours for small wages at hard work, because of OUR poverty. And both YOUR poverty and OURS arises from the fact that Britain with its resources belongs to only a few people. These few, owning Britain, own OUR jobs. Owning OUR jobs, they own OUR very LIVES.

Comrades, have WE called in vain? Think things out and refuse any longer to MURDER YOUR KINDRED. Help US to win back BRITAIN for the BRITISH, and the WORLD for the WORKERS.

The "DON'T SHOOT" leaflet written by Fred Bower and first published in Jim Larkin's **"IRISH WORKER".**

Notes

1. Extensive use has been made of the unpublished thesis by Martyn T. Ives, "Understanding the Workers' Revolt of 1911 with Special Reference to the Transport Strikes in Manchester and Salford" (Manchester University, 1986) (Ives). Also useful:
   Harold Hikins and E. and R. Frow, "The Liverpool Central Transport Strike of 1911" (Marxism Today, 1964).
   R. Frow, unpublished thesis, "Independent Working Class Education with Particular Reference to South-East Lancashire, 1909 - 1930" (Manchester University, 1968).
2. Ben Tillett, "Is the Parliamentary Labour Party a Failure?" (Twentieth Century Press, 1908).
3. Robert Roberts, "The Classic Slum: Salford Life in the First Quarter of the Century" (Manchester University Press, 1971).
4. E.A. Harte, "An Economist in a Discussion with R.H. Tawney", in April, 1912 R.H. Tawney Commonplace Book, page 4.
5. R. and E. Frow, "To Make That Future Now! A History of Manchester and Salford Trades Council" (Manchester, 1976).
6. The Industrial Syndicalist (IS), December 1910, page 13.
7. Bonar Thompson, "Hyde Park Orator" (1934), page 88.
8. IS, December 1910, page 18.
9. Salford delegates were:
   Miners: Kersley, Clifton, Pendleton and Pendlebury Miners' Association 2 delegates.
   Tramway and Vehicle Workers: Salford 1st 2 delegates. Salford 3rd 2 delegates.
   Amalgamated Society of Engineers: Salford 3rd 2 delegates. Salford 4th 2 delegates.
   General Union of Railway Workers: Liverpool Road branch 2 delegates. Central branch 2 delegates.
   Gas Workers and General Labourers: Gaythorn Salford 2 delegates.
   United Carters' Association: Manchester and Salford branch 3 delegates.
10. The Times, April 1912.
11. The main meeting places were: Broadway, Trafford Road; Salisbury Croft, Trafford Road; Flat Iron, Chapel Street; Bexley Square, Chapel Street; Croft near Ordsall Gas Works; Fairground, Whit Lane; Viaduct, Blackfriars Street; Oldfield Road opposite Salford Royal Hospital; Trafford Bridge Croft; Unwin Square, off Cross Lane.
12. The Salford Reporter (SR), 1 July 1911.
13. ibid.
14. Labour Leader (LL), 7 July, 1911.
15. Manchester Guardian (MG), 20 June, 1911.
16. SR, 1 July 1911.
17. The Dockers' Record (DR), August 1911 (Ives).
18. Wilson to Jochade, 6 July 1911 (MRC MSS 159-3-B-63) (Ives). In 1900 total trade union membership stood at around 2 1/2 millions; by 1914 it was over 4 million. The biggest gains were among the unskilled workers.
19. Jonathan Scheer, "Ben Tillett: Portrait of a Labour Leader" (1982), page 150.
20. MG, 4 July 1911.
21. Interview with Harry Williams, April 1989.
22. Special Police Report, 10 July 1911 (Salford Archives Department).
23. General The Rt. Hon. Sir Nevil Macready, "Annals of an Active Life", Volume 1 (n.d.), pages 160-161.
24. The Daily Despatch, 5 July 1911 (Ives).
25. "The Classic Slum", page 73. Compared with the small shopkeeper, the Co-operative Movement, with its vast resources, was in a strong position. It was an integral and important part of the Labour Movement. The Pendleton Co-operative Industrial Society Limited had 27,000 members, 33 grocery and provision branches and 24 butchery branches. It was well-placed to give assistance to the seamen, dockers, carters, railwaymen, colliers, labourers and their families who lived, for example, in Ellor Street, Cross Lane, Regent Road, Trafford Road and Ordsall Lane, in each of which there was a Co-op store.
26. Home Office Papers, P.R.O. 45 10648-43a, 6 July 1911 (Ives).
27. G. Asquith, "Industrial Problems and Disputes" (1920).
28. MG, 6 July 1911.
29. SR, 15 July 1911.
30. ibid.
31. ibid.

32. Wage increases were:
Carpenters, Firemen and Trimmers, £4-5s-0d to £4-15s-0d
A/Bs, £4 to £4-10-0
Dockers, 4s 6d to 5s for a nine-hour day. Minimum of four hours work.
Carters, 25s for drivers with one horse, 27s with two horses, plus 6d per hour for all overtime after 7p.m.
In all cases unions were recognised.
33. SR, 15 July 1911.
34. IS, August 1911.
35. Transport Worker, August 1911 (Ives).
36. IS, May 1911.
37. MG, 7 August 1911.
38. The Times, 24 August 1911 (Ives).
39. MG, 24 August 1911.
40. Manchester Evening News (MEN), 15 August 1911.
41. MEN, 16 August 1911.
42. The Manchester Dispatch, 15 August 1911 (Ives).
43. Philip S. Bagwell, "The Railwaymen" (1963), page 291.
44. MEN, 18 August 1911.
45. LL, 25 August 1911.
46. MEN, 21 August 1911.
47. "The Classic Slum", page 74.
48. Special Police Report, 4 September 1911.
49. SR, 26 August 1911.
50. "The Classic Slum", page 75.
51. ASE Journal, September 1911.
52. Alan Clinton, "Post Office Workers: A Trade Union and Social History" (1984), page 224.
53. Manchester and Salford Trades Council Annual Report, 1911.
54 ibid.
55. The Syndicalist Railwayman, September 1911.
56. Bob Holton, "British Syndicalism" (1976), page 212.
57. Tom Mann, "Memoirs" (1923), pages 313-314.
58. "HALT! ATTENTION - Open Letter to British Soldiers" (1912).
59. News Chronicle, 16 April 1936.