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Both the 'light' and 'heavy' sectors of the region's industrial economy were badly affected by economic crises during the late 1830s, early 1840s, late 1840s and mid 1850s. These crises appeared as downturns in the trade cycle but they also represented adjustive and deeper structural problems in a transitional capitalist economy. The region's industrial economy experienced less intense strain than that felt in other industrial regions. The wider range of industrial production, railway construction, house building and the behaviour of capitalists and workers all contributed to lessening the impact of depression. The middle and later years of the period were marked by periods of recovery and commercial prosperity, particularly between 1844-6 and 1850-54. During the 1850s and 1860s the momentum this generated, aided by the 'miracle of the railway' and armaments production, was to carry the industrial economy over the threshold of its long frustrated 'take off'.

During the period 1837-55 industrial capitalist organization of production significantly displaced older forms. The region's 'heavy' sector was already industrial capitalist dominated and now the 'light' sector of outlery, related metal working and linen manufacture was experiencing rapid transformation. In the mid 1850s the bulk of Sheffield's outlery and metal trades workers were still controlled by permutations from merchants, factors, merchant manufacturers, factor manufacturers, and a host of dependent small manufacturers. From the mid 1840s, although some had appeared earlier, more recognisable factory-based units of production and marketing had appeared in the Sheffield trades. An industrialist bourgeoisie appeared among the ranks of the leading merchant manufacturers, particularly in association with firms combining steel making with the production of cutlery, tools and railway equipment. Despite the persistence of sub-contract and semi-independence in their contractual relations with employers, among the majority of Sheffield workers, labour became more recognizably proletarian and the town's small factory proletariat grew rapidly. In Barnsley and the surrounding weaving

districts similar trends occurred. In Barnsley, power loom factories of significant size appeared in the later 1840s and early 1850s. In the same years in the 'heavy' sector industries of coal and iron, the stimulus of railway construction and operation within the region and outside created new larger collieries and increased ironworks' capacities. Thus by 1855, in both of the region's industrial sectors, industrial capitalism's advance was being loudly proclaimed.

Whatever economic progress was made at the end of the period, an increasingly proletarianized labour stratum and the class conscious mass it contained shared little of the benefits. For most of the period those who composed the labour stratum were the victims of what could be termed 'transitional' crisis, the consequence of short-term inter-sectoral, inter economy lags or malfunctions of capitalization, production and consumption. These were overcome, it might be claimed, by the rising dynamics of industrial capitalism. Arguably, labour was to benefit when, by the mid 1850s, this 'transitional' crisis was solved. Then, as before, labour had to struggle to obtain any benefit or more pessimistically to maintain living standards at above bare subsistence level. The concessions that were made were scant, enough perhaps to raise the efficiency of labour to the requirements of more rational and fuller-time employment under the new forms of capitalist production.

Throughout most of the earlier part of the period, the capitalist class of merchant and industrial capitalists (and their hybrid form) had struggled to maintain profits in the face of sluggish markets, falling prices, foreign and domestic competition, technical and raw material problems and an increasingly organized labour class. These factors, singly or in combination, denied them profits and thus their economic and social self-perpetuation. In South Yorkshire, as in some other older industrial regions, where technology and falling raw material costs could not be invoked to any degree to solve the profits crisis for the capitalist class, the living standards of the labour class were reduced or held at existing levels in order to meet the crisis. Other economic forces outside the control of the region's

capitalists reinforced the process of economic deprivation. The trade cycle, created by outside market forces but aggravated in its effects by the manipulations of sections of the capitalist class (particularly the speculative-opportunist small factors and dealers) in some of the region's industries, created the 'hunger and burst' system for workers. 'Hunger' situations were so severe in several years that sections of the capitalist class (the large employers), seemingly benevolent but with the reserves and an eye for the long term, forwent short-term profits to keep their workforces employed in uneconomic work.

In the 'heavy' sector industry of coal mining the falling prices of the basic industrial raw material produced competition in slow growing markets. Here the absence of real technical possibilities for cost cutting meant labour had to bear the brunt of the employer's struggle for markets and profits. Some employers shared some of the burden by stock-piling, as in the early 1840s. Until the railway building of the late 1840s and early 1850s, which reduced transport costs and opened new markets, labour was the main victim of adolescent industrial capitalism's fight for survival. In the other 'heavy' industry - iron making, poor local raw material endowment and technical uncompetitiveness made labour the victim of the struggle for profits. In this industry there was significant uneconomic working in the larger units during the 1830s and 1840s. Demand from railway construction and armaments arising in the late 1840s and early 1850s began to reverse the situation although not as dramatically as for coal.

In the 'light' sector industries of cutlery and related metal working, while some raw material costs fell, there were few technical possibilities for cost cutting to meet the challenge of foreign and domestic competition. Labour again bore the brunt of the struggle for markets and profits. Here among a class of mainly smaller scale capitalists, non-economic considerations counted less. This was also the case in the linen industry where the competition of cheaper cotton wares drove the industry further into decline, despite the advent of power loom weaving, falling raw material costs and higher quality 'fancy' work and finishing. In such a situation labour

suffered most severely although wider economic growth, generated by expanded coal mining, in the weaving districts in the late 1840s and early 1850s, provided alternative and better paid conditions for immiserated and displaced labour.

In money wage terms industrial labour throughout the region gained nothing until the end of this period. Then greater regularity of employment and re-negotiated wage rates must have lifted levels of money earnings for many to the peaks established between 1810 -14 and for some others during 1824/5. It is unlikely this was the experience for larger groups in both the 'light' and 'heavy' sectors. Workers producing lower class lines in the cutlery trades, linen weavers and coal miners did not fully share in this experience. Most workers regained at least the 1836 levels, but in real terms it is unlikely any gains were made by the mass of the labour stratum, despite the downward drift in living costs. When allowance for unemployment, underemployment and the persistence or growth of 'concealed' exploitation embodied in 'truck' or 'stuffing', heavier workloads and lost marginal earnings under a more rational system of production is made, then it is tempting to talk about the material immiseration of the labour stratum throughout the greater part of this period. When further evidence of the qualitative deterioration in the human situation implicit in the new urban context is explored then the word is more easily employed.

While the labour stratum as a whole experienced hardship, the organized class emerging from it was fighting to minimise hardship and lessened the burdens for many workers. The labour class's strength was in its industrial organization. For most of the period labour's industrial shield was raised to maintain living standards and levels of employment established in the mid 1830s. By attempts to impose worksharing, to fight machinery and particularly to create alternative employment, the struggle moved from being purely defensive as real anti-capitalist solutions were sought. Ultimately the economic dynamics of industrial capitalism in the early 1850s postponed the need for a fundamental struggle, but this postponement reflected also the

twin social-political dynamics of repression and liberalization being employed by the dominant social order.

None of this took place in a vacuum. The industrial struggles of the late 1830s and the 1840s took place while the labour class politically asserted itself through Chartism. The years 1837-39 and 1841-42 were dominated by this assertion. After 1842 it appeared that much confidence in political action was lost. A resurgence of industrial activity in the mid 1840s, marked out by the rise in the extent of industrial organization reaching to women and unskilled workers, was matched by a fuller embrace of a class programme for action regarding social and political rights, a programme which also examined and recommended proposals for re-organizing production. The optimism that surrounded the adoption of this programme was short-lived and given the power of the ruling class, illusory. Nevertheless for a moment or several moments between 1844-47, the labour class had within its grasp a revolutionary programme embracing more than just the immediate political demands of the Chartist programme and the narrow defensive 'economism' of the trades. All too soon this optimism faded in the face of repression and the economic collapse of 1847-48. In this context Chartism expended its last breath as a national force, although it had lingering influences on labour class struggle into the early 1850s. Although the dynamics of repression and liberalization were to change the character of labour class leadership in the 1850s, something of the spirit of the once 'underground civil war' which Marx claimed the struggles of the late 1830s and 1840s had brought out into the open¹, was carried over for the new generation to absorb. Much more was lost from the period of creative class association which took place during these years. While the ruling class had been thrown into panic by Chartism and the industrial self-realization of the labour class, it had regained its composure, where necessary replacing the cracked moulds of traditionalist-defence with new ones. By the end of the period a new apparatus of control was being created. The labour class, although having arisen from successive political

and industrial defeats to pursue a more industrial-based economic struggle, was now doomed to imprisonment in the new industrial society.

(A) Economy (i) Organization(a) The Sheffield cutlery and related trades

The traditional trades continued to experience the transition from merchant capitalist domination to industrial capitalist domination. Ignoring the reversal effects during the periodic crises of the period when the factor, sub-contractor and small master class re-assumed greater significance, the drift was irreversibly towards larger scale units of production and control. By the mid 1850s, amid the jungle of conflicting economic relationships, much work was still being done by outworkers with varying degrees of independence from their commercial and manufacturing employers. A decisive shift towards dependent workshop and factory based production was taking place. The despised factors still 'put out' raw materials and sub-contracted work. Beneath them a host of minor sub-contractors operated both within the production and marketing process. The group of merchant manufacturers and others controlling larger scale operations on their own premises also 'put out' work. This category of larger employers harboured the new breed of industrial capitalists who throughout the period had begun to operate from new, larger industrial premises, designated as 'works'. From the boom of the mid 1840s the number of such premises rapidly increased. Many 'works' were no more than large workshops. The largest premises, genuine factories, were often shared by several firms. This had been the practice in the first generation of urban cotton factories sixty years before.² In the mid 1850s this was still true but the trend towards larger scale production was firmly established. The 1852 directory of the town listed over 100 firms manufacturing on premises or several premises designated as 'works'. There had been under half that number in 1837 and only a quarter in 1833.³ By 1852 many of such premises were likely to contain a minimum of 100 workers. The following tables, based on directories, provide information on the question of control and scale of operation.

Table 7:1 Commercial-Industrial Leadership and the Question of Scale
In the Sheffield Cutlery and Related Metal Working Trades.⁴

<u>Categories</u>	<u>1833</u>	<u>1841</u>	<u>1852</u>
1. Number of merchant manufacturer firms	128	144	142
2. Number of specialist merchant firms	23	21	17
3. Number of those producing steel and this number as % of 1&2	39(37%)	49(40%)	58(46%)
4. Number of 1&2 and % of total manufacturing on premises designated as 'works' or 'place' and thus implying new and larger scale premises	11(10%)	19(15%)	53(42%)
5. Average number of separate production- manufacturing tasks carried out by each firm.	3.57	3.73	4.12

Table 7:2 Firms in 1852 Operating from New and Larger Premises -
Designated 'Works'.⁵

Manufacturing steel combined with tools and cutlery	49
Manufacturing cutlery only	26
Manufacturing steel only	5
Manufacturing iron, brass, hardware; forging and tilting	10
Manufacturing railway equipment only	2
Manufacturing silver and plated and Britannia ware	7
Miscellaneous	<u>3</u>
	Total <u>102</u>

There were in the Sheffield of 1850, as Pollard states, 'no more than half a dozen employers who counted their workforce in hundreds'.⁶ There was none the less a noticeable fraction of the town's 50,000 strong workforce already employed in large concentrations. This fraction may have doubled from one sixth to one third in the rapid burst of factory and workshop construction and reorganization taking place in the economic hot-house climate of the early 1850s. In this period Sheffield acquired at least a dozen more

employers who counted their workforces in hundreds.⁷

In the cutlery trades much work continued to be carried out on small premises, in rented rooms, at rented wheel space and in domestic workshops. Small scale production predominated in the largest and most depressed trades like the pen and pocket knife, table knife branches and the smaller declining scissor making branch. These branches were the most undermined by the flood of new recruits for small masterhood from the ranks of the journeymen.⁸ They were the branches where cheap apprentice labour was most widespread. The various estimates of employment and units of production shown below understate the contrast of scale in the healthy (higher value ware) and depressed (lower value) branches.

Table 7:3 Firms Listed in Directories, Estimates of Employment and Derived Ratios Relating to Average Workforce.⁹

	<u>1833</u>			<u>1851/2</u>		
	<u>Firms</u>	<u>Workforce</u>	<u>Average</u>	<u>Firms</u>	<u>Workforce</u>	<u>Average</u>
Pen and Pocket Knives	288	2680	9.3	335	4400	13.1
Table Knives and Forks	236	3689	15	263	4650	17.68
Files	70	1768	26.2	145	4500	31.6
Razors	57	754	13	111	1000	9
Scissors	130	600	4.3	119	1200	10
Saws	80	563	7	93	1000	10.75
Edge Tools	59	703	12	64	706	11.83
Average			<u>11.69</u>			<u>14.69</u>

The file, razor, saw and edge tool branches were most invaded by the large multi-ware firms of the merchant manufacturer aristocracy. Workers in these trades operated in units many times the size of the average pen, pocket or table knife manufacturing unit, where large numbers of small masters had not been included in directories.

In all branches, even amongst those dominated by smaller units, there was a tendency towards an increase in the scale of production. Even semi-independent groups of workers like the grinders experienced loss of independence and growth of the scale of operation in which they were involved as the

emphasis shifted from water-powered grinding wheels to steam powered urban ones. The growth of scale, even amongst the trades traditionally dominated by small scale production, can be further documented by looking at the growing tendency of firms to include partners. The contrast of predominantly small scale operation in the lower value ware and depressed trade with the situation in higher value and more prosperous ones is again revealed.

Table 7:4 Percentage of Firms in the Main Branches of Cutlery in which Partnerships Existed.¹⁰

	<u>1833</u>	<u>1837</u>	<u>1842</u>	<u>1852</u>
Pen and Pocket Knives	7	11	14	19
Table Knives and Forks	29	30	30	28
Files	34	50	42	51
Razors	15	24	40	45
Scissors	13	14	22	27
Saws	<u>56</u>	<u>51</u>	<u>57</u>	<u>65</u>
Average	<u>24</u>	<u>26.7</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>36</u>

Returns taken during the 1851 census provide real evidence of the extent to which cutlery workers experienced larger scale work situations. They present a contrast with other domestic metal working trades like nail making and other factory, workshop and workplace locations found in the region. The small number of returns made makes it necessary to acknowledge the returns represent an artificial sample. A valid picture may never the less be revealed.

Table 7:5 Relative Distribution(%) of Workforce in Various Scale Situations
In Some Yorkshire Industries.¹¹

<u>Industries:and % of workforce in</u> <u>different scale situations</u>	<u>Scale Situations</u>			
	<u>(Numbers of workers per firm)</u>			
	0 - 9	10 - 49	50 - 99	100+
	<u>(small)</u>	<u>(medium)</u>	<u>(med./large)</u>	<u>(large)</u>
Cutlery (based on 94 firms employing 785 workers)	29%	40%	8%	23%
White Metal(based on 43 firms employing 301 workers)	28%	23%	48%	
Nail Making (based on 30 firms employing 201 workers)	35%	65%		
Iron Founding (based on 37 firms employing 972 workers)	8%	26%	33%	33%
Flax and Linen Manufacture (spinning and weaving, based on 21 firms employing 741 workers)	1%	16%	7%	66%
Coal Mining (based on 58 firms employing 1133 workers)	10%	18%	61%	11%

These returns for cutlery give some support to the claim that at least a sixth of the town's workforce had experience of large scale work situations.

The proportions of workers carrying out specialized tasks (approximately 25% grinders, 25% forgers and strikers, and 50% hafters, finishers, cutlers, hardeners and other ancillary workers) were maintained in this period.¹²

Child labour was limited to lighter work like hafting, although boys over eleven years of age assisted in grinding. Women and girls mainly worked at the ancillary tasks. Young persons were mainly employed by journeymen to whom they were apprenticed. This practice was maintained where labour was organised. In some branches and generally at some ancillary tasks they were directly employed by the capitalist. The child was a victim of the

co-exploitation of the journeyman (his father or a relative) or the direct exploitation of the capitalist. Child labour was found in all trades but was usually more significant where journeymen's or wage workers' collective power was weakest.

One central fact regarding the situation of labour within the organized system of production was its growing organized strength. The grinding branches in most trades, except pen and pocket knife branches, were in union throughout most of the period. Most forging branches were organized continuously throughout but hafting and other ancillary sections were less effectively organized. Even in the most depressed trades, such as scissors, spring knives (pen and pocket branches) and table knives, all branches were organized in the mid 1840s. They, like the healthier trades established combined unions composed of several task groups to represent larger parts or the whole of some trades.¹³ They all participated in the short-lived bouts of inter-trade co-operation which bound together the town's non-cutlery and staple cutlery trades. Organized labour fought over wages, for employment and against the wider encroachments of employers. The experience of workers varied with branches and sections. Markets varied although many workers were still heavily dependent on the two periods of American order giving in the spring and autumn.¹⁴ They had varied success in their economic struggles which largely reflected markets and market factors. This is demonstrated in the narrative section of this chapter.

One safe generalization can be made. This is that labour was becoming proletarianized. This did not go on as rapidly as in other industrial sectors in the town or region. Independent economic status such as was held by those involved in production as sub-contractors, at lower levels through co-exploitation through employment of apprentice children by journeymen, and at the lowest levels merely by the ownership of tools, was being eradicated. Datal work was being imposed at the expense of piece rate work with the trend to workshop or factory-based working at the expense of outwork.¹⁵ Sub-contract was widespread and was involving, like

the workshop and factory work, the employment of 'stool-less' workers. The rhythms of work dictated by capitalist steam power imposed new work rhythms and the employer's notion of time-work and labour discipline. The change had begun earlier, and the overall transformation would not be fully resolved for several decades. However the 1840s and early 1850s saw the process become irreversible. The transformation was accompanied by struggle with labour in its organized class form and its disorganized stratum form. The story of organized labour's fight is more easily rescued from obscurity but the silent, sullen antagonism of the sub- or semi-conscious mass of individuals in the wider stratum can never be fully explored. Among the town's suicides, religious enthusiasts, spectator sport crowds, drunk and disorderlies and 'common criminals', some expressions of their feelings appear in sublimated form.

(b) Silver, silver plated, Britannia metal and German metal trades

These relatively newer trades, first developed outside the restrictions of corporate control several decades before, continued to provide larger scale concentrated production units which contrasted with the general scale of operation in cutlery. Large workshops and small factories predominated. Here industrial capitalists employed wage labour directly.¹⁶ The directory listings of firms and various employment estimates give some idea of the relative importance of those trades. In total they employed as many as one of the largest cutlery branches. Here, as with cutlery, there were many smaller ancillary firms partly working in silver or carrying out dependent tasks. Thus the totals presented below represent understatements.

Table 7:6 Firms in Silver, Plated and Other Mixed Metal Trades ¹⁷

<u>Silver, Silver and Plated</u>	<u>1833</u>	<u>1837</u>	<u>1842</u>	<u>1852</u>
Silver Refiners	2	3	2	2
Silversmiths and Jewellers	10	10	11	4
Silver Fruit Knives	20	20	34	24
Silver Plate Rollers	3	2	2	3
Silver and Plated Goods	24	18	18	34(15 electro-plated)
Britannia Metal/German				
Silver	14	13	16	33

Table 7:7 Employment Estimates and the Workforce in the 'Average' Unit. ¹⁸

Key: E - Employment, A - Average number of workers per firm.

	<u>1830</u>		<u>1833</u>		<u>1842/3</u>		<u>1851/2</u>	
	E	A	E	A	E	A	E	A
Silver and mixed								
metalsmiths	1339	-	1543	-	1200	-	2460	-
Metalsmiths	443	31.7	500	38.4	-	-	740	22.4

The larger units were found in the silver and plated and Britannia metal trades. The pure silver working parts of the trade were more concentrated in smaller scale units although multi-ware firms operating in branches of cutlery, silver and plated and Britannia metal incorporated pure silver workers in large scale work situations. The Cornish Place works of James Dixon, employing 400-500 workmen under one roof in the late 1840s, was engaged in such multi-ware production. Several other units in these trades having over a hundred workers appeared by the mid 1850s. This meant that at least a third of workers in such trades were in such units.¹⁹ As many workers were employed in units of fifty to a hundred workers. Thus these trades were amongst the most concentrated in the town.

The growth of scale was encouraged by a healthier market situation as much as with the nature(value) of some of the raw materials. The adoption of electro-plating in the 1840s and 1850s enabled Sheffield's semi-luxury

trades to compete with Birmingham's sections of these trades in the wide 'middle range' of the market. Sections of these trades also went for the opposite luxury and mass ends of the market. The silver and silver plated trade sold in the luxury market as they had traditionally done, and the German metal producers of spoons and general utensils went for the cheaper market.²⁰

The work processes have been looked at earlier and changed little until the adoption of electro-plating in the later 1840s. Child and apprentice labour was resisted more by organized labour in these trades and this was one reason why adult workers' wages were higher. Wages were calculated in piece terms. Female labour was concentrated in finishing and packing. Labour was more proletarian although forms of co-exploitation persisted. Few tools were owned and there was little in the way of sub-contracting.²¹

Table 7:8 Contrasts of employment in Silver and Plated with Sections of the Cutlery Trades.²²

<u>Silver and Plated</u>	<u>Saw Trade</u>	<u>File Trade</u>	<u>Spring Knife Trade</u>	
Men	69%	56%	62%	78%
Boys	11%	40%	30%	21%
Women	20%	3.1%	6.8%	1.2%

The adult male labour force in these trades was well organized with unions for silversmiths, braziers, platers, piercers and candlestick makers existing throughout the period.²³ These were trades that formed part of an 'economic aristocracy' to which only a few sections of organized labour among the general mass of the cutlery trades aspired. (e.g. the saw makers and saw grinders.) Unskilled and female labour among one section of finishers, the spoon buffers, showed brief industrial life in 1844. Like most of the unskilled activity of that year it was a flame that flickered briefly and died.

(c) Steel

The 1830s saw the expansion of steel making on the traditional basis of blister steel furnaces and cast steel (crucible) furnaces in works combining steel production with cutlery and tool manufacture. This expansion continued in the later 1840s and early 1850s, with some larger units moving towards specialist production of steel in the mid and later 1850s, to meet the demand for heavy steel castings which was prompted by the demands of the railway, other construction industries and armaments. The new technology of Bessemer, applied from the late 1850s, was to play a big part in enabling the existing Sheffield steel industry to meet this demand. In 1852 virtually all the steel makers in the town combined cutlery and tool production with steel making. Some also combined the making of railway equipment, such as buffers, axles and springs, with steel making. At least half a dozen of these producers had acquired land and partly built the large scale premises that were to fully proclaim the first dynasty of steel making industrialist bourgeoisie.²⁵

Table 7:9a Number of Firms Involved in Conversion, Refining, Rolling and Tilting Steel.²⁶

Steel	<u>1833</u>	<u>1837</u>	<u>1842</u>	<u>1852</u>
Steel Converters	26	79	84(5 works)	111(10 works)
Tilters and Rollers	16	30	30	37

Table 7:9b Number of Furnaces in Steel Making 1835-1861.²⁷

(1) <u>Blister steel</u>			(2) <u>Cast steel</u>	
	furnaces	tons produced	melt holes	tons produced
1835	56	14,000	554	7 000
1842	97	20,500	774	9 000
1846	105	26,250	974	13 000
1851	-	39,000	1250	18 000
1853	160	40,000	1495	-
1856	205	51,000	-	-

While much of the town's production was dispersed, there were several large steel producing units in the early 1850s, at least one of which was purely a steel specialist.²⁸

Table 7:10 Large Units in Steel Production 1852.²⁹

<u>Name of Firm</u>	<u>Converting Furnaces</u>	<u>Melting Furnaces</u>
William Jessop & Sons	10	120
Naylor Vickers & Co.	8	90
Sanderson Brothers & Co.	10	110
Thomas Firth & Sons	8(est)	86
Thomas Turton & Sons	11	48
Johnson Camell & Co.	<u>6</u>	<u>40</u>
	<u>53</u>	<u>494</u>

These units, allowing for the other production taking place on their sites or at other works run by the partnerships, employed at least a hundred workers each in 1850 and probably as many again. At least a third of the town's steel production can be claimed to have been manufactured in such units in the early 1850s and a trend towards larger scale situations was rapidly emerging. There were other large units not listed here.

The size of the actual workforce is difficult to estimate at this time. Its diverse nature, the system of sub-contracting for work in gangs and other characteristics have been adequately described elsewhere.³⁰ Higher wages were derived from the expansion of demand in the industry. Steelworks' labour was more diverse by task and status than the mass of cutlery trades' labour. Those at the bottom(i.e. labourers and other unskilled workers) had similar economic status to the mass of depressed cutlery workers. Such labour was truly proletarian in the sense of having no tools but it had the opportunity to sub-contract and work for a piece rate. The skilled sections were similarly proletarian but more able to bargain. They were organised within skilled exclusive craft unions with similar workers from the ironworks.³¹ The less skilled workers in new steel products such as the

railway spring makers also showed signs of organization in the late 1840s and early 1850s.³² They shared similar problems and status with the mass of cutlery workers from whose ranks many of them arose.³³

(d) Iron

While the period 1837 - 1855 almost saw a doubling of the production of pig iron in Yorkshire,³⁴ (this was proportionately reflected in South Yorkshire), the industry in South Yorkshire was troubled throughout by raw material shortage and technological backwardness. Several of the non-urban units located in the middle of the region were badly affected in this way. Despite gas pipe contracts and domestic ware demand several of the larger units were run along non-economic lines or temporarily abandoned until railway and armaments demand and better prices lifted the industry in the late 1840s.³⁵

Table 7:11 Largest Ironworks in the Region c. 1846.³⁶

	<u>annual production(tons)</u>	<u>owners - lessees</u>
Worsbrough	2,600	Field, Cooper & Co.
Thorncliffe	6,750	Chambers & Co.
Chapelton	5,200	Schofield & Co.
Park Gate, nr. Rotherham	5,200	Schofield & Co.
Elsecar	2,340	Earl Fitzwilliam
Milton	6,240	Graham & Co.
Park, nr. Sheffield	-	Booth & Co.

Directory listings of urban foundries and ironworks reveal the expansion of Rotherham's iron trade in the later 1840s as the following table suggests:

Table 7:12 Urban Ironworks(smaller capacity) and Foundries.³⁷

	<u>1833</u>	<u>1837</u>	<u>1842</u>	<u>1852</u>
Sheffield	33	40	58	73
Rotherham	3	3	10	13
Barnsley	3	4	3	3
Doncaster	-	-	-	5

While the firms operating the largest units employed labour forces exceeding one hundred (particularly allowing for colliers and ironstone getters) the small firms, even allowing for the combination of iron founding and hardware manufacture with brass founding, on average probably employed under fifty workers.

Labour was specialized and craft-skilled close to the actual production process. Subordinate tasks were carried out by labourers. The skilled were organized, particularly the moulders.³⁸ Labour as a whole was proletarianized, although sub-contract and piece work, as against dotal work, provided labour with some independence.³⁹

Several trades in Sheffield and the region as a whole worked in iron. The hardware trade was carried out in ironworks or foundry premises in Sheffield and Rotherham where stove grates and fenders were leading products.⁴⁰ Some large units employing over a hundred workers in iron hardware production were found in the late 1840s in both towns.⁴¹ Labour was organized in these trades by the 1840s.⁴² Brass and mixed metal casting was also carried out in Sheffield.⁴³ The use of wrought iron by domestically organized industry, particularly in nail and wire making, declined. To some extent factory production displaced domestic production. Nail making survived as a domestic handicraft in some of the region's rural communities like Darton, Ecclesfield, Thorpe Hesley, Chapelton and Hoyland. Wire making virtually disappeared from the Barnsley and Wortley areas but continued on larger premises in Sheffield.⁴⁴ Outworkers were rarely organized. They were semi-independent and less proletarian in character than the urban workshop or factory worker. It is unlikely they were able to realize common labour interest.

(c) Coal

This industry was in a healthier state than most of the others in the region throughout the period 1837 - 1855. Its expansion, particularly in association with the railway construction of the late 1840s and early 1850s, provided the basis of industrial 'take off' in the northern and central part of the region during the latter part of the period. Some significant growth

had already taken place in the early 1830s. The central and some southern and northern collieries had been stimulated by the extension of the existing water transport network. The railway link between Sheffield and Rotherham (opened in 1838) and the Midland line's completion by 1840 played some part in boosting the industry. The construction of the late 1840s and early 1850s was crucial to the richly endowed northern part of the region both in terms of internal transportation of coal and external transportation to the London market.⁴⁵ Data relating to sales, employment and markets is sparse. Possibly the dominant growth trend is revealed by the sales data from the Fitzwilliam estate.

Table 7:13 Coal Sales on the Fitzwilliam Estate.(Tons per annum in four year periods.)⁴⁶

<u>Progress of Railways</u>	<u>Coal Sales</u>
1834-7 Pre-railway	158,483
1838-41 Sheffield and Rotherham link to N. Midlands built.	200,209
1842-45 No additional building	168,028
1846-49 minor completions	177,114
1850-53 Major building	227,802
1854-57 Major completions	299,163*

* only 1856 data

The first short-lived surge of the late 1830s was experienced mainly by pits in the southern and central regions by pits with access to the new rail communication links. In the second surge of the late 1840s and early 1850s all areas experienced growth. This was strongest around Barnsley and its hinterland.

The labour force employed in the region's coal mining industry expanded from an estimated 2500 in 1841 to 4500 in 1851. In both 1841 and 1851 young persons (mainly males under twenty years of age) represented a third of the workforce.⁴⁷ Female and child labour, mainly confined in the past to the thin seam smaller scale pits of the western margins of the coalfield declined rapidly with the legislative interference of the early 1840s.

Collieries grew in scale. Around fifty separate employers were listed in the region's directories in the period 1837-41. A crude average of fifty workers per employer may be valid. In 1852, sixty-eight employers were listed giving an average of sixty-six workers per employer.⁴⁸ The number of collieries was greater than the number of partnerships and the workforce at the average pit much lower. Production data for 1857 (when the transformation under way in the early 1850s was more advanced) showed the number of collieries worked then to be greater than the number of employers, as well as demonstrating the new significance of the Barnsley area.

Table 7:14 Production, Collieries and Average Colliery Production, 1857.⁴⁹

	<u>Collieries</u>	<u>Production(tons)</u>	<u>Average(tons)</u>
Sheffield*	26	490 000	18,846
Rotherham*	18	458 000	25,427
Barnsley*	50	2,521,420	50,428
Penistone*	24	395 000	12,500(thin seam area)

* District unspecified

By 1851 the majority of work was carried out by concentrations of over fifty workers and there were many employers employing over one hundred workers. Ironmaster-coalmaster partnerships controlled workforces of comparable size. The 'big bourgeoisie' of industrialist employers was growing rapidly in the 1840s and 1850s.

Labour was more conclusively proletarian in character than in most of the region's other industries. In coal mining, as in all other industries, there were 'survivals' of labour's independence, or semi-independence under earlier types of capitalist production. Sub-contract, through the 'butty' or 'gang' system, the employment of child or adolescent assistants, self-provision of tools and equipment and piece rates rather than time or dotal working all represented 'survivals'.⁵⁰ Labour struggled to organize during this period.⁵¹ Gains made in the mid 1830s by miners at pit level were eroded by direct and indirect reductions in the late 1830s and early 1840s and by general economic depression. Short-time working from then until

1844 further reduced money wages. The success of the miners in 1844 in organizing at local, regional and national level was short-lived. During the mid and late 1840s, the gains (or recovery) of 1844 were eroded by reductions and short-time working. These caused the Miner's Association's influence to disintegrate and for organization to be reduced to isolated pits where a residual element of die-hards kept up the tradition of industrial struggle. The boom conditions of the early 1850s increased the regularity and the extent of employment. New labour came into the industry from the 'reserve army' of under-employed that the transitional crisis of the late 1830s had produced. It also came from those like the weavers who were structurally displaced.

(f) Linen

During this period the industry entered a period of absolute decline mainly because of the accelerated disappearance of handloom weaving. Power loom weaving and improved finishing did not halt the long term decline. In Barnsley and the surrounding villages in the northern part of the region around five thousand people actually worked in the preparation, manufacturing and finishing processes in 1841. By 1851 the number was around four thousand eight hundred. There was a definite shift in the character of this workforce towards factory type employment using power looms.

Table 7:15 Linen Manufacturers, Preparation and Finishing Employers, Looms, Loom Employment, Total Employment and Estimates of Scale in the Northern Districts.⁵² e-Estimate

	1 Linen Manufacturers		2 Dyers, Bleachers, Flax Spinners, Callenderers.		3 Looms HL PL	
1837	33		19		4000	50(e)
1852	38		16		3000	800-1000
	4 Weavers at Looms HL PL		5 Total Employment	6 Ratio of 1:4	7 Ratio of 1+2:5	
1837	4000	25(e)	5000	1:122	1:109	
1852	3000	400-500	4900	1:100	1:97	

In 1837 all but one of the 'manufacturers' employed handloom weavers on a domestic outwork basis. They centralized only their commercial and some of the finishing processes in warehouses and on other premises.⁵³ The production unit in weaving⁵⁴ was still often a family or kin group consisting of master weaver(father), two or three journeymen(sons) and one apprentice (son) who were all served by the ancillary work(preparation of yarn) of the women and children of the family. Journeymen also came from outside the family to work in the average workplace('a four loom shop') which was usually sited in the basement of the family's rented cottage. Only warehouses, bleachyards, dying premises, flax spinning and power loom weaving factories employed labour on a direct wage basis in purpose-built concentrated industrial premises. The master linen weaver was sub-contracted the task of manufacture using the manufacturer's raw materials, looms(these were often owned by the weaver) and other weaving equipment. He did this on premises he often rented from the manufacturer. The master weaver and his family were highly dependent on the manufacturer-employer but they did not represent pure proletarian labour. During the period 1837-52 and continuing into the 1850s such domestic labour continued to be proletarianized in its domestic situation and sections of it were driven into the factory. By 1852 about half Barnsley's production of linen came from 800 power looms concentrated in several large power loom factories.⁵⁵ The largest of these, Thomas Taylor's, had over 500 workers in the mid 1850s.⁵⁶ Power loom labour was lower paid and contained nearly 60% females⁵⁷. Power loom labour was moved into fancy ware production during the mid 1850s and thus it began to erode the more secure position of the remaining handloom weavers surviving on fancy work.⁵⁸ Throughout the late 1830s and the 1840s the power loom had been confined to plain ware manufacture but some shift into fancy work had begun in order to fight the competition of cotton wares. In the early 1850s, when the shift to power loom production was well under way, handloom weaving still survived. It did so not only by fancy ware specialization but also because 'handloom factories' were built onto the new generation of power loom factories built in the late 1840s⁵⁹.

Finishing, in which there was some improvement during the commercial optimism of the early 1850s, gave increased employment to the Barnsley population.⁶⁰ The rise of coal provided the greater amount of the compensation for lost employment in the linen industry. Traditionally the weavers and the colliers were separate physical types.⁶¹ Few of the adult weavers went to work in the new mines of the early 1850s.⁶² It was the young ones and the children of the later weaving generations who were to enter the subterranean caverns as mining wage slaves. For the women in the weaving districts there was the power loom factory, domestic service or various forms of full or part-time tertiary work. For both sexes and all ages work was being transferred from the home to outside locations.

During this uncompleted organizational transition the scale of operations in the industry appeared to change little. The seeming declining ratio of manufacturers to looms and the fall in the number of partnerships among employers did not suggest anything more than a slight fall in the scale of operations for the average unit. There were probably significant shifts that the average conceals. The handloom weaver employing manufacturer with few interests in preparation and finishing probably contracted his operations. The handloom weaver employer who shifted production to a power loom factory (and also kept on some handloom weavers and retained interests in preparation and finishing) probably got bigger. He may have got big enough not to need a partnership⁶³. Thus even in a declining industry several big industrialist bourgeoisie appeared and by the mid 1850s employed up to 1000 workers. Struggling below them, the majority of linen manufacturers employed an average of 40-50 people (10 families) mainly in finer weaving. These employers had on average twice as many employees in the 1830s.

While the labour process was in transition the handloom weavers remained organized and fought against further piece rate reductions and sought a return to the 1836 list prices. This they only obtained in 1853⁶⁴ because of the weakness of their organization. In the intervening period they had experienced massive discounting and an absolute decline in employment. They sought successfully to get other ancillary workers in linen manufacture

into union and to get the power loom weavers to join them. This they did and thus they were able to restrict some of the encroachments of the factory. Their market situation gave them little room for manoeuvre except in such a period of commercial prosperity as the 1850s. Their political motivation stiffened their industrial militancy but capitalist market forces, particularly those causing cotton's ascendancy, were greater than the weavers' collective power.

Among the pure wage workers in the finishing processes, particularly the bleachers, there were signs of a more proletarian industrial militancy. Their organization, as in the case of the power loom weavers, appeared to be subsidiary to that of the landloom weavers.

Index numbers (1834 and 1835 average = 100) used in Fig. 7:1

	Cutlery and Hardware	Silver	Coal
1834	90	91	87
1835	110	109	113
1836	137	136	137
1837	88	109	128
1838	90	136	142
1839	110	127	152
1840	119	126	151
1841	99	109	143
1842	85	99	128
1843	105	95	100
1844	131	121	140
1845	131	152	126
1846	131	136	148
1847	141	123	147
1848	112	100	107
1849	132	103	119
1850	159	114	121
1851	170	127	147
1852	162	123	191
1853	221	181	211
1854	233	165	213
1855	178	135	?
1856	226	149	219

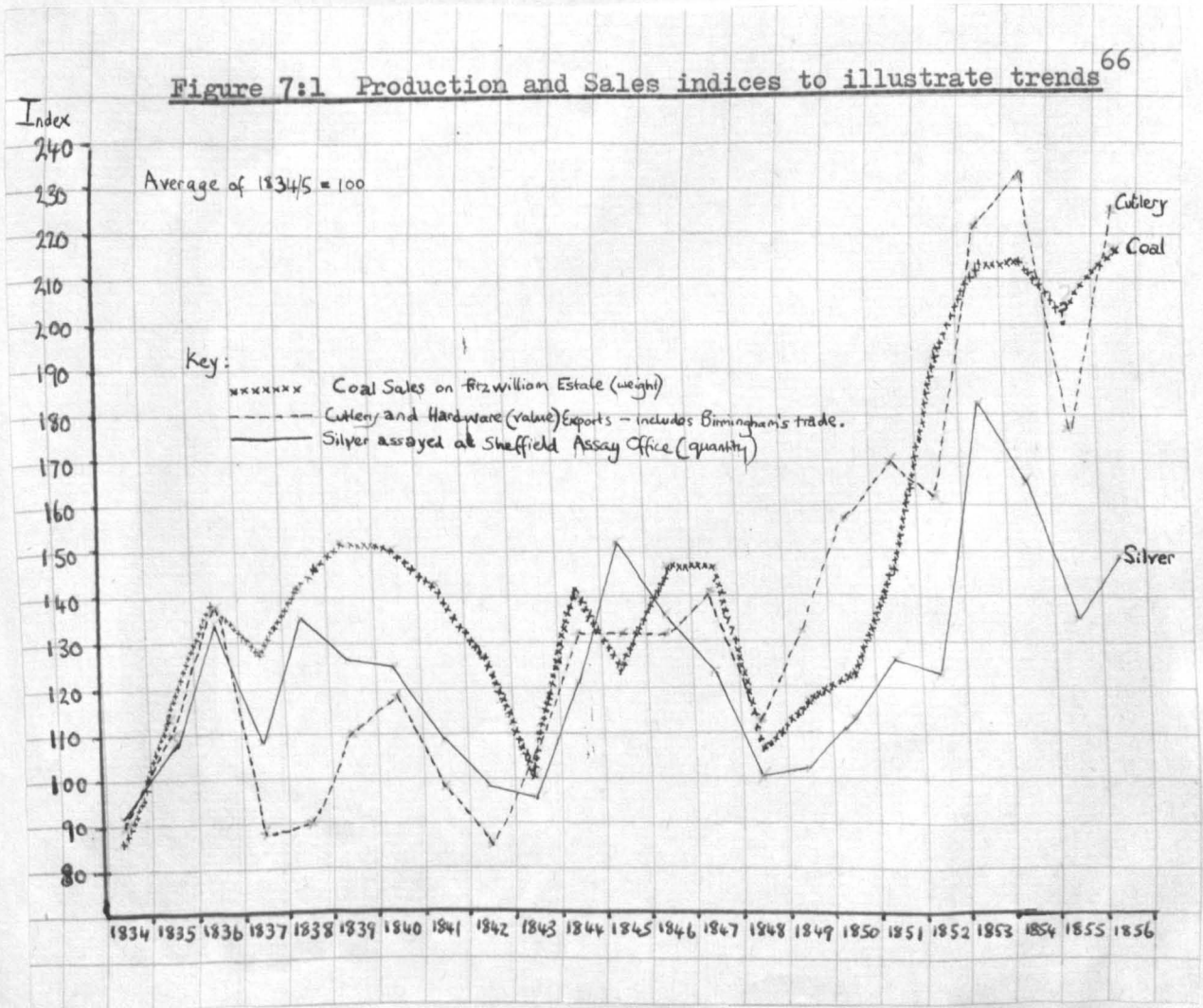
Intensified crude capitalist accumulation in the region's agricultural sector which had previously taken place through enclosure during the first three decades of the century was now completed. Only two enclosure acts were initiated in the 1830s and none in the 1840s.⁶⁷ The necessary capital for investment in the region's industrial infra-structure of transport and extractive industries was available throughout the 1840s and early 1850s despite the profits crisis experienced in most of the region's industries. The capital was held by the landed aristocracy and gentry and by the commercial and industrial capitalists.⁶⁸ Among their increasingly united (both economically and socially) ranks an industrialist bourgeoisie was shaping the future of the industrial economy by investing in secondary industry.

The growth of the region's economy was significantly influenced by investment in transport and extractive industries during the period. Rail, canal and coal mining investment were mutually inter-related. The replacement of water transport by railway transport, although far from completed by the early 1850s, invalidates most of the data from water transport companies which could have been used to illustrate regional cycles. The Barnsley Canal and the Dearne and Dove Canal companies suffered badly in

(ii) Dynamics

(a) Growth, fluctuations and living standards.

Despite the recurrence of severe economic crisis during this period the region's industrial economy underwent a rapid transformation towards industrial capitalist domination. In spite of falling prices for industrial products (including raw materials), slack demand, transport difficulties and technical problems experienced for most of the period, the heavy sector industries of coal and iron expanded. The light sector of cutlery and related metal manufacture and linen experienced greater contrasts of good and bad times. Both sectors suffered badly in the trough bottom years of 1837/8, 1839/40, 1842/3, 1848 and 1854/55.⁶⁵ In the years of depression and recovery surrounding these, levels of unemployment and underemployment were little reduced until the 1850s. Only upon the plateau of prosperity, as between 1838-9, 1844-46 and 1850-54, were there signs to induce optimism regarding improving mass living standards. These signs were few enough.



the 1840s and early 1850s because of the new railway links. The Don Navigation also suffered, first in the late 1830s and then in the late 1840s. Falling tolls partly reflect the cutting of rates to meet competition. Even in the 1850s, when the 'coal railways' were in operation, canal traffic was still essential to the working of the region's industrial economy. The railway was until the 1850s more associated with passenger traffic but then it began to make inroads into the freight traffic market. The Barnsley Canal increased its coal tonnage even during the railway boom period of the early 1850s. This related particularly to its movement of coal to eastern inland and coastal ports like Goole and Hull.⁶⁹

Table 7:16 Transport data throwing light on regional cycles.⁷⁰

(a) Tolls (£s)

	<u>Barnsley Canal</u>		<u>Don Navigation</u>
1833-5	13,013	average p.a.	1834-8 27,707 average p.a.
1836-8	15,773		1839-43 28,956
1839-41	16,050		1844-8 33,234
1842-44	13,359		
1845-47	10,197		
1848-50	7330		
1851-53	5239		
1854-56	4832		

(b) Profits (£s)

	<u>Don Navigation</u>	
1834	20,604	
1835	21,979	
1836	30,398	
1837	24,644	← Sheffield and
1838	20,778	Rotherham line built
1839	22,850	
1840	24,215	← Midland line completed
1841	21,530	
1842	20,802	
1843	20,584	
1844	20,509	
1845	22,864	
1846	23,523	
1847	27,664	
1848	26,667	
1849	22,336	← South Yorkshire, Doncaster and Goole Railway built

Transport bottleneck breaking investment in railways together with coal mining, building and steel making⁷¹ represented the most favourable prospects for

capital during the period. Such investment, particularly in house building created counter-cyclical patterns of investment and employment which lessened the impact of cyclical depression and structural transitional crisis during the late 1830s and early and late 1840s.

Among the industrial sectors individual industries provided further data which revealed the dominant pattern of economic fluctuation. Evidence from the light sector produced little ground for optimism about the health of the industrial economy of the late 1830s and 1840s. While we are accustomed to agree that the fate of the handloom weaver and his trade represent exceptional justification for pessimism concerning the industrial workforce during the Industrial Revolution, in large sections of the cutlery trades the situation of labour (and capital) was in some ways as bad. For the cutlery and related hardware trades the current value export figures reflect the trading situation throughout a large part of the Sheffield metal working trades.

Table 7:17 Current values of British cutlery and hardware exports (£'000)*72

1834	1185	1843	1766	1852	2692
1835	1833	1844	2179	1853	3665
1836	2271	1845	2183	1854	3868
1837	1459	1846	2181	1855	2960
1838	1498	1847	2342	1856	3747
1839	1829	1848	1860		
1840	1349	1849	2201		
1841	1624	1850	2641		
1842	1398	1851	2827		

* Includes Birmingham's export trade
 .Between $\frac{1}{2}$ - $\frac{3}{4}$ of Sheffield's production was exported in the 1830s and 40s.

The amount of silver assayed for use in the town's silver trades appeared to fluctuate in similar fashion:

Table 7:18 Silver assayed at Sheffield Assay Office 1835-55 (troy pounds)

1834	3401	1841	4086	1848	3746	1855	5066
1835	4094	1842	3723	1849	3867		
1836	5125	1843	3582	1850	4272		
1837	4085	1844	4549	1851	4773		
1838	5091	1845	5705	1852	4606		
1839	4782	1846	5114	1853	6784		
1840	4742	1847	4630	1854	6194		

The larger silver plated, Britannia metal, German silver, steel making and miscellaneous other metal trades left no indicator of the fluctuations they were subject to. Many of these were regarded as in a much healthier state than the major branches of cutlery manufacture.⁷⁴ These trades probably

experienced the same less violent fluctuations that the silver trade experienced .Expenditure on poor relief(both in and out relief) by the parish of Sheffield and its various Poor Law Unions further illustrated the contrast of good and bad years although the heavy expenditures of organized labour in the worst years partly reduces the full contrast.

Table 7:19 Sheffield Parish and Poor Law Union—data relating to poor relief.⁷⁵

(a) Expenditure of Sheffield Parish 1834-42(Vestry expenditure,£s in year running from Easter-Easter)

1834-35	6079
1835-36	-
1836-37	10,458
1837-38	14,084
1838-39	15,516
1839-40	18,065
1840-41	23,802
1841-42	23,716

(b) Expenditure of Sheffield Poor Law Union (£s expended in full year Jan.-Dec.)

1841	21,466	1847	21,307
1842	20,725	1848	26,187
1843	42,576	1849	37,220
1844	33,707	1850	26,455
1845	27,361	1852-3	19,000 (Easter to Easter)
1846	22,082	1853-4	23,000 (Easter to Easter)

(c) Sheffield Poor Law Union- 'numbers on the books for the month of February'.

1846	1732 persons	1852	3754
1847	2133	1853	3372
1848	2322	1854	3455
1849	5184	1855	4393
1850	4390		
1851	3957		

The welfare activity of the organized trades was very significant in reducing levels of public expenditure throughout the period . Between 1837-40 ten of the best organized trades had through the welfare activity of trade unions spent £29,000 in relieving unemployed members.⁷⁶ Expenditure was significant during the late 1840s. Between 1848-50 the largest and best organized trade, the file trade, spent £15,000 on maintaining its unemployed.⁷⁷ Much of the surplus of labour was absorbed by the action of organized labour but the numbers in the workhouses of Sheffield Union and the numbers on able bodied out-relief increased dramatically during periods of major crisis. Data on expenditure and receipts for the Sheffield and Ecclesall Bierlow Poor Law Unions (which covered Sheffield parish) were

regularly published until the economic collapse of 1848. The fact of the absence of published data from April 1848 almost speaks for itself. The earlier data does not record the number of the inmates of smaller workhouses on a regular basis but estimates based on later data shows that in the deepest periods of economic crisis such as August 1842 and April-May 1848 something like 2000 able bodied adult males received out-relief in Sheffield parish and that in the same area the various workhouses held 1000-1500 mixed category recipients of in-relief. Massive out-relief giving was only a feature of the crisis period 1840-43 and the period 1847-48. In-relief data showed high levels (500 + in all workhouses) from late 1837 onwards until the mid 1840s.⁷⁸

Throughout the period the workhouse provided the members of the labour stratum with a deterrent institution despite the only partial implementation of the Poor Law Amendment Act in Sheffield. The 'parish wage' or scale of out-relief was one of the means used by employers to force wages down. In the worst months of 1842 this 'wage' was reduced. Its nature and amount during the year are crucial to appreciating the situation of the mass of the town's industrial workers during the hard years of the earlier 1840s and the last years of that decade. The information below, when seen in the context of budgetary material found later in this section, almost speaks for itself.

Table 7:20 Sheffield's 'parish wage' or out-relief scale during 1842-43.⁷⁹

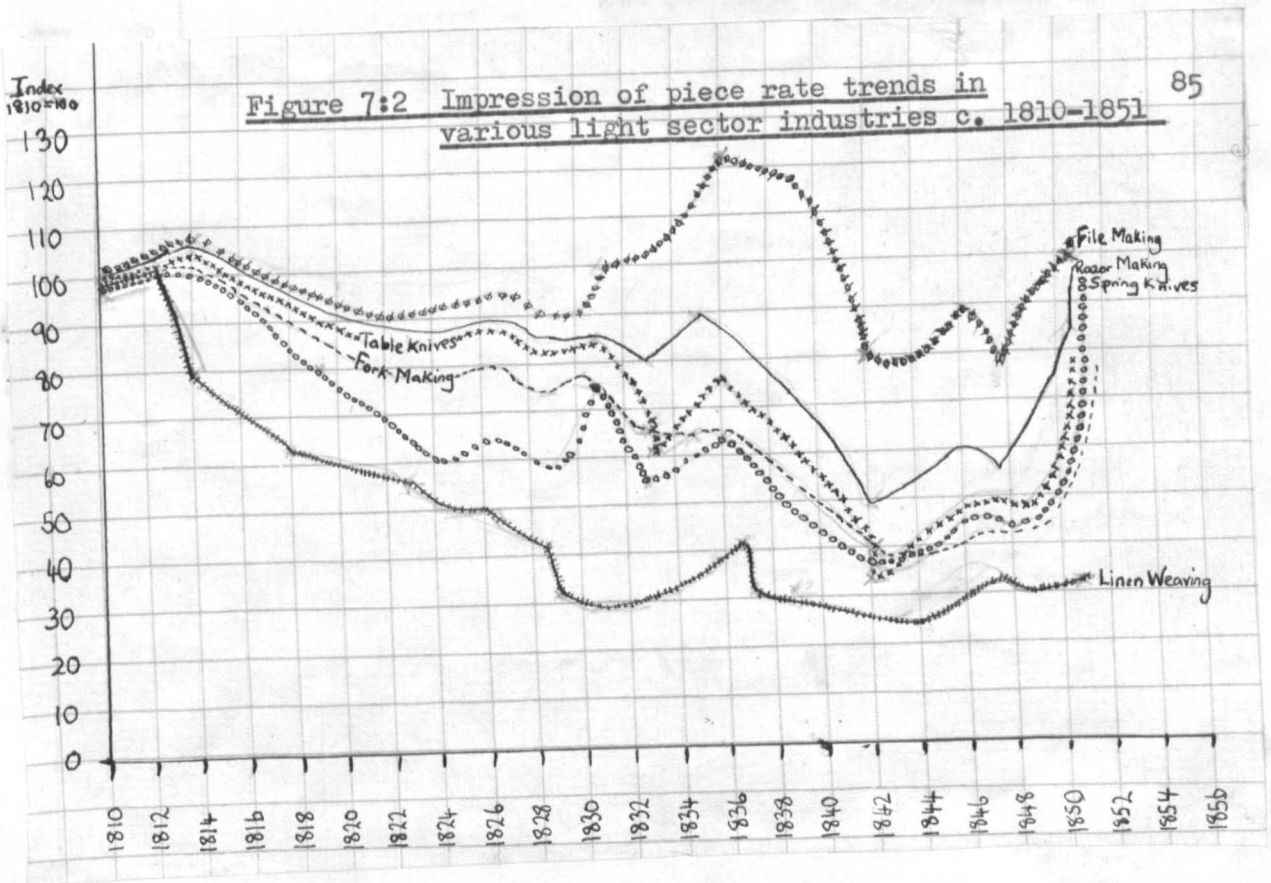
	<u>Scale Jan.,-Sept., 1842</u>	<u>Sept.,-Dec., 1842</u>	<u>Jan., 1843</u>		
	3s 6d (half in cash)	3s (half in cash)	cash 1s 6d	bread 9lbs	soup 3 pts
Single Man per week	3s 6d (half in cash)	3s (half in cash)	1s 6d	9lbs	3 pts
Man and Wife	5s "	4s "	2s	12lbs	4pts
Man, Wife and one child	7s "	6s 6d "	2s 6d	15lbs	5pts
Man, Wife and two children	8s 6d "	7s 6d	3s	18lbs	6pts
Man, Wife and three children	9s 6d "	8s 6d	3s 6d	21lbs	7pts
Man, Wife and four children	-	-	4s	24lbs	8pts

Many workers and their dependent families existed outside 'official' (both local public authorities and trade union/friendly/benefit bodies) relief giving systems. Private and public charity provided for some of these during the periodic bouts of severe distress such as was seen in the winters

of 1837/8, 1839/40 and during large parts of 1841,1842, 1843,1847, 1848, 1849 and 1854/55.⁸⁰ Partial employment kept many at near 'parish wage' levels. These were levels where it was still possible to maintain a hungry independence for themselves and their families. At the base of the labouring stratum the 'street poor' grubbed out marginal existences for themselves by hawking petty wares, gathering firewood and other life sustaining street debris. For the women and children in this area of the stratum, as amongst those found in the intermediate mass, there were often only the opportunities offered by prostitution and crime to enable these unfortunates to contribute to the labouring family's income. In every sub-strata of the labour stratum alcohol provided a necessary anaesthetic.⁸¹

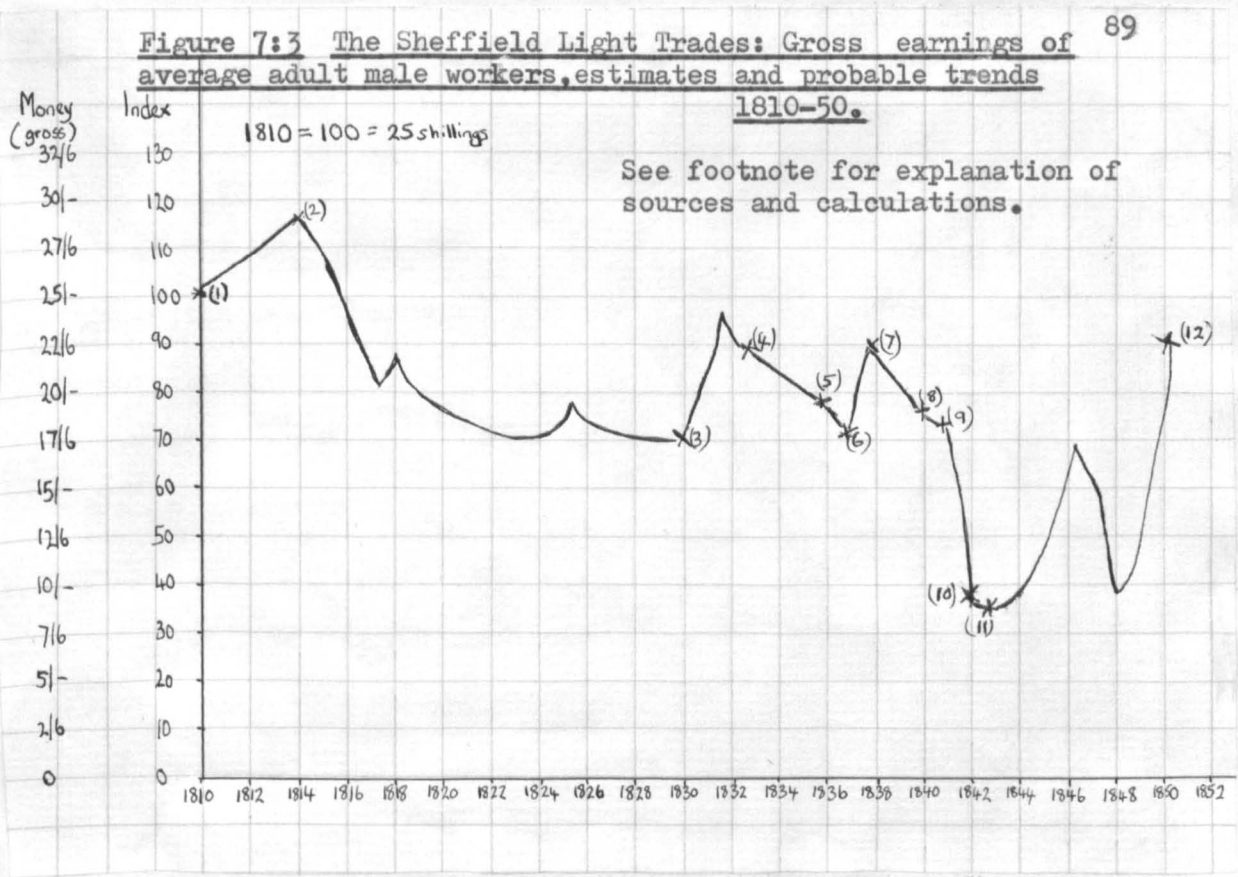
Similar conclusions could be drawn in looking at the the various labouring sub-strata in Barnsley, a town dominated by an even worse affected light sector industry. The linen trade and local poor relief agencies left behind no body of consistent data regarding fluctuations in the local economy. The body of information on piece rates (the best for all the region's industries) suggests the suffering of the weaving population⁸². The Fitzwilliam sales figures reveal the dominant market pattern regarding coal, a commodity which provided the main grounds for optimism for the future of the region's industrial economy. Given the atypicality of the individual ironworks it is difficult to draw conclusions from the limited data. In both coalmining and iron making the role of the capitalist, particularly regarding his capacity to stockpile and also his wider control over his workforce, could ensure economic crisis was less severely felt among the workforce. In the heavy trades the organization of labour into trade unions did little to mitigate the hardships borne. The paternalism of employers, particularly over housing(and occasionally welfare), provided a greater degree of security for the deferential(and productive) worker than the trade union did. The power of employers over communities which were almost purpose built to house the particular labour forces was crucial. This was power that was not just economically reinforced. Any extra security the worker had in such communities was obtained at a cost that was high in terms of personal freedom.⁸³

Some attempt must be made to look at the issue of wage/piece rate levels, earnings and employment in the region's light sector industries. The available data is scattered, inconsistent and often extremely inadequate. Official lists for various work processes in various branches of cutlery manufacture exist for various years (years of re-negotiation) but many important ones are missing.⁸⁴ Newspaper reports of strikes and other more routine industrial matters as well as a scattering of official statistics make it possible for some piece rate trends (particularly reflecting discounted levels of official list prices) to be established. Taking the years 1810-14 as a base the trend is significantly downward.



Similar sources and early social surveys⁸⁶ provide some figures regarding gross earnings. It is difficult to establish the net money wage given the variability of deductions. The trend in gross earnings among the Sheffield cutlery trades reflected the trend in piece rates. Additional work demands in light sector industries generally meant that piece rate trends understated the fall in gross earnings. The fall in gross earnings was

worsened by the more rational ordering of production. Payments for marginal work and traditional benefits like the fent or odd finished pieces from the metalworking trades' dozen were eliminated.⁸⁷ Net earnings, bearing in mind the rising cost of rent on work premises, tools and equipment, were subject to even more downward pressure for most of the period.⁸⁸ The various sets of data for gross earnings of different groups (these were large and representative groups) of Sheffield workers can be assembled and constructively employed to suggest the probable course of average adult male gross earnings in the town from 1810 into the early 1850s.



Such averages concealed the contrasts between the relatively prosperous and the depressed trades and also the contrasts of experience between workers in the same trades i.e. the range in the figures cited below for the two prosperous trades (silver plated and saw making) and the two traditionally depressed ones (spring and table knives)

Table 7:21 Contrasts in the ranges of gross earnings of typical prosperous and traditionally depressed Sheffield trades showing variation within individual trades and their sub-divisions for 1850-55.

(A) Prosperous high value ware producing trades.

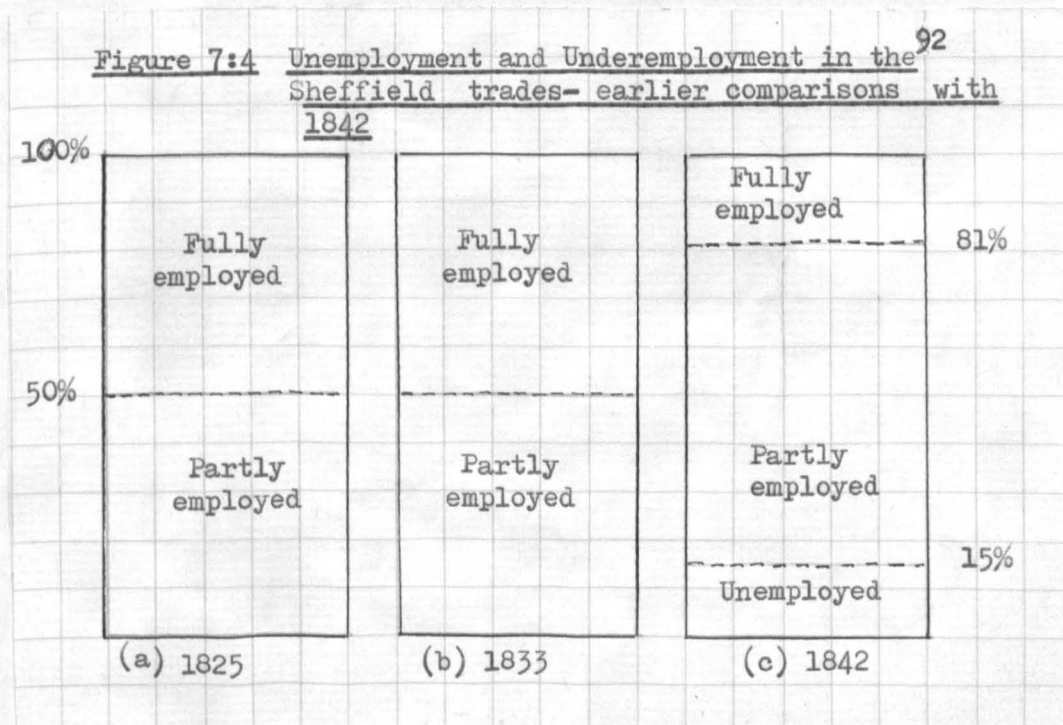
- (i) Silver Plated: Braziers, 33-40s per week; Pierce workers, 25-30s; Finishers and Polishers, 24-40s; Chasers and Engravers, 30-48 s.
- (ii) Saw Manufacture: Forgers, smiths, 28-35s per week; Grinders, 40-60s; Handle makers, 24-30s.

(B) Traditionally depressed, lower value ware producing trades.

- (i) Spring knives: Forgers, smiths, 18-35 s per week; Grinders, 20-40s; Hafters, cutlers, 16-30s.
- (ii) Table knives: Forgers, 27-40s per week; Grinders, 27-32s; Hafters, cutlers, 17-27s.

The linen weavers of Barnsley and the weaving villages clustered in the north western corner of the region were in a situation similar to that of the most inferior sections of the cutlery trades. No earnings data is revealed by a limited range of source material. The 1841/2 average gross figure of 10 shillings per week was probably representative of the average for most of the period although fuller employment, despite falling piece rates, may have lifted this average in the mid 1840s.⁹¹

Underemployment was a persistent reality in the region's light trades throughout most of the period. Unemployment was a less marked feature of labouring experience in the region's industrial economy even in 1842.



Underemployment meant working anything from one to four days per week. Beyond ~~stating~~ this it is difficult to make any comment on its nature and frequency. While the situation in 1842 was abnormal, high levels of underemployment were a normal condition of the metal working and linen weaving districts. Only in the mid 1830s, the mid 1840s and the early 1850s, under conditions of relative market prosperity, was it likely that the level fell below the 50% figure existing in 1825 and 1833 (one 'good' and one 'bad' year). How far towards 'full employment' the industrial economy went at such times is impossible to say. Throughout the 'high capitalism' of the 1850s and 1860s and beyond into the years immediately before 1914 this was never the situation in the national economy. It is unlikely that it ever was in the regional one despite the twin dynamics of steel and coal.

Given the levels of money earnings achieved in the light sector in the mid 1830s or the higher ones achieved between 1810-14, it is claimed that the majority of industrial workers experienced a downward drift in terms of piece rates, gross and net money earnings and that this was accompanied by, and part consequence of, underemployment and 'invisible exploitation' (as embodied in 'truck', 'stuffing', increased work demands hidden in the price list and loss of payments for marginal work). The recovery of the mid 1840s and early 1850s significantly halted this trend. Even so, calculations of average gross earnings for 1833 and 1850 (1833 was the year before the higher mid 1830s levels were achieved and 1850 was the first and least convincing of the good early 1850s years-- on the whole the comparison is weighted towards showing improvement but it still does not), using weightings for individual trades (according to size) and using a weighted distribution to allow for the ranges of work within trades, shows no change in average adult male gross earnings (23.47 shillings per week in 1833; 23.72 shillings per week in 1850)⁹³. We do not know if costs or deductions rose much or at all. Rents and some raw material costs borne by labour may have risen but may have been offset by the downward drift in the prices of other commodities consumed. In the Sheffield trades deductions ranged around the 20%-33% mark but varied enormously within trades and between them.⁹⁴ Average net earnings of linen

weavers and many of the big battalions in cutlery and related metal working fell well below the earnings necessary to avoid forms of secondary poverty and in periodic bouts of crisis below the levels to avoid forms of primary poverty.⁹⁴ Factors like local price trends and family size were crucial.

There are few local indicators of price trends. National series of price trends (showing wholesale not retail trends) reveal a mild downward drift of wholesale prices. The Gayer, Rostow and Schwartz figures relating to 'wholesale prices of domestic and imported commodities' represent the trend:

Table 7:22 GRS index 1835-1850⁹⁵
(1821-5=100)

1835	84	1843	79
1836	95	1844	81
1837	94	1845	83
1838	98	1846	86
1839	104	1847	97
1840	102	1848	82
1841	98	1849	74
1842	88	1850	74

The drift indicated here continued into the early 1850s. What is fairly obvious is that taking the mid 1830s levels there was no discernible fall in wholesale (and very likely retail) prices until the mid 1840s. Local data on basic food commodity prices (although it is based on contract prices) shows the upward movement of flour and meat prices in the earlier part of the period.

Table 7:23 Sheffield Poor Law Union contract prices for flour and beef⁹⁶

	Flour (price per stone)	Beef (price per stone)
1835	1s 7d	5s 6½d
1836	1s 5d	5s 2½d
1837	2s	6s 7½d
1838	2s 3½d	6s 4½d
1839	2s 7½d	5s 9d
1840	2s 8d	6s 4d
1841	2s 9d	6s 6½d
1842	2s 7d	6s 6d

Labour class budgets for light sector workers in 1837 (ideal than actual) reveal the cost of maintaining a family in tolerable comfort :

Table 7:24 Budgets for a cutler, a filesmith and a handloom weaver with families c. 1837⁹⁷

- (a) Weekly family budget of a cutler earning 12 shillings per week (net?) like 'thousands of families'. He had a wife and five children.

<u>Commodity</u>	<u>Quantity</u>	<u>Cost</u>	
Flour	-2 $\frac{3}{4}$ stone with yeast	6s	8d
Meat	-1 lb per head per week	4s	-
Butter		1s	-
Tea			6d
Sugar			7d
Milk		1s	9d
Potatoes			9d
Soap and candles			9d
Beer		1s	-
Shoes		1s	9d
All other clothing		3s	6d
Coals		1s	-
Rent		2s	-
Medicine ,repair, furniture, bedding		1s	6d
		<hr/>	
		£1	6s 9d

- (b) Weekly family budget of a filesmith. He had a family of a wife and two children

Bread	3s	4d
Meat	4s	-
Groceries	3s	-
Milk	1s	5 $\frac{1}{2}$ d
Ale	2s	4d
Coals	1s	6d
Rent	2s	11d
Clothing	4s	2d
Sick Club		4 $\frac{1}{2}$ d
		<hr/>
		£1 3s 1d

- (c) Weekly family budget of a handloom weaver . He had a wife and six children

Flour	- 3 stone	6s	6d
Oatmeal			6d
Meat		3s	-
Potatoes			9d
Butter			7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d
Sugar		1s	-
Tea			6d
Candles			9d
Soap			7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d
Milk		1s	2d
Lard			4d
Sundries		1s	-
Rent		3s	-
Taxes			3d
		<hr/>	
		£1	1s 0d

These budgets are interesting in many ways. They reveal the high carbohydrate content of diets among the local urban workers and the main items (in terms of cost) of food expenditure. These budgets were ideal rather than actual. The filesmith appeared superior to the others in

terms of his consumption and expenditure. His trade was in a better situation than that of the average cutler or the handloom weaver. The relative expenditures on meat per head per week among the three families is most revealing of the general contrast of the situations of the different workers:

Table 7:25 Meat and basic food expenditure per head per week in three types of labouring families.

	<u>Meat</u>	<u>Flour, oatmeal, Potatoes.</u>
Cutler's family	7d	1s 1d
Filesmith's family	1s -	10d
Handloom weaver's family	4½d	11½d

The budgets were ideal rather than actual. They may have accorded with the reality of the better times experienced in the middle and later middle 1830s when wages were better and prices were lower. Even then net earnings of the main breadwinner had to be supplemented by those of the young males and perhaps the wife. Female employment in better paid industrial work was not as available as in many of the newer industrial towns in other regions. The factory's appearance in the metal working and linen weaving districts did help to create more of this type of employment in the later 1840s and the earlier 1850s.⁹⁸ Throughout the majority of the period 1837-55 labouring families had to struggle for subsistence at levels well below these ideals. Despite the downward drift of prices and the more regular patterns of employment established in the mid 1840s and the early 1850s, these 1837 budgets were unrealizable ideals for most workers in the light sector until the mid 1850s. The 'economic aristocracy' of labour which had the earning capacity to reach these consumption levels began to grow in the early 1850s at a time when even long depressed branches of the cutlery trades like spring knife manufacture began to experience revival.⁹⁹ Below the 'aristocracy' and various intermediate labouring strata there were workers in sections of trades or whole trades (like linen weaving and fork making) who experienced protracted immiseration measured both in terms of the supposed higher real living standard levels established between 1810-14(perhaps an artificially

high one) or between 1835-36. Short-lived and fuller recovery was experienced by a vast intermediate body in the labouring stratum in the mid 1840s and early 1850s. Yet on the whole labour bore the cost of industrial transition in the light trades. The cost was not borne without a fight. The organized trades used their powers of restricting output and employment in order to maintain a 'moral wage' in opposition to the 'market wage' and the 'parish wage' levels which the employers sought to drive labour down to. To combat this the organized labour class paid a 'social wage' in terms of unemployment benefits. The 'market' and 'parish' wage levels provided the dominant economic ruling in the industrial economy of the mid 1850s but commercial prosperity and labour class struggle pushed the former upwards and rendered the latter a less useful weapon for the capitalist employer.¹⁰⁰

(c) Concrete reality- living standards in the heavy sector.

Data regarding piece rates, earnings (gross and net) and unemployment in the growing heavy sector of iron making and coal mining (but including some new steel workers) are limited. There are some usable data for coal mining which are examined below. The situation of ironworks' labour varied enormously with the employer, his market and his industrial location (be it urban or rural) in the region. Within the ironworks or foundry unit there were many highly paid workers and all workers might be cushioned by an employer who controlled his workforce's social as well as economic situation. The crisis of 1842 particularly hit the iron industry and raw material and partnership problems dogged several firms at various times in the late 1830s and in the 1840s. The late 1840s saw a general upsurge in the local industry which brought prosperity not only to the urban ironworks and foundries in Sheffield and Rotherham but also to the more isolated ironworks-coalmining communities of the central part of the region.¹⁰¹ Groups like moulders, furnacemen, modelmakers and some of the stove grate workers (fitters) were as well or better paid than those workers composing Sheffield's metal working 'aristocracy' 'Britannia metalsmiths, silver plate workers, workers in the file trade'.¹⁰² As to the condition of general

labourers and dependent ironstone getters less is known.¹⁰³ In steel making which was becoming increasingly large scale in the period a similar hierarchy of skilled workers was in existence. Here gang work brought benefits for key men but as in the ironworks and larger foundries the condition of the unskilled or general labour is not known.¹⁰⁴

The collieries of the region, their experience of relative prosperity and the position of labour employed in them is better documented. The influence of the railway on the production and sales of one of the region's largest producers is revealed in Table 7:13. The same influence was shared by producers in the southern and northern coal mining districts of the region. How much did the collier population share in the expansion of the late 1840s and early 1850s? How much had they suffered before? The evidence available suggests that while employment expanded throughout the latter part of the period 1837-55 the labour force faced hardship throughout. The depression of trade during the later 1830s and early 1840s was offset by stockpiling and some paternalistic action by employers until 1841. Underemployment was prevalent and in 1841 and 1842 was acute. Piece rates were subject to downward pressure until 1844.¹⁰⁵ Labour's industrial victory of that year was short-lived and rates and earnings, despite fuller employment in the mid 1840s, drifted downwards again or showed no signs of improvement. The years 1847-49 saw the mining labour force in a depressed condition and braver sections of it trying to enforce short time working to maintain earnings.¹⁰⁶ The boom conditions of the early 1850s may have improved the situation. More likely, rates and earnings were stable or slightly reduced by the influx of willing labour - sons of handloom weavers, agricultural labour, construction labour and other components of the region's 'reserve army' of underemployed or unemployed workers.

The debate between labour and capital during the 1844 strike provided data on piece rates and conditions under which earnings were made and pointed out the forms of 'invisible exploitation' that labour was subjected to. These forms included increased demands for work by increasing the number and size of corves in a 'waggon', using riddles with a wider mesh, withdrawal of payments for marginal work and also truck payment in company

shops. The dialogue between the 600-odd colliers employed in the Sheffield Coal Company's pits and their employers threw up the following information on the course of piece rates over a twenty year period:

Table 7:26 Piece rates(per waggon of 20 sorves) paid by the Sheffield Coal Company 1825-44

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<u>Type of coal</u>	<u>1825/6</u>	<u>1827</u>	<u>1833</u>	<u>1844(pre-strike)</u>
Hard coals	5s 2d	4s 1d	4s 4d	4s 4d
Medium coals	3s 5d	2s 5d	1s 6d	1s 6d
Domestic coals	3s 7d	2s 9d	9½d	9½d

The 1825/6 prices provided the high point of the 1820s. They were rapidly reduced within a year but what was accepted as a reasonable level was maintained until 1833 when reductions were made in medium and domestic coal working prices. An advance was obtained in 1836/7 but lost again within a year. The lowered prices were thus maintained until a short-lived increase followed the 1844 strike (the Coal Company men were last back and may have obtained little or no increase).¹⁰⁸ The downward drift of prices through 1837-44 was accompanied by increased 'invisible exploitation' (particularly invisible to the historian who ignores the voices of the working class). Corves increased in capacity from five to six hundredweights and marginal work like 'clearing dirt and bind' which was paid for at the rate of three shillings a day in 1833 was from the late 1830s carried out unrewarded. Burland, the Barnsley chronicler of these times, noted a similar deterioration of payments for 'hurring slack' in the pits of the northern part of the region. The Sheffield Coal Company's colliers had an ideal of a 22-24 shilling, five and a half to six day week of eight hour days. They claimed in 1844 that they had been receiving on average nine shillings per week gross for the last two years.¹¹⁰ The ideal was the normal for one of the 'middle men' or average workers. The colliers also recognized the existence of younger and fitter men, 'the racehorse bred men', who might earn five shillings a day. They also knew that among their body there were less able, often older men - 'the lame, old and lazy' - who earned below average.¹¹¹ The fact they wanted a 20% rise in rates suggests the magnitude of the actual reduction experienced from the 1836/7 levels or the 1825/6 levels. Trends in rates and

earnings do not coincide entirely because of the depression of the the trade in the years immediately before 1844. The colliers acknowledged this as contributing to their pre-strike condition but they saw the rising market of the mid 1840s recovery and wanted to share the benefits. Data from records of another large employer(with 80-112 colliers listed in his wage books during 1836-46), this time in the northern part of the region (the Clarke collieries), reveals how rates held up relatively but how earnings fell:

Table 7:27 Piece rates and gross earnings of colliers at the Clarke collieries 1835-1846.¹¹²

	<u>Piece rates</u> (calculated from a random sample of 100 'yards' of work listed for October of each year-in pence per yard)	<u>Gross Earnings</u> (average per man per 10-12 day period within the month of October)
1835	20d	£3.28
1836	22.7d	£3.03
1837	26.4d -increased by labour demand	£3.01
1838	19.1d -rapidly reduced by employer	£2.66
1839	21.4d	£2.75
1840	20.4d	£3.06
1843	20.7d	£2.48
1844	25d -significant 20% rise the	£2.85
1845	26.4d result of the strike	£1.68
1846	23.48d-gains begin to be clawed back	£1.81

It has proved difficult to examine what happened to rates and earnings during the later 1840s and the 1850s. The 1846 figures confirm some of the pessimistic claims that have been made regarding the position of workers in the heavy sector. Some recovery in rates, but more certainly in earnings, will have taken place in the early 1850s.

Net wages, allowing for deductions including housing and the cost of trading at company shops(a necessity in many closed and isolated colliery communities) , are difficult to calculate. The collier's family income was the key to the earnings -expenditure equation . Budgets for four collier families in Flockton(a village on the northern edge of the region which was situated on the western thin seam coalfield margin in the region) taken in

1841 reveal a lower expenditure on meat than was found in the budgets 434. shown for workers in the light sector. However two of the families kept pigs (10 and 12 stones of meat respectively- which they killed at Christmas. All the collier families lived in cheaper accommodation (rents of 8d-1s per week) than was expected in Sheffield and Barnsley (2s-3s for Sheffield and 3s for Barnsley) and all the homes contained a variety of furniture including books, clocks, candlesticks and 'easy chairs'. Conditions would be similar for other colliers in the region. They would probably be better in many cases for the Flockton seam and other thin seams on which the Flockton men worked were some of the least productive in the region. Conditions for colliers were affected by specific local factors. Some contrast might be profitably made between the situation of the urban collier living in a more diverse labouring community and the collier living in a closed, occupationally more homogeneous coal mining - iron making community such as were beginning to appear in the northern (Barnsley area), central and southern (south-east of Sheffield) parts of the region. The urban collier paid a higher rent. If an eye witness account of the collier population of Sheffield's Park district in 1848 is anything to go by they were as wretched a group of workers as any others in the district.¹¹⁴

(d) Labour Class living standards 1837-55; Pessimism confronts optimism

With all workers, age, physical condition, the size of family, its earning and consumption capacity must be taken into account with data on earnings and retail prices in order to pronounce on the question of living standards.¹¹⁵ Only limited data is available to make statements about various groups of industrial workers found in the region. This data supports a pessimistic interpretation of the experience of the bulk of the industrial workforce. This pronouncement is reinforced by a later evaluation of qualitative change in the work and home environment which is made at the end of this chapter. Before concluding this section we need to remind bourgeois historians that they should try to understand the cruel 'life-chance' cycles which operated in the labouring world and not

continue to misleadingly try to justify their optimistic views by concentrating on peripheral and unrepresentative aspects of labouring life. To give some substance to ^{this} critical view a brief attempt is made to outline the course of the most basic economic-material 'life chance' cycle. This leads on to a short confrontation with some of the sort of evidence that 'optimists' have often relied upon to justify their own position.

The basic economic-material cycle was affected by biological and physiological processes (aging), social processes (the evolution of family networks through spontaneous or instinctive means as well as their forced development) and economic processes (work opportunities and work situation). The typical cycle is followed through from the viewpoint of the male worker although this is not the only correct way of doing it.

After a dependent childhood when the young male worker had contributed to his parents' family income the young male worker left home and enjoyed a brief period of independence and relative (in terms of his total life experience) prosperity as a single man or even a young married man near to the peak of his earning capacity. The appearance of a wife who, while working, was partly dependent, and eventually children, began to add material demands upon the worker as he arrived at his physical peak and his full earning capacity. When the children grew up, they and an unburdened wife could work to compensate for the decreased earnings of an aging worker-father. When the children left to begin their own married life cycles the parents, beyond their earnings capacity peak, began to face up to the hardship of old age in labouring life. Workhouse incarceration awaited many aging workers and their wives or widows. This was a fate that could be shared by any 'latecomer' into the family. Beyond the workhouse the shame of the pauper's grave grimly haunted first the aged worker and then his widow.

The cycle did not take place under ideal conditions. Key members of the family died 'prematurely' and underemployment and periodic unemployment tortured the worker and his family through an all too brief period of togetherness. The dynamics took place beneath a low and fixed ceiling of political, economic and social-cultural opportunity. For many, as has

been stated before, the only escape was through fatalist resignation. More demographic and biographical work is required before the cycle can be described and analysed with any precision.

Respectable workers who are somehow immune from these debilitating strains are the principal witnesses called upon by bourgeois historians to vindicate their optimism about the condition of the labouring population. Their economic behaviour relating to production, consumption and saving is particularly emphasized. It is the representativeness of this last aspect of their behaviour that is taken up below.

When the question of the actual numbers of labour class savers and their occupational background is actually investigated it can be seen that only a few workers in the most prosperous or industrially organized trades in the region were able to save on a regular and institutionalized basis. Data from the Sheffield Savings Bank in 1843 reveals the occupational groups or sub-groups most able to save in the town and in its metal working-coal mining hinterland:

Table 7:29 Occupations of Savings Bank depositors as a percentage of their occupational groups in Sheffield and its hinterland, 1843.¹¹⁶

<u>Industrial workers in staple trades</u>	<u>General trades</u>	<u>Dependent services</u>	<u>Heavy trades</u>
Cutlers 4.16%	Shoemakers 3%	Gardeners 13%	Colliers 9%
Filesmiths 2.73%	Tailors 4%	Coachmen 100%	
Saw makers 16%	Blacksmiths 8%	Servants 46%	
Saw handle mkr's 8%	Wheelwrights 16%		
Metalsmiths 8%	Millwrights 12%		
Platers 68%	Cabinet mkr's 5%		
	Joiners 6%		
	Labourers 13%		
	Slaters 5%		

These figures are all we have and they conceal as much as they reveal about labour class patterns of saving. Many of those included above were small masters or petty capitalists. It follows that an even greater majority of workers could not regularly save on this basis in 1843. The industrial economy did experience some improvement and this is reflected in the number of new accounts that were opened. The following tables contain information relevant to this expansion:

Table 7:29 Savings bank accounts in Sheffield 1834-1855¹¹⁷(a) Sheffield Savings Bank, accounts and total deposits

	<u>Number of deposits</u>	<u>Number of friendly society deposits</u>	<u>Total deposits (£s)</u>
1834	4741	?	104,011
1835	4020	?	126,094
1836	4791	36	147,136
1837	4827	?	146,302
1838	5046	45	152,560
1839	5128	32	152,534
1840	5284	30	158,360
1841	5284	40	161,965
1842	5257	48	162,170
1843	5836	53	162,674
1844	-	-	-
1845	6984	68	186,852
1846	7312	76	204,400
1847	7084	95	207,093
1848	7297	46	199,514
1849	-	-	203,457
1850	8346	77	214,855
1851	10,033	82	237,985
1852	11,327	70	257,857
1853	12,204	-	285,292
1854	-	-	-
1855	-	-	279,718
1860	15,369	-	335,556

(b) Sheffield's savings banks- account size and estimated proportion of total adult and labouring populations having accounts in them

PB= Penny Bank, SB= Sheffield Savings Bank

	<u>Average account size (£s)</u>	<u>Account holders as % of adult population</u>	<u>Account holders as % of labouring population</u>
1840	29.96 (SB)	4-5%	Under 1%
1850	25.74 (SB)	14-15%	5-8%
1860	13.36 (SB and PB)	24-25%	15-20%

The Sheffield Savings Bank had only a few hundred wage worker depositors in the early 1840s.¹¹⁸ Several thousand workers had indirect contact with the bank through friendly society, trade union and secret order accounts held by it. In the mid 1850s after a burst of commercial activity accompanied by relative prosperity there were probably several thousand workers among the 12,000 plus account holders. These still represented only a tiny fraction of their class. Only when the 'Penny Bank' opened in 1857 did a noticeable fraction of the labouring population have any direct relationship with such banking institutions.¹¹⁹

The smaller towns of the region all had similar institutions.

Doncaster's Savings Bank dated back to 1817,¹²⁰ Barnsley's to 1829¹²¹ and Rotherham's to the late 1840s.¹²² Although there is some information relating to numbers and sizes of accounts (showing similar averages for the late 1630s and early 1840s as Sheffield) it is difficult to make similar calculations regarding the saver population. The savers from Doncaster's labour stratum were probably from its service and luxury manufacturing trades. This market and residential town had a bigger servant population than the City of Bath and it is likely these formed a significant proportion of the smaller savers.¹²³ Barnsley's labour stratum savers were more likely to have come from among the local miners, ironworks' labour and similar groups of 'dependent' workers as were concentrated in Doncaster, rather than from workers in the staple linen trade. Rotherham's smaller savers probably came from the prosperous ironworks and foundries of the early 1850s. In all these centres labour stratum savers were counted in hundreds rather than thousands and even in the early 1850s they represented a fraction of the stratum.

Friendly society and trade union membership could be used to demonstrate the existence of wider boundaries to a less exclusive form of respectability among the labour stratum. Even these significantly sized class vanguard sections did not constitute the majority of the stratum. Their experiences were not fully representative. Some sort of assessment can be made of their significance in order to demonstrate the full extent of the remaining area of labour stratum experience.

In Sheffield in 1840 there were at least 56 friendly societies with 11,000 members in existence. There were also 30-35 separate trade unions with 8,000 members. Excluding large numbers of friendly society members as members of the petty bourgeoisie or other sections of the town's middle or intermediate classes and also making adjustment for the overlap between trade unions and secret orders, it could be claimed that there were around 10,000 members of the town's labour stratum who were paid up members of trade or other class-exclusive forms of welfare organization. Something like a fifth of the town's labour stratum appeared

to have such protection. An equivalent calculation for 1855 when there were 100 friendly societies with 20,000 members and over 50 trade unions with 12,000 members¹²⁴ suggested that at least a quarter of the town's labour stratum had welfare protection by the end of the period under study. In the early 1850s in Barnsley (and possibly covering the immediate out villages) there were 45 friendly societies with 3,000 members.¹²⁵ There were perhaps half a dozen separate trade unions with a combined membership of under 2,000.¹²⁶ Similarly here only a quarter of the town's labour stratum could be claimed to have class-exclusive forms of welfare protection.

The estimates made above are crude but probably not far off the mark. They point to the heart of the labour class which in good times beat loud and strong. It is more important for the moment to recognize that these estimates (and even more generous ones would do likewise) exclude the majority of the labour stratum. Although we have done little to reveal much about the experience of the vast intermediate and the smaller lowest sections or sub-strata within the labour stratum and have tended to hide behind 'mythical averages', we acknowledge that those who have been neglected were more representative of labour stratum life. Did this majority, even in periods of commercial prosperity such as the mid 1840s and early 1850s, continue (as they had done in the past) to grub out near or below subsistence level lives? One suspects so but it is hard to enter their world of work and wages. In the final section of this chapter (after its narrative bulk) there follows another attempt to justify claims of their impoverishment when popular culture and other dimensions of the social and physical environment in which they lived are examined. This route into their world more easily reveals the experience of the pauperized intermediate mass of town dwellers and of the inferior mass of slum poor below them.

Tom Millar: 'Aye, aye, 'tis time to tremble;
Who'll plough their fields, who'll do their drudgery now
And work like horses to give them the harvest?

Jack Straw: ' I only wonder we lay quiet so long,
We had always the same strength, and
We deserved the ills we
met for not using it.

Southey's 'Wat Tyler'

Dealing with a four slightly artificially periodized time spans- 1837-40, 1840-42, 1842-50 and 1850-55- and supported by a long term overview of social-cultural exploitation and struggle, the remainder of this chapter seeks to re-create the sound of multiple impact as vanguard and mass sections of the region's labour class collided with the propertied capitalist classes and strata who politically, economically and social-culturally oppressed the whole labouring population or stratum.

(a) Labour Class struggle during the first phase of Chartism, 1837-40

Brothers and sisters now unite,
And contend for your just rights;
Then soon the poor will happy be,
Glorious times we all shall see.
And the Chartist's song shall be,
My country and sweet liberty.

Chorus from a hymn sung at the South Yorkshire
Chartistcamp meeting held at Hood Hill near 128
Wentworth, 22 July 1839.

(i) The Inherited Tradition

During the fifty years before the beginning of Chartist activity in the region, a strong ^{tradition} of political and industrial struggle had been created. This tradition had been mainly the creation of class conscious vanguard groups found in or emerging from the increasingly homogeneous labour stratum found in advanced centres like Sheffield and Barnsley. Embodied in and inspired by the thoughts and actions of this vanguard

, a rising tide of labour class consciousness could be observed and a growing labour class presence encountered. Chartist inspired action was to leave no doubt about that presence.

Enthusiasm for political democracy had thrown up leaders from amongst the increasingly proletarianized mass of Barnsley's (township population in 1841-12,130) linen weaving and Sheffield's (six townships' population in 1841-110,891) metal working labour stratum. Such 'energizing' periods as 1791-6, 1800-2, 1809-12, 1816-17, 1819-20, 1830-2 and 1835-7 had accelerated the processes of mass political education both in these centres and in their immediate political hinterlands in the northern and southern halves of South Yorkshire. In contrast, this education appeared to have been less effective among the small industrial communities of the central part of the region and around Rotherham (township and Kimberworth township population in 1841-10,571) in the south east where coal mining and iron making were more significant employers of labour than Barnsley's and Sheffield's staple trades. The agricultural districts on the western and eastern margins remained even more politically backward. Doncaster (township population in 1841-10,455), the large market and residential centre situated on the eastern margin, was traditionally the most 'loyal' town in the region.

The political enthusiasm of the mid 1830s had been built on the steady progress of democratic education. This had taken place in the cultural context of the labour class vanguard in plebeian chapel life, infidel organizations, secret orders, sick benefit and friendly societies, co-operative ventures and trade unions. It was stimulated by immediate reactions to the New Poor Law, the transportation of the Dorchester labourers, the repression of the 'unstamped' press, local government corruption and the re-framing of demands for democratic reform at a national level. The enthusiasm had produced popular-based Radical Associations in Sheffield and Barnsley and it gave labour class leaders new inspiration and confidence which was reflected in their vigorous cross-questioning of candidates at noisy, angry hustings' gatherings in 1836 and 1837.

Much of this political confidence was expressed by industrial leaders operating from a more securely organized industrial base. Mid-decade prosperity had placed many specialized industrial and general craft trades, previously only intermittently organized, in a position to think of the possibilities of more permanent unity than the previous industrial surges of 1809-10, 1813-14, 1824-5 and 1830-1 had achieved. In the Barnsley district the weavers had 'rediscovered' their union and in Sheffield the metal workers from the workshops, small factories and grinding wheels had strengthened old unions, re-activated discontinued ones and established new ones. In addition general craft workers, including tailors, shoemakers, brushmakers and stonemasons (among other sections of the building trades), were in or came into union in Sheffield, Barnsley and where concentrated elsewhere in small urban centres. In Sheffield, which might be considered the capital of the region, the existence of luxury trades and superior branches of the metal working staple trades provided the hierarchy of trades with an 'economic aristocracy'. The leaders of such trades, including the printers, type founders, bookbinders, silversmiths, silver plate workers, Britannia metalsmiths and stonemasons, had not detached themselves from labour class struggle and had become the most forceful advocates of democratic political reform and industrial class solidarity. They made an important contribution to the political-industrial unity of labour class action in a town where the question of the priority of agitation against the Corn Laws over obtaining political reform had been argued throughout the 1830s among the organized trades. During the mid 1830s there had been renewed signs of inter-trade solidarity of a more permanent nature. The general support of 'trades' delegate' meetings and the concerted action these prompted regarding the local tailors' strike and that of the Staffordshire pottery workers during the winter of 1836-7, similar action over the punishment of the Glasgow Spinners during the following winter and the participation of industrial leaders in wider political and social issues affecting the labour class, all illustrated the general health and strength of the beating heart of labour class leadership.

The emergence of the labour class as a political and industrial agent of social struggle was economically conditioned throughout. The majority of specialized industrial workers and general craft workers were being slowly proletarianized by the advance of industrial capitalism. Only the few workers in the region's small heavy sector dominated by coal and iron were rapidly proletarianized. Even here, proletarianization was checked by the persistence of sub-contract and other forms of co-exploitation. These were still more common in the linen manufacturing and metal working staple trades where workshop mutualist-induced 'craft consciousness' still had some significance for the retarding of the wider realization of labour class consciousness. General economic fluctuations and the structural problems of various industries also contributed to the economic conditioning process. Although mid-decade prosperity was fairly general in the 1830s, the downturn which began late in 1836 was, despite some improvement in the second half of 1838 and early 1839, to continue itself until 1843. Its impact was variably distributed upon the region's industries.

These political and industrial traditions, and the economic conditioning have to be held in view throughout the following narrative and assessment of early Chartism's impact upon the region's labour stratum and upon the way it prompted further sections of that stratum to see themselves as part of a labour class of commonly shared experiences and to struggle against the oppressions that 'immiserated' them. The following examination is divided into three chronological phases relating to the preliminary, popular and revolutionary stages in the local progress of the early Chartist movement. It is followed by a short concluding assessment.

(ii) Preliminaries (October 1837-May 1838)

When late in 1837 the Sheffield Working Men's Association (SWMA)¹²⁹ and a reshaped Barnsley Radical Association (BRA)¹³⁰ made their first official announcements these were little more than formalities, following

the surge in political activity among local labour class leaders earlier in the year. Given the less class-distinguished language of popular radicalism in Sheffield's past, the SWMA's 'Address' of January 1838 was surprisingly direct and aggressively proletarian in tone:

The Sheffield Working Men's Association has been formed, because the members despair of ever obtaining social and political equality, except by their own exertions. The working classes of this Kingdom produce the wealth which is at the disposal of the capitalists, and the glory that belongs to the nation, and yet they are oppressed by unjust and unequal laws, and injured by the degrading forms and customs of the existing system of society.

The reference to 'social equality' had a fuller meaning than the old popular radical demand for 'civil and religious equality' that it had replaced. When workers claimed, as they did through the 'Address', that;

Tyranny in a thousand hateful shapes, still stalks through the land and makes the hearts of men desolate. Extortion has been reduced to a science, the system is one of refinement.¹³¹

, then we are hearing the voices of men advancing towards a fuller understanding of the contradictions of life experienced by the labour class in a world created by ascendant industrial capitalism.

The renewal of economic hardship associated with the downturn in the trade cycle, as well as the structural problems of a transitional capitalist economy, helped to trigger the social aggressiveness of key leadership figures like William Gill, a journeyman scale cutter. Condemning half-measures suggested by the sort of respectable sympathizers who had politically co-operated with his class previously, he had declared in 1837:

Let them look at the streets, and say whether the present state of society has not the tendency to make the world a hell....The capitalists of the country are producing misery, and the Ballot will only protect them against the just indignation of the exasperated people.¹³²

From the outset there was less question about the proletarian tone and character of Barnsley Chartism.¹³³ The BRA had the undivided support of the industrially organized labour class in Barnsley and the surrounding linen manufacturing districts. Proletarianization had gone on here faster than in the Sheffield trades and labour class action also received the benefit of the harmony between a highly politically motivated minority community of Irish and their English worker hosts who shared

similar motivations.¹³⁴ The BRA was better integrated into community and local industrial politics¹³⁵ than the fragile Sheffield Radical Association had been and the SWMA was to become in its own immediate political hinterland.¹³⁶ In Barnsley existing popular support was further mobilized during the winter of 1837/8.¹³⁷ In contrast progress in the Sheffield area was slow although the Glasgow Spinners' case, initially at least, pushed Sheffield's industrial and political leaderships together to provide Chartism with experienced local leaders and strong institutional support.¹³⁸ Through this preliminary phase in both advanced areas it was a time for discussion, planning ahead and building a nucleus of activists.¹³⁹

(iii) Popular Phase (May 1838–October 1839)

Local preliminaries apart, it was with the surge in the national political organization of Chartism which followed the May 1838 publication of the People's Charter and the announcement of plans for a national convention¹⁴⁰, and against a local background of briefly improved commercial prospects,¹⁴¹ that Chartism really launched itself on the region as a popular movement. The BRA was widely active in developing contacts inside and outside the region earlier on in the year. It had sought co-operation with similar groups in the woollen manufacturing districts of the West Riding.¹⁴² In June such efforts matured with the formation of the Great Northern Union (GNU).¹⁴³ In contrast the SWMA, described in April by the friendly Sheffield Iris as 'weak', remained relatively isolated from such wider activity.¹⁴⁴ The visit of Feargus O'Connor, one of the originators of the GNU, did not end this isolation.¹⁴⁵ The political energy of the activists in the weaving districts contrasted with that of those in the metal working districts. The contrast was reflected in the differences in the responses to the June coronation celebrations in Barnsley and Sheffield. In Sheffield many of the local friendly societies, secret orders and sick societies joined in a popular loyalist demonstration. In Barnsley only a few such bodies processed through jeering streets to take part in what the Northern Star described as a 'piece of mummery'.¹⁴⁶ While Barnsley's activists and their supporters were represented at the huge GNU launching on Hunslet Moor in

the same month, Sheffield slumbered.¹⁴⁷ Through the summer and autumn Sheffield listened to the promptings of the Birmingham Political Union's delegates before making wider commitments and expanding support beyond the more exclusive circles of SWMA regulars and readers of the sympathetic press.¹⁴⁸

A Sheffield meeting was organized for 25 September to project the SWMA's image. Over 20,000 attended a public demonstration that was held on the northern edge of the town in Roscoe Fields. Contingents from Rotherham and from villages in the southern half of the region attended. Delegates from Birmingham and Manchester were escorted to the meeting by local Chartists and a brass band. On the place of meeting two brass bands played popular airs and from a forest of banners thousands of voices opened the meeting by singing Ebenezer Elliot's 'Corn Law Hymn'. After addresses from local 'respectable' leaders and equally 'respectable' visitors (Richardson of Manchester and Salt, Pierce and Edmonds of Birmingham) who... laboured moral force prescriptions, the crowd's reaction was to turn to local Chartist labour class leaders of a more proletarian stamp. A journeyman scale cutter, William Gill, who was politically a member of a 'hard centre' O'Connorite faction and was more in tune with the popular shouts of 'Death or Glory' which had been directed towards the platform moderates, was elected as their Convention delegate.¹⁴⁹ Sheffield Chartism was already on course for its insurrectionist climax in January 1840.

After this meeting the pace of recruitment picked up in Sheffield and its immediate political hinterland. The BRA, now renamed the Barnsley Northern Union (BNU)¹⁵⁰ was still far more active. In the weaving districts (where coal mining and iron making also took place) it was founding subsidiary groups. These included Worsbrough Common Northern Union (WCNU), Dodworth Northern Union (DNU), Ardsley Northern Union (ANU) and Clayton West Northern Union (CWNU).¹⁵¹ Sheffield sent no contingent to the GNU's Peep Green meeting on 15 October but through Joseph Crabtree, a Barnsley leader, it was nominally represented on the platform.¹⁵²

The industrial organization of the bulk of Sheffield's labour class vanguard, with over 8,000 workers claimed to be in trade unions, provided some class conscious workers with leadership which may have held them back from the SWMA.¹⁵³ There was a certain degree of suspicion about a body whose social composition and perspectives were not as wholly labour class based as in the organized trades. Many trades were initially favourable. Leaders of sections of the building trades, silver and silver plated trades and the saw trade had actually signed the 'Address' of the SWMA¹⁵⁴ and enthusiastic democrats among the others, including the filesmiths' and Britannia metalsmiths' leaders, had openly displayed their sympathies.¹⁵⁵ Some leaders were lukewarm or hostile, as for example were some of the leaders of the grinding branches in the cutlery and tool trades.¹⁵⁶ Whatever example trade union leaders set as individuals, they did not commit their individual trades (or the trades collectively) to any formal declaration of solidarity with the Chartists. The recent threats to their fragile legal status and the time taken up by necessary industrial business inhibited political activity.¹⁵⁷ Where individual trade unions acted with the Chartists they may have served to inspire fellow trade unionists to do the same. When in some trades the general mass of trade union membership gave the SWMA their support it was not always because of any inspiration from above. The difference between leadership and membership was not great. Ordinary members became leaders and having served became members again.¹⁵⁸ Leaders were representative in these highly democratic bodies although there were some exceptional men who were continuously in leadership positions (because they were re-elected) and who inspired the membership.¹⁵⁹

In Barnsley the largest trade union was that of the weavers.¹⁶⁰ Its politically motivated leaders, less industrially successful than Sheffield's, represented a more complete 'inter-locking directorate' of industrially-politically motivated labour class leaders.¹⁶¹ The town's other organized trades, including tailors and shoemakers, were led ^{by} men who also had a strong political motivation.¹⁶² From both above and below there were more pressures on Barnsley workers to engage openly in Chartist activity. In

Sheffield such a 'directorate' existed but a more complex debate about providing the Chartists with support was taking place. In general Sheffield workers had slightly more choice over the need for Chartist-led political action.

While there were hints of the repression to come, recruitment continued throughout the region during the early months of 1839. By now the SWMA, aided by some Chartist building workers from Stephenson's construction camp on the North Midland line¹⁶³ and a few trade union and radical veterans in the town, had organized a Rotherham Working Men's Association (RWMA).¹⁶⁴ By December 1838 this boasted a modest 80 members. Its 'Address', thoroughly proletarian in temper, enquired:

Who is there amongst us that is unconscious of the wrongs we have endured? Have we not been treated like beasts of burden -mere animated machines, without hearts, without minds of our own, whose only privilege is to labour and to die?... Are we not the source of all wealth? From our labour emanates all the convenience, the comfort, the happiness, and even the luxuries of life. And yet we are treated more like slaves than freemen.¹⁶⁵

Collections for the 'National Rent', local weekly meetings and delegate gatherings, within and without the region, as well as the new focus of attention provided by the opening of the Convention in London in February, all provided local Chartist groups with a common purpose.¹⁶⁶ Shrugging off the challenge of the anti-Corn Law campaigners, the SWMA and the RWMA had launched propaganda offensives in the early months of 1839.¹⁶⁷ 'District' meetings held by the SWMA in various public houses in Sheffield and its outskirts boosted the weekly 'Rent' collection to £50 (made up of penny subscriptions) by the time the Convention opened.¹⁶⁸ In the weaving districts the BNU, without anti-Corn Law campaign competition,¹⁶⁹ collected 'Rent' in Darfield, Hoyland Swaine, Billingley and Cawthorne. At Cawthorne another Northern Union branch was formed (CNU).¹⁷⁰ There were also signs of attempts to mobilize women to play more active roles in the political struggles in these districts.¹⁷¹

From March 1839 onwards, at least at a national level, the 'disintegration phase' of constitutionalist Chartist activity began. In the Convention the drift towards physical force became manifest.¹⁷² Local

groups in the region shared in this drift. The propaganda battle went on, especially in the politically underdeveloped southern, eastern and central districts of the region. Gill, on leave from the Convention and a 'missionary' tour of East Anglia, found time to join in the local 'evangelical' effort. He visited Swinton, a 3000 strong small industrial community near Rotherham that was dominated by the Rockingham pottery. A hostile witness, reporting Chartist attempts at collecting 'Rent' and petition signatures, claimed that few attended to hear Gill calling on the people 'to arm in defence of their rights'.¹⁷³ This message was nevertheless absorbed in the region's industrial heartlands in and around Barnsley and Sheffield. At Barnsley O'Connor's visit in April was numerously attended. Very shortly after, the BNU reorganized the town into 'sub-districts' to cope with the flood of new recruits.¹⁷⁴ In the south and east the SWMA and RWMA were still battling to win the majority of the workers for the Charter against the competition of Corn Law repeal agitation.¹⁷⁵ The problems of the SWMA were hinted at by James Wolstenholme, a small master manufacturer who was secretary of the local Chartist Stephens' Defence Fund. He admitted in his correspondence with a Manchester delegate meeting, 'the cause is sleeping... unless we have someone to raise an excitement in the town, the fund will go very badly... we want an agitation with the powers of the Old King (Hunt) to awaken the dormant sympathies, and to arouse the energies of the men and women of Sheffield'.¹⁷⁶

Despite the threats of a Rural Police Act, the arrests of some and the defection of other national leaders¹⁷⁷ and locally the loss of support of the liberal press during the 'left-ward' shift of April-May,¹⁷⁸ progress was made in the propaganda war being waged by the region's Chartists.¹⁷⁹ Sheffield's 'dormant sympathies' were aroused. There were at last signs of Sheffield's integration into the GNU. In sympathy with GNU inspired mass meetings held in the woollen districts of the West Riding, Sheffield and Rotherham held their own Whitsun rally. On Whit-Tuesday 15-20,000 people from these two towns attended a Sheffield rally. The Chartists of Barnsley and the weaving districts trekked the distance to Peep Green to

attend the huge rally held there a day earlier.¹⁸⁰ In Barnsley particularly, but also elsewhere, there were signs of a local response to the Convention's decision to recommend the use of 'exclusive dealing' and other 'ulterior measures', including arming.¹⁸¹ From Barnsley a magistrate had commented in May, 'exclusive dealing is carried on to such an extreme that there is no possibility of prevailing on any of the persons engaged in trade to come forward voluntarily as special constables'.¹⁸² These efforts were countered by increased magisterial vigilance and more special constables were eventually obtained from the ranks of the town's property owning classes.¹⁸³

The National Petition was presented and considered in Parliament during June while the Convention remained inactive. At the grassroots, such as in South Yorkshire, Chartist confrontation with the civil and military powers and all class defenders of the political status quo continued. The return of O'Connor- the 'New King'- on 27 June did much for Chartism in Sheffield and Rotherham and their growing political hinterlands.¹⁸⁴ There was still a problem of political 'backwardness' on the eastern margins of the region. Despite the initiatives of Barnsley and Sheffield Chartists and some signs of local activism, Chartist organization in the large market and residential town of Doncaster and in its agricultural hinterland appeared to be stillborn. Among a population of 10,000 plus only 'thirty hands' had been shown for the Charter at a June meeting in Doncaster's Magdalens.¹⁸⁵ In contrast with the backwardness of workers here, Sheffield's women Chartist sympathizers formed a Female Radical Association as their weaving district counterparts had done earlier.¹⁸⁶ In the weaving districts morale was so high that key activists were able to leave the area for short periods of time in order to contribute to the propaganda war elsewhere.¹⁸⁷

In July, as the Convention re-convened in Birmingham(1 July) and later in London(10 July onwards), after the evident failure of the petition,¹⁸⁸ all Chartist groups in the region turned to discussion of how to further implement 'ulterior measures', particularly the 'Sacred Month' or general strike called by the Convention in mid-July to begin on 12 August. Sheffield's Wolstenholme replaced the weary Gill as Convention delegate

for 'Sheffield, Rotherham, Doncaster, Chesterfield and Brampton' after ^{451.}
a Paradise Square meeting on 15 July. On that occasion local physical
force advocates, Peter Foden (a Sheffield baker) and William Ashton (a
Barnsley weaver) exhorted supporters to buy arms and to 'exclusively deal'
at the expense of the Charter's opponents.¹⁸⁹ Three days later Peter
Hoey (a beer house keeper) was elected as Barnsley's Convention delegate at
a May Day Green protest meeting about the Bull Ring atrocities in Birmingham.
Daily thereafter in their self-styled 'Bull Ring' the Barnsley area
Chartists, including weavers, town craft workers and newly recruited
construction workers from the North Midland line at Gudworth, met to
discuss the Birmingham news read from the Sun newspaper.¹⁹⁰ Similarly meetings
were held in Sheffield's New Haymarket and in Paradise Square.¹⁹¹ 'Rent'
collections backed by 'exclusive dealing' continued in all established
Chartist centres.¹⁹² Proclamations against public meetings by Sheffield's
magistrates on 20 July¹⁹³ and by Barnsley's a fortnight later were defied
or bypassed throughout the weeks of debate over the 12 August planned
commencement of the political strike.¹⁹⁴ Methods to avoid specific bans
and general harassment such as Barnsley's Chartist 'church-goings' or the
Sunday invasions of St Mary's Church and Sheffield's Chartist 'street
preaching' were developed at this time.¹⁹⁵ Thus Sunday became an even more
important day for the the labour class's and wider stratum's class
education.

An important debate went on among the leaders of the industrial
organizations of the labour class in all politically advanced centres as
the 12 August date drew closer.¹⁹⁶ The leadership of the weaving districts'
labour class carried the debate over strike action more easily than the
leadership in the south and south east, Here more trade union
leaders were cautious or even critical of the proposed political strike.
Wolstenholme, the Sheffield leader, appeared to get little in the way of
a positive response to his appeal for support from the powerful Sheffield
trades.¹⁹⁷ Yet writing to the Convention concerning his large South Yorkshire
and northern Derbyshire 'constituency', Wolstenholme noted the political

In every place there are some determined men, but with the exception of Sheffield they are a very small minority ...in Sheffield the Spirit in favour of the Charter has done great things of late, and I believe that, if the strike was likely to have been general, there would have been a very noble stand made here. ¹⁹⁸

In the event the Convention and the Northern Star had successfully proposed a compromise one day political holiday for 12 August. ¹⁹⁹ The response of the Sheffield trades to this is unrecorded but a successful day of action was held. Many thousands 'occupied' Paradise Square, occasionally sallying forth at least 7,000 strong led by Sheffield and Rotherham's leading Chartists, bands, flags and banners to parade the principal streets. ²⁰⁰ The day was similarly celebrated in Barnsley where a week of meetings had defied the threat of the Riot Act (used to disperse a meeting on 5 August) and a magisterial declaration against meetings made on 6 August. ²⁰¹ At least 12,000 people in a mile-long procession had filed onto May Day Green on 12 August to hear defiant angry speeches. ²⁰² Here, as in Sheffield, the civil and military authorities managed to assert themselves only later in the day when numbers had dwindled. Rioting in Sheffield led to 70 arrests including Foden's. ²⁰³ In Barnsley where the authorities had been humiliated by the Chartist show of force, the dispersing crowds were hustled by the military and the 'specials'. ²⁰⁴ Accompanied by violence, key leaders were arrested in the days following. In one incident a manacled John Vallance (weaver), a Radical veteran and a Chartist, saw his wife viciously beaten up by a 'special' while he and cowed Chartist sympathizers were held back by troops. ²⁰⁵ In Barnsley and the surrounding weaving districts reactions to such events necessitated increased repression with the aid of military reinforcements. ²⁰⁶ Chartist activity in the weaving districts went 'underground' into 'sectional' meetings and here talk of arming and insurrection began. ²⁰⁷ Many Barnsley Chartists, no doubt with the transportations of 1820 and 1829 in mind, still favoured constitutionalist methods. ²⁰⁸ Ashton, the most violent local leadership figure, remained in hiding locally in mid-August and then disappeared to London and then to France. ²⁰⁹

By contrast, the SWMA in the south was able to continue its

unfinished propaganda war in the open. It established new centres in out-villages like Heeley and Stannington and sought to get the Sheffield trades to take an open political stand.²¹⁰ A 'trades' delegate' meeting rejected a motion for any such action, voting 20-12 instead for a motion which emphasized that:

While they allowed to every man that perfect liberty to seek for any reform in the representation which he might think proper, it would be impolitic to join any such political body as trade societies.

The latter, it went on to say, had instead as their sole function:

the protection of the industrious classes, and the rights of labour to remunerating wages from the grasp of voracious employers who would increase the profits of the rich by lowering wages to so low a standard as to prevent the working man from even obtaining the necessaries of life.²¹¹

The vote concealed the majority of trade unionists' democratic political sympathies. It indicated the surface reality of a drift towards more economistic thinking.²¹² The recurrence of economic crisis was forcing industrial leaders into more economically exclusive and pragmatic thinking during the late summer and autumn of 1839. This pulled more of them closer to the Corn Law repeal campaign.²¹³

The last phase of popular propagandizing in the south of the region was dominated by a 'left-ward' shift in leadership and faced a declining interest in Chartism. Although Chartism's support with the independent or more independent metal workers and general craft workers was still strong, these were too compromised by their unions and the 'rational', 'improving' institutions of labour class life to consider violent action.²¹⁴ The growing numbers of often less skilled and more dependent workshop or factory workers were similarly often compromised.²¹⁵ Some also found their class loyalties overridden by paternalist employers who economically pressured them to volunteer to help the 'specials'.²¹⁶

The membership of the SWMA (and RWMA) grew despite these trends. The SWMA was now heavily influenced by an 'angry left' section of the leadership. In early September the SWMA boasted 700 new recruits had joined them since 12 August. They said that sick clubs, friendly societies

, trade unions and secret orders had withdrawn £7,000 from savings banks and claimed that, 'we are likewise carrying on exclusive dealing on a very great extent'.²¹⁷ Wolstenholme returned to Sheffield after the 6 September Convention suspension to witness a week of the 'angry left' in action.²¹⁸ A Sunday 'church-going' led by Holberry (distillery worker), Boardman (bricklayer), Bradwell (painter) and Martin (Bradford visitor), all representatives of this group,²¹⁹ was followed by four nights of street skirmishing between Chartists and police as the Chartists sought to hold 'silent meetings' in Paradise Square to challenge the restrictions placed on their public activity.²²⁰ On the first night Sheffield's Chartists were reinforced by club-bearing contingents from out-villages including Ecclesfield an old Radical centre during the excitement of 1819-20. Eventually 5000 people gathered in the Square. On the fourth night (Thursday 12 September) the Dragoons were called in an hour after the Riot Act had been read and street fighting continued all night in several districts of the town including one impenetrable or 'liberated' area around Doctor's Fields on the eastern edge of town. This was 'held' by the Chartists until dawn. The arrests of dozens of embattled Chartists, including Martin, quietened the town till the following Sunday when similar violence erupted during a 'church-going'. This time the churchyard was packed with 'specials' and the Dragoons were also in attendance so that the Chartists were forced to use Sky Edge on top of Park Hill. This old-established refuge was used again on two following nights but rumours of troops being sent to disperse the meeting with ball cartridge ended these attempts at meeting.²²¹ Repression and the leadership of the 'angry left' undermined the Chartists' 'legal' rights of meeting. Wolstenholme and several more moderate leaders reacted to these developments by quitting the town and seeking refuge and freedom in America.²²²

Repression forced the region's Chartists to try out other religious innovations to maintain the level of public activity. The SWMA was organized into 'class' discussion groups similar to those of the Methodists. The purpose of this was to increase the level of mass participation and to diffuse Chartist activity.²²³ 'Camp meetings' were

held on Hood Hill (22 September), at Attercliffe (6 October) and in Loxley Chase (13 October).²²⁴ At these open displays of Chartist faith Chartists from the region's town's and villages flocked to the designated meeting grounds. At Hood Hill there were Chartists from Sheffield, Barnsley and Rotherham and also from the villages within their respective political hinterlands. For the first time a large public demonstration was held within easy reach of the collier and ironworker population of the politically underdeveloped central area of the region. Earl Fitzwilliam and a party from Wentworth also attended Hood Hill, but at a distance. His own colliers and the agricultural and industrial workforce on his estate ran the risk of dismissal if recognized.²²⁵ It is likely that some of them attended with other workers from nearby villages. Nearby Ecclesfield was an established Chartist centre and the paternalist control of workers and the communities they lived in by big industrial employers, such as Fitzwilliam and Newton Chambers at nearby Thorncliffe,²²⁶ was not absolute.

Can we penetrate the 'religious phase' of South Yorkshire Chartism? It is not known what role the 'angry left' elements in local leadership played in the proceedings. Peter Foden, the Sheffield leader, was a member of a dissenting congregation and a Sunday school teacher. It was he who had begun the 'street preaching' in Sheffield.²²⁷ Holberry, a rising leadership figure in Sheffield, and several other key leadership figures claimed some association with various dissenting congregations.²²⁸ The Bible could provide them with justification and strength and the camp meetings could radiate their inspiration.²²⁹ But was there not an element of withdrawal involved?²³⁰ What images of freedom were being invoked by the singing of Ebenezer Elliot's hymn on the Hood Hill skyline free from the dark urban smudges of industrial tyranny? What sort of catharsis (if any) was generated by the singing of these lines?

For failing food six days in seven,
 We till the black town's dust and gloom;
 But here we drink the breath of heaven;
 And here to pray the poor have room

Were men's minds pushed towards the oblivion of millenarian fantasy? Ten

O Lord our God arise,
 Scatter our enemies,
 And make them fall;
 Confound their politics,
 Frustrate their knavish tricks,
 On thee our hopes we fix,
 God save us all.

Patterns of withdrawal and sublimation were superficial. From the vast reserves of moral strength being generated by the collective ritual of the camp meeting was released a confidence-inspiring flood of emotion which overtook many present. Thousands of voices affirmed in verse during a revivalist-type climax:

The Charter springs from Zion's Hill,
 Though opposed, go on it will;
 Will you serve its sacred cause,
 And receive its equal laws.²³¹

While the BNU hid its public face behind the shutters of moderation²³², the SWMA and RWMA managed one final significant display of public strength shortly after Hood Hill. This took place when O'Connor visited Sheffield to address thousands of Chartists who assembled there in defiance of the cannons the authorities had threatened to train upon them.²³³ After this the SWMA and RWMA followed the BNU's example and confined their activities in 'class' and full Association meetings to the development of the political and economic education of their members and also to the advancement of the social-recreational aspects of Chartist life.²³⁴ In Sheffield this was a part-response to the small local Owenite group's success with the Hall of Science opened earlier that year.²³⁵ A SWMA radical soiree held in the Fig Tree Lane meeting rooms in October illustrated this latter aspect of Chartist development.²³⁶ More important the decorations - evergreen boughs enhancing portraits of Bentham, Cobbett, Paine, Franklin, Hunt, Tell, Emmett, Volney, Fitzgerald and Wallace, as well as Frost and O'Connor of more contemporary significance - illustrated the diverse sources of inspiration for Chartism. This heritage was a source of strength and weakness. It lacked a strong economic critique of the emerging capitalist order although Owenites and trade unionists

involved in Chartist struggle could repair this deficiency. Of more immediate significance, its veneration of martyr figures whose insurrectionism had failed in nationalistic rather than class causes, combined with the unpreparedness of the labour class for revolutionary action, was to lure Holberry and the 'angry left' into the blind alley of a Blanquist-type insurgency. It is this development which climaxed the progress of popular political struggle during the winter of 1839/40 and in the following section the movement towards this climax is traced against the wider background of labour class struggle.

(iv) Revolutionary Phase (October 1839–January 1840)

Behind a facade of constitutionalist activity an insurrection was being planned. A secret convention was held in London in October to co-ordinate the preparation.²³⁷ William Ashton, a refugee from Barnsley, had some close contact with the participants while hiding in London. Holberry's later statements hint vaguely at his attendance. He was certainly familiar with some of the key co-ordinators.²³⁸ Barnsley and Sheffield had contacts with Bradford, one of whose leaders, Peter Bussey, was heavily implicated.²³⁹ Joseph Crabtree, a moderate Barnsley leader, fled to Glasgow in late October,²⁴⁰ frightened away by the possible consequences of a terrible secret he had come to possess. Despite their later denials, the Sheffield and Barnsley activists knew of the planned Welsh rising for 4 November.²⁴¹ When the Welsh failed and the promised responses were short-circuited or revealed as non-existent²⁴², anger at the fate of Frost carried many local Chartist through a period of self-recrimination and on towards their insurrectionary goal. Now they would release Frost and mobilize to fight for the Charter with one blow.

Sheffield's 'angry left' group of Chartist activists consisted in the main of proletarians and quasi-proletarians. They were led by the familiar Holberry, Boardman and Bradwell and by James McKetterick (brushmaker) and Joshua Mitchell (from Eckington). For short moments in the last months of 1839 they sought to provide Sheffield's workers with a revolutionary

form of class leadership that was very different from the defaulting or hesitant class leadership and direction provided by moderate Chartist leadership and trade union or industrial leadership. For half an hour on 11 November the 'angry left' leaders commandeered Paradise Square to call on several hundred of their supporters and sympathizers to forget petitioning for the Welsh prisoners and to make a positive 'demand'. Emphasizing the hardship experienced by workers in the town's inferior trades in making a bid for wider popular support, Boardman contrasted his father's sixteen hours daily labour for a shilling with the idle young Queen's pampered life. Bramwell, using the Welsh rising to hint at what he and his comrades planned, sought to assess the possible extent of positive mass support when he stated:

I must tell you that so exasperated were the people in Wales at the conduct of the aristocracy that they were determined to resort to physical force; but they were premature, and not united or determined, or they might have done it. Now I tell you do not rush madly into the field, but be prepared to do it effectively when you do it.

Tearing away the mask of moderation he concluded:

A man has been taken into custody for using in this Square, the word "biscuit". I will not be at the trouble of using this epithet. I tell you plainly it is your duty and that it is your privilege to get muskets (loud cheering).... Those who oppose us know that if you were determined they would no longer wallow in luxury and palaces while you were starving in your dens of misery. ²⁴³

The weekly meetings of the SWMA at Fig Tree Lane were used to recruit activists and 'private meetings' were held after these on the same premises.²⁴⁴ Some of the recently formed 'classes' served as revolutionary cells. In several out-villages and at Rotherham similar activity took place on a smaller scale.²⁴⁵ On the public level money was collected for Frost and the Chartist prisoners generally.²⁴⁶ The Fig Tree Lane premises were under police surveillance from late November onwards. At this time the SWMA elected a delegate for the Newcastle Convention which was to be held in December. A meeting to do this was adjourned from their rooms to Sky Edge because of police harassment.²⁴⁷ There were rumours of a rising

to be held 'a few days after Sheffield Fair'(25 November)²⁴⁸ but nothing happened beyond an attempt to fire St Mary's Church²⁴⁹ - a ploy to test the effectiveness of their firebombs and their intended diversionary tactics.²⁵⁰ In Barnsley, Ashton, 'one of the thirteen' later said to have been 'pledged to stop the three judges' (going down to Wales), was said to have returned from France and to have procured pikes from Sheffield and joined in the planning of joint action with the Sheffield and Rotherham leaders.²⁵¹

While the insurrection was being plotted the industrial leadership of the Sheffield labour class (the trade union leaders representing some 8,000 industrially organized workers), including some Chartist supporters, concentrated its attention on the need for a repeal of the Corn Laws. 'Trades' delegates from at least nineteen trades formed a Working Men's Anti-Corn Law Association in November.²⁵² This drift towards a form of 'economic realism' by important sections of the organized labour class was partly countered by the political agitation of the more constitutionally minded sections of the SWMA.²⁵³ Only a few voices within the leadership of the organized trades, including some of the Chartist-sympathetic 'economic aristocracy', dissented from the new direction. The pro-Charter Operative Bricklayers' leaders at their annual November feast attacked the new drift in trade union thinking.²⁵⁴ 'They must know it is useless to petition(for anything)', they asserted as they echoed the 'angry left' of Chartist leadership.

The absence of the general sympathy of organized labour in no way deterred the physical force Chartists. They became more deeply involved in ongoing plans for the rising, especially after Boardman returned from Newcastle.²⁵⁵ At a Dewsbury delegate meeting the local groups agreed to send a delegate to a London convention to begin on 19 December.²⁵⁶ Boardman was again elected to go.²⁵⁷ Whether he went or if Holberry's suggested contact with Dr Taylor and Major Beniowski (key figures in the national decision making) was responsible for uniting the region's revolutionary Chartist groups with the inner secrets, may never be fully

revealed.²⁵⁸ Whatever way the activating process took place, the key figures in the local leadership knew well in advance that the morning of 12 January was one of several possible dates for rising.²⁵⁹ Holberry travelled to arouse like-minded groups in South Yorkshire and the north Midlands. He made two tours of Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire and possibly Leicestershire during December. The second of these was completed during the last week of December. His itinerary is more easily followed during the fortnight before 12 January, now fixed upon as the date for the insurrection by the participating groups.²⁶⁰ Holberry had returned to Sheffield on 28 December and then gone to Dewsbury for a few days. On 4 January he returned to Sheffield accompanied by Law, a Dewsbury delegate going to London. With more funds, Holberry went on to Nottingham and the north Midlands on 6 January. He returned to attend a local planning meeting in Sheffield on 9 January. This was attended by Sheffield leaders, a Rotherham man, Law from Dewsbury and Ashton from Barnsley. They decided to act on the night of 11/12 January with or without support from outside.

On the night of 10 January (Friday) the bulk of the local activists were told of the decision at a 'private' SWMA meeting. How many were told the secret in Barnsley and Rotherham is not known. The common elements in several later accounts suggest that at least eight classes were to rise in Sheffield and its immediate vicinity.²⁶¹ These were to be supported in various ways by 'friends' at Eckington, Attercliffe and Rotherham. The Dewsbury Chartists were to rise independently. The Barnsley men agreed to rise only when they knew of Sheffield's success. In Sheffield Holberry planned diversions on the outskirts of town before the 2 a.m. Sunday morning rise. Isolated magistrates' houses outside the town and the barracks were to be fired. A bomb was to be placed in the Police Office in the town. The Rotherham men were pledged to do a similar diversionary job in their district. The military would be drawn out of Sheffield and two Chartist assault groups composed of four 'classes' each were to establish two Chartist 'forts'. One group composed of Boardman's, McKetterick's, Birks' and Thompson's classes

was with Eckington 'friends' to seize the Town Hall and barricade itself in. One, composed of Duffy's (the Irish 'class'), Marshall's, Forty Row's and the Bridgehouses' classes with Rotherham and Attercliffe allies was to seize the adjacent Fontine Inn and its enclosed coaching yard. Defended by a strategic scattering of 'night cats' in the streets outside and by men armed with guns, pikes, hand grenades and crude bombs inside, the Sheffield insurgents were to hold their 'forts' long enough for at least one of several possibilities to evolve. Later statements and confessions indicate that several possibilities were uppermost in their minds; that stopping the mail would signal to the surrounding North and Midlands that they had risen and that their example was to be followed; that they would have to die martyrs' deaths in 'making a Moscow of the town' to shame the Chartists and the labour class generally; that their weaker-minded bretheren in the town would join them and that they would win at least a local victory. Whatever possibility was uppermost(and the evidence suggests the first more than the others although Holberry's concealment of the true extent of support from his followers gives some validity to the second and third)²⁶² they had little chance of success. Their actions were being betrayed at various levels. Apart from the obscure warnings given by O'Connor and Hill, the Northern Star's editor,²⁶³ more concrete information was being given to the local magistrates. Later it was said that 'the Frenchman' who Holberry discussed his plans with was an informer out for blood money.²⁶⁴ This may have been so but the plot was directly betrayed by James Allen, a Rotherham Chartist. He had been very active in Rotherham in the weeks before the rising in organizing local activists. Days before the intended rising he was seen consorting with the police. A warning was given in Rotherham and all activity was suspended. No general warning was issued to the Sheffielders although it was later claimed that two 'class' leaders were warned off before the rising took place.²⁶⁵

Allen's exposure was on about 9-10 January. He attended the last decision-making meetings in Sheffield, learning the final details of the plan on 11 January (Saturday afternoon) at a meeting in a Lambert Street public house. At 8 p.m. he was in Rotherham betraying the plan to Lord Howard and

local magistrates.²⁶⁶ Howard rode to Sheffield to alert the authorities and at midnight Holberry was arrested in his house before he could lead his group to create their diversions. His non-appearance warned those gathered at Fig Tree Lane to disperse the classes. Duffy's, McKetterick's, Boardman's and Clayton's classes were partly activated. No more than fifty or so persons 'rose' at the agreed 2 a.m. In brief skirmishes the insurgents wounded several watchmen but more in panic and confusion than with any serious intent to fight.²⁶⁷ During the night key activists fled and some were arrested.²⁶⁸ Boardman and Foden (active in the plot while out on bail) both escaped.²⁶⁹ Boardman went by way of Barnsley to warn 'the fifty men assembled on the Sheffield Road' to disperse.²⁷⁰ William Ashton, claimed to be 'within ten minutes call', also fled from the Barnsley district.²⁷¹ In the cold daylight of 12 January some of those who had been betrayed at Sheffield were led before the magistrates to begin to pay the price for failure.²⁷²

While the rising failed, it is unfair to tear it out of its context and to pour scorn on it.²⁷³ The contemptuous treatment of the revolutionary action of English workers in the mainstream traditions of English historiography may be part of a necessary Establishment ritual but it defies important aspects of historical reality.²⁷⁴ In the case of Sheffield in 1840, militarily the plan had many convincing aspects. If Holberry had actually had the chance to lead 'an armed attack on the police', as one of the more recent contributors of a standard work on Chartism mistakenly informs us,²⁷⁵ it would have been at the head of 400 armed men.²⁷⁶ The diversions on the outskirts of town and the casualties in the police watch room would have bought the Chartists time to establish their 'forts'. Even the effects of artillery on the battle had been anticipated by Holberry, an ex-soldier who was familiar with Colonel Macerone's highly instructive (from the point of those attempting an urban based insurgency) Defensive Instructions for the People.²⁷⁷ The eventual outcome may have been as abortive as Blanqui's rising in Paris in 1839 but such speculation is of little value for we have no way of simulating the events

(v) The Early Chartists and Labour Class Consciousness 1837-40 and beyond.

While it is somewhat artificial to periodize Chartist activity between 1837-42 and beyond, the lull in activity early in 1840 signified the end of the first surge of Chartist enthusiasm. Its main achievement was in significantly raising the level of mass political literacy in the region. The confrontation of political exploitation by the early Chartists reinforced popular (or stratum) understanding of the class basis of political representation using class language and images which were recognized because evolving substructure realities (proletarianization and immiseration) and other superstructure conflicts (those led by the organized trades) also familiarized them. The early Chartists were successful in many of the regions industrial and semi-industrial towns and villages. There were failures. In Doncaster, on the agricultural margins of the east and west of the region and in the closed industrial communities in the central part of the region the Chartist cause had not gone well. In and around the industrial heartlands of Sheffield, Rotherham and Barnsley early Chartist struggles had critically sharpened the class perceptions of the great mass of workers (including women), even those who were not directly active in Chartist organizations. It would be wrong to see the local climax of early Chartist struggle as suggesting fundamental disintegration tendencies at work among the local labour class. While this climax saw the making of an insurrectionary attempt by a small number of proletarian or quasi-proletarian activists²⁷⁹ while the bulk of the industrially and politically organized labour class vanguard stood aloof these positions were not absolutely opposed. Holberry and his group can be shown to have seen themselves as class actors²⁸⁰ and as later events show the divisions between the various vanguard sections (physical force Chartists, moderate Chartists, 'democratic' trade unionists, 'non-democratic' trade unionists and Owenites) were short-term.²⁸¹ The labour

class vanguard of class conscious workers, despite early Chartism's defeat and the worsening economic depression, expanded and continued through trade unionism, Chartism, and Owenism to seek to make its own destiny.

For this growing vanguard early Chartist ideology had many gaps. The political traditions which inspired Chartism understandably lacked a necessary class precision created as they were amid the transitional flux of a new emerging capitalistic order. Nevertheless early Chartists developed a class analysis of political exploitation. Chartism also lacked the kind of economic critique employed by trade unionists and Owenites when they opposed collectivist ideas to the ruling ideology of individualism. Chartist organizations however provided a forum for discussion among 'members unlimited'. Few informed Chartists were completely isolated from wider sources of inspiration. Notions of 'labour value' and 'surplus value' were introduced by the 'democratic' trade unionists in their midst. Chartists as workers and consumers experienced at first hand the uncertainty of employment, prices and distribution under free market capitalist laws. In addition, direct and indirect contacts with Owenites brought Chartists into contact with sketches of an alternative society.²⁸²

To many of the newly awoken political semi-literates from the labour stratum the Charter was just a word - a fragment of hope - a millenarian vision. Many were to soon lose sight of the vision as they experienced the intensification of economic hardship and political repression. For others during the harsh years 1840-3 the vision, however unrealistic, was to provide a source of strength and inspiration to participate in class struggle through both industrial and political activity. The political education of many of these was completed during another surge in popular Chartist activity between 1841-2 when local groups came under the spell of George Julian Harney and when there was a strong local reaction to the murder of Holberry by illegally administered prison discipline.²⁸³ New

groups, half-roused by the first wave of Chartist missionaries, finished their education and were able to assert themselves in the labour class struggles of the economically more favourable mid-1840s. As we shall see Newhill's and Swinton's pottery workers, the collier population of the region and obscure but no less valuable groups of women workers like Sheffield's hair seat weavers were able to stand up and be counted during the 1844 miners' strike and the related industrial-political struggle of the mid-1840s²⁸⁴ partly because of the political education which had been proceeding and accelerating from 1837 (and earlier). There were other previously industrially and politically inarticulate groups of workers who found their voices in the same way. The propertied class had been shaken by the events of 1837-40²⁸⁵ and henceforth their traditional methods of imposing deference were almost unusable. Their confidence would return later and new means of subordination would be developed but for some brief years (c. 1837-40 and beyond into the 1840s) open patterns of 'social war' had revealed themselves and things could never be the same again.

(b) Labour class struggle during the second phase of Chartism, 1840-2

We have for too long;
 Knelt at our proud lord's feet;
 We have for too long;
 Obeyed their orders, bowed to their caprice,
 Sweated for them the wearing summer's day,
 Wasted for them the wages of our toil
 Still to be trampled on, and still despised
 But we will burst our chains.

Address of the Sheffield General Council of the
 National Charter Association to Sheffield workers,
 13 December 1841.²⁸⁶

(i) Recovery I (January 1840-June 1842)

Although economic conditions had been worsening continuously in the region since 1837, the hardship borne by the region's industrial workers only became really apparent during the latter months of 1839 and the early months of 1840. There were real signs of the deep-rooted problems of the weaving districts when the drill season ended prematurely in the first months of 1840.²⁸⁷ Weavers were turned away from their employers' warehouses without work and several warehouses shut for good. In Barnsley and the surrounding weaving districts hundreds of families were on the parish. The local systems of public relief, supplemented by private charity, could not meet the demands of the poor.²⁸⁸ In the southern metal working districts the depression was not as badly felt until the spring of 1840 when the foreign orders, especially those from the American market, did not generate the usual amount of work. By April Sheffield's most enterprising workers were emigrating like some of the Barnsley linen weavers.²⁸⁹

The economic deterioration was marked by a rapid surge in indicted crime throughout the industrial districts of the West Riding including South Yorkshire. The statistics given below conceal as much as they reveal and a brief comment concerning what they conceal is required:

Table 7:3 Criminal Statistics 1835-44²⁹⁰(a) Felons committed to Wakefield House of Correction for trial at West Riding Quarter Sessions

1835 - 279	1840 - 434
1836 - 267	1841 - 455
1837 - 361	1842 - 417
1838 - 297	1843 - 392
1839 - 353	1844 - 235

(b) Sheffield Petty Sessions indictments

	Felons	'Disorderlies'
1835	205	1009
1836	200	1424
1837	317	1624
1838	252	1496
1839	297	1773
1840	133	1523
1841	110	2143
1842	205	2040

These figures understate the level of serious 'criminal' activity. Discussion of them by contemporaries suggested this when they stated that the machinery of law and order could not cope with more serious crime unless it treated it as petty crime.²⁹¹ Thus the 'disorderly' indictments included felonies. Bearing this in mind it can be seen that a surge in 'criminal' responses had taken place since the downturn of 1837 and was to sustain itself throughout (with some response to changing economic pressures) the next five years.

In such an economic and social setting the economic and political organizations of the labour class had struggled to maintain themselves through the early Chartist years. The resilience of Chartist, trade unionist and Owenite groups should not be understated. After 1839 when the economic problems of the region's industries significantly worsened as the industrial economy was drawn towards the economic vortex of 1842, all types of organization were thrown heavily on the defensive. Chartist groups were the most threatened by disintegration.

The early months of 1840, with the disruption of local and national leaderships by arrest, pending trials and local harassment, Chartism almost died a premature death in the region.²⁹² In Sheffield the weakness of the Chartist cause was illustrated by the failure of the local

Chartist leaders to take over the role of major interrogators of the local MPs making their annual constituency visit in January. In front of a huge Paradise Square crowd this role was taken by local labour class industrial leaders whose concern was for the promotion of the anti-Corn Law viewpoint.²⁹³ During the following months until late spring, the Chartists, both in Sheffield and its southern and eastern metal working hinterland, found the mass support they had once commanded had now been captured by middle and labour class anti-Corn Law campaigners.²⁹⁴ Interestingly Owenites took on the role of anti-Corn Law antagonists in areas of Chartist-backwardness like Doncaster.²⁹⁵ In the weaving districts to the north the Chartist held their mass support more easily. Barnsley Chartism represented a more solid fusing of radical politics with industrial struggle. Here there were none of the divisions that were present among the Sheffield labour class's industrial leadership and which weakened Sheffield Chartism.

While the Chartist cause appeared to be better upheld in the northern weaving districts during these months, little activity really took place. The BNU (in the weaving districts) and the SwMA (in the metal working south) and their respective clusters of satellite organizations were both reduced to no more than a few hundred members each. Activity was mainly confined to the collecting of funds for the legal costs of the defence of the local imprisoned Chartists when they were tried at the coming Spring Assizes.²⁹⁶ When the victims received sentence members of both main Chartist groups entered more vigourously into the general agitation on behalf of the Chartist prisoners. The condition of these was rapidly deteriorating and this prompted much moral support for the Chartist cause in the wider labouring community. By April 1840 some of the impetus of the anti-Corn Law agitation was gone. Their petitioning was seen to be just as ineffective as Chartist petitioning. In April the SWMA again took the platform in Paradise Square to bring into the open its campaign on behalf of the political prisoners.²⁹⁷ It was still weak and its leadership was in the hands of moderates who could not be trusted to have the political

rights of the whole labouring population at heart. The BNU, still being led by more of a 'hard centre' or left of centre leadership, shared some common organizational problems with the SWMA. It had to contend with the exceptional hostility of local magistrates and had to work to keep up its numbers (of subscribing members) in an increasingly unemployed and underemployed town and wider district.²⁹⁸ Both groups appeared too weak to re-establish national contacts, although the BNU began to reach out through the West Riding delegate meetings which were held regularly in the woollen manufacturing districts to the north of the region.²⁹⁹ The Northern Star and the various national defence funds kept both groups in some sort of contact with the national movement but the local organizational network at this stage remained very fragile.

In the weaving districts the strength of the 'democratic' industrial tradition among the local labour class kept Chartism alive. In April the arrival of Frank Mirfield (the industrial leader of the 1820s), as if from the grave of his Australian transportation, had generated new optimism among the weavers.³⁰⁰ He became the BNU's latest recruit and he also threw himself back into the affairs of the 'Weavers' Committee' which organized the union. In Sheffield and its related and dependent industrial hinterlands in the south, eastern and central parts of the region, the 'democratic' industrial tradition, while well established, was not the only established tradition. Consequently Chartism in the southern half of the region which was centered on Sheffield had more competition from more established divergent labour class leadership traditions. While there were elements of them found in the northern weaving districts, the traditions maintained by strong independent-minded trade union leaders (economistic anti-politics line), influential popular anti-Corn Law campaigners (influential among former group) and by a small but influential group of Owenite Socialists created more effective competition from divergent leaderships in the south. This list ignores the 'pull' exerted upon leadership traditions from other activity in which leadership figures might be entangled. Such activity

could involve participation in groups operating consciously or unconsciously within the counter culture of subsidized or patronized social institutions created and serviced by the social elite and auxiliary groups (i.e. chapels, temperance, total abstinence organizations, mechanics institutes, libraries, news and meeting rooms of a non-political character) and also in groups operating in a more ambiguous way in relation to labouring life (plebeian religious groups like the Primitive Methodists and General Baptists and some anti-drink organizations). In Barnsley and the weaving districts there was something of a similar 'pull' provided by the Catholic Church, its anti-drink organizations and the nationalist O'Connellite Repeal Association. These played ambiguous roles in local labouring life among the large Irish community in the area. What was different about the weaving districts was the absence of real complexity in the make-up of economic and political leaderships. This reflected the less contradictory division between labour and capital in a town and village hinterland heavily dependent on one industry.

In Sheffield and its metal working village hinterland to the south the situation was more complex because the industrial traditions of organization were stronger. In the spring of 1840 there were over thirty branches of the town's trades united in trade unions. This was in the face of the continued stagnation of commerce. Several of these unions had branches throughout the villages and the small towns of the metal working south and east of the region. Without doubt the following trade unions existed: Saw Grinders, File Grinders, Razor Grinders, Edgetool Grinders, Table Blade Grinders, Edgetool Makers, Saw Makers, Saw Handle Makers, File Makers, File Cutters, File Hardeners, Razor Smiths, Table Knife Hafters, Table Blade Forgers, Britannia Metalsmiths, Silversmiths, Braziers, Silver Stampers, Iron Moulders, Smiths, Bricklayers, Brick Makers, Carpenters and Joiners, Cabinet Makers, Tailors, Boot and Shoemakers, Type Founders and Printers.³⁰¹

Only the few weak unions in the cheap cutlery ware branches had been disbanded by the spring of 1840. The strongest trades had been

paying out huge sums of money to their unemployed members since 1837.³⁰² This was not only to fulfil their welfare guarantees but to restrict the supply of labour to maintain the level of wages. Benefits were designed to keep the unemployed from working for unscrupulous masters, from setting up themselves as 'small masters' or from being used as cheap 'recommended' labour from the poorhouse (guardians and employers collaborated in trying to use the 'pauper wage' to drive down wage levels).³⁰³ As the depression tightened higher subscriptions or 'natty money' and tougher discipline to ensure collection were required.³⁰⁴ The unions which held together had to concentrate their energies on maintaining and protecting the welfare of their members. They used violence to achieve this. Violence directed towards employers was a final sanction to be used to block the introduction of labour saving machinery (there was little of this as yet for technical reasons), to check the increased use of apprentice and unqualified labour and to counteract the lowering of list prices by discounting or 'stuffing'. Justifications for using violence towards fellow workmen included, failing to join the union, slow or unwilling payment of 'natty money' and working or setting up as small masters. If the warning signs of ostracism, threatening or 'Mary Ann' letters, petty theft or tools or equipment or slight personal violence were ignored, then really violent sanctions culminating in death or permanent maiming were applied. The violence was mainly restricted to the branches of the cutlery trade and was especially concentrated among the grinders who had the additional problem of fighting workmen in other trades who could scab on them. In many of Sheffield's other industrial trades skill gave men more bargaining power or else production was carried out on larger scale factory lines which eliminated some sources of friction (but created others). Such was the case in the Britannia metal, silver and silver plate trades. Here there was less need for violence. Among the general craft trades, in building at least, the same sort of violence took place.

Throughout the first phase of Chartist activity many Sheffield unions had avoided making an open political commitment to the Charter. The

Chartist cause had many 'democratic' friends within the local industrial leadership. The Chartists were less favourably reacted to by the majority of leading industrial activists who were either totally against trades' intervention in politics or because they were 'realists' thought their political energies should be directed towards supporting the Corn Law repealers. There was a general drift towards economic 'realism'. The Repealers of the local anti-Corn Law 'Operative Association' got a fuller hearing at Sheffield 'trades' delegate' meetings at the time.³⁰⁵ At this stage pressing economic realities dictated that the organized trades, Engels' 'schools of war', inhibited the Sheffield labour class from realizing its full political potential .

The Owenites in Sheffield also played a contradictory role. They did not believe in class struggle and urged a form of class collaboration. They gave no direct support to the Chartists on whom the burden of politically activating the labour stratum had fallen. Yet the Owenites polite and distanced intellectualism radiated anti-capitalist ideas. Their attempts at creating alternative patterns of life for workers, albeit only within the cramped confines of recreational hours, hinted again at the positive role of independent self-education within a class movement.³⁰⁶ To their Sheffield Hall of Science they brought many distinguished speakers, mainly Owenites but including some Chartists and trade unionists. Owenite anti-capitalism was absorbed but it was not the only source of such ideas in the labouring world. The educational methods of the Owenites were borrowed and adopted. Their missionary work , particularly combating the Corn Law repealers in the politically underdeveloped east of the region, was later capitalized upon. Already there were some signs of a healthy convergence or 'coalescence' of ideas among diverse elements providing real or potential labour class leadership. This was reflected in the levels of general understanding of the malfunctioning of the economic system. This 'coalescence' was central to the process of labour class realization in the mid-1840s.

In Barnsley and the weaving districts where the mass support for

Chartism was not subject to such competition, the position of the Weavers' Union was crucial. Its 'democratic' leadership kept up an interest in Chartist struggle. During periods of sustained industrial action such as was represented by the defensive strike of July 1840³⁰⁷, the political energies of the local labour class leadership and its mass support might be subordinated to industrial struggle but the general sympathy for the Charter was kept up. Here there was no popular anti-Corn Law leadership. The Corn Law campaign had had some effect. Over 2000 signatures were collected against the Corn Laws early in 1840 but within three months a Chartist petition (on behalf of the political prisoners) collected twice as many.³⁰⁹ In the person of Thomas Linguard, the local Owenites were integrated into Chartist activity.³¹⁰ The presence of a large Irish community strengthened local radical political traditions. The O'Connellite campaigning did little harm to Chartist progress.³¹¹ Disillusion with O'Connell drove many Irish to join the Chartists. The counter-culture was weaker in the weaving districts because the middle class was a smaller element in the social structure and the lesser middle class or petty bourgeoisie (a potentially radical class) was more dependent on the labouring population's purchasing power. In the absence of real competition from diverse political leaderships, the BNU and its satellites provided stouter umbrella organizations under which labour class political, economic and social-cultural ideology could be worked out than under those provided by the SWMA and its satellites in the south.

The Chartist cause began to revive in the region in the second half of 1840. The BNU led the way in re-integrating local Chartism into the national movement. It responded to the call of a Manchester conference in July to set up a National Charter Association which was to serve as the much-needed vehicle for a national political demand.³¹² The BNU became the Barnsley National Charter Association.³¹³ In the northern area two other groups, the Dodworth Radical Association and the Barnsley

Democratic Association were set up. Possibly they were a moral force reaction to the O'Connorite National Association branches. They did however collaborate in NCA activity.³¹⁴ The Cliff Bridge branch of the NCA joined the BNCA's satellite grouping and these all sent a delegate to West Riding delegate meetings.³¹⁵ The Chartist cause progressed in the weaving districts by harnessing the antagonism generated by now familiar oppressions- the Rural Police Act, the New Poor Law, the Corn Laws, the Anatomy Act and the general action of the linen manufacturers systematically driving down list prices. Progress was made despite the increased harrassment by the authorities.³¹⁶ The magistrates kept up their ban on political meetings in open spaces like the Barebones and May Day Green. Beer shop and alehouse keepers who allowed their premises to be used for political meetings were threatened with the loss of their licences. Spiritual vultures like the Primitive Methodists who tried to provide counter-active religious camp meetings on the Barebones were ignored by the bulk of the labouring population (although the years 1840-44 were marked in the region by moderate Primitive expansion).³¹⁷ Trade did not improve in the weaving districts during 1840.³¹⁸ While many familiar escape routes from despair were opened up, including emigration, drink, suicide and 'crime',³¹⁹ the Chartists managed to maintain and increase the numbers of the labour stratum who found class faith.³²⁰

During the last months of 1840 more conscious efforts had been made by the Chartists in the metal working south to rally the labour class and sections of the wider stratum behind the Charter. Progress was slowed by the unproductive competition with rival groups³²¹ and there was a problem of maintaining a permanent meeting place.³²² The Owenite Hall of Science fired ambitions for a Chartist hall and newsrooms.³²³ When a new meeting place was secured the SWMA followed the Barnsley Chartists and joined the NCA. The Sheffield National Charter Association (SNCA) was born. From the absence of reports in the Northern Star it seems that little Chartist activity took place in the south in the last months of 1840. The RWMA appeared to have folded but possibly some of the

Rotherham Chartists were absorbed into the activity of the new SNCA.

Against a background of continued economic stagnation in the region,³²⁴ there were signs of a significant Chartist revival beginning in the early months of 1841. In the Barnsley area the various Chartist groups worked together with the newly reorganized Worsbrough Common Chartists in re-awakening the weaving districts.³²⁵ Antagonism against the New Poor Law(not yet introduced into the districts)³²⁶ the treatment of political prisoners and the Rural Police Act³²⁷ all fired the spirit of the weaving labour class anew. Sheffield's Chartist leaders vigourously reasserted themselves at the annual constituency visit of the local MPs. In Paradise Square in January they encouraged a solid show of hands against a friendly motion approving the members' conduct during the previous year.³²⁸ Their activity on behalf of the political prisoners³²⁹ was boosted in February when John Clayton, one of the Sheffielders, died in prison.³³⁰ The harsh treatment of the prisoners by the authorities played into the hands of the Chartists.³³¹ Sheffield's weekly progress reports to the Northern Star shifted from the almost routine 'steadily progressing' to 'steady and rapid progress' during March 1841.³³² At this moment the SNCA launched an experimental weekly penny newspaper, the Sheffield Working Man's Advocate. Although the experiment ended after a month its achievements satisfied the local group.³³³ Capitalizing on the general sympathy aroused by Clayton's death, they sent lecturers into the adjacent villages of South Yorkshire and north Derbyshire.³³⁴ Led in the main by more moderate men like William Gill, Richard Otley and William Barker, the SNCA went on the offensive against the anti-Corn Law campaigners.³³⁵ It was also now involved with the national movement.³³⁶ The trade union leaders who had given the anti-Corn Law cause their support in the past were too anxious about their own legal position to become too involved in open political action again.³³⁷ The trades' delegate meetings carefully avoided politics.

The borough and county general elections held in June and July 1841 provided the Chartist groups with a further opportunity to

continue their programme of mass political education. During these elections the Chartists gave the candidates from the 'respectable' parties a series of embarrassing public interrogations. Chartist candidates were also put up. In the election in the Borough of Sheffield the Chartist candidate withdrew before the poll³³⁸ but the Chartist candidate in the West Riding election caused some excitement.³³⁹ This is explained below in examining activity in the weaving districts during the spring and summer of 1841 more closely.

The promise of the earlier months of 1841 was kept up in the northern weaving districts. The BNCA met at Peter Hoey's beerhouse and more irregularly at subsidiary meeting places in the town and the weaving out-villages.³⁴⁰ The weaving districts kept up their contacts with other West Riding groups through regular delegate meetings.³⁴¹ They were regular contributors to the Northern Star. They were not yet able to realize the strength that had been demonstrated in the heady days of 1838-9. Their idol Feargus O'Connor had been imprisoned in 1840 and was not released till later in 1841. Key local leaders, including William Ashton, Peter Hoey and Joseph Crabtree were in prison. Hoey was released in April³⁴² and joined Mirfield, Uttley, Widdop, Vallance and a host of other radical and trade union veterans in the BNCA leadership. The weaving population, the labouring mass they sought to give class direction to, was the most affected by economic distress in the early 1840s. Clumsy and crude exploitation, both political and economic, only strengthened their will. The fate of Clayton urged their greater concern for their own imprisoned leaders. The coming election reminded them of their political deprivation. Their employers, the linen manufacturers, pressed by falling prices and profits, squeezed them economically by reducing prices for work and making additional work demands. In May the action of one employer forced a section of the weavers to strike. The rest of the weavers organized to support this section.³⁴³ The integration of the industrial and political leadership

in the town allowed the weavers' political leaders in their role of trade unionists to take the platform at strike meetings on the forbidden Barebones and May Day Green.³⁴⁴ Weavers from the town and out-villages joined in meetings which furthered their class education both industrially and politically as during the weavers' industrial action of 1818.³⁴⁵

The West Riding election taking place during June and July gave the BNCA and its satellites another opportunity to challenge the legitimacy of the electoral antics of the ruling class.³⁴⁶ The presence of a Chartist candidate in the election heightened the excitement. The candidate was George Julian Harney, a veteran of the tough minded East London Chartism of the later 1830s and now full time West Riding Chartist political lecturer. Harney praised his Barnsley audience:

We had a meeting of not less than 12,000 people. Morpeth could not get a hearing until it was decided I should speak after him and before Milton; it was put to the people who decided by at least 500 to 1 that they would have the working man before the Lord; I followed Morpeth, giving the Whigs an hour and a half's dressing. I was delighted at the Barnsley people; they are noble fellows, and, which is best of all, they included in their ranks a band of Erin's exiles, who would go to the death for the Charter. ³⁴⁷

The BNCA also mobilized travelling support which they took to the hustings at Wakefield. Here the weaving districts' Chartists were reminded of the repressed state of popular politics in towns where Chartist traditions were weak. Mobs of hired Whig and Tory mercenaries, recruited from the gutter to rob the Chartists of even a ritual show of hands victory, packed the streets.³⁴⁸ However significant were the class lessons derived from this activity, the Chartist candidate made no electoral headway and his defeat acted to remind them all of their subordination.

During the remainder of the year the economic situation worsened except for a period in the early autumn when brief hints of a revival of trade were given.³⁴⁹ Desperation drove men into the Chartists' ranks in what was a major period of recovery for the movement locally.

Crucial political factors acted as midwife to the process. From July Sheffield obtained the services of Harney as its Northern Star correspondent resident in the town. Harney's standing and personal presence gave greater confidence to local Chartists.³⁵⁰ The fate of the Sheffield prisoners, some of whom were released by this time, also contributed to creating sympathy for the cause.³⁵¹ Holberry, the main local figure being held, was popularly thought of as being murdered by the prison authorities at Northallerton (which he was being slowly).³⁵² Similarly the fate of the remaining Barnsley prisoners aroused the people of the weaving districts.³⁵³

What excited all the local Chartists was the prospect of O'Connor's release in late August. Earlier in that month there were signs of life from the eastern districts of the region. Chartists from Rotherham and Doncaster applied to the West Riding delegate meeting (which co-ordinated much of the Riding's Chartist activity) for a lecturer to visit them.³⁵⁴ Before the end of the month they had formed a NCA branch (RNCA and DNCA) in each of their respective communities and were sending delegates to the monthly West Riding meetings along with the Barnsley and Sheffield districts.³⁵⁵ The release of O'Connor provided an excuse for public celebrations in the region. Delegates from Sheffield, Barnsley and Doncaster attended the celebrations of his release at York and local meetings also celebrated the event.³⁵⁶ Harney was a central driving figure in all the local activity. He acted both for Barnsley and Sheffield when he attended West Riding delegate meetings and at delegate meetings representing Lancashire and Yorkshire Chartism. In the region he was the leading open air platform speaker at all major centres of activity.³⁵⁷ In August he dominated the platform at the first open air meeting held in Barnsley for many months.³⁵⁸ In Sheffield with his lieutenants, McKetterick, Harrison, Gill, Otley and Barker, he dominated the local organisation, pushing it back leftward into its more traditional 'hard centre' position. McKetterick, the leader of one of the revolutionary classes of January 1840 who had temporarily disappeared until April 1841, may have been

an influential figure.³⁵⁹ Further revelations concerning the Chartist prisoners also hardened the local leadership.³⁶⁰

From September until the end of 1841 the various districts of the region experienced a dramatic expansion of Chartist activity. In contrast, but directly reflecting the worsening economic situation, the industrially organized trades remained defensively inactive. The class impetus was politically generated and maintained by the Chartist NCA branches. These established more regular patterns of meeting in all established centres of the region. In Sheffield the NCA held full week-end programmes of meetings lasting until Monday night.³⁶¹ All groups found a sense of national direction through the NCA's planning (at the national level) of a petition and a convention for 1842. The Owenites, particularly in Sheffield, also appeared to be exerting themselves more fully to extend their work in labour class education and to introduce their ideas concerning the possession of the land.³⁶² The Chartist arousal of the villages, hamlets and out-townships of the region during these months was far more significant. The once politically 'under-developed' parts of the south, centre and east were activated by Chartist missionaries from Sheffield. They were supported by travelling speakers from secondary centres like Rotherham. Harney's vision was important. From the start he looked to the politically backward villages. He sent letters to Attercliffe, Darnall, Ecclesfield, Handsworth, Grimesthorpe, Heeley, Stannington, Wadsley, Drenfield and Crookes (centres that had shown signs of Chartist life in the past) when he launched the new initiative in early September. He organized a sub-regional delegate meeting in Sheffield late in September.³⁶³ This was intended to unite the groups in the south. It was attended by representatives from Sheffield, Rotherham, Doncaster, Ecclesfield and Walkley.³⁶⁴ A week later Harney headed a large Chartist procession (with a brass band) into the large industrial village of Ecclesfield which was situated in the central part of the region. This was the first popular political

meeting in the village(a radical centre during 1819-20) since 1839.³⁶⁵ October saw the continuation of this sort of activity although it was mainly confined to the vicinity of Sheffield where by now the SNCA had something approaching a thousand subscribing members.³⁶⁶ The SNCA could now pack the town's largest meeting hall(the Circus-capacity 1200) to hear the increasing numbers of national and regional leaders who came to the town.³⁶⁷ Its own Fig Tree Lane meeting rooms(the largest of which could hold 500 persons) were packed often three times weekly to hear lectures and to present discussions. Elsewhere the cause progressed more steadily.

The winter dragged the region's labouring population down to new depths of despair. Still the NCA groups expanded in numbers. Harney cryptically noted regarding the accession of members, 'circumstances are doing what argument failed to effect'.³⁶⁸ The region's industries were in a very depressed state. Now not only were the metal working workshops and linen weaving shops increasingly less active, but the ironworks and collieries were laying off men and working at half pace. Through November and December, with the number of inmates in Sheffield's main workhouse reaching 500, a number only ever achieved before during the severest of winter months (February) in 1839 and 1841, the local signature collecting for the national petition began.³⁷⁰

In Barnsley and the surrounding weaving communities, where the weavers were suffering far more than any other group in the region, the quiet routine of Chartist activity was broken, first by the October visit of Bronnerre O'Brien³⁷¹ and then by the Chartist evangelizing of out-districts which followed the November visit of the West Riding lecturer.³⁷² The Barnsley area Chartists confidently moved into the rural industrial-agricultural margin of the western Pennine slopes. The Dodworth Chartists were praised by the Northern Star for their recruiting efforts in the village of Crane Moor, a community close to Lord Wharnccliffe's seat.³⁷³ In Sheffield too, the Chartists' confidence was demonstrated by their take-over of a free trade, anti-Corn Law meeting in the Town Hall. Here 1200 Chartists out-voted 83 free traders.³⁷⁴ Sheffield Chartist

leaders (particularly Harney and Barker), in step with their Barnsley bretheren, carried the Chartist banner into the eastern districts of the region in December.³⁷⁵

Chartism fed on the desperation of the winter months. The economic situation became even worse in the early months of 1842 and the voice of the region's Chartists increasingly spoke the hardened language of hunger. This was heard in the SNCA's 'Address' of December 1841:

We have for tee long;
 Knelt at our proud lord's feet;
 We have fer too long;
 Obeyed their orders, bowed to their caprice,
 Sweated for them the wearing summer's day,
 Wasted fer them the wages of our toil,
 Still to be trampled on, and still despised
 But we will burst our chains. ³⁷⁶

The Chartist voice offered a gleam of hope to desperate weavers, miners, ironworks' labourers, workshop and factory metal workers, building trade workers and other miscellaneous craft workers whose impending fate in werkhouse degradation or prison cell disgrace increasingly beckoned.³⁷⁷ The Chartists still had competition. The anti-Corn Law campaigners and the Owenites were also active but they did not have a programme to create mass enthusiasm. The organized trades, much more influential in generating and sustaining labour class consciousness, also provided forms of political leadership. Their position in the winter of 1841/2 must be briefly considered.

The class leadership in the unions was preoccupied with economic matters, particularly those relating to the immediate condition of the rapidly contracting union memberships.³⁷⁸ Other welfare cover provided by savings banks accounts, sick clubs, secret orders and friendly societies was also being abandoned by threatened sections of the 'economic aristocracy' among the most skilled workers.³⁷⁹ The union leaderships battled to keep the unions together to maintain the limited bargaining power they had.

In the north of the region the Weavers' Union, already weakened

by a strike costing them £500 in 1841, was almost powerless. Early in 1842 hundreds of out of work weavers were put on road mending for a pound of bread and a quarter of potatoes a day.³⁸⁰ Economically the union was powerless but it used its energy to politically direct the weaving labour class (and the wider stratum) towards Chartism. Its actions and composition were exceptional.

At the collieries and the ironworks of the region only a very small proportion of the workforces were organized industrially. Skilled workers in the ironworks were organized. The moulders were organized as part of a national union.³⁸¹ The majority of the remaining workers in the ironworks and the whole colliery workforce were unable to industrially react to the pressure on wages prompted by falling prices for their basic commodities in deteriorating markets. Geographical and 'structured' social isolation (reinforced by the employer's economic hold) kept many such workers away from political association with the Chartists. The pressures of the times and the energy of the Chartists threatened to weaken this control.

The workshop and factory metal workers in the southern part of the region were industrially better organized than the other major industrial work groups in the region. Unions in the big cheap ware cutlery branches were very impermanent except among the grinding sections. In most sections of the other cutlery branches (saws, files, edge tools) and in the silver, silver plated and Britannia metal trades unions survived more easily among most sections of workers. The unions paid out huge sums of money in benefit payments to keep their unemployed members off the parish and thus the labour market. The strength of these unions combined with that of the unions in the building trades and miscellaneous general crafts meant that over 4000 men were still organized in unions in Sheffield. These unions were claimed to be keeping 1200 men and 500 apprentices off the Sheffield labour market in February 1842. Ten unions in the cutlery trades had spent almost £30,000 in the five years up to 1842 for this purpose.³⁸² About thirty unions were

in existence in the town in 1840. It was claimed that 'no less than thirty' continued to survive in November 1842.³⁸³ Not until then were the town's unions able to re-discover unity as a collective body. Throughout the major part of 1842 the unions were preoccupied with a defensive economic struggle. The leaders, although they mainly kept out of the public eye, occasionally openly defended the unions.³⁸⁴ What political gestures they made were confined to petitioning for State control of raw material exports and against fraudulent wares.³⁸⁵ The economic direction taken by the Sheffield industrial leaders led them to join in the debate over 'spade husbandry' and 'home colonization'. Owenites and Chartists were already engaged in this debate. A coalescence of ideas and activists which was later to bear fruit, was being set in motion. In their discussions the industrial labour class leaders saw the transfer of labour from industry to the land as a permanent solution to the crisis of industrial over-production. With the thought that the land might be collectively owned by the labour class, a vision of an alternative to the exploitative capitalism which they now experienced began to take shape in their consciousness. No longer were Free Traders and anti-Corn Law campaigners as welcome at their meetings, neither were Chartists or anyone else who prompted political discussion. They saw the immediate purpose of industrial organization as the struggle for employment and better working conditions. They were still anxious for cheap bread but the right to work was more important. Their leaders, particularly John Drury the razor grinder and Joseph Kirk the filesmith's leader and elder statesman of the trades' delegates, were steering the leadership group away from political discussion. Many union members and some leaders were still Chartists, especially in the trades worst affected by the economic situation. The industrial leaders could not prevent this, but they ensured that the unions took no official position.³⁸⁶

Sheffield's Chartist leadership had always faced a difficult industrial labour class leadership.³⁸⁷ In Barnsley there were no problems like this. Here the majority of the few organized trades (the weavers, shoemakers, tailors and stonemasons) may have officially supported the Chartists. In

Rotherham and Doncaster the presence of organized labour was not as conspicuous but several trades were in union. In these politically backward towns labour class organizations were less protected by the shield of a radical mass community.³⁸⁸ There were signs of Chartism's advance even here. In Doncaster the Chartists obtained the use of the town hall for public meetings for the first time ever.³⁸⁹

Chartism's progress continued throughout the early months of 1842 up to the Convention and the presentation of the national petition in April and May. With aggressive social gosselling, the Chartists swept through old and new centres in the region to exploit the hunger crisis. The weekly columns of the Northern Star recorded the routine of activity in the region's four larger urban centres more regularly than ever. Local NCA councils were elected,³⁹⁰ visiting lecturers entertained,³⁹¹ political prisoners fought for,³⁹² Convention candidates approved and disapproved³⁹³ and most important, petition signatures collected.³⁹⁴ The conversion of local rural areas and urban out-districts continued apace. Harney, Bairstow (the West Riding lecturer) and Jones (the East Riding lecturer) were particularly active in the East of the region.³⁹⁵ The region's Chartists shrugged off much of the challenge from competing middle class led reform groups and the Chartist renegades who sought to compromise on the six-point charter.

In Sheffield a division among the Chartists was not avoided. The more moderate elements in the local NCA formed a separate branch based at the Exchange Street reading rooms. These were now designated the Sheffield Political Institute branch of the NCA. Many key leaders deserted Harney and the parent Fig Tree Lane body. In the heat of the moment the division appeared more personal than ideological. The Institute group were to be described as 'more respectable'. They were still generally wage-workers. They were possibly men more of the centre who were opposed to Harney's leadership. There was not a great deal of difference between the two groups.³⁹⁶ The renegades to the right, outside the NCA, were the real enemy. Chartist veterans like Beale and Barker who associated with the respectable Free

Traders and who soon were to take up the cause of Complete Suffrage were only a minority.³⁹⁷ Both NCA groups co-operated. Speakers representing both groups had put the Chartist viewpoint at town meetings held in January and February which were called to set up subscriptions for the poor.³⁹⁸ Harney's group still held the body of subscribers. Fig Tree Lane NCA had twice as many voters for the Yorkshire Chartist candidate.³⁹⁹ They also had a greater popular following and were more energetic in recruiting. Harney tried to work on local trade unionists. In March he persuaded the shoemakers to affiliate to the NCA.⁴⁰⁰ Shortly afterwards the Institute group sought to recruit the stonemasons.⁴⁰¹ Between them both groups obtained 26,000 signatures for the petition.

Right up till the end of April Harney was involved in vigorous signature collection throughout the region.⁴⁰² The Doncaster Chartists, pushed by lecturer Jones, tried to obtain 2,000 signatures.⁴⁰³ There was no record of the number obtained in Rotherham and Barnsley. In all probably 40,000 signatures were added locally to the petition.

The weaving districts, so forward in the past, remained politically silent during the earlier months of 1842. Partly this was the consequence of an extreme economic situation.⁴⁰⁴ New energy was discovered in March when two of the old leaders, Crabtree and Ashton, were released. Ashton's arrival sparked off a local dispute. Ashton accused O'Connor of deserting the cause in 1839. At a stormy Barnsley meeting in April he argued his case publically. He was ignored and he left the town and went to America.⁴⁰⁵

In May the national Chartist petition with over three million signatures was presented. It was rejected and, as in 1839, the movement was faced with the problems of direction after the failure of a sustained constitutionalist national campaign.⁴⁰⁶ Economic depression and political disillusionment combined to drastically reduce the subscribing membership of the NCA. As a reaction to the period of infighting between the NCA and the middle class led Complete Suffrage Union

that followed, many NCA leaders (including O'Connor) began to accept the need for class collaboration to obtain political reform. They sought to push their supporters towards the acceptance of this need.⁴⁰⁷

Political disillusion was short-lived in the region. The Northern Star carried weekly reports from Sheffield and Barnsley NCA groups throughout the summer. Secondary centres like Rotherham and Doncaster remained silent until July.⁴⁰⁸ The parent body in Sheffield had lost many of its recently acquired subscribing members. In July it probably had no more than two hundred. The Institute had no more than one hundred loyal supporters. The BNCA and its satellites shared some of the same problems of support. Yet all the NCA groups managed to marshal large crowds of sympathizers. The BNCA packed the Oddfellows' Hall with over a thousand people to hear O'Connor in May.⁴⁰⁹ The joint meeting of the two Sheffield NCA branches filled the Town Hall to hear Hill, the Northern Star's editor, speak in May.⁴¹⁰ Both established strongholds were behind O'Connor and the Northern Star. In Sheffield the division between the Institute's 'real Chartists' and the Fig Tree Lane group was partly healed by O'Connor.

Throughout the summer months the Sheffield NCA groups kept up their work of rousing up the town's out-districts and the surrounding countryside.⁴¹¹ The BNCA and its satellites were less active. The weavers (and some colliers) in the northern part of the region were more preoccupied with action to relieve their distress than with giving support to the Charter.⁴¹² The summer saw a further and more drastic deterioration in the local economic situation. No longer were the weavers alone in their extreme suffering. Sheffield's workhouse had filled so fast in the early summer months that able bodied men had to be increasingly relieved as casual out paupers. The number so relieved jumped from 200 in March 1842 to 1300 at the end of July.⁴¹³ Only about an eighth of the town's workforce was fully employed. Two thirds of the workforce were underemployed and averaging three days' work a week. A much smaller proportion than was to be seen in other industrial regions

were actually unemployed. Surveys of wages taken at the time showed that average weekly gross earnings had dropped to a level that was 50% below the average level maintained throughout the 1820s and 1830s. Averages from the various sample groups showed that the average gross male adult wage in Sheffield had fallen to eight shillings per week.⁴¹⁵ In Barnsley the average gross wage was even lower. Workers in the collieries and ironworks, whose wages had held up for a little longer, also began to feel the pinch as the employers blew out furnaces and stopped stockpiling the commodities they were producing.⁴¹⁶

The work of the SNCA in the south of the region was advanced by this worsening situation. The death of Holberry (the key figure in the 1840 rising) in prison further advanced the cause in this and other parts of the region. Holberry had been moved from Northallerton House of Correction to York Castle in September 1841. Here he had partially recovered from the physical and psychological torture of his early imprisonment. He had fallen ill again and not recovered. Local Chartists had made much propaganda out of his illegal treatment on the treadmill and his suffering under the 'silent system'.⁴¹⁷ Holberry's funeral provided them with a further opportunity to remind the slumbering Sheffield masses of their political exploitation. The Chartists made 27 June a public holiday in Sheffield. At least 20,000 (and possibly up to 50,000) people lined the route of Holberry's funeral procession through the town.⁴¹⁸ Small shopkeepers closed for the day out of respect and out of fear. The authorities dared not interfere as the Chartist funeral procession set out from Mary Holberry's parents' house in Attercliffe. The procession was led by the Female Charter Association and the Fig Tree Lane NCA groups. With them was a black flag inscribed, 'Thou shalt do no murder' and 'Vengeance is mine and I will repay it, sayeth the Lord-Holberry and Clayton, martyrs to the People's Charter'. This part of the procession was followed by a brass band and the hearse. Behind then came an Institute NCA contingent among which were several of Holberry's fellow insurgents of 1840 (including Bradwell,

Booker the younger, Wells and McKetterick). With similar banners their contingent, 'smaller in numbers but better dressed', passed by followed by thousands of people who wanted to go to the cemetery to pay their respects. After the procession many thousands gathered inside and outside the railings of the cemetery to listen to Harney's grave-side oration. Calling on all present to reaffirm their Chartist faith, Harney cried aloud:

Swear to unite in one countless moral phalanx, to
put forth the giant struggle which union will call
into being... If ye do this and act upon your vow
, our children will rejoice that he died not in vain
, but that from his ashes arose, phoenix like, his
dauntless spirit.⁴¹⁹

Harney's voice echoed out to the Chartist faithful throughout the region and they were soon to be seen responding. Holberry, like the nationalist insurgent leaders he had looked to, became part of a body of Chartist folk legend which inspired activists to keep up the cause during the remainder of the decade.

(ii) Tactical Compromise (July-August 1842)

Throughout July and early August 1842 the southern part of the region in and around Sheffield experienced a tremendous revival of Chartism. During the four weeks following Holberry's death over 500 new converts joined the SNCA. By early August the SNCA had 1,155 members and with the momentum sustained into mid-August the number reached 1400.⁴²⁰ Elsewhere in the region the cause revived. Rotherham was again an active centre. In late June it sent a lecturer to the village of Wath-on-Deerne as part of its contribution to a general revival.⁴²¹ In mid-July Rotherham and Doncaster delegates joined with those from smaller centres in the eastern and central districts at a meeting at Mexborough which was intended to organize a systematic campaign in these districts.⁴²² Barnsley and its weaving village hinterland were less

affected by the currents of Chartist revival. While the renewal as a whole was an aggressive response to both economic and political realities, these economic realities may have been too harsh for the weaving population to creatively rise above.⁴²³ In Sheffield the voice of Chartist challenge, particularly Harney's, had acquired a new harshness even before Holberry's death. The economic crisis had thrown the contrasting social situations of the various strata and classes into sharper relief. At a meeting in June Harney had stated:

We live in extraordinary times, times in which is seen the excess of wealth on the one hand, and the excesses of poverty and degradation on the other, the former the lot of the idle few, the latter the fate of the toiling many. This anomaly can only be accounted for by the fact that the few have usurped the power of the State, and by class legislation have built up their own aggrandisement on the ruin and misery of their fellow creatures.(cheers) 424

Such voices fostered general class hatred for the propertied exploiters of the labouring mass. This was a voice from the political class vanguard which was responding to the angry chain rattling of its hungry audiences. This voice was being echoed everywhere in the region. Class hate passed the bounds of hopeless constitutionalist activity during the months of July and early August. Inspired by external events there was a turning towards the use of industrial tactics as political weapons.

During late July and early August a wave of strike activity had submerged the industrial towns of Lancashire and the north-west Midlands. The cessation of labour here took on a political character following a declaration of trades' delegates in Manchester on 12 August that the strike was a general strike for the Charter. There was great excitement in Barnsley and Sheffield when the news came in.⁴²⁵ Harney went over to Manchester the following day to investigate the situation on behalf of the SNCA.⁴²⁶ In both South Yorkshire towns meetings were held on 15 August(Monday) to discuss what response should be made by the local organized labour class. The SNCA took the lead and placarded the town and circularized local trade union branches to attend. Several thousand Chartists, many of whom were trade unionists, packed Paradise Square on

the evening of 15 August to hear Harney's report. Only five trade unions were officially represented on the platform. Harney advised against a local political strike being held but he was challenged by more aggressive members of his group. In Sheffield the decision really lay in the hands of the trades. Negotiations taking place during the next day between the SNCA and the principal trade union leaders led to the planning of another meeting for 22 August (Monday) at which it was hoped that more trades would be represented.⁴²⁷ In Barnsley the leaders of the organized trades needed less persuading. At a meeting on the Barebones on 15 August two weavers' leaders prominent in the BNCA leadership, Aeneas Daly and James Noble, called upon the Barnsley people to carry out sympathetic industrial action. Noble declared that, 'if he stood alone, he was determined to work no more until the Charter was the law of the land'. However any action that might have developed was checked by the local magistrates' proclamation against further meetings and by the marshalling of special constables, yeomen cavalry and regular troops to enforce the proclamation.⁴²⁸

While the weaving population was intimidated by force, the negotiations went on in Sheffield. Mass meetings were held at Ellin's Wheel (adjacent to the large industrial premises) on the following night (16 August) and in Paradise Square for three nights following (17, 18, 19)⁴²⁹. Harney, Samuel Parkes and Richard Otley, Sheffield's leading Chartists, all attended the discussions at a Chartist convention hurriedly called into being at Manchester. On 17 August this body voted to support the strike. Harney and Parkes voted against a political strike because they knew only too well the weakness and divergent politics of the industrial organizations of the Sheffield labour class.⁴³⁰ While this decision was being made the region was experiencing a faint ripple of the industrial insurgency that had begun a few days earlier in Lancashire. Thousands of 'turn-outs' from Lancashire arrived in the West Riding to pull out the 'plugs' from the steam engines and to close down pits as well as mills. Some of these penetrated the northern edge of the region on 17 and 18 August.

Barnsley⁴³¹ and Doncaster⁴³² were in uproar with troops, 'specials' and yeomanry being organized to disperse the striking workers. In the event the insurgents came no further south than Cawthorne and Clayton West.⁴³³ The weavers and the other workers of the northern edge of the region were given little opportunity to respond to the action taking place. The BNCA leaders managed to placard Barnsley with a poster calling on the working population to meet on the Barebones on Monday 22 August to, 'judge whether you prefer freedom to slavery'. Their appeals to 'ye careworn and long oppressed sons of toil who have too long and tamely bore the oppressor's yoke', were particularly directed towards the local collier population who at this time were already involved in limited industrial action and who were a key group in any attempt at a total stoppage of work.⁴³⁴ A reassertion of magisterial authority quietened these activists as soon as they had begun.

At Sheffield, first Otley, and then Parkes and Harney, returned to restrain over-eager and unrealistic elements in the local NCA and more politically minded trade unions. Otley returned on 17 August and Harney and Parkes on 19 August. Otley with the help of his 'real Chartist' associates from the Institute survived a confrontation with those who called for an immediate local general strike.⁴³⁵ Harney argued through a long week-end commencing at a Friday night meeting in Paradise Square and boiling up to a scalding climax amid a 12-15,000 strong crowd in the Square on the Monday morning (22 August).⁴³⁶ Harney was not against the strike tactic in principle. He saw, especially with the recession of the insurgency and the return to work elsewhere, that it was too late to harness industrial energies. He also had tactical reservations about the political aspects of the action. He saw that the organized labour class was too weak in terms of both political and industrial organizations to sustain a political challenge through the strike. He also appreciated the political divisions existing among the local labour class's leadership groups. Above all he feared the power of the military and civil forces

organized against the labour class, especially given the unpreparedness and weakness of the labour class and its leadership. Harney, the advocate of armed insurrection and revolutionary violence through the pages of the London Democrat of 1839, now told his fellow class warriors:

I will not lead you against the soldiers. I am no soldier and the man who undertakes to lead the people against the military, undertakes an awful responsibility which no man should undertake unless he has confidence that he sees his way to lead the people to victory.⁴³⁷

Despite a rough reception at the meeting, Harney managed to sway his audience. Bitter NCA revolutionaries accused Harney, the moderate NCA leaders and the trade union leaders on the platform of, 'talking as if they had a padlock on their mouths'. These critics presented a motion to the effect that, 'a cessation of labour was the most rational means of obtaining the Charter'. The moderate mass of the meeting, composed of trade unionists and Chartists, maintained the same sense of political realism that Harney represented. Harney's strongest platform support came from the local trade union leaders. These men were aware of the impossibility of the local organization of a general strike. Only five local trades had responded to the Chartists in a positive and an official way. A trades' delegate meeting had voted against co-operation with the Chartists by a majority of nineteen. The influential grinders' unions had all signed a declaration against any involvement by their members.⁴³⁸ The unionists who attended on the platform and in the body of the meeting were supporters of the Chartists. Many were NCA members but with the exception of the relatively small number of would-be insurgents they supported only moderate constitutionalism. Nevertheless Mordcaï Travis, the table blade forgers' leader, declared the support of himself and the five hundred Chartists in his trade for the strike. The leaders of the four other pro-strike unions now drew back. At the meeting William Pryor of the spring knife cutlers examined the weak local trade union

response. In commenting upon the failure of the Sheffield unions to discuss political matters he hit out at the , 'leading men of the trades who gulled them ' and urged the rank and file to demand political discussions took place in their trades.⁴³⁹

The Sheffield meeting ended with a compromise. Harney's pro-Charter, anti-strike motion was passed along with a concessionary resolution calling on the unemployed of the town to parade the town that evening. Harney agreed to meet his critics again on the following night. These did not return and with them much of the revolutionary potential within the local Chartist movement vanished into dark brooding disillusion. Significantly the Barnsley meeting planned for 22 August did not take place.⁴⁴⁰ The revolutionary pulse within the industrial and political vanguard organizations of the labour class was fading. Chartism, the fullest stage reached in labour class political assertion, was far from finished. The thrustful economic leadership of the organized trades had so far not been able to sketch out a blueprint for the next stage in the economic struggle when prosperity returned. A coalescence of ideas and activists had only been slightly suggested by the events of 1840-42. The development of this process was to produce a generalized vision of the path a united class must take to liberate itself only in the middle and later 1840s when the class was too weak to mount an effective political and industrial campaign to set this liberating process in motion. Possibly August 1842 was part of an important local and national watershed in working class history , one that saw the labour class's hope of liberating itself from the economic, political and social-cultural order of ascendant industrial capitalism shift away from any remaining preoccupation with revolutionary direct action towards a more organic sort of challenge as represented in the attempts to create alternative institutions of production, consumption and recreation as suggested by Owenite and other influences. The shift had had its origins in the 1830s and earlier but it worked itself out most

fully in the voices and actions of the labour class leadership of the middle and later 1840s. As the following section of narrative shows it was in the articulation of ideas rather than in action that this challenge was most fully expressed. For reasons that are examined in a following narrative section the spirit of challenge withered away during the early moments of mid-Victorian prosperity.

(c) Labour Class struggle during the third phase of Chartism, 1842-50.

I am fully convinced ; from observation, that the working classes must look after their own interests. We stand at the present moment endeavouring to converge thought into action and capital into substance. We are endeavouring to unite throughout the length and breadth of the British Empire for the purpose of showing that the capital we accumulate , if taken into our hands, can be worked for the benefit of the millions as well as for the benefit of the few.

William Hawksworth, 'democratic' trade unionist in Sheffield's Paradise Square, 3 May 1847 441

There is nothing to prevent the present unparalleled oppression resulting from the system of capital being concentrated and made to crush labour in every possible way, but the effective union of the whole of the producing classes of the British Empire.

Thomas Briggs, Chartist, in the Hall of Science at Sheffield speaking on behalf of the Holytown miners, 6 September 1847. 442

(i) Recovery II (September 1842-December 1843)

Throughout the remainder of 1842, with the Chartist cause nationally in decline, the political leadership provided by the NCA at a local level tried to forget the traumatic defeats of the summer and early autumn. The price of the defeats was paid in falling memberships and in the intensified repression of NCA activities. The NCA groups still held on to the loyalty of the majority of their sympathizers. The popular radical tradition was too strongly rooted in the region to be jerked out of the ground lifeless in an instant. The newer centres to the east, as measured by Northern Star coverage, went quiet.⁴⁴³ In the older centres in Sheffield and Barnsley and their immediate political hinterlands the movement braced itself for a long struggle ahead. Everywhere in the region the worsening economic conditions of late autumn and the threat of an unrelenting winter kept the staring eyes of the great mass of metal and non-metal craft workers, weavers, colliers and ironworks' labour still mesmerised by the quasi-millennarian promise of the Charter. Many of these knew of the Charter still as little more than

a word, but a word that was all the hope they had. Numbers were waking from the trance all the time but many more remained clinging to the illusion. The NCA worked hard on the illusion, a task much more easy in the weaving districts of the north than in the centre, south and east. In terms of Chartist activity it is hard to discover the true situation in the centre and east. Rotherham and Doncaster still contained NCA groups but there was little activity in the out-districts and villages around them. In the south Sheffield's main NCA group was fighting off the competition of the Complete Suffrage Union⁴⁴⁴ and splinter factions of 'real', 'independent' and 'intellectual' Chartists.⁴⁴⁵ They still had to contend with the popular Free Traders although these had ceased to have mass appeal.⁴⁴⁶ Despite all this Harney and his new set of lieutenants, including George Evinson, Edwin Gill and Samuel Parkes,⁴⁴⁷ routed the CSU-Institute-Free Trade Alliance by electing their own nominees to the CSU conference to be held in Birmingham in December.⁴⁴⁸ Harney and Parkes shrugged off their anxieties about their appearances at the assizes set for the spring of 1843.⁴⁴⁹ Here they would have to answer for their activity during the strike planning in Manchester in August. The SNCA as well as the BNCA encountered various forms of direct local repression. In the flurry of activity related to the arrests and brief holding of Harney, Parkes and Otley in October, the Sheffield magistrates tried to get their hands on the papers of the SNCA. Most of the books were safely hidden but those concerning Chartist membership and activity in several out-villages fell into the hands of the police.⁴⁵⁰ The magistrates also began to harrass Chartist meetings in the out-villages of the south at the same time.⁴⁵¹ In Barnsley the BNCA found it difficult to obtain a meeting place in their own attempts to elect delegates to infiltrate the CSU conference. When they held the meeting the local police were conspicuous in the audience.⁴⁵²

The delegate elections in the region's traditionally most forward Chartist centres were part of the illusion of Chartist activity on a national level. Day to day Chartism was more realistic. At this level

the building of a radical educational and recreational environment offered workers a more honest and real form of Chartist experience.⁴⁵³ So too did an increasing concern for the often discussed economic solutions - 'spade husbandry', small farms, co-operative production and retailing. The new directions Chartism took locally during the late months of 1842 brought the movement further into a coalescent stream of thought and action with the leaders of the industrially organized sections of the labour class and with the small but influential Owenite socialist group at the Hall of Science.⁴⁵⁴

This coalescence had already taken place in the northern weaving districts. However the majority of the region's industrial workers, metal and non-metal craft workers, ironwork's labour and the newly organized colliers struggling in the winter of 1842 to organize permanently,⁴⁵⁵ were led mainly by leaders who sought to keep political questions out of industrially dominated labour class struggles.⁴⁵⁶ The coalescence taking place was part of a slow progression hardly under way in 1842 but taking shape during 1843 and 1844 as Chartism declined and the unions developed their economic muscle power. Upwards from the lowest point in the economic cycle reached in the autumn and winter of 1842 the coalescence took place. In the weaving districts the relationship between the Weavers' Union and the NCA had a particular local strength and character. Politics were always closer to the surface of the struggles of the weaving labour class. This was partly the consequence of the large Irish element among the weaving population. Their nationalistic hatred for the English ruling class kept political issues more alive.⁴⁵⁷ The deteriorating market situation of the handloom weavers in this district made industrial struggle hopeless. This directed energies towards political struggle.⁴⁵⁸ The weavers were not entirely impotent regarding immediate industrial struggle, as they demonstrated when trade improved again. They also looked to the land and various types of co-operative venture which were just as much part of their radical heritage as that of the metal workers of the south.⁴⁵⁹

In Sheffield the industrial leadership was traditionally more aloof from politics. Despite the pro-Chartist activity of several trades and the continued Chartist solicitation of their support, the majority of unions remained uncommitted throughout the remainder of 1842.⁴⁶⁰ Their leaders had primary loyalties to the welfare of members of their trades rather than their class as a whole. Trade loyalties rarely extended outside the boundaries of community. Given the defensive position the depression had imposed on organized labour generally, this was understandable. The challenge to their jealously guarded legal position resulted from the reaction of local employers and magistrates to an outbreak of serious industrial violence in the autumn of 1842.⁴⁶¹ This prompted several of the leaders of the unions in the grinding branches of the Sheffield trades (who still kept up some sort of loose inter-trade association) to bring more of the town's trades into association.⁴⁶² Sixteen trades sent representatives to a meeting in December. This elected a managing committee.⁴⁶³ The discussions which these meeting began suggested deeper thinking concerning solutions to wage reductions and unemployment was going on among local trade union leaders.⁴⁶⁴ Discussion was set in motion which contemplated much more than simply putting out surplus labour onto the land to relieve the pressure of supply in the labour market. They had discussed crude 'spade husbandry' many times before but now they began thinking about the land and industry in terms of the ownership and control of production being in the hands of the labour class. As early as the winter of 1842-3 the discussions hinted to the leadership of the Sheffield labour class that the labour class had at least one alternative path other than by the Charter alone to independent self-liberation from economic, political and cultural exploitation.

Industrial stagnation continued to provide the dominant reality in the region until the autumn of 1843. Weavers,⁴⁶⁵ colliers, ironworks' labour,⁴⁶⁶ and metal working artisans⁴⁶⁷ all suffered from under-employment and low wages. Even hints of improvement could promise little, so great was the surplus of labour in the industrial economy.⁴⁶⁸ Against this background Chartism was in decline at both national and local levels.

The labour class industrial organizations may have survived in the main,^{499.} but they were weak and on the defensive throughout. The hope of the Chartists for a renewal of activity had faded with the failure of the Birmingham conference to promote unity at the end of 1842.⁴⁶⁹ In the region the NCA groups continued to exert their influence in the traditional centres. The newer centres to the east stayed silent.⁴⁷⁰ In Sheffield and Barnsley a solid core of NCA activists kept the Chartist struggle going.⁴⁷¹ The increased apathy of sympathizers for a purely political programme led to a widening of Chartist activity into areas of social, political and increasingly economic agitation.

In Barnsley the NCA activists continued their activities among the industrial organizations of the weavers,⁴⁷² in the nationalistic struggles of the Irish⁴⁷³ and against factory conditions.⁴⁷⁴ In Sheffield the NCA tried to become more involved with the organized trades⁴⁷⁵ as well as taking up similar causes.⁴⁷⁶ It was still difficult to get the trades to discuss politics, but much common ground, particularly the use of land as an economic solution to capitalist crisis, hostility to the poor law,⁴⁷⁷ temperance⁴⁷⁸ and labour class self-education,⁴⁷⁹ was discovered.

Harney was still the key figure in Sheffield Chartism. Freed from the anxiety of imprisonment after he, Parkes and Otley escaped sentence on a legal technicality at their Lancaster trials in March, Harney discarded the recruiting strategy of the past.⁴⁸⁰ Realizing that mass support for an immediate set of political demands such as the Charter embodied was no longer forthcoming and that the general organizational strength of the labour class needed building up before it could ever achieve anything for itself,⁴⁸¹ Harney put his weight behind the wider local initiatives.⁴⁸² He initiated local protests against the poor law guardians' attempts to reduce the burden of the rates by making relief less accessible, and their attempts to enforce work sharing to benefit employers and to use the town's pool of employed to lower the price of labour.⁴⁸³ The protest was taken up by local trade union leaders, Institute Chartists and even some of the popular leadership of the CSU - Free trade campaigners' alliance. Representatives of all these

came together at public meetings in May to attack these abuses and to raise the issue of the treatment of paupers in local workhouses.⁴⁸⁴

The common ground was as yet not large enough to accommodate all the leaders of Sheffield's major labour class leadership sections - the NCA Chartists, Owenites and the organized trades. The Chartist leadership, despite their wider interests, still clung to a largely political panacea. Much energy was still consumed by political agitation, The Irish question was taking up much of their time throughout 1843. While this might prove advantageous in recruiting among the largely Irish slum-proletariat section of the town's labour stratum, it did not address itself to the immediate problems of the 'aristocratic' and ordinary or intermediate sections of that stratum. The organized trades continued to avoid political questions outside the scope of those which related to their immediate legal standing, The Chartist solicitations were in vain.

Early during 1843 the Sheffield unions were still weak, having spent vast sums in relieving their members out of work and keeping others off the labour market. Only twelve trades could afford to finance an association when they began acting together on a more regular basis in March 1843.⁴⁸⁵ By the end of the year, despite the continuing drain on their funds, over forty trades came into association to extend inter-trade co-operation.⁴⁸⁶ The hint of better trade, after six bad years, as well as the pressure on their legal status at a national and local level, provided important stimuli to individual and collective action by the trades. Within the councils of the 'United' or 'Associated' trades discussion of organizational problems and economic solutions contributed to a process of convergence or 'coalescence' with the Chartists. Early on Drury railed about the apathy of his potential allies, hinting particularly at an 'aristocracy'.⁴⁸⁷ More trades came in and some of the tension was removed. The trades in association, now meeting monthly, discussed the Poor Law (hinting at the need to break their 'no politics' rule to campaign in the election of guardians), the export of raw materials, machinery, the factors' role in lowering the price of labour, the production of cheap and shoddy wares, mark abuse and the land.⁴⁸⁸

Their basic concern was for the immediate economic welfare of their members, centering on the right to a 'fair day's work for a fair day's wages'. Implicit in everything they discussed were wider definitions of social justice for the producers of wealth.⁴⁸⁹ Increasingly they talked about the land and 'spade husbandry' as offering immediate and possible a long term solution to their problems. Influenced by earlier experiments, both locally by earlier administrators of the Poor Law and nationally by Owenite socialists and other groups of land schemers, the trades believed that the economic resources they expended in day to day relief giving could be more profitably be spent in buying land to resettle the labour that was surplus to the requirements of their trades.⁴⁹⁰ Despite the pressures of the past few years some of the trades had surpluses held in savings and private banks.⁴⁹¹ A local bank crash earlier in the year,⁴⁹² but also a general anti-capitalist undercurrent, made some of them look to the land, 'as the only safe bank'. With regret that they had not begun earlier, many trade union leaders, seeing a far clearer vision of the world that might be when production was controlled by the labour class, became very interested in land schemes as more than simply a way to remove the surplus labour force from the market place. Ward, one of the joiner's tool makers' leaders, was one of the most forward contributors to the discussion. His trade and several others were preparing a scheme to buy land to initially absorb the unemployed in their trade.⁴⁹³ He asked his fellow trade union leaders why they should not look further. He argued that;

They were the producers of wealth. Why did they not possess some of the wealth?. It was because they put some of that wealth into the hands of rich men. One man, Richard Arkwright, died leaving one and a half million pounds. This was accumulated through the labour of working men, the producers of wealth.⁴⁹⁴

Beyond showing a grasp of 'labour value' and 'surplus value' Ward hinted at some sort of economic and thereby social-cultural and political separatism as the goal for his class. The majority of his fellow industrial leaders, however momentarily taken in their imaginations away to far distant communalist or co-operative utopias

, lived with the hard daily pressing reality of members' unemployment, sickness and death. While they too had grasped the 'labour is the source of all wealth' equation of 'labour value' and appreciated something of the nature of 'surplus value', they employed them only in immediate and practical industrial struggle (i.e. strikes for higher list prices). The majority of industrial leaders steered a moderate central course but occasionally veered off to the right in their attitude to political questions. This was illustrated in May 1843 when the trades' delegate meeting ejected Thomas Briggs (one of the local NCA executive and a land schemer) because he had come to introduce the question of a general trades' affiliation to the NCA.⁴⁹⁵ This was an exceptional event. In the main the moderate centre leaders of the trades were mildly 'democratic' in their sympathies (Booth and Kirk, two central figures, were agitators for universal suffrage in 1819 and 1832) and were increasingly more interested in an interchange of ideas between trade unionists, Chartists and Owenites.

Towards the end of the year more significant hints of improving trade encouraged many sections of the region's labour class to organize and act industrially.⁴⁹⁶ This pushed land schemes as peddled by trade unionists, Owenites and the increasingly weaker NCA Chartists temporarily into the background. Wage demands and the renewed fight against forms of economic exploitation such as truck payment of wages, demands for greater quantities of finished work at old prices and devious practices in the system of production directed to effect this and also bad work conditions generally, led to industrial disputes involving major categories of the region's industrial labour force. Among the Sheffield trades there were strikes among the type founders, fork grinders, table knife hafters and table blade forgers.⁴⁹⁷ There was also trouble in the saw and razor trades.⁴⁹⁸ The strikes were accompanied by violent acts involving explosive devices or as the 'respectable' press called them 'infernal machines'. These were employed on a scale unsurpassed before.⁴⁹⁹

This prompted the local magistrates to contemplate petitioning for Government intervention. The organized trades, not always the guilty party, denied responsibility and offered cash rewards for the culprits in trying to show their concern for rational labour negotiations.⁵⁰⁰

Similar violence accompanied the linen weavers' dispute with one Barnsley firm which was trying to reduce its prices for labour and thereby pull down the price for labour in the weaving districts generally. The strike of one hundred employees of this firm (Haxworth's) received support from the Weavers' Union and the general mass of the weaving population in the north of the region from the commencement of the action in May throughout the remainder of the year. Here there was an interesting development which hinted at the industrial offensive to come. This was the giving of aid by the colliers of the district to the striking weavers during the latter part of a successful strike.⁵⁰¹

The collier population which was scattered throughout the region began to organize industrially during the later months of 1843. Inspired by the attempts to organize a national Miners' Association (henceforth MA), local groups began to reach out to the parent MA for leadership. Local lodges of the MA were formed from August 1843 onwards.⁵⁰² Until the end of the year progress in the region was slow and took place more in the northern part of the region around Barnsley (at this stage a less important part of the coalfield than the area around Sheffield). Two MA lecturers, Davies of Newcastle and William Holgate from Lancashire, were active in rousing up the district. Davies began in Barnsley in August with a meeting on the Barebones.⁵⁰³ In September he visited Hoyland, closer to the central and southern parts of the region.⁵⁰⁴ In November his visits included Silkstone, Barnsley and Crane Moor in the northern district,⁵⁰⁵ but no centres in the centre, south and east. Holgate similarly organized colliers in the northern districts throughout November.⁵⁰⁶ The local membership of the MA was as yet small. Nationally and locally the support of the Chartist Northern Star, now turning its coverage towards the more economic-based struggles of the labour class,

encouraged the collier population to rouse themselves.⁵⁰⁷

The main Chartist groups in the region observed this industrial surge and although they were weak sought to give direction to it. To some extent the Northern Star was doing this. In Sheffield after Harney's departure (significantly to work on the Star at Leeds), the path set out by him was followed by John West, his successor. The Chartist cause still did not flourish despite the reorganization in local centres which followed the national conference in Birmingham in September.⁵⁰⁸ In Sheffield, even with the boost of the Institute Chartists returning to the parent NCA body,⁵⁰⁹ too much energy was drained away by unproductive political debate.⁵¹⁰ In Barnsley much NCA activity was forgone by local Chartists who ^{directed} their powerful energies into the industrial struggles of the weavers.⁵¹¹ The weaker NCA centres in the east did not appear to rouse themselves into any sort of action and here the labour class and the wider labouring stratum appeared to have forgotten its political education.⁵¹² However, as the industrial struggles of the following year suggested, they had developed industrially with signs of trade union activity appearing among ironworks' labour, pottery workers and colliers.⁵¹³

Everywhere in the region new energy was being found for industrial struggle. Political energies were being partly redirected into industrial struggle but not unproductively.⁵¹⁴ Now after having faced thirty years of almost unceasing pressure of money wages from wage cutting employers and after having survived six recent years of commercial stagnation, the region's labour class was able to switch onto the offensive industrially. This had important implications for the general process of class realization.

(ii) The Labouring Prometheus escapes his chains (January 1844-March 1845)

During the first three months of 1844 Chartism continued to decline in importance in the region despite the coalescence of its largely political ambitions with broader economic and social demands. The

main motor source for labour class struggle was provided by industrial action. Chartism was far from being dead as the Sheffield response to Feargus O'Connor's visit in February illustrated.⁵¹⁵ However Chartist politics were becoming tired politics. Despite the vigour local NCA groups displayed in taking up the wider issues of the Corn Laws and factory reform and the success they had in outmanoeuvring the remnants of the CSU, they suffered from a general disillusion with political discussion. The leaders of Sheffield's NCA group played out their annual political charade of 'calling to account' local MP H.G. Ward in front of a half filled Paradise Square.⁵¹⁷ Barnsley Chartism was not expected to revive until the weavers' strike was over.⁵¹⁸ Even the Northern Star had shifted its main concern to watching the more exciting industrial struggles of these months.⁵¹⁹

The industrial struggle took shape among the region's traditionally organized industrial groups as well as among new ones. Among the Sheffield trades, the delegates representing forty or so established trades presided over the wave of industrial violence and strike activity. They continued to issue individual and collective denials of responsibility.⁵²⁰ During the first three months of the year strikes took place among the fork grinders,⁵²¹ razor blade grinders,⁵²² scissor-smiths⁵²³ and tailors.⁵²⁴ The demands made were limited to asking for returns to levels of payment for work that were achieved during the earlier, more prosperous years of 1831 or 1835-6. These levels they sought to have were below the high levels achieved between 1810-14. Seen in these terms the struggle can be seen to have been largely defensive, directed towards obtaining the lost ground regarding money wages. Retail prices had fallen significantly as part of a long secular downward trend but, as later claims suggest, the labour class leaders thought money wages had fallen even more rapidly. The defensive aspect of the industrial struggle was hinted at by the struggle in Sheffield's file trade which for so long had been one of the superior branches of the cutlery trades. Here a debate went on regarding the need to prohibit female labour in the future and to exclude the large numbers of women who had traditionally

earned their livings in the trade.⁵²⁵ The 'enforced' public collections of money for the unemployed in their trade by the disorganized pen and pocket knife cutlers showed the desperation of workers at the lower end of the market, even in this time of improving trade.⁵²⁶ Some groups of workers may have obtained advances without trouble and their gains may have justified the term 'industrial offensive'. The organization of workers who were traditionally disorganized or sporadically organized must partly serve to justify the term.

Among the weavers of the northern district, the other traditionally organized group in the region outside Sheffield and its economic hinterland, the industrial offensive hardly took shape. The strike against one wage reducing firm by a section of the town's weavers received the moral and material support of the mass of the weavers. The industrial activity was directed by the Chartist-associated Weavers' Union. The economic bargaining power of the weavers was negligible because of the slow improvement in their trade. Their actions were heavily defensive, seeking to beat the one reducer (Peckett) to deter any general reduction by the area's other linen manufacturing employers.⁵²⁷ With a tightly controlled organization, a levy of three pence per week from every employed man⁵²⁸ and the aid of occasional violence towards would be strike breakers, especially from the out-villages,⁵²⁹ the Weavers' Union kept up the action.⁵³⁰

The great step forward was that being taken by the region's fast growing collier population. The industrial organizing of the Miners' Association aroused men who had long been inhibited by the conditions and traditions of their employment from achieving any real economic and wider social-political realization as a section of the labour class reacting against its situation as exploited wage labour. The MA was well established by early January 1844 in the pit communities of the northern district of the region. Two thousand hymn-singing miners, accompanied by bands, flags and banners, marched onto Barnsley's May Day Green on New Year's Day 1844 to celebrate the MA's arrival in the district.⁵³¹

The division of the West Riding into districts to which lecturers were allocated on a full time basis enabled the MA to spread its activities and organization into the central and southern parts of the region. John Tofts was allocated by the MA as the Barnsley, Sheffield and Rotherham lecturer⁵³² and his activity added significantly to the work of local activists who had already prepared some of the ground.

Even in the northern district of the region around Barnsley, the MA still had much work to do. Only two centres, Stainborough and Silkstone were well enough off to send money to a West Riding delegate meeting in January.⁵³³ Barnsley, with particularly active leaders locally like Holgate, was the most organized centre in the region.⁵³⁴ Holgate kept up his tours of the small northern and central districts and moved into the southern communities. In January for example he was in Birdwell on the 2nd, at High Green on the 3rd and Intake on the 4th.⁵³⁵ Employers tried to keep their men away from his and the weekly association meeting in Barnsley.⁵³⁶ At Blacker Hill Colliery the managers of Vizard and Co. had tried to shut the men underground on 1 January to prevent them attending the Barnsley meeting. The hope the MA offered to such as these had sparked one braver soul, Thomas Bedford, to speak out and organize his fellow workers at this pit against their employers. He led the men out on strike in mid-January. Their grievances included the banksmen and other supervisory groups' tyranny over the workforce, the increase in the size of corves to be filled, the loss of marginal earnings and the general lowering of payments for work in straight cash terms. Bedford led a downing of tools and walkout which was followed by a march into the town to sign on with the Association.⁵³⁷ Shortly after colliers at another Barnsley pit, Hopwood and Jackson's New Pit, struck for and obtained an advance of two shillings per week.⁵³⁸ In early February Field and Cooper's Silkstone collieries were facing similar action.⁵³⁹ The Blacker Hill men won their struggle by mid-February and returned with promises of 'no victimisation'.⁵⁴⁰

Optimism pervaded the northern districts even though it was based on limited victories at smaller pits. It was transmitted by the travelling

lecturers throughout their February tours of the central and southern districts.⁵⁴¹ While in early February Holgate visited Kawmarsh with little success, Tofts could arrive a few days later and recruit forty-five new members.⁵⁴² New converts were still being won in the north but most recruiting was taking place in the centre and eastern districts. Sheffield's miners and those of the southernmost parts of the region were not backward. They held their first public Association meeting on 1 February.⁵⁴⁵

By mid-February so significant had been the Association's progress that 4,000 miners met at a 'camp meeting' at Hood Hill near Wentworth on Shrove Tuesday (20 February).⁵⁴⁶ Miners from Barnsley, Silkstone and Crane Moor made up the largest contingents coming from the northern districts of the region to the meeting. From the south the largest contingent came from Sheffield. The meeting was addressed by a MA lecturer, David Swallow, and by local leaders including George Wood, a Barnsley miner who chaired the meeting, and Matthew Lindley, another Barnsley man.⁵⁴⁷ Issues raised included the eight hour day, wage increases, a victim fund and support for the Northumberland miners.

In the face of this organized strength, the employers in the region increasingly began to work together to fight the Association.⁵⁴⁸ In Yorkshire the MA had ordered a policy of restricted working from 3 February. This was in anticipation of full strike action taking place in the near future.⁵⁴⁹ This policy had begun to take effect and worry the employers although many of them still had vast stocks of unsold coal in their coalyards and at the pitheads. The largest employers felt strong enough to take on the MA and they dismissed union men at will. At Stainborough, near Barnsley, five colliers were selected by the employers to be prosecuted for 'neglect of work' in an attempt by the employers to beat the restrictive working tactics.⁵⁵⁰ This prompted local strike action by the body of Stainborough men

Elsewhere the big employers carried out prosecutions without

such reactions. Field, Cooper and Faulds' Worsbrough colliers saw the Association men among them dismissed as an example to the rest.⁵⁵¹ Earl Fitzwilliam, the largest employer in the central district, used the threat of dismissal and eviction from his houses to keep the Association out of his various pits.⁵⁵² The colliers in their turn had the assistance of the solicitor W.P. Roberts who was working for the MA. With his advice and through his representation they were able to fight the dismissals using legal means. Less successfully they used Roberts to present a legal challenge to truck payments and other attempts at 'invisible exploitation'. Even with this representation they encountered class justice at its worst. The magistrates' bench contained more and more industrial employers, including some of the local 'Coal Kings'. From these little 'justice' could be expected.⁵⁵³

Soon after the regional gathering of colliers at Hood Hill, the 'restrictive plan' was fully implemented throughout the region. The colliers of the central and southern districts were much more drawn in. Regular public meetings of the Association took place in Sheffield as well as Barnsley. The 'respectable press' chose not to report them.⁵⁵⁴ At a delegate meeting for the West Riding-north Derbyshire area held in Barnsley on 2 March money was received from the following local centres; Darnall, Robin Hood Inn (Sheffield H.Q. in Park district), Intake, Mosbrough, Dronfield, Ecclesall, Eckington, Thorpe, Rawmarsh, Bradgate, Woodhouse, Mortomley, West Melton Field and from those longer established centres in the northern area around Barnsley. This meeting ordered that a 'victim fund' should be established and it elected delegates to represent the areas at the MA's forthcoming Glasgow conference. Job Gascoine and George Wood were elected for the Barnsley area and George Moor for the Sheffield area.⁵⁵⁵

In early March this industrial struggle took on a violent shape for the first time. When sentences were imposed on the 'Stainborough Five' (held since February for 'neglect of work') there was rioting in Barnsley. The violence was short-lived. The Association leaders regained

their hold on the mass membership very quickly and cautioned the colliers to restrain themselves to act only within the law.⁵⁵⁶

In the central and southern districts of the region the MA lecturers continued their industrial organizing throughout March.⁵⁵⁷ In the south the effects of the restrictive working began to be countered by the employers. Summonses were issued against absentee colliers at Smithy Wood and Tinsley Park collieries.⁵⁵⁸ There was also trouble at Charlesworth's Rawmarsh pits when the colliers there went on strike against victimization by the employer. This strike and the prolonged strike of the Stainborough men attracted wide financial support from pits in South Yorkshire and north Derbyshire.⁵⁵⁹ These strike also drew on the support of other groups of organized and semi-organized workers. The Newhill, Rawmarsh and Swinton pottery workers, the Wortley wire workers, Barnsley's linen bleachers, some of these groups united by trade union type associations and some collecting in their common workplaces, sent financial aid to the Rawmarsh and Stainborough men.⁵⁶⁰ Other groups, united by trade union organization of a more formal nature like the weavers and the organized sections of the outlery trades, gave their money and support less openly at this stage.

At the Glasgow conference of the MA, to which the region had sent three elected delegates, a decision was made regarding strike action. In support of the Northumberland men, the Yorkshire, Nottingham and Derbyshire men were recommended to make their demands for wage advances and an eight hour day on April 8 and to give the employers a week to reply. If they got no satisfaction it was agreed that the colliers would give a month's notice.⁵⁶¹ At local delegate meetings held in the region at Barnsley and Sheffield this decision was endorsed after the conference.⁵⁶² In the main the employers rejected the demands outright and the men gave their month's notice on or about 12 April. 'Respectable press' coverage suggested the significance of the struggle in the south of the region now. Full coverage was given to the Sheffield colliers' demonstration of strength at a Hyde Park meeting on 5 April.⁵⁶³ Several thousand colliers

and their dependants from the surrounding districts of South Yorkshire and north Derbyshire assembled on the meeting ground. They were addressed by local leaders, Joseph Fletcher, Thomas Gould, George Carr, John Ward, Nathan Hunt, Joseph Wainwright, Charles Barker and George Moore. They began as many of the colliers' meetings had done with the communal singing of the 'Colliers' Hymn'. Thousands of voices rang out with the words:

Hail, union, let the echoes fly
The Spacious earth around,
Oh! May that clear and mournful sigh,
Again be never found.

Thy healing basalm spread afar,
Let our oppressors see,
That fixed in union, firm we are
To strive for liberty.

Hail liberty! We hail thee sweet,
When miners shall agree;
When the dread monster we shall meet,
And dare his tyranny.

Oh! let the flag of freedom fly,
In front of all our cause;
While loud unnumbered voices cry,
Success attend us all.

The meeting confirmed their acceptance of the demands for an eight hour day, wages of four to five shillings per day and it committed them to the MA strategy of slowing down production throughout the weeks immediately before the strike would begin. Their discussions were not exclusively centered on their own sectional struggle. They also voiced their opposition to the proposed Master and Servant Bill which was also causing concern to other groups of organized workers in the region.⁵⁶⁴

Throughout the spring other groups of workers in the region acted industrially in parallel with the miners. The Barnsley and northern district weavers kept up their defensive action in supporting the striking weavers of Peckett. His successful reduction, if allowed to be put into practice, would have led to a general reduction by employers throughout the trade.⁵⁶⁵ The more favourably placed Sheffield trades imposed short time working to try to maintain the level of money wages. Sections of the saw, razor, fender, stove and joiner's tool trades were

involved in direct industrial conflict with employers.⁵⁶⁶ The additional fact of the miners' struggle meant that a large number of the region's industrial workers were locked in direct or indirect industrial combat with the employing class. The miners' struggle was now receiving the fullest coverage in the Northern Star and the 'respectable press'. Involving a group of workers with little record of organization, there was the seemingly novel element of crudity or primitiveness in the miners' actions which made them distinct. These characteristics should not be overplayed as reasons for the coverage. The mounting scale and intensity of the miners' struggle demanded the coverage. Moreover coal was a commodity whose supply affected everyone in the region.

Organized labour in the region took no open position on the forthcoming strike although its operation would obviously affect it. Colliers lived and worked in most of the industrial towns and villages of the region, other workers saw their suffering or were sharing it and this began to prompt the more direct intervention of industrially organized labour class vanguard sections. There was little possibility of any intervention of a revolutionary nature. The miners had been the target for the propaganda of the pro-Charter advocates of the general strike in 1842. Now the colliers threatened to act there was no revolutionary group to exploit the situation. Other groups of organized workers in various trades were sympathetic. The NCA Chartist groups were also sympathetic but only regarding the immediate industrial issues. The workers in other organized trades forced their leaderships to intervene to assist the youngest and one of the weakest organized workgroups in the region. The weavers' organization in the northern districts was too weak to open intervene but some of the Sheffield trades, seasoned by years of industrial struggle, were prepared to act. Among these trades an influential section of leaders had developed a pride in the formalised techniques of negotiation with employers. As Thomas Stones, the sawmakers' leader and key figure in the local trades' delegate meetings observed at the time, 'the old times of trade unionism are over, it is the yellow leaf

, it has had its day, and from its ashes, phoenix-like rise a mighty, gigantic moral power.' ⁵⁶⁷ Such leaders saw evidence of 'moral power' in the way the MA was ordering the activity of its membership and willingly gave financial assistance.

During the spring and early summer the growing industrial unity of sections of the region's organized labour class suggested the growth of 'gigantic moral power' and the approach of an important moment of class realization. Of some significance was the involvement of the NCA Chartists in the struggle. Already involved in the industrial struggles of the weavers in the north of the region through the 'interlocking directorship' of the local NCA and the Weavers' Union and through the Sheffield NCA's continued concern to recruit sections of organized labour, the NCA Chartists took up the miners' cause. In the now politically silent but once Chartist-evangelized central and eastern districts of the region it was significant that workers with no previous record of trade union organization suddenly had produced trade union organized supporters for the colliers. ⁵⁶⁸ Here trade union organization may have been hidden 'underground' in pre-Chartist times. Earlier WMA and later NCA work had made such workers more aware of their total situation.

Whatever the particular local experience in the various parts of the region, the miners' struggle permeated it. The struggle furthered the coalescence of ideas, actions and activists which was shaping a new industrial-political labour class ideology. This ideology crystallized only briefly in the middle years of the 1840s. It had ultimate revolutionary potential for it did not accept the labour class's economic, political or social-cultural subordination. Its nature was revealed in the thoughts and actions of labour class leaders and their mass support as the following narrative shows.

The colliers' struggle had more than the growing support of industrial, political and coalescent 'industrial-political' organized sections of the labour class, it also commanded general community support from the wider labour stratum and sections of the petty bourgeoisie.

Shopkeepers, publicans and other 'clients' of the labouring community gave the colliers' struggle their support. As usual women and children from the labouring community played significant but underpublicized roles. All this can be appreciated by returning to a detailed narrative account of the struggle.

Throughout April the region's coalmasters continued to confront the MA and to dismiss its members. Their successes were confined to the larger pits. Earl Fitzwilliam, whose earlier threats were obviously not taken seriously enough, 'cleansed' his Elsecar and Parkgate pits by shutting them from 17-25 April until all his men had given up the union. The MA activists among his workforce were dismissed and the remainder allowed back to work only when they had most humbly petitioned Fitzwilliam for their jobs back.⁵⁶⁹ Other employers like Field, Cooper and Faulds at Worsbrough and the Sheffield Coal Company at Intake continued to root out the union men and dismiss them in similar fashion.⁵⁷⁰ When the men struck against such dismissals, as at Intake, the masters brought in numbers of 'black sheep' labour.⁵⁷¹ By the end of April this sort of friction had brought out several other pits on strike. Strikes were in motion at Stainborough, Thorncliffe, Milton, Rawmarsh, West Melton Field and Intake.⁵⁷² At other small pits masters made quick concessions, turning a blind eye to Association men, in order to capitalize on the shutting of the larger pits. Some offered incentives to existing colliers and others, with the complicity of their workers, allowed in additional non-collier labour (e.g. Derbyshire lead miners).⁵⁷³ The majority of the smaller pits were worked in a way that would not undermine the strike plan. Short time working predominated with colliers earning sixpence a day instead of an average three shillings. Unfortunately this 'restriction', and for that matter the expansion of the small pits, was almost irrelevant in a situation of summer market

slackness following seven poor years when stocks had piled up.⁵⁷⁴ 515.

Nevertheless the colliers of the region, with a few exceptions, demonstrated their unity in the face of economic realities. This unity was borne out in the strike support subscriptions and in the wide representation shown at the monthly delegate meetings held in the central district of the region. This brought together the men from Barnsley, Rotherham and Sheffield areas.⁵⁷⁵ Direct contacts were kept up with fellow Yorkshire miners through the MA county meetings at Wakefield. There were also contacts kept up with the north Derbyshire men.⁵⁷⁶

As the date for the general turn-out of colliers in the region drew near their confidence was boosted by a legal victory which freed the 'Stainborough Five' from their hard labour sentences in Wakefield House of Correction. Several thousand colliers, with banners and flags waving and their bands playing, accompanied the 'Five's' return from Wakefield through the streets of Barnsley.⁵⁷⁷ The employers counter-attacked. In Barnsley they gave the miners notice to quit before the month-long periods of notice expired.⁵⁷⁸ Elsewhere the employers looked to other weapons. They used eviction and selective prosecutions to hit at key figures in the colliers' leadership group.⁵⁷⁹ The colliers had now acquired some formidable allies. Led by the Sheffield NCA, the Sheffield organized trades took up the colliers' cause.⁵⁸⁰ Some religious groups with strong roots in labour class life (some congregations of Wesleyan and Primitive Methodists and some Independent groups) began, as did the Chartists, to collect money at special sermons for the colliers. They also allowed the colliers to hold meetings on their premises.⁵⁸¹

The actual strike began over a period of several days in mid-May. Most of the region's pits were shut.⁵⁸² Northern Star reports from Rotherham, Barnsley and the Sheffield area showed a drastic decline in the number of pit-head subscriptions for the Stainborough and Rawmarsh strikes. This reinforced the picture of widespread strike action.⁵⁸³ Most significant was the level of activity in the south of the region. In the immediate vicinity of Sheffield 1200 men came out, half of them

working for the giant Sheffield Coal Company's various pits south and east of the town.⁵⁸⁴ The Sheffield Miners' Association sprang from deliberations taking place at the Robin Hood Inn in the Park.⁵⁸⁵ The Sheffield miners appealed to the public right from the start of the strike. In May they held meetings in Paradise Square to present their case. The local NCA leaders, following the tack of O'Connor and the Northern Star towards greater involvement in industrial struggles, took to the platform to give their support. West, Otley and Briggs, key local NCA leaders, spoke at the first of these public strike meetings and called on the Sheffield trades to come forward to aid the colliers.⁵⁸⁶ Immediately the industrial vanguard of the town's organized labour class sprang forward. Assistance came from the razor grinders, file grinders, type founders, spring knife cutlers, Britannia metalsmiths and the stag(bone) cutters.⁵⁸⁷ Through the following weeks of late May and early June more trades came forward with aid in cash and kind. Weekly the Northern Star carried reports of the 'conspicuous' support giving of the various trades. The individual trades organized separate processions led by bands, flags and banners. These calvacades proceeded through the town before wending their way up to the Robin Hood Inn in the Park district.⁵⁸⁸

The strike held throughout June despite rumours that the Barnsley area had gone back.⁵⁸⁹ The colliers were not tied to a collective settlement with the employers and throughout the month numbers of pits went back to work after being offered the terms they wanted or even better ones. Some settled for only half their original demands. These settlements were confined to smaller pits.⁵⁹⁰ In this way most of the pits in the Barnsley area were going back to work throughout July.⁵⁹¹ Only two centres, Cawthorne and Silkstone held out.⁵⁹² At most pits advances had been won, but at some, worried, frightened men had been beaten back by the threat of strike breaking labour being brought in. In the Rotherham area to the east two Rawmarsh pits were back by early July⁵⁹³ but the Bradgate lodge of the MA ran the strike in the other local pits throughout the month.⁵⁹⁴ In the central area the large pits at Thorncliffe and Chapeltown

had gone back on better terms and there was little resistance elsewhere. In the south the smaller pits at Pitsmore, Mosbrough and Eckington had gone back to work but the return was slower.⁵⁹⁵ The Sheffield Coal Company, employing over half the men in the southern area, was in head on confrontation with the colliers with no room for compromise. Through June and early July the majority of the pits except the Coal Company's returned to work in this area. They still kept up their support for the Association and the strike and had only returned because they were promised 'no victimization'.⁵⁹⁶ Larger pits like Tinsley Park, where 130 men returned to work in mid-July, also began to work again but only with similar guarantees.⁵⁹⁷ Against such positive aspects of the return to work which were particularly blown up by the Northern Star, should be viewed the more brutal, vindictive treatment of Association men elsewhere. At the Silkstone pits of Faulds, Field and Cooper, while concessions were being made, the settlement was brutally hurried along by evictions from company houses.⁵⁹⁸ Big employers like these and the Sheffield Coal Company in the south used 'levers' like strike-breaking labour and the threat of eviction. The Coal Company also 'rationalized' or closed marginal pits to demonstrate their employing power.⁵⁹⁹ Fitzwilliam, another large employer, had no need to employ any such methods for his men were too cowed to open act.⁶⁰⁰

The aggression of the large employers was matched by the violence of the collier population. In all parts of the region the strike had been accompanied by violent acts directed towards strike-breaking labour.⁶⁰¹ Special constables had been called up in large numbers to help maintain public order.⁶⁰² The Sheffield's Coal Company's attempts to finish the strike in the south throughout July and August led to extremes of violence.⁶⁰³ Here throughout July the Sheffield trades⁶⁰⁴ and the NCA Chartists had maintained their support for the strike.⁶⁰⁵ In other districts organized labour and general community support, including that of Chartist groups, had also been kept up. In the final stages of the strike in the northern district around Barnsley there had been support

from the Chartists, the newly reorganized Weavers' Union, foundry workers and publicans and other 'clients'.⁶⁰⁶ In the Rotherham area (including the eastern industrial margin of the region) and in the central district the strike had been similarly supported by organized labour including the unspecified 'Rotherham trades' and unions among the pottery workers of Swinton, Newhill and Rawmarsh.⁶⁰⁷

In Sheffield, where the action was longest drawn out, a vast number of organized trades, numbers of industrial workers collecting in their places of work, Chartists, publicans and shopkeepers were prominent in giving their assistance.⁶⁰⁸ A climax to the expression of solidarities appeared to be a huge Saint Monday procession of the town's politically and industrially organized labour class.⁶⁰⁹ Not since Holberry's funeral had such numbers been brought together in class sympathetic action. Possibly more than the 50,000 maximum claimed for Holberry's funeral witnessed the arrival of a huge procession of friendly societies, trade union lodges and groups and Chartist groups escorting Duncombe, O'Connor and Harney (the visitors from London) and the group of local Chartist leaders and trade union leaders who had gone to meet them several miles out of Sheffield on their drive from Chesterfield station. During the final stage of the procession towards Sheffield through the village of Heeley (once a Chartist stronghold) the Sheffield Independent's reported drew a pen picture of the sections of the 'official' part of the procession.⁶¹⁰ In the lead were the representatives of the town's labour class friendly and sick societies (including the Labourers' Accident Burial Society - banner stating 'Union with Liberty and Love' - and the Duncombe Preservation Sick Society - that only that morning had changed its name from the Brougham Sick Society). Behind this group marched the representatives of the organized trades (at least fifty in number if all had turned out) including the United Scissor Trade (banner stating - 'United to support, and not combined to injure' - reverse stating, 'Aristocracy sucking the vitals of the People') , the Pen Blade Grinders (banner stating - 'T.S. Duncombe, the fairest

and most disinterested advocate of the Rights of Labour') , the United Body of Saw Grinders(banner declaring 'Firm as a Rock'), the United Razor Trade (banner - 'Labour is the source of all Wealth') and the Sheffield Miners' Association (banner- 'Let us live by our labour'). Then came a miscellaneous groups of participants with banners including proclamations that, 'Thus shall it be done unto a man whom the working classes delight to honour', 'Wolves(bishops) in sheep's clothing- for they devour widows' houses', 'Britons strike home', 'Thou shall never vex the stranger nor oppress him', 'God and our rights and 'God made us free; Tyrants would enslave us but Dumcombe interposed'. A tricolour proclaimed republican sympathies and a banner emblazoned with a woodman chopping a rotten tree proclaimed, 'As are the rotten hollows of an oak, so are the rotten hollows of the State'. Behind a beehive on a banner proclaimed 'Purity and Industry'. Following this section came the Chartist contingent with their banners and others borrow for the procession from Manchester and Leeds. These stated, 'Justice to all; Privilege to none', 'The Greatest happiness for the greatest numbers for the greatest length of time', 'Finsbury's pride-England's Glory' and the ever familiar, 'Universal Suffrage, Annual Parliaments, Vote by Ballot, No Property Qualifications, Paid Members and Equal Constituencies' . The procession terminated at a public meeting held in the centre of Sheffield followed in the evening by a meeting at the Circus which was addressed by Duncombe, O'Connor, Harney, West, Briggs and Hoey(of Barnsley),all on behalf of the Chartists(and Chartist-Labourists) and by Booth and Drury for the Sheffield trades.

Such a demonstration of organized class strength vindicated Harney's dream of the 'countless moral phalanx'. These events marked out the growing labour class confidence prompted by industrial-political , Labourist-Chartist coalescence. Well might Frederick Engels interpret confidence such as this to his German audience as suggesting the anticipation moment of the final historical confrontation of the

risen wage worker proletariat with its capitalist masters.⁶¹¹

The confidence that was generated was only slightly diminished by the events of the following months. By August 1844 only a few pits were still on strike. The employers fought the strikers by bringing in strike-breaking labour, particularly Irish labour. The only significant group of colliers holding out were the workers of the Sheffield Coal Company.⁶¹² Supported by more and more of the Sheffield trades who promised to support their strike indefinitely, these colliers stayed out.⁶¹³ In their district strike-breaking labour had provoked violent community responses, particularly in the vicinity of the Company's largest pit, the Soap House.⁶¹⁴ By August the strikers were resorting to drastic measures to keep the strike-breakers out. On 25 August several striking colliers blew up the boiler at the Company's Deep Pit and several of them were injured in the process.⁶¹⁵ In early September the Company's colliers at last settled. On what terms is not recorded.⁶¹⁶ Certainly they may have obtained an advance in wages and lessening of hours but being last back they probably got least. Victimizations followed the settlement. Some men left the Company's employ and set up a co-operative pit at Greenhil with a projected capital of £1500 to be raised by 600 fifty shilling shares.⁶¹⁷ How long this venture survived cannot be discovered but its existence reflected the general spreading of alternative thinking about the control of the means of production even among one of the most backward groups of industrially organized workers. Such ideas were ever present in labour class thinking, there had been a co-operative coal mine in the region in the 1790s, but now they assumed a new relevance. Owenite propaganda and co-operative practice kept the ideas alive but the nature of capitalist crisis, particularly recent experience, forced them to the surface. The region's linen weavers, never solvent enough in their collective trade organizations until recently, and also some of the Sheffield metal working trades now began to look more closely at the question of

organizing production for the benefit of the labour class.⁶¹⁹ In the linen trade this was marked by the formation of the Barnsley Linen Co-operative Society during the latter months of 1844.⁶²⁰

After the strike was over the various lodges of the MA in the region struggled to keep going. David Swallow, the region's full-time MA lecturer-organizer continued to seek new members. In September he was in Silkstone congratulating the colliers on their newly-won gains but he also witnessed the emptiness of victory in the aftermath of victimization.⁶²¹ In Silkstone these victimizations took the form of savage evictions of Association men from their homes.⁶²² Action like this was to make the MA little more than a memory in the region within the year.⁶²³

Elsewhere in the region the organized trades continued to advance industrially. The weavers with their newly reorganized Linen Weavers' Union began to tackle the problems posed by power looms to their trade. They also felt strong enough to confront their employers over the issue of standard lengths for finished work and the reduction of the 1836 list prices.⁶²⁴ Chartism was still strongly intermeshed with the weavers' industrial struggles. Among the leadership of the Barnsley labour class were men with long pedigrees of combined political and industrial action. These included John Vallance (Grange Moor veteran of 1820), Frank Mirfield (industrial leader of the 1820s, transported and back from a potential Australian grave) and John Grimshaw (political-industrial activist of earlier 1830s). Their Chartist activity was secondary to their industrial work because political reform was now dormant as a national issue.⁶²⁵ However the threat of the long awaited introduction of the New Poor Law into the northern districts of the region in November helped them to broaden out the political struggle on a local basis. At a meeting called to oppose the New Poor Law's introduction at Worsbrough their Chartist allegiance and the response of the partisan attenders of the meeting prompted the passing of a resolution that a memorial be sent to the Government regarding the fate of Frost, Williams and Jones, the martyrs of 1839. Other local meetings showed the political aspirations

of the northern weaving(and mining) labour class were not yet vanished.⁶²⁷

In other parts of the region outside the south, Chartist voices were silent but the labour class presence was being emphasized by the industrial organization of ironworks' labour, colliers, metal workers and pottery workers in the central and industrial areas. In the south the well organized labour class had not shut its ears to its Chartist promptors although its presence was largely proclaimed by industrial self-expression . The Sheffield NCA Chartists appeared moribund for a short period during the last months of 1844. They temporarily even lost the use of their Fig Tree Lane rooms. When an October meeting was reported as having been held in Watson's Walk , this was said to be the first held for several weeks.⁶²⁸ In Sheffield there was certainly a fall in NCA membership but Chartist leaders still exerted significant influence in labour class activity in the town and in the surrounding area. In November the NCA group reclaimed their rooms and reports in the Northern Star suggested they had plunged themselves back into the industrial aspects of labour class action locally. On 17 November they discussed, 'Trades Unions, their position and duty in the present trying crisis'⁶²⁹ and on 8 December they discussed 'The necessity and utility of Trades Combinations'.⁶³⁰ The Northern Star observed of the discussions taking place, 'it is most gratifying to find that the Trades who were most bitterly prejudiced against the Chartists as a body now attend the lectures in great numbers.'⁶³¹ The origins of the stronger relationship between Chartists and Trades lay in the local struggle to support the miners. It was never to involve a wholehearted embrace but it gave the organized labour class a temporary sense of greater unity in the southern part of the region.

The rise of industrially organized labour had been the most significant feature of the labour class struggle in the region during 1844. Sheffield had become one of the major strongholds of trade unionism in the country. What happened here and elsewhere in the region reflected the patterns of trade union growth nationally.⁶³² Only in Sheffield in the

region was trade union organization securely established. At least fifty separate branches of the town's craft and non-craft trades could be found in union by the end of 1844.⁶³³ Trade union mentalities if not organizations had been developed even among the weakest sections the town's labouring stratum like women workers.⁶³⁴ The smallest and weakest groups were supported by the strong although not always by direct means.⁶³⁵ The existence of large numbers of trades maintaining members' living standards by fighting the free market with short-time working inspired the others to act similarly. Several trades, including the iron moulders, fender makers, tailors, shoemakers and sections of the building trades, were part of nationally organized trade unions.⁶³⁶ Many of the Sheffield trades were bound together into larger, one trade, 'United Branches', especially in the cutlery trades. This was shown by the banners displayed in the August pageant⁶³⁷ and in the printed address of the 'Central United Grinding Branches of Sheffield and its vicinity' dated September 1844.⁶³⁸ Many of these national branches and local 'United Branches' were loosely associated in the town's 'General Union' with other local trades. The 'General Union' had been inaugurated in late 1843.⁶³⁹ It was rarely referred to as such in the press reports of its activities but it was this body that kept up a more regular pattern of monthly meetings than the sporadic reporting of the 'respectable' press suggested. The Sheffield Independent, which had adopted a more open attitude to the industrial struggles of the local labour class, provided the best coverage of local 'trades' delegate meetings held at the London 'Prentice in Westbar Green.'⁶⁴⁰ At these meetings even the once most 'disorganized' trades were now represented.⁶⁴¹ Groups like fork makers, fork grinders, joiner's tool makers, table blade hafters, table blade forgers, table blade grinders, spring knife cutlers and razor grinders all successfully reorganized around the short-time principle and established strong unions.⁶⁴² The spring knife cutlers supported their activity for better wages with a strike which lasted into 1845.⁶⁴³ Until this time strike action had been

thought of as an impossibility in this large and most disorganized trade. During the last months of 1844 edge tool makers,⁶⁴⁴ joiner's tool and brace and bit makers⁶⁴⁵ and the town's tailors were on strike for similar advances.⁶⁴⁶ Prosperity was not general enough to allow the employers to give the advances and at this highpoint of industrial mobilization the employers began their counter-attack.

Elsewhere in the region during the later months of 1844 the employing class stared back at the industrially organized labour class of colliers, weavers and other industrial workers. In the pits a clearout of trade unionists accompanied by attempts at reducing the strike-won gains of the colliers was begun.⁶⁴⁷ In the linen trade the employers refused the weavers' demands for a restoration of the 1836 list prices and gave support to the attempt of the firm of Peckett and Taylor to force down the prices paid to their men. All the employers continued to demand more work at the old prices in order to extract more profit at the workers' expense.⁶⁴⁸

In Sheffield the employers had to break the unions as individual and collective bodies before they could increase their powers of exploitation. The beginning of their assault was signalled by Earl Fitzwilliam in his speech at the Cutlers' Feast when he denounced the local unions and their disruption of local commerce.⁶⁴⁹ Fitzwilliam was soon 'corrected' in print by John Drury who wrote on behalf of the town's 'Central United Grinding Branches'.⁶⁵⁰ The employers formed a 'Manufacturers and Tradesmen's Protection Society' which became effective from November.⁶⁵¹ This 'knot of capitalists', as Drury depicted them, initiated prosecutions in a manner that provoked local trade unionists to talk of a 'system of terrorism'. The employers in their turn claimed to be confronting the industrial terrorism of the workers which they had seen in the last few years take on more violent characteristics.⁶⁵³ The meetings of trades' delegates had in their meetings during the last months of 1844 discussed the unions' greatest fear, the successful application by the local employers to the State for an extension of the repressive

Combination Acts.⁶⁵⁴ While their discussions avoided Chartist politics, they consulted with the local NCA Chartists and received moral support from the Northern Star, the Chartist paper which now added National Trades Journal to its title to acknowledge its shift towards becoming the mouthpiece of an industrially advancing organized labour class.⁶⁵⁵ While the Sheffield trades did not discuss Chartist politics openly they looked to radical and Chartist political leaders in the parliamentary political arena for aid. Already T.S. Duncombe had won their high regard for his attack on the Master and Servant Bill of the current session. Now he and O'Connor were looked to even more to use the legal apparatus of the 'political nation' to block any attempts to legislatively undermine the legal position of the trade unions.⁶⁵⁶ Drury's proposals for a national co-ordination of organized labour, made in correspondence with Duncombe during late 1844, bore fruit the following year with the holding of a London conference in March to launch the National Association of United Trades for the Protection of Labour.⁶⁵⁷

While the preliminaries for the setting up of the NAUTPL were being conducted, the Sheffield labour class continued to suffer at the hands of the employers' body through its influence on local magistrates.⁶⁵⁸ Other sections of the region's industrially organized labour class also looked towards the NAUTPL as offering them legal protection, the possibility of industrial arbitration through local 'Boards of Trade' and financial and other aid in strike situations if these were necessary.⁶⁵⁹ The Weavers' Union was growing in strength and still fighting the attempts by individual firms to reduce the prices for various types of work. The union was supporting selective strikes against these firms.⁶⁶⁰ Signs of improving trade early in early 1845 pushed the weavers into attempts to regain the list prices of January 1836.⁶⁶¹ The cost of strikes in the past had taught them that selective action was necessary and that they needed allies like the NAUTPL and strong local groups of organized trades as at Sheffield.⁶⁶²

As the launching of the NAUTPL neared, the Miners' Association made

a brief attempt to regain some influence in South Yorkshire.⁶⁶³ This seems to have been unsuccessful but the bulk of the region's industrially organized labour force could still be optimistic about the possibilities of a fuller class-for -themselves realization. Class pride prompted some of the industrial leaders(whose leadership had some political and wider social-cultural dimensions) to talk of their class's inevitable ascendancy. This pride was particularly strong among the self-proclaimed, 'aristocracy among the working classes' who composed Sheffield's leading 'trades' delegates'.⁶⁶⁴ They felt that industrially asserted strength created a wider confidence among the wider stratum and fear(and concession making) among the governing and employing classes. Through generations of political and industrial struggle the maxim 'unity is strength' had steeled them in their struggles. 'Never have we stood together in so proud a position as now', proclaimed Thomas Booth, the veteran Britannia metal trade leader. 'Almost all the trades in England are uniting together, politics are at a standstill and trades unions are now all the cry', concluded Booth at an after-dinner speech to thank Drury for his recent activity on behalf of the Sheffield trades. What was important, Booth stressed, was that his class now had its own leaders. As a young man he had tried to rouse his and other trades to act in the Peterloo protest of 1819. Through the local campaigns over the Combination Acts and the Catholic Emancipation Bill in the middle and later 1820s and over the Reform Bill in the years 1830-3 (through the SPU and SPUWC), he had sought to build up the tradition of independent labour class action through independent leadership. The benefits of this had been seen in the 1830s and earlier 1840s. Lessons of his adolescence and younger adulthood (and more recent experience) gave him a licence to remind his hearers that, 'they had for too long looked to men who could wear good coats, or dangle long purses in their faces, and, when a man of their own order stepped forward to vindicate his rights they had prejudged him as incompetent.'. Now he claimed they had a class leadership which was of working men. Through Booth this leadership proclaimed that, 'they would

be no longer satisfied that the men who made the shoes should be barefoot, and those that made the hats bareheaded and those that made the cloth for princes and nobles should be naked'. It stated that it would win a 'fair day's work for a fair day's pay', that it would fight for employment, better wages and conditions and it would work towards reorganising the system of production.⁶⁶⁵

The 'aristocracy among the working classes', or the industrial leadership combined with the political leadership, contained many diverse viewpoints regarding the nature of economic, political and social-cultural strategies and solutions for the labour class determining its destiny in a capitalist society. Some suggested the development of an accommodating position but others suggested the maintenance of the potential of revolutionary class challenge either by an organic process or by more direct immediate means. The viewpoints taken by leadership sections involved various combinations or permutations of the following - free trade, protection, trade union 'economism', Owenite co-operation in various forms, 'spade husbandry' based on individual or collective working, political reform in various Chartist shades and self-education related to a wider process of cultural separation - among others. There were growing areas of common focus and agreement. Common to all was an acceptance that the labour class produced the most wealth in society and that it did not receive a full share of that to which it had a right. Within the industrially organized labour class the means of guaranteeing this lay in more aggressive and effective wage bargaining. This was accepted within limited 'economistic' thinking and in that which transcended it. The fundamental position was emphasized by Wilkinson, the leader of the Sheffield table knife hafters:

It was a question of working men who had to live by their labour. It was an important matter for them to get the best price for their labour, or they should be brought to starving point. Their capital was their labour. It was in their bones and sinews and they had a right to be protected and to have a fair share of what they produced.⁶⁶⁶

In the large, more disorganized trades such as the speaker came from, there had been only short periods when the trade was soundly organized and its

leadership could escape the confines of 'breadline' logic and examine the wider possibilities of industrial strength. The 'democratic' trades such as this, by their pro-Chartist activity, demonstrated an ability to transcend. Even in stronger and more 'politically aristocratic' trades, 'political' as opposed to 'self-proclaimed' 'aristocrats', were also capable of wider thinking. Thomas Stones, the sawmakers' leader and not a known Owenite or Chartist, recited a little of his version of the labour class creed:

Labour is the source of all wealth. It enable the manufacturers to build palaces for themselves, to make themselves comfortable and to send their clerks to the Isle of Man. Might it not also enable men to build themselves workshops, as well as they were built for them, and palaces for themselves in a position they were little aware of. 667

Collective ownership and co-operative production were still little more than dreams although the renting and buying of land by the trades as a means of employing their surplus of labour offered some future hope to the organized trades. Visions, dreams and practical acts all reiterated one theme - the social existence of the labour class as a force-for-itself. It is this existence and the fact of its realization and non-realization in the middle and later 1840s that necessitates the remainder of the narrative in this section.

Chartism was not dead in 1845. Where they clung to their more political objectives, the Chartist groups in the region were not as effective as where they turned towards industrial objectives.⁶⁶⁸ In Barnsley and the northern weaving districts the direct involvement of the Chartists in trade union affairs continued into 1845.⁶⁶⁹ In Sheffield and the southern district, the other significant NCA stronghold, the Chartists continued to discuss both political and industrial questions.⁶⁷⁰ Under West, the full-time lecturer, they waged war on their traditional enemies, the Free Traders. Most of the action took place in the eastern and central areas where the Chartist cause had declined and the Free Traders tried to fill the vacuum.⁶⁷¹ The Chartists appreciated that their main hope of progress in terms of membership and effective support was to enlist more trade unionists. More trade unionists

were active in the SNCA than ever before.⁶⁷² The SNCA did not forget that it had been successful among the the pre- or sub-political mass of workers in the past and that it had to win the minds of the 'slum proletariat' or 'street poor'. With this in mind Thomas Briggs and other SNCA leaders re-enacted their annual 'political bear-bait' with local MP H.G. Ward when he visited the constituency in early February 1845.⁶⁷³ Apart from keeping away from his constituency, Ward was learning other ways of coming to terms with the local 'unrepresented'. He had opposed the Master and Servant Bill during the previous session and was willing to discuss problems with the local trade unionists when he came. He had opposed their short time working and the Factory Bill which still aroused hostility but he was able to employ the signs of improved trade to his advantage. Ward opened his address in a way which sought conciliation with his audience:

There is a great difference between your situation now and what it was two or three years ago. You are all moving upwards at present, you are not as well off as you should be, but looking at the aspect of the political world, the certainty of peace, and the extension of our foreign intercourse, we have the prospect of a long continuation of a good and healthy trade, if not moved by judicious restraints.

The last two words served to jar trade unionists in the audience into a more sensible frame of mind. The prospects of better trade had not yet softened the perceptions of workers that much. Thomas Briggs and Richard Otley, the Chartist leaders, were still there to probe Ward's political record and further the political education of the workers there. Few of the audience would have denied the inadequate way in which Ward answered the question-'Do you represent the whole borough, or only a class?'. However the longer this meeting went on, the greater were the sounds of the anti-Chartist counter-cheers. Ward obtained a vote of thanks despite a Chartist motion against this. A faint smell of the uncleanness of class conciliation and collaboration could be detected. Within a few years 'Radical-Liberal' activity which men like Ward encouraged would create a stench which would perniciously hang in the air of the town.

Industrially the region's labour class advanced. At the London conference in March 1845 which set up the NAUTPL, important sections of this class were represented. John Drury, Thomas Booth, William Hawksworth, Thomas Stones, John Blackhurst, John Taylor and George Sykes represented the majority of Sheffield trades that made up the 'United Trades' locally. Frank Mirfield represented Barnsley weavers and various national delegates represented the interests of local tailors, ironfounders, bricklayers, shoemakers, carpenters and joiners.⁶⁷⁴ The federation they sought was to have two functions and two organizations to carry them out. One function involved the lobbying of parliament to seek action on short-time working and industrial arbitration. The other, through a National Association of United Trades for Employing Labour in Agriculture and Manufacturing, was to buy land and build industrial units to employ surplus labour.⁶⁷⁵ The Sheffield and Barnsley delegations, said to represent 10,000 organized workers, were very active in their discussions.⁶⁷⁶ They had received none of the 'no politics' mandates from their constituents, as trades from other localities had. Hawksworth and Sykes of Sheffield and Mirfield of Barnsley were all Chartists and Blackhurst was an Owenite. They did not explicitly introduce Chartist or Owenite politics into the conference. Mirfield did however remind his hearers that, 'no politics had found the Linen Trade out, and if other trades did not find out politics, depend on it, they would find them out too'.⁶⁷⁷ All the local delegates were interested in the potential of the NAUTPL for providing the means for a defensive alliance or 'General Union' of trades to resist aggression. They saw the advantages of strikes which received the strongest backing from the labour movement generally, but also appreciated that 'Boards of Conciliation or Trade' on the French model⁶⁷⁸ might help them save up their funds for wider political and social objectives.

The conference set things in motion. It was followed by national conferences of the shoemakers and tailors in which local branches of these trades were active.⁶⁷⁹ At a national level also the Chartists launched their Land Plan from the springboard of an April convention⁶⁸⁰. This led in May to

the Chartist Co-operative Land Society which was to provide the NCA with a new vehicle for recruitment.⁶⁸¹ During the remainder of 1845 branches of this organization were set up in the old Chartist centres of the region (Sheffield, Barnsley, Rotherham, Dodworth and Ardsley), as new social missionaries in the form of Land Society agents passed through the region.⁶⁸² The Plan brought O'Connor to Barnsley and Sheffield in August and the old sensation of O'Connorite 'enthusiasm' was recaptured.⁶⁸³ The Plan was popular but the labour class had also begun to discover its own means of using the land to remove the surplus of labour. Its discovery involved collective working which was different from O'Connor's scheme of small farms and two acre allotments.⁶⁸⁴ Socialist and capitalist ideals tugged in opposite directions. The under-developed stage of industrial capitalism and the persistence of petty capitalism underwrote the individualism of the Chartist plan.

(iii) New Chains Forged (Apr.1845-Feb.1848)

The Land Plan did little for the collective aspirations of the labour class. Chartism, without the strength of organized labour behind it, could achieve little. Most important to the labour class's advance was the on-going march of the organized trades. Here the road ahead was still blocked. The weavers, despite their strengthened union, could achieve little with regard to the restoration of the 1836 list.⁶⁸⁵ The majority of the cutlery trades forgot the 1810 list prices and concentrated on regaining the lower 1831 list. The co-ordination of the miners through the Miner's Association had faded into memories of once-held hope.⁶⁸⁶ Drury found the powerful Sheffield trades apathetic⁶⁸⁷ when only a third of the forty trades he had invited to a meeting about the NAUTPL attended.⁶⁸⁸ Leading trade unionists among the Sheffield trades' delegates analysed this pattern in highly significant terms. Booth's crude metaphor explained an age-old predicament:

The working classes, unless they were blown up like a bladder, unless they felt the pressure of the screw upon them, did not look over their own interests. As soon as the screw was relaxed, the pipe was withdrawn, and the bladder again collapsed.⁶⁸⁹

This had been the case with Chartist struggle although political repression also served to throw the 'pendulum' in reverse.

The trades now began to experience the consequence of prosperity.⁶⁹⁰ Blackhurst echoed Booth, commenting, 'I am tired of seeing trades' unions burst like a bubble when the excitement of the occasion is over'.⁶⁹¹ Highly significant was Drury's attack on 'frozen-hearted delegates' and his claim that:

The Sheffield trades were too much dictators. They had too much reliance individually on their knowledge to do any good in united action.⁶⁹²

Blackhurst re-echoed the 'democrats' attack on the 'political aristocrats' emphasizing 'that the spirit of union in various trades was in error', as they were 'more and more individualized' in relying on their own strength.⁶⁹³ With speakers like Booth bitterly repeating that 'the working classes need more of a thrashing to arouse them',⁶⁹⁴ Drury and the other dozen or so leading 'democrats' laid plans to tighten local industrial class organization. In the face of the employers' Protection Society,⁶⁹⁵ industrial activity continued but strikes were confined only to the strongest (and often most arrogant and exclusive, both economically and politically, 'aristocratic' trades) and the weakest (and most desperate) trades.⁶⁹⁶

Throughout the remainder of the year, in both metalworking areas in the south and elsewhere, under conditions of increasing prosperity, the labour class moved only slowly given its realized industrial strength. Complacency, apathy and divisions among the industrial leadership, as well as the powers of the employing class, explained this. Despite the warning voices of the leaders of the 'democratic' trades, particularly those of Drury of the razor grinders, Booth of the Britannia metal workers, Kirk of the file trade, Hawsworth of the spring knife trade and Blackhurst of the table knife trade, the trades, when they did meet as a united body, confined their discussions to immediate economic issues. The influence of Chartist-associated 'democrats', including Hawsworth and minor figures like Samuel Clayton of the carpenters and joiners, Evinson from the building trades, George Sykes from the shoemakers and Mordecai Travis from the table knife trade, was countered

by the absence of the 'political aristocrats' who did not lend their support to the alliance. There were others within the alliance who, either because they believed in 'economistic' goals or alternative political aims to Chartist ones, tried to keep the trades from seeking wider political solutions. Broadhead of the saw grinders was an archetype of the first type of 'aristocrat' within the alliance and Wardle of the spring knife trade and Beatson of the table knife grinders, examples of the latter in their advocacy of Free Trade.⁶⁹⁷ The 'aristocrats' said little at meetings and were often more conspicuous by their absence. They kept the trades on the political fence through their influence on the middle ground in the trades delegate meetings. Even Drury and his two elder statesmen, Booth and Kirk were influenced by them. Any plans for uniting the trades and seeking affiliation with the NAUTPL were blocked by 'aristocratic' or contra-democratic arguments and by the apathy of many trades towards the collective good. Elsewhere in the region, as in the weaving districts, labour was not as strongly organized, but there was still a positive commitment to the NAUTPL.

Through the early months of 1846 the pattern of industrial violence which was common to the metal-working south intensified.⁶⁹⁸ Trade was still improving and employers were standing firm on old and heavily discounted lists. Explosives became more commonly employed by the trades and other instigators of 'rattenings'. While Drury and the other moderate industrial leaders, both supporters of 'aristocrat' and 'democrat' positions, publically deprecated violence. The violence towards employers in various of the cutlery trades provoked them into direct action. They persuaded the government to send a police officer from London to collect evidence regarding the use of violence in trade disputes.⁶⁹⁹ The Explosive Substances Bill which tightened up the law on arson followed in the summer.⁷⁰⁰ Sheffield had become a well-established byword for industrial disorder in national discussion. Disputes in the edge tool, file, fork and building trades

during the spring and summer⁷⁰¹ were accompanied by violence, although the file⁷⁰² and powerful building trades⁷⁰³ obtained advances without violence. The largest of the cutlery trades, the spring knife trades, which had 2500 members, having been engaged in a long strike, struggled to keep the unemployed maintained 'on the box' using short-time and schemes of spade husbandry coloured by both Owenite and Chartist practice.⁷⁰⁴ Attendance at a trades' delegate meeting in June suggested that apathy was still a major problem, although the disproportionate number of grinders' delegates among the speakers, including the saw grinders, suggested that a more conservative and 'aristocratic' group of branches were realizing their common problems with the town's other cutlery and general trades.

Table 7:31 Speakers at the meeting of Trades' Delegates held at

Dalton's Temperance Coffee House on Tuesday 25 June 1846.⁷⁰⁵

<u>Name</u>	<u>Trade</u>
John Barnes	Table knife hafter
John Drury	Razor grinder
Charles Bagshaw	Razor smith
Thomas Booth	Britannia Metal smith
William Castle	Saw grinder
Samuel Clayton	Carpenter and joiner
James Goodlad	Pen blade grinder
Aaron Burkinshaw	Pocket blade grinder
James Warburton	Table Knife grinder
George Greaves	Table knife hafter
James Harrison	Table knife forger
Henry Taylor	Comb maker
William Hague	Table blade hafter
George Wilkinson	Table blade hafter

Several other trades were involved in collective action. Several more joined the celebrations at a dinner to thank Booth for his work for the ytown's labour class since 1819. This number and others listed as giving aid

to the Barnsley power loom weavers during the summer and early autumn added the following trades to the list of publically recorded collaborators in collective industrial activity:

Table 7:32 Additional trades shown to be active in collective activity through July and August 1846⁷⁰⁷

Fender Grinders	(aid to Barnsley)
File Grinders	" " "
File Hardeners	" " "
Saw Makers	(Booth celebration)
Scissor Grinders	(aid to Barnsley)
Scissor Forgers	" " "
Table Knife Hafters	(aid to Barnsley)

The dinner for Booth attracted a great deal of support from the trades in contrast with the apathetic turnout of the past few months. The choice of speakers and their common theme of unity and the moral advancement of the labour class were expedient.⁷⁰⁸ Booth's speech, significantly delivered in Upton's coffee house, set the tone with words of thankfulness that 'he had lived to see a great moral improvement in the condition of the working classes'. He spoke for the benefit of the 'hard centre' of organized trades which was composed of less extreme 'democratic' and politically 'aristocratic' trades. The young Owenite and temperance advocate, Blackhurst the table knife forger, spoke for the benefit of the 'left' of 'democratic' pro-Chartist (but also Owenite influenced) trades. Thomas Stones of the saw makers spoke for the 'conservative right' of 'politically aristocratic' trades.⁷⁰⁹ Common to all was an optimism in the inevitability of labour class ascendancy, although as Blackhurst carefully stated, 'they did not want to level any, but to climb themselves'. Booth and Blackhurst were both caught up by the steam power analogy. Booth stated:

They were educating themselves, accumulating capital, they were availing themselves of that power that oppressed to resist oppressors...It was like the progress of steam by which they now traversed the country like a bird.

After a long speech advocating temperance, moral self-improvement, short-time working and attacking the Anti-Corn Law League, Blackhurst moved on to employ the same analogy:

The first railway was only made for travelling ten miles an hour. But when the great principle of co-operation should be acted upon by thousands of communities, accumulating capital, wealth, the production of the fine arts, books, libraries, music, land - each adding daily to the general wealth - lands which they might sell at a great profit, after labouring upon them for twelve years - then they would have reached a high point of improvement. ⁷¹⁰

This was not the most diplomatic speech but it satisfied the **great** majority attending. It suggested the nature of an influential pattern of thinking amongst the 'Associated Trades'. Other trades were soon pulled into this grouping by the need for a stronger defensive alliance, after a devastating explosion at the Castle Mill grinding wheel in October brought the employer's association onto an angry offensive.⁷¹¹ This offensive brought nearly thirty trades under the shield of the Workmen's Protection Society.⁷¹² The Sheffield trades now also hurried more rapidly towards establishing a strong relationship with the NAUTPL.

The position of other bodies of organized labour in the region throughout 1846 was unclear. General trades in such towns as Rotherham and Barnsley were organized as in Sheffield on a local basis, but often had contacts wider afield through national bodies. This was true of tailors, shoemakers, iron moulders and building workers.⁷¹³ In Barnsley groups like this combined with the handloom weavers' union or 'Friendly Society',⁷¹⁴ (or as it became later that year - the Linen Weavers' Association for the Protection of Labour⁷¹⁵) to form the 'Barnsley Trades' who received the thanks of the Power Loom Weavers' Union.⁷¹⁶ In Rotherham the 'Trades' included the shoemakers, tailors, stove grate fitters and moulders and possibly others.⁷¹⁷ In the region's scattered ironworks only the most skilled workers were organized and at the collieries only sporadic organization at pit level kept the spirit of the vanished Miners' Association alive in 1846.⁷¹⁸

Measured in terms of organizational strength, Chartism continued to play a declining role in labour class struggle during 1846. The Land Plan

made some progress and it may have justified some of the claims for revival taking place among the NCA groups in the several centres of the region, especially at the time of the Land Plan conference and Chartist convention in August.⁷¹⁹ All NCA groups had sustained themselves through Land Plan activity,⁷²⁰ over the issue of the Irish Coercion Bill⁷²¹ and by developing the social and educational aspects of Chartist life.⁷²² In the northern weaving districts the traditional fluidity between the weavers' industrial leadership and their political leadership was continued.⁷²³ In Sheffield and the other metal working areas of the south and east the situation was still more complex. Amongst the Sheffield labour class, and particularly its leadership, there was still a great deal of general sympathy for Chartism. Industrial leaders continued to openly act within the NCA,⁷²⁴ Chartist politics were trade politics and vice versa for 'The United Building Trades', the shoemakers, table knife forgers, the carpenters and joiners and sections of the spring knife trade.⁷²⁵ There was however leadership and mass support for Free Trade and 'no politics' viewpoints. There was also the contradictory role of Owenite philosophy to evaluate. There was now even more common ground in labour class debate. Most leaders and their followers among the organized trades believed in the need for universal suffrage and for more democratic forms of organization to be created to operate the political nation. Even the 'politically aristocratic' trades elected their leaders on a universal franchise with accountability and frequent re-election as the marks of their highly democratic mentalities.⁷²⁶ The trade unionists also believed in the right to work and that men should receive a 'fair' as opposed to a 'market' rate for their work. To achieve this many believed in some sort of economic re-ordering. Some looked backward in terms of extreme individualist re-ordering - in terms of peasant proprietorship and petty industrialism. Some looked forward (although the vision was inspired by an ideal past as well) to forms of collective ownership, production and distribution based on both industry and the land. There was also agreement among labour class activists, whether trade unionists, Owenites, Chartists

Free Traders, Protectionists or permutations of these, that working people's lives should be culturally enriched with the adoption of more rational, sober but not always 'dry' leisure and recreational pursuits in the mutual warmth of their own social institutions. Chartists at the Democratic Reading Rooms and Temperance Rooms, Owenites at the Hall of Science and hopefully the trades in the future through their own press and meeting halls,⁷²⁷ all converged along the same route to labour class emancipation.

Challenging aspirations required better times than the winter of 1846-7 and the rapid deterioration of trade which followed throughout 1847, to have any hope of being realized in action. The signs of optimism which followed the November 1846 election of two Chartist town councillors in Sheffield⁷²⁸ (Thomas Briggs and Issac Ironside) were smothered by the gathering gloom of trade depression and the employers' attack on the trades. Bad trade and rising food prices after half a decade of relatively cheap prices of basic necessities put additional pressure on the labour population throughout the region,⁷²⁹ The employers squeezed labour harder to maintain profits. Trade funds were stretched to the limit to keep unemployed labour 'on the box' and out of the workhouse where they would be used to create a pool of cheap labour.⁷³⁰ The larger, cheap ware industrial trades of the region, which included large sections of the cutlery and linen trades, had the hardest task of keeping back the flood waters of free market anarchy. Under the influence of the NAUTPL, which all these trades looked to more anxiously than before in these months, many of the Sheffield trades took part in discussions with the town's leading employers to effect a truce.⁷³¹ These talks broke down in early 1847.⁷³² Most trades suspended the hope of using industrial action because it was necessary to secure all the funds for the unemployed. Short time working provided the means for some of the Sheffield trades to maintain the level of wages. It was difficult to hold individual trades together on this or any other basis but many held because the leaders knew how to discipline errants.⁷³³ Some trades struck openly during the early part of the year but these, like the stokers at Sheffield's gasworks,

only because they were industrially weak and desperate. The strike action of sections of the saw trade and by the bricklayers was based on 'economically aristocratic' strength.⁷³⁴ The trades of Sheffield continued to be united through trades' delegate meetings in the face of adversity.⁷³⁵ The actions of the magistrates in petty sessions, dispensing justice for the employers, inflamed the feelings of the industrial and political sections of the Sheffield labour class. The campaign in April and May 1847 against Wilson Overend JP, led to a 20,000 signature petition being sent to the Home Office to demand an account for Overend's behaviour.⁷³⁶ In the face of the employer's threats to seek repressive legislation to break the trades, more of them now looked towards the NAUTPL at a national level and the Workmen's Protection Society at a local level.

Throughout the spring and summer of 1847 local trades throughout the region affiliated to the NAUTPL. Over 6,000 trade unionists were claimed to be affiliated to this body in Sheffield after 'missionary' visits from NAUTPL officials had taken place.⁷³⁷ In Barnsley and the weaving districts weavers, colliers, shoemakers and tailors were enrolled. In Doncaster weavers were also recruited.⁷³⁸ The voices of Sheffield's labour class leaders, seeing their brave hopes vanish in the months of reversal, spat out denunciations of the employers and their accomplices. They were further roused up by the speech of Councillor Briggs, the Chartist, who told them at the Overend protest meeting in May:⁷³⁹

What is capital? If I understand it right it is surplus labour, and it is evidence for the thing created instead of the thing that created it. I say if they would legislate, and let you alone they would have done much better. If we cannot get into union, I say stick to yourselves like a bundle of sticks, and you will be a match for them before long. These are the beginnings of the time, and I know not what will be the end of it. The capitalist is alarmed because you are beginning to unite labour and capital together, which they dread. If they gave you the land and the materials to work with, you would work them better. Although they claimed all the wisdom, it appears they are ignorant of how to frame the laws for the whole of society. They say you are too ignorant for this thing and the other thing. I can only say that you are not too ignorant to produce, but they say you are too ignorant to dispose of what you have produced, and they get a lion's share and they that produces gets the least. They look on you as jackals. They have picked it to the bone, and you have nothing but the bone. I hope you look to the National Trades Union, which will make you feel

as independence ought to do, and they will not be able to tyrannise over you, direct or indirect as they have done. Look to yourselves, trust no-one but yourselves. I will give you a piece of advice - be in union with one another. All capital is ranged on one side; let labour be ranged on the other side. You do the same, and by that means you will have a better chance of getting something from them. I have now done.

The industrial leaders of the town's labour class echoed the Chartist's exhortation. Hawksworth of the spring knife trade stated:

I am fully convinced; from observation, that the working classes must look after their own interests. We stand at the present moment endeavouring to converge thought into action and capital into substance. We are endeavouring to unite throughout the length and breadth of the British Empire for the purpose of showing that the capital we accumulate, if taken into our hands, can be worked for the benefit of the million as well as for the benefit of the few.

Enthusiasm for the 'National Trades Union' sustained the hope of Sheffield's organized labour class for most of 1847. For organized groups of workers like the Barnsley weavers it offered the only realistic hope for economic advance in the present market situation.⁷⁴⁰ Mounting strain on the funds of the majority of Sheffield's trades, the indifference of the 'politically aristocratic' ones and the hostility of employers began to weaken the local basis of support for the NAUTPL during the latter part of 1847.⁷⁴¹

This weakening occurred despite the activity of the NCA Chartists in 1847. The NCA groups were recovering their momentum. National successes at the July General Election and in local council and for other public offices, all suggested brighter prospects. The appearance of the first Chartist estates, particularly O'Connorville, confirmed some of the optimism about the Land Plan.⁷⁴² Despite the defeat of Clark, the Chartist candidate in the Sheffield Borough Constituency election in July,⁷⁴³ the Sheffield Chartists had, with the growth of an efficient local political machine, better prospects of success in the local council elections in November.⁷⁴⁴ Here the NCA group worked in association with the more 'democratic' trades but the association with organized labour was still not as strong as in the weaving districts.⁷⁴⁵ The NCA and Land Plan still had support in Barnsley and in the 'quieter' urban centres of east Rotherham and Doncaster.⁷⁴⁶ In

the latter, Peter Foden, the Sheffield activist of 1839-40, was now a central figure in NCA affairs.⁷⁴⁷

During the winter months of 1847 the industrial economy spiralled further downwards.⁷⁴⁸ Labour class leadership, both political and industrial, battled against fiercer cross-winds of reaction. Despair, panic, selfishness and apathy were their main opponents within the ranks of the labour class. In September, for example, the combined Sheffield Chartist-'democratic' trades leadership, represented by Councillors Ironside and Briggs, George Cavill, T.N.Stocks, William Hawksworth and Samuel Jackson, could only command a few hundred hearers at a Paradise Square meeting called to obtain local support for the Holytown miners in Scotland. That particular 'Saint Monday' thousands were said to be 'spectating' at a cricket match in Sheffield's Hyde Park and their absence mocked Ironside's plea for 'a union of the producing classes' involving, 'the Charter, the Land, and the National Trades' Association...the sons of democracy... when they were united, labour was safe'.⁷⁴⁹

The first two of these 'sons' came very much alive during the winter months. In November 1847 the Sheffield Chartists scored significant successes in the local council elections.⁷⁵⁰ The prospect of a third national petition, and the Irish question, as well as the Land Company served to keep NCA groups active throughout the region.⁷⁵¹ Even in adversity Chartists had confidence. Richard Otley, unseated as a Chartist town councillor for Sheffield in November, declared at a meeting called to protest about property qualifications, that, 'times were changing and people were beginning to think for themselves, and were no longer to be lead in leading strings like children'.⁷⁵² That optimism was still shared by leaders of the 'democratic' trades. William Hawksworth, a Chartist and trade union leader, stated at the same meeting:

Their opponents were but dwarfs in society compared with the working classes - they were but minnows among the Tritons, let them therefore be at their posts. Let them never relax their exertions - freedom was before them, and if they acted as wise and thoughtful men, they would obtain their rights.

Realistically he continued:

But they were not going to obtain their rights all at once. They had only just entered the field - they were only beginning to exercise themselves - they were comparatively ignorant of their power in connection with the last election; but with time they would learn better. If the working classes did their duty, there would not be a child in whose mind they would not instil the principles they held, and thus make the next generation more wise, more virtuous and more determined⁷⁵³ to secure their own rights.

The Chartists had not transmitted enough confidence to the organized trades of Sheffield. Among the Barnsley linen weavers and in the local Trades' Association for the Protection of Labour in Barnsley, Frank Mirfield and other veterans united together Chartist optimism and industrial strength.⁷⁵⁴ Here and in Sheffield and the metal working areas of the south and east, the 'third son' of democracy, the NAUTPL, still had some influence amongst the generally weakened trades.⁷⁵⁵ Through it, local support was organized for the Holytown miners and attempts were made to provide arbitration in local disputes to save the trades from expending valuable funds on industrial action.⁷⁵⁶ The NAUTPL successfully intervened between the joiners and their employers in Sheffield in November.⁷⁵⁷ Many trades producing wares for the lower end of the market among the Sheffield trades were in serious trouble maintaining the required inflow of funds to guarantee the increased number of men who were 'on the box' benefits above the town's 'pauper wage'.⁷⁵⁸ The spring knife trade,⁷⁵⁹ and the file trade,⁷⁶⁰ along with the table knife trades,⁷⁶¹ three of the largest branches of the cutlery trades, were the worst affected.⁷⁶² Drury's razor grinders' union was also in great difficulties.⁷⁶³ Trades like these, without any accumulated funds, could only use desperate violence to discipline defaulters and coerce non-union labour and unscrupulous employers using them to desist from undermining the 'moral price' for labour.⁷⁶⁴ Several of the Sheffield trades, now looked positively towards taking their own land or leasing farms to deal with the growing surplus of labour in their trades. They saw this as a measure more related to this immediate economic reality than to ideals of collective ownership of the means of production by the labour class.⁷⁶⁵ Nevertheless it was a glance in that direction and all sections of labour class leadership, Chartist, Owenite and industrial(both 'democratic' and 'aristocratic')

drew optimistic pictures of a time such as Councillor Ironside saw, when 'labour had raised capital of its own... this union of capital and labour would starve capital to death'.⁷⁶⁶

Only strong sections of the organized labour class in the region had attempted strike action during the year. Such had been the case with sections of the Sheffield building and saw trades. The building trades, however 'economically aristocratic' were still politically 'democratic'. The saw trades typified the town's trades which were both economically and politically 'aristocratic'. Similar trades with an 'economically aristocratic' situation derived from luxury markets, as in the book, coach building, printing, silver and plated metal trades, also tended to have conservative or 'politically aristocratic' tendencies. These were the 'aristocrats' about whom Ironside rallied in a speech in September:

At present there is an aristocracy and a democracy in the unions. The aristocracy now rule and they confine their operations to matters directly affecting the trade and nothing more. The democracy wish the operation to be unlimited, and that all subjects affecting their welfare, directly or indirectly, should be discussed, and the resolutions thereupon acted out. Eventually the democracy will triumph, and then we shall hear no more of the purile objection made by the unions to politics.⁷⁶⁷

While not in the favoured market situation of 'economically aristocratic' trades, many union leaderships were being forced by economic deterioration and intensified employers' repression to act within more 'economistic' frames of reference and thus exhibited 'politically aristocratic' tendencies.

Outside Sheffield, ironworks' labour and colliery labour, where organized, could take advantage of a relatively more favourable market situation through a period of general commercial decline.⁷⁶⁸ To what extent and how they did this was unreported,⁷⁶⁹ although it is known that the most skilled forms of ironworks' labour were unionized.⁷⁷⁰ How they reacted to political questions cannot be easily guessed at. Similarly for the weavers the drill season provided some improvement in employment prospects before the end of the year.⁷⁷¹ The branches of this trade under the direction of Mirfield and other local Chartist sympathizers remained 'democratic'. Mirfield had also canvassed weavers in Doncaster for the NAUTPL and had sought to

introduce the federation to shoemakers and tailors in the Barnsley area.⁷⁷² In Sheffield such general trades and others like the brushmakers were also canvassed for the NAUTPL by visiting lecturers.⁷⁷³ Thus, despite the uninviting prospects for the winter, organized labour in the region was strongly battling to maintain local strength and to express wider solidarities.

In the early months of 1848 the region's industrially organized labour class began to be severely pressured by deteriorating economic conditions and the continuing employers' counter-attack. The Sheffield trades took most of the blow. Here the employers had obtained evidence sufficient to arrest John Drury and the rest of the razor grinders' committee for inciting men to smash machines.⁷⁷⁴ In this case, and another concerning some table blade grinders, heavy sentences were passed at the Spring Assizes. So eager was the judge to convict and pass an 'appropriate' sentence that he gave the razor grinders ten years' transportation when the legal maximum was seven years for their offence.⁷⁷⁵ In Drury's trade, as in the larger cheaper ware cutlery trades producing table knives, spring knives and also in the previously more advantaged file trade, industrial leaders struggled to keep the trade organizations solvent in the face of massive demands on 'the box'.⁷⁷⁶ The workhouses in Sheffield and Ecclesall Bierlow Poor Law Unions filled rapidly reaching levels of admission not seen since 1842.⁷⁷⁷ The Drury case involved the NAUTPL and other groups of organized workers in the region in the making of a concerted effort to use legal means to check the employers' initiative.⁷⁷⁸ The increasing day-to-day pressures on the trades did not help this effort.

Combined with immediate economic problems faced by the industrially organized labour class the deteriorating economic situation, affecting all sections of the labouring population, was to raise the level of popular response to the Chartists' last major national initiative. This initiative had its origins in activity taking place during the last

months of 1847 but the February Revolution in France, as well as events in Ireland, generated an enthusiastic response in March and through the spring and summer of 1848. It is this response and the momentum of the final national petition and associated convention that is looked at in some detail in the following section in order to examine the role of the organized labour class in the death rites of Chartism as a national movement.

(iv) Revolutionary Echoes (February 1848- August 1848)

On a national scale during March 1848 noisy Chartist inspired public meetings had been held in many large towns to applaud the French Republic and its creators.⁷⁷⁹ In Sheffield over 10,000 people had gathered in Paradise Square on 13 March to hear the leading local Chartists, including the councillors.⁷⁸⁰ In Barnsley there was no record of a similar meeting but many Chartist weavers and other workers had trekked to the mass open air meeting at Peep Green.⁷⁸¹ The leadership of the weaving districts' Chartists had maintained a more proletarian character during these later stages of struggle. The Sheffield leadership had become dominated by petty bourgeois elements who failed to grasp the potential of the situation arising. The three major Chartist speakers at the Sheffield meeting were Richard Otley, Issac Ironside and Thomas Briggs. All were self-employed petty tradesman.⁷⁸² No 'democratic' trade unionists shared the platform with them although several were still active in NCA Chartist leadership activity. The bulk of the assembled crowd were working men yet the 'respectable' small employer element in the NCA contributed the majority of platform speeches. This group, and the wider lesser middle class or petty bourgeoisie which they came from, were as much stirred by the events in France as were the mass of working people. Urging moral force means Otley's voice choked with uncritical optimism about France and the implications for England.

Otley evoked the latent radicalism of his own class(this showed an interest in democratic and republican forms of government). The voices of Jacobin and post-war Radical Sheffield echoed in Otley's words. The image of a 'sans-culotterie' was suggested in the way Otley described the potential of the moral pressure that could be applied by 'the People ' upon the Government, whereby 'the system would by the united voice of the people be swept into the ocean of oblivion'. The economic and social objectives behind political struggle were (as always) undeveloped by a political activist like Otley.⁷⁸⁴ Drawing attention to the poverty of his audience Otley could only put this down to taxation. The term 'class' did not appear to figure in his vocabulary.

Issac Ironside's contribution , and in a different way that of Briggs, showed that some of the petty bourgeois elements in local NCA leadership positions saw the needs of their mass following. Ironside's speech was caught up with the same Jacobin-Radical enthusiasm that had been part of his child-world as well as Otley's. The Backfields and Castle Hill meetings of 1794 had almost identical messianic enthusiasm to Ironside's :

The sceptre of France has once more passed from a corrupt and concentrated Government into the hands of her collective people; May it ever remain there! The manner in which this event has been accomplished has won the admiration of all. It has spread like lightning throughout the civilised world, and it is wakening to life the people of every nation, who have long been silenced and crushed under every form of oppression and iniquity.

A strain of republican and socialistic idealism ran through an 'Address to the French Nation' which the Owenite Ironside had composed. Ironside's Owenite philosophy lifted him above the worldly realities of class struggle towards the heavens of a communitarian or communistic future. His 'Address' outlined twelve important social priorities for achieving 'heaven on earth'. The provision of basic social minima was common to the most socialistic of these:

- 6th. Society owes to every individual permanent remunerative employment according to choice, capacity and public necessity. It owes him succour in the event of sickness and the education of his children; support in old age in that degree of value, wealth, and honour, earned by the service of life.
- 7th. Individuals owe all to society, in as much as they receive all from it. Their strength, energies, application, talents, genius, devotion—all belong to the public.
- 9th To prevent re-gorging superfluity, no individual should exceed a maximum amount of expenditure fixed by society and replaced according to public fortune. To prevent miserable destitution, a minimum of expenditure should also be fixed, securing to each the bare necessities of life, the plainest clothing and lodging.

There was a necessary ambiguity which admitted the need for private property by petit bourgeois such as Ironside. This was spelt out in the eighth clause:

Each should assist all improving the public fortune and all should assist each in securing individual wealth, happiness and honour.

The direction of Ironside's and Briggs' thoughts towards social or public ownership was emphasized in additional proposals that Ironside made to 'sketch a faint outline of a new social order of civilisation'. The provision of work, education and social welfare were to be the aims of the State under the new order which was to also equalize wealth and opportunity and provide more than social minima. While Briggs echoed these sentiments he emphasized the role of the industrial strength of the labour class and 'the great struggle between labour and capital as to how the principle of free trades should be carried out'. He urged all his hearers to look to the land for salvation. He stated that in the short term it would provide a 'regulator' for the surplus of labour and in the long term it offered the promise of the Chartist Land Plan inspired individualist, or Owenite inspired communitarian, utopia. Briggs, a sincere friend of the Sheffield labour class stared into the soul of incipient industrialism and declared:

The land proprietors added farm to farm and were looking after their own interests while they were driving many into the manufacturing districts. If a man had land and was willing to work, he would never starve; but if a man was without land, he was always at the will and caprice of the manufacturers.

The town's industrial leadership and trade unionists generally had their own immediate problems to solve. This meeting and one a week later which

also filled Paradise Square⁷⁸⁵ both enabled the Chartists to convince many working men that the French Republic's achievements could inspire, through the new petition and the election of a convention, a constitutional overthrow of monarchical and aristocratic government in England. At a meeting held on 29 March when a Sheffield crowd chose Thomas Clark to represent their interests at the Convention scheduled to commence on 4 April, several of the leaders of the hard pressed 'democratic' trades were present on the platform.⁷⁸⁶ Irish repealers of both the 'Old' and 'Young Ireland' factions, having been courted by the Chartists, also gave support to the Chartists. Now the arrest and trials of their leaders in Ireland drove the United Irishman-reading 'Young Irelanders' towards pike making and the collection of muskets.

In Barnsley Frank Mirfield had been chosen as Convention delegate by the English NCA Chartists and their Irish Chartist allies. The Irish Repealers in the town, who came from the more democratically minded 'Young Ireland' faction, issued their declaration of support for the French Republic through a meeting of the Barnsley Irish Democratic Federation. This body sought co-operation with the NCA Chartists. Presided over by Peter Hoey and other Irish Chartist veterans, this body co-operated with the NCA in setting up a joint English-Irish committee of twenty one members to plan local protest action regarding the arrests of the nationalist leaders in Ireland.⁷⁸⁷ Seven thousand people braved the rain on the Barebones to act over this issue on 2 April.⁷⁸⁸ Such joint activity also provided support for the Chartist petition and the Convention which began its sessions on 4 April. Mirfield had been at the meeting of 2 April. Two days later he arrived at the Convention to make the final session of the first day's sitting and to declare in the name of his Barnsley constituents:

If the military were let loose on Ireland, something would let loose here (Cheers). If the petition were rejected they hoped the Convention would not break up, but that it would take into its hands the government of the country (Tremendous cheers from the strangers' gallery) and that they would divide the land into small farms and give every man an

opportunity of getting his living by the sweat
of his brow. ⁷⁸⁹

While the Convention met to overview the presentation of the petition planned for 10 April, huge public meetings were held in the 'constituencies'. Between 7 April(Friday) and 11 April(Tuesday), when the first reports of the Kennington Common fiasco came through, mass demonstrations were held in both Sheffield and Barnsley. The authorities were rattled by the enthusiasm shown at these meetings. They were concerned by reports of pike making and military drilling in the Barnsley area.⁷⁹⁰ When news of the discrediting of the petition came through a few days after, the political impetus inspired by the Chartists continued to gather momentum. The Chartists from the Sheffield area held camp meetings at Attercliffe on 16 and 22 April.⁷⁹¹ The Barnsley area Chartists held another one on 15 April and the Rotherham area activists met in College Yard on 17 April.⁷⁹³ Large public meetings were held in Sheffield and Barnsley to elect delegates to the Convention or 'Assembly' as it was now called.⁷⁹⁴ Visiting delegates were now received during a period of preparation for the more revolutionary challenge which the permanently sitting 'Assembly' was designed to pose.⁷⁹⁵ In Barnsley the rumours of arming were acted upon by the authorities, who swore in extra special constables, called upon the services of the Yeomanry and saw that the military force in the area was reinforced.⁷⁹⁶ In Sheffield and everywhere else in the region outside the weaving north of the region there seemed less class panic among the authorities. Moral force leadership,⁷⁹⁷ the better military organization of the authorities and the smaller Irish community, all reduced the threat of physical force activity in the Sheffield area.⁷⁹⁸

On 1 May the Convention reassembled to sit permanently as the Assembly. On 13 May it dissolved with many angry and disappointed delegates returning to face their constituents to admit the failure of constitutionalist means.⁸⁰⁰ Before the dissolution, Briggs' brief return on leave from the Convention had brought him to Sheffield to address

his constituents. The crowd that came to greet him was claimed to be no more than a few hundred strong.⁸⁰¹ Even in Barnsley and the surrounding weaving villages there was disillusion with Chartist politics as they had been managed through the Assembly.⁸⁰² Here there was no body of influential moderate leadership as in Sheffield. In Sheffield Chartist leaders like Councillor Briggs told mass assemblies of Chartist sympathizers to show restraint from physical force means. He told a Sheffield meeting on 10 May :

He would not fight; but when he saw that square bristling with 10,000 bayonets and the Queen's troops ready to attack them, he would at the hazard of his life throw himself between to preserve the peace. ⁸⁰³

In Barnsley pikes were now being openly made. The pike makers openly carried old files and rasps to be specially sharpened. Their children or younger brothers openly boasted about the length and ferocity of their fathers' and brothers' pikes.⁸⁰⁴ In the textile districts of the West Riding to the north, brigades of 'National Guards' were being formed in the old physical force Chartist strongholds of Bradford and Halifax, and widespread disturbances there and elsewhere put the Government on the alert throughout May and into June.⁸⁰⁵ Samuel Kydd from the NCA Executive visited Barnsley to warn against the danger of any 'partial outbreak' and he urged Chartist sympathizers in both Sheffield and Barnsley to work constitutionally through the NCA.⁸⁰⁶

In Sheffield on 30 May and again a fortnight later the Chartists could only command a thousand or so hearers at meetings in Paradise Square. In Barnsley things were very different. Physical force activism was generating renewed momentum and large numbers of weavers marched around the town in military style daily.⁸⁰⁸ Over 500 of them attended a 10,000 strong rally in Sheffield on 13 June. The rally was to greet the visiting O'Connor and it drew in contingents of Chartists from the Rotherham and Doncaster areas and other local village Chartists.⁸⁰⁹ The rally presented a more dynamic picture of South Yorkshire Chartism. Behind the constitutionalist front that mass meetings suggested, pike

makers and musket purchasers were at work preparing for violence. Not only in the weaving districts but in Sheffield men were arming. Thomas Briggs, who had told violent men at the Assembly that 'the people of Sheffield had burned their fingers once',⁸¹⁰ and had always demonstrated his determination to prevent revolutionary violence, was reported as saying, 'he had pawned his eight day clock for a gun'.⁸¹¹ This took place at a meeting before the O'Connor rally. The following day, Briggs, who was having a physical and nervous breakdown, seemed to be his 'normal self' once more, warning that muskets were being bought by physical force revolutionaries in the town.⁸¹² The following day he broke down several times in the Town Council meeting, expressing his fears for an outbreak of violence and complaining of the strain of being the Assembly delegate in London, and cryptically of being 'tired of holding down the wet blanket'.⁸¹³ Secrets of a private fantasy world, or equally likely a concrete real world, and personal guilt about his own ambiguous pronouncements at recent meetings, destroyed Briggs' mind, and his body, within a week.⁸¹⁴ Briggs' death was highly significant for Sheffield Chartism. He had more respect than most for the power of the organized trades. He had associated with the leaders of the 'democratic trades' and used the influence of the NCA to obtain public support for their industrial struggles. After his death the petit bourgeois exclusivism of NCA leadership did not encourage the positive links that had existed in the past. The trades were weakened by economic deterioration and the repressive acts of the employers. They also suffered from their own exclusivist tendencies, something which Briggs had mentioned in London when he had spoken of there being 'as much of an aristocracy among the working classes as could be found in any other class'.⁸¹⁵ The trades clung more easily to two other panaceas that Briggs had advocated - their farms⁸¹⁶ and their association with the NAUTPL.⁸¹⁷ They were however relinquishing their grip on the political tools the NCA provided. The O'Connor rally marked the end of the NCA's mass appeal. Although its activists still played a significant part in local government politics, indeed they were to win seven of the contested seats in the November election,⁸¹⁸ and although national NCA

activity and the Land Plan kept the faithful together into the early 1850s,⁸¹⁹ Chartism's potential for creating a mass political movement involving the town's labour class was gone.

In Barnsley this potential was maintained a little longer. From June until August, inspired by the insurrection in Paris and the progression towards one in Ireland, armed sections of the English and Irish Chartists and their Democratic Confederate brethren maintained hopes of a rising in England.⁸²⁰ The local magistrates banned any further meetings on the Barebones and the constables enforced this ruling.⁸²¹ Angry voices urged defiance. James Noble (whose voice had been heard urging a general strike in 1842) and Michael Seagrave (the Irish Chartist) were the angriest of these. Seagrave had told his Barnsley audience a few days before the O'Connor rally:

...you are born to be slaves and you are to remain so for the purpose of filling the coffers of the aristocracy and the capitalists of this country. The capitalist is as bad as the aristocracy (cries of 'worse')

These were the last revolution^{ary} echoes from the labour class for a generation.

(v) 'Ropes of Sand' - the beginning of the disintegration phase, (Sept. 1848- Dec. 1849)

Such anger did not precipitate violent outbreaks in the region.⁸²³ The 'partial outbreak' in Bradford in August⁸²⁴ evoked no response from brother Chartists and Confederates in the more forward Barnsley.⁸²⁵ Frank Mirfield, representing the more 'rational' and representative centre in Barnsley Chartism, was using his influence to keep up the industrial strength of labour locally.⁸²⁶ The Weavers' Union was badly weakened by poor trade and a poor fancy drill season which began in August further promised to undermine it. Mirfield still looked to national strength through the NAUTPL and to local unity of the industrially organized labour class as essential for the further economic and thereby political and social progress by his class in the face of the repression they encountered. He represented Barnsley's organized trades in their support for the sentenced Sheffield razor grinders. In July

he gave a lecture on transportation (based on his own Australian experiences in the early 1830s) at the theatre in Sheffield.⁸²⁷ Ironside, representing the Sheffield Chartists and trying to fill the gap of bridgebuilder with the town's organized trades, was also there along with prominent trade unionists, both 'aristocratic' and 'democratic'.⁸²⁸ Further activity centering on the use of a writ of error followed this meeting.⁸²⁹ The Sheffield trades were badly weakened by the heavy demand of the unemployed,^{and} several branches of the file, razor, table knife and spring knife trades were 'out of union' or so indebted to individuals or institutions like the NAUTPL that they were facing liquidation.⁸³⁰ At a public meeting in September to raise money for legal action, the poor attendance noted was partly a reflection of these economic problems. The Chartists who were present, particularly Ironside and Otley, analysed the weak response with varying degrees of sympathy. Otley commented, somewhat condescendingly,:

They had had very exciting times during the last six months, and it was very much to be lamented that the great mass of the working classes, when they were disappointed of direct success in anything they undertook, immediately fell into a state of apathy and indifference.

Ironside showed a stronger and more self-critical grasp of the realities of labour class struggle:

Unfortunately, there had been too great a division among the working people of this country as to the proper course to be adopted, to secure that in which they were all interested - the emancipation of labour. The Chartists did not see that when trades' union were attacked, they also were attacked; and the trades' unionists, on the other hand, when the Chartists were attacked, did not see that a blow was aimed at them.

He reminded them all of the dark shadow of repression that had fallen across their path:

The great object of those who lived upon the labour of the people, was to destroy every popular movement which had for its object the emancipation of labour.

The trade union leaders responded to such appeals with greater caution than before. Even a good 'democrat' like Hawksworth betrayed in his words a growing detachment from his former Chartist associates through his particular emphasis on the achievements of trade unions:

What but the trades' unions is it that has kept us before other towns in this respect? I see nothing of that poverty in Sheffield that exists in other towns; and it is because the unemployed are kept by the contributions of those who are employed. ⁸³¹

During the winter months of 1848-9 and well into 1849, the organized trades in the smaller scale outwork, workshop and small factory industries of the region had to struggle to maintain their industrial strength. ⁸³² The campaign to free Drury and his colleagues provided a common focus for the organized trades of Sheffield, Rotherham and Barnsley. It became a national issue and eventually in August 1849 the Sheffield unionists were freed. ⁸³³ The organized trades continued to detach themselves from the Chartist bodies in their communities, although the connections between 'democratic' trades' unionists in Sheffield and the NCA and Land Company activists were never completely severed. Chartist organisation and activity slowly withered away. ⁸³⁴ In the weaving districts the 'democratic' aspects of trade union struggles were the beneficiaries. In Sheffield petty bourgeois 'Ultra Radicalism', both on the Town Council and in terms of the selection and election of a new MP, John Arthur Roebuck, was the greatest beneficiary. After the election ^{on} November 1849 the Chartists had 22 councillors representing their interests. ⁸³⁵ Their local election victories were not without value to the Sheffield labour class and the wide labouring population. ⁸³⁶ The Chartist councillors did not betray the trust put in them by the property-qualified electors from the class (mobilized by a highly efficient and democratic local electoral machine) that had put them there. ⁸³⁷ The introduction of Roebuck into the constituency at the expense of a genuine Chartist candidate, who withdrew, illustrated that the labour class would tolerate a Liberal-Radical little better than a Whig. Roebuck's candidacy divided the collaboratist element in local Chartism from truer labour class friends. Ironside was heavily criticized for his role in the May hustings. 'Democratic' trades' unionists like Hawksworth probed Roebuck's position on trade union rights and Seward of the local NCA reminded them of the old ways:

As I was coming to the meeting I met an old Radical, and asked his opinion of Mr. Roebuck. He replied Mr Roebuck was what he

called a liberal Whig; I believe the name of Whig now stinks in the nostrils of all good men. Experience must have taught the people of the hollowness, the falsehood, the hypocrisy, and the tyranny of that faction called Whigs.

Poverty was still their tormentor, as he reminded them in words which recaptured the fierce class antagonism of a more proletarian Chartism:

England has now been guilty of the crime of murdering her unproductive poor. But let the rich know, that unless they take heed, the day of reckoning will come, and the nation that has been oppressed and trodden under foot will most assuredly rise in its mightyness and power, and casting its chains assunder, will lay its oppressors in the dust. ⁸³⁸

In Sheffield Chartism's success was maintained on the local government level but national Chartist politics were bankrupt. The NCA became an intellectual clearing shop, albeit raising interesting and neglected issues like the rights of women. ⁸³⁹ With the aid of the visit of the charismatic O'Connor to call out thousands to support the cause of Hungarian nationalism, mass democratic and republican sympathies were again revealed. ⁸⁴⁰ The complete detachment of organized labour from political struggle followed, and within the ranks of the trades which survived the hardship of the late 1840s, 'politically aristocratic' trades maintained their aloofness from the rest. ⁸⁴¹ Barnsley's Chartism was absorbed by the more 'democratic' majority of trades. ⁸⁴² What happened to Chartists in smaller centres was unrecorded but political and economic conditioning, seen to be operating in the stronger centres, possibly had the same effect of detaching the organized trades from the remnants of the Chartist groups, with those trades in a traditionally weaker market situation (and thus conditioned as 'democrats') retaining their political aspirations in muted industrial form, and the economically stronger trades (thus more likely to be conditioned as 'aristocrats') leaving their wider political aspirations undeveloped.

(d.) Postscript: Origins of the corporate labour class - changing dimensions of social war in the age of Capital c.1850-55

(i) Summary

New patterns of class struggle (and class control) began to take shape during the early 1850s. The region's labour class continued to uphold its reputation for forwardness in industrial if not political struggle. However, when it acted, it managed, as John Foster has claimed more generally (and perhaps too optimistically), with organizational advance.⁸⁴³

By the early 1850s there was a less positive relationship between Chartism's radical (and mainly petty bourgeois) intelligentsia and the 'democratic' leadership of organized labour. This relationship had been vital to the ideological creativity of labour class radical politics from the Jacobin to the Chartist period. By the mid 1850s all existing Chartist organizations had disappeared or become absorbed by middle class dominated Liberal-Radicalism. The energies of the Chartist intelligentsia were directed into 'respectable' national politics although some of their old radical fire burned over local municipal issues. The 'democratic' trades' leadership retained some of its political hostility to 'respectable' national politics but drifted towards a general acceptance of the political status quo. It too dabbled in municipal struggles but came to be absorbed by municipal forms of Liberal-Radicalism. Among other less 'democratic' trades political collaboration with the property owning classes continued. Among their ranks could be seen the truly 'aristocratic' trades, whose only concern was for craft-exclusive privileges maintained by limited economic action.

In the 1850s the strength of the organized labour class was mainly industrial and was expressed in localized unity and action. From a longer term view and in terms of the national picture the 1850s were, as John Foster says, 'a decade of disastrous defeat', involving the 'loss of the whole organizational heritage... of the earlier nineteenth century'.⁸⁴⁴ Despite the disappearance of Chartism and its replacement by collaboration with

Liberal-Radicals which Roebuck's representation of Sheffield epitomized, the labour class in South Yorkshire held firm in terms of industrial organization and unity in the 1850s. This was despite the legacy of repression and defeat from the 1840s and despite the subtler moulding of working people's economic, political and social-cultural identities that was part of the ascendancy of industrial capitalism in the 1850s.

The early 1850s saw a prolonged burst of commercial prosperity and structural shifts which promised a sounder basis for longer term expansion of employment in the region's industrial economy. The 'miracle of the railway' in the later 1840s and early 1850s revitalized coal, iron, and cutlery. This 'miracle' was overtaken by the mid 1850s 'miracle of war' which, through armaments production, pointed the way ahead for steel. Prosperity was not universal however, it was relative and unevenly distributed. The linen trade branches were virtually all in decline, despite the power loom. The inferior branches of the cutlery trades were slower to revive and even traditionally superior trades experienced difficulties. The light sector as a whole benefitted far less than the heavy sector, and both were affected by the downturn of 1854-55. Employers sought to maintain profit levels throughout, and in the main this was done at the expense of workers. Wage rates improved little and although fuller employment might have promised better money earnings, prices rose and 'invisible exploitation' increased.

In the face of this, the industrially organized labour class advanced organizationally. Stronger localized groupings of labour took shape, new groups of workers organized and displayed signs of industrial militancy and there were significant examples of intra- and inter-regional industrial solidarity. None of this compensated for ideological retreat. The fundamental lessons of anti-capitalist economics were forgotten. When the principle of co-operation was remembered in ideas and practice it was inspired by shop-keeper co-operation - Rochdale style. Not everything was lost, for the 'labour creates all wealth' equation was indelibly stamped

upon the worn hands and straining backs of working people. It was not forgotten and helped to preserve the ambiguity in the emerging corporate position of organized labour recognizing itself as a functional part of industrial capitalist society. In the narrative that follows these tendencies are briefly illustrated by a glimpse at labour class struggle in the early 1850s.

(ii) New Dimensions

1850 represented a mainly slow and variable period of recovery in most sections of the region's industrial economy. Throughout the year the region's industrially organized labour class was on the defensive, recovering from the depression of 1847-9. Politically independent labour class politics were drastically on the decline although the latter part of the year was marked by renewed optimism about Chartist revival.

The Sheffield trades showed early on in 1850 some signs of being still bound together, at least loosely, in an association. In January at least thirteen trades came forward with further donations for the Drury Defence Fund. At a meeting in the Hall of Science in January these trades and the leaders of four others signed an address to be circulated to 'absentee' trades asking them to give more money.⁸⁴⁵ The initiative came from the leaders of four grinding branches, (saw, edge tool, scissor and scythe). The thirteen other trades included one other grinding branch (table blade), and a mixture of other trades, large and small, superior and inferior, aristocratic and democratic, cutlery and non-cutlery (joiners, painters, millwrights and engineers, moulders, spring makers, spring fitters, horn button pressers, haft and scale pressers, letter press printers, anvil makers, scissor forgers and silversmiths). Between January and July when further discussions took place, attempts were made to collect cash from the thirty or more 'absentee' trades or branches of trades. Some of these ignored such appeals with craft-exclusive arrogance. This was perhaps true of the smaller superior groups like the coach builders and the few other luxury crafts. Some larger groups in the staple trades still had to recover their strength after paying out huge sums to relieve their unemployed during the hard years of 1847-9. This was true of the branches of the file, saw (grinder excepted) and edge tool (grinder excepted), spring knife and table knife (grinder excepted) trades.⁸⁴⁶ Some trades or branches were able to donate to the fund and fight industrially as the actions of the edge tool grinders early in 1850 illustrated.⁸⁴⁷ In the main the bulk of organized trades were too weak to take much action industrially.

Organized labour in Barnsley and Rotherham was also weak. Groups in both towns were involved in the Drury Fund as lenders of money. The weavers of Barnsley, both power and hand loom, were organized in the Linen Weavers' Association and involved with other local trades in a 'Barnsley Local Union'⁸⁴⁸. Others of this town's trades and the Rotherham trades (probably keeping up a collective unity revealed openly in 1844) were probably in a stronger position than the weavers. There were no signs of them acting industrially. Sections of the weavers did however strike in 1850. In January the damask weavers successfully struck for better prices and in July and August power loom weavers of drabbetts and ticks managed to push rates back to 1846 levels and to get action taken to curtail forms of 'invisible exploitation' (the demand for greater lengths of work at existing prices).⁸⁴⁹ The Linen Weavers' Association, at whose heart stood the veteran trade unionist and Chartist Frank Mirfield, needed all its money to support such action. When the Sheffield trades did not quickly repay the debt, relations between the two groups deteriorated.⁸⁵⁰

When the Sheffield trades met again in July they began to bicker among themselves. There was a poor turn out and delegates were prompted to attack the absentee trades for deserting labour's cause. The large filesmiths' and cutlers' union came in for much criticism from Hawksworth, the veteran 'democrat' or pro-Chartist trade union leader.⁸⁵¹ What was taking place within this trade was typical of many local unions.⁸⁵² Led by permanent secretaries, Joseph Kirk (another veteran 'democrat' now pushed by the trades towards wholesale economism) and John Warren, it was building up its organization and financial strength after the hard years of 1847-9 when it had to pay out £21,000 to its unemployed members. In the depths of crisis in 1848-9 it had shown willingness to collaborate with overseers and employers to keep its members from claiming public relief.⁸⁵³ Now, with better trade, it looked forward towards capitalizing on a better understanding with employers.⁸⁵⁴

Similarly, other trades, not only in Sheffield, were confident of better times with the increased tempo of activity in the industrial economy beginning to happen in the autumn of 1850. Only the linen weavers did not

share in the general improvement and in their district coal provided compensation.⁸⁵⁵ Improvement made it possible to rebuild and strengthen unions but now there were hints that they could become corporate instruments of the new capitalism.⁸⁵⁶

Through most of 1850 the Chartist cause continued to die. NCA branches seemed to disappear in every town except Sheffield although in June the Barnsley one was revived.⁸⁵⁷ The decline in national agitation and its breakdown into competing collaboratist and non-collaboratist organizations hit the local movement.⁸⁵⁸ Sheffield's NCA branch and associated Land Company activity were still reported weekly by the Northern Star.⁸⁵⁹ A new alliance with the local Irish Chartists boosted NCA activity⁸⁶⁰ and influence in municipal affairs through the town councillors and elected representatives on poor law and highway authorities boosted the influence of Chartist democrats.⁸⁶¹ In Barnsley, Chartists were as always influential in trade union activity but they had no effective opportunities for political action in the municipal field.⁸⁶² In Sheffield the Chartists made no secret of their weakness but still retained optimism about the movement and the progress of labour class organization. At a mass constituency meeting in July, Roebuck, the Sheffield Liberal-Radical MP, continued to make progress in winning the labour class's support. With favourable and careful references to free trade, temperance and trade unions, he appeared able to evade making a pledge for universal suffrage and instead talked of a 'liberal extension of the constituency of this country'. Old Chartist leaders, including Otley, Jackson and Steel challenged Roebuck and were met with evasions. Otley's speech towards the end of the meeting presented a challenge to Roebuck's ignorance. Otley reportedly said:

Though there was a lull in the political world, yet there was a secret movement among the working classes that might be concealed from Mr Roebuck...There was a great desire for information, and men's minds were silently preparing for a great change. There was less clamour, but more real action and more determination by suitable conduct to secure⁸⁶³ what the people considered to be their rights.

The talk of revival of Chartism in Sheffield and local signs of Chartist

activity in Barnsley and Rotherham in the second half of the year all seemed to justify Otley's hopes.⁸⁶⁴ The competing claims of the O'Brienite National Reform League and the NCA and O'Connor's and other leaders' divisive actions undermined the possibility of rebirth in the second half of 1850.⁸⁶⁵ Chartist groups in the region still kept up regular meetings on NCA and Land Company business. Much of their activity was purely social. Such events as the Sheffield and Barnsley autumn Chartist holiday excursions kept democratic culture alive.⁸⁶⁶ Chartist voices served to keep the labour class awake. At Roebuck's constituency meeting in July and also at a September public meeting in Sheffield, organised to try and persuade organised labour in the town to support the planned Great Exhibition, Chartists had spoken out. Through the distorting lens of the Sheffield Independent's report of the latter, they appeared a cranky minority. At this meeting Hawksworth, the veteran 'democrat' trade unionist, had called on the sixty three branches of trades organized in the town to respond as **favourably** as his trade had done. In contrast the Chartist voice of Samuel Jackson declared:

As the Exhibition was for the gratification and amusement of kings, princes and the aristocracy, but a collection of wealth wrung from the labouring classes, the meeting pledged itself to take no steps to promote the Exhibition until the People's rights to representation was granted. (~~cheers and laughter~~)... The Exhibition was got up by the Government for two purposes: the first was to turn the people's attention from politics and the other to increase the police force (laughter)⁸⁶⁷

At the weekly meetings in the Temperance Hotel in Queen Street and at larger meetings and soirees in the Hall of Science the SNCA Chartists struggled to revitalize the cause. In step with national trends they moved to discuss important 'social' questions and to draw closer to a more precise socialist position.⁸⁶⁸ Ernest Jones was among them in September and November to urge this sort of perspective and call on them to 'organize, organize, organize'⁸⁶⁹. At the level of local municipal politics this lesson had already been absorbed. More council election victories were achieved in Sheffield in November 1850.⁸⁷⁰ In terms of national Chartist action all was confusion, with competing organizations and bitter personality clashes.⁸⁷¹

This disturbed local Chartism. Most of the few hundred surviving NCA Chartists in Sheffield, Barnsley and Rotherham were still loyal to O'Connor. Some Chartists were involved with the O'Brienite Reform League but this did not involve any fundamental break with the NCA. Some NCA members turned to O'Connor and his scheme for a Manchester convention late in 1850, and others looked to the NCA Executive and the plan it had to hold a convention in London in the following spring.⁸⁷² At the end of 1850, despite the optimistic claims of revival by local Chartists, the organization locally and nationally was extremely weak.

The early months of 1851 confirmed the trend towards greater commercial stability throughout most of the region's industrial economy except the linen weaving districts.⁸⁷³ Here the weavers in the branches most dependent on the home market were out breaking stones 'on the parish' while the newly created Barnsley Poor Law Union workhouse was being built to receive some of them on a more permanent basis.⁸⁷⁴ Under conditions of relative prosperity elsewhere organized labour was able to rebuild.

In Sheffield and its metal working hinterland the file and spring knife trades recovered and so did the funds of the unions organized in them.⁸⁷⁵ Few trades were in a position to engage in strike action to recover the list prices gained in the mid 1840s or earlier and now being heavily discounted. When strike action was used it was the desperate action of groups of workers faced with further reductions. Only thus can the twenty week long strike of workers in the railway spring trade be explained. They faced a 20% reduction and fought it until their own union was broken.⁸⁷⁶ The trades which shared in the recovery were able to take part in sympathetic supportive action to help such groups and other striking groups outside the region. The several unions in the file trade and the table knife hafters were able to donate £25 and £30 each to the seamen striking in the north coast ports in the

spring of 1851.⁸⁷⁷ Presumably trades with much healthier finances also joined in such action. The one organized group in the region that was unable to do so was the linen weavers. The Linen Weavers Association still survived but it was weak. It was still owed money by the Sheffield trades. At its annual general meeting in April 1851 its leaders attacked those Sheffield trades that, 'had the power but not the principle to pay!'⁸⁷⁸ In Sheffield several trades had been disbanded because of the debts they had outstanding through the Drury affair. Drury's own razor grinders were conveniently 'out of union' at the time. Other trades like the saw grinders were willing to repay their share of the debts.⁸⁷⁹ The filesmiths and cutters' union repudiated its debts claiming, 'it was sick of supporting a system of plunder and destruction'.⁸⁸⁰ This body had also been hostile to donating money to the seamen and had ignored its permanent secretaries' advice to give aid. One of the members of the union writing in the Sheffield Independent in July spoke out against his fellow members. He observed that, 'there was a time when their thoughts and sentiments were very different'.⁸⁸¹ This voice harked back to the 'democratic' sympathies of the trade in the 1830s and 1840s. The voice seemed to be influential because in a few weeks this trade was seen acting with others in Sheffield and the wider region giving aid to the London-based fund for the 'Wolverhampton Nine' (tin plate workers whose prosecution threatened the whole trade union movement). At least thirteen other trades from Sheffield, Rotherham and Barnsley gave money to this fund. These included Sheffield's silversmiths, shoemakers, file hardeners, Britannia metalsmiths, scythe grinders, sickle forgers, painters, sawsmiths, type founders, saw grinders, edge tool grinders and saw handle makers.⁸⁸² These were trades with democratic leaderships who had past records of association with the London-based NAUTPL which had survived as the National Association of United Trades into the 1850s and was co-ordinating support for the Wolverhampton workers.⁸⁸³ Again such evidence of support prompts questions about other trades and their support or lack of it. Most organized trades in the region were more able to give

aid than they had been for several years. Did they have the inclination to do so or had there been a retreat into sectionalist isolation? Were some trades weak like the Linen Weavers' Association which had in these recent months had to stand back while one striking section of the trade it represented was driven back to work with a 20% reduction in piece rates.⁸⁸⁴ The last months of 1851 confirmed the general trend of economic recovery and gave the organized trades more opportunity for rebuilding their industrial strength. The results of this were seen the following year.⁸⁸⁵

Chartism continued to decline throughout 1851. Early on there had been some confirmation of the promise of the later months of 1850. In Sheffield, a new paper, the Sheffield Free Press, had joined the democratic fight. Its message was more for the Chartist intelligentsia continuing in a muted form of Chartist struggle in the field of municipal politics.⁸⁸⁶ In the middle and later 1850s this paper was to turn towards collaboratist Liberal-Radicalism. The NCA kept up its weekly Democratic Temperance Hotel and Hall of Science gatherings in Sheffield.⁸⁸⁷ Delegates were sent to revive Chartism in Rotherham⁸⁸⁸ and the Barnsley NCA lived on.⁸⁸⁹ The social and educational aspects of democratic culture were fostered by soirees and seasonal excursions of the faithful.⁸⁹⁰ In Sheffield the Women's Rights Association emerged from under the wing of the NCA and with its national and international contacts shifted Sheffield Chartism back into wider focus.⁸⁹¹ All this came too little and too late. The issue of Hungarian nationalism, prompted by the visit of Kossuth and NCA executive members, justified Chartist platform activity in both Sheffield and Barnsley in the autumn of 1851.⁸⁹² Sheffield's municipal Chartism still progressed. The democratic party of Chartists and their sympathisers now boasted of an alderman and 22 councillors after the November elections.⁸⁹³ They had the direct support of one of the town's papers. In national terms this meant little. This 'gas and water' local Chartism had few long term prospects.

During the course of 1852 there was fuller confirmation of the health and prosperity of the region's industrial economy. The linen trade was still an exception.⁸⁹⁴ The industrial struggle of the region's labour class

continued. In the spring more of the Sheffield trades supported the further demands of the London-based 'Wolverhampton Nine' defence fund.⁸⁹⁵ Some local trades had still not sorted out their financial problems created by the Drury fund and their borrowing during the crisis of 1847-9. The large table knife trade (in contrast with the similar sized spring knife trade) was still in great difficulties. This was commented on by visiting collectors of the London fund.⁸⁹⁶ In contrast the filesmiths and cutters' union was paying out lump sums of 20 shillings per adult male member in July because its funds had become embarrassingly large.⁸⁹⁷ Other groups of organized workers in weaker positions acted industrially during the year. A section of power loom weavers struck in May over one employer's attempts to impose daily over piece rates. Throughout the year there were signs of anger over the wider introduction of lower paid power loom weaving, accompanied by the introduction of new (and docile) labour from Lancashire. The Linen Weavers' Association fought this by fully uniting power and hand loom weavers into one union.⁸⁹⁸ In Sheffield a month long strike by women hair seat weavers, fighting for the list prices achieved by a strike in 1844 and discounted downwards in the intervening eight years, demonstrated the role of women in industrial advance. Whether the 'army of Amazons' (as the Independent described them in July) won or not is unrecorded in the local respectable press. During their strike they shut down Laycock's factories and others in the town but it is likely that employers' talk of finding cheap labour by removing the industry to another town drove them back.⁸⁹⁹ In many ways the result was unimportant, the very fact that women workers were striking showed the industrial militancy of the mid 1840s had returned. The rest of the year was quieter but the re-forming of unions in Sheffield's table knife trade confirmed the rebuilding begun earlier.⁹⁰⁰

Chartism's ghost lingered throughout 1852. Locally the Sheffield NCA and Women's Rights Association sent in regular reports to the Northern Star and its short lived successor, until they folded in August.⁹⁰¹ No evidence of Barnsley or Rotherham activity seems to have survived for 1852. Several hundreds of individuals in these towns and surrounding areas still had

a financial interest in the Land Scheme and retained an indirect interest in democratic politics through trade union, municipal, religious and temperance activity. In Sheffield the year saw the appearance of 'wardnotes' or anarchistic experiments at using parish based local democracy to run local and civil government in local council wards.⁹⁰² These were associated with Democratic councillor Issac Ironside who was influenced by the writings of the eccentric Toulmin Smith.

Ironside's erratic leadership into this area of activity and his extra-political activity began the destruction of the local Democrat or Chartist party on the Council. In February the collaboratist nature of the Democratic group was illustrated by an abortive attempt to join up with the Liberal-Radical's Reform Party.⁹⁰³ Inept leadership meant that no Chartist candidate was proposed to fight Roebuck in the July General Election.⁹⁰⁴ He and a more progressive Liberal-Radical, Hadfield, were elected. This confirmed the extent of the shift to collaboratist Liberal-Radicalism among the voting sections of the Sheffield popular electorate. Workers in other parts of the region had little or no say in the election. Many had little more political significance than those in Daston whose alienated political existence was described by the Sheffield Free Press. Here there was 'enforced' celebration (with free cakes and ale) of a local landlord's (W.B. Beaumont of Bretton Hall) return for Durham.⁹⁰⁵ In Sheffield a measure of success was still achieved by more liberated workers through the local Democratic political machine. Even here the results in the November municipal elections hinted at the fate awaiting the Democratic cause.⁹⁰⁶

Throughout 1853, with the general spread of prosperity to all major sections of the region's industrial economy, there followed a surge in industrial militancy.⁹⁰⁷ In the linen trade a strike of bleachers employed by one firm in March was followed by a similar selective strike by power loom weavers. The bleachers' strike was against dilution by child labour and to establish a higher price for the bleachers of the town.⁹⁰⁸ The power loom weavers' strike had similar implication for the whole of their body. They pushed for a return to the 1846 list prices which by April 1853 were said

to be discounted by 10-20%. The power loom weavers met as a body to support their striking sections and to fully unite with the hand loom weavers in the Linen Weavers' Association. In May and June, through the Association, the hand loom weavers attempted to get employers to return to paying the 1836 list price and to standardize their requirements for finished lengths. The weavers saw their demands as belated in relation to those of other groups of workers. Frank Mirfield, at the heart of Barnsley radical and trade union politics for thirty years, spoke as chairman of the May Day Green weavers' meeting on May 30:

Throughout the length and breadth of the land there had been a heaving for a rise of wages, and as it had been given to other artistic branches of labour, the weavers ought to partake of the same benefit.

The power loom weavers' demand for a 10% increase was incorporated into the meeting's resolutions. In the weeks that followed mass meetings and negotiations by delegations of weavers, discussing the possibility of advances firm by firm, produced some results without strike action becoming necessary. Only on a few lines did employers agree to pay the 1836 list prices. On most items there was only a guarantee of 1837 list prices being paid. However employers pledged themselves to standardize lengths and the power loom weavers forced a return to 1846 list prices by a series of strikes in June.⁹⁰⁹

The first signs of renewed industrial militancy in Sheffield came in June with the demand of the journeymen boot and shoemakers for a two shillings per week advance.⁹¹⁰ Some work groups had already obtained advances without a struggle during the last months of 1852 and early months of 1853.⁹¹¹ The spring knife trade was now receiving something like the 1810 list prices which represented a complete reversal of fortune for the traditionally worst organized and most inferior trade in the town.⁹¹² Other groups in the town like the ironfounders and workers in the file trade also made open demands in the months following.⁹¹³ At the same time throughout the autumn and winter of 1853 colliers struck work in the northern part of the region and bleachers in the linen trade struck again.⁹¹⁴ The industrially organized labour class was on the move.

In contrast, 1853 saw the Chartists almost extinct. Chartists still found new outlets for their talents in municipal struggle, trade union and temperance politics. In Sheffield the Democratic party on the Town Council operated less effectively, discredited by Ironside, its leader.⁹¹⁵ It made no progress in the November elections.⁹¹⁶ Throughout a year when still at a national level the NCA tried to revive Chartism, occasional ghosts from the NCA executive flitted across the local popular political stage. The local diehards continued to meet at the Democratic Temperance Hotel in Sheffield and in Barnsley packed into the Oddfellows' Hall to hear Ernest Jones and R.G.Gammage speak when they visited in July.⁹¹⁷ Chartism had no hope in the face of prosperity and what the Sheffield Independent in December called 'the progress of acquisition among the working classes'.⁹¹⁸

Activity during the early months of 1854 suggested that the organized labour class had some time for class supportive forms of industrial struggle. The strike of the Preston cotton operatives had begun late in 1853, and in Barnsley subscriptions in aid of their strike were being collected in November of that year.⁹¹⁹ Throughout the later stages of the strike into the spring of 1854, organized labour throughout the region rallied to support the Preston workers. Public meetings were held in Sheffield, Rotherham and Barnsley and trades' committees were set up to channel funds to Preston.⁹²⁰ The platform at Sheffield's mass meeting in February was interestingly shared by ex-Chartists and trade union leaders. These seemed to recapture some of the lost unity of the mid 1840s.⁹²¹ Throughout the first four months of 1854 at least 25 individual trades came forward in Sheffield to donate money. These included filesmiths and cutters, file grinders, file hardeners, fork grinders, sickle grinders, scythe grinders, scythe forgers, razor blade forgers, saw makers, fender smiths, table blade grinders, table blade forgers, railway spring makers, steam engine makers, smiths, type founders, printers, Britannia metalsmiths, gilders, bricklayers, masons, cabinet case makers, carpenters, brush makers and coach makers. There were several hundred donations from individual works and £123 from the 'Sheffield Trades'.⁹²² In Barnsley the Linen Weavers' Association, tailors, shoemakers, moulders

and iron drawers donated money, as well as individuals.⁹²³ From Rotherham £37 was sent, from the 'Rotherham Trades' whose fund was organized by a committee of trade unionists elected at a meeting in early February.⁹²⁴

Apart from its support for the Preston strike, the energy of organized labour in South Yorkshire was illustrated by further industrial action taking place in the early months of 1854. The Sheffield file trade obtained an advance in February,⁹²⁵ and the bleachers in Barnsley and colliers in the same area also obtained advances.⁹²⁶ There were also signs of trouble in Sheffield in the saw trade.⁹²⁷

The industrial economy then began to be caught up in a downward spiral of activity in which labour's position was weakened.⁹²⁸ Throughout the rest of the year labour shifted back onto the defensive. In this latter period Chartist and democratic politics went further into decline. The outbreak of war with Russia in the spring provided a new and diverting focus for popular attention.⁹²⁹ Dispatches from the front filled up the pages of the press. Military triumphs were acclaimed at a whole range of social gatherings and war fever was whipped up.⁹³⁰ Even Chartists or Democrats were caught up by the enthusiasm. They came to see in the national military struggle against the despotic Czardom some of the same inspiration that had fired their own and now lost political cause. The war and its conduct gave them grounds to criticize the government, and to re-identify with Hungarian and Polish nationalist struggles.⁹³¹ Some Chartist leaders spoke openly against the war. Ernest Jones, always searching to rebuild Chartism through a class party, visited Barnsley in July and at a meeting of Chartist diehards in a packed Oddfellow's Hall, attacked the war.⁹³² At a national level the NCA was too weak to have any impact. Chartist sympathizers still had some say in local political debate in Sheffield and they were still influential in local politics.⁹³⁴ In Barnsley Frank Mirfield and John Vallance (radical and trade union veterans) also moved into the field of municipal politics over the local issue of water supply. Their Chartism still had strong links with national issues as their invitation to Jones demonstrated. In both towns Chartists had no real access to an

effective political platform. In Sheffield the Free Press still retained its sympathy for the cause. Many capitulated to the promise of Liberal-Radicalism. Chartist voices were still heard on Sheffield local electoral platforms during the 1854 municipal elections when the Democratic group suffered a major and almost final defeat. In this election, William Gill, the town's Chartist Convention delegate in 1839, returned to fight to regain one of the lost seats in Ecclesall ward for the Democrats. His election speeches condemned the war as did those of the other Democratic candidate. With seven defeats to one gain this sort of analysis was seen to be firmly rejected by the local electorate.⁹³⁵

The municipal elections in November also suggested other trends in popular politics. While the results hammered the last nails into the coffin of the Democratic party and destroyed the electoral organizations that had won local electoral victories for it, new organizations and alliances sprang up. In the elections it was highly significant that a local employer won a seat in St. George's ward with the support of the leaders of all three trade unions in the table knife trade.⁹³⁶ In the following months this sort of alliance involving other trades and their leaders could be seen in forming non-Chartist Ward Burgesses Associations in several areas of the town.⁹³⁷ A new style in collaboratist politics was emerging which reflected the local collaboration in electing the respectable Liberal-Radicals like Roebuck and Hadfield at national elections. While such trends were hinted at, what was the political condition of the mass of the working population? Were they consumed by war fever? Propagandistic claims in the respectable press suggested the 'Patriotic Fund' for soldiers' dependants was going well in the region.⁹³⁸ It was natural that there should be sympathy for the funds and its innocent beneficiaries. It was logical that workers should subscribe but many employers also 'leaned on' their employees to make them subscribe. They did this by publishing lists of subscriptions made in their works.⁹³⁹ The accounts of responses to the triumphs by the Allies in the war were propagandistic in themselves. It was easy to rouse nationalistic and militaristic feeling by hiring a band, displaying Union Jacks and by hiring

a crowd of extras to burn an effigy of the Czar. This was going on throughout the first year of the war without the sort of spontaneous popular response that was obtained a year later. All the time significant changes were being engineered in popular political consciousness, particularly in attitudes to the English monarchy. At the end of 1854 the mass of working people, despite the propaganda, were relatively apathetic about the war, although it had begun to hit the livelihoods of some of them.⁹⁴⁰ In Sheffield the Mayor's attempt to get a 'Workmen's Committee' organized to carry the Patriotic Fund's appeal to the mass of working people failed. A meeting in November failed to attract many participants because, as one speaker noted, 'the casinos, Hyde Park and the alehouses are crowded'.⁹⁴¹

The events of the following year confirmed many of the trends being revealed in 1854. The situation in the industrial economy grew worse in most sections although the long term promise of steel and coal showed through.⁹⁴² The deterioration limited the capacity of organized labour to act on wages. A strike of power loom weavers in the northern district of the region⁹⁴³ and a renewal of 'outrages' in the Sheffield saw trade were the only industrial manifestations of struggle.⁹⁴⁴ The interesting thing about the power loom strike was that it showed the industrial bond between the Sheffield and Barnsley trades had been renewed. There was an exchange of delegates, information and money during the course of the strike.⁹⁴⁵ The extent of local industrial organization was not openly revealed but at least sixty trades and branches of trades were in union in Sheffield and probably up to a dozen each in Rotherham and Barnsley. One suspects that Trades Councils of sorts met regularly in each town. Certainly the history of labour in Sheffield from the late 1830s and beyond into the later 1850s and early 1860s left little doubt that some semi-permanent association had existed.⁹⁴⁶ Much of the world of organized labour was still shrouded in mists of secrecy. One can suggest that at its centre a decisive shift was taking place towards a new corporate identification with the economic and political arrangement that the new industrial capitalist society required. The old 'democratic' leaders were retiring or dying off and their offices

taken by men with different approaches to political and industrial action.⁹⁴⁷ We should be careful not to overplay the acquiescence of their successors. The classical labour aristocracy revealed itself more fully within the ranks of organized labour in the 1850s, but even among these trades the outward face of acquiescence could conceal an inward-turned face of dissent registering permanent resentment towards the political and economic subjugation of working people by the various classes owning and accumulating capitalist property.⁹⁴⁸ This 'hidden face' half revealed itself in the industrial struggle of the organized labour class.⁹⁴⁹

Amongst the mass of the organized labour class and amongst the wider labouring stratum of semi-organized and disorganized labour the face of dissent was increasingly better hidden by the mid 1850s. Increased hostility to scapegoat groups and symbols - the Irish, Russia and the Czar - revealed the dependence of ordinary working people upon the political direction of their economic, political and social-cultural masters.⁹⁵⁰ Nationalistic forms of chauvinism were encouraged and received seemingly spontaneous support. Success in the war against Russia, particularly the taking of Sebastopol in the autumn of 1855, unleashed a flood of 'spontaneity' at public demonstrations in major centres in the region.⁹⁵¹ How much this affected the thinking man can be hinted at by John Hugh Burland in his militaristic glorification of the war in verse.⁹⁵² However alive the industrial organization of the labour class in the subterranean world of trade union activity, the 'generating engines' for class consciousness that were maintained there were threatened. In the above ground world the defeat of independent labour class political traditions and their replacement by collaboratist forms, the divisive potential of variably distributed property, greater co-exploitative tendencies in the work situation and the greater potential for fostering nationalistic-militaristic and other social chauvinism, all combined to entomb what at one stage in the 1840s looked like becoming the proletarian powerhouse. Under the guise of liberalization, what John Foster has called a 'deliberate re-stabilization process' was taking place.⁹⁵³ The bludgeoning of the earlier generation of labour class leaders

now meant that the labour class came to collaborate in its own 're-stabilization'. This was the real tragedy of the mid-Victorian labour class.

(e) Social-Cultural Exploitation and Struggle 1837-55 : Labour Class making and its re-making in the image of the Bourgeoisie.

(i) Introduction.

During this period of labour class realization through political and industrial struggle conflict took place which involved large sections of the labour stratum thinking and acting in class conscious ways in struggle with a social elite and auxiliary social groupings also acting in class ways. Workers fought in the social struggle as Chartists, Owenites, Infidels, democratic Methodists and trade unionists against members of various inter-related elite capitalist classes and dependent capitalist classes who appeared as magistrates, special constables, yeomen cavalrymen, Church of England Clergy, Wesleyan priests and as industrial and commercial employers. When the issues were wages, employment, hours, working conditions and votes there was usually something more fundamental at stake. This was revealed in the way the labour class organized and spoke for itself. The power of the class challenge was revealed by the intensity of the counter-attack. Nevertheless a labour class vanguard politicized and industrially organized large sections of the labour stratum during the later 1830s and 1840s. Even when in the later 1840s and early 1850s some of the intensity of labour class organization and action had diminished, and some of the political and economic demands that had been made were accepted as unrealistic and unrealizable, a strong sense of class organization, strength, potential power and exclusivism was retained. This was marked out in industrial rather than political action and was reflected in the class voices and class actions of the early 1850s.

Throughout, the labour class has been seen as the physical presence of organized numbers and as representing a cultural formation. The strength and nature of these dynamic and ongoing manifestations was the product of intensifications of economic, political and social-cultural (the residual area dealt with in the following) struggle

during an immensely creative and associative period in working class history. Having dealt with the more open aspects of struggle there follows an investigation of struggle in the residual areas of labour class and labour stratum life. In these residual areas of social-cultural existence there were ongoing attempts of a more subtle kind than were found in other forms of struggle to subvert and undermine labour class confidence, to destroy or emasculate class leadership and to dismantle or defuse harmlessly (and to reassemble or recycle) the most dangerous social and psychological elements thrown forward by the presence of an organized labour class and by the wider processes of cultural assertion. The methods, techniques and institutional apparatus employed by the social elite and its auxiliaries in this residual area are examined regarding the issues of drink, leisure and recreation, education, religion and health. The struggles that took place in these dimensions of labouring life were interrelated with wider struggles over political and economic aspirations and ideals. In each of the brief glimpses at these areas of struggle we observe a complex transition with the traditions of the labour stratum being defended or modified by the 'advanced' class vanguard and being influenced in other directions by 'backward' sections from the class vanguard and the wider stratum. The 'advanced' sections of the vanguard went in several different types of direction- those it chose for itself, those it chose as 'functionally necessary' from the range offered it by its 'betters' through the counter-culture and less imposed methods of suggestion and those that it had imposed upon it by cultural indoctrination or 'forced transmission'. The 'backwardness' of sections of the class and the 'unconscious or semi-conscious' stratum was the consequence of ignorance, inertia, resilience ('blind resistance') and counter-attack (against the small minded bourgeois moralism of the elite, its auxiliaries and their counter-culture of respectability). The only revolutionary aspect

to the struggle was revealed when workers organized or talked about organizing their own social cultural and personal(mental and physical) development. As will be revealed, even the faint glimmerings of this appeared as part of an accomodative process, part of the appreciation of functional aspects of the means to attain respectability which enabled the worker to survive in a growing situation of class subordination and domination by a hegemonic social order based increasingly on industrial capitalist production.

(ii) The Ruling Elite, its auxiliaries and their counter-culture of respectability 1837-55

Elite society in South Yorkshire was throughout this period still topped by extremely wealthy aristocratic and leading gentry families. These were still key figures in 'national society' and politics.⁹⁵⁴ Titled figures like Fitzwilliam, Howard and Wharholiffe spent time both at their London houses, other estates and on their estates in the region. Aristocratic absentee land owners like the Duke of Leeds spent no time in the region. The aristocratic and leading gentry families had wide local landed, commercial and industrial interests. They were concerned about local industrial affairs, politics and above all social order. As Lords Lieutenant and senior magistrates, Yeomenry commanders, employers and patrons of the counter-culture they were at the centre of the ruling class attack(at various stages defence against attack) on labour class organizations, leaderships and general aspirations. With them on the 'General Staff' were representatives of the medium and lesser gentry, large industrial employers and commercial magnates who had bought into land. These others existed on the level of 'county society'. They formed the backbone of the magistracy, the general staff of the Yeomanry and could be counted on as employers and active counter-culture patrons to support the elite line.⁹⁵⁵ At petty and quarter sessions they could be counted on to administer stern justice to labour class dissidents and at lower levels of consciousness to 'social criminals' and the culturally

'backward' who kept up the old ways. These two sections of the elite both in turn patronised and participated in 'town society', the lowest level of elite society. Here industrial and commercial employers, established professionals and resident petty and lesser gentry all were socially congregated. They controlled and guided key local institutions, the police, petty sessions, brewster sessions, poor relief, charity, trade and employers' organizations. Their control was made more efficient by the help of auxiliary groups, mainly the inferior middle class of small employers, lesser professionals and shopkeepers, but also by deferrent sections of the labour stratum. The individuals composing 'town society' were particularly important in organizing the counter-culture of respectability and in managing the institutional battery to project it upon the labouring mass. Workers in class conscious ways and otherwise confronted the auxiliaries and their masters in face-to-face terms. Taking key issues in labouring life this section more fully examines the nature of interplay between class and stratum.

The way the struggle took shape in the region varied enormously with localities. Sheffield's experience was most effectively documented because the town's size warranted more extensive and formal networks of elite association and control being constructed. The challenge of its labour class demanded the controls be more explicit. Sheffield's size and 'cosmopolitan' character attracted the patronage of national and county figures that smaller towns did not. Its aggressive labour class had also demanded that patronage by their self-assertive actions in the late 1830s and early 1840s. The smaller size and different industrial bases of Rotherham, Barnsley and Doncaster (non-industrial mainly) affected the character of their elites, elite auxiliaries, counter cultures, labour strata and class reactions. Despite the exceptional nature of Barnsley's labour stratum and class, its aggression in the early Chartist years, it, with Rotherham and Doncaster, appeared to be a community in a tight ruling or elite class grip. Most villages, industrial, semi-industrial and agricultural, were ground under the heel of the ruling or elite class, despite the flourishes of the early and middle Chartist periods, the secret associative struggle of industrial labour and

social-cultural resistance and counter attack. Here Squire and Parson, Wesleyan priest, overseer, constables, land owners, farmers, rural iron-master, coal masters and their key auxiliaries contained the revolutionary potential generated in the early years of Chartist struggle. They also confronted then drove back underground any emerging industrial challenge. In some small communities there was fierce struggle. Events in the late 1830s the 1840s in Ecclesfield, the south eastern colliery villages and the weaving villages of the north, had continuously suggested political and industrial opposition of a class character. In these communities and in some of the smaller towns where industrial workers were concentrated the struggle was fiercer and more like that of Sheffield workers who were concentrated in the denser social and psychological masses of the large towns.

In Sheffield, where antagonistic social relations were still complex despite proletarianization, these antagonisms were formally recognized and marked out. An elite class, its auxiliaries and their counter-culture could be observed confronting labour class vanguard, a larger semi-conscious intermediate labour stratum and a significant 'subconscious' or 'backward' lower labour stratum (slum proletariat, lumpen proletariat or street poor). Here we demonstrate the existence of the elite class and its auxiliaries.

The elite class of Sheffield society had a continuous life that is difficult to reconstruct. The Assemblies of the eighteenth century had advertised the unified social existence of the Sheffield elite. These appeared to have been kept up in the first two decades of the nineteenth century. In 1830 there was a claim made that they had been re-commenced.⁹⁵⁶ Not until the early 1840s does it seem certain that formal institutions of a similar character re-appeared. Probably social networks centering on unrecorded private venues kept up the traditions of the 18th Gentlemen's Club or the Assemblies during what should have been years of necessary austerity, for both economic and social reasons. In the 1830s a Chamber of Commerce may have provided one important foundation for the town elite's formal social reconstitution.⁹⁵⁷ Whatever the case in the 1820s and 1830s,

in 1843 the Sheffield Club, an exclusive social organization for the town's industrial, commercial and professional leadership, was established.⁹⁵⁸ From its early days of a 100 member limit of access to the dining room, table d'hote facilities, good wine, cigars, billiards, good books and all the papers, its ranks had been opened by 1855 to 150 gentlemen, including more of the new industrialist bourgeoisie of large steel, cutlery and tool making factory masters.⁹⁵⁹ In the mid 1850s it came more openly under the patronage of the local aristocracy.⁹⁶⁰ The Club's membership overlapped with a whole range of key local institutions, including the Council, Town Trust, Town Burgess, Cutlers' Company, Poor Law Union, the Bench and Chamber of Commerce. The Club discriminated against the less affluent, 'gririer' or less successful but comfortable class of professionals, commercial and industrial employers who had to find their social level in a lesser institution of town society - the Atheneum, founded in 1847. The Atheneum had a modest one and a half guineas per annum subscription fee, contrasting with the Club's three guineas (plus seven and later ten guineas entrance fee). The Atheneum had several hundred members by the early 1850s but had less indulgent facilities and a far less prestigious position in town society.⁹⁶¹ These two societies provided social facilities for those associated in other elite class social, recreational and intellectual activities, such as the Literary and Philosophical Society,⁹⁶² which had 734 members in 1843 paying between one and two guineas per annum. The Atheneum in turn had an imitator, the Atheneum and Mechanics Institute.⁹⁶³ This was a larger social institution of a 'drier' and less 'conspicuous' sort than the Club and the Atheneum. Like the Philosophical Society it had various grades of membership. Admittance to the newsroom, library, coffee room, chess room, occasional concerts and frequent lectures cost twenty five shillings per annum. A restricted 'mechanics membership' (admittance to Atheneum functions but mainly to Institute activity) was priced at twelve shillings and sixpence per annum. With the 'mechanics membership' and the Institute we begin to enter the world of counter-culture although not its main battle zone. The

Atheneum and Mechanics Institute, divorced in the early 1850s when this Atheneum became the Lyceum, represented the social level where the lesser middle class (petty bourgeoisie) mingled with superior workmen, both intelligent and deferent. The Lyceum development perhaps represented the greater confidence and self assertion of this middle class group. Contact was not broken between the two levels. All the way down the slippery slope of the social gradient the patronage and superintendance of a 'super elite' was in evidence. The Mechanics Institutions⁹⁶⁴ and the Mechanics Library⁹⁶⁵ and some other institutions like friendly and Oddfellows societies⁹⁶⁶ had an ambiguous position regarding their counter-culture character. Elements of independence and dissent were still registered in their activities, however slight. At a similar level and also below, closer to the front line in cultural warfare, institutions like the Church of England Instruction Society,⁹⁶⁷ the Town Mission,⁹⁶⁸ Operative Conservatives Reading Room,⁹⁶⁹ Tradesmen's and Operative's Protestant Association,⁹⁷⁰ Orange Lodge,⁹⁷¹ Sunday School Union,⁹⁷² Temperance Society⁹⁷³ were all committed to the political and social ideals spelt out by the patrons of counter-culture.

Under the entangling barbs of these networks the labour class leadership stood in defiance. They observed the new industrial wealth appearing and its social manifestations. As Blackhurst the labour leader and a teetotal Owenite advocate said to his fellow labour class leaders in 1847 'the great number of country houses which were springing up represented an undue distribution of wealth'.⁹⁷⁴ Labour leaders also saw the counter-culture at work and argued for their own social and political institutions, including a press and meeting hall.⁹⁷⁵

In Rotherham, Barnsley and Doncaster, similar networks existed, from those composed of the 'super elite' down to those providing front-line counter-cultural institutions. As the highest levels these towns were too small to provide large enough elite groups to generate formal institutions like the Club in Sheffield. Their leading citizens were associated and acted together regarding administrative questions. Socially they were satellite parts of a larger town's 'society', such as Sheffield's or Leeds'. The

patronage of the aristocracy and gentry meant that at certain times (such as the 1838 Coronation celebrations or the Victoria and Albert nuptial celebrations) large local gatherings of 'town society' in Rotherham and Barnsley could be seen.⁹⁷⁶ In Doncaster, which had a larger elite class, a larger leisure class and a more 'cosmopolitan' character, the social networks of 'town society' were more obvious.⁹⁷⁷ In these towns the lower levels of respectable society had similar networks to those in Sheffield. Their counter-culture institutions were also similar to Sheffield's, although shaped by different balances between religious groups and other specific local cultural factors (e.g. the Irish population in Barnsley strengthened the Protestant aspects of local counter-culture).⁹⁷⁸

In the villages and other small communities the elite figures, composed of aristocrats, gentry, clergy, merchants, manufacturers, coalmasters, ironmasters and other employers, identified with the institutions of 'county society' (e.g. Sheffield Club). They also constructed, with the aid of their auxiliaries, various counter-culture institutions similar to those found in the towns (e.g. the Mechanics' Institute at Wentworth⁷⁹⁷ and Crane Moor Operative Conservatives⁹⁸⁰). Here there was less need for them.

(iii) The Question of Drink

Throughout the period in the region's contrasting communities the social elite and its auxiliary supporters patronized and serviced temperance and teetotal agitation and organization. By the late 1830s, Sheffield, Barnsley, Rotherham and Doncaster all had temperance-teetotal societies.⁹⁸¹ These, with the support of religious bodies, employers and magistrates, were influential in the surrounding village districts where the Squire and the Parson could be counted on for some support. The societies organized tract distribution, lectures, sermons, pledge-making revivalist type meetings, tea parties and soirees.

They obtained respectable patronage even when there was a drift in the later 1830s towards more radical anti-drink ideology embracing teetotalism. In the late 1830s, at least in Sheffield, there appeared to be a lull in aggressive anti-drink propagandizing by the respectable organized anti-drink crusaders. There was some withdrawal of patronage because of the more apparent shift towards teetotalism and because there was some anxiety that the crusade would be identified with Chartist agitation which embraced aspects of teetotalism for both political and moral reasons.⁹⁸² Elsewhere the agitation, more securely in the hands of the respectable, went on taking a counter-active role in providing diversions from politics.⁹⁸³ In the politically underdeveloped eastern districts of the region the campaign went on vigorously in the late 1830s and early 1840s.⁹⁸⁴ Even here Chartist organizations were not harmed by the agitation because they subscribed to various anti-drink positions. Throughout the region there was more Chartist and Chartist-inspired hostility to the Anti-Corn Law League and the Complete Suffrage Union than to temperance and teetotal lecturers. In the early and mid 1840s major temperance and teetotal revivalist figures like Caughey from America and Father Matthew from Ireland were favourably received by working people in several larger centres in the region.⁹⁸⁵

Workers understood, often without and prompting or prodding from above, that there were advantages to partial or wholesale abstinence. The worker had to make a difficult decision. Drink was a necessary biological and social (ritual role) component of work and leisure.⁹⁸⁶ The alehouse or beershop was often the only available social meeting place outside of the home. Wages could still often be paid only after change had been obtained there (given the pervasiveness of sub-contract in many trades).⁹⁸⁷ Trade unions met there to collect members' subscriptions. Thus drink and the drinking place were unavoidable to many working people. It was still possible to embrace moderation without creating too many problems. So desperate was the poverty of significant sections of the labouring population that the embrace of teetotalism and a clean break with many of the

normal 'wet' networks of labouring life were necessary. Depending on his condition and his perception of this (particularly his awareness of his weekly expenditure on drink) the worker either embraced moderation and continued to retain his links or he became caught up in a 'dry' network which was partly counter-cultural. He had a fairly straight choice until labour class vanguard groups— Owenites, Chartists and trade unionists— created 'dry' networks within the broader framework of labour class life.⁹⁸⁸

Some workers had been caught up by the anti-drink crusading of the early and middle 1830s when there was greater popular hostility to teetotal and temperance moralizing. Some workers overcame their innate hostility (class and non specific types) by turning to reason. Some were directly pressured by paternalist employers. The Ibbotson brothers' (Sheffield merchant capitalists employing several hundred workers) workforce became participants in the activities of the Sheffield Temperance Society in the same way they had been 'inclined' to join the celebrations of the Whig Reform Act of 1832.⁹⁸⁹ Workers with a degree more independence joined in the activities of the Temperance societies without prompting.

The Sheffield Society was the largest and most effectively organized in the region. Going through several changes of name and permutations of patronage as it drifted towards teetotalism in the later 1830s and early 1840s, its membership expanded from 2000 in 1837⁹⁹⁰ to 3000 in 1842.⁹⁹¹ We do not know the rate of membership turnover in such a revivalist-recruited body as this. If we assume that it was high and that temperance-teetotal propaganda was spread through family and friendship networks we can assume a sphere of influence several times greater than the actual membership.

As has been observed, some anti-drink ideology was adopted by labour class organizations. The first and second generation Chartist organizations, the WMA and NCA branches, appreciated the political virtue in restraint and moderation in guaranteeing the regularity of their memberships' subscriptions and the regularity of behaviour of their members at private and public meetings. They saw total abstinence as

a valuable political weapon to cut off vital supplies of revenue to the Government. In 1839 such ideas were included in the 'ulterior measures' contemplated by the movement to enforce the acceptance of the Charter.⁹⁹² Chartists in all centres in the region used public houses for meetings, as did the organized trades. This did not mean they encouraged drunken profligacy which is what their enemies tried to suggest. The Chartist's main meeting places appeared to be 'dry', e.g. Sheffield's Fig Tree Lane Rooms, the Porter and Exchange Street Rooms, the Owenite Hall of Science and Barnsley's Oddfellows' Hall. There were internal discussions among the Chartists about drink and there was some controversy. In Barnsley, the larger Irish population, the greater influence of the Catholic Church and the nationalist issue made labour class politics more complicated than elsewhere. Here an influential Catholic Total Abstinence Society exhibited nationalist and democratic sympathies (the society was a subscriber to the Nation and to the Northern Star) and criticized the local Irish Chartists for meeting at Peter Hoey's beer house.⁹⁹³ Chartist pronouncements on drink were not usually dogmatic. Chartists were good democrats who incorporated strongly expressed minority viewpoints. Their statements tended to imply approval of restraint or moderation rather than rigid teetotalism. Chartist views often illustrated a class perspective in revealing an innate suspicion of temperance moralizing. It was a more mature perspective than had been expressed in the hostility of the earlier 1830s. While the drinkers at the All Nations public house in the heart of Sheffield's 'red light' Water Lane area had forcibly ejected their moralistic 'betters' in 1834,⁹⁹⁴ the representatives of a more organized labour class of the Chartist period articulately distanced themselves from the moralizers, commenting with humorous half realization, half resignation in verses published in 1841:

They'll smash every goblet and bowl,
They'll water the dregs of our wine,
And then just to finish the whole,
They'll blot every bachannal line;
Farewell to the carol and glee,
That welcom' the toast and the health,
For soon we cease to be free
To invest in the tub our wealth.

In 1843 Harney made significant pronouncements on moderation as the means of building his countless moral phalanxes.⁹⁹⁶ In 1844 the Sheffield Chartists were using a Temperance Hotel for NCA⁹⁹⁷ committee meetings and the Chartist newsrooms were designated 'Temperance Reading Rooms'.⁹⁹⁸

The organized trades of the region, individually and collectively, met for regular meetings in public houses. Many trade union secretaries were beer house keepers for this gave them some independence from their trade.⁹⁹⁹ Trades also used chapels when they required larger premises. During the period we find examples of the Methodist New Connexion, Primitive Methodists and Independents letting their premises in Sheffield, Rotherham and the Barnsley area.¹⁰⁰⁰ The Owenite Hall of Science was also available for large meetings in Sheffield, as were some public halls.¹⁰⁰¹ The trades delegate meetings in Sheffield and the upradic (I suspect it was nearly continuous) trades council arrangements that are recorded in the narrative section of this chapter, were traditionally held in the London 'Prentice in Webster Green throughout this period until their seeming discontinuation in the early 1850s¹⁰⁰² (a temporary one). The Barnsley trade unions also used public houses, particularly the Union Inn used by the strongest group, the Linen Weavers' Association in the early 1850s.¹⁰⁰³ Their trades council, evidence of which appeared in the early 1850s with the appearance of a 'Trades' Committee' and Workingmen's Committee, also met in a public house.¹⁰⁰⁴ The 'Rotherham Trades' (noticed once in the 1840s but probably in existence in the 1850s in some form) met similarly.¹⁰⁰⁵

Among the organized trades, as with the Chartists, there were signs of absorption of the moderation-restraint message. For a brief period during 1846 the Sheffield Trades' delegates used Upton's Coffee House.¹⁰⁰⁶ They listened respectfully for several years to the young table knife forgers' leader Blackhurst, an Owenite and the local secretary of a Temperance Emigration Society and co-activist with temperance men, teetotallers and Rechabites in anti-drink crusading.¹⁰⁰⁷ This talented young man was offered a clerkship in the Post Office but emigrated to America in 1847 to 'better himself'.¹⁰⁰⁸ His departure suggested the dangers for labour class

leadership and struggle of the respectable world that temperance and teetotalism beckoned them towards. Whatever their reactions to Blackhurst, there was a spreading appreciation of the temperance gospel. This was shown by the voices of a huge crowd at Roebuck's constituency meeting in 1850. Roebuck's call for 'one pot of beer less' was echoed by cheers endorsing moderation but not rigid abstinence.¹⁰⁰⁹

The organized labour class had as much to do with transmitting the moral message of restraint as the process of self-realization. The shift in popular attitudes was significantly influenced by continuous temperance and teetotal agitation from more 'respectable' bodies. The signs of shift among the organized section and the mass of the labouring population were the result of the continuation of specific anti-drink propaganda. This propaganda sought to modify the character of the labouring population, and particularly the class conscious section of it. This was for conscious counter-active reasons.

By the middle and later 1840s temperance and teetotal organizations in the region appeared to be better organized. Sheffield's Association for Promoting Temperance was formed out of what had been a Temperance and then a Total Abstinence Society. In 1844 it had five operational districts in the town with 2500 members.¹⁰¹⁰ Its three large branches, Brocco, Brightside and Little Sheffield had 915, 600 and 866 members respectively.¹⁰¹¹ Possibly Total Abstinence and Teetotal or Rechabite groups existed outside this body. Sponsorship came from all religious groups but particularly Baptists, Independent Methodists, Primitive Methodists and Quakers, who all stood for the harder, teetotal anti-drink line. In 1845 this body commanded 4 - 5,000 members in the town, following the visit of Rev. Caughey the American revivalist.¹⁰¹² The visit of Father thew to Barnsley had similar effects on organizations there.¹⁰¹³ Sheffield's mid 1840s growth must be seen as representative of growth in the wider region. By the mid 1840s Rotherham had a flourishing Rechabite Temperance Institute which was part of the Sheffield Temperance Union.¹⁰¹⁴ In the mid 1840s temperance and teetotal festivals on a grand scale were held at times of traditional holidays in the region. From 1844 and into the 1850s, Roche Abbey, Beauchief Abbey, Wentworth Woodhouse

and Sheffield's Botanical Gardens were chosen as locations for these festivals.¹⁰¹⁵ By the mid 1850s these were annually attracting crowds of 20,000.¹⁰¹⁶

The Botanical Gardens jamborees of the early 1850s looked like blatant festival celebrations of counter-culture triumph, with clean respectful workers accompanied by their ladies in white dresses promenading (at reduced entry prices) the middle class's botanical and zoological preserves to the sound of a hired brass band. In fact many workers were excluded from such events.¹⁰¹⁷ Some of those who were temperance or teetotal devotees were critical of this sort of 'respectability'. The role of dissenting groups, both Methodist and Independent, hinted that temperance and teetotal activity could lead to a less subordinated type of 'respectability'. The sources are limited and the politics of temperance and teetotalism are concealed from us at a local level. However the example of the Little Sheffield branch of the Sheffield Temperance Association is highly suggestive of patterns seen elsewhere. This large group (3000 members) detached itself from the parent body in the later 1840s¹⁰¹⁸ and in the early 1850s conducted its meetings in the Owenite Hall of Science and the Baptist Chapel.¹⁰¹⁹

Whatever the different paths being followed in the various anti-drink organizations, the issue of drink and drinking in labouring life figured prominently in the elite's diagnosis of mass social insubordination, from political and industrial agitation to general disorderliness, vagrancy and crime. Throughout, the magistrates, prompted by a whole range of interests including the anti-drink crusaders, used the Brewster Sessions to control licensing and to eliminate the most disorderly public houses and generally to restrict the number of drinking places.¹⁰²⁰ Statistics suggest that during the 1840s and early 1850s they made some progress. Drunkenness and drink-induced or heightened 'disorders' were not apparently curbed. In Sheffield in the early 1850s great significance was attached to the

rising statistics of disorderly offences acted on by the local police.¹⁰²¹

This rise was explained by at least three significant factors. In regard of two of these three drink played an important role. The rapid growth of the urban population and particularly the high proportion of 'disorientated' first generation rural immigrants, an improved and larger police force and the consequences of differential prosperity amongst the labouring population (whereby a majority of the workers were better off and able to buy more drink and the remaining minority were worse off in an increasingly more hostile environment and turned to drink at the Guardians' or pawnbrokers' expense) all offered an explanation of the rise.

Table 7:33 Drinking premises and drink induced offences, 1841- 1851.¹⁰²²

(a) Public houses and beershops within Sheffield parish *

	1. <u>Public Houses</u>	2. <u>Beershops</u>	3. <u>Population</u>	4. <u>Ratio 1+2:3</u>
1841	425	483	110,891	1:122
1851	460	320	135,307	1:173

* no figures for dram shops and gin palaces.

(b) Directory based estimates of inns, public houses and beershops in other South Yorkshire communities.

(i) Towns

	<u>1837</u>			<u>1852</u>		
	<u>I/PH</u>	<u>BH</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>I/PH</u>	<u>BH</u>	<u>Total</u>
Barnsley	49	34	83	59	19	78
Doncaster	68	28	96	70	24	94
Rotherham	45	20	65	53	21	74

(ii) Industrial villages

Ecclesfield	13	5	18	12	4	16
Kimberworth	-	2	2	-	3	3
Chapelton	10	4	14	15	5	19

(c) Offences acted upon by Sheffield Police 1845-1853

	1845	1846	1847	1848	1849	1850	1851	1852	1853
'Disorderly'	63	54	64	61	47	61	115	137	149
'Drunk and incapable'	172	173	247	279	267	321	349	410	401
'Drunk and disorderly'	602	816	637	732	656	728	848	1037	883
'Drunk'	270	306	119	174	159	235	251	258	147
'Disorderly prostitutes'	34	36	44	96	106	55	78	98	68
Total	1141	1385	1091	1342	1135	1400	1641	1978	1648

New legislation in the early 1850s strengthened the magistrates' position regarding the control of opening hours but we do not know what inroads the police, magistrates and moralist groups were able to make into this vast seemingly 'subterranean area of labouring life.'¹⁰²³ They laid hold of the nosier and more grotesque figures—incapable habitual and terminal drunkards, prostitutes and pimps. Those they took were ordinary working people who were the most degraded by the society they tried to survive in.¹⁰²⁴ Their degrading and squalid lives derived out of the 'normality' of working people's lives. Prostitution continued because of the moral double standards of their social betters. The unchecked anarchical pursuit of profit and social success by groups of hustling co-exploiters in the labouring world and some from outside it further increased the viability of the institution.

Magistrates and clergy continued to blame working people for the whole range of moral 'excesses'. Regarding the sexual mores of the labouring population of the 1840s they blamed the transfer of apprenticeship control from the master to the journeyman (which they saw as a consequence of trade union pressure). They also blamed the physical conditions of work but particularly co-exploitation within the family during working and leisure time.¹⁰²⁵ This sort of analysis could be expected from those who could not or would not recognize the ultimate causes in the industrial change which a more intensely exploitive capitalism produced. They did not appreciate the effect of the anarchy of urban living upon first generation rural immigrants (they ignored the role of the

landlords, speculative builders and inactive local public authorities). They were presiding over the twin triumphs of industrialization and urbanization and maintaining their social dominance in the process. This dominance involved exploiting and subordinating working people. The drunks and the prostitutes were an excuse to invade the public houses and other drinking places used by labour class organizations. As with the Irish, the drunks and the prostitutes provided a means of furthering social control.

There were other benefits to be derived from allowing drinking and other moral 'excess' to continue while nominally curbing them. The existence of sub-systems of satisfaction or stupification of a harmless sort (to the wider social system) was also a source of cash profit, direct and indirect. Ultimately the brewers and the landlords owning the land and property which provided drinking places and whore-houses were the profit makers whose gains exceeded those of the host of co-exploiters operating in the depths of the labouring world. There was a large 'social profit' to be obtained from a subordinated population divided by the 'drink question' (some stupified by 'excess'), all with access to the means of 'excessive' drinking pleasure and illicit sexual gratification but being made to feel ashamed of seeking it. It was the property owning classes as a whole (among their most substantial sections were the real whore-masters) that shared this 'social profit'.

(iv) Leisure and Recreation.

Patterns of popular leisure and recreation continued (as they had for half a century previously) to be challenged, undermined and fundamentally altered in the interests of the classes composing the social elite. Reductions in the time and the space available to enjoy traditional recreational activity and the replacement of traditional recreational forms by ones that emanated from the counter-culture of respectability both restricted and curtailed elements of spontaneity and freedom and replaced them with more 'functional' conformist elements.

Regarding the restriction on time , the progress towards industrial capitalist domination linked to steam power meant some industries or branches of industries in the region were subject to a more intense regularization of the working day and the working week. For power loom minders in the new Barnsley factories, grinders in Sheffield's urban steam wheels, for workers at large ironworks, steel and cutlery factories and at the region's collieries, the regularization had begun in the late 1830s.¹⁰²⁶ The 'reign of the clock' began in earnest in the 1840s . The slow but perceptible shift towards daily wage payments seen in some industrial premises was part of this trend. In the majority of local industries the traditions of Saint Monday were kept up and irregular working prevailed.¹⁰²⁷ Irregular (underemployed) rhythms matched the irregularity of employment which most workers experienced until the boom of the early 1850s. Piece-rate payments remained the dominant method of wage estimation. By the late 1840s and early 1850s the half-day or early finish on Saturday had become established.¹⁰²⁸ Holidays were also regularized or rationalized. For over half a century the number of urban festivals and feasts had declined. Village feasts (and wakes) were still numerous. In the 1850s Crookes Feast was the most famous of the few traditional community feasts kept up in the immediate vicinity of Sheffield.¹⁰²⁹ Barnsley's Feast continued despite the excesses of 'disgracefully drunken' weavers¹⁰³⁰ and so too did the 'statutes' or hiring fairs of Barnsley and Rotherham.¹⁰³¹ Sheffield's two annual fairs were also kept up despite the drunkenness that accompanied them. In 1849 Sheffield's summer fair was merged with Whitsun. The loss of public holidays such as this again indicated the long-term rationalization process at work.¹⁰³²

The restrictions on space resulted from the long-term consequences of enclosure. John Wardle, a friend of the labour class in Sheffield during the struggles of the 1820s and 1830s , noted in his testimony before Children's Employment Commissioner Symons in 1841:

No manufacturing town in England is worse situated for places for public or healthful recreation than Sheffield. Thirty years ago it had numbers of places as common land where youths and men could have taken exercise at cricket, quoits, football, and other exercises. Scarcely a foot of all these common wastes remain for the enjoyment of the industrious classes. It is true we have a noble cricket ground, but access to this must be purchased. We have also perhaps as beautiful botanical gardens as any in the country, but these are opened only once or twice a year to the poorer classes, and they are admitted for 6d each; and hermetically sealed on Sunday, the only day when numbers of the working classes have leisure to enjoy them. ¹⁰³³

Twelve years later a Sheffield Town Council committee was commenting on , 'the want of cheap and moral amusement for the working classes'. This body also noted the lack of physical space for recreational expression. ¹⁰³⁴

Workers kept up traditional holidays, enjoyed Sundays and large parts of Monday, but compensated with bursts of intense activity late in the week. The labour process, despite changes, enabled workers to continue to maintain traditional rhythms. Urban workers still visited village and small town feasts and wakes. The railway from the late 1830s facilitated this. ¹⁰³⁵ Doncaster Races annually drew thousands of people. So too did the fairs and 'statutes'. ¹⁰³⁶ Urban workers, like the unemployed among the Sheffield file trade who ritually celebrated 'Plough Monday' in January 1849, kept up certain of the pre-industrial festivals. ¹⁰³⁷ Despite the restriction upon access to what was once common land and waste, the traditional seasonal gathering of bilberries continued on moorland to the west of Sheffield. Capitalist property rights, now being more firmly upheld, impinged upon this traditional practice. During the gathering season of 1848, with necessity pressing a little harder on town and village workers, there was an open clash between property owners and the gatherers. Inevitably property triumphed and the bilberry pickers were ejected from Bradfield Moors. ¹⁰³⁸

What workers did in their leisure or were allowed to do was subject to increased regulation and scrutiny during the 1840s and early 1850s. There was a persistence of rough sports - dog fighting, ¹⁰³⁹

cock fighting,¹⁰⁴⁰ and pugilism.¹⁰⁴¹ These were excuses for gambling which also took place in the familiar range of drinking places which often shielded illicit rough sports like cock fighting.¹⁰⁴² Police and magistrates more easily controlled this area of the sporting underworld and saw that justice was correctly dispensed at the Brewster Sessions. They had a harder task eliminating dog fighting and pugilism which took place at out of the way locations. Wharncliffe Side and Lindrick Common were popular locations for pugilistic bouts. The results of the 'big fights' were awaited throughout the region because much money had been staked on the results.¹⁰⁴³

Encouraged by counter-culture institutions like Sunday School Unions, Temperance and Total Abstinence Societies, the pursuit of rational 'dry' leisure was encouraged. There was a certain element of self-determination over the directions taken by working people. Outside the sphere of their organized class actions they were largely directed by their 'betters'. They were directed towards relatively passive, non-participatory and ordered forms of recreation (e.g. railway and other excursions to places of interest to promenade, contemplate scenery, listen to hired brass bands or dance to a quadrill band.) Cricket was also developing as a mass spectator sport although there was a growth of participation.¹⁰⁴⁴ There was a careful measuring of what even counter-culture processed workers should be allowed to do in their leisure time. The illiberal comments in the Sheffield Independent following a quadrille band's appearance at the Botanical Gardens in Sheffield at a popular festival in 1852 were representative of attitudes among the propertied classes. Suggesting that dancing would lead young workers to 'bowling greens and casinos', the 'giddy dance' was attacked for providing the means of young people, 'imbibing taste for sensual pleasures and illicit sexual connections'.¹⁰⁴⁵ The rational, 'dry', passive and ordered aspects of popular recreation were represented in planned excursions and spectator sport. Some of the railway excursions did not fit into this pattern. Those travelling to Rotherham Statutes and Doncaster Races were not

necessarily going there to behave themselves.

There was an attempt by certain groups among the organized labour class to create independent recreational traditions benefitting the dignity of an emergent class. This is how we must see Barnsley's Franklin Club. Begun in the early 1840s by moderate Chartists as a self-education group it had developed a wider membership and broader aims by the early 1850s.¹⁰⁴⁶ Annually it took its members on excursions to Wharncliffe Side. So too did the Barnsley Chartists. Both groups provided recreational forms which competed with those offered by counter-culture institutions.¹⁰⁴⁷ Chartist and Owenite groups also provided forms of recreation for their members which were outside the the sphere of counter-culture dominance.

Not all the sports, pastimes and activities encouraged by the counter-culture of respectability fitted neatly into the framework of repression. Cricket was not only a spectator sport for the mass of workers. The 'bread and circus' element was present in the big match spectacles. In 1847 a Sheffield Chartist-trades meeting was claimed to have been badly attended because of one such game in the Hyde Park cricket ground.¹⁰⁴⁸ The numerous reports in the press of the later 1840s showing cricket matches being played between village, public house, workgroup and workplace teams suggest the participation element in the game was growing.¹⁰⁴⁹ This participation was limited and may have been highly 'functional' in terms of creating 'subcultures of sporting success' which provided workers with secondary satisfactions which deflected them from seeking the primary satisfactions of class victory.

Brass bands and brass music did not easily fit into the pattern of counter-cultural subversion of popular leisure traditions. The brass bands were formed in the earlier nineteenth century decades as reed bands in imitation of the military bands of the Napoleonic Wars' years. The bands turned to brass in the later 1830s.¹⁰⁵⁰ They were hired by

Chartist, trade unionist, Whig and Tory processions and meetings throughout the late 1830s, the 1840s and the early 1850s. Employers also hired them for works' celebrations and outings but there were no works'bands as in Lancashire.¹⁰⁵¹ Barnsley, Sheffield and Ecclesfield all had town (or village) bands by the late 1830s. There were other bands formed early on but their existence is only revealed at later period in their histories. The bands themselves probably had little choice over who they performed for. There were some bands that were exclusive to one group. In Barnsley in the late 1830s there was a Conservative Brass Band (formed of Operative Conservatives?).¹⁰⁵² The bands and the music they played were part of the rational dimension in the emergence of an organized labour class but in themselves they could become 'success subcultures' for working people composing their memberships.

Little is known of the other musical aspects of popular culture. We know little or nothing of the songs of the labouring drinking world, even when some of these shaded over into primitive music halls. The organized labour class as Chartists had its political anthems and battle songs and more convivially sung glees.¹⁰⁵³ Industrial workers like the colliers had been seen to have inspiring labour hymns to rouse their body in times of disaster or industrial insurgency.¹⁰⁵⁴ More generally there must have been industrial work songs.¹⁰⁵⁵ Did popular songs retain the political and social content that was found in Joe Mather's verses composed fifty years earlier? Some of these songs had been passed down into this period. John Wilson, editing Mather's songs in 1862, wrote that they were remembered best 'by the workmen of the "old school" '. Were Mather's images understood or did they have a curiosity value for antiquarians alone?¹⁰⁵⁶ Were the old songs replaced by the suffocating sentimentalism of new ones?¹⁰⁵⁷ Perhaps the world of popular music will be more systematically penetrated by historians.¹⁰⁵⁸ The local material that has been located in the course of this study tells us little about popular songs in the period. Tentatively we might suggest that

alongside the fatalist-sentimentalist images in popular songs there were dissenting subtitles. There was a popular consciousness that the music of the labouring world was different and far distanced from the respectable bourgeois traditions of what Sheffield's labour class leaders of the 1840s called the 'snobocracy' (they were laughing at the failure of patrons of 'superior culture' to obtain the services of Jenny Lind).¹⁰⁵⁹ Beyond this it is dangerous to speculate.

(v) Education and Literacy

While only a minor part of the labouring population's education had anything to do with schools (both day and Sunday schools), the provision that was available provided an important foundation for the counter-culture of respectability. The various grades of day school were at best for children of superior workers and then for only short periods of time.¹⁰⁶⁰ Sunday schools were more universal but absenteeism and rapid turnover reduced their impact.¹⁰⁶¹ The Sunday schools mainly concentrated on spiritual and moral indoctrination rather than on the '3Rs'. Some progressive groups like the Methodist New Connexion taught writing but their progressive attitude to education was exceptional.¹⁰⁶² The statistics we have suggest the weakening hold of the Sunday schools on labouring children.

Table 7:34 Sunday school membership in Sheffield Parish, 1831-62¹⁰⁶³

	<u>1. Child pop., 4-14 yrs., (20% total)</u>	<u>2. Labour Class children*</u>	<u>3. S.S. membership</u>	<u>4. 3 as % of 1</u>	<u>5. Residual of 3 as % of 1.</u>
1831	16,504	12,378	10,500	63%	51%
1841	21,107	15,830	12,904	61%	48%
1851	37,000	27,750	19,964	54%	36%

* 75% of 1.

In Sheffield the number of labouring children influenced by Sunday school education fell significantly in the 1840s and 1850s. Estimates for Barnsley suggested that the proportions of children was even lower (25% in 1841).¹⁰⁶⁴ In other smaller towns and in the villages where there were stronger local elite groups managing the counter-culture and where

working people were still more traditionalist in their attitudes, the proportions were probably larger.¹⁰⁶⁵ The data we have on religious attendance is very revealing in regard of the balance of religious interests in such localities and is used in the following section.

Throughout the region children sought Sunday rest and relaxation in the face of Sunday's moralistic crusaders from the counter-culture. Where children were 'captured' by the Sunday schools they often too tired to respond to the very limited educational provision. Absenteeism and lack of supportive education diminished the influence of the schools.¹⁰⁶⁶ In youth and early adulthood lessons were forgotten. Where Sunday schools, day schools and institutions of further education (like Mechanics' Institutes) interacted in the lives of individuals then educational progress could be made. The only young labouring adults who bettered themselves in Mechanics' Institutes, Schools of Design, newsrooms and miscellaneous subscription libraries were the children of skilled or 'aristocratic' workers.¹⁰⁶⁷ A few of these used their education, filled out in dissenting chapel life, to become political and industrial leaders of the labour class. A few used their experiences to attempt to build up alternative adult educational institutions for their own class. In the 1840s individuals like this founded the Owenite Workers' Education Institute in Sheffield¹⁰⁶⁸ and the Franklin Club in Barnsley.¹⁰⁶⁹ Many recipients of patronized education were not able to escape the counter-culture's clutches and through such institutions as Sheffield's People' College were trained to become the future staff of counter-culture institutions.¹⁰⁷⁰ The patrons of counter-culture education made no secret of their design. One example relating to the increase of Mechanics' Institutes in the earlier 1850s must suffice. At the opening of the Grimsthorpe Mechanics' Institute in 1854, E.T. Craig from the Rotherham Institute observed:

Mechanics' Institutes were coming in at the right time to prevent the great contrast of classes, which was beginning to prevail in the country, consequent

on the vast fortunes accumulated by the manufacturing classes. This contrast was only to be prevented by education... These Institutions tended to socialise the people, and the English people needed socialising immediately for it was notorious that too much exclusive feeling pervaded every class of English society. ¹⁰⁷¹

The educational institutions that labour class activists created for themselves were few enough. The best known ones have been noted but the efforts of the Chartist groups with their libraries and reading rooms should not be forgotten. ¹⁰⁷² The better organized trades like Sheffield's Operative Carpenters had libraries which contained books and papers. ¹⁰⁷³ Labour class learning did not always rely on the '3Rs'. Educated Chartists read and interpreted the papers to less educated activists who used their native intelligence to understand and reason. ¹⁰⁷⁴

Literacy was only rising slowly and taking the labouring mass as a whole there was a significant 'submerged' mass who could neither read nor write. In 1838 in Sheffield this mass was said to include one third of the town's population. ¹⁰⁷⁵ Even in the 1850s around a quarter of the population was in this condition. Progress was slow but perceptible. The following statistics are tentatively offered as measures of rising literacy but it is recognized that they present almost as many problems as they solve.

Table 7:35 Measures of literacy and other indications of educational attainment in Sheffield, c. 1840-1883. ¹⁰⁷⁶

(a) Signatures on marriage certificates in large congregations

(% of both sexes)	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
1840 Parish Church (891 marriages)	68%	45%
1848-57 St Philip's (500 marriages)	73%	53%
1879-83 St Philip's (500 marriages)	80%	71%

(b) Workers at the Globe Works in 1852 (representing all grades of worker but weighted towards the superior or better off)

<u>Category</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Neither read nor write</u>	<u>% of total</u>
Table blade forgers	46	10	21%
Table blade grinders	59	6	10%
Table blade hafters	61	10	16%
Fork grinders	14	2	14%
Saw grinders	23	0	0%
File and Edge tool grinders	8	1	12%

(c) 'Criminals' in Sheffield (representative of intermediate mass of labour but particularly the slum poor) and records of attainment in 1852.

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Neither read nor write</u>	<u>% of total</u>
Males	3606	1640	46%
Females	543	303	55%

These statistics give some substance to the claim about the size of the sub or semi-literate world of the labouring poor. The selective recording of history by its privileged recorders makes it difficult to enter this world. We can only speculate about its size and content. It could be suggested that it was a shrinking world in the earlier 1850s. Yet there seemed to be an irreducible core mass of illiteracy. This core mass contained up to a third of the labouring population. The following statistics hint at its irreducible nature:

Table 7:36 'Ignorance' and the 'Slum Poor', 1845-7: 1851-3¹⁰⁷⁷

	<u>Average % of Sheffield's 'criminals' unable to read or write</u>
Average % of males 1845-7	41.3%
Average % of males 1851-3	44%
Average % of females 1845-7	63%
Average % of females 1851-3	57%

(vi) Religion

Throughout the period the mass of working people in the region continued to ignore organized religion. This was despite the energies displayed by such groups as the Church Extension Movement, Sheffield's

Congregational Town Mission, Primitive Methodists, Baptists, Latter Day Saints and Roman Catholics.¹⁰⁸⁰ Church and chapel building lagged behind the growth of population and particularly its urban concentration. Data relating to attendance and accomodation from the 1851 Religious Census provided some quantitative verification of dominant trends:

Table 7:37 The Revelations of the 1851 Religious Census 1081

(i) Provision of accomodation and attendances

<u>District</u>	<u>Accomodation</u> (% of the population able to attend at any time	<u>Attendance*</u> (% of those able to attend)
Sheffield Parish	36%	23%
Barnsley Population District	48 %	28%
Rotherham Population District	55%	33%
Doncaster Population District	68%	44%
Wortley Population District	65%	26%

* calculations from original returns according to Mann's formula

(ii) Composition of attendances

<u>District</u>	<u>Established Church</u>	<u>Methodist Groups</u>	<u>Dissenting Groups</u>	<u>Catholic Church</u>
Sheffield Parish (urban-industrial)	40%	32%	18%	7.5%
Barnsley P.D. (rural-urban-industrial)	35%	49%	9%	4.2%
Rotherham P.D. (rural-urban-industrial-agricultural)	40%	47%	10.5%	-
Doncaster P.D. (rural-urban-agricultural)	52%	42%	4.9%	.6%
Wortley P.D. (rural-industrial-agricultural)	35%	50%	19%	-

(iii) Breakdown of Methodist attendances

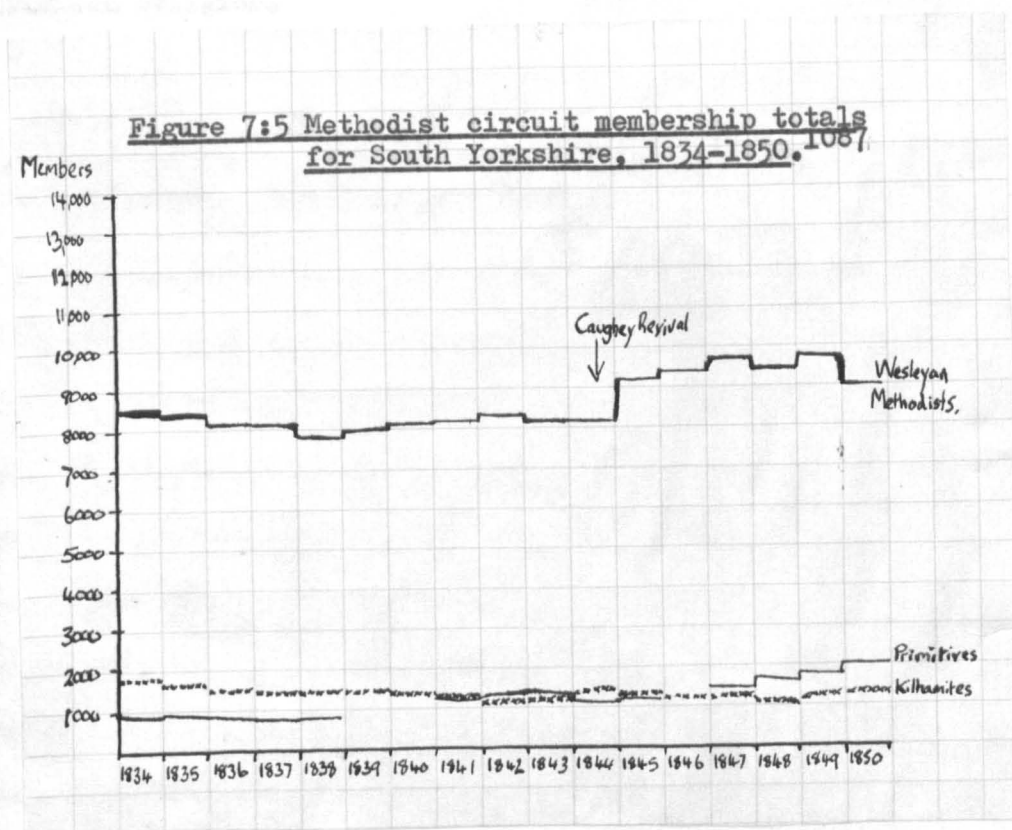
	<u>Wesleyan</u>	<u>Primitive</u>	<u>New Connexion</u>	<u>Reform-Association</u>
Sheffield Parish	63%	13%	12%	12%
Barnsley P.D.	37%	19%	29%	15%
Rotherham P.D.	70%	20%	-	10%
Doncaster P.D.	74%	25%	.6%	.4%
Wortley P.D.	62%	21%	13%	4%

The religion of the Bible was still an important factor in labouring life and in the labour class struggle that took shape within it. Individual Chartist leaders were associated with various forms of plebeian Dissent and with democratic Methodism. During 1839 and 1848 the borrowing of 'class' and 'camp meetings' from the Methodists reflected the upbringing of certain activists among the Independent and Kilhamite Methodist groups. Sheffield's Peter Foden had learnt his radicalism from the Bible at an Independent Chapel and Holberry had claimed to be a General Baptist. Among leading Barnsley Chartists of the same period there were Catholics, Methodists and Independents. Joseph Crabtree, a member of a small local Zaetic Society (atheistic), was the exception in being consciously anti-Christian. Rotherham's Chartists and radical trade unionists had used a New Connexion chapel in 1838 to meet to protest about the Dorchester labourers. Later during the struggles of the 1840s Methodist chapels (Primitive) and Independent chapels were used for Chartist, Owenite and trade union meetings in Sheffield and in the Barnsley area. In 1844 money had been collected for striking colliers at sermons preached in the Barnsley area.¹⁰⁸² Information on the religious affiliations of labour class leaders was scarce but when available was often intriguing. The report in an 1849 edition of the Sheffield Independent that T.N. Stocks, a leader of Sheffield's spring knife cutlers, had preached at the 'Non-hireling' Methodist chapel on Crane Moor near Wortley, not only hinted at Stocks' affiliations but also at one possible level of interconnection between labour leaders in different parts of the region.¹⁰⁸³

All this suggested the significance of dissenting religious undercurrents in labour class struggle. Among groups like the New Connexion Methodists, Protestant Methodists, General Baptists and Primitive Methodists there were some radical plebeian elements surviving in the 1840s. The Bible was still a labour class classic ahead of Paine's Rights of Man and Volney's The Ruins. Owenite secularism had made some inroads. Sheffield's Owenite Hall of Science, which opened in 1839, represented the one example of a secular labour class church. Its congregation, however disproportionately influential in local labour class politics, could not convince the mass of labour class activists to forget their religious superstitions.

Despite the obvious alienation of the labouring population from organized religious activity, there were during this period attempts made to impose religion upon them. The primitive Methodists, the Wesleyans, the Church of England, Dissenting groups and latterly the Catholic Church worked particularly hard to extend the control of organized religion. They created and used counter-culture institutions to advance their cause. Revivalist meetings, tract distributions, home visiting, moral lectures, social teas and soirees were continuously employed to exorcise 'Christ's Poor'. The gentle smile of concern and open arms of compassion and charity masked the true concern of organized religion. Throughout the earlier part of the period, in the face of almost continuous political and industrial insurgency, there were plenty of signs of a conscious use of counter-active religious revivalism by Wesleyans, Anglicans and Primitive Methodists. In early 1840 there was the curious coincidence of the arrival of Primitive Methodist preachers to conduct a revival meeting on Barnsley's Barebones with the defeat of local Chartism's early political initiative.¹⁰⁸⁴ In Sheffield in the early 1840s even the Anglicans joined in. They tried to build up a non-political education society in reaction to trends they imagined were taking place in the local Mechanics' Institute.¹⁰⁸⁵ Sheffield's Congregational Town Mission was particularly active in

distributing tracts, visiting and generally confronting 'Satan' in his many guises (Chartist, Infidel, Owenite and Trade Unionist) between 1840-2.¹⁰⁸⁶ Neither the Established Church nor the Wesleyans made much headway between 1837-50. Of the smaller Methodist groups only the Primitives made any ground. This was mainly in rural areas.



The 'Caughey Revival' of May-November 1844 was the one instance of significant success by the Wesleyans. Its effects were mainly confined to the Sheffield circuit where in the revival months there had been an incredible 4800 'responses' (1448 'sanctifications' of existing members, 667 'conversions' or 're-conversions' and 2675 'conversions from the world').¹⁰⁸⁸ One suspects there was more to the revival than Caughey's charisma and manipulative technique. Sheffield's slum poor were always in need of a Messiah. Perhaps the local defeats being inflicted on the mining population (sections of them) may have contributed to the revival's later stages although this was mainly a period of class advance.

The 'Caughey Revival' appears almost as an aberration. The Wesleyans and other Methodist groups made little progress in the middle and later 1840s. The Primitives, who at least did go out and try

to meet working people on their own terms, had some success. Baptist and Latter Day Saints had the same approach but were less numerous.¹⁰⁸⁹ Their energies were being wasted. By the 1850 the bulk of the urban and industrial (and rural-industrial) working class had closed its mind to organized religion.

(vii) Environment and Health

Labour class struggle took place in a degenerating physical environment. This environment and a more exploitive labour process affected the health of working people. The degeneration was not just an urban phenomenon. Life in agricultural and industrial villages did not deserve any romanticizing.¹⁰⁹⁰ The urban experience was the dominant one for working people in the region during this period and this is what is concentrated upon here. By 1851 over half the region's working population lived in towns(a third in Sheffield) and a quarter more in industrial villages. The most marked environmental decline was in Sheffield. Because of her industrial dynamism Sheffield was most subject to population pressure through immigration. Barnsley and Rotherham(and to an even lesser degree) all reproduced the same manifestations of decline that we describe below for Sheffield. Some evidence about conditions in them is also offered by way of further illustration.

Population growth, consequent overcrowding, cheap and bad housing speculatively built, inadequate or non-existent sewerage systems and water supplies, industrial pollution in air and water and the general absence of controls and public intervention all contributed to a state of impending ecological collapse in the Sheffield of the 1840s. The concern shown and subsequent investigation carried out in all the region's towns in the 1840s came to nothing in terms of action in the late 1840s and 1850s when the situation worsened. The impending crisis is suggested by the data on crude death rates and life expectation in

Sheffield during the middle century decades:

Table 7:38 Crude Death Rate and Life Expectation in Sheffield, 1837-65.¹⁰⁹²

(a) Crude Death Rate(Sheffield Poor Law Union)

	<u>Deaths per 1000 living persons</u>		<u>Deaths per 1000 living persons</u>
1837-8	27	1845	23
1838-9	29	1846	31
1839-40	30.5	1847	27
1840-1	28	1848	31
1842	-	1849	-
1843	24.7	1850	-
1844	24	1851	29

(b) Annual averages of crude death rate in Sheffield Poor Law Union over long term period.

	<u>Deaths per 1000 living persons</u>
1839-45	26.3
1846-51	29.5
1861-65	27.4

(c) Life expectation in urban Sheffield, 1839-1865.¹⁰⁹³

<u>Social groups</u>	<u>1839</u>		<u>1843</u>		<u>1865</u>	
	<u>years</u>	<u>months</u>	<u>years</u>	<u>months</u>	<u>years</u>	<u>months</u>
'Upper classes'	46	0	44	0	33	0*
'Middle classes'	-	-	27	0	25	0
'Working classes'	18	11	19	0	17	0

* an obvious inconsistency resulting from this artificial amalgamation of data.

The figures are imperfect. A fall in the level of infant mortality during the period is suggested by longer term data. Over the period

1841-65 infant mortality fell from 250 deaths per 1000 live births to

180 deaths. This meant that that there was a fall from a quarter to a

fifth of babies dying before attaining one year. Over a half still died

before they attained five years¹⁰⁹⁴. During the shorter period we

are examining here only during the early 1850s can we expect any improvement

to have taken place.

The crude death rate in Barnsley appeared to be nearly as high as in Sheffield throughout the 1840s and 1850s.¹⁰⁹⁵ This rate was significantly lower in Rotherham and Doncaster in the 1840s. Industrialization and urbanization caught up with Rotherham in the 1850s and the differential was lowered. In all these communities what was evident was the high death rate and the low expectation of life. Despite the fuller employment rate that arose during the decades of 'high capitalism' in the 1850s and 1860s there seemed to be few signs of improvement.

The urban crisis was accelerated towards a climax by population growth through immigration. Immigrant groups, particularly the Irish, were the worst victims of the urban deterioration. Packed into lodging houses and the cheapest accommodation they were pointed to as the source of urban squalor and disease. G.C. Holland, writing of the several thousand Irish in Sheffield in 1839, said this¹⁰⁹⁸ and similar-minded reformers of the 1850s pointed to the Irish lodging houses and districts in both Sheffield¹⁰⁹⁹ and Rotherham with the same emphasis.¹¹⁰⁰ The English workers who packed into the courts of Sheffield, Rotherham, Barnsley and Doncaster experienced similar overcrowding, pressure on limited washing, drinking and sanitary facilities and general decay. 'Court life' as in Rotherham's appropriately named 'All Nations Yard', 'Gordon's Yard' or Sheffield's 'Dodson's Yard', 'Woolhouse Square' or 'Snow Lane' or similar yards, streets and courts in Barnsley's 'Wilson's Piece' district, represented miniature versions of hell dotting the working class districts of the various towns.¹¹⁰¹ Whilst housing problems were less the result of cellar occupation more characteristic of industrial Lancashire (the houses in which the Barnsley weavers worked were exceptional), damp and running water also affected the ground floor occupants of houses in the riverside districts of the several towns. Sheffield's 'Ponds' and Bridgehouses districts were both vulnerable to periodic flooding. On the whole the hilly situation of most parts of Sheffield

and the other towns, the deflection of the streets and plentiful rainfall meant that on balance water acted on the side of health in the local urban environment.¹¹⁰² It did not however disperse the urban cesspools of the courts which were centered round filthy, oversubscribed privvies, heaps of 'night soil' and decaying general refuse. Dysentery, diarrhoea and various 'low fevers' were endemic here. Typhus and its variants were never far away.¹¹⁰³

Water supply marked out class contrasts. In Sheffield piped water was of good quality. Only a minority of the population received it in their homes from taps. The labouring classes received it from shared standpipes in streets, yards and courts. By the early 1850s only a few people had to seek water from the old and contaminated wells.¹¹⁰⁴ In contrast in Barnsley the benefits of piped water were more slowly diffused to the labouring population. This prompted popular agitation in the early 1850s.¹¹⁰⁵

The quality of housing and particularly the role of the building industry affected the urban environment. Speculative building of an inferior sort took place during Sheffield's building boom of the middle and later 1830s and again in the early 1850s.¹¹⁰⁶ In Barnsley the crude conversion of older premises into accommodation and work space for weaving families caused additional problems.¹¹⁰⁷

The various industries of the respective towns added to the environmental crisis. Barnsley's dye and bleachworks affected local rivers and streams.¹¹⁰⁸ The growth of steam power and the general rise in coal consumption for industrial and domestic use all contributed to the permanently overhanging smoke clouds over Sheffield, Rotherham and Barnsley. Sheffield's national reputation as the 'City of Soot' was further enhanced.¹¹⁰⁹

Local bodies responsible for aspects of the environment, despite pressure from medical men and civil engineers, abdicated responsibility. The local inquiries initiated in the later 1840s and early 1850s did little

to provoke action. They do at least catalogue urban squalor for the historian. Amongst the colourful details they contain is an explanation of the Barnsley expression 'to go to ground' which we explain below in the foot-
notes.¹¹¹⁰

Amidst urban degeneration the health of the working population did not show signs of improvement in the 1840s and 1850s. Fatalism permeated the labouring life of the courts, yards and streets.¹¹¹¹ Reactions to industrial disease, particularly those prevalent in the Sheffield grinding trades and heavier metal trades were of a similar sort.¹¹¹² However not all the labouring population accepted the dominant reality. The class conscious leadership in both Sheffield and Barnsley made demands upon the closed or self-selected and limited franchise bodies who had responsibility for aspects of the environment. In the middle and later 1830s Radicals and Chartists in Sheffield and Barnsley were in conflict with such bodies over the question of water supply and rating arrangements.¹¹¹³ In the 1840s Sheffield's Chartist councillors raised questions about the environment and continued to do so until their political eclipse in the early 1850s.¹¹¹⁴ In the early 1850s in Barnsley local labour class leaders, particularly Frank Mirfield, organized local people to campaign on the issue of a public water supply.¹¹¹⁵

(viii) Social-cultural struggle: Conclusions

In looking at the above aspects of labouring life it is possible to get closer to the daily experience of the mass of industrial workers. This is still an experience that is largely withheld from us by the class-privileged recorders of history. As a consequence this study has been mainly concerned with class leaderships or vanguard groups and not with the sub-political or semi-conscious mass of the working population. In relation to the wider areas of social-cultural exploitation looked at here, the absence of recorded evidence relating to the conscious reaction of leadership or mass groups forces us to suggest that there was a passive acceptance of the social situation. This would be incorrect. There are signs of a positive reaction to manipulation and deprivations understood by leadership figures. It is difficult to attempt any generalization about leadership positions on drink, leisure and recreation, education, religion and environment and health. The generalizations attempted in the respective sections are based only on a few fragments of evidence.

It is tempting to claim that most labour class leaders (Chartists, Owenites, Trade Unionists etc.) believed in drinking in moderation or in abstaining, that they approved of rational and purposeful recreation, that they encouraged education which enlightened and improved, that they were fired by primitive Bible Christianity and that they were concerned about working and living conditions. The qualification of these self-obvious generalities brings us closer to a more complex form of reality. Some leadership figures did not share these views. Some shared them but were willing to seek them in collaboration with more 'respectable' classes by co-operating in counter-culture type institutions and by reformist means generally. This is perhaps how we should dismiss the activity of Chartist councillors. Some leadership figures pursued these goals by seeking to

create independent institutions. They had some conception of the need for class separation involving the creation of an independent culture. The evidence suggests that this was more ideal than actual or practical. For all this, the educational experiments and activity among Chartist groups, in the Owenite Hall of Science and the Workers' Educational Institute, in the Franklin Club (in its early period) and among the leadership voices calling for an independent labour class paper (they had the Northern Star to help them) and a labour class meeting hall, added up to something. They raised the question of a vital requirement for revolutionary struggle in the fullest sense of what the transformation should achieve. They pointed out a necessary line of advance but they were not able to follow it. Grey reformism triumphed, the labour class got a few railed parks and museums, art galleries and patronized concerts a few decades later. Bourgeois culture remained unopposed.

(F) Epitaph

By 1855 history had already written the epitaph for those cohorts of class actors who had built up South Yorkshire's tradition for aggressive labour class struggle during the previous seventy years. The uncertain, transitional social order in being during the long period of industrial capitalism's emergence had been replaced by a more confident one. A revolutionary or insurrectionist backed but largely constitutionalist mass-based labour class impetus to obtain political democracy had been beaten. While the industrial organizations of the labour class had remained intact, the coalescence of industrial and political streams of class action was diminishing. The vague theoretical gropings and the more practical advances towards anti-capitalist alternatives involving economic and wider social re-ordering (influenced by socialistic thinking and practical necessity in the 1830s and 1840s) were forgotten or harmlessly re-shaped during the 1850s. The moments of climax in the heat and noise of angry meetings were buried in popular memory. Now a re-stabilizing process, involving a political and social-cultural re-making, accompanied by changes in the economic substructure, reinforced a new integrative alignment between the labour class and the total social system. Until a socialist rebirth which took place over a generation later, labour class struggle was not to fundamentally challenge a social order organized in the interests and the image of industrial capitalism and the industrialist bourgeoisie.

This study sought to discover how the labour class emerged as an objective and a subjective force in the changing economic and wider context affected by the evolution of capitalism. Labour class leadership, which gave vital direction in the process of emergence or realization, has been heavily concentrated upon by this study. The conception of leadership, of a vanguard, has hopefully gone beyond the exclusive limits of official leadership. Some recognition has been made of the role of hundreds or even thousands of heroic individuals

who, with varying degrees of class awareness dictated by the context and particular experiences of the cohort they belonged to, played vanguard roles. Each cohort handed on the lessons of experience. Jacobins and United Englishmen (Crome, Blackwell, Wolstenholme, Collins and Parrimond) and early trade unionists (Eadon, Craven Cookson) carried sansculotte and sharper class perspectives into the period of post-war Radicalism and further beyond into a period of more definite industrial and political class awakening. Young Radicals and trade unionists (Kirk, Booth, Vallance, Mirfield, Ashton) of the second and third decades' struggles carried their modified class perspectives into the awakening 1830s and 1840s. Some of the young Chartists and trade union activists of the later 1830s and earlier 1840s continued into the later 1840s as Chartists, Democrats, collaboratist Liberal-Radicals and hard-faced economic industrial leaders. Each cohort saw the world unfolding in different ways yet so constant was the pattern of economic conditioning before 1850 and such were the interconnections between moments and types of struggle that the cohorts coalesced in the embrace of generalized class aims.

After 1850 the pattern of economic condition was changed by the dynamics of industrial capitalism and the members of arising cohorts were placed on a divergent path. For the survivors from the cohorts which had united in the 'social war' of the late 1830s and 1840s the following decade was one of bitter disillusion. Such were the feelings registered in the lines of Ebenezer Elliot's 'People's Anthem' which he completed in 1849 shortly before his death. Elliot was not a worker but he had participated in popular constitutionalist struggle from the Jacobin to the Chartist period. If later in life he seemed less sympathetic towards labour class realization he was still a sincere friend of the working people. His lines (for the labour class produced few poets who left behind published work) serve as a necessary lament for all those who recognized their oppressors and struggled against them:

When wilt thou save the people
O God of Mercy, when!
Not Kings and Lords, but Nations!
Not thrones and crowns, but men
Flowers of thy heart are they,
Let not them pass like weeds away!
Their lives a sunless day
God save the People.¹¹¹⁶

1. K. Marx and F. Engels, On Britain(Moscow, 1962), 361
2. M. Edwards, The Growth of the British Cotton Trade, 1782-1815 (Manchester, 1967), 53.
3. W. White, History and General Directory of the Borough of Sheffield (Sheffield, 1833); W. white, white's General Directory of the Town and Borough of Sheffield(Sheffield, 1841); W. White, Gazetteers and General Directory of Sheffield(Sheffield , 1852)
4. White(1852) op. cit., passim.
5. White(1833 and 1852) op.cit. passim ;W. White, Gazetteer and Directory of the West Riding of Yorkshire, 2 vols, vol 1 (Sheffield, 1837) passim.
6. S.Pollard, A History of Labour in Sheffield(Liverpool , 1959) ,55.
7. By the 1850s the following local employers had at least 200 employees working for them on one or two sites and/or as outworkers- William Jessop, Naylor, Vickers and Co, Sanderson Brothers, Thomas Firth and Son, Thomas Turton and Son, Johnson, Cammell and Co and John Brown and Co(all steel, tools, cutlery and railway equipment makers), Dixon's (silver plate and mixed metal workers), Ibbotsons, Thomas Ellin, G. Wostenholme, Joseph Rodgers, Marsh Brothers, Thomas Turner, S.R. Lindley, S. Newbould, Samuel Butcher and John Kenyon (all cutlery manufacturers with interests in steel and tools), Stuart and Smith (Roscoe Place ironware manufactory) and Laycocks(hairseat weaving). The Sheffield Times, 30 March 1850 noted the expansion of employment under Messers Blake and Parkin at 'Meadow Steel Works' which it claimed employed 1500 workers in file, saw , table knife, edge tool and spring knife manufacture. On the growth of steel firms see Pollard, op.cit.,162. On the question of scale see also Sheffield Independent, 4 Jan. 1851.
8. For a better examination of this see the statements of labour leaders in this trade. One such(from T.N. Stocks) was made in the Sheffield Mercury , 26 Sept. 1846. On the persistence of small masters in the razor trade see Drury's letter in the Sheffield Independent, 1 Jan. 1842.
9. White(1833 and 1852) op.cit. passim; Report from the Select Committee on Manufactures, Commerce and Shipping, 1833 loc.cit., 175(Samuel Jackson's testimony); Pollard, op.cit., 331 , some adjustment was made to his figures relating to employment in the file trade in the light of information from the Sheffield Independent, 30 Oct.1852.
10. White(1833, 1837, 1842,1852) op.cit. passim.
11. PP 1854(21) XXVII , Census of Great Britain Population Tables,2 vols, vol. 1, 726-27
12. Pollard, op.cit., 331.
13. See narrative section of the chapter covering 1845-47.
14. Sheffield Independent, 30 Nov. 1844.
15. ibid., 30 Oct. 1852, file hardeners on datal work. The prevalence of piecework earlier is established by information on trade practices included in G.C. Holland, The Vital Statistics of Sheffield (Sheffield, 1843) 152-204.
16. Holland , op.cit., 152-167, on the silver and plated trade.
17. White(1833,1837,1842,1852) op.cit., passim.
18. ibid.(1833, 1842, 1852) ; Report of Manufactures 1833 etc. loc.cit., 175; Holland, op.cit., 152-168; Pollard, op.cit., 331.

19. H. Pawson and J. Brailsford, Illustrated Guide to Sheffield and Neighbourhood (Sheffield, 1862), 167-72, noted Dixon's 'Cornish Place' works had 700 workers (the family owned other units). They also Walker and Hall (Electro Works, Howard Street), John Round (Tudor Works), Henry Wilkinson (Norfolk Street) as large established producers in the early 1860s. These firms were well established by the mid 1850s.
20. ibid., 167-72.
21. Holland, op.cit., 152-167.
22. ibid., 152-204, details from which percentages compiled.
23. ibid., 152-68.
24. Sheffield Independent, 13 July 1844.
25. Pawson and Brailsford, op.cit., 126, noted that in 1845 Cammell and his partners had occupied a four acre site and built large scale industrial premises. These were extended in the later 1840s and by 1862 his premises occupied a nine acre site.
26. White (1833, 1837, 1842, 1852) op.cit., passim.
27. Scrivenor, op.cit., 155; Pollard, op.cit., 78.
28. Thomas Jessop and Co.
29. White (1852) op.cit., passim.
30. Pollard, op.cit., ch. III passim.
31. ibid., 84-5.
32. ibid., 84-5, notes strike of Railway Spring Makers' Union in 1851.
33. Sheffield Independent, 11 Oct. 1845, razor smiths being used to file railway springs for wages of seven shillings per week.
34. Birch, op.cit., 140-1.
35. The problems faced at Elsecar and Milton are examined in Clayton, thesis, loc.cit., passim.
36. Sheffield Times, 25 Aug, 1849.
37. White (1833, 1837, 1842, 1852) op.cit., passim.
38. Sheffield Independent, 27 May 1843, Barnby of the moulders was present at a Sheffield trades' delegate meeting.
39. Ironstone getters and 'day men' at the collieries were datal workers.
40. White (1852) op.cit., 379.
41. Sandford, Owm and Watson of the Phoenix Ironworks, Yates, Haywood and Co of the Effingham Works and Rotherham foundry in Rotherham and in Sheffield Stuart and Smith of Roscoe Place.
42. Sheffield Independent, 27 April 1844, fender and stove makers said to be in the same union, 23 November 1844, Shaw their delegate reported at Sheffield trades' delegate meeting.
43. White, ⁽¹⁸⁵²⁾ op.cit., 252, list 36 brass founders.
44. ibid., 243-276, lists 18 nailmakers in Darton, 8 in Ecclesfield, 5 in Thorpe Hesley, 5 in Chapeltown. These were traditional centres. Sheffield with 20 manufacturers was seen to be the only place where wire was manufactured on a large scale. Some domestic working in this trade persisted in Barnsley and Wortley which were traditional centres.

45. G.G. Hopkinson, 'Railway Projection and Construction in South Yorkshire and North Derbyshire, 1830-1850', Transactions of the Hunter Archaeological Society, IX, 1969, 8-26.
46. Mee, thesis, op.cit., 57,68.
47. Calculations based on census date given in PP 1844() Report of the Commissioners of Population, vol 13,xxvii,227-237 and PP 1854(21) xlii, Census of Great Britain:Population Tables,vol 1, 702-705.
48. White(1833, 1837,1842,1852) op.cit. passim.
49. Burland, Annals III op.cit., 289-90, quoting from paper given before Statistical section of the British Association in 1857.
50. PP 1842(381)xvi, Children's Employment (mines); Appendix to First Report, passim, various reports on working arrangements in the pits.
51. See following narrative section, particularly that covering 1844.
52. Estimated from abstracts of population for 1841, 1851, loc.cit.; Kaigage , thesis, op.cit., 38, makes an estimate for 1841 and 1851 based on Barnsley township alone. The number of firms was obtained from White(1837, 1852) op.cit., passim.
53. White (1837) op.cit., passim.
54. Kaigage, thesis, op.cit., 86-126, provides detail but fails to see the new capitalism shaping.
55. White(1852) op.cit., 595; Kaigage , thesis, op.cit., 121.
56. *ibid.*, 21,118.
57. *ibid.*, 109.
58. White(1852) op.cit.,595.
59. Kaigage, thesis, op.cit., 106-7.
60. White(1852) op.cit.,595.
61. Children's Employment report(mines) etc. , loc.cit., 267, witness no. 166(Mr Crooks a Barnsley surgeon.)
62. Kaigage, thesis, op.cit, 135; Sheffield Free Press, 29 July 1854; Burland, Annals II, loc.cit.,527.
63. Kaigage, thesis, op.cit., 127, estimates of joint stocks but significance not explored. This is rectified below.
64. The struggles of the weavers and bleachers are noted in the following section.
65. My interpretation of cycles and their turning points is prompted by Gayer, Rostow and Schwartz, op.cit. vol. I, chs v-vi, 242-341 but also relates to turning points seen in local trades.
66. B.R. Mitchell and P. Deane, Abstract of British Historical Statistics, (Cambridge, 1962),302,cutlery statistics ; Silver assay figures from 'day books' kept in Sheffield Assay Office and quoted by permission of the Assay Master; Coal statistics from Mee, thesis, op.cit, 57,68.
67. B.A. English(ed.), op.cit., passim.
68. Sheffield Independent,5 July 1845, list of local subscribers to railway projects contained over fifty South Yorkshire personages pledging sums of over £400. It was topped by Charles Tee, a Barnsley linen manufacturer with £106,480 and by relatives of the Rotherham Walkers.

69. On transport history see Hadfield I ,II, op.cit., passim; Hopkinson, art.cit., 8-26.
70. Hadfield I, op.cit., 184, Barnsley Canal data; Don Navigation Minute Book, loc. cit., for Don materials.
71. Garlick, thesis, op.cit., 15.
72. Mitchell and Deane, op. cit., 302.
73. 'Day Books', Sheffield Assay Office loc.cit.
74. Holland, op.cit., 152-67.
75. Sheffield Local Register, op.cit., passim, annual entries.
76. Sheffield Independent, 5 Feb. 1842, 19 Nov. 1842.
77. Sheffield Times, 5 May 1849.
78. Weekly reports in Sheffield Independent.
79. ibid., 3 Sept. 1842, 28 Jan. 1843.
80. Various reports in Sheffield Independent, Sheffield Mercury and Sheffield Times.
81. See last section of this thesis on 'Drink'.
82. Lists of prices for work in Leeds Mercury, 21 Nov. 1818, Handloom Weavers Report loc.cit., 482, John Vallance's evidence; Barnsley Chronicle, 11 Nov. 1873, for longest list comparing prices paid for work in 1825, 1829, 1837, 1854, 1866. These are used in Figure 7:3. The last set of statistics seems to have eluded Kaigage for he makes no attempt at comparison of rates.
83. As explored by Mee, thesis , op.cit., passim.
84. What remains is difficult to compare there being many subdivided types of work.
85. The index and resultant 'graph' is based on existing lists, references to lists, particularly comparisons, claims of levels of discount and counter-claims. The complaints of sections of organized labour contribute most to the 'series'. Among the cutlery trades the trends tend to reflect the pressures on list prices faced by the weaker hafting and forging sections rather than the stronger grinding sections. The joining of lines between points is partly justified by a knowledge of local cycles. It is hoped it sharpens the image of trends. In all these trades there were superior branches (including linen) which deviated from these trends. This index reflects more the 'average' price of work carried out by the 'average' worker.

	<u>1810</u>	<u>1814</u>	<u>1817/18</u>	<u>1823</u>	<u>1829</u>	<u>1831</u>	<u>1833</u>	<u>1835/6</u>
Files	100	106	-	-	-	100	-	121
Spring Knives	100	-	80	-	-	75	55	78/63
Table Knives	100	-	-	-	-	75/100	60	75
Forks	100	-	-	-	-	-	65	63
Razors	100	-	-	-	-	80	90	-
Linen Weaving	1100	80	63	58	42/32	-	-	-

85(cont.).	<u>1836/7</u>	<u>1837</u>	<u>1842</u>	<u>1851/2</u>
Files	-	-	80	100
Spring Knives	-	-	38	100
Table Knives	-	-	30/40	-
Forks	-	-	40	-
Razors	-	-	50	-
Linen Weaving	42	32	-	32

86. R.S. Bayley, a Congregational minister, collected information on a significant scale and some of his findings were published in the Sheffield Independent.
87. We do not know how the 'dozen' in the cutlery trades changed. In the linen trade the loss of the fent and increases in standard lengths and in coal mining larger corves, wider riddles and loss of payment for non production work continued.
88. Rents affecting the grinders were a frequent source of complaint, Sheffield Independent, 28 March 1846, a letter of Drury on this subject.
89. This is a very speculative piece of work. The overall impression it gives is correct but the averages are produced from good but varied sources:
- 1810 - Nowill Wage Books - an average gross payment to thirty or so workers in spring and table knife trades.
- 1814 - " " " " " " " " " "
- 1830 - Select Committee on Fluctuations of Employment, loc.cit., 5(whole trade)
- 1833 - Select Committee on Trade etc., loc.cit., various depositions with adjustments made in relation to the size of individual trades as suggested by figures in Lloyd, op.cit., 211(whole trade)
- 1836 - R.S. Bayley sample and comment, Sheffield Independent, 13 May 1843 (whole trade).
- 1837 - R.S. Bayley, Sheffield Independent, 13 May 1843, comment about 'six years ago' (whole trade).
- 1838 - R.S. Bayley, Sheffield Independent, 23 July 1842, 'random sample' of 30 workers gross wages 1838:1842 from the 2000 replies to his request for information (whole trade).
- 1840 - R.S. Bayley, Sheffield Independent, 6 May 1843, data on 13 workers' wages 1840:1843; contrast of 60 workers' wages 1840:1843 in Sheffield Independent, 13 May 1843(whole trade)
- 1841 - R.S. Bayley, Sheffield Independent, 13 May 1843, earnings of the first hundred paupers on poorhouse list in 1841(whole trade)
- 1842 - R.S. Bayley, Sheffield Independent, 23 July 1842, 1838:1842 see above.
- 1843 - R.S. Bayley, Sheffield Independent, 6 May, 13 May 1843, see above.
- 1851/2 - Lloyd, op.cit., 211, figures with adjustments to take into account the relative importance of trades and size of specific groups within them and also distribution of 'superior' / 'inferior' branches within trades.
90. Pollard, op.cit., 60.
91. Handloom Weavers Report, loc.cit., 479.
92. The 1825 and 1830 projections are based on Samuel Jackson's testimony in Select Committee on Manufactures etc. loc.cit., 176, 182; The 1842 situation was statistically recorded in a printed abstract, 'Distress in the Manufacturing Districts (1842)', a copy of which is in HO 40/59.
93. Lloyd, op.cit., 211; Pollard, op.cit., 60, I have produced averages making adjustments for variations within trades and the size of respective trades.

94. By 'secondary poverty' I refer to temporary situations when earnings do not match income required to maintain families at above subsistence levels(in this case defined at levels related to budgets of 1830s) by 'primary poverty' I imply a permanent falling below such levels.
95. Gayer ,hostow and Schwartz I, op.cit., 468.
96. Sheffield Independent, 18 June 1847.
97. ibid., 10 June 1837(cutler). 9 Sept. 1837(filesmith); Handloom Weavers Report, loc.cit., 483.
98. Most power loom weavers were women.
99. Sheffield Independent, 19 Jan. 1850, 'new impetus', 7 May 1853, Messrs hodgers and Co paying 1810 file moneylevels.
100. ibid., 27 July 1850, claims of use of 'workhouse price' to beat down wages. The main controversy raged during 1842-3.
101. ibid., 10, 31 March 1849, signs of boom in Rotherham, 12 Jan. 1850, Milton ironworks reopened.
102. ibid., 20 Jan. 1849, model makers at Sandford and Yates' works earned 30 shillings per week.
103. Burland, Annals II, 244, note on ironstone getters.
104. Pollard , op.cit., 82-5, note on gang work.
105. Much of what had happened pre 1844 was revealed by the statements made by the combatants during the strike.
106. Sheffield Independent, 21 March 1849, situation in the Barnsley area; Sheffield Mercury, 24 Feb. 1849, Barnsley meeting at High Stile about the 8 hour day.
107. Sheffield Independent, 4, 18, 25 May, 1, 8 June 1844; Sheffield Mercury, 20, 27 April, 4, 11, 18, 25 May, 1, 8 June 1844.
108. See narrative section of chapter for details.
109. Sheffield Mercury, 1 June 1844, mentioned in a letter from the 'Committee Room' of the Sheffield colliers at the Robin Hood Inn in the Park district to the paper; Burland, Annals II, loc.cit., 221, noted a similar loss of pay for 'hurrying slack' in the Barnsley pits ; Sheffield Independent, 25 May , 1 June 1844, further examples from Rotherham and Sheffield areas.
110. Sheffield Independent, 6 April 1844.
111. ibid., 6 April 1844.
112. 'Wage Books', Clarke Records, CR 31, 32 in SCL (two volumes of wage books covering the years 1835-40, 1843-46)
113. Children's Employment Report(mines) etc. , loc.cit., 218-9
114. No so the collier population of Sheffield Park as reported by J. Haywood and R. Lee, A Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Borough of Sheffield (Sheffield, 1848), 13.
115. Only one of the contributors to the recent 'standard of living debate' , R.S. Neale, 'The Standard of Living, 1780-1844-a regional and class study', Economic History Review, 2nd Series, 1966, ix, no. 3 , shows an understanding on the complex nature of the question.
116. G.C. Holland , op.cit., 133-4 , statistics here related to census data.
117. R.E. Leader, A Century of Thrift; Sheffield Savings Bank, 1819-1919 (Sheffield, 1920) passim; Sheffield Local Register, op.cit., annual references.
118. G.C. Holland, op.cit., 131.

119. Pawson and Brailsford, op.cit., 94-95; Sheffield Independent, 29 March 1851, branches of Savings Bank opened.
120. Doncaster Gazette, 1 Feb. 1839, in 1839 it had deposits of £89,163 in 2272 accounts including 40 friendly society accounts and 1000 accounts of less than £20.
121. Sheffield Independent, 14 Jan. 1854, it had in that year £56,720 in 1925 accounts including some 63 friendly societies.
122. White(1852) op.cit., 386, lists the details.
123. Population Abstracts (1844) loc.cit., 154-58, 222-287 , Bath had 5.2% domestic servants as against Doncaster's 8.1%.
124. Sheffield Local Register, op.cit., 535fn.
125. Kaijage thesis, op.cit., 259, says a quarter of the population or a half of the labouring population were covered . He does not realize the memberships also cover the villages around.
126. This is my estimate based on the knowledge that the Linen Weavers' Association had only 400 members in the early 1850s. There were also local craft unions or branches of craft unions amongst local building workers, ironworks' labour, tailors , shoemakers and bleachers.
127. On the 'mythical average' see Thompson, op.cit., ch.10 passim.
128. Hymns to be sung at the Sheffield and Barnsley Chartist Camp -meeting on Sunday, 22nd September 1839 (Sheffield, 1839) , printed handbill in Wilson Deeds Collection, Wil.D. 412/17, in SCL.
129. Sheffield Iris, 17 Oct. 1837; Sheffield Independent, 21 Oct. 1837, Henry Hetherington and Feargus O'Connor had spoken at the first meeting on 16 October.
130. Leeds Times, 21 Oct. 1837, first reference to the BRA being organized along the lines of a 'workingmen's Association'.
131. Sheffield Independent, 13 Jan. 1838, this was signed by twelve individuals at least eight of whom were journeymen, The exceptions were a master builder, a watchmaker, a bookseller and an unclassified cutler.
132. ibid., 16 Dec. 1838, the winter months of 1837/8 were marked by severe local distress among the labouring population. A distress fund was aiding 20,000 people in Sheffield as reported in Sheffield Iris, 23 Jan. 1838; Sheffield Mercury, 20, 27 Jan. 1838; Leeds Times, 3 March 1838. Poverty was concentrated in localities like Attercliffe where 38% of the inhabitants (as against Sheffield's 20%) were in receipt of aid from the distress fund. Over 40% of the town's 5,000 strong Irish community were also recipients, Sheffield Mercury, 3 March 1838. Extracts from the 'Journal of Samuel D..' printed in the Sheffield Independent, 28 Oct. 1837 chronicle the day by day deterioration in the town's trade during 1837; also comments in Assistant Commissioner Gulson's reports in M(inistry) of H(ealth) series in PRO, MH 32/28.
133. Leeds Times, 30 Dec. 1837, Barnsley 'Address' signed by nine individuals, mainly weavers, but including at least two who derived part or the whole of their incomes from keeping beerhouses.
134. PP 1843(24) Report of the Commissioners appointed to take a census of Ireland for the year 1841, lxxxviii-lxxxix, statistics on towns with populations over 10,000 show Barnsley had 4.9% Irish-born, Sheffield(central township) had 2.68%, Doncaster 1.26% and Rotherham 2%(est. based on 1851 data). The Irish communities contained 2-3 times the number of Irish-born.
135. As justified by almost continuous reports in the Leeds Times from January 1836 onwards.

136. Sheffield Independent, 11 March 1837, a visiting radical journalist, John Bell, accused the local leaders letting the SRA die. O'Connor had spoken on the need for popular Radical Associations in Sheffield as early as December 1835, Sheffield Iris, 22 Dec. 1835. When Bell stood at the Sheffield parliamentary election (by-election) in August 1836 he again urged the labour class to form a Radical Association, Sheffield Mercury, 20,27 Aug. 1836. Sheffield's labour class leadership was bound in strong industrial-political unity and this may have precluded the need for an RA. Labour class leaders were politically active from a strong industrial base.
137. Leeds Times, 11,18,25 Nov., 2, 23,30 Dec. 1837; Northern Star, 3,17 Feb. 1838; Leeds Times, 3, 17 March 1838.
138. Although the trades and the SWMA held separate meetings- Sheffield Iris, 6 March 1838(trades), Northern Star, 7 April 1838(SWMA)- there were several common activists who got a hearing at both meetings including Fenton(silversmiths' leader) and James Ironside (saw makers' leader).
139. Reports in Sheffield Iris, Sheffield Mercury, Sheffield Independent, Northern Star and Leeds Times.
140. D. Thompson(ed.),The Early Chartists(1971), 37-41 , for general chronology of the Chartist years.
141. Sheffield Iris, 5 June 1838, trade 'on the mend' in Sheffield because of greater stability among the American money houses. In October the railway link between Sheffield and Rotherham was opened and by November there was seasonal improvement in the linen trade- ibid., 30 Oct.,27 Nov. 1838.
142. Northern Star, 21 April 1838, account of Barnsley's Easter Tuesday mass meeting, including speakers and details of correspondence gone into suggest more expansive local activity.
143. ibid., 9 June 1838.
144. Sheffield Iris, 10 April 1838.
145. Northern Star, 5 May 1838; Sheffield Independent, 5 May 1838.
146. There was a marked contrast in reactions between the two communities' reactions to the Coronation festivities. Contrast popular involvement in Sheffield reports of Sheffield Iris, 3 July, Sheffield Mercury, 30 June 1838 with lack of involvement and hostility displayed in Barnsley as suggested in reports in Leeds Times 30 June 1838 and Northern Star, 7 July 1838.
147. Northern Star, 9 June 1838.
148. ibid., 21 April 1838, first contact with Birmingham; Sheffield Iris, 11 Sept. 1838, advert for public meeting implied further contacts and suggested a boost given to local confidence was given by the promise of the delegation. Birmingham delegates also visited Barnsley, Northern Star, 30 June 1838.
149. Sheffield Mercury, 29 September 1838; Sheffield Iris, 25 Sept., 2 Oct. 1838; Sheffield Independent, 29 Sept. 1838; Northern Star, 29 Sept. 1838 . The meeting was held in Roscoe Field on the northern edge of town.
150. Northern Star, 23 June 1838.
151. ibid., 29 Sept., 13 Oct., 1 Dec., 8 Dec. ¹⁸³⁸, 12, 19 Jan 1839 .
152. ibid., 10 Oct. 1838.
153. Sheffield Iris, 27 Nov. 1838, claim made at the annual festival of the Operative Bricklayers.
154. William Barker(bricklayer), James Ironside(saw makers), William Ashby(saw makers) and John Fenton(silversmiths)
155. Sheffield Iris, 18 Sept. 1838 , among a list of householders signing

- 155 cont. a petition calling for a meeting on 25 Sept. were several other labour class leaders prominent in 'trades' delegate 'activity in the mid 1830s including Joseph Kirk (file cutters and filesmiths), William Lomas (shopkeeper). Thomas Booth (Britannia metalsmiths) and Kirk were lifelong trade unionists and democratic reformers as the later narrative and testimonies made at a dinner in 1846 reveals Sheffield Independent, 11 July 1846.
156. This was marked out in their absence from debate or their preference shown for the anti-Corn Law agitation. For signs of the continued interest of trade union leaders in this agitation see accounts of Paradise Square meeting on Corn Laws, Sheffield Iris, 29 Jan. 1839.
157. Since the prosecution of the Glasgow Spinners' Union, the Government had at O'Connell's suggestion set up a committee to investigate trade unions. In Sheffield the newly formed Chamber of Commerce (the short-lived first Chamber) had petitioned the House of Commons over the need for legislation and as the Sheffield Mercury, 3 March 1838 recorded, the trades had counter-petitioned.
158. Sheffield Independent, 14 Oct. 1838, for description of internal democratic processes within 1200-strong file trade union.
159. For Booth and Kirk see Chapter 6 and fn. 155 above.
160. Northern Star, 3, 24 Nov., 1, 15 Dec. 1838, they were responsible for the weavers regaining some of the 12% average loss in piece-rates when the January 1836 list prices had been cut in August 1837.
161. ibid., 3 Nov., 15 Dec. 1838, both used Crabtree's beer house for meetings and several leaders of the Weavers' Union were key figures in the BNU, including Peter Hoey, a key figure in the local Irish community.
162. Evidence of the activity of other workgroups can be found in the Place Collection (British Library) of Newspaper Cuttings, Set 51, f. 209 (shoemakers), Leeds Mercury, 30 April 1836 (stonemasons and joiners) 9 July 1836 (colliers), 23 July (shoemakers) 1836. The shoemakers were traditionally the most politically involved group. Thomas Linguard, the son of Joseph the radical newagent in Sheffield, was one of the leading pro-Chartist shoemakers in Barnsley. He was also a union secretary.
163. Sheffield Independent, 16 Aug. 1845, it was revealed that in 1838 Stephenson had 2000 men encamped in temporary buildings at Rotherham. The report of Rotherham's Chartist activity in Sheffield Mercury, 2 Feb. 1839, mentions the political activity of Robert Curry, 'a mason on the North Midland line'.
164. Poster advertising a meeting to discuss the fate of the Glasgow Spinners being held in the Methodist New Connexion chapel in Rotherham on 6 Feb. 1838 in HO 40/40. The implied connection of Chartists and trade unionists with democratic Methodist groups is what we should expect.
165. Northern Star, 8 Dec. 1838, the 'Address' was signed by John Barbour, John Lawson, John Robertson, Thomas Dixon and Samuel Burgess.
166. The Convention proceedings were covered in the Sheffield Iris and Northern Star. Only the Iris reprinted an account of the opening meeting (12 Feb. 1839 ed.) but the Star reported events weekly from early March.
167. Sheffield Mercury, 2 Feb. 1839; Sheffield Iris, 29 Jan. 5 Feb. 1839; Northern Star, 9 Feb. 1839. While fairly successful in Rotherham, in Sheffield local Chartists did not have it all their own way. They failed, out-voted 2-1, to persuade a 7-8,000 strong Paradise Square crowd that universal suffrage was more important than the repeal of the Corn Laws.

168. Sheffield Iris, 26 Feb., 5 Mar. 1839.
169. Northern Star, 26 Jan. 1839, the Worsbrough Comacr. Chartists found local anti-Corn Law rivalry so limited that they were able to send activists to help the hard-pressed Leeds Chartists.
170. *ibid.*, 16 Feb.(Cawthorne), 9 March(Billingley and Darfield) 13 April (Hoyland Swaine) 1839. The paper now ran reports of the regular West Riding delegate meetings which co-ordinated the GNU. Barnsley regularly sent delegates. Sheffield was not involved in this or with north Midlands delegate activity which the Northern Star reported in April.
171. *ibid.*, 20, 27 April 1839.
172. J.T. Ward, Chartism(1973), 113-23, the most recent account although not the best of Convention activity during the first half of 1839.
173. William Wragg, Sgt. of Police to Sir Jonothan May, Great Scotland Yard, 20 April 1839, HO 40/51.
174. Northern Star, 13 April 1839.
175. Sheffield Iris, 7 May 1839, the Sheffield Chartists had lost the active support of Ebenezer Elliot, the 'Corn Law Rhymer'. He was still an influential figure with sections of the local working population and may have been able to make the Chartists' position more difficult,
176. Northern Star, 27 April 1839; Similar problems were noted in the correspondence between the SWMA's secretary and William Lovett at the Convention, letter dated 2 April 1839, Add.Mss. 34245(A) in British Library.
177. Ward, op.cit., 125.
178. Sheffield Iris, 7 May 1839, it declared the Convention 'a hoax'. The Iris ceased giving the SWMA its support and for a short while appeared to suspend the reporting of Chartist activity.
179. The SWMA appeared to be building contacts and a sphere of influence in the north Midlands as reports of recruiting in north Derbyshire and West Lincolnshire suggested- Sheffield Mercury, 4 May 1839, Sheffield Iris, 7 May 1839.
180. Northern Star, 25 May 1839.
181. Ward, op.cit., 122, these included the withdrawal of bank deposits, the conversion of paper money to gold, the 'sacred month', abstinence from intoxicating drinks, refusal of rents, refusal of rates and taxes, support for Chartist candidates and refusal to read hostile journals.
182. H.B. Cooke to Secretary of State, 8 May 1839, HO 40/51.
183. C. Brownell and W. Bagshaw to Secretary of State, 14 May 1839, HO 40/51; Northern Star, 25 May 1839; W. Mence to Lord Harwood, 23 May 1839, list of 526 'specials', Harwood Lieutenantcy Papers, Box II, Sheepscar Public Library, Leeds.
184. Sheffield Iris, 2 July 1839; Northern Star, 6 July 1839.
185. Doncaster Gazette, 14 June 1839. There was an earlier reference to local initiatives in the edition of 31 May. See fn 123 for note concerning 'dependence' of the Doncaster population.
186. Northern Star, 15 June 1839.
187. *ibid.*, 15, 22, 29 June, 6 July 1839.
188. Ward, op.cit., 126-30.
189. Sheffield Iris, 16 July 1839; Northern Star, 20 July 1839.

190. Northern Star, 20 July 1839.
191. Sheffield Iris, 23 July 1839.
192. ibid., 23 July 1839; Northern Star, 20 July 1839; H. Walker to Ld J. Russell, 20 July 1839, J. Parker and C. Brownell to Russell , 26 July 1839 and H.B. Cooke to Russell , 27 July 1839, HO 40/51.
193. Sheffield Iris, 23 July 1839; J. Thornelly to Maj. Gen. Napier, 20 July 1839 and H.B. Cooke to Ld J. Russell, 27 July 1839, HO 40/51, for suggestion of how shared the authorities were.
194. Northern Star, 10 Aug. 1839.
195. Sheffield Iris, 23, 30 July, 20 Aug. 1839; Northern Star, 3, 10 Aug. 1839; Burland , Annals II loc.cit., 112-15; H.B. Cooke to Ld. J. Russell, 27 July 1839, HO 40/51.
196. Sheffield Iris, 23, 30 July, 6, 13 Aug. 1839; Sheffield Mercury, 20, 27 July, 3, 10 Aug. 1839; Sheffield Independent, 20, 27 July, 3, 10 Aug. 1839; Northern Star, 20, 27 July, 3, 10 Aug. 1839; Leeds Times, 20, 27 July, 3, 10 Aug. 1839; Doncaster Gazette, 10 Aug. 1839 , Rotherham meeting.
197. Sheffield Iris, 6 Aug. 1839.
198. J. Wolstenholme to Convention, 6 Aug. 1839, Add. Mss. 34245 (B) , loc. cit.
199. Sheffield Iris, 6, 13 Aug. 1839, Star and Convention statements read to a Sheffield meeting by Peter Foden.
200. ibid., 13, 20 Aug. 1839; Sheffield Mercury, 17 Aug. 1839; Sheffield Independent, 17 Aug. 1839; Leeds Times, 17 Aug. 1839; Howard and Brownell to Russell, 31 July 1839, deposition of Raynor, Sheffield's police chief, 14 Aug. 1839 in Parker to Marquis Normanby, 5 Oct. 1839 , HO 40/51.
201. Sheffield Iris, 20 Aug. 1839; Northern Star, 3, 10 Aug 1839; Burland, Annals II, loc.cit., 112-15; A. Watkins to Russell, 11, 27 July, 2 Aug. 1839 (includes BNU poster warning against a repeat of Peterloo) HO 40/51.
202. Northern Star, 10 Aug. 1839; Leeds Times, 10 Aug. 1839; Sheffield Iris, 13 Aug. 1839; Burland II, loc.cit., 112-15; H.B. Cooke to Russell, 13, 17 Aug. 1839 (contains a deposition of J. Handyside, a witness of the events of 12 Aug. in Barnsley and also BNU poster advertising the meeting), HO 40/51.
203. Sheffield Iris, 13, 20 Aug. 1839; Sheffield Mercury, 17 Aug. 1839; Parker to Normanby, 5 Oct. 1839, HO 40/51. The Mercury lists 67 names of individuals arrested for their part in the rioting or the attempted rescue of arrested leaders of the activity (Fox and Foden) The information on their ages and occupations reveals an average age of 26 (including 25% youths or those under 20 years) . The occupational descriptions suggest an overwhelming majority were journeymen and apprentices distributed among local trades thus- Cutlery- 61%, Building- 15%, Heavy metal- 5%, Retail-6%, Clothing 10% and Printing-3%. The building and clothing trades were disproportionally represented (they employed only 5% and 3% of the town's labour force). See Appendix 7:4.
204. Sheffield Iris, 20 Aug. 1839; Leeds Times, 17 Aug. 1839; Northern Star, 17 Aug. 1839; Burland II, loc. cit., 113-15; H.B. Cooke to Russell, 13, 17 Aug. 1839, HO 40/50.
205. Burland II, loc.cit., 115, based on John Widdop's later recollections.

206. One of the more recent attempts to contribute to our knowledge of early Chartism, K. Judge, 'Early Chartist Organization and the Convention of 1839', International Review of Social History, vol. xx, pt 3, 396, characterizes the tendency of 'Chartist historians' to underestimate the role of civil and military repression in defeating Chartism.
207. Northern Star, 14 Sept. 1839, first official of 'sections'. Sheffield's Chartists were looking to 'classes' to make their activities less conspicuous.
208. Several weavers had been transported after the Crange Moor rising in 1820 and two key industrial leaders, Frank Mirfield and William Ashton, had been transported after the Dodworth Riots in 1829.
209. Burland II, loc.cit., 113-15, Widdop noted Ashton's stay in the town. In a later testimony made in prison Ashton said he went to France with his wife in September, HO 20/10. The Northern Star, 24 Aug. 1839 contained a letter written by him before going into exile. Ashton's movements were much more complicated than he claimed and my narrative attempts to reveal what they actually were.
210. Sheffield Iris, 20 Aug. 1839.
211. Sheffield Mercury, 7 Sept. 1839; Sheffield Independent, 7 Sept. 1839; Sheffield Iris, 10 Sept. 1839. Only two trades, the bricklayers and the file hardeners were said to be in favour of a union with the Chartists. Many trade unionists had general sympathy for the Chartists.
212. Sheffield Iris, 10 Sept. 1839; Leeds Times, 14 Sept 1839, noted the less severe deterioration in the Sheffield trades; G.C. Holland, op.cit., , 64, figures of houses built in 1839 illustrate the extension of the housing boom; Sheffield Iris, 17 Sept. 1839, Barnsley's drill season beginning with some promise of better things, but as Leeds Times, 16 Nov. 1839 noted, there was a 300 % increase in pawnbroking in the town.
213. Revealed by the events of Dec. 1839-Jan. 1840.
214. I. Ironside to Normanby, 6 Jan. 1839(enclosing a memorial from the Sheffield branch of the Owenite Universal Community Society of Rational Religionists) , HO 44/38, reveals attitudes of one of the lesser but influential groups in labour class life.
215. The gradual shift towards larger scale work situations coupled with the persistence of sub contract produced a complex set of economic sub-divisions among sections of the labouring population- it also produced a complex set of social perceptions-. A letter written by Ebenezer Elliot to the SWMA and published in the Sheffield Mercury, 28 Sept. 1839 hinted at some of the implications for those trying to mobilize the labour class for social struggle-
- 'There are in this parish about 6,000 adult labourers and 8,000 great and small capitalists. There are also about 10,000 skilled workmen, who(themselves being capitalists and more dependent for their well-being than any other capitalists on the conservation of public peace) would because they must, whatever their inclinations might be , in any case of tumult or convulsion ,short of the general overturn, join the other capitalists'
216. Sheffield Mercury, 7 Sept, 1839, master manufacturers making themselves and their men available to assist the magistrates in maintaining public order.
217. Northern Star, 14 Sept. 1839, letter from George Chatterton(nailmaker) the SWMA secretary.
218. ibid., 21 Sept. 1839; Sheffield Iris, 10 sept. 1839, Wolstenholme had voted with the extreme minority who wanted the Convention to keep

21~~8~~ cont. sitting.

219. Sheffield Iris, 10 Sept 1839.
220. ibid., 17 Sept. 1839; Sheffield Mercury, 14 Sept. 1839; Sheffield Independent, 14 Sept. 1839; Col. Marten to Gen. Napier, 13 Sept. 1839, HO 40/51, about 36 arrests were made, including Martin. On Martin's case see Sheffield magistrates to Normanby, 5 Oct. 1839 (with depositions), HO 40/51.
221. Sheffield Mercury, 21 Sept. 1839, Sky Edge was a refuge used by radical gatherings during 1800-2, see ch. III.
222. ibid., 5 Oct. 1839; Sheffield Iris, 10 Oct. 1839.
223. Sheffield Iris, 27 Aug. 3 Sept. 1839, Sheffield's first 'church-going' and the organization of classes.
224. Sheffield Mercury, 28 Sept., 5 Oct. 1839; Northern Star, 28 Sept., 12 Oct. 1839.
225. Mee thesis, op.cit., 45, projecting information given here it looks as if Fitzwilliam employed around 500 workers in his collieries. Adding in workers from ironworks, ironstone pits and agricultural and general estate labour it can be claimed Fitzwilliam employed up to 1000 workers on his estate.
226. J.L. Baxter, 'The Methodist Experience in Sheffield, 1780-1820,' unpublished M.A. dissertation, University of Sheffield 1970, 59-79 for an earlier view of worker manipulation by Thorncliffe employers.
227. Prison report on and statement of Foden, Dec. 1840, HO 20/10; R.E. Leader, Reminiscences of Old Sheffield etc. op.cit., 277-8.
228. Prison report on and statement of Holberry, Dec. 1840, HO 20/10.
229. Sheffield Mercury, 24 Aug. 1839, comment on the role of 'renegade Methodists' in Chartist activity. Only one of ten Chartist prisoners examined in reports collected in HO 20/10 was a Methodist. Six made obligatory claims of being members of the Established Church, there was one Independent, one Roman Catholic and a General Baptist. The Methodist, John Marshall, said, 'I belonged to the Independent Methodists once for a bit, I shall now belong to the Charter'.
230. J.L. Baxter, 'The Great Yorkshire Revival etc.', art.cit., 46-76 passim., for discussion of relationship between political repression induced 'withdrawal' and 'enthusiastic' religious activity.
231. Hymns to be sung etc(handbill), loc. cit.
232. Leeds Times, 7, 14 Sept. 1839, it was involved in collecting money for various legal defence funds.
233. Northern Star, 28 Sept. 1839, the edition of 26 Oct. suggested later camp meeting had been held.
234. ibid., 12, 19, 26 Oct., 2 Nov. 1839; Sheffield Iris, 8, 15, 22 Oct 1839, there had been discussions of co-operative production and retailing.
235. J. Salt, 'The Sheffield Hall of Science', The Vocational Aspect of Secondary and Further Education, xii, 25(1960) passim.
236. Sheffield Iris, 22 Oct. 1839, this was organized by the Female Association.
237. A.J. Peacock, 'Bradford Chartism, 1838-40', Borthwick Papers, no. 36 (York, 1969), 24-34, for a more incisive account than is found in most standard texts; Northern Star, 3 May 1845, for Ashton's controversial claims; T. A. Devyr, The Odd Book of the Nineteenth Century, (New York, 1882), 194-208.

238. Ashton's account of the events is found in Northern Star, 29 Feb. 1839, 3 May 1845. The position he takes here suggests a more revolutionary role than he was prepared to admit in prison in December 1840, HO 20/10. The information on Holberry (ambiguous as it is) is found in a carefully measured 'confession' he gave to the prison inspector, Capt. W.J. Williams. I am particularly grateful to Jim Epstein and Dorothy Thompson for drawing my attention to this material.
239. Ashton's contact with Bussey is established by his later testimonies. Sheffield had communication with Bradford as Martin's presence had illustrated. Barnsley delegates regularly associated with Bradford delegates at West Riding delegate meetings.
240. Report on and statement of Joseph Crabtree, HO 20/10. Here Crabtree claimed, 'I heard of the expected rise at Newport and that there was to be a rise elsewhere. I got out of the way and went to Glasgow'.
241. Contrast of statements made by the Sheffield people who denied knowledge of the Welsh business with Crabtree's statement cited in previous footnote.
242. D. Williams, John Frost, (1939), passim, Peacock, art.sit., 24-34.
243. Sheffield Iris, 12 Nov. 1839; Northern Star, 16 Nov. 1839.
244. Northern Star, 9, 25 Nov., 21 Dec. 1839; Sheffield Iris, 25 Nov. 1839; the high level of public activity is testified to by Samuel Foxhall (file cutter), 14 Jan. 1840, TS 11/813, William Wells (warehouseman), TS 11/813 and HO 20/10 and Samuel Powell Thompson (engineman), n.d. Jan. 1840, TS 11/814/2679.
245. Sheffield Independent, 3 May 1864, a letter from 'A Lover of Truth'.
246. Barnsley's constitutionalist facade was presented through the pages of the Northern Star. Fefence fund meetings were noted in the editions of 26 Oct., 14 Dec., a tea-drinking soiree was noted in edition of 23 Nov. and an educational discussion took place on 5 Nov.
247. Sheffield Iris, 26 Nov. 1839; Sheffield Mercury, 30 Nov. 1839; H. Parker to Normanby, 7 Dec. 1839, HO 40/51.
248. Report on and statement of William Wells, n.d. Dec. 1840, HO 20/10.
249. Sheffield Iris, 3 Dec. 1839; Northern Star, 7 Dec. 1839.
250. The statement of Samuel Holberry, n.d. HO 20/10, Holberry claimed, 'I tried on of the shells at Edge Botton, it tore all the ground up'. Wells' statement in the same bundle describes the fire bomb attack on the church.
251. Wells' and Thompson's statements, HO 20/10.
252. Sheffield Iris, 3 Dec. 1839, Booth, Kirk and Fenton were all present. These were 'democratic' trade union leaders.
253. Sheffield Independent, 7 Dec. 1839, attempts by the Chartists to invade anti-Corn Law lectures. Further conflict is recorded in the Northern Star, 21 Dec 1839 and in Leeds Times, 21 Dec. 1839.
254. Northern Star, 16 Nov. 1839, a response to the Sheffield trades' plans to petition against the Corn Laws. The Star had revealed this a week earlier.
255. Northern Liberator, 7 Dec. 1839, Boardman chaired on morning session of the Convention (3 Dec); Northern Star, 7 Dec. 1839, account also reports on this notes a Mr Jones attending who represented the West Riding.
256. Northern Star, 14 Dec. 1839, held on 12 Dec. to support the Newcastle Convention's call for another Convention. Sheffield, Dewsbury and Bradford sent delegates.

257. Northern Liberator, 21 Dec. 1839.
258. Wells' statement, HO 20/10, this suggests communication.
259. *ibid.*, says Holberry wrote letters announcing the rise for the Saturday aweek earlier; Peacock, *op.cit.*, 36-7, on the decision making.
260. The pattern of Holberry's movements has been built up from Foxhall's and Thompson's statements in TS 11/813, 11/814/2679 and Wells and Oenthorpe in HO 20/10. Wells and Foxhall claimed contacts were made with Birmingham.
261. These include information from and about Holberry, Wells, Booker snr. Booker jnr., Marshall, Clayton, Bennison, Penthorpe, Duffy and Foden in HO 20/10 and further information from some of these together with eye witness accounts of the rising in TS 11/813, 11/814/2679, 11/816/2688.
262. Wells' statement, HO 20/10, gives a great deal of insight into Holberry. Wells was no traitor and had nothing to gain from fabrication. He proved himself true by returning to Sheffield to continue to participate in Chartist struggle, Northern Star, 19 Feb. 1842 shows him to be on the local NCA executive. In prison he claimed Holberry had exaggerated the support expected from other towns. He claimed Holberry had stated (somewhat cryptically) that 'it might all end in smoke but there were plenty of other towns.'
263. Northern Star, 4, 11 Jan. 1840; Peacock, *op.cit.*; the enthusiasm at Dewsbury was almost unconcealable, Dewsbury magistrated to Normanby, 18 Jan. 1840, HO 40/57.
264. Holberry's statement, HO 20/10; Sheffield Independent, 3 May 1864, claim about spy.
265. Sheffield Independent, 3 May 1864, letter of 'A Lover of Truth.'
266. R.E. Leader, Reminiscence etc. *op.cit.*, 273-8, draws together later revelations found in the Sheffield press of the 1860s and 1870s. The truth about Allen's role came out when Raynor retired and when Lord Howard had left the district.
267. Sheffield Mercury, 18 Jan. 1840; police, citizens' watchmen's and troops' statements in TS 11/813, 11/814/2679, 11/816/2688 and HO 40/57.
268. Those arrested included Samuel and Mary Holberry, William and Thomas Booker, William Wells, Samuel Foxhall, Samuel Powell Thompson, Joseph Bennison, James Duffy and John Clayton.
269. Foden escaped and continued his political work in Wales. He returned to Sheffield and was arrested and tried in 1840. He was imprisoned in York Castle till 1842. More details in Leader, Reminiscences etc. *op.cit.*, 278-9.
270. Wells' and Foxhall's statements in HO 20/10 and TS 11/813.
271. Wells in HO 20/10; Thompson in TS 11/813.
272. Sheffield Mercury, 21, 28 March 1840, verdicts at Yorkshire Spring Assizes:
- | | | | | | |
|-----------|---------|--|---------------|---|---|
| Holberry- | 4 years | imprisonment in Northallerton House of Correction. | | | |
| Booker(T) | 3 " | " | " | " | " |
| Booker(W) | 2 " | " | " | " | " |
| Duffy | 3 " | " | Beverley | " | " |
| Wells | 1 " | " | " | " | " |
| Marshall | 2 " | " | Northallerton | " | " |
| Penthorpe | 2 " | " | " | " | " |
| Bennison | 2 " | " | " | " | " |
273. Even progressive historians like Dorothy Thompson are not immune from these tendencies. See D. Thompson, *op.cit.* 249. My own remark about 'blind alleys of Blanquist insurgency' is not free of similar value judgements.

274. For some evidence of reconstruction of this reality see J.L. Baxter and F.A. Donnelly, 'The Revolutionary Underground in the West Riding; Myth or Reality?', art. cit., passim.
275. Ward, op. cit., 137
276. There were at least eight Sheffield classes (Foxhall's statement, 16 Jan. 1840, TS 11/813). Each had the following maximum memberships. On the night of the rising only a quarter of the memberships of the classes that were activated came out.

Class Leaders.	Meeting Places	Numbers(max).
James Boardman	St. Phillip's Road	50
James Birks	Mill Lane	20
James Duffy	?	64 'the Irish class'
John Marshall	Coal Pit Lane	42
James McKetterick	Spring Street	40
Samuel Thompson	Park District	50
Daniel Hands-John Clayton	Forty Row?	32
?	Bridgehouses	42
	Total	<u>340</u>

In addition the 'Eckington Friends' led by Joshua Mitchell and the 'Rotherham and Attercliffe friends' led by Cooper and James Allen were to add their weight. Holberry also had a group of about ten incendiaries who would create the diversions. If he had had the chance to act Holberry would have acted with 400 men.

277. Wellis' statement, H020/10, for evidence of familiarity of Holberry's with Macerone's writings. Extracts from Macerone's manual on street fighting appeared in the Poor Man's Guardian in the earlier 1830s; F. Macerone, Defensive Instructions for the People, (1831), passim.
278. The inspiration of 12 May 1839 in Paris has been ignored by historians of the Chartist risings of 1839/40. Holberry in his statement in H0 20/10 described the 'Frenchman' who he discussed his plans with as a man 'who had been in the Revolution' (of 1830? of 1839?). We should not exclude the possibility that what happened in Paris was known and understood by the Sheffield insurgents; On Blanqui see S. Bernstein, Auguste Blanqui and the art of insurrection (1971) passim.
279. Inconsistent recording of economic (and social) status in the Census Returns (H0 10x) for 1841 makes it difficult to analyse districts where known districts from which activists came. Sections of streets such as Myre Lane and Spring Street show them to be mainly inhabited by journeymen and their families but as also containing small employers and petty tradesmen. 'Forty Row' which houses the 'class' about which the least is known had journeymen heads of households in 16 of 18 units. The exceptions were a grinder (of indeterminate status) and a old man of 75 years. The names of 30 individuals implicated in the intended rising together with available evidence of their economic status reveal the quasi-proletarian of proletarian nature of the group of leading activists:

<u>Name</u>	<u>occupation-status</u>	<u>address</u>
Joseph Bennison	table knife cutler -journeyman	Park district
Valentine Bennison	beer house keeper-self-employed	Park district
Samuel Dentley	cutler -journeyman	?
James Birks	? ?	Mill Lane
Thomas Bradwell	painter -journeyman	?
James Boardman	bricklayer -journeyman	St Philip's Rd
Thomas Booker	table knife cutker-journeyman	Bennett Lane
William Booker	table knife cutler-journeyman	Bennett Lane
John Clayton	table knife cutler-journeyman	87 Porter St
- Cooper	? - ?	Rotherham
James Duffy	beer house keeper -self-employed and hawker	87 Spring St
- England	shield scale maker-apprentice	?
Peter Roden	baker -self-employed	?

279 cont.

Samuel Foxhall	file cutter -journeyman	Button lane
Benjamin Glassop	? - ?	?
Daniel Hands	? - ?	?
Samuel Holberry	rectifying -journeyman distiller	Byre Lane
John Marshall	table knife -journeyman cutler	Joalpit Lane
- McCartney	? - ?	?
James McKetterick	brushmaker - ?	Spring street
George Morton	? - ?	?
Joshua Mitchell	? - ?	Eckington
- Mony	? - ?	?
- Peacock	? - ?	?
Thomas Penthorpe	shoemaker - journeyman	Spring Street
William Saunders	publican and -self-employed shoemaker	lambert St
Francis Rose	tinker -self-employed	?
George Swallow	? - ?	?
Samuel Powell Thompson	engineman-journeyman	Forge street
William Wells	warehouseman-apprentice	?

14 of the 19 individuals whose economic status was revealed by their testimonies were journeymen and apprentices. The 5 self-employed were in the main economically bound in with the wage workers because of dependence on their purchasing power.

280. Holberry's class perspective was revealed by remarks Thompson, 14 Jan. 1840, TS 11/813 claims he made:
'this Government and the authorities were a property Government and as soon as their palaces were taken and their houses fired these parties would leave the town and look after their own property and that the middle classes and the authorities would then give in towards giving the people the Charter'.
281. The Chartist revival of 1841/2 healed some of the divisions but it was between 1844-7 that unity was greatest.
282. As has been established the SWMA had discussed Owenite co-operative production and retailing. The coalescence of Chartist, Owenite and trade union thought and action-the creation of a coherent labour class ideology- was most developed between 1844-7 when much was expected from the National Association for the Protection of Labour. See later narrative section.
283. I use 'murder' without hesitation after reading J. Bayley (York Castle) to G. Maule (Treasury, Whitehall), 21 March 1840, TS 11/813 and after reading George White's exposures in Northern Star of 1842.
284. See later narrative dealing with 1844.
285. See editorials of Sheffield Mercury through 1839
286. Northern Star, 18 Dec. 1841
287. Leeds Times 17 Dec. 1839; Northern Star, 18 Jan. 1840.
288. Leeds Times, 18, 25 Feb., 30 March 1840; Sheffield Mercury, 28 March 1840, some weavers found work on the North Midland railway line which was being completed during the spring and early summer.
289. Sheffield Mercury, 4 April, 30 May 1840; Sheffield Independent, 2 May 1840; Northern Star, 2 May 1840.
290. West Riding returns from printed returns in WYCRO at Wakefield; G.C. Holland, op.cit., 147, 150.
291. G.C. Holland, op.cit., 146-51.
292. Sheffield Mercury, 21, 28 March 1840.

293. Sheffield Independent, 4 Jan. 1840; Sheffield Mercury, 4 Jan 1840.
 294. Sheffield Mercury, 25 Jan., 29 Feb., 7 March 1840.
 295. New Moral World, 1,8 Aug. , 5 Sept 1840.
 296. See fn. 272.
 297. Sheffield Mercury, 25 April 1840; Northern Star, 25 April 1840.
 298. Northern Star, 25 April 1840, the Barnsley correspondent noted, 'our political movements have been few of late but the spirit of Chartism is not extinct'. Several linen manufactureres had just gone bankrupt and the finances of the Poor Committee(local charity) were exhausted.
 299. ibid.,6,27 June 1840, Barnsley sent J. Davis as its representative.
 300. ibid., 18 April 1840.
 301. Compiled from reports of a delegate meetings, trades' correspondence, information about disputes in pages of the Sheffield Mercury, Sheffield Iris, Sheffield Independent during the later 1830s and earlier 1840s.
 302. Sheffield Independent, 12 May 1842, provides information about the the expenditure of the Table Knife Grinders' Society:

Nov. 1830-Dec. 1831	-£1332
Jan. 1832-Dec18,2	-£2572
1833	-£ 742
1834	-£ 653
1835	-£ 60
1836	-£ 40
1837	-£2650
1838	-£2417
1839	-£2279
1840	-£3546
1841	-£3003

The report also claimed that the four largest societies -saw grinders, edge tool grinders, Britannia metalsmiths and silver and plated workers had paid out £15,000 between 1837-42; F.H. Hill, 'An account of some trade combinations in Sheffield' in the Report of the National Association Association for the Promotion of Social Science, (1860), 539-40, provides some information about expenditure by the strongest unions over the period 1837-41:

Edge tool Forgers	-£1450
" " Grinders	-£1978
Filesmiths	-£1144
File Hardeners	-£ 407
File Grinders	-£1129
Razor Grinders	-£ 400
Saw Makers	-£3539
Saw Grinders	-£1506
Table Blade Forgers	-£1406
Table Blade Grinders	-£ 16,131

303. Sheffield Independent, 12 May 1842, the table knife grinders' fund paid 6s p.w. to single men and 8s p.w. to married men with children.
 304. Hill, op.cit., 539 fn, 150 table knife grinders paraded the town to collect cash from defaulting members watched by vigilant magistrates.
 305. John Wardle, John Sheldon and William Lomas were the leading repealers among the town's labour class leadership.
 306. Salt, art. cit., 133-38; local Owenite activity reported in New Moral World, 18Aug., 5, 12, 19, 26 Sept. 1840.
 307. Northern Star, 4, 11, 18 July 1840.
 308. ibid., 28 March 1840, 2500 anti-Corn Law signatures.

309. ibid., 25 July 1840, 3690 signatures for O'Connor.
310. Linguard's activity suggested by correspondence with Normanby, 3 March 1840, HO 44/38. He asked for the Government to adopt the Universal Community Society's plans; Northern Star, 2 May 1840, anniversary of Cawthorne Co-operative Society celebrated by fifty members.
311. ibid., 3, 10, 24 Oct. 1840.
312. ibid., 4 July 1840.
313. ibid., 29 Aug. 1840.
314. ibid., 1, 22, 29 Aug., 12 Sept. 1840.
315. ibid., 24 Oct. 1840, Cliff Bridge first noted in 19 Sept. ed.
316. ibid., 7 Nov. 1840, the town crier too afraid to announce the arrival of Bairstow, the visiting lecturer, 2 May 1840, employers discriminating against Chartist weavers.
317. ibid., 23 May 1840; the PM expansion is suggested by figures given in the Spedding (Primitive Methodist) Mss, vol. I, 73-83, loc.cit., -
 PM growth in various S. Yorks communities 1840-5 : (examples)
- | | 1840 | 1841 | 1842 | 1843 | 1844 | 1845 |
|------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Sheffield | 186 | 246 | 286 | 274 | 332 | 295 |
| Rotherham/Masbro | 53 | 51 | 82 | 104* | 99* | 87* |
| Burncross | 8 | 8 | 7 | 13 | 17 | 28 |
| Wickersley | 14 | 16 | 25 | 31 | 26 | 40 |
| Thorpe | 15 | 20 | 20 | 16 | 20 | 21 |
- *- period when small societies being broken off from Rotherham circuit to form new societies.
318. Northern Star, 19 Sept. 1840, weavers were lucky to be earning 90 shillings per week gross, 17 Oct. 1840, drill season and some picking up of trade.
319. Leeds Times, 8 Feb. 1840, emigration of weavers to Belgium and other European centres; Burland II, 103, emigrations to USA.
320. Northern Star, 3, 24 Oct., 21 Nov. 1840, Barnsley in regular contact with West Riding delegate meetings. Sheffield sent a delegate to only the November meeting.
321. ibid., 28 Nov. 1840, claimed Operative Corn Law Repealers had only fifty members.
322. ibid., 10 Oct. 1840, letter to Eds. of paper.
323. ibid., 22 Aug. , 10, 31 Oct. 1840, opening of new rooms.
324. Burland II, 160-63; Leeds Times, 24 April 1841, 50% reduction of hands.
325. Northern Star, 2, 9, 16, 23, 30 Jan. 1841, records local unity.
326. ibid., 6 March 1841, Worsbrough and Ardsley petitions against it.
327. ibid., 13 March 1841, Barnsley petition on behalf of Ashton, Crabtree, Hoey, Frost, Williams and Jones.
328. Sheffield Mercury, 23 Jan. 1840.
329. ibid., 11 Jan. 1841, local support for the Welsh prisoners.
330. Northern Star, 3 April 1841, funeral of Clayton.
331. ibid., 16 Jan. 1841, (George White's letters detailing life in Wakefield House of Correction-the 'Hell-Hole' was important in telling local Chartists of the situation Holberry was facing in Northallerton), 13 Feb. 1840 (more white letter and William Martin's release and consequent revelations), 6, 20 March 1841 (collections for Clayton's widow)

332. ibid., 6, 20, 27 March 1841.
333. The Sheffield Working Man's Advocate (Sheffield, 1841) in SOL bound together are the five numbers published between 6 March-5 April 1841. The paper did not effectively compete with cheaper circulars and the fuller coverage that the Northern Star provided.
334. Northern Star, 27 March 1841(Stannington), 10 April 1840(Chesterfieldd)
335. The local Torypress claimed that only fifty people attended the meeting of the local Operative anti-Corn Law Association, Sheffield Mercury, 28 Nov. 1841. The Chartists frequently invaded their meetings ibid., 20 March , 22 May 1841, Sheffield Independent, 5 June 1841.
336. Northern Star, 3 April 1842, Otley elected to go to national delegate meeting to be held in Manchester.
337. Sheffield Mercury, 27 Feb. 1842, trades' delegate meeting at the London Apprentice addressed by Wardle, ^(repealer) Giff, Harrison(Chartists) and Kirk(pro Charter but not activist) . As trade unionists facing the threat of legal repression towards their industrial bases they were pulled closer together.
338. Sheffield Independent, 12, 19, 26 June, 3 July 1841; Sheffield Mercury, 12, 19, 26 June, 3 July 1841.
339. There appeared to be no activity taking place in Rotherham and Doncaster.
340. Northern Star, 2, 9, 16, 23, 30 Jan., 6, 13 Feb., 6, 13, 27 March.1841.
341. ibid., 10 April 1841, the April meeting. No delegates appeared to have been sent to the May(22 May 1841 report) or June(26 June report) meetings.
342. Leeds Times, 24 April 1841.
343. Northern Star, 22, 29 May 1841, Taylor(the employer) demanded 5-10 more yards of finished work. The industrial leaders of the weavers- M ov Moxton, Miffield, Sykes and Alexander organized the action. The ed. of 5 June records the start of the strike.
344. ibid., 22 May, 12 June 1841, three meetings were reported.
345. ibid., 19 June 1841, for effect of strike on Dodworth.
346. ibid., 26 June 1841, strike on during election.
347. ibid., 10 July 1841, extracts from Harney's 'Political Diary'; account of Barnsley election activity in Leeds Times, 3 July 1841.
348. Northern Star, 10 July 1841; Sheffield Mercury, 10 July 1841.
349. Northern Star, 24 July 1841, Barnsley trade the 'worst ever'; the Sheffield poor house data in Sheffield Mercury suggested a slight improvement earlier in the year . Trades' expenditure hid the real depth of poverty as registered in public poor relief expenditure.
350. Northern Star, 17 July 1841.
351. ibid., 3 July 1841 . The other Sheffield prisoners -Duffy, the Bookers, Bennison and Penthorpe were released by the end of August- ibid., 29 May 1841, Duffy's release; Sheffield Mercury, 28 Aug. 1841 , the rest.
352. Proof of his murder can be built up from correspondence of the Attorney General in TS 11/813. This evidence was fully utilized by John Baxter , 'Sheffield Chartist favoured extreme tactics'(their caption), Sheffield Star, 4 July 1972.
353. Northern Star, 22 May 1841, letter concerning Hoey, 21 Aug. 1841, Hoey sent to Ireland for a holiday and to agitate for the Charter.
354. ibid., 7 Aug. 1841.
355. ibid., 21 Aug. 1841, visit of Parkes of Sheffield to Rotherham. He

355. cont. commented, 'the cause progresses well here.
356. ibid., 28 Aug., 4 Sept. 1841.
357. ibid., 18, 21 Aug. 1841(at Barnsley), 18 Sept. 1841(at Rotherham).
358. ibid., 28 Aug. 1841.
359. ibid., 10 April 1841, Otley and William Barker accompanied McKetterick to Chesterfield .
360. They realized about the effects of imprisonment because of Clayton's death, White's letters and Duffy's release in a bad condition.
361. The Sheffield programme was religiously covered by the Northern Star during these months. Barnsley was less well covered with no reports in four of fourteen weeks. There were five reports from Rotherham and three from Doncaster.
362. New Moral world, 6 Nov. 1841, 2000 handbills distributed in Sheffield by the Owenites to advertise meetings, 22 Jan. 1842, 300 at Sheffield lecture.
363. Northern Star, 11 Sept. 1841.
364. ibid., 18 Sept. 1841.
365. ibid., 2 Oct. 1841.
366. ibid., 9, 16 Oct. 1841 , evangelizing in Bridgehouses and Woodhouse.
367. ibid., 23 Oct. 1841, Bronterre O'Brien in a packed Circus.
368. ibid., 27 Nov. 1841; quoted in A.R. Schoyen, The Chartist Challenge(1958) , 112.
369. Figures from Sheffield Mercury; Northern Star, 9 Oct. 1841, noted there were 3000 unoccupied houses in Sheffield.
370. Northern Star, 18 Dec. 1841, sheets for the petition were made available.
371. ibid., 30 Oct. 1841.
372. ibid., 20 Nov. (West's visit), 27 Nov.(100 enrolment cards asked for)1841.
373. ibid., 27 Nov. 1841.
374. ibid., 20 Nov. 1841.
375. ibid., 18 Dec. 1841, visit to Rotherham.
376. ibid., 18 Dec. 1841 , issued to whip up enthusiasm for the petition.
377. The weavers were known to be in a bad state and ironworks' and colliery labour were being reduced because of falling prices. In Sheffield trade union funds cushioned workers in many trades. Increasingly the less organized trades were in trouble and had to appeal to public charity- Sheffield Mercury, 13, 20 Nov. 1841(spring knife cutlers' appeal); Sheffield Independent, 1 Jan. 1842(pen knife grinders, fork grinders' , razor grinders' appeals).
378. Sheffield Independent, 5 Feb. 1842, estimated 4000 families were protected by the 'combined trades' and that 1200 single men and 1500 apprentices were also kept off the parish.
379. G. C. Holland , op.cit., 130-7, examined the local Savings bank and noted the absence of working men among the depositors.
380. Northern Star, 5 March 1842.
381. The moulders sent a delegate to the Sheffield trades' delegate meeting .
382. Sheffield Independent, 5 Feb. 1842.
383. ibid., 19 Nov. 1842, 'no less than thirty organized trades'.
384. Such contributions were made by such as Drury's letters in the press

- 384cont. as in ibid., 1 Jan. 1842, letter of Drury. It was also made at public meetings concerning local poverty, ibid., 29 Jan., 5 Feb. 1842, and at Free Trade meetings, ibid., 19 Feb., 19 March 1842.
385. ibid., 18 June 1842, saw makers memorial to Peel about the export of steel was signed by representatives of the filesmiths, table knife hafters and Britannia metalsmiths.
386. The position of the labour leadership was taking during the early part of the year was more fully expressed during the debate over the proposed strike in August. See following narrative .
387. Sheffield Mercury, 19 Feb. 1842, Operative anti-Corn Law campaigners obtained 15,912 signatures in Sheffield; The Northern Star, 26 Feb. 1842, records the local Chartist opposition to their activity; Leeds Times, 17 Feb. 1842 for similar activity and counter-activity in Barnsley.
388. Sheffield Independent, 5 Feb. 1842, Benson of the Sheffield Operative Association in Doncaster.
389. Northern Star, 29 Jan. 1842.
390. ibid., 1 Jan. (Barnsley list), 29 Jan. (Sheffield Political Institute list and Doncaster list) 1842.
391. Sheffield visitors recorded by the Northern Star over the months Jan.-March included: Bairstow (Queen's Head), J.B. Smith (Leeds), Dean Taylor (?), Thomas Cooper (Leicester), Holyoake (?), Fleming (?). Barnsley's visitors included Candy, Collins and Hay (all of Birmingham). Doncaster was visited by the two West Riding lecturers, West and Jones.
392. ibid., 5 March 1842, Ashton and Crabtree released, 19 March 1842, Marshall released and Holberry now in York Castle where he had been transferred in September 1841. Several of Holberry's letters were reprinted in the Sheffield Mercury, 25 June 1842. The last of these dated 25 May said, 'York Castle is a queer place for a sick man. I wish I was in Northallerton hospital (hospital mind!) Weekly reports in Northern Star showed petitions for his release were being sent in from all over the country. Holberry's letters are now the private property of Mr John Salt of Sheffield and Mr Alf Peacock of York. I am grateful to Mr Salt for the loan of the 30 or so letters he owns. I am also grateful to Mr Pearson of Sheffield who has shown me manuscript material he still possesses and Holberry's bust.
393. Northern Star, 1, 8, 15, 29 Jan., 5 Feb. 1842.
394. ibid., 8, 15 Jan. 1842; Sheffield Mercury, 5 Feb. 1842.
395. Northern Star, 8 Jan. (Harney-Rotherham), 29 Jan. (E. Jones-Doncaster), 26 March, 9 April (West-Doncaster) 1842.
396. ibid., lists their executive council. This shows the same mixture of self-employed petty bourgeois and labour class as in the other NCA branch, a mixture including a greater proportion of working men among the leadership. The members were:
- | | |
|--------------------------------|-------------------|
| William Gill (sub-secretary) | scale cutter |
| Robert King (" ") | engraver |
| Charles Wilden (sub-treasurer) | steel burner |
| Richard Otley | tobacconist |
| James McKetterick | brushmaker |
| William Wells | clerk |
| John Drinkwater | pen blade grinder |
| Joseph Marsh | stone mason |
| David Walker (waller?) | labourer |
| Joseph Harrison | turner |
| William Frost | newsagent |
| Henry William Needham | cutler |
| James Lyson | grinder |

- 396 cont. too much has been made of the division between the two NCA bodies. The Institute people were described as more respectable in the press reports of Holberry's funeral but as voting patterns for the NCA national executive show there was little difference, Northern Star, 5 March 1842, there was little difference in their preferences for O'Connor- 29% Institute votes, 32% Fig Tree Lane votes were for him.
397. ibid., 5 March 1842, warning about Sturgite threat to local groups. CSU activity was regularly reported in the Sheffield Independent, 14 May (first CSU lecture in town), 6, 13 Aug. (other meetings) 1842. This group had the backing of many influential middle class dissenters with 'liberal tendencies' e.g. Rev. R.S. Bayley of Queen Street chapel, the founder of the People's College—the West Point of the counter-culture of respectability. The CSU also took in many popular Free Traders and moral force Chartists (Beale and Barker).
398. Sheffield Independent, 5 Feb. 1842; Sheffield Mercury, 29 Jan., 5 Feb. 1842.
399. Northern Star, 5 March 1842, voting patterns suggest relative strength^{**} of the region's NCA groups:
- | | |
|---------------------------|-----------|
| Sheffield (Fig Tree Lane) | 251 votes |
| Sheffield (Institute) | 91 |
| Rotherham | 116 |
| Barnsley | 115 |
| Doncaster | 177 |
- ** paid up strength
400. ibid., 15 Jan. 1842, Harney begins to work on boot and shoemakers, 5 March 1842, they affiliate to NCA.
401. ibid., 26 March 1842, the Institute discusses the struggle between the stone masons and Grissell and Peto, large contractors involved in railway construction.
402. ibid., 16, 30 April, 7 May 1842, accounts of Harney's efforts in Woodhouse, Ecclesfield, Intake and Stannington.
403. ibid., 5 March 1842, he had 1200 and hoped for 2000.
404. ibid., 5 March 1842.
405. ibid., 5 March (his return), 23 April (the meeting and his expulsion) 1842.
406. Point made by Ward, op.cit., 158.
407. ibid., 158-60.
408. Northern Star, 2 July 1842.
409. ibid., 21 May 1842.
410. ibid., 21 May 1842.
411. ibid., 4 June, Fig Tree Lane group in the villages again, at Attercliffe and Darnall, the Female Association again prominent, 11 June, in Woodhouse, 18 June, Harney at Ackworth nr Pontefract, 1842.
412. Machin, op.cit., 40, strike in Barnsley area after reductions; Select Committee on Payment of Wages, loc.cit., 156, strike mentioned by witness, T. Charlesworth; Northern Star, 11 June 1842, weavers' meeting.
413. Figures published weekly in Sheffield Independent and Sheffield Mercury.
414. Distress in the Manufacturing Districts (pamphlet) loc.cit., passim.

415. Sheffield Independent, 23 July 1842, rev. n.s. Bayley's 'random' selection of thirty men's wage levels and evidence from report of local Distress fund.
416. Select Committee on the Payment of wages etc. loc. cit., 148-56, several witnesses refer to this figure.
417. Most fully exposed in George white's most recent letter, Northern Star, 2 July 1842.
418. Various accounts- Sheffield Mercury 2 July, Sheffield Independent 2 July, Northern Star, 2 July 1842. A handbill containing the hymns sung at the funeral can be found in MP 1216 in SOL.
419. Schoyen, op.cit., 113, Harney placed significant emphasis on the need for good organization before challenging the governing classes. This was a very different perspective from that displayed in his London Democrat days.
420. Northern Star, 16, 23 July, 6, 13 Aug. 1842, the last edition referred to 1400 ~~Ch~~omnorites, not "independent", "real", "intellectual" or "rational" Chartists.
421. ibid., 2 July 1842.
422. ibid., 16 July 1842.
423. ibid., 11 June 1842, the last reference for several weeks although there were meetings held. See Leeds Times, 6 Aug. 1842 for the visit of Dickenson from Manchester and May Day Green meeting.
424. ibid., 25 June 1842.
425. ibid., Leeds Times, Sheffield Independent and Sheffield Mercury, all 20 Aug. 1842.
426. Sheffield Independent, 20 Aug. 1842.
427. ibid., and Northern Star, 27 Aug, 1842, the five trades were the table blade forgers, pen blade forgers, spring knife cutlers, table knife cutlers and the shoemakers. With the exception of the last these were among the largest groups of workers within individual trades in the cutlery trades. They were from the cheaper ware branches where trade union activity had been the most intermittent.
428. Leeds Times and Sheffield Independent, 20, 27 Aug. 1842.
429. Sheffield Independent, 20 Aug. 1842.
430. Schoyen, op.cit., 115-16.
431. Leeds Times, Sheffield Independent and Northern Star, 20 Aug. 1842. The fears of the authorities locally were registered in correspondence between Thomas Marshall, clerk to the magistrates, and Sir James Graham, particularly memoranda of 15 Aug. 1842, HO 45/264.
432. Information from Doncaster meeting of magistrates, n.d. with reply dated 18 Aug. 1842, HO 45/264.
433. Leeds Times, Sheffield Independent and Northern Star, 20 Aug. 1842.
434. See narrative above for detail of local action against wage reductions and truck in the Barnsley area in June. There were meetings of colliers' delegates in August in the West Riding to co-ordinate industrial action to maintain wages. The most important of these was said to have been held in Wakefield on 15 Aug. According to the Northern Star and Sheffield Independent, 20 Aug. 1842, Sheffield did not send delegates. Machin, op.cit., 42-3, dealing with this says it provided the basis for systematic wage demands to be made in the West Riding. Information in Hunt to Maberly, 15 Aug. 1842 refers to a fortnight's adjournment.

435. Sheffield Independent, 20 Aug. 1842.
436. ibid., 20 Aug. 1842.
437. ibid., 27 Aug. 1842 ; Sheffield Iris, quoted in Schoyen, op.cit., 118 , Harney stated, 'Are you ready to fight the soldiers? You may say that this is not the question but I tell you that it would be the question . I am ready to share your perils but I will not lead you against the soldiers.'
438. Sheffield Independent and Sheffield Mercury, 28 Aug. 1842, the signers were Joseph Nelson(razor grinders), Thomas Newton(pen blade grinders), Samuel Harris(pocket blade grinders) Matthew Bailey (file grinders), William Broadhead(saw grinders) and George Career (edge tool grinders) The table knife and fork grinders were not in union at the time and did not join in.
439. Sheffield Independent, 27 Aug. 1842.
440. Leeds Times, 27 Aug. 1842.
441. Sheffield Independent, 8 May 1847.
442. ibid., 11 Sept. 1847.
443. There were no reports in Northern Star from these districts between 17 Sept. and 10 Dec.
444. CSU activity from August reported almost weekly in Sheffield Independent , 6, 13, 20, 27 Aug., 3, 10, 24 Sept., 8, 29 Oct., 12, 19 Nov. and 17, 24 Dec.
445. Northern Star, 17 Sept. 1842, reported the Institute opening its doors to CSU lecturer Vincent. William Gill one of the Institute leaders and central figure in WMA activity in 1839 proposed an Institute CSU merger. Other Institute activity can be seen in Sheffield Independent , 7 Sept., 8 Oct. 1842.
446. Meeting of local Free Trade Society reported in Sheffield Independent, 1, 15, Oct. and 26 Nov. 1842. This body was mainly composed of respectable manufacturers and superior artisans. Included among their ranks were popular propagandists influential in the past among the town's organized labour class- Wardle, John Sheldon(active in trade union affairs in the 1820s and 1830s) and Barker and Beale (active in Chartism and latterly with the CSU).
447. Samuel Parkes(shoemaker), George Evinson(bricklayer) and Edwin Gill (spring knife cutler).
448. Northern Star, 31 Dec. 1842.
449. The local magistrates were anxious for troops to be kept in the northern weaving districts and admitted the need for 'specials' to be kept on permanent duty because there seemed no possibility of the Rural Police Act being applied to the Riding, correspondence in HO 42/264, particularly magistrates(Barnsley) 29 June 1842 and Lord Wharncliffe, 3 Oct, 1842 to Sir. James Graham.
450. Sheffield Independent, 22 Oct. 1842, Edwin Gill's visit to Eckington was ruined by the magistrates who intimidated the local publicans to prevent Chartist meetings being held on their premises.
451. Northern Star and Sheffield Independent, 8 Oct. 1842.
452. Northern Star, 10 Sept., 17 Sept., 19 Nov. 1842, they elected John Vallance, the Grange Moor veteran and Frank Mirfield, the union leader of the 1820s. The northern districts were not free from CSU competition as Leeds Times, 24 Sept. 1842 noted when commenting on Vincent's presence in Hoyland.
453. For exploration of Owenite-Chartist social world see E. Yeo, 'Robert

453 cont.

Owen and radical culture' in S. Pollard and J. Salt (eds), Robert Owen, Prophet of the Poor (1971), 84-114. Evidence of these aspects are recorded weekly in the Northern Star e.g. harmonic evenings and poetry readings.

454. Northern Star, 3 Dec. 1842, visit of William Beesley from Lancashire lecturing on the land at the Hall of Science at a meeting presided over by Darney.
455. ibid., 1 Oct. 1842, address of West Riding colliers; Wakefield Journal, 11 Nov., delegate meeting of West Riding colliers in Wakefield on 7 Nov. and Northern Star, 31 Dec. 1842, West Riding Miners' Philanthropic Society.
456. John Drury (razor grinder) and Thomas Stones (saw maker) were the most energetic local leaders at this time. They were more liberal in their interpretation of the 'no politics' rule than the majority of the grinders' leaders forming an anti-Chartist caucus. Possibly Drury and Stones were influenced by two father-figures among local trade unionists- Joseph Kirk (file trade) and Thomas Booth (Britannia metalsmiths).
457. There was a separate body of Irish Chartists in the town and direct contacts were kept up with Irish Chartists at home, Northern Star, 4 June 1842, visit of Brophy.
458. The drill season provided temporary respite but as ibid., 14 Jan 1843 shows this was short-lived.
459. See above.
460. Northern Star, 15 Oct. 1842, continued Chartist activity of Mordecai Travis, table blade forgers leader and 22 Oct. 1842, continued shoemakers' support.
461. Sheffield Independent, 17 Sept., fire at Smith's wheel, Glossop Rd and 12 Nov. 1842, explosion at Dyson's Abbeydale Works.
462. ibid., 19 Nov. 1842, called by seven grinders' leaders led by Drury.
463. ibid., 10 Dec. 1842, the trades were filesmiths, file grinders, saw makers, saw grinders, saw handle makers, saw back grinders, edge tool grinders, edge tool forgers, Britannia metalsmiths, razor smiths, razor grinders, joiner's tool makers, brace and bit makers, stone masons and scissor grinders. The committee elected were: Joseph Kirk (file trade), Thomas Stones (saw makers), George Career (edge tool grinders), James Reaney (edge tool makers), William Broadhead (saw grinders), William Ward (joiner's tool makers), James Mowbray (stone masons), George Paramore (saw back grinders), John Barker (saw handle makers), William Hancock (razor smiths) and John Drury (razor grinders)
464. See below. A hint of the way local leaders were thinking occurs in a letter of Stones' published in the Sheffield Independent, 17 Dec. 1842. Here, talking about the need for regulation of local trades he commented upon the greed of an 'individualised society'.
465. Northern Star, 14 Jan. 1843, weavers refused work at the warehouses where they had begged for warps to take out. A report as late as 10 June suggested that only half the looms in the town were working and that families were being sent from Barnsley to their parishes of origin so great was the pressure on the rates.
466. There were no reports on the experiences of these workers but prices of coal and iron were low and the markets slow. The major sources of lower wages were truck payment, increased work demands at fixed prices, loss of payment for marginal work. See earlier section of this chapter.
467. The Sheffield trades were still glutted with surplus labour, a situation worsened with the discharge of able bodied paupers once on casual relief onto the labour market before trade had picked up

467 cont.

sufficiently to absorb them . This is recorded in the monthly averages of numbers of able bodied on casual relief in the Sheffield Poor Law Union.:

Jan.- 1002	July- 418
Feb.- 1027	Aug.-409
March-1121	Sept.-340
April-1133	Oct.-314
May -935	
June-546	

On the question of low wages see earlier section of this chapter.

468. This surplus in Sheffield consisted of at least 3000 adult males, over half supported by the parish, about a third by trade unions and a third fending for themselves in a twilight world of vagrancy and crime.

469. ward, op.cit., 165-66.

470. Leeds Times, 15 April 1843, contained a report from Doncaster on the poverty seen in the east of the region . There were no reports from these districts in the Northern Star.

471. Key figures in Fig Tree Lane NCA during Jan.-June 1843:

G.J. Harney	- full time politician, sometime bookseller and newspaper correspondent
Edwin Gill	- spring knife cutler
Peter Foden	- baker
Samuel Parkes	-shoemaker
John Tankerd	- spring knife cutler
George Bulloss	- ?
George Wright	-shoemaker-union leader
Morton Royston	- ?

Key figures at the Institute NCA during Jan. -June 1843:

William Gill	- scale cutter
Richard Otley	-tobacconist

Key figures in the Barnsley and out-village NCA branches:

John Vallance	- weaver (Barnsley)
Frank Mirfield	- weaver(Barnsley)
Aneas Daly	- weaver(Barnsley)
James Hollin	- weaver(Worsbrough)
Joseph wilkinson	-weaver(Barnsley)
william Allis	- weaver (Barnsley)
John Armitage	- weaver (Barnsley)
Peter Hoey	-shopkeeper(Barnsley)
Robert Garbutt	-weaver (Barnsley)
John Shaw	- weaver (Barnsley)J
John O' Leary	- weaver (Barnsley)
Michael Seagrave	- weaver (Barnsley)

472. Northern Star, 13 May 1843, 9 Sept. 1843, record of the meeting at which Taylor, Mirfield, Shaw, Grimshaw, Garbutt and Harper spoke. Mirfield, Shaw and Garbutt(and others most likely) were members of the local NCA.

473. ibid., 3 June 1843, the Irish in the town formed a Repeal Association which was pro-Chartist. Its president was John O' Leary and its first meeting was addressed by NCA men Hoey, Daly and Seagrave.

474. ibid., 8 April 1843, local Chartist invade a respectable meeting.

475. ibid., 4 March 1843, Harney's warning concerned the circular of the Guardians.

476. ibid., 8 April (Factory Bill), 20 May (Ireland) 1843.

477. ibid., 4 March 1843.
478. ibid., 17 June 1843, advocated by Harney.
479. Implicit in weekly lecture programme and literary and musical activity. In Barnsley John Hugh Burland and fellow Chartists formed the Franklin Club, Burland II, loc.cit., 211.
480. Northern Star., 4, 11 March 1843; Sheffield Mercury, 11 March 1843.
481. ibid., 4 Feb. 1843, Chartist evangelism in Dungworth.
482. This was also his caution in 1842.
483. Northern Star, 4 March 1843, reprint of his letter of 17 Feb. The trades took the matter up as report in Sheffield Independent, 25 Feb. 1843 shows.
484. ibid., 20 May (protest concerning Ecclesall Union workhouse involving speeches from Otley, Gill of the Institute and Bayley of the CSU), 6 June (regarding Sheffield workhouse, speakers in Paradise Square included Briggs (Pig-Free Lane NCA), Wardle (CSU-Free Trader) and Booth and Kirk (democratic trade unionists) 1843.
485. Not all the meetings were reported. Sheffield Independent, 10 Dec. 1842, 25 Feb. 1843 recorded earlier meetings. The edition of 25 March listed twelve trades able to pay for the upkeep of the association: saw grinders, edge tool grinders, saw makers, joiner's tool makers, scythe grinders, saw back grinders, razor grinders, Britannia metalsmiths table knife grinders, saw handle makers, filesmiths and file grinders,
486. ibid., 18 Nov. 1843.
487. ibid., 25 March 1843.
488. ibid., 25 Feb., 25 March, 22 April, 27 May and 3 June for records of meetings when issues discussed. After this date the Independent does not report any more of these meetings until the following year.
489. The idea of labour's position as 'the source of all wealth' was commonly in use. See Ward's remarks (tool makers' leader) quoted below.
490. Sheffield Independent, 27 May (Ward's remarks), 25 March (Beatson), 3 June (Beale) and 22 April (Address) 1843.
491. G.C. Holland, op.cit., 132, shows 48 friendly societies had accounts in Sheffield Savings Bank in 1843, some of this was trade union money.
492. Sheffield Mercury and Sheffield Independent, 14, 21 Jan 1843, failure of Parker and Shore's Bank.
493. Sheffield Independent, 25 March, 27 May 1843.
494. ibid., 27 May 1843.
495. ibid., 27 May 1843, Briggs tried to get them to affiliate to the NCA.
496. Sheffield Mercury, 9 Sept. , 2 Oct., line trade ; Sheffield Independent, 23 Dec. ('cutlery trade' first busy bull week for several years') 1843.
497. Northern Star, 28 Nov (noted four trades were out), 18 Nov. (the type founders were back); Sheffield Mercury, 11 Nov. 1843 (table blade forgers back after 19 weeks).
498. Sheffield Independent, 7, 14, 21 Oct. 1843.
499. Sheffield press reported one incident in October, one in November and four in December.
500. Sheffield Independent, 14 Oct 1843, the employers had begun to organize with subscriptions being raised and pledges of support being made.
501. The strike was faithfully chronicled week by week in the Northern Star. The role of the colliers is noted in Burland II, loc.cit., 217.

502. Machin, op.cit., ch 2 passim; R. Chaliner and B. Ripley, The Miners' Association (1972) passim for background.
503. Northern Star, 19 Aug. 1843.
504. ibid., 23 Sept. 1843.
505. ibid., 25 Nov. 1843.
506. ibid., 30 Dec. 1843.
507. The Star ran a weekly column under the heading 'The Colliers' Movement'.
508. ibid., 2, 9, 16, 23, 30 Sept. 1843, Harney's leaving was reported in the edition of 16 Sept.
509. ibid., 9 Dec. 1843, the CSU was still a potential challenger for mass loyalties.
510. Ireland was an important issue - for example as a lesson in the systematic economic, social-political and cultural repression of a subject people. English workers were really facing similar sorts of repression but in a more modern societal framework.
511. Political discussion continued at NCA meetings but most Chartist leaders were organizing the weavers in strike action.
512. The Star carried no reports from Rotherham and Doncaster but the once Radical Leeds Times, 15 April 1843, reported the great distress, mainly that of agricultural labour in Doncaster and in surrounding villages. The same paper on 20 Oct. reported on Gillender, the Chartist leader from Hasbrough glass works and John West, the Sheffield lecturer, taking on anti-Corn Law campaigners in the eastern regions.
513. See following section dealing with support of other industrial groups.
514. See later section for statistics on crime.
515. Northern Star, 10 Feb. 1844.
516. ibid., 9 March 1844, discussion of Corn Laws. The Sheffield report quoted Thomas Briggs' statement that, 'they were not making much noise at present'. Nevertheless they had a large meeting room, a library with 200 volumes, a mutual aid society and had begun a Sunday school. Pig Tree Lane contained a viable community of democratic educators and self-educators.
517. Sheffield Mercury and Sheffield Independent, 27 Jan. 1844.
518. Burland II, loc.cit., 222, on 7 Feb. West lectured there and 33 new members were recruited. The weavers strike still continued against the firm of Peckett and a local Chartist sympathizer noted 'Chartism was expected to culminate at the termination of the weavers' strike'.
519. Northern Star, 13 Jan. 1844, Feargus O'Connor and 'Miners' Advocate' Roberts on Carpenter Hall platform in Manchester.
520. As reflected in the Sheffield press, Dec. 1843-Jan. 1844 were the worst months during 1843 and 1844 with three significant incidents reported in each. The increased use of bombs (bottles filled with gunpowder) prompted correspondence from local employers urgent for action against the 'infernal machines' e.g. 'Carolus' in Sheffield Independent, 20 Jan. 1844. For typical trade union dial see joiner's toolmakers in ibid., 17 Feb. 1844.
521. Sheffield Independent, 24 Feb. 1844, fork grinders 'address' thanking the 'united trades' of Sheffield for their help during a 19 week strike.
522. ibid., 19 Dec. 1843, appeal of razor grinders, 23 March 1844., thanks given for assistance,

523. Sheffield Mercury, 6 Jan. 1844, only a hint of a strike.
524. Sheffield Independent, 9, 16 March 1844 and Northern Star, 9, 23 March 1844, notes the Metropolitan Tailors and their attempts to bring the tailors together nationally, a trend being repeated with the shoemakers.
525. Sheffield Independent, 30 March 1844.
526. ibid., 6 April 1844, 300-400 spring knife cutlers went to Messrs Rodgers works to collect for the quarter of the membership of their trade who were out of work.
527. This had begun in December 1843 after the termination of the strike. Reports of Northern Star, 6, 27 Jan., 10, 24 Feb., 2, 30 March 1844.
528. ibid., 24 Feb. 1844; Burland II, loc. cit., 223.
529. Northern Star, 10 Feb. 1844, in Hoyland Swaine the 'knobsticks' were 'hotted through the streets'.
530. ibid., 16 March. 1844, Weavers' Union active in the villages as report from Lodworth shows.
531. ibid., 6 Jan. 1844.
532. ibid., 27 Jan. 1844, MA's allocation of lecturers, 16 Feb. 1844, return of Swallow .
533. ibid., 13 Jan. 1844.
534. ibid., 13 Jan. 1844, MA's weekly meetings in Barnsley; Challinor and Ripley op.cit., 187-8., details regarding Holgate's origins. Known as the 'biter from Yorkshire' he was active in Chartism and trade unionism in Lancashire and Yorkshire in the middle and later 1840s.
535. Northern Star, 13 Jan. 1844.
536. ibid., 13 Jan. 1844.
537. ibid., 3, 17 Feb. 1844.
538. ibid., 3, 17 Feb. 1844.
539. ibid., 10 Feb. 1844; belated reprt in Heeds Times , 2 March 1844.
540. Northern Star, 17 Feb. 1844.
541. ibid., 10 , 17, Feb. 1844, places visited included Darnall, Sheffield , Intake, Mosbrough, Dronfield, Eckington, Rawmarsh, Wath, Nortomley.
542. ibid., 17 Feb. 1844
543. ibid., 10, 17 Feb. 1844, visits to Barnsley, Silkstone, Shelf, Miller Dam, Crigglestone, Birdwell and Cawthorne.
544. ibid., 10, 17 Feb. 1844, visit to Wath.
545. ibid., 17, 24 Feb. 1844, a meeting addressed by David Swallow held in Paradise Square on 19 Feb. The local respectable press ignored the meeting.
546. ibid., 17 Feb. 1844, talked about 'railroad speed'; Burland ,II, loc.cit., 422.
547. Sheffield Mercury, 24 Feb. 1844; Northern Star, 24 Feb. 1844.
548. Challinor and Ripley, op.cit., 162-3.
549. Northern Star, 10 Feb. 1844.
550. ibid., 2, 23, 30 March 1844.
551. Challinor and Ripley, op.cit., 162.
552. Agent to Fitzwilliam, 5 March 1844, quoted in ibid., 162.
553. ibid., 162, makes this point regarding magistrates' treatment of

553cont. the Stainborough men.

554. Sheffield's meeting on 19 Feb. was a case in point; Northern Star, 9 March 1844 for local commencement of 8 hour day.
555. ibid., 9 March 1844.
556. ibid., 9 March 1844.
557. ibid., 16, 23, 30 March 1844.
558. ibid., 30 March 1844; Sheffield Independent, 23 March 1844.
559. Northern Star, 30 March 1844, and subsequent editions contained lists of local subscriptions for the Stainborough men, 6 April 1844, shows strong local support for Stavely strikers.
560. ibid., 30 March 1844.
561. ibid., 30 March, 6 April 1844.
562. ibid., 13 April 1844.
563. ibid., 6 April 1844; Sheffield Independent, 6 April 1844; Sheffield Mercury, 6 April 1844.
564. Leeds Times, 16 March 1844; Northern Star, 24 Feb., 30 March. 1844.
565. Northern Star, 20 April 1844, Sheffield corwainers and those of Barnsley discussing this.
566. Sheffield Independent, 16, 23, 30 March, 6 April 1844; Northern Star, 11 May 1844.
567. Sheffield Independent, 25 May 1844.
568. Northern Star, 20 April 1844, among the list of subscribers for the Rawmarsh colliers was a donation of £1 from the 'Operative Potters of Swinton'. This same list included a donation of £1 from the Sheffield Filesmiths' Union.
569. Sheffield Independent, 27 April 1844; Mee thesis, op.cit., 333-5.
570. Sheffield Independent, 27 April 1844; Sheffield Mercury, 20, 27 April, 4 May 1844; Northern Star, 20 April 1844.
571. Sheffield Independent, 27 April 1844, advert for replacements for forty 'coal-getters'.
572. ibid., 27 April 1844; Sheffield Mercury, 20, 27 April, 4 May 1844; Northern Star, 20, 27 April, 4 May 1844.
573. Sheffield Independent, 27 April 1844, lead miners from Derbyshire among other groups of strike-breaking labour, 18 May 1844, Swallow, an employer in Sheffield Park, was offering increased wages of 8d per day.
574. Sheffield Mercury, 27 April 1844, point about short-time working and stocks; Sheffield Independent, 25 May 1844, letter of employer Dunn provides background history of coal trade from employers' viewpoint since 1820s.
575. Sheffield Independent, 27 April 1844, 'district meeting' of Sheffield, Barnsley and Rotherham miners at Hooper near Wentworth on 22 April. They planned a similar one for Thorpe on 14 May. This was reported on in Sheffield Mercury, 11 May 1844.
576. Derbyshire men were at the Hooper meeting on 22 April. South Yorkshire miners aided their north Derbyshire bretheren directly with cash, e.g. Northern Star, 20 April 1844, Sheffield contributors to Stavely fund.
577. Leeds Times, 4 May 1844; Northern Star, 11 May 1844.
578. Northern Star, 20 April 1844, suggested by report.
579. Sheffield Independent, 18 May 1844, vindictive dismissal at Chambers' Holmes colliery.

580. Northern Star, 25 May 1844, contained first signs of widespread trade union support with money coming in from the Razor Grinders(£7), File Grinders(£3), Type Founders(10s), Spring Knife Cutlers(3s 5d), German Silver Trade(£1), Stag Cutters(6s 9d). This followed speeches by NCA leaders(West, Otley and Briggs) at 13 May meeting of Sheffield area miners in Paradise Square which called on the trades to act. report in Sheffield Independent, 18 May 1844.
581. Northern Star, 18 May (west of NCA announced he would preach two sermons for the colliers) 1844.
582. Leeds Times, 18 May 1844, all Barnsley pits shut; Sheffield Mercury, 11, 18 May 1844, Sheffield and Rotherham closures; Sheffield Independent, 11, 18 May 1844, Sheffield and Rotherham reports.
583. Northern Star, 11, 18, 25 May, 18 June 1844, contrast of earlier and later descriptions.
584. ibid., 18 May 1844.
585. ibid., 16 March 1844, earliest reference to Robin Hood headquarters.
586. Sheffield Independent, 18 May 1844; Sheffield Mercury, 18 May 1844.
587. Northern Star, 25 May 1844, subscription list,
588. ibid., 6 June (public meeting of colliers to appeal to the trades for aid), 22 June (public meeting with W. P. Roberts), 29 June 1844 (procession of table blade forgers, pen blade grinders and spring knife cutlers all taking aid in cash and kind to the colliers) The Star commented on this last development, 'the moral effect of these displays is tremendous, it is teaching capitalists that while one section of the sons of labour are struggling for their rights the other will not quietly stand by and see the other starve'.
589. Sheffield Independent, 15, 29 June 1844, counteracted the rumour although it reported that several pits were returning to work.
590. ibid., 13 July 1844, listed many of the smaller pits which had returned; Northern Star, 29 June 1844, recorded the return to work of the Gawber Hall men employed by Richard Thorpe at one of the Barnsley area's larger pits.
591. Northern Star, 29 June, 13, 20, 27 July 1844, reports from the Barnsley district. In the edition of 20 July it was claimed 80 men were still out. The Sheffield Coal Miner's Committee issued a counter-declaration to an employers' placard which said the strike was over in the Barnsley area. They asserted 'the colliers are still out' but admitted the others had gone back. The dialogue between the two was reprinted more fully in Sheffield Independent, 29 June, 13 July 1844.
592. Sheffield Independent, 13 July 1844, list of settlements.
593. ibid., 29 June (thanks given to 'Rotherham Trades'), 13 July, 3 Aug. 1844.
594. ibid., 13 July 1844.
595. Sheffield Mercury, 11 June 1844 (lists of many earlier settlements); Northern Star, 20 July 1844.
596. Sheffield Mercury, 20 July 1844; Sheffield Independent, 13 July 1844 (list)
597. Northern Star, 27 July 1844, the 130 men obtained three fourths of their demands and a no victimisation promise.
598. ibid., 13 July 1844; Sheffield Mercury, 27 July 1844.
599. Sheffield Independent, 27 July 1844, closure of Handsworth pit by Sheffield Coal Company.
600. Sheffield Mercury, 25 May 1844, union and non-union men working together.

601. ibid., 4, 11, 25 May; 15, 22 June 1844, Sheffield, Intake, Handsworth and north Derbyshire particularly. Sheffield Independent, 18, 25, May (Rotherham and Sheffield), 26 June 1844 (Rotherham and Eckington); Ho 45/643, particularly W.J.Bagshaw to Sir James Graham, 14 July 1844 (Sheffield and north Derbyshire violence) and letters in HO 45/849, particularly testimony of J. Shaw of Silkstone, 5 June 1844.
602. Sheffield Mercury, 6 July 1844; Sheffield Independent, 6, 13, 20, 27, July 1844.
603. Sheffield Mercury, 6 and 20 July 1844, Sheffield Independent, 6, 13, 20, 27 July 1844.
604. Northern Star, 13, 27 July 1844 (table blade forgers and women hair beat weavers), Sheffield Mercury, 22 June (table knife forgers), 29 June (spring knife cutlers), 13 July (comb makers and filesmiths) 1844.
605. Sheffield Independent, 6 July, Chartist speakers at colliers meeting; Northern Star, 13, 20 July, Chartist sermons for colliers and public meetings.
606. Northern Star, 29 June 1844, 13, 20 July (80 men still out).
607. ibid., 29 June, 13 July, 3 Aug. 1844.
608. ibid., 13, 20, 27 July, 3, 10, 17 Aug 1844 - trade contributions to last date included those from spindle and fly makers(10/11^d), Scissor Grinders(£1), Comb Makers(8s), File Grinders(£1), Button Smiths(5/6), Table Knife Cutlers(£2-10s), Britannia Metalsmiths(£1), Joiners' Toolmakers(£1), Razor Smiths(7/8), Type Founders(10s), Spring Knife Cutlers(£2 4s 2^d), Edge Tool Makers(£5), Cabinet Case Makers(£1-2), Saw and Saw Handle Makers(2s), Edge Tool Hardeners(2/6), Bone Scale Cutters(10s), Stag Cutters(£2-6), Haft and Scale Pressers(6/11), Table Blade Forgers(£1).
609. Sheffield Independent, 3 Aug. 1844; Northern Star, 3, 10 Aug. 1844; Sheffield Mercury, 3 Aug. 1844.
610. Sheffield Independent, 3 Aug. 1844.
611. F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England* in K. Marx and F. Engels, On Britain, (Moscow 1960) *passim*.
612. Northern Star, 3 Aug. 1844, some Rotherham pits were still out.
613. There had been donations from at least 28 trades - compiled from reports in Sheffield Independent, Sheffield Mercury and Northern Star, June-August 1844 inclusive. In addition to the nineteen listed above in fn.496 were the Anvil Makers, Bricklayers' and Masons' Society, Button Pressers, File Cutlers, Filesmiths, Fork Trade, Hair Seating Weavers, Table Blade Forgers and Sickle Makers.
614. Sheffield Independent, 27 July 1844; Sheffield Mercury, 6, 20, 27 July 1844; dealt with also in a pamphlet, anon, A Letter on the Case of the Three Colliers, (Sheffield 1844)
615. Sheffield Independent, 31 Aug. 1844; Sheffield Mercury, 31 Aug. 1844.
616. Sheffield Independent, 14 Sept. 1844.
617. ibid., 14 Sept. 1844.
618. Burland, II loc.cit., 234(Sept. 1844); Sheffield Independent, 30 Nov. 1844(prospects for linen described as 'bright' and stated shortage of weavers on fancy side); Leeds Times, 7 Dec. 1844
619. Sheffield Independent, 23 Nov. 1844, discussion at trades' delegates meeting reflected this; Northern Star, 30 Nov. 1844, similar discussion.
620. Burland, II loc. cit., 233 (Aug. 1844).
621. ibid., 234, 236; Northern Star, 20, 27 Sept. 1844.

622. Northern Star, 20 Sept. 1844.
623. Challinor and Ripley, op.cit., 165-66, quoting Miners' Advocate of July 1845 to suggest that still survived in Yorkshire.
624. Northern Star, 5 Oct., 28 Dec. 1844.
625. Ward, op.cit., 173-4, 'improving conditions and continued secessions left Chartism in the coldrums during 1844'.
626. Northern Star, 23 Nov. 1844; Burland, II, loc.cit., 256.
627. Northern Star, 23 Nov., 17 Dec. 1844; Leeds Times, 7, 21 Dec. 1844.
628. Northern Star, 12 Oct. 1844.
629. ibid., 23 Nov. 1844.
630. ibid., 14 Dec. 1844.
631. ibid., 14 Dec. 1844.
632. A.E. Russon, British Trade Unions 1800-1875 (1972), passim.
633. As well as the 28 organized trades helping the colliers the following were known to be organized at some stage between 1843-5 (as measured by reports in the Sheffield press and the Northern Star:
Brick Makers, Brush Makers, Cabinet Makers, Edge Tool Grinders, Fender Grinders, Fender Makers, Iron Moulders, Joiners and Carpenters, Optical Workers, Letter Press Printers, Saw Makers, Saw Grinders, Saw Back Grinders, Scissor Smiths, Scissor Grinders, Shoemakers, Scythe Makers, Silversmiths, Stove Grate Fitters, Table Knife Grinders. See Appendix 7:1
634. The Hair seat weavers were a case in point. Northern Star, 27 July mentions their gift of the increase they had just obtained by a strike.
635. Very direct in the strike.
636. Sheffield Independent, 27 May 1843, Barnby, the moulders' delegate mentioned his union's affiliation; Northern Star, 14 Sept. 1844, Sheffield and Rotherham cordwainers united in a national body, 15 April, 30 Nov. 1844, Sheffield tailors and the national body.
637. Sheffield Independent, 3 Aug. 1844, 23 Nov. 1844, the branches of the fork trade were also united.
638. Reply of the Committee of the Central United Grinding Branches of Sheffield and its Vicinity to Earl Fitzwilliam's speech at the Cutlers' Feast (Sheffield, 1844); reprinted in Sheffield Mercury, 19 Oct. 1844.
639. Sheffield Independent, 22 April 1843, first of Drury's letters which indicated a combination of trades, 5 April 1845 confirms this.
640. 1844 reports in ibid., 16, 23, 30 Nov. 1844. The 'United Trades' had acted earlier to support the colliers.
641. For example the workers in the spring knife trade were now united in one body, Sheffield Independent, 26 Oct. 1844.
642. Reply etc. op.cit., 12-15; Sheffield Mercury, 19 Oct. 1844; Sheffield Independent, 23 Nov. 1844.
643. Sheffield Independent, 24 Aug. (when the strike began prices were claimed to be 70-80% below the 1810 level), 26 Oct. (one union), 1844, 5 April 1845 (strike ends).
644. ibid., 23 Nov. 1844.
645. ibid., 23 Nov. 1844.
646. Northern Star, 30 Nov. 1844.
647. Burland, II, loc.cit., 256, at Silkstone in September.

648. ibid., 231.
649. Sheffield Independent, 7 Sept. 1844.
650. ibid., 19 Oct. 1844; Sheffield Mercury, 19 Oct. 1844.
651. Sheffield Independent, 9,16 Nov. 1844.
652. Reply etc., op.cit.,1,9.
653. ibid., 16.
654. Sheffield Independent, 23 Nov. 1844.
655. Northern Star, 30 Nov. 1844, used for the first time.
656. Reply etc., op.cit.,4.
657. Northern Star, 9, 16, 23, 30 Nov. 1844, 1, 15 Feb. 1845.
658. Sheffield Independent, 28 Nov. 1844, case against the razor Grinders' secretary brought by the Protection Society. For role of magistrate Overend see narrative below.
659. Justified by Mirfield's appearance at the NAUTPL conference.
660. Leeds Times, 7 Dec. 1844.
661. ibid., 2 Feb. 1845, signs of improvement.
662. They had received support from the Sheffield trades and now looked towards the strength of the national federation of trades that the setting up of the NAUTPL promised. See below.
663. Challinor and Ripley, op.cit.,165-66, its influence in Yorkshire lasted till the summer of 1845.
664. Sheffield Independent, 1 March 1845, Thomas Booth's speech.
665. ibid., 1 March 1845.
666. ibid., 23 Nov. 1844.
667. ibid., 23 Nov. 1844.
668. Mainly Barnsley and Sheffield, Northern Star, 7 Dec. 1844; described Rotherham as 'a dead letter' for the last three years.
669. ibid., 4, 11, 25 Jan, 22 Feb. 1845, building up of the union allowing in bobbin winders and forming new branches in the villages, 22 March 1845, electing delegates for the NAUTPL conference.
670. ibid., 4 Jan.(trades' delegates at Fig Tree Lane), 18 Jan.(Chartist lecture on 'Political Economy for the Working Classes'), 22 Jan.(proposed lecture on 'Trade Unions, their necessity, their usefulness and defensibility'), 12 April 1845(lecture 'the Land and the Trades')
671. ibid., 4 Jan. 1845, Free Traders vs Chartists in Rotherham; Sheffield Independent, 22 Feb. 1845, contrast of unopposed Free Trade meeting in Hoyland.
672. Northern Star,29 March 1845, among the listed NCA executive composed of George Gallimore, Samuel Clayton, William Hawsworth, William Dyson, Peter France, Warren Smith, G. Birks, William Cooper, Matthew Oakes, William Holmes, Morton Royston, Thomas Briggs(treas.) George Cavalier (sec.), at least Gallimore, Clayton and Hawsworth were trade union leaders.
673. ibid., 8 Feb. 1845; Sheffield Independent, 1 Feb. 1845; Sheffield Mercury, 1 Feb. 1845, H.G. Ward met the Table Knife Mafsters.

674. Northern Star, 29 March, 4 April 1845, Drury (razor grinders), Booth (Britannia metalsmiths), William Hawksworth (spring knife trade), John Taylor (edge tool grinders), George Sykes (shoemakers), Thomas Stones (sawmakers).
675. Cole and Postgate, op.cit., 469-72. This much neglected organization has been dealt with more adequately with in I. Prothero, 'London Chartism and the Trades', Economic History Review, 2nd Series, xxiv (1971) *passim*.
676. Northern Star, 29 March, 5 April 1845
677. ibid., 29 March 1845.
678. Such ideas were introduced into joint-trade union -employers discussions in Sheffield during the winter of 1846/7.
679. Northern Star, 5 April (tailors in Manchester), 19 April 1845 (boot and shoemakers in London).
680. ibid., 26 April 1845.
681. ibid., 7 June 1845, talk of the 'revival' of Chartism.
682. ibid., 19 April (Sheffield Land Allotment Society), 3, 10 May (Sheffield Land Society), 25 May (Barnsley), 31 May (Barnsley).
683. ibid., 9 Aug. 1845.
684. ibid., 19 April 1845.
685. ibid., 22 Feb. 1845, discussions of the possibilities of advance and after this energy of industrial leaders thrown into the NAUTPL and the Land scheme.
686. ibid., 29 Feb. 1845, George Brown visit to Crigglestone, Barnsley, Thorpe Bradgate, Rawmarsh, Cawthorne, Silkstone, Stainborough and Blacker Hill, ibid., 15 March 1845, visit of Septimus Davis to Cawthorne, Silkstone, Stainborough suggest the survival of MA branches, 15 Feb., 10 May 1845, Yorkshire delegate meetings held.
687. Sheffield Independent, 1 March 1845, Drury at a dinner in honour of his work for the trades. The following sums were subscribed by the following 26 trades:
 Britannia Metalsmiths (£2-10s), Braziers, Silver Platers (£2-10s), Edge Tool Grinders (£3), File Grinders (£1), Filesmiths (£2-10s), Fork Trade (£2-8s), Haft and Scale Pressers (16s-6d), Joiner's Tool makers (£2), Pierce workers and Candlestick makers (£2-10s), Pen Blade Grinders (£1-1s), Razor Grinders (£5), Razor Scale Pressers (10s), Razor Smiths (£2), Razor Blade Forgers (£2), Saw Grinders (£3-6s), Saw Makers (£1), Scissor Grinders (£2), Sickle Grinders (£1), Sickle Forgers (10s), Slaters (5s), Spade and Shovel Makers (4s-4d), Scythe Grinders (12s), Scythe Makers (£1), Silver Stampers (£1), Type Founders (12s), Table Blade Grinders (£5).
688. ibid., 31 May 1845, Drury at trades' delegate meeting at London 'Prentice on 29 May. At this and an adjourned meeting a week later, at least fifteen delegates representing thirteen trades attended. These were -Awl Blade makers, Britannia Metalsmiths (2 delegates), Fender Makers, Joiner's Tool makers, Filesmiths, Optical workers, Pen Blade Grinders, Razor Grinders, Saw Makers, Saw Grinders, Spring Knife Forgers, Table Knife Forgers, Table Blade Grinders.
689. ibid., 31 May 1845, Booth's speech.
690. ibid., 24 May 1845, improvement in trade, previously 'not too brisk' with expected orders from the USA arriving in the sailing ship Caledonia. In the edition of 17 May 1845 talk of pauperization of parts of the town, particularly Attercliffe.
691. ibid., 31 May 1845, Blackhurst's speech.

692. ibid., 31 May 1845, Drury's speech.
693. ibid., 31 May, 1845, Blackhurst's speech.
694. ibid., 31 May 1845, Booth's speech.
695. ibid., 31 May 1845, 7 June 1845, discussion of delegates reflected this fear. Drury at adjourned 5 June session, 'the Protection Society was so formidable that all the energies of the working classes would be needed to check it'.
696. ibid., 26 April 1845, the traditionally weak spring knife trade workers were, after a strike earlier in the year, trying to organize short-time working and spade husbandry to deal with the surplus of labour and to keep wages up.
697. ibid., 5 April 1845, letter of Beatson stating his trade had donated money two years running to the Anti-Corn Law League, 30 Aug. 1845, Sheffield Mercury, 9 Sept. 1846, reported the favourable discussion of trades' delegates regarding the import of Canadian flour.
698. Incidents of violence reported in Sheffield Mercury, Nov.-April 1845 -46 : Nov. -1, Dec. -2, Jan. -2, Feb. -1, April- 2.
699. ibid., 2 May 1846.
700. Sheffield Independent, 28 June 1845.
701. ibid., 13 Dec. 1845, Awl Blade Makers, 4, 18, 25 May 1846, file, fork, and edge tool trades disputes.
702. ibid., 27 June, 4 July 1846, advances given without a dispute.
703. ibid., 27 June 1846, advance in bricklayer's labourers wages from 16s-6d p.w. to 18s p.w. They were supported by the 'United Building Trades'. On this grouping see Northern Star, 11 July, 14 Nov. 1846.
704. Sheffield Mercury, 22 Aug., 26 Sept. 1846, meetings of this trade.
705. Sheffield Independent, 27 June 1846.
706. ibid., 11 July 1846.
707. ibid., 1 Aug. 1846.
708. ibid., 11 July 1846.
709. Drury talked of an aristocracy of labour in a letter to H.G. Ward M.P. on the Ten Hours Bill, ibid., 6 June 1846. Drury said, 'a good deal of the aristocracy of labour exists among this class of workmen' (he referred to the grinders and generally to the body of organized trades who he noted had paid out £100,000 in the last bout of depression- 1837-1843)
710. ibid., 11 July 1846.
711. Sheffield Mercury, 17, 24 Oct. 1846.
712. Sheffield Independent, 31 Oct., 7 Nov., 1846; Sheffield Mercury, 31 Oct., 7 Nov. 1846. The following trades met at the Old Cook in Holliscroft:
Brushmakers, Edge Tool Grinders, Edge Tool Forgers, Edge Tool Makers, File Hardeners, Fenders Grinders, Filesmiths, Fork Grinders, Haft and Scale Pressers, Iron Moulders, Joiner's Tool Makers, Razor Grinders, Saw Makers, Saw Handle Makers, Saw Grinders, Scissor Forgers, Silver Brasiers, Scissor Grinders, Scythe Makers, Sickle Grinders, Spring Knife Cutlers, Stove and Fender Makers, Table Blade Forgers, Table Knife Hafters.
713. Northern Star, 9, 23 May 1846, cordwainers' and boot and shoemakers' national conference reported. The building trades were also linked nationally as reports in ibid., 23 May 1846 suggested.
714. Burland, II, loc.cit., 257, May 1846.

715. *ibid.*, 257, the association with the NAUTPL during 1845-6 is emphasized in Burland's reports of the attempts at arbitration.
716. Leeds Times, 12 Sept. 1846.
717. The only references to them as a collectivity was two years earlier during the colliers strike. There is no reason to assume they did not exist as a grouping.
718. Sheffield Independent, 31 Oct. 1846, moulders working within Sheffield trades groupings. Trade union consciousness may have existed in the ironworks and collieries even though, as in the case of the miners, the national union was broken. The point about trade union consciousness is made by H.A. Turner, Trade Union Growth, structure and policy (1962-, 85, 'the formal disbanding of a society, even the seizure of its committee, funds and records, could in itself make only a temporary impact on its members' organizational capacity'. The essential workplace units survived informally, and could maintain their links with each other.'
719. Northern Star, 1, 8, 15 Aug. 1846, reports on the Manchester Land Conference and the NCA conference in Leeds. Claims of revival made generally in edition of 8 Aug.
720. Northern Star reports throughout the year from Sheffield, Barnsley, Ardsley, Dodworth, Worsbrough Common, Rotherham and Doncaster. The July conference brought the region's groups together at a meeting at Hood Hill, this elected a joint delegate, *ibid.*, 15 June 1846.
721. *ibid.*, 24 April, 2, 30 May (Sheffield petition of 5,160), 30 Oct. (Barnsley) 1846.
722. *ibid.*, 30 May (Chartist Sick and Benevolent Society-Sheffield Branch), 27 June (United Patriots' Benefit Society, Sheffield), 11 July (discussion groups), 10 Oct (Sheffield branch library with 300 books) 1846.
723. Mirfield was a central figure.
724. Examples of such individuals included, Hawksworth (Spring Knife Forger), Samuel Clayton (Carpenters), Cartledge (Scythe Grinders), Goodlad (Peb. Blade Grinders), Evinson and Barker (United Building Trades) and H. Taylor (Comb Makers).
725. Northern Star, 25 Oct. 1845, noted origins of the United Building Trades of joiners, masons, bricklayers and plasterers, 31 Jan 1846, more information.
726. Sheffield Independent, 19 May 1849, on organization of the file trade.
727. Blackhurst, the young Table Knife trade leader, an Owenite and temperance advocate and Chartist sympathizer, was the most forceful voice among labour class leaders regarding the want of rational, 'dry' leisure and the need for self-improvement. On the need for an independent press see Wilkinson's speech in *ibid.*, 20 Feb 1847. For the debate about a hall, *ibid.*, 3 July 1847.
728. *ibid.*, 21 Nov. 1846; Northern Star, 7 Nov. 1846.
729. In the absence of sufficient information on diets, retail prices and wages little can be claimed, although the rise in the weekly wholesale price of wheat from Nov. 1846- May 1847 is given in the Sheffield Independent; Nov (average)- 64s-4d per quarter, best household bread 7d per 4 lbs, seconds 6d, brown 5d
Dec.- 64s-4d per quarter- Jan.-67s, Feb.-76s, March-75s, May- 82s
June -104s.
Potatoes, more important in Barnsley diets also rose, *ibid.*, 3 July 1847.
730. The pool had been created by employers and magistrates during the last period of depression.

731. Sheffield Independent, 14 Nov. (joint discussions begin with trades represented by Drury, Blackhurst, Hawksworth and Kirk), 21, 28 Nov., 6 Dec 1846, 23, 31 Jan., 6, 13, 20, 27 Feb. 1847.
732. ibid., 27 Feb. 1847, supported by trades' delegate and public meetings. There were claimed to be 200 delegates at one of the former..
733. ibid., 20 Feb. 1847.
734. ibid., 30 Jan., 13 Feb. 1847 (sawmakers), 4 Sept. (saw handle makers-); Sheffield Mercury, 8 May (bricklayers), 9 June 1847 (bricks destroyed implicating brickmakers-).
735. Sheffield Independent, 16 Jan. (Cock public house), 20 Feb. (Mosely Arms), 27 Feb. (noted 200 delegates present). Thereafter no further press reports. The unions' attitude had been summed up by Wilkinson who said of the press, ibid., 20 Feb. 1847, 'there was not a press in Sheffield with lighting our pipes with'.
736. ibid., 24 April (spring knife trade meeting), 1 May (raised on Town Council), 8 May (public meeting), 24 July 1847; Sheffield Mercury, 8 May (meeting where 20,000 signatures claimed).
737. Sheffield Independent, 24 April (4 branches of the spring knife trade meet NAUTPL delegate at the Circus), 19 June (Table blade hafters meet NAUTPL delegate at Hall of Science), 26 June (Combmakers and NAUTPL), 3 July (File trade and NAUTPL at Hall of Science), a claim of 6,000 being affiliated in Sheffield, claim that the joiners, tailors, spring knife cutlers, table blade forgers had joined; Northern Star, 29 April (boot and shoemakers and NAUTPL delegate Parker), 1 May (pen and pocket knife trade, fork grinders, edge tool makers, cock founders, gas fitters, coopers and coachbuilders—all meet NAUTPL at Blue Bell Inn), 26 June (razor blade grinders), 3 July (cork cutters).
738. ibid., 13 Feb. 1847, (Barnsley meeting, 1 Feb., trades meet Mr Lenegan of NAUTPL, 2 Feb. Lenegan (Lonagan) addressed Barnsley tailors, 3 Feb. addressed weaver, miners and shoemakers at Dodworth, 8 Feb. J. Grimshaw of NCA organized the weavers of two Doncaster linen weaving firms for NAUTPL), 27 Feb. 1847 (public meeting to get people to join NAUTPL).
739. Sheffield Mercury, 8 May 1847; Sheffield Independent, 8 May 1847.
740. Sheffield Independent, 24 April, 3 July 1847, contradictory reports.
741. Northern Star, 3 April 1847, employers' association in Sheffield retained a solicitor (Brenton) to prosecute offenders.
742. Ward, op.cit., 193-4.
743. Sheffield Independent, 31 July 1847; Northern Star, 7 Aug. 1847; Sheffield Mercury, 31 July (result Parker 1125, Ward 1110, Clark 326. On a show of hands the eventual winners obtained 300 of the 10,000 hands shown. In the county election there were no Chartist candidates for such as the Barnsley people to vote for. They had to be content with heckling the Whigs and Tories. Northern Star, 7 Aug., Leeds Times, 7 Aug. 1847.
744. Sheffield Independent, 11 Sept. 1847, (discussions regarding the Holytown miners) at Paradise Square meeting), 16 Oct. (committee to aid them); Northern Star, 2, 30 Oct. 1847 (further action by committee)
745. In Sheffield the leading NCA men, Ironside, Briggs and Jackson, all appeared active in trade union affairs although they were not actual members of unions. They recommended the NAUTPL and co-operated

745 cont.

particularly with the 'democratic' trades' leaders such as those from the table and spring knife trades. They were also prominent in the campaign against Overend.

746. Northern Star, 10 July (subscriptions), 31 July (Rotherham and Doncaster were included in the Sheffield district) 22 Aug. (Mirfield visited Doncaster), 11 Dec. 1847 (Doncaster NCA officers listed.).
747. ibid., 13 Nov. 1847 (Sheffield Branch of Land Co. send delegation to Thorpe Hesley), 11 Dec. 1847.
748. Admissions to Sheffield Union workhouse, Sept. 1847-April 1848 from weekly statements in Sheffield Independent:
- | 1847 | | 1848 | |
|-------|----------------------|-------|------|
| Sept. | -340 person av. p.w. | Jan. | -390 |
| Oct. | -330 | Feb. | -420 |
| Nov. | -340 | March | -485 |
| Dec. | -410 | April | -530 |
- Payments by the organized trades disguised the level of unemployment.
749. ibid., 11 Sept. 1847.
750. ibid., 16 Oct (list of 8 Chartist candidates), 6 Nov. (victories now meant that there were 10 Chartists among the town's 42 Town councillors and 14 aldermen.)
751. Northern Star, 4, 11, 18 Dec. 1847 (relations between English-Irish activists in Sheffield and Barnsley)
752. Sheffield Independent, 11 Dec. 1847; Sheffield Mercury, 11 Dec. 1847.
753. Sheffield Mercury, 11 Dec. 1847.
754. Sheffield Independent, 25 Sept. 1847 (Barnsley aid for Leeds bagging weavers); Leeds Times, 20 Nov. 1847 (weavers trying to get an advance. Leaders Mirfield, Curry and Yates tell men 'don't write to newspapers'.)
755. Northern Star, 16 Oct. 1847 (Barnsley pledge to buy NAUTPL products), 2 Oct. 1847 (further Sheffield affiliations)
756. On Holytown support, Sheffield Independent, 28 Aug. (spring knife trade discussions), 11 Sept. ('democratic trades' and Chartists discussion in Paradise Square); Sheffield Mercury, 11 Sept (further discussions) 1847; Northern Star, 4 Sept. 1847.
757. Northern Star, 18 Dec. 1847.
758. Sheffield Independent, 25 March 1848, this represented 3s -6d per week.
759. ibid., 31 July (letters on conditions), 28 Aug. , 15 Nov 1847.
760. ibid., 21, 28 Aug. (declaration against women) 30 Oct., 6 Nov. 1847 (discussion).
761. ibid., 17 July 1847, 12 main trades spent £4,000.
762. ibid., 11 Sept. 1847, Rev. R.S. Bayley, a 'social investigator' listed the following trades as worst hit in Sheffield:
Edge tools, scissors, silver plate, fine trinkets, scythes, machets, metal buttons, brass handled knives, fish hooks.
763. Revealed during Drury's trial, ibid., 25 March 1848.
764. 'Moral' or one which gave the workmen a regular basic net wage near to the 21-23s necessary to keep a man, wife and up to four children out of temporary ('secondary-type') or permanent (primary-type') poverty. Estimates of requirements from 1837 budgets. The 'market wage' was much below this. In the spring knife trade 2400 men were

764 cont.

earning 9-10s p.w., table knife workers (forgers) received 12s p.w. on average, Sheffield Mercury, 16 Jan. 1847 (Blackhurst's information). These were among the worst affected and largest employing trades.

765. Farms in existence in 1848 listed in Northern Star, 27 May 1848, included Edge Tool Grinders' farm- 70 acres, Pen Blade Grinders'-8 acres, Britannia Metalsmiths'- 12 acres, File Hardeners'-4 acres. The Scissor Forgers stockpiled rough scissors to the value of £7,000 in an attempt to control production; Sheffield Mercury, 8 April 1848, note on Britannia Metalsmiths' farm.
766. Sheffield Independent, 11 Sept. 1847.
767. ibid., 25 Sept. 1847.
768. ibid., 11 Sept. 1847, expansion in iron trades due to railway contacts.
769. Leeds Times, 3 April 1847, advance of wages at Darley Main and at other collieries in the Barnsley area. Such evidence supports the idea of workplace trade unions and sub-regional organization; Northern Star, 13 Feb. 1847, the Barnsley area miners met a NAUTPL delegate.
770. Sheffield Mercury 24 April 1847, reference to moulders' organization.
771. ibid., 20 Nov., 4 Dec. 1847; Sheffield Independent, 4 Dec. 1847.
772. Northern Star, 13 July, 16 Oct. 1847; Leeds Times, 26 Feb. 1848; Northern Star, 26 Feb. 1848.
773. ibid., 2 Oct. 1847.
774. Sheffield Independent, 18 Dec. 1848, evidence being obtained from Heathcote brothers tried at recent assizes for rattening.
775. ibid., 4, 11, 18, 25 March 1848.
776. ibid., 25 March 1848, witness Bramwell claimed Drury was under pressure to hold the union together and had said, 'we have tried all means moral and physical, and we must break up the union.'
777. Reports weekly in ibid., show numbers of inmates in the workhouse. The average weekly figures for monthly periods show the rapid increase during the first months of the year:
- | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| Jan. 1848 - 390 | April 1848 -530 |
| Feb. 1848 -420 | May 1848 -800 |
| March 1848 -485 | |
778. ibid., 6 May 1848, T.N. Stocks of the Sheffield Defence Committee went to Barnsley to obtain support. Mirfield organized financial aid. Debts were incurred and persisted as a source of friction into the early 1850s- ibid., 26 April 1851.
779. Sheffield Mercury, 11 March 1848; Ward, op.cit., 199-200.
780. Sheffield Mercury, 18 March 1848; Sheffield Independent, 18 March 1848.
781. Leeds Times, 18 March 1848.
782. Otley was a bankrupt who had set up as a tobacconist, Ironside was an accountant and Briggs a joiner, HO 107 (1841 Census returns on microfilm in SCL).
783. Including Henry Taylor (Combmakers), William Cartledge (Scythe Grinders) and Charles Bagshaw (Razor-smiths).
784. R. Otley, The Wrongs of Englishmen and the Rights of Freemen (Sheffield, 1839) *passim*. for statement of Otley's creed.
785. Sheffield Independent, 25 March 1848; Sheffield Mercury, 25 March 1848.

786. Sheffield Independent, 1 April 1848; Sheffield Mercury, 1 April 1848, These included T?N. Stocks from the Spring Knife Cutlers' Union .
787. Northern Star, 19 Feb. 1848.
788. ibid., 15 April 1848; Leeds Times, 8 April 1848.
789. Northern Star, 8 April 1848.
790. ibid., 15 April 1848; Sheffield Independent ,15 April 1848, Sheffield Mercury, 15 April 1848; letters in HO 45/2410(4) including M. Ellison to Duke of Norfolk, 18 April 1848, Spencer Stanhope to Sir George Grey 7 April, Thomas Marshall (Barnsley magistrates' clerk) to Grey, 10,14, 16 April 1848.
791. Sheffield Independent, 22,29 April 1848; Sheffield Mercury, 15 April 1848; Northern Star 15 April 1848.
792. Northern Star, 15 April 1848, all Barnsley meetings were reported as 'camp meetings'.
793. Sheffield Independent, 22 April 1848.
794. ibid., 6 May 1848; Sheffield Mercury, 6 May 1848, another camp meeting was held at Grenoside.
795. Sheffield Independent, 6 May 1848; Northern Star, 6 May 1848, Rotherham meeting held too.
796. Leeds Times, 22 April 1848, arrival of cannon in Barnsley barracks; Marshall to Grey ,16 April 1848, HO 45/2410(4) Sheffield Independent, 29 April 1848.
797. Sheffield Mercury, 6 May 1848, another camp meeting was planned for Grenoside on 7 May.
798. By 'industrial struggle' I refer to the defence of Drury which preoccupied trades and made priority demands on their funds.
799. The Irish in Sheffield were organized but they formed a smaller proportion of the population than in Barnsley. Northern Star, 25 March 1848, the Chartists successfully approached the Irish Repealers with a view to an alliance.
800. Ward, op.cit., 210-11.
801. Sheffield Independent, 13 May 1848; Sheffield Mercury, 13 May 1848.
802. Sheffield Independent, 13 May 1848, complaints in Barnsley's Chartist crowd about the cost of delegates.
803. ibid., 13 May 1848.
804. Sheffield Independent, 29 April 1848; Leeds Times, 22 April 1848.
805. Ward, op.cit., 211-16.
806. Sheffield Mercury, 3 June 1848; Sheffield Independent, 3 June 1848.
807. Sheffield Independent, 3, 17 June 1848; Sheffield Mercury, 3, 17 June 1848.
808. Sheffield Mercury, 3 June 1848; Leeds Times, 3 June 1848.
809. Sheffield Independent, 17 June 1848; Sheffield Mercury, 17 June 1848; Northern Star, 17 June 1848.
810. Northern Star, 6 May 1848.
811. Sheffield Mercury, 17 June 1848.
812. Sheffield Independent, 17 June 1848.
813. ibid., 24 June 1848, testimony made at the inquest.
814. ibid., 17, 24 June 1848, reports of Briggs' activity in the days up to his death.
815. ibid., 6 May 1848.
816. Northern Star, 27 May 1848, note on trades' farms in letter to Editor.

817. ibid., 17 June 1848, NAUTPL recall success in settling the joiners' strike in Sheffield.
818. Sheffield Independent, 4, 11 Nov. 1848; Sheffield Times, 17 April 1848, noted the Chartists had 22 supporters on the Council.
819. Sheffield Independent, 27 Oct. 1855, when the Land Scheme was finally wound up it was revealed that in Sheffield 620 members had paid in £839, in Rotherham 70 members paid in £307, in Barnsley 345 paid in £557. The activities of the various branches of the National Land Company were regularly reported in the Northern Star during the remaining life of the paper.
820. Ward, op.cit., 211-216.
821. Sheffield Mercury, 17 June 1848; HO 45/2410(4), Marshall to Grey, 7 June 1848 (memorial of linen manufacturers enclosed).
822. Sheffield Mercury, 17 June 1848.
823. Leeds Times, 1 July 1848, excitement in Barnsley at news of the insurrection in Paris.
824. Sheffield Independent, 19, 26 Aug. 1848, Bradford area excitement; Northern Star, 26 Aug. 1848, 'Orange Tree' affair in London.
825. Leeds Times, 22 July 1848, Barnsley was busy celebrating the passing of the Junction Railway Bill that secured future markets for local coal. The linen trade was also in a more healthy state, Sheffield Independent, 10 June 1848.
826. Leeds Times, 3 June 1848, describes Mirfield's role in maintaining order at May Day Green mass meeting.
827. Sheffield Mercury, 8 July 1848; Sheffield Independent, 8 July 1848, these he demonstrated this by lecturing in Sheffield on behalf of Drury and other persecuted trade unionists.
828. Sheffield Mercury, 8 July 1848; Sheffield Independent, 8 July 1848, these included William Hawksworth (Table Blade forgers) and T.N. Stocks (Spring Knife Cutlers), both 'democrats' and William Broadhead (Saw Grinders) who was more of an 'aristocrat'.
829. Sheffield Mercury, 26 Aug., 23 Sept. 1848, Paradise Square meeting.
830. ibid., 16 Sept. 1848, meeting of 2000 operatives in the file trade to discuss continuance of union, 30 Sept., unemployment in the sickle trade; Sheffield Independent, 18 Sept. 1852, table knife trade and the debt incurred in 1847/48.
831. Sheffield Independent, 23 Sept. 1848.
832. ibid., 15 July 1848, first incendiary attack in Sheffield for many months. Throughout the winter of 1848-9 there were strikes by file grinders and table blade grinders accompanied by violence in other trades, scythemaking, saw making. There was a general atmosphere of despair. The Sheffield Times ran a weekly discussion on the theme 'What is to become of Sheffield?' and it advocated resurrecting the old scheme for cotton mills being built in the town. Sheffield Times, 31 March 1849 for most dismal report. The Independent countered much of the pessimism found in the Times. Sheffield Independent, 21 Jan. 1849, branch of Potters' Emigration Society formed in Sheffield.
833. Sheffield Times, 4 Aug. 1849.
834. The NCA and Land Company groups continued to have their affairs reported in the Northern Star.

835. Sheffield Independent, 17 Nov. 1849; Sheffield Mercury, 17 Nov. 1849.
836. Pollard, op.cit., 84-6.
837. J. Salt, 'Experiments in Anarchism', Transactions of the Hunter Archaeological Society, x, pt. 1, 1971, *passim.*, for examination of the democratic sub-culture in the 1850s.
838. Sheffield Times, 5 May 1849; Sheffield Mercury, 5 May 1849.
839. Reports in Northern Star, see later section.
840. Sheffield Times, 1 Sept. 1849; Northern Star, 30 June 1849, activity in Rotherham.
841. Trade union leaders could no longer be identified among the NCA executive. Many trade unions had temporarily disbanded because of financial problems.
842. The Weavers' Union continued to be led by Mirfield.
843. J. Foster, 'British Imperialism and the Labour Aristocracy' in J. Skelley (ed), The General Strike, 1926 (1976), 18.
844. ibid., 18.
845. Sheffield Times, 19 Jan. 1850; Sheffield Independent, 19 Jan. 1850.
846. Sheffield Independent, 12 Jan. (edge tool), 19 Jan. (spring knife), 2 Feb. (spring knife, edge tool), 9 Feb. (spring knife), 23 Feb. (spring knife and files), 13 April (saw trade), 15 June (files), 6, 13 July (files), 27 July (table knife) 1850.
847. ibid., 12 Jan., 2 Feb. 1850; Sheffield Times, 6 April 1850.
848. Sheffield Independent, 19 Jan. 1850.
849. ibid., 7 Jan., 20 July, 3, 10 Aug. 1850; Leeds Mercury, 3.10 Aug. 1850.
850. Sheffield Independent, 26 April 1851, letter from Weavers' Association.
851. ibid., 6 July 1850.
852. ibid., 13 July 1850, letters from Kirk and Warren replying to criticisms.
853. ibid., 23 March 1850, letters from Kirk dealing with aspects of the trade and revealing the deal made with Ald. Peace in 1848.
854. ibid., 5 Jan. 1850, example of friendlier relations with employers was Kirk's appearance at a dinner for the employers and workmen at Jowitt and Battie's new Saviile Works premises. The master, men and trade union secretary joined in singing Burns' 'A man's a man for a 'that' and 'We've got a Corporation'.
855. ibid., 5 Oct. 1850 (linen), 5 Jan. 1851 (editorial on the Sheffield trades' experience in the last quarter of 1850).
856. ibid., 17 Aug. 1850, letter of Kirk and Warren attacking The Times for its remarks about trade unionism in Sheffield.
857. Northern Star, 29 June 1850.
858. Ward, op.cit., 220-4.
859. Northern Star, 12 Jan., 9, 16, 23 March, 13 April, 4, 25 May, 29 June, 6, 13, 20 July 10, 31 Aug., 7, 14, 21, 28 Sept. 1850 were the main reports during the first nine months of 1850.
860. ibid., 13 April, 4, 25 May 1850.
861. ibid., 13 July 1850.

862. Frank Mirfield, John Vallance and George Uttley were all veterans of radical politics and trade unionism who were active in this field in the 1850s.
863. Sheffield Independent, 27 July 1850.
864. Northern Star, 28 Sept. 1850, on Rotherham.
865. Ward, op.cit., 222-4.
866. Northern Star, 13 July 1850, Sheffield NCA party to Matlock, this report also noted the continued existence of a Chartist library; BurlandII, op.cit., 314, report of Chartist Whit-excursion to Wharncliffe Rocks.
867. Sheffield Independent, 2 Nov. 1850.
868. Ward, op.cit., 223-24.
869. Northern Star, 21 Sept. 1850; Sheffield Independent, 9 Nov. 1850, he attacked Rochdale co-operation.
870. Sheffield Independent, 9, 11 Nov. 1850; Sheffield Times, 9 Nov. 1850.
871. Ward, op.cit., 224-5.
872. Northern Star, 19 Oct. 1850, Sheffield in agreement with O'Connor's call for a Manchester conference. Reports in 18, 25 Jan. 1851 show they had eventually moved to oppose it because it threatened to divide the NCA.
873. Sheffield Independent, 4, 11 Jan, 22 Feb. 1851.
874. ibid., 21 June 1851.
875. ibid., 21 Jan., 26 April 1851, files.
876. Pollard, op.cit., 84-5; Notes to the People, vol II, 524-5, reprints the 'Address' of this trade dated 18 Sept. 1851.
877. Sheffield Independent, 24 April 1851.
878. ibid., 26 April 1851; Sheffield Free Press, 26 April 1851.
879. Sheffield Independent, 26 April 1851.
880. ibid., 3 May 1851.
881. ibid., 19 July 1851.
882. Sheffield Free Press, 12 July, 2 Aug. 1851.
883. Northern Star, 2 Aug. 1851.
884. Sheffield Independent, 29 Aug. 1851; Sheffield Free Press, 9 Aug. 1851.
885. Sheffield Independent, 4 Oct., 15 Nov. 1851.
886. Sheffield Free Press, 4 Jan. 1851, the first edition talked of 'manhood suffrage' and of 'freeing the arm of Labour'.
887. Almost weekly reports in the Northern Star.
888. ibid., 22 Feb. 1851, six delegates were sent including Cavill, Holmes and Wheeler.
889. ibid., 15 March 1851, letter from Barnsley to NCA Executive.
890. ibid., 10 May 1851, Sheffield excursion for Whit-Monday, a 'Youth Philosophical and Theological' discussion group.
891. ibid., 8 Feb., 1, 8 March, 28 June, 2, 9 Aug., 13 Sept. 1851.
892. ibid., 25 Oct., 16 Nov. 1851, S. Kydd to Barnsley.
893. ibid., 16 Nov. 1851.
894. Sheffield Independent, 13 March 1852.

895. Northern Star, 6 March 1852.
896. ibid., 6 March 1852; Sheffield Independent, 18 Sept. 1852, table knife hafters' difficulties.
897. Sheffield Independent, 24 July 1852.
898. ibid., 31 Jan., 5 May 1852.
899. ibid., 3, 17 July 1852; Sheffield Free Press, 31 July 1852.
900. Sheffield Free Press, 6 Nov. 1852.
901. The Star of Freedom, 26 June 1852, last report from Sheffield NCA.
902. John Salt, art.cit., 37-53 *passim*.
903. Sheffield Free Press, 7 Feb. 1852.
904. The Star, 17 April 1852, Sheffield NCA discusses Kydd's possible candidacy.
905. Sheffield Times, 10 July 1852, Hadfield declared his support for the six points of the Charter in his major election speech.
906. Sheffield Free Press, 31 July 1852, for this insight into the politically 'under-developed' state of Darton's population.
907. Sheffield Times, 18 June 1853, survey of spreading struggles under the heading 'The Wages Question'; Sheffield Independent, 12 March, 2 April, 7, 28 May for comment on local prosperity.
908. Burland, II *loc.cit.*, 433-37.
909. ibid., 432-443 (mainly extracted from Leeds press); Sheffield Independent, 4, 11, 18, 26 June 1853.
910. Sheffield Independent, 25 June 1853; Sheffield Free Press, 25 June 1853.
911. Sheffield Times, 11 June 1853, police watchmen combine to ask for an advance which they obtained. In Lancashire the police watchmen went on strike.
912. Sheffield Independent, 7 May 1853.
913. ibid., 5, 12 Nov. 1853.
914. Burland, II, *loc.cit.*, 459, 461, 469, deals with Darley Main strike and support of colliers from other pits in the district, 477, deals with bleachers attempt to get an advance, Sheffield Independent, 10 Dec. 1853- bleachers' strike.
915. Salt, art.cit., *passim*.
916. Sheffield Independent, 19 Nov. 1853, victories in some wards a cause for celebration among the Democrats.
917. Burland, II, 446.
918. Sheffield Independent, 3 Dec. 1853.
919. Burland, II, 472.
920. Sheffield Independent, 11 Feb. 1854; Sheffield Times, 11 Feb. , 15 April 1854.
921. The meeting's platform was occupied by Ironside, Jackson, Graves and Grayson (Chartist and Democratic Party leaders) and by 'democratic' trade unionists, Bagshaw, T.N. Stocks, Turner and Travis.
922. J. Lowe, 'A Account of the strikes and lockout in the Cotton Trade at Preston', in NAPSS Report, op.cit., 260-63, reprints list of subscriptions received by the Amalgamated Committee; Sheffield Independent, 11, 18, 25 Feb., 18 March., 8, 22, 29 March 1854; Sheffield Times, 4, 11 Feb. 1854 for details of subscription and names of Sheffield Committee (16 members).

923. J. Lowe, op.cit., 260-63.
924. ibid., 260-3; Sheffield Independent, 18 Feb. 1854, lists Rotherham committee of fourteen.
925. Sheffield Times, 7 Jan. 1854; Sheffield Independent, 7 Jan. 1854.
926. Sheffield Independent, 7 Jan. 1854; Sheffield Times, 28 Jan. 1854.
927. Sheffield Times, 17 June 1854, 'outrages' reported.
928. Employers increasingly resisted demands for the restoration of money wage rates established between 1844-7 and reduced since. They sought a lowering to below levels achieved during 1847-9. Thus in several trades there was pressure to force rates below 1844-7 by at least 20%. This was a period of rising prices for essential foodstuffs. Sheffield Independent, 13 May 1854, linen bad, 24 June 1854, Sheffield excursion trains not filled because of the situation of the workers in the town.
929. The official outbreak of war was late March. Sheffield Independent, 19 Aug. 1854, for one description of mass diversions. This report noted 10,000 watched a 'Bombardment of Odessa' firework display (and balloon ascent) in Sheffield's 'provincial Vauxhall' - the Newhall Gardens in Attercliffe.
930. Particularly caught by the Sheffield Times and Sheffield Independent.
931. Sheffield Independent, 10 June 1854, Kossuth (the Hungarian patriot) greeted by local respectable Liberal-Radicals and less respectable Chartists and Democrats.
932. Burland, II, 511, meeting at Mechanics' Hall chaired by Mirfield.
933. Sheffield Independent, 30 Sept. 1854, meeting for public discussion of the handling of the war. There was universal praise for 'our warriors in the East' as the Mayor described them.
934. ibid., 2 Sept. 1854, noted petition for provision of water to be piped to Wilson's Piece.
935. ibid., 4 Nov. 1854, Gill's speech and recording of seven losses by the Democratic Party.
936. ibid., 28 Oct., 1854.
937. ibid., 28 Oct. 1854 (Park Ward), 3 March 1855 (Ecclesall Ward), 25 March 1855 (Park Ward).
938. ibid., 4, 11, 25 Nov., 9 Dec. 1854 (reports on Sheffield, Rotherham, Ecclesfield, Thorncliffe); Burland, II, 528, Barnsley district.
939. ibid., 16 Dec. 1854, John Brown listed the contribution of 213 individuals from his Atlas Works.
940. ibid., 30 Dec. 1854.
941. ibid., 11 Nov. 1854, the 'casinos' were a new generation of music halls appearing. The largest of these in the 1850s in Sheffield was the Surrey Music Hall built in 1850.
942. ibid., 3 March 1855, letter of Edward Smith on the effects of war. This was criticised in editions of 17, 24 March 1854 and in edition of 24 March, 14, 21 April, signs of better trade, similarly in Burland, III, 6-7 discussion of prospects of linen and coal. The progress of the heavy sector in Sheffield through the development of armaments was noted in ibid., 30 Dec. 1854 - cast steel being used for gun metal, 17 March 1855 - development of revolving multi-barrel cannon locally.
943. Burland, III, 8, 10, 11, 20, 23, 31, 32, 33; Sheffield Free Press, 21 April 1850.
944. Sheffield Independent, 7, 14, 21 April 1855, outrages. The saw grinders' union denied knowledge in a letter written by William Broadhead and

944 cont.

included in edition of 14 April.

945. Sheffield Times, 31 March 1855, noted Mirfield and Richard Taylor visited Sheffield; Burland, III, 23, £40 aid from Sheffield filesmiths, file grinders, Britannia metalsmiths and fender makers. The saw grinders also aided the Barnsley men.
946. Hill in NAPSS, op.cit., 564-5, list 55 trades in union in Feb. 1859 and 9 others previously in union.
947. Sheffield Independent, 21 Jan. 1854, death of Kirk of the file trade
948. Sheffield Free Press, testimonial to George Career, secretary of the Edge Tool and wool shear Grinders for 12 years, secretary of the Union, illustrated the nature of aristocratic tendencies in a trade in continuous union for 30 years. Career noted a changed relationship with the masters 'when he was first elected Secretary, it was with dread almost that he waited upon the manufacturers and asked them to redress grievances; now it was quite a pleasure to meet on such matters'. This trade dinner toasted: 'The Queen - may she live long in the affections of her people'; 'The Army and Navy', and sang the 'Lion King'.
949. The 'corporate' pose of the labour aristocracy is looked at by R.Q. Grey 'The Labour Aristocracy in the Victorian Class Structure' in F. Parkin (ed.), The Social Analysis of Class Structure (1974), 19-38. See also J.M. Cousins and R.L. Davis 'Working Class Incorporation' - a historical approach with reference to Mining communities of S.E. Northumberland 1840-1890' in same volume 275-297.
950. J. Foster, Class Struggles and the Industrial Revolution, ch. vii, 'Liberalization', 203-250 for wide ranging discussion of forms of social control and process of 're-stabilisation'. Anti-Irish sentiment was more a characteristic of the 1860s but several English-Irish clashes in Sheffield in 1855 hinted at the polarization of communities. Sheffield Independent, 3 March 1855 (small fight incident) and 4 Aug. 1855 (major conflict between Tyrone militia garrisoned in town supported by local Irish against English workmen).
951. Sheffield Independent, 15 Sept. 1855; Sheffield Times, 6 Oct. 1855; Burland, III op.cit., 85-90.
952. J.H. Burland, Poems (Barnsley, n.d.), 9 'Odessa', 10 'The Russian Spy', 13 'The Sacking of Kertch', 16 'Baltic Tars', 34-5 'Balaclava'; 38-9 'Inkerman'; Tom Treddlehoyle, The Bairsia Peaks' Annual, (Leeds, 1865), 3-6 for 'Tayin A Sabastapool' for jingoistic popular form.
953. Foster, op.cit., 210.
954. Burland, II, loc.cit., 211, Feargus O'Conner's remarks about Lord Wharmcliffe suggest the benefits of being associated with 'national society' - 'Rather a poor noblemen, his estate is worth £11,000 p.a. As a Cabinet minister he had £4,000 p.a.; his son had £2,000 p.a., this second son was solicitor general, and as soon as a vacancy occurred he would be a judge with £5,000 p.a.'
955. G.G. Hopkinson, 'A list of South Yorkshire Justices of the Peace, 1800-1888', Transactions of the Hunter Archaeological Society, vol
956. Sheffield Courant, 15 Jan., 19 Sept, 30 April 1830- suggestions of social activity during the 'season of 1830'.
957. It had petitioned against trade unions in 1838 and had been active in the earlier employers' initiative at the time of the strike in the file trade. In 1857 a new organization had appeared

957 cont.

- and a record of this is contained in the 'Sheffield Chamber of Commerce, Minutes of Proceedings, vol 1, 1864-1880' which is held in the offices of the current Chamber housed in Matilda Street, Sheffield. For the Manufacturers' and Tradesmen's Protection Society which may have bridged the two Chambers see Sheffield Mercury, 31 May 1845.
958. I am grateful to Mr J. R. Pattison, the present steward of the Sheffield Club (in George Street) for access to primary materials in his keeping, particularly (1) 'The Sheffield Club Committee Book, vol 1, 1844-69' (2) 'Minute Book of General Meetings, vol 1 1845-1930'.
959. The 1854 membership is listed in the 'Minute Book of General Meetings' (there are earlier lists). Of the 153 members the occupations of 139 have been traced. A third of these were professional people (solicitors, barristers, surveyors, doctors, surgeons, civil engineers) and a half were merchants and manufacturers (including the emerging industrialist bourgeoisie and established elements- Dixon, John Brown, Vickers, Ibbotson, Thomas Jessop) and miscellaneous financial groups. I hope to use this material more fully at some later stage.
960. One of the the most interesting social developments seen in the 'General Meetings' volume is the application of local aristocrats for membership. The Duke of Norfolk joined in 1856, Lord Wharncliffe in 1857 and Fitzwilliam in 1861.
961. Its records were destroyed by fire but some details can be found in Pawson and Brailsford, op.cit., 74-5 and in Rules and Bye-laws of Sheffield Atheneum (Sheffield, 1859). The information here suggests the Atheneum had a more open attitude to women participating and that its activities were 'drier' than those of the Club.
962. G.C. Holland, op.cit., 239-46; Pawson and Brailsford, op.cit., 76-7.
963. Rules of Sheffield Atheneum and Mechanics' Institute (Sheffield, 1850) and notes on history in Newspaper Cutting series (SF series), vol. 1 230-1, in SCL.
964. G.C. Holland, op.cit., 232-5; Pawson and Brailsford, op.cit., 83.
965. G.C. Holland, op.cit., 236-238.
966. Sheffield Iris, 12, 30 June 1837, 30 June 1838, Oddfellow lodges in loyalist demonstrations regarding Coronation. In 1844 lodges marched in the mass Sheffield procession led by O'Connor and Duncombe.
967. G.C. Holland, op.cit., 230-35.
968. Sheffield Independent, 2 May 1842.
969. Sheffield Iris, 5 Jan. 1839.
970. Sheffield Mercury, 7 March 1840.
971. PP(1835) Select Committee Report on the origin, nature and extent and tendency of Orange institutions in Great Britain and the colonies, 21, 43(2 lodges in Sheffield), 118.
972. Annual reports in press and printed separately. Most press reportage at Whitsun.
973. Local and temperance reports.
974. Sheffield Mercury, 30 Jan. 1847.
975. Sheffield Independent, 20 Feb., 3 July 1847.
976. Burland, II, loc.cit., 131, fancy dress ball in Barnsley for 150 local 'respectables' on the occasion of the Coronation.
977. The Corporation provided the heart of the 'respectable' social world here. Raceweek and the annual Volunteer manoeuvres (e.g.

977 cont.

Sheffield Iris, 16 Oct. 1838.

978. On Protestant-Orange employers see Select Committee Report on Orange Institutions, loc. cit., 30,41, 58, 117, 118 and appendix 19.
979. Leeds Times, 22 Sept. 1842; Sheffield Independent, 12 Feb., 30 Dec. 1848.
980. Northern Star, 23 Nov. 1841.
981. Regular reports in local press and temperance press(e.g. Preston Temperance Advocate.)
982. Sheffield Independent, 2 Jan. 1838, not all clergy co-operated.
983. References in Sheffield press to activity of evangelical groups.
984. e.g. Doncaster Gazette, 25 Jan., 1 March 1839.
985. Sheffield Independent, 7 Dec. 1844, Father Matthew in Barnsley, 6 July 1844, 15 March 1845, Caughey in Sheffield.
986. Sheffield Independent, 11 May 1851, a justification of drink.
987. Report of the Committee appointed by the Town Council to inquire into the apparent excess of drunkenness in the Borough of Sheffield (Sheffield, 1853), 11-13.
988. In the 1840s this appeared more as an aspiration or ideal than an achievement.
989. Sheffield Iris, 19 June 1832.
990. Sheffield Iris, 3 Jan. 1837.
991. Sheffield Independent, 6 Aug. 1842.
992. Ward, op.cit., 221.
993. Northern Star, 14 Oct. 1840.
994. Sheffield Mercury, 5 July 1834.
995. The Sheffield Working Man's Advocate, 13 March 1841, 8.
996. Schoyen, op.cit., 113; Northern Star, 17 June 1843.
997. Northern Star, 18 May 1844, NCA meeting at Mr Cutt's Temperance Hotel in Porter Street.
998. ibid., 15 Aug. 1846.
999. Joseph Kirk ran the 'Cock' for a while and William Broadhead ran the 'Burnt Tree Tavern'- Sheffield Independent, 11 April 1846, 26 April 1851.
1000. See narrative dealing with struggles in 1844.
1001. Such as the Theatre and the Circus.
1002. Last report in ASheffield Independent, 20 Feb. 1847. In 1848-9 the Cup Inn was used and Broadhead's Burnt Tree Tavern was used by the Drury Defence Fund Committee in 1851.
1003. Sheffield Independent, 26 April 1851.
1004. ibid., 31 Jan. 1852.
1005. Northern Star, 29 June 1844.
1006. Sheffield Independent, 27 June 1846.
1007. On Blackhurst see ibid., 21 Oct. 1846, 20 Feb. 1847, Sheffield Mercury, 16,30 Jan. , 20 Feb. 1847.
1008. Sheffield Independent, 20 Feb 1847.
1009. ibid., 27 July 1847.

1010. National Temperance Advocate, vol. II, 11.
1011. Sheffield Independent, 5 April 1844.
1012. ibid., 6 July 1844, 15 March 1845,
1013. ibid., 7 Feb. 1844.
1014. ibid., 4 Feb. 1843, 10 Jan. 1846.
1015. ibid., 29 June 1844, 17 May 1845, 28 June 1845, 11 July 1846(visits to Beauchief, Wentworth and Roche Abbey), 23 Aug. 1851
4, 18 Sept. 1852(Botanical Gardens, De'nall, Owlerton)
1016. ibid., 23 Aug. 1851.
1017. Report on Drunkenness, op.cit., 7-8.
1018. Sheffield Independent, 24 Aug. 1850, anniversary meeting explains history.
1019. ibid., 24 Aug. 1850, 21 Aug. 1852.
1020. For work of Brewster Sessions see typical report of its cases in ibid., 24 Aug. 1850. It was interesting to note here the 'All Nations' in trouble with the magistrates.
1021. Report on Drunkenness, op.cit., 5-6, summary of the case and comparative statistics.
1022. a. Sheffield Mercury, 18 Dec. 1841; Sheffield Independent, 11 Sept. 1852.
b. White (1837, 1841, 1852) op.cit., passim.
c. Sheffield Independent, 15 April 1854.
1023. The Wilson-Patten Act of 1854 closed drinking places for a large part of Sundays. On the role of the police see R.D. Storch, 'The Plague of Blue Locusts- Police Reform and Popular Resistance on Northern England, 1840-57', International Review of Social History, vol 20, 1975, passim.
1024. Children's Employment Report(Manufactures) etc. loc.cit., 7, 10, 12 on prostitution among the young .
1025. ibid., 11-12.
1026. Pollard, op.cit., 59-62, deals with some aspects of this.
1027. See early section of this chapter for this aspect of proletarianization.
1028. Pollard, op.cit., 61.
1029. R.E. Leader, Reminiscences etc. op.cit. 201.
1030. Sheffield Independent, 27 Aug. 1842.
1031. Leeds Times, 2 Nov. 1844(Barnsley Statutes)Sheffield Independent, 9 Nov. 1850(14,000 by train to Rotherham Statutes)
1032. Leader, Reminiscences etc. op.cit., 201.
1033. Children's Employment Report(Manufactures) etc. ,loc.cit., 22-3.
1034. Report on Drunkenness, op.cit., 7.
1035. Sheffield Independent, 9 Nov. 1850, 14,000 from Sheffield by train to Rotherham Statutes.
1036. ibid., 21 Sept. 1850.
1037. ibid., 13 Jan. 1849.
1038. Sheffield Mercury, 29 July, 19,26 Aug. 1848.
1039. Sheffield Independent, 12 May 1849.
1040. Sheffield Mercury, 11 Jan. 1845(Killamarsh), Sheffield Independent

1040 cont.

- ,24 Aug. 1850, Peacock Inn 's licence being threatened at Brewster Sessions because of cock fighting.
1041. ibid., 2 Nov. 1844(Millhouses bout), Sheffield Mercury, 14 Aug. 1849(Lindrick Common), Sheffield Independent, 9 April 1848(wharncliffe side fight), 26 April 1851(Barnsley).
1042. On gambling see details in Children's Employment Report(Manufactures) etc. loc.cit., 2, 45.
1043. The idea was that fight were staged outside spheres of police jurisdiction.
1044. The railway was a form of mass transportation over short distances in the 1840s.
1045. Sheffield Independent, 18 Sept. 1852.
1046. Burland, II, loc.cit., 211.
1047. ibid., 314.
1048. Sheffield Independent, 11 Sept. 1847.
1049. ibid., 28 Sept. 1850.
1050. J.L. Scott, 'The evolution of the brass band and its repertoire in Northern England; unpublished Sheffield University PhD 1970, passim .
1051. Sheffield Independent, 2 Nov. 1850, comment to this effect.
1052. Burland, II, 183, 218.
1053. See earlier section for comment on social aspects of Chartist life. Reports of Chartist dinners list titles of songs and glees sung.
1054. See colliers' 'Anthem' earlier in this chapter.
1055. R. Palmer, Touch on the Times (1975) passim; A. L. Lloyd , Folk Song in England(1969), ch 5, passim.
1056. Wilson, op.cit., iv.
1057. Leeds Times, 17 Nov. 1849, as suggested by titles of songs being sung at Franklin Club's festivities. A Sheffield Chap's Songbook(Sheffield, 1862) content needs analysis.
1058. Gareth Steadman-Jones has pioneered this study for a later period.
1059. Sheffield Independent, 13 Nov. 1847.
1060. G.C. Holland, op.cit.,220-2.
1061. ibid., 219-24.
1062. Children's Employment Report(Manufactures) etc. loc.cit., 9 for information on progressive schools.
1063. G.C. Holland, op.cit., 219-24; Pawson and Brailsford, op.cit., 86.
1064. Information of 'ignorance' found in Barnsley area found in Leeds Times, 28 May 1836, 9 Nov. 1839 (education'reform ' meetings in the town.
1065. Children's Employment Report (Mines) etc. loc.cit., 195-200,221-3, comments and data on schools, their effectiveness etc. in the region's mining districts (mainly around Barnsley).
1066. Absenteeism was often the result of a certain pride, ibid.,(Manufactures), 25, witness Harriet Ashton, 40 year old working woman in Sheffield, ' dealing with the educational experience of her family:
'The only one of my children who has been at school is my eldest son, who can read; he was taught to read at the poorhouse. The others can't read; they may tell their letters. The three eldest

1066 cont.

have been at Sunday-schools, but they don't go now for want of clothes; therefore only one can read, and none of them can write. We sent one of the little girls to one of the large day-schools where she went for four months, but didn't learn her letters; we can't afford to do more for them in the way of learning. On Sundays I make a fire upstairs, and keep them in the house as much as I can; I always try to keep them out of the streets, and the oldest boy reads sometimes.'

There is an enormous mass of detail on the educational experience of working people in this report and the report on mines.

1067. G.C. Holland, op.cit., 247-9, School of Design in Sheffield.
1068. Sheffield Mercury, 13 Nov. 1847; Sheffield Independent, 13, 20 Nov. 1847.
1069. Burland, II, 211.
1070. Pollard, op.cit., 35-7, claims the College was 'most influential' but not critically aware of how.
1071. Sheffield Independent, 24 June 1854. For earlier and most blatant statement concerning the conscious counter-active purpose behind educational initiative see, Children's Employment Report(Manufactures) etc. 6, testimony of Mr Lardener of the pastoral Aid Society, 'as education has been neglected their ears are on nothing but politics.'
1072. See fn 866.
1073. Sheffield Independent, 22 Sept. 1849.
1074. Oral transmission of ideas seen with SSCI fifty-odd years before.
1075. Sheffield Independent, 6 Jan. 1838, Rev. Bayley claimed 30-40,000 people in Sheffield could not read or write.
1076. a. Children's Employment Report(Manufactures) etc. 1, Vicar Sutton; Registers of St. Philip's Church, 1840-83, 1 vol mass in SCL.
 b. Sheffield Independent, 7 Feb. 1852.
 c. Sheffield Independent, 15 April 1854.
1077. ibid., 15 April 1854.
1078. Burland, II, loc.cit., 234-5.
1079. Leeds Times, 23 May 1840, significant Primitive activity commented upon earlier in narrative section.
1080. Sheffield Independent, 21, 28 May 1842, Town Mission, Leeds Times, 23 June 1849, Baptist immersions at Worsbrough.
1081. Computed from originals in HO 129 in PRO. HO 129/505(Barnsley), HO 129/508 (Sheffield), HO 129/509 (Rotherham), HO 129/506(Wortley) HO (Doncaster) 129/510.
1082. See preceding section of chapter.
1083. Leeds Times, 28 April 1849.
1084. ibid., 23 May 1840.
1085. G.C. Holland, op.cit., 230-5.
1086. Sheffield Independent, 21, 28 May 1842.
1087. Figures from annual conference reports(printed and bound) of respective bodies found in Methodist Archives, City Road, London.
1088. Anon, The Agency and Progress of Wesleyan Methodism in Sheffield, (Sheffield, 1845), 29.

1089. They employed camp meetings and street preaching.
1090. E.R. Seary, 'Ebenezer Elliot; a study', unpublished PhD thesis, Sheffield University 1931, 109-111, 'Splendid Village' illustrates Elliot's understanding based on a village childhood in South Yorkshire.
1091. Second Report of the Commission for Inquiry into the State of large Towns and populous Districts, vol. II (HMSO, 1845), 153-7; Pollard, op.cit., *passim*; J. Haywood and W. Lee, Report of the Sanitary Condition of the Borough of Sheffield (Sheffield, 1848) all provide detail concerning Sheffield. For Barnsley see W. Ranger, Report to the General Board of Health on a Preliminary Inquiry into the Sewerage, Drainage and Supply of Water and the Sanitary Condition of the Inhabitants of the Town of Barnsley in the County of York. (HMSO, 1848). On Rotherham see extracts from a similar type report which were published in Sheffield Independent, 10 Aug. 1850.
1092. Computed from figures for deaths given in Sheffield Local Register, op.cit., *passim* which were related to figures for population-adjusted from census figures to allow for annual expansion.
1093. Expectation figures from PP (1844) First Report of the Commission for Inquiry into the State of large Towns and populous Districts, 149-50; Pollard, op.cit., 37f, 100; G.C. Holland, op.cit., 128.
1094. First Report on large Towns etc. loc.cit., 149-150; Hawwood and Lee, op.cit., 5; Pollard, op.cit., 98-100.
1095. Kaijage thesis, op.cit., 268.
1096. First Report on large Towns etc., loc.cit., 149-50 figs; Haywood and Lee, op.cit., 5.
1097. Sheffield Independent, 10 Aug. 1850.
1098. G.C. Holland, An Enquiry into the Moral, Social and Intellectual Condition of the Industrial Classes of Sheffield (Sheffield, 1839), 124.
1099. Haywood and Lee, op.cit., 5.
1100. Sheffield Independent, 10 Aug. 1850.
1101. ibid., 10 Aug. 1850; Haywood and Lee, op.cit., *passim*; Ranger, op.cit. *passim*.
1102. Second Report on large Towns, loc.cit., 154.
1103. Sheffield Independent, 10 Aug. 1850, on prevalence of 'preventibles' that were dealt with by the local dispensary; Sheffield Independent, 16 Aug. 1845, on recent history of typhus in Rotherham, 22 Sept. 1849, cholera in Attercliffe.
1104. First Report on large Towns, etc., loc.cit., 156.
1105. Kaijage, 266-8, deals with this.
1106. G.C. Holland, Vital Statistics etc., op.cit., 47-68.
1107. Burland, Miscellaneous Writings Mss, loc. cit., 240
1108. ibid., 319.
1109. Sheffield Iris, 8 Jan. 1833; First Report on large Towns etc., 156.
1110. Ranger, op.cit., 70, quoted by Kaijage, 261.
1111. Haywood and Lee, op.cit., 71, observation.
1112. For an example see Children's Employment Report (Manufactures) etc., loc.cit., 14, witness Abraham talking about 'merry life'.
1113. On Barnsley see Kaijage, 261-99.

1114. Pollard, op.cit., 48-9.

1115. Mirfield to General Board of Health, 16 March 1854, MH 13/6 in PRO.

1116. Seary thesis op.cit., vol. II, 1225.

in South Yorkshire 1835 - 1855

Note: These represent a minimum compiled from largely hostile newspaper sources from which the trades disassociated themselves. Militant trades are defined as those taking industrial action on at least one occasion but which so not appear to have had any permanent organization. These are marked with an asterisk.

(a) 1835-41 (The Radical - Chartist period)

- (i) Sheffield (At least thirty unions were in existence throughout - this is twice commented upon: Sheffield Iris, 15 Nov. 1836, 10 Sept. 1839; Sheffield Independent, 19 Nov. 1842)

Braziers and Silver Platers	Moulders
Bricklayers	Painters
Brick Makers	Pen Blade Grinders
Brittania Metal Smiths	Printers
Carpenters and Joiners	Razor Grinders
Comb Makers	Saw Grinders
Cordwainers and Shoemakers	Saw Handle Makers
Edge Tool Forgers	Saw Makers
Edge Tool Binders	Silversmiths
File Cutters and Forgers	Spring Knife Cutlers
File Grinders	Table Blade Forgers
File Hardeners	Table Blade Grinders
Fork Makers	Table Blade Hafters
Fender and Stove Makers	Tailors
Letter Press Printers	Type Founders

- (ii) Rest of the region (Workers in Rotherham's iron trade and several town crafts were probably organized)

*Bleachers	(Barnsley area)
*Colliers	(Barnsley area and Elsecar)
Masons	(Barnsley and Rotherham)
Shoemakers	(Barnsley)
Linen Weavers	(Barnsley)

(b) 1842-48 (Chartist - Labourist convergence period)

- (i) Sheffield (The existence of many of these was revealed during the miner's strike of 1844. In 1842 the Sheffield Independent reported on 19 Nov. 'no less than thirty trades active in Sheffield in common cause.' In the same paper 18 Nov. 1843 'forty trades' were in 'one compact union'. Possibly 1844-6 saw over fifty trades organized, although the years 1847-8 saw some unions abandoned.)

Anvil Makers	Cock Founders
Awl Blade Makers	Colliers
Bone Scale Cutlers	Comb Makers
Braziers and Silver Platers	Coopers
Brace and Bit and Joiners	Cork Cutlers
Tools Makers	Edge Tool Forgers
Bricklayers	Edge Tool Grinders
Brick Makers	Edge Tool Hardeners
Brittania Metal Smiths	Fender Grinders
Brush Makers	Fender and Stove Fitters
File Cutters and Forgers	Builders' Labourers
Button Makers	File Grinders
Button Pressers	File Hardeners
Cabinet Case Makers	Fork Grinders
Carpenters and Joiners	Gas Fitters

Coach Builders	Saw Smiths
Gas works' Stokers	Scale and Spring Forgers
German Silversmiths	Scythe Forgers
Haft and Scale Pressers	Scythe Grinders
*Hair Seat Weavers	Scissor Forgers
Iron Founders	Scissor Grinders
Iron Moulders	Scissor Hafters
Letter Press Printers	Shoemakers and Cordwainers
Masons	Sickle Grinders
Optical Workers	Sickle Forgers
Pearl Cutters and Grinders	Silversmiths
Pen Blade Forgers	Silver Stampers
Pen Blade Grinders	Slaters
Pierce Workers and Candlestick Makers	Spade and Shovel Makers
Plasterers and White- washers	Spindle and Fly Makers
Pocket Blade Grinders	Spring Knife Cutlers
Railway Spring Grinders	*Spoon Buffers
Razor Grinders	Stag Cutters
Razor Scale Pressers	Table Blade Forgers
Razor Smiths	Table Blade Grinders
Saw Grinders	Table Blade Hafters
Saw Back Grinders	Tailors
Saw Handle Makers	Turners
	Type Founders

(ii) Rest of the region

Bleachers	(Barnsley area)
Colliers	(Barnsley and Rotherham districts)
*Crate Makers	(Newhill, Swinton, Rawmarsh potteries)
Fender and Stove Makers	(Rotherham)
*Flat Pressers	(Newhill, Swinton, Rawmarsh area potteries)
Linen Weavers	(Barnsley and Doncaster)
*Linen Dressers	(Barnsley)
Masons	(Barnsley, Rotherham, Doncaster)
Moulders	(Barnsley, Rotherham, Elsecar)
Potters	(Rawmarsh, Swinton)
Shoemakers	(Barnsley)
Tailors	(Barnsley)

(c) 1849-55 (Post-Chartist)

(i) Sheffield (The early 1850s was a period of organizational recovery. The trades were hostile to the press and trades' business more under-reported than in the past.)

Amalgamated Engineers	Hair Seat Weavers	Saw Smiths
Anvil Makers	Horn Button Pressers	Scissor Grinders
Braziers and Silversmiths	Letter Press Printers	Scythe Forgers
Bricklayers	Masons	Scythe Grinders
Britannia Metal Smiths	Moulders	Shoemakers and Cordwainers
Brush Makers	Painters	Sickle Forgers
Cabinet Case Makers	Printers	Sickle Binders
Carpenters and Joiners	Railway Spring Fitters	Spring Knife Cutlers
Coach Makers	Railway Spring Makers	Table Blade Grinders
Edge Tool Grinders	Railway Guards & Porters	Table Blade Forgers
Fender Makers	Razor Forgers	Table Blade Hafters
File Cutters and Forgers	Razor Grinders	Type Founders
File Grinders	Saw Grinders	Wire Drawers
File Hardeners	Saw Back Grinders	
Gilders	Saw Handle Makers	

(ii) Rest of the region

Bleachers	(Barnsley area)
*Colliers	(Barnsley area)
Fender and Stove makers	(Rotherham)
Masons	(Several centres)
Moulders	" "
Shoemakers	" "
Tailors	" "
Weavers	(Barnsley area)

APPENDIX 7:2 - Checklist of Trade Union Leadership
and other principal industrial activists operating
in the region 1833-55

<u>Name</u>	<u>Trade/Area</u>	<u>Activity</u>		
		<u>Late</u> <u>1830s</u>	<u>1840s</u>	<u>Early</u> <u>1850s</u>
Joseph Alford	collier (B)		*	
- Alexander	weaver (B)		*	
William Ashby	saw maker (S)	*		
James Ashforth	scythe maker (S)		*	
Charles Bagshaw	razor smith (S)	*	*	
Mathew Bailey	file grinder (S)		*	
-Baines	weaver (B)		*	
Thomas Banks	edge tool grinder (S)		*	
Charles Barker	collier (M)		*	
John Barker	saw handle maker (S)		*	
William Barker	bricklayer (S)	(S) *	*	
J. Barlow	collier (B)			*
- Barnby	moulder (S)	*	*	
John Barnes	table knife hafter (S)			*
William Bartley	weaver (SM)		*	
William Basford	- (S)	*		
William Batty	table knife forger (S)			*
John Baxter	weaver (B)		*	*
William Beale	- (S)	*		
George Beatson	table knife grinder (S)		*	*
Thomas Bedford	collier (B)		*	
Joseph Benson	file hardener (S)	*	*	
John Berry	weaver (B)	*	*	
John Blackhurst	table blade forger (S)		*	
James Bingley	joiner (S)		*	
James Booker	table knife hafter (S)	*	*	*
- Booker	grinder (S)		*	
Joseph Boston	weaver (B)	*		
Thomas Bcoth	Britannia metalsmith (S)	*	*	
Mathew Bradshaw	table blade grinder (S)	*	*	
William Brammer	spring knife cutler (S)		*	
John Bramwell	file cutter (S)		*	
- Broadbent	weaver (B)			*
William Broadhead	saw grinder (S)		*	*
Joseph Brown	- (S)		*	
William Brownhill	spring knife cutler (S)		*	
George Buckley	table blade grinder (S)			*
Thomas Bullas	razor grinder (S)		*	*
- Bullock	linen weaver (B)	*		
Thomas Bunting	- (S)	*		
Aaron Burkinshaw	pocket blade grinder (S)		*	
James Burlison	fender grinder (S)		*	
Ambrose Burnett	weaver (B)	*	*	
George Burtoff	collier (B)		*	
John Bury	weaver (B)	*		
Mathew Butterfield	weaver (B)			*
Thomas Butterfield	weaver (B)		*	
John Buttersly	table knife hafter (S)		*	
John Buxton	weaver (B)		*	
- Buxton	table knife forger (S)		*	
George Career	edge tool grinder (S)	*	*	*
William Carlier	- (S)	*		
George Carr	collier (S)		*	
William Cartledge	scythe grinder (S)		*	*

<u>Name</u>	<u>Trade/Area</u>	<u>Activity</u>		
		late 1830s	1840s	early 1850s
William Castle	saw grinder (S)		*	
Edwin Castle	weaver (B)		*	
Henry Casey	weaver(W)		*	
C. Challinor	fork maker (S)	*	*	
Luke Chapman	table knife hafter (S)		*	
B. Chapman	pen blade grinder (S)		*	
Samuel Clayton	carpenter (S)		*	
George Clifton	shoemaker (B)		*	
- Cocker	saw handle maker (S)		*	
Charles Colley	- (S)	*		
Thomas Cooke	builder's labourer (S)		*	
- Constantine	collier (B)			*
J. Cope	weaver (B)		*	
James Crabtree	weaver (B)		*	
Joseph Crabtree	weaver (B)	*		
- Cooke	saw handle maker (S)		*	
Thomas Crossland	spring knife cutler (S)		*	
James Cooke	scissor forger (S)		*	
Charles Coward	joiner (S)		*	
- Crampton	- (S)	*		
- Creamer	bricklayer (S)	*		
C. Curry	weaver (B)		*	
James Davy	weaver (B)	*		
R. Day	collier (B)		*	
John Denton	weaver (B)		*	
Simon Dewnap	spring knife dutler (S)		*	
Thomas Dickson	weaver (B)			*
R. Dodd	bricklayer (S)	*		
Charles Dumont	shoemaker (S)		*	
John Drury	razor grinder (S)	*	*	*
E. Dunk	weaver (Donc)		*	
J. Dyson	pen blade grinder		*	
Thomas Duke	- (S)		*	
Thomas Earnshaw	plasterer (S)		*	
J. Edleston	weaver (B)	*		
George Evinson	bricklayer (S)	*	*	
James Farrar	building labourer (S)		*	
George Fell	table knife hafter (S)			*
John Fenton	silversmith(S)	*		
Luke Firth	spring knife cutler (S)		*	
Joseph Fletcher	collier (S)		*	
John Firth	shoemaker (S)		*	
Thomas Foster	spring knife cutler (S)		*	
John Fowler	table knife hafter (S)		*	
J. Fox	weaver (B)			*
William Fullerton	weaver (B)			*
George Gallimore	razor grinder (S)		*	*
Robert Garbutt	weaver (B)	*	*	
John Gascoigne	collier (B)		*	
M. Gillam	table knife forger (S)		*	*
Joseph Gillot	file grinder (S)		*	
J. Goodland	pen knife grinder (S)		*	
John Grove	- (S)		*	
Thomas Gould	collier (S)		*	
George Greaves	table blade grinder (S)		*	
John Grimshaw	weaver (B)	*	*	
William Hague	table blade hafter (S)		*	
Benjamin Haigh	weaver (B)	*		
John Hall	fender and stove fitter (S)		*	

<u>Name</u>	<u>Trade/Area</u>	<u>Activity</u>		
		late 1830s	1840s	early 1850s
William Hall	razor grinder (S)		*	
Joseph Hammond	scissor forger (S)	*	*	
William Hancock	razor smith (S)		*	
Samuel Harris	pocket blade grinder (S)		*	
- Harris	collier (S)		*	
Joseph Harrison	table knife hafter (S)			*
William Hawksworth	spring knife cutler (S)		*	*
John Harper	weaver (B)		*	
Richard Haywood	- (S)	*		
William Hay	razor grinder (S)		*	
Robert Heath	saw maker (S)		*	
John Herbert	collier (B)		*	
H.N. Hewitt	bricklayer (S)	*		
John Hirst	weaver (B)		*	
Harry Hill	brush maker (S)		*	
Luke Hobson	weaver (B)		*	
James Hodgson	file grinder (S)		*	
William Holgate	collier (itinerant)		*	
John Hodkin	comb maker (S)		*	
Peter Holy	weaver (B)	*	*	
Joseph Holmes	saw smith (S)	*		
- Hope	weaver (B)		*	
Charles Morbury	weaver (B)			*
William Horsfall	edge tool forger (S)	*	*	
William Horner	brace and bit maker (S)		*	
- Hoyland	table knife hafter (S)		*	
Nathan Hunt	collier (S)		*	
Joseph Ibbotson	file cutter (S)		*	
James Ironside	saw smith (S)	*		
William Johnson	weaver (WC)		*	
Thomas King	weaver (B)	*		
Joseph Kirk	file cutter (S)	*	*	*
- Knowles	table knife hafter (S)		*	
- Langley				
John Leare	weaver (B)	*		
George Larkin	file cutter (S)			*
Thomas Leem	mason (S)		*	
Paul Lees	table knife hafter (S)			*
Thomas Lingood	shoemaker (B)	*	*	*
Mathew Linsley	collier (B)		*	
Stephen Lister	spring knife cutler (S)		*	
George Lodge	weaver (MB)			*
William Lomas	shopkeeper (S)	*		
Samuel Lockwood	plasterer (S)		*	
Thomas Longley	pen blade grinder (S)		*	
William Lupton	weaver (MB)		*	
Edward Machon	saw grinder (S)		*	
John Mann	weaver (B)	*		
John Mason	weaver (B)	*		
John Marsden	razor grinder (S)		*	
William May	weaver (B)		*	
- Melvish	shoemaker (S)		*	
Frank Mirfield	weaver (B)		*	*
George Moon	collier (B)		*	
George Moore	collier (S)		*	
John Moore	razor grinder (S)		*	
Patrick Moulds	weaver (B)		*	
James Mowbray	mason (S)		*	
William Moxon	weaver (B)		*	
James Mower	weaver (B)	*		

<u>Name</u>	<u>Trade/Area</u>	<u>Activity</u>		
		late 1830s	1840s	early 1850s
John Murphy	weaver (B)		*	
Joseph Naylor	weaver (B)			*
Joseph Nelson	razor grinder (S)		*	
Robert Neeson	weaver (B)		*	
Thomas Newton	pen knife grinder (S)	*	*	
- Norton	weaver (B)		*	
Charles O'Neil	- (R)	*		
William Ord	tailor (S)		*	
John Owen	Britannia metalsmith (S)		*	
Samuel Paley	file cutter (S)			*
George Paramore	saw back grinder (S)		*	
F. Parkin	file cutter (S)		*	
G. Parkin	weaver (Donc)		*	
John Pattison	saw grinder (S)		*	
William Pearson	weaver (MB)		*	
Charles Pickering	file cutters (S)		*	
George Powell	table knife forger (S)		*	*
William Preston	weaver (B)	*		
Henry Pryor	spring knife cutler (S)		*	
E. Richards	weaver (Donc)		*	
James Keaney	edge tool forger (S)	*	*	
William Rhodes	weaver (B)	*		
Peter Rigby	weaver (B)	*		
Jacob Kindle	collier (B)		*	
Charles Roebuck	pen blade grinder (S)		*	
Thomas Robinson	spring knife cutler (S)		*	
John Rodgers	mason (S)		*	
- Rawlinson	saw maker (S)		*	
Thomas Rowan	fork grinder (S)		*	
Thomas Rowland	table knife hafter (S)			*
Henry Sanderson	fork grinder (S)		*	
George Savage	weaver (B)	*		
J. Sedgewick	spring knife cutler (S)		*	*
Thomas Senior	collier (B)			*
J. Sharman	spring knife cutler (S)		*	
Michael Sharman	shoemaker (S)		*	
John Siddall	edge tool forger (S)			*
William Simpson	weaver (B)		*	
John Shaw	weaver (B)		*	
Joseph Shaw	fender and stove maker (S)	*	*	
Charles Skinner	scissor grinder (S)		*	*
F. Skinner	saw back grinder (S)		*	
William Skinner	brace and bit grinder (S)		*	
Henry Smith	spring knife cutler (S)		*	
Thomas Smeeton	weaver (B)		*	
Uriah Smart	weaver (WC)		*	
- Smilter	saw smith (S)		*	
John South	spring knife cutler (S)		*	
John Sheldon	shopkeeper (S)	*		
Samuel Snowdon	weaver (Bur)		*	
J. Stacey	table blade hafter (S)		*	
William Staniforth	pen blade grinder (S)		*	
Thomas Staniland	file cutter (S)	*		*
- Steele	shoemaker (S)		*	
Thomas Stocks	pen blade forger (S)		*	*
Benjamin Steele	file cutter (S)		*	
Thomas Stones	saw smith (S)		*	*
William Stork	file cutters (S)	*	*	
Daniel Sullivan	shoemaker (S)		*	
David Swallow	collier (itinerant)		*	

<u>Name</u>	<u>Trade/Area</u>	<u>Activity</u>		
		late 1830s	1840s	early 1850s
George Sykes	shoemaker (S)		*	
William Sykes	weaver (B)		*	
- Sykes	spring knife cutler (S)		*	
James Sykes	weaver (B)			*
John Tankerd	spring knife cutler (S)		*	
H. Taylor	comb maker (S)		*	
J.S. Taylor	edge tool grinder (S)		*	*
Joseph Taylor	collier (B)		*	
M. Taylor	tailor (S)	*	*	
R. Taylor	weaver (B)	*	*	*
George Terry	weaver (B)		*	
H. Thompson	collier (B)		*	
G. Thompson	collier (B)			*
John Tofts	collier (itinerant)		*	
George Thompson	bricklayer (S)		*	
Mordecai Travis	table blade forger (S)		*	*
John Turner	scythe forger (S)		*	
J. Turner	collier (Raw)		*	
J. Turner	edge tool grinder (S)			*
George Uttley	weaver (B)	*	*	*
John Vallance	weaver (B)	*	*	*
William Vallance	weaver (B)		*	
- Wainwright	- (S)	*		
F. Waller	optical worker (S)		*	
John Wardle	spring knife cutler (S)	*		
John Ward	collier (S)		*	
William Ward	brace and bit maker (S)		*	
James Warburton	table knife grinder (S)		*	
Joseph Warren	file cutter and forger (S)		*	*
F. Warris	file cutter and forger (S)		*	
J. Waterfall	file cutter and forger (S)			*
William Webster	table knife hafter (S)			*
Thomas Wells	brace and bit maker (S)		*	
william Westran	spring knife cutler (S)			*
Joseph Wittington	scythe maker (S)		*	
Jonas Whitaker	- (S)	*		
James Whitley	fork grinder (S)		*	
James Whitley	table blade grinder (S)		*	
James Winterbottom	collier (B)		*	
George Wilkinson	table blade hafter (S)	*	*	
Joseph Wilkinson	file cutter and forger (S)		*	
- Wilson	shoemaker (S)		*	
Joseph Wilson	edge tool grinder (S)			*
B. Wogan	collier (B)			*
- Wolstenholme	collier (S)		*	
George Wood	collier (B)		*	
John Wood	weaver (WC)		*	
John Wortley	weaver (D)		*	
George Wragg	table knife forger (S)			*
J. Wragg	table blade grinder (S)			*
George Wray	weaver (B)			*
William Wreaks	scissor grinder (S)		*	
George Wright	shoemaker (S)		*	
Owen Wright	weaver (B)		*	
Mathew Wright	table knife hafter (S)			*
Thomas Yates	anvil maker (S)		*	
Thomas Yates	weaver (B)		*	

KEY

B - Barnsley; Bur - Burton; D - Dodworth; Donc - Doncaster NB - Monk Bretton
 Raw - Rawmarsh; R - Rotherham; S - Sheffield; SM - Smithies; WC - Worsbrough.

APPENDIX 7:3 - CHARTISM : Leadership and major activists in South
Yorkshire 1837 - 1848

Note: The list includes all office holders in RA, WMA and NCA branches, all proposers and seconders of motions and toasts, all chairmen of meetings, platform speakers and all class or section leaders.

KEY:

A - Ardsley; CW - Clayton west; D - Dodworth; Sw - Smithy Wood;
WC - Worsbrough Common; B - Barnsley
G - Gentleman; J - Journeyman, waged and other dependent workers;
M - Master or employer; P - Professional; S - Self-employed;
U - Unclassifiable.

(A) Leadership and principal activists 1837-39

(i) Sheffield

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Status</u>
George Andrews	watchmaker	(U)
William Ashby	saw smith	(J)
William Barker	bricklayer	(J)
Mrs. Barker	-	-
Michael Beale	watchmaker	(J)
Samuel Bentley	engine tenter	(J)
Ebenezer Birks	gentleman	(G)
James Birks	-	-
William Birks	-	-
James Boardman	bricklayer	(J)
Thomas Bradwell	painter	(J)
Mrs. Broadhead	-	-
- Chapman	-	-
- Chatterton	-	-
John Clayton	table knife hafter	(J)
James Duffy	beer house keeper	(S)
Simon Dewsnap	spring knife cutler	(M/J)
Ebenezer Elliot	iron ware manufacturer	(M)
George B. Elliot	" " "	(M)
Peter Foden	baker-confectioner	(S)
Sarah Foden	-	-
- France	-	-
Charles Fox	cabinet maker	(J)
William Gill	scale cutter	(J)
- Grayson	-	-
Mrs. Grayson	-	-
Daniel Hands	-	(J)
Samuel Holberry	rectifying distiller	(J)
James Ironside	saw smith	(J)
Issac Ironside	accountant	(S)
James Jackson	-	-
- Johnson	-	-
- Leaske	-	-
Joseph Lingard	bookseller	(S)
John Litherland	filesmith	(J)
William Lomas	hosier	(S)
Samuel Ludlam	newsagent	(S)
John Marshall	table knife hafter	(J)
William Martin	Bradford shoemaker	(J)
- Mason	-	-
James McKetterick	brush maker	(J)
Joshua Mitchell	-	-
Henry Needham	cutler	(M)
James Nicholson	warehouseman	(J)
Richard Ottley	tobacconist	(S)
- Peacock	-	-
Henry Robert	-	-
S. Powell Thompson	engine tenter	(J)

James Turner	-	-
David Waller	bricklayer	(S)
Joseph Waller	bricklayer	(J)
J. Westlam	-	-
James Wolstenholme	file manufacturer	(M)

(ii) Rotherham

James Allen	beer house keeper	(S)
John Barbour	-	-
Samuel Burgess	-	-
- Cooper	-	-
Robert Curry	mason	(J)
Thomas Dixon	-	-
William Gigger	-	-
- Greggie	-	-
John Lawson	railway man	(J)
John Robertson	-	-
- Snow	-	-
Samuel Taylor	-	-

(iii) Barnsley and weaving villages

Thomas Acland (WC)	beer house keeper	(J)
William Ashton (B)	weaver and beer house keeper	(S)
Ellias Barber(WC)	weaver	(J)
Joseph Barns (A)	weaver	(J)
James Beevers (CW)	weaver	(J)
- Betliffe (CW)	weaver	(J)
J. Bentley (CW)	weaver	(J)
Joshua Booth (WC)	weaver	(J)
Charles Broadhead (D)	weaver	(J)
George Brook (WC)	weaver	(J)
John H. Burland (B)	weaver	(J)
John Braithwaite (WC)	weaver	(J)
Patrick Bradley (WC)	weaver	(J)
John Caniff (WC)	weaver	(J)
William Coates (B)	weaver	(J)
Arthur Collins (B)	weaver	(J)
Charles Collins (WC)	weaver	(J)
Joseph Crabtree (B)	weaver and beer house keeper	(S)
William Crawford (WC)	weaver	(J)
John Crofts (B)	weaver	(J)
Thomas Crofts (B)	weaver	(J)
Aneas Daly (B)	weaver	(J)
Eaneas Darby(B)	weaver	(J)
James Davy (WC)	weaver	(J)
Thomas Dodd (WC)	weaver	(J)
William Danville (B)	weaver	(J)
- Duman (A)	weaver	(J)
John Elliot (B)	weaver	(J)
Thomas Esketh(WC)	weaver	(J)
John Exley (CW)	weaver	(J)
George Fearne (D)	weaver	(J)
John Field (B)	weaver	(J)
Thomas Fletcher (B)	weaver	(J)
Francis Fletcher (B)	weaver	(J)
Mary Flowers (B)	-	(J)
David Forbes (WC)	weaver	(J)

- Gelder (CW)	weaver	(J)
John Green (B)	weaver	(J)
J.B.Hall (B)	weaver	(J)
James Hardcastle (B)	weaver	(J)
Charles Hansen (WC)	weaver	(J)
John Hansen (CW)	weaver	(J)
William Harlle (B)	weaver	(J)
Thomas Harrison (WC)	weaver	(J)
- Harrison (B)	weaver	(J)
Benjamin Hatch (B)	weaver	(J)
George Hepworth (A)	weaver	(J)
Thomas Hesketh (WC)	weaver	(J)
Thomas Heslaw (B)	weaver	(J)
William Hickman (B)	weaver	(J)
Luke Hobson (B)	weaver	(J)
Peter Hoey (B)	weaver and beer house keeper	(S)
Joseph Hoyland (D)	weaver	(J)
Thomas Hustler (B)	weaver	(J)
William Ingleton (D)	weaver	(J)
Joseph Jagger (WC)	weaver	(J)
Reuben Joynes (B)	weaver	(J)
William Kippax (CW)	weaver	(J)
Thomas Lingard (B)	shoemaker, stationer	(S)
Issac Lister (B)	weaver	(J)
John Mace (B)	weaver	(J)
Edward Mashuya (D)	weaver	(J)
Amos Maudsley (B)	weaver	(J)
Joseph Mitchell (CW)	weaver	(J)
George Mitchell (WC)	weaver	(J)
James Mirfield (B)	weaver	(J)
Robert Milnes (A)	weaver	(J)
James Murphy (B)	weaver	(J)
Samuel Noody (CW)	weaver	(J)
William North (WC)	weaver	(J)
Thomas Oastler (B)	weaver	(J)
David Palmer (WC)	weaver	(J)
David Pilmore (B)	weaver	(J)
William Preston (B)	weaver	(J)
James Sedgewick (B)	weaver	(J)
John Shaw (B)	weaver	(J)
William Shore (B)	weaver	(J)
Henry Swift (WC)	weaver	(J)
Joseph Swift (B)	weaver	(J)
James Sykes (B)	weaver	(J)
William Sykes (B)	weaver	(J)
William Thackray (B)	weaver	(J)
Joseph Thompson (B)	shuttle maker	(S)
William Vail (D)	weaver	(J)
George Uttley (B)	weaver	(J)
William Vallance (B)	weaver	(J)
John Vallance (B)	weaver	(J)
Jouh Ward (WC)	weaver	(J)
Joseph Wake (A)	weaver	(J)
John Widdop (B)	weaver	(J)
Charles Wilkinson (A)	weaver	(J)
George Wilkinson (B)	weaver	(J)
Joseph Wilkinson (B)	weaver	(J)
William Winn (CW)	weaver	(J)
John Wood (D)	weaver	(J)
Patrick Wrigby (B)	weaver	(J)
Owen Wright (B)	weaver	(J)

(B) Leadership and principal activists 1840-44(i) Sheffield

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Status</u>
Richard Abbot	-	-
William Barker	bricklayer	(J)
Michael Beale	watchmaker	(M)
William Beesley	-	-
- Beighton	-	-
Samuel Bentley	engine tenter	(J)
- Birch	-	-
Sarah Birks	-	-
William Booker	table knife hafter	(J)
Mrs. Booker	-	-
Thomas Brackenbury	shoemaker	(J)
William Bradwell	painter	(J)
Thomas Briggs	joiner	(M)
Mrs. Browning	-	-
Michael Buckley	cabinet maker	(J)
- Bullos	-	-
John Buxton	newsagent	(S)
John Campbell	-	-
William Cartledge	scythe grinder	(J)
George Clarkson	shoemaker	(J)
Samuel Clayton	carpenter	(J)
Mrs. Clayton	-	-
- Cooke	-	-
John Drinkwater	pen blade grinder	(J)
- Duncan	-	-
James Duffy	beer house keeper	(J)
J. Dyson	grinder	(J)
William Dyson	-	-
Samuel Eagle	-	-
George Evinson	bricklayer	(J)
- Featherstone	-	-
Peter France	-	-
Peter Foden	baker-confectioner	(S)
Sarah Foden	-	-
William Frost	newsagent	(S)
James Goodlad	pen knife cutler	(J)
John Green	newsagent	(S)
Joseph Hall	-	-
George Harney	bookseller, political lecturer	(S)
Mrs. Harney	political lecturer	(S)
George Harris	greengrocer	(S)
Ann Harrison	-	-
David Harrison	-	-
Joseph Harrison	turner	(J)
- Hensworth	cabinet maker	(J)
- Hill	labourer	(J)
- Holland	scissor maker	(M)
- Holmshaw	-	-
G. Holyoake	lecturer	(S)
- Hoole	-	-
George Huntington	-	-
George Hunt	-	-
Issac Ironside	accpuntant	(S)
Kelly	-	-
Robert King	engraver	(J)
J. A. Lawson	-	-
John Linacre	-	-
Joseph Lingard	newsagent	(S)

- Ludlam	newsagent	(S)
Samuel Ludlam	shoemaker	(J)
Joseph Marsh	stonemason	(J)
Mrs. McGowan	-	-
James McKetterick	brush maker	(J)
- Megnall	-	(J)
William Mellish	bootmaker	(J)
William Nadin	fancy brush maker	(M)
Henry Wm. Needham	cutler	(M)
Richard Ottley	tobacconist	(J)
- Oxley	-	-
- Pagdin	-	-
Samuel Parkes	shoemaker	(J)
- Pashley	newsagent	(J)
Antony Parke	shoemaker	(J)
Francis Phelim	comb maker	(M)
Henry Pryor	cutler	(J)
- Richmond	-	-
Morton Royston	-	-
- Sanderson	-	-
Michael Sharman	shoemaker	(J)
James Smith	-	-
William Spencer	leather dresser	(J)
Edwin Staveley	-	-
- Steel	-	-
James Stokes	shoemaker	(M)
George Sutton	-	-
George Sykes	shoemaker	(J)
John Tankerd	pen knife cutler	(J)
John S. Taylor	edge tool grinder	(J)
Mordecai Travis	table blade forger	(J)
John Trown	umbrella maker	(M)
Richard Trown	cutler	(J)
George Upton	victualler	(S)
David Waller	bricklayer	(J)
George Waller	-	-
James Ward	-	-
Mrs. Ward	-	-
Thomas Walls	clerk	(S)
John West	political lecturer	(S)
George Weston	-	-
Charles Wilden	steel burner	(U)
George Wilkinson	-	-
John Willey	-	-
J. Williams	-	-
Joseph Wilson	-	-
- Wing	-	-
William Wragg	-	-
George Wright	shoemaker	(J)

(ii) Walkley

Henry Foster	spring knife cutler	(M)
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(iii) Stannington

Benjamin Spooner	spring knife cutler	(M)
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(iv) Woodhouse

John Carr	-	-
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William Hammond	-	-
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John Terry	-	-
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William Ward	butcher	(S)
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(v) Intake-Hollinsend

John Rodgers	underground steward	(J)
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<u>(vi) Handsworth</u>		
Thomas Dale	-	-
<u>(vii) Rotherham</u>		
John Crowther	stove grate maker	(J)
Samuel Earnshaw	-	-
George Eskholm	machine maker	(U)
John Foster	shoemaker	(J)
- Goodison	labourer	(J)
John Growth	-	-
John D'Harrow	-	-
William Heywood	tailor	(U)
William Ibbotson	shoemaker	(U)
Joseph Johnson	butcher	(S)
Thomas Leeke	brick maker	(J)
Samuel Linly	-	-
Stephen Proctor	-	-
George Ramsden	apprentice moulder	(J)
John Roberts	-	-
Thomas Russell	-	-
John Simpson	tin plater	(U)
John Smith	-	-
Robert Thompson	tailor	(U)
J. Wilson	-	-
<u>(viii) Ecclesfield</u>		
- Boothroyd	-	-
- Greaves	-	-
- Lunn	-	-
William Nicholson	shoemaker	(M)
<u>(ix) Wath</u>		
Joseph Swift	-	-
<u>(x) Swinton-Mexborough</u>		
William Gillinder	glassworker	(J)
<u>(xi) Doncaster</u>		
Benjamin Armfield	cordwainer	(J)
George Bloomer	general dealer	(S)
John Bradley	cordwainer	(M)
Frederick Brick	shoemaker	(J)
Charles Buckley	-	-
- Coulson	-	-
Thomas Dearnie	shoemaker	(J)
Henry Foster	-	-
William Haslam	hosier	(S)
James Henry	gardener	(J)
John Lord	flax dresser	(J)
- McCarty	-	-
Henry Sponse	weaver	(J)
John Templeton	flax dresser	(J)
J. Thompson	-	-
John Waller	tailor	(J)
James Wheatley	weaver	(J)
<u>(xii) Barnsley and weaving villages</u>		
William Allis (B)	weaver	(J)
John Armitage (B)	weaver	(J)
- Arran (B)	-	(J)
Benjamin Bailey (B)	weaver	(J)
Richard Birks (B)	druggist	(S)
David Black (B)	weaver	(J)
Patrick Bradley (B)	weaver	(J)
William Bygate (B)	weaver	(J)
Arthur Collins (B)	weaver	(J)

Patrick Connor (B)	weaver	(J)
Thomas Crofts (D)	weaver	(J)
John Crabtree (B)	weaver	(J)
Charles Curry (B)	weaver	(J)
Aeneas Daly (B)	weaver	(J)
John Davis (B)	weaver	(J)
Joseph Dickinson (B)	weaver	(J)
John Field (B)	weaver	(J)
Francis Fletcher (B)	weaver	(J)
John Fretwell (B)	weaver	(J)
Robert Garbutt (B)	weaver	(J)
John Grimshaw (B)	weaver	(J)
Dennis Haggan (B)	weaver	(J)
Benjamin haigh (B)	bookseller	(S)
George Haigh (B)	weaver	(J)
Robert Hesketh (B)	weaver	(J)
James Hiles (B)	weaver	(J)
William Hilton (B)	weaver	(J)
Luke Hobson (B)	weaver	(J)
Peter Hoey (B)	shopkeeper	(J)
Thomas Hollin (WC)	weaver	(J)
George Hutley (B)	weaver	(J)
Thomas Holt (B)	weaver	(J)
John Irvine (B)	shoemaker	(J)
David Leach (B)	weaver	(J)
- Lewis (B)	tobacconist/newsagent	(S)
Thomas Lingard (B)	shoemaker	(S)
Frank Mirfield (B)	weaver	(J)
Patrick Moulson (B)	weaver	(J)
Richard Nash (A)	-	-
James Noble (B)	basket maker	(J)
William Norton (B)	weaver	(J)
John Pellet (B)	weaver	(J)
David Pilmore (B)	weaver	(J)
James Preston (B)	weaver	(J)
William Preston (B)	weaver/publican	(S)
Thomas Ratcliff (B)	weaver	(J)
Michael Seagrave (B)	weaver	(J)
John Shaw (B)	weaver	(J)
George Sedgewick (B)	publican	(S)
James Sykes (SM)	weaver	(J)
George Uttley (B)	weaver	(J)
John Vallance (B)	weaver	(J)
William Vallance (B)	weaver	(J)
John Widdop (B)	weaver	(J)
Joseph Wilkinson (B)	weaver	(J)
Robert Yovel (D)	shoemaker	(J)

(C) Leadership and principal activists 1845-50

(i) Sheffield

Cnclr. Charles Alcock	case maker	(M)
John Allison	-	-
Cnclr. Joseph Appleton	druggist	(S)
William Ash	-	-
Charles bagshaw	razorsmith	(J)
Michael Beale	watchmaker	(M)
John Belcher	rule maker	(M)
Robert Bingham	butcher	(S)
Joseph Billings	-	-
George Birks	-	-

Thomas Bradwell	painter	(J)
Cnclr. Thomas Briggs	joiner	(M)
John Boaler	spring knife cutler	(J)
William Booker	table knife hafter	(J)
Cnclr. Abraham Booth	grocer	(S)
Cnclr. William S. Brittain	butcher	(S)
Richard Buck	-	-
Michael Buckley	cabinet case maker	(J)
Aaron Burkinshaw	-	-
George Buxton	-	-
George Caville	newsagent/temperance hotel keeper	(S)
William Caville	-	-
William Carvalier	sugar refiner	(M)
Joseph Cartledge	scythe grinder	(J)
- Carter	-	-
John Charlesworth	snoemaker	(M)
George Cherry	-	-
Samuel Clayton	carpenter	(J)
- Clarke	temperance hotel keeper	(S)
Edwin Cooke	-	-
William Cooke	-	-
William Cornwood	-	-
Cnclr. William Crowther	grocer/general dealer	(S)
James Smith Daly	grocer/flour dealer	(S)
Cnclr. Simon Dewsnap	brass founder	(M)
- Dickinson	-	-
Joseph Downing	-	-
William Dyson	grinder	(J)
George Evinson	bricklayer	(J)
James Fearness	-	-
John Foster	-	-
Peter France	-	-
- Gillot	-	-
Thomas Gilley	victualler	(S)
Edwin Gill	spring knife cutler	(J)
Thomas Graves	-	-
Benjamin Glossop	scale presser	(M)
John Grayson	steel converter	(U)
George Goddard	pen blade forger	(J)
Cnclr. William Groves	saw maker	(M)
George Hall	agent to Patriotic Soc.	(J)
T. Hall	-	-
Cnclr. William Harvey	corn factor	(S)
William Hawksworth	spring knife cutler	(M)
Joseph Hawksley	-	-
William Heaton	-	-
Aaron Higginbottom	spring knife cutler	(M)
Abigail Higginbottom	-	-
Walter Hill	stag maker	(S)
William Holmes	labourer	(J)
John Horner	-	-
- Homfray	-	-
John Hudson	-	-
Issac Ironside	accountant	(S)
Samuel Jackson	millmaker	(M)
- Jessop	-	-
M. Lancaster	-	-
William Lawton	grocer and flour dealer	(S)
John Lenton	optician	(M)
Frederick Lever	-	-
Charles Lievesely	pearl carver	(M)
- Mason	-	-

John Marshall	hotel keeper	(M)
William Bellvish	flask maker	(M)
Issac Mitchell	gentleman	(G)
- Moore	-	-
George Boulson	tailor	(M)
- Naylor	-	-
Henry Needham	cutler	(M)
Mathew Oates	-	-
Richard Ottley	newsagent/tobacconist	(S)
- Owen	-	-
William Pagdin	saw maker	(M)
Cnclr. Henry Payne	surgeon	(F)
C. Pearson	razor manufacturer	(M)
- Platts	grinder	(U)
George Pooles	razor maker	(M)
Henry Pryor	spring knife cutler	(J)
Thomas Kenshaw	-	-
Henry Richardson	tailor	(M)
Nathan Robinson	-	-
Morton Royston	-	-
Thomas Rooke	-	-
Thomas Roper	-	-
William Salvin	-	-
James Simpson	-	-
Samuel Sanderson	-	-
Thomas Sawyer	-	-
Samuel Sayle	rope maker	(M)
Issac Schofield	table knife manufacturer	(M)
John Seward	-	-
G.L.Saunders	music seller	(S)
George Shaw	-	-
- Shepherd	-	-
John Siddall	fishmonger	(S)
James Simpson	-	-
George Smith	-	-
Henry Smith	-	-
Warren Smith	-	-
William Spencer	-	-
Henry Steel	-	-
T.N.Stocks	spring knife cutler	(J)
Joseph Taylor	-	-
John S. Taylor	edge tool grinder	(J)
Henry Taylor	comb maker	(J)
Samuel Taylor	-	-
Edward Thompson	millar	(M)
Thomas Turner	-	(J)
John Wallace	-	-
Dennis Webster	-	-
Cnclr. T. Wigfall	table knife manufacturer	(M)
J. Wilkinson	hairdresser	(S)
H. Wilkinson	gardener	(J)
John Willey	draper	(S)
George Wood	butcher	(S)
Benjamin Worsley	-	-
William Youll	spring knife cutler	(M)

(ii) Thorpe Hesley

Japeth Wood	schoolmaster	(S)
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(iii) Rotherham

- Booker	-	-
George Bridge	-	-

S. Gibbs	-	-
- Giles	-	-
- Holmes	-	-
William Kimpster	-	-
Robert Mason	-	-
Richard Stokes	-	-
Joseph Turner	workman	(J)

(iv) Doncaster

Benjamin Armfield	shoemaker	(J)
John Bradley	shoemaker	(M)
John Bell	-	-
William Dodson	-	-
Peter Foden	baker	(U)
John Grimshaw	weaver	(J)
William Holland	-	-
J. Mason	-	-
Alexander Mason	-	-
James McGee	-	-
Thomas Philips	-	-
John Sillitoe	-	-
John Thompson	-	-
J. Waddington	-	-
J. Walter	tailor	(J)
William Whitelaw	-	-

(v) Barnsley and weaving villages

Thomas Acklam (B)	publican	(S)
- Ackmondbury (B)	weaver	(J)
- Adams (B)	weaver	(J)
Thomas Bates (B)	weaver	(J)
Joseph Blades (B)	weaver	(J)
George Booth (WC)	-	-
Thomas Crofts (D)	weaver	(J)
John Clyde (B)	weaver	(J)
Charles Curry (B)	weaver	(J)
Aeneas Daly (B)	weaver	(J)
Edward Evans (CW)	weaver	(J)
James Finsdale (B)	weaver	(J)
Robert Garbutt (B)	weaver	(J)
Bane Gill (B)	weaver	(J)
George Haigh (B)	weaver	(J)
Luke Hobson (B)	weaver	(J)
Peter Hoey (B)	shopkeeper	(U)
John O'Leary (B)	weaver	(J)
Thomas Lingard (B)	newsagent	(U)
Frank Mirfield (B)	weaver	(J)
T. Mirfield (B)	weaver	(J)
J. Mitchell (B)	weaver	(J)
George Mitchell (WC)	grocer	(S)
Patrick Mooney (B)	weaver	(J)
J. Noble (B)	basket maker	(U)
William Norton (B)	weaver	(J)
William Preston (B)	publican	(S)
- Robinson (D)	weaver	(J)
Michael Seagrave (B)	weaver	(J)
John Shaw (B)	weaver	(J)
J. Stafford (B)	weaver	(J)
William Stainsby (B)	weaver	(J)
George Uttley (B)	publican	(U)
John Vallance (B)	weaver	(J)
J. Ward (WC)	weaver	(U)
J. Wainwright (B)	weaver	(J)
John Wood (B)	weaver	(J)
Joseph Ward (PB)	weaver	(J)

APPENDIX 7:4 - The Mass Support of Chartism: faces in
Sheffield's revolutionary Crowd of 1839.

Note: Compiled from newspaper sources and where possible directory information. The intensity of mass activity and the arrests that followed provided a large numbers of names of non-leadership participants in mass meetings and 'church goings'. Some of the following may have been innocent by-standers but in the main these were class actors recognizing and confronting their political oppressors.

KEY: M - Master; S - self-employed; J - Journeymen and other waged workers
U - Unclassifiable

<u>Name</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Status</u>
Richard Bagnell	-	-	-
John Barnes	24	blade striker	(J)
John Barker	-	-	-
James Barholomew	-	-	-
John Beaumont	20	grinder	(J)
Lawrence Birley	-	-	-
John Brammer	21	scissor grinder	(J)
John Bullock	31	scale presser	(J)
William Burkinshaw	-	-	-
James Bussey	21	cutler	(J)
Thomas Carlisle	38	table blade forger	(J)
Richard Carr	-	-	-
Charles Cavill	-	-	-
Joshua Clayford	-	-	-
Henry Clegg	21	cutler	(J)
Thomas Cobbs	-	-	-
Henry Cockayne	21	mason	(J)
Issac Cope	-	-	-
Thomas Cowlshaw	-	-	-
Robert Cox	-	-	-
John Crosby	-	-	-
Henry Cutts	-	-	-
Samuel Day	-	labourer	(J)
Luke Denforth	-	-	-
James Doles	27	file cutter	(J)
Henry Dowkes	26	cutler	(J)
Joel Eyre	19	-	-
Moses Farrar	16	tailor	(J)
Patrick Favrey	-	-	-
William Fisher	18	turner	(J)
Joseph Flint	-	shoemaker	(J)
Charles Fowlerton	50	cutler	(J)
George Gallimore	-	razor grinder	(J)
George Gibson	-	-	-
William Gillot	29	fishmonger	(J)
Ebenezer Hall	30	scissor grinder	(J)
Edward Hall	-	-	-
George Hanley	31	blade maker	(J)
William Hammond	-	-	-
William Hargreaves	-	-	-
Samuel Haslewood	23	cutler	(J)
William Herring	25	edge tool maker	(J)
Charles Hobbis	-	-	-
Thomas Howood	27	table blade forger	(J)
Issac Howard	-	-	-
George Howarth	-	-	-
Mathew Hoyland	36	filesmith	(J)
Patrick Hughes	21	hat maker	(J)
James Ibbotson	-	-	-

Henry Jackson	18	file cutter	(J)
William Jackson	25	cutler	(J)
John Jones	25	shoemaker	(J)
William Jones	21	moulder	(J)
Joseph Jowitt	-	-	-
John Jobson	22	fork maker	(J)
Charles Kay	33	shoemaker	(J)
William Kitchener	36	mason	(J)
John Law	-	joiner	-
James Lee	-	-	-
Joseph Lingard	-	shoemaker	(J)
Thomas Maloney	28	hawker	(J)
John Marsden	27	mason	(J)
William Marshall	22	grinder	(J)
Thomas Mason	-	tailor	(J)
George Mills	-	-	-
Christopher Mills	18	case maker	(J)
John Moorehouse	30	bookbinder	(J)
Samuel Nall	25	table blade striker	(J)
Henry Naylor	28	table blade forger	(J)
Joseph Needham	14	grinder	(J)
Joseph Oxley	-	filesmith	(J)
Henry Parker	17	razor grinder	(J)
James Patman	-	shoemaker	(J)
John Potts	-	-	-
Thomas Powles	-	-	-
George Vaughan Reville	23	file grinder	(J)
George Rhodes	30	engine tenter	(J)
William Rhodes	31	printer	(J)
John Roberts	18	grinder	(J)
James Robinson	24	table knife hafter	(J)
William Robinson	18	table knife forger	(J)
Edward Rodgers	-	-	-
Henry Rose	-	-	-
Robert Russell	19	stove maker	(J)
William Sawyer	21	bricklayer	(J)
Thomas Scott	40	gardener	(U)
John Simmonite	-	-	-
Henry Smedley	25	table blade striker	(J)
Charles Staniforth	27	fork grinder	(J)
Edwin Stokes	25	bone cutter	(J)
John Strutt	-	-	-
Benjamin Swift	32	tailor	(J)
David Tallance	17	blade grinder	(J)
James Taylor	26	joiner	(J)
Henry Taylor	28	table blade forger	(J)
Cornelius Thompson	17	table blade forger	(J)
George Thompson	36	bricklayer	(J)
Joseph Tomlinson	29	shoemaker	(J)
Mordecai Travis	-	table blade forger	(J)
Henry Turton	17	file cutter	(J)
John Unwin	27	mason	(J)
John Wallace	-	-	-
William Wallis	60	tailor	(J)
George Walton	-	-	-
William Ward	-	-	-
William Wilkinson	16	cork cutter	(J)
Robert Willoughby	31	labourer	(J)
William Wolstenholme	19	cutler	(J)
George Wood	46	brickmaker	(J)
Elizabeth Wood	-	-	-
Henry Wragg	36	brickmaker	(J)
George Yates	28	file cutter	(J)

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*Note: This includes only items directly employed (i.e. they are mentioned in footnotes) with the addition of a number of inspirational secondary readings. My researches were heavily based on primary material. In the main I have itemised the specific contents of the collections or series I used for most institutions, except the Public Record Office and Sheffield City Library. Here I have limited myself to listing series because of the volume of contents.

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(a) John Hugh Burland Collection:

'Annals of Barnsley and Its Environs', 4 vols.

'Miscellaneous Writings', 1 vol.

'Social and Scenic Pictures of Barnsley in the eighteenth century', 1 vol.

(b) Joseph Wilkinson Collection:

'Barnsley Obituary'

'Local History, Military Affairs, Chartism'.

(c) Other Collections:

'Barnsley Overseers' Accounts, 1771-86', 1 vol.

'Barnsley Overseers' Letter Book, 1826, 1 vol.

'A Chartist Manifesto for the Working People of Barnsley', 1838, typescript, Bretton Bequest.

(ii) British Library (formerly British Museum), London:

(a) Additional Manuscripts Collection:

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27811 - 27815, Place Papers, LCS material.

34245 A/B, Chartist Convention Papers.

(b) Place Newspaper Collection:

Sets 38, 51.

(iii) British Transport Historical Records Archives, London.

River Don Navigation Minute Books 1729-1850, 3 vols.

(iv) Carver Street Methodist Chapel, Sheffield.

Sheffield Circuit class books 1788-1826, 3 vols.

(v) Co-operative Union Ltd., Manchester.

Robert Owen Collection, correspondence and printed congress reports.

(vi) Cumberland and Westmorland and City of Carlisle Record Office.

Lonsdale Mss, correspondence of Lord Lonsdale.

(vii) Cusworth Hall, Doncaster

Papers of Wath Wood Infantry Volunteers

(vii) cont.

Dearmans Bankruptcy Papers

Barnsley Franklin Club Collection

'Report of the Barnsley Committee for the Relief of the Unemployed Workmen', 1826.

Militia lists for Barnsley and surrounding villages, 1806, 1825, 1831.

Miscellaneous Collection, mainly on linen.

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(viii) Huntingdon Library, San Marino, California

Richard Carlile Papers.

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(x) Manchester Central Library

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(b) Treasury Solicitor's Papers;

T.S.11

(c) Assize Records;

ASSI. 41, ASSI.43.

(d) Census Enumerators' Schedules;

H.O.107; R.G.9; R.G.10.

(e) Privy Council Papers;

P.C.1.

(f) Ministry of Health Records;

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(g) Registrar General's Records;

R.G.4.

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Fifteen letters written to Samuel Holberry during his period of imprisonment and a copy of a petition for his release.
- (xv) Sheffield Assay Office
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Local Documents Collection (LD)
Elmthorpe Muniments
Miscellaneous Documents Collection (MD)
Newman-Bond Collection
Newspaper Cuttings Collection, 3 series, S, SF, SQ. (NCRS)
Special Collection (SC)
Spedding Methodist Collection
Spencer-Stanhope Muniments
Tibbit's Collection (TC)
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