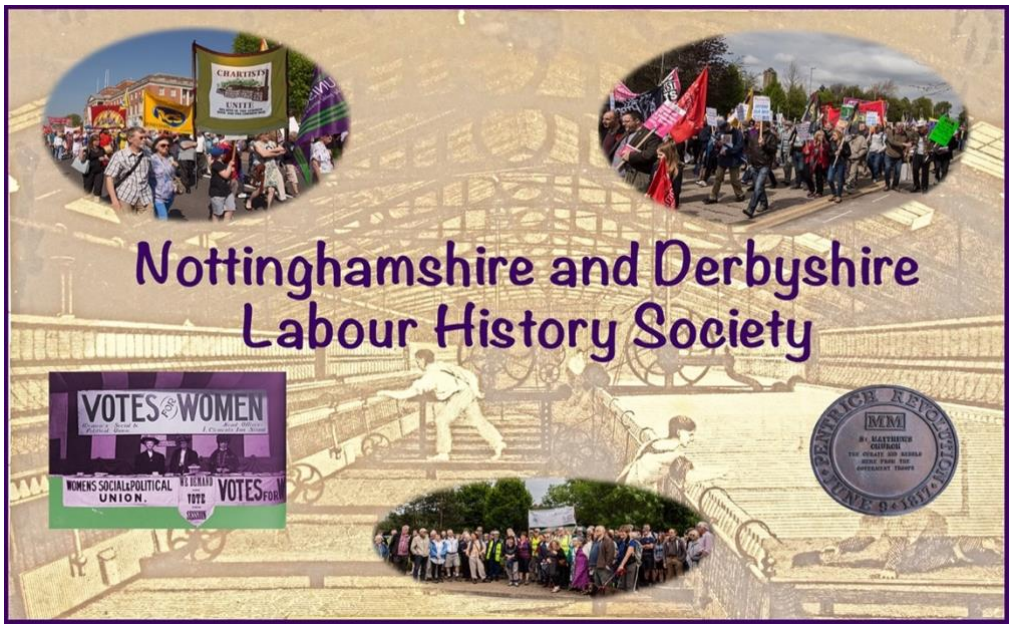


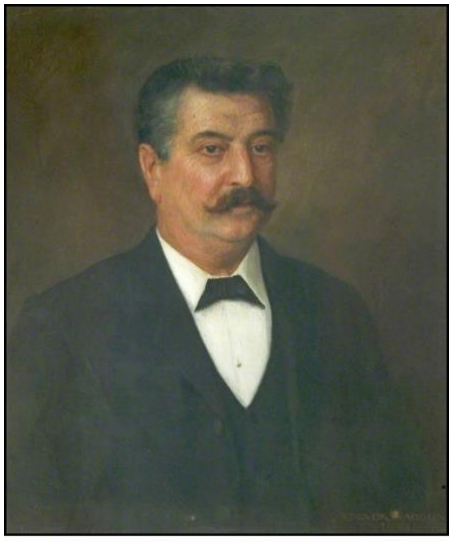
Newsletter

March 2025

Primitive Methodism and the first national union of agricultural labourers

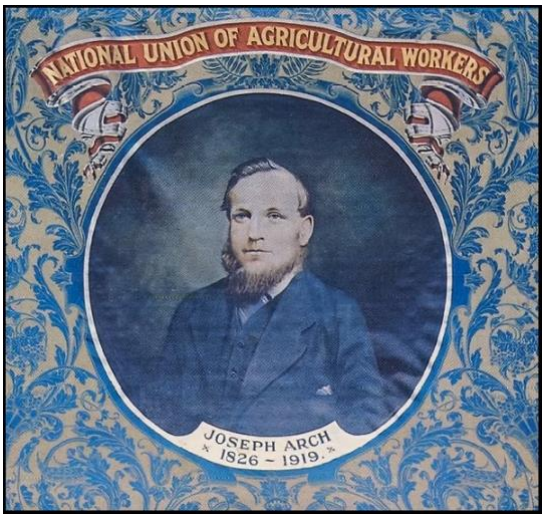
Phil Henshaw

Methodism was a huge influence on the development of the British labour movement, Primitive Methodism in particular giving the early union leaders both the skills and confidence as well as the moral underpinning to their struggle. They addressed their members in quasi-religious language, with biblical references and quotations, whilst hymns and prayers played a central part in meetings. The majority of the early mineworkers leaders in the East Midlands as elsewhere, were Primitives. Men such as James Haslam, Barnet Kenyon and William Harvey of the Derbyshire miners were all adherents of the faith, as were William Bailey and Aaron Stewart of the Notts Miners Association, all local preachers who developed their oratorical skills on the local Methodist circuits. They were aware of the alienation of the mass of the working class from the established church, but also of the patronising views of the Nonconformist hierarchy, who urged them to accept their lot in this world in order to reap the glories of the next. For Harvey, 'There had been too great a chasm between ministers and working men. The latter had to face stern realities and great responsibilities, and to tell them to be honest, knowing them to be inadequately paid, would be to mock them. To be always telling them about another world, and forgetting this, had sickened men…' (*Derbyshire Times 3 Dec 1892, quoted from JE Williams p.467*) For these deeply religious men, their faith provided the justification for tackling the poverty and powerlessness they saw all around them. Social justice became their rallying cry, a position which came to be endorsed by the majority of ministers and laymen of the Primitive connexion. As Wearmouth has noted: 'in sermons, addresses and lectures, the social gospel was expounded. Nurtured in that atmosphere it was easy and natural for local preachers to assume leadership of working-class movements'. (*Methodism and the Struggle of the Working Classes, RF Wearmouth p185)*



William E. Harvey, M.P.

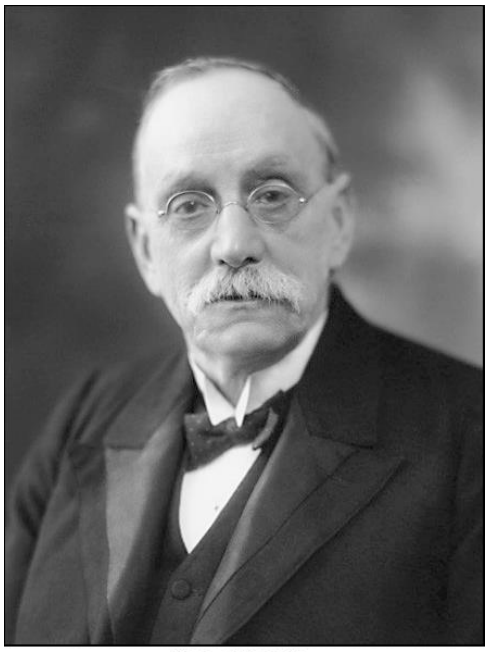
Thomas Burt, miner and Primitive Methodist preacher in Northumberland and one of the first working-class members of Parliament, argued that the church 'stood alone among religious bodies in the colliery districts in showing practical sympathy with the aspirations of working people to achieve political equality and to ameliorate their hard material conditions'. (*Wearmouth p192*) But if the Primitive faith was strong in the industrial areas of the Midlands and North, its influence was even more profound on the unions of agricultural labourers, particularly in East Anglia. But what was it about this religion of the poor that lent itself so readily to trade unionism?



Firstly, the church was characterised by its inclusive methods and democratic structures. Everyone was welcomed, no matter how poor or uneducated, and lay members, both male and female were encouraged to participate in the life of the church. Practices were egalitarian too: 'They had direct and indirect, presidential and parliamentary, federal and unitary democracy. They provided for the 'referendum' and 'initiative' long before those innovations came into use as political instruments'. (*Wearmouth p113*) Within its structures, there were even safeguards against domination by ministers, with two laymen to one minister in the Conference, at district level and on all committees. Secondly, as with other denominations, its lay preachers gained confidence by giving sermons to large congregations, their speaking skills honed by hours in the chapel pulpit or open air, learning how to hold their audience to rapt attention. Thirdly, its structure and roles were also transferable to a union setting. The class meeting encouraged leadership, whilst the roles of chapel trustee and steward gave ordinary people responsibility, with opportunities to learn financial management, maintenance and fundraising. The labourers' unions were based on the same model, membership cards resembled the class tickets of the chapels, union districts often mirrored church districts and even union rules and procedures were adapted from those of the church. The annual teas, camp meetings and 'love feasts', in which members partook of bread and water, were copied directly from Methodism. Hymn singing and prayer infused the early union meetings, lending them an air of religious revivalism. In this way, as Wearmouth argued, 'Not only did Methodism give pioneers and advocates to the trade union movement, but it also gave atmosphere and fervour, tone and method. It permeated the movement with religious earnestness and ardour and the belief that God's blessing would be experienced in the service of the oppressed'. (*Wearmouth p209*) Finally, temperate behavioural characteristics such as abstinence from alcohol and swearing were impressed on the labourers, lending the movement respectability as well as credibility – moderation but determination in their methods made a serious proposition of the farm labourers for the first time, previous grievances being expressed through riot, arson and machine breaking. This 'revolt of the field' would be markedly different. Reliability, sobriety and self-discipline, the behavioural expressions of Methodism, were powerful influences on the labour movement in mid to late Victorian Britain. The unionised labourers were largely peaceful, their 'ordered protest' giving the movement a credibility for the first time, enabling the 'slow and plodding' labourer to be seen in a different light.The Primitive Methodist 'ranters' who came into Norfolk through Lincolnshire and the fenlands in the 1820's and 30's found a receptive audience among the rural poor, despite persecution from the established church, squire and tenant farmer. In time, tens of thousands joined its ranks, its simple message and inclusive ethos at odds with that of the established church. The village faithful built their own chapels where they could worship among their own kind, and not be looked down upon as in the parish church, forced to occupy rear benches whilst the gentry and farmers sat at the front, often on high-backed pews that shielded them from the common herd. As a young man, Joseph Arch, leader of the first national union of farmworkers saw how, in his Warwickshire village church, the labourers were always last to take communion, wondering why the poor should be 'forced to come up last of all to the table of the Lord'. He vowed never to take the sacrament in the parish church, turning instead to the 'rough and ready men in the fustian coats' who came to preach outdoors in the village where he lived. Arch himself became a lay preacher, spreading the word through his local communities and beyond.

The pattern was repeated throughout the towns and villages of England. Instead of higher status men preaching *at* the poor, Methodism enabled the poor to preach *to* the poor. Nor were preachers entirely men, Arch's own daughter Annie was appointed a lay preacher on the Leamington circuit at the age of nineteen, and later travelled the country giving sermons. Preaching and leading hymn-singing helped build confidence as they became comfortable with the sound of their own voices. As the unions of agricultural labourers spread rapidly across the Midlands, East and South in the spring and summer of 1872, flowing in Arch's words 'like a spring tide', many of these lay preachers stood up to become members and officials in their local branches. As Howkins put it, Primitive Methodism 'provided the rural proletarians of Norfolk with a leadership, a language and an ideology. The wayside Bethel gave to the trade unions a model or organisation, and the training and ability to speak and argue in public. The alternative culture, for it was genuinely that, suffused their whole being and through it they dominated the local world of the labourer'. (*Poor Labouring Men: A Howkins p.56)*

George Edwards was one such, founder of the second national union in 1906, but a mere 21 in 1872. Aided by his wife, he had only just begun to read and write. As a young Primitive lay preacher, he was about to receive his credentials to join the plan on the Aylsham circuit and had hitherto been forced to memorise hymns and extracts from the bible. Keen to expand his repertoire for classes and sermons, Edwards developed his reading, improving his knowledge of the scriptures, but as he began to consume broader texts, he realised that the circumstances endured by the labourers and their families were not ones determined by the Almighty: 'the social conditions of the people were not as God intended they should be. The gross injustice meted out to my parents and the terrible sufferings I had undergone in my boyhood, burnt themselves into my soul like a hot iron.' His father had been arrested and imprisoned in 1855 for stealing five turnips to feed his children. (*N Edwards*, *Ploughboy's Progress: the Life of George Edwards p.20)* On his release, the family was forced to enter the workhouse as no farmer would employ him. Edwards signed up to the union, the Alby branch of what was to be the Aylsham Labour League, at his first meeting and resolved to help improve the lot of his fellow workers. After the great lockout of 1874, he began to preach 'Labour' sermons and constantly scoured the bible for moral justification for his cause: 'I searched the scriptures and was able to satisfy myself I was doing the right thing'. For Edwards his faith and his union work were indivisible, two sides of the same coin.


George Edwards

Such 'epiphanies' as Edwards' were repeated across the country as literacy improved, aided by the chapel Sunday school and the works of Henry George, Dickens, Defoe, Carlyle and Samuel Smiles. The 'Nonconformist conscience' which grew from burgeoning literacy and social awareness gave rise to demands for change in the social and political sphere. Primitive Methodism, much more so than Wesleyanism or other denominations, provided a rationale for the betterment of workers' lives, not just the salvation of their souls. Arch, Edwards and others found trade union activism a natural extension of the 'dissident' nature of their faith and continually invoked quotes from the bible in their appeals for improvements to their pay and conditions. Much could be found in the Old Testament, in Isaiah, Psalms, Proverbs and Jeremiah to give them inspiration and moral strength, for example, in Jeremiah 22.13: 'Woe to him who builds his house by unrighteousness, and his upper rooms by injustice, and who makes his neighbour serve him for nothing and does not give him his wages'. The language of suffering and liberation peppered the speeches of the Primitive unionists, in efforts to draw parallels with the labourers' plight. Narratives of judgement, reckoning and deliverance were habitually invoked to lend legitimacy to their struggle. In fact, the dividing line between union speeches and religious sermons could often become blurred as the early unionists suffused their speeches with quotes from the bible.

Early meetings of the union, particularly in East Anglia, often took place in Primitive Methodist chapels, perhaps inevitably lending the nascent branches an air of revivalism. Meetings would begin with a reading from the bible, typically the Psalms, and later prayers were said and hymns sung. Standard hymns from the Sankey songbook were in time replaced or supplemented with the labourers' own hymns, and Norfolk had its own composer, Robert Green of Sheringham, who wrote, among others, 'Sons of Labour', which ran:

Do not tarry, do not tarry,
Now's the great momentous time,
Join the union's ranks in thousands,
Swell the numbers of its line.

Uniquely, the early unions of agricultural labourers were led by men of other professions as well as farmworkers. Most of them were 'Prims' too, Richard Colman of Rudham was a shoemaker, Zacharias Walker of North Creake a tailor, George Rix a shopkeeper, Henry Gibson of Swaffham a draper and outfitter and Francis Long of North Walsham a bootmaker. Why then were so many activists not directly employed in the trade they represented? The first point to make is that, despite their higher socio-economic status, they were not divorced from the labourers in their highly localised everyday lives. Many of them, as one would expect in such rural settings, had previously been employed as farm workers, indeed some continued to work in the fields at busy times such as harvest. In isolated communities, the small tradesman or artisan was integral to village life, and as they were witness to the desperate state of the labourers around them, they could not ignore their plight. Secondly, they were respectable men, overwhelmingly Methodist, often lay preachers, moderate, abstinent and self-improving. A good number had, through conversion, elevated themselves to independent means, but Methodism provided the spiritual glue that held these countryside communities together. They shared with the labourers a dissenters world-view, a collective consciousness, increasingly political in nature, that countenanced betterment of the poor, reform of parish relief and land ownership, disestablishment of the church and an extension to the franchise. These radical nonconformists had a fresh optimism that, through unionisation, education and their help, the labourers could be emancipated. Thirdly, they had administrative and organisational skills to offer – large numbers of labourers remained illiterate and unable to perform such functions. Fourthly, and crucially, they were largely immune from the intimidation and victimisation that would be brought to bear on labourers active in the union. Disapproval might be heaped upon them for their involvement, but, unlike farmworker activists, their homes and jobs were not in jeopardy. It is fair to state that this core of non-labourer activists was vital to the establishment of the early farmworkers unions and many of them remained a steadfast presence until the first national union was wound up in 1896.
The Prims were proud of the achievements of their preachers who became representatives of labour and honed their oratorical skills to the point where they were more proficient in public speaking than many of higher status. In the 1890's the Primitive Methodist magazine noted that 'Hodge (the derogatory epithet for farm labourers) has shaken off the rusty chains of a worn-out feudalism, and passing by the hall and vicarage, has gone to the Little Bethel to find representation among the local leaders and class-leaders whom Methodism has educated as speakers'. (*Primitive Methodist Magazine 1879, p.255*) For George Edwards, a lifelong Primitive, and a Labour MP from 1920, wrote that his church had 'done so much for the toiling masses of England, and brought light and comfort into thousands of homes'. (*From Crowscaring to Westminster, G Edwards p.21*)

Further reading:

My Primitive Methodists website: myprimitivemethodists.org.uk
Scotland , N. '*Methodism and the Revolt of the Field: the Methodist contribution to agricultural trade unionism in East Anglia 1872-96'*
Howkins, A. '*Poor Labouring Men: Rural Radicalism in Norfolk 1870-1923'*
Arch, J. '*From Ploughtail to Parliament – an autobiography'*
Edwards, G '*From Crow-scaring to Westminster'*
Wearmouth, R.F. '*Methodism and the Struggle of the Working Classes 1850-1900'*

Henshaw, P. '*Agitators and Ranters: early leaders of the agricultural labourers' unions in Norfolk'; 'Fire in the East – Joseph Arch and the Norfolk Labourers'*

Dawn of Labour in Nottingham Part 2

Julian Atkinson

The forces of Labour made a breakthrough in 1908 when the ILP won its first councillor on the Nottingham City Council in Manvers ward with Ernest Gutteridge, a lace draughtsman, as the successful candidate. The Liberal candidate, who had served for 18 years and had many helpers and cars together with three committee rooms, came last after the Conservative. There were losses elsewhere for the Liberals who lost control of the Council.

The Nottingham Labour Party had decided to contest two wards for the municipal elections: the ILP to choose the candidate for Manvers and the trades unions for Robin Hood. The balance of forces within the Trades Council produced a strange result in that the Liberal John Pycroft was supported in Robin Hood Ward. The Trades Council President G. Thundercliffe chaired a meeting in support of Pycroft and James Fish, of the Carriage and Bobbin Makers Society, spoke in support. The main reason for this endorsement was that Pycroft always paid his workers the standard rate. In the event Pycroft lost to the Conservative. The ILP victory came as a nasty surprise to the two major parties, but the ILP had been confident of victory months earlier: "A determined and systematic campaign has been carried on throughout the summer in Manvers Ward, and it is practically certain that an ILP man will for the first time adorn the City Council next November". From June there had been weekly meetings held in the Ward and literature distributed to homes. (*NDE* 3 November 1908, *The Herald* 16 May 1908, *NDE* 30 October 1908, *LL*11 September 1908)

The 1908 election saw the Liberals lose their majority on the City Council, a position they would never retrieve. Conservative control only ended in 1945. (Nick Hayes op.cit. p.464)
The role of the ILP and Labour councillors proved an irritant to both the Liberal and Conservative groups. Initially the Liberal Party attempted an alliance with the Labour groupings. The Liberal Agent officially announced that the Liberal Party would not oppose Bowles and Gutteridge "the forces of reaction were too strong, and they had too much in common". (*Nottingham Evening News* 6 September 1911)

In 1909 Herbert Bowles, a joiner, was put forward by the ILP in an early by election for the Meadows Ward which had been considered a Liberal stronghold. The Liberal prospective candidate withdrew from the Meadows contest in favour of Bowles explaining: "I have no wish to see the Progressive forces divided". (*NEP* 8 May 1909) Bowles won. The Socialists rejoiced and paraded behind a carriage "decorated with red ribbon and streamers and posters, and several large and enthusiastic meetings were held". The unsuccessful Conservative, Major Walker the manager of Clifton pit, had received some support from members of the local NMA lodge. He pointed out the dangers of the result: "Socialism meant atheism – of the worst type". He denied that poor wages were paid at Clifton mine. He "was a supporter of the principles of trade unionism; he believed in a fair day's pay for a fair day's work". (*NDE* 15 May 1909)

There was a feeling that working class support for the Liberals was retreating and that a Liberal alliance with Labour might bolster Liberal influence. The behaviour of the Socialists on the Council was to disillusion them. Attacks were launched on both Tory and Liberal slum landlords. When the Liberal Alderman Green, a large employer of labour, moved a motion in the City Council that the Corporation should give preference in employment to ex armed service men. The ILP opposed this as spreading militarism and an infringement of individual liberty. (*NEP* 10 April 1908, *NG* 11 October 1911)

Councillor Gutteridge said that there was hardly a committee under the Corporation which was honestly paying the agreed minimum wage. Some worked eight and a half hours a day and received only 2s.6d. for it. There were people on the Housing Committee who owned slums. Properties owned by the richest were the slowest to be redeveloped. Most of the Committee wished to hinder the removal of the 5,000 houses in Nottingham that were a danger to health. (*NG* 11 October 1911) Such comments were not appreciated by either of the main parties.
The Trades Council in 1909 had endorsed an existing Councillor Houston who had gained support when he explained he was standing as a trade unionist candidate. For nine years he had served as a Conservative but had claimed that he was to stand as an Independent. A Trades Council delegate claimed that "his independence consisted of going to help first a Liberal candidate and then a Conservative…. They had a hard fight in Meadows ward, and Mr Houston did his best to get Mr. Bowles defeated by going to support Major Walker." A resolution was passed by the Trades Council condemning the action of Cllr J. Houston and no longer recognising him as a representative.
The resolution was carried with 67 for, 31 against and 28 neutral (*NEP* 24 June 1909, *NEP* 19 August 1909, *TrM7* 18 August 1909) The division in voting indicated the splits in political opinion. Senior figures on the Trades Council served as Liberal councillors or were close to the Liberals. This would not be the last time that the influence of Liberals, and occasionally Conservatives, on the Trades Council created confusion.

The role of J. G. Hancock, the treasurer of the NMA, exemplified this problem. He was ostensibly Labour but politically Lib-Lab when he won the Mid Derbyshire Parliamentary election over a Conservative opponent. An ILP representative called on Labour to discipline Hancock for speaking at a meeting of the Mid Derbyshire Liberal Association. (*Sheffield Telegraph* 2 July 1909, 28 Aug 1909) Also in 1909 Hancock stood unsuccessfully in the Broxtowe local election but this time unambiguously under the Liberal banner. (*NDE* 2 November 1909)

There was a division of political opinion within the Nottinghamshire miners that continued until the War. In 1912 there was a possibility that Robert Smillie vice president of the MFGB might stand in West Nottingham. West Nottinghamshire miners had urged a "straight Labour" candidate. The Basford miners put a resolution to the NMA to consider running a miners' candidate. J. G. Hancock MP opposed the resolution. The movers "confidently anticipated that the new president G. A. Spencer, who represents the advanced section, and is a member of the ILP, would back up the resolution, but he inclined to Mr Hancock's view" and the resolution fell. (*NEP* 3 June 1912) George Spencer had begun his political transition from the hope of the Left to eventually leading a break away from the national union after the General Strike. He was joined in this exercise by Hancock.
A Parliamentary election was held in March 1914 and Hancock was returned for Mid-Derbyshire, purportedly under the Labour banner but actually by the organisational efforts of the Liberals who even provided his agent. (*NEP* 18 March 1914)

This led to a backlash and a constituency Labour Party was formed after a conference of unions and socialists was held. "The miners more or less boycotted the conference…" Only two lodges attended. The rules adopted made it necessary for candidates to stand as Labour, independent of other political parties. This was aimed at Hancock. (*NDE* 28 September 1914)

This period of ambiguity when there was a slide from Liberal or Lib-Lab to Labour had earlier occurred in 1909. Arthur Richardson was standing again for Parliament for South Nottingham and addressed the Trades Council seeking support. One delegate moved that no moral or financial support be given unless Richardson were to sign the LP constitution and be independent of the Liberals. W. Askew of the Notts Miners moved an amendment expressing confidence in Richardson and supporting his candidacy. Richardson was supported with only 17 for the critical resolution and 90 for the amendment. (*TrM7* 25 October 1909)

The Nottingham Trades Council showed the persistence of a pro Liberal or Lib/Lab tendency when, in 1910, the Secretary of the Trades Council G. E. Thundercliffe endorsed a Liberal candidate. Trades Council had issued a manifesto advising trade unionists to oppose candidates who did not support the demands of the Council. The President G. M. Sadler said that "they did not ask a trade unionist to alter his political opinions" but he should be "a trades unionist, before he was a Conservative, Liberal or Socialist". They should ask candidates if they supported the Council manifesto, 25,000 copies of which had been printed. A. Hayday of the Gasworkers thought the exercise futile because the "Liberals and Tories were combining to give candidates walk-overs, with the intention of keeping the Labour men and Socialists out". (*Nottingham Guardian* 13 October 1910)

The manifesto was so weak that several Liberal candidates were able to endorse it. Sadler and Thundercliffe, the President and Secretary of the Trades Council attended to speak in support of the Liberal Orgill in Castle Ward since he had supported their manifesto. (*NEN* 28 October 1910)

As early as 1909 the Conservatives sought to bring the Liberals into an anti-Socialist alliance. Sir J. T. McCraith leader of the Conservative Party said "that it was his strong wish that if, at any future time, a Liberal candidate should be opposed by a Socialist, the Unionist voters in such a ward would support the Liberal (Cheers)". (*NEP* 2 November 1909)

The result of the 1911 local elections was 8 Liberal Aldermen and 18 Councillors, 8 Conservative Aldermen and 27 councillors, and 3 Socialists - G. O. Richards, E. Gutteridge and H. Bowles (*NEN* 2 November 1911)
In an attempt to stem the Socialist advance the Liberal and Conservative parties formed an anti-socialist alliance. (*NDE* 29 October 1912) The Liberal candidate in Bridge Ward announced: "They were out to fight the Socialist, and more or less the Liberal and Conservative parties were running hand in hand to attain the end that both had in view, of putting a stop to the misrepresentation on the City Council which resulted when the electors sent to the Council a Socialist… Socialism was a menace to good government. It made men less patriotic, killed all civic enterprise, exaggerated the discontent of the discontented, and sought by ill-considered and revolutionary methods to attain the impossible." (*NDE* 24 October 1912)

In 1912 the Socialists put up six candidates and all lost, leaving only the two previously elected on the Council. "A determined effort is being put forth to oust them, both Unionists and Liberals having at last recognised the necessity for fighting the common enemy." The successful Liberal for Bridge Ward who defeated the Socialist had been enthusiastically supported and worked for by the Conservatives. He "was always ready to fight the Socialists, because he believed them to be a greater danger to Liberalism than the Conservatives. (*hear, hear*) They were a menace to the good government of the city." ((*NEP* 1 Nov1912, *NDE* 2 November 1912) The Liberal and Conservative pact lasted until 1938.

The Liberal Nottingham Daily Express exulted: "LIBERAL SATISFACTION Unswerving Resistance to the Socialist menace". The Liberal victor in Bridge said, "Not only were Conservative workers in evidence today, but cars were sent by Conservative owners". (*NDE* 2 November 1912)
The bad 1912 election result had a considerable impact on the ILP and Labour ranks. Only one candidate, the young ILP member Arthur Turney, stood in 1913. He was the candidate for Manvers which previously had been fertile ground for the Left. The campaign made much of the poor housing in Nottingham and accused both Liberal and Conservative landlords of hindering repairs and new building. The two main parties launched a ferocious attack on the Socialists as traitors to the country on the basis of a highly selective version of a speech by a local Socialist. The local Socialist had said, "It does not matter if you are ruled by the English King or the German Emperor so far as economic conditions are concerned". The Tories had left out the latter part of the sentence. The other sentence was: "I would not shed an ounce of blood for some of the dung holes called houses in England." And in that instance, too, the sense had been entirely altered.

Turney spoke at an election meeting where he discussed the report of the medical officer of health which found that 5,000 homes in Nottingham were unfit for human habitation. The Tories objected to this. He thought there were more unfit houses. "His idea of a habitation was not a kennel, even if it were kept clean. It should have at least two rooms upstairs, at least two rooms downstairs, a scullery, and a patch of garden at the back. (*Applause*)." (*NDE* 1 November 1913)

The Socialists "worked hard…for a young and gifted candidate". The Conservatives had half a dozen cars and the Socialists a motor cycle with a side car. Cllr Gutteridge said that they had done well but with limited resources. Turney won 1,426 votes, but the victorious Tory achieved 1,617. (*NDE* 3 November 1913)

The Socialists did not contest the Meadows Ward where previously they had won. The Conservative Major Walker beat the Liberal, having been supported by several members of the Clifton Pit Committee of the NMA. Mr J. Cobley, Clifton delegate to the NMA and the Trades Council, seconded the adoption. (*NEP* 28 October 1913) Only two Socialists remained on the Council - Gutteridge and Bowles.

These results put Labour on the defensive. The ILP attempted to book the Exchange for a public meeting, but the Council refused, and the meeting had to be moved to the Victoria Hall. Despite the expense it was a large and successful meeting. (*LL* 2 October 1913)

In December 1913, the whole of the ILP was cheered by a huge meeting in London "Against Militarism and increasing Expenditure on Armaments". It was a star-studded event. Keir Hardie was in the chair and speakers included Dr Victor

Adler (Austria), Emile Vandervelde (Belgium) and Jean Jaures (France). The Labour Movement was not going to let war happen. (*LL* 11 December 1913)
The following month the Long Eaton ILP was addressed on "The Coming World War". The Government was in the hands of armaments manufacturers. The "great thing was to find a peaceful solution…" (Beeston *Gazette* 31 January 1914)

2000 attended the 1914 Nottingham May Day which was dominated by an anti-war theme. Mr W.C. Anderson prospective Labour candidate for East Nottingham pointed out "that a hundred Socialist and Labour men had been returned to the French and German Parliaments tended to make a war between these two Powers impossible. The Labour movement was a world's peace movement; it believed that war belonged to the past, and that in future nations would settle their quarrels by arbitration". (*NDE* 4 May 1914) Then came August 1914, the start of the war, and everything changed, sadly, for the worse.

Within 48 hours of the declaration of war an anti-war demonstration of 20,000 addressed by George Lansbury took place in London. Several other such demonstrations took place around the country, but not in Nottingham. The overt anti-war activity declined in the face of pro-war sentiment. Strike activity fell dramatically during the last four months of 1914. But, despite the jingoism of the press, there was evidence of apathy amongst sections of the working class for the war effort. (Tony Collins op. cit. pp 69-71)

In Nottingham the recruiting office was "besieged" by volunteers. A queue had snaked round the corner. The rush was because they feared that they had to be quick to join up before the war was over. There was, unfortunately, no need to worry on that score. (*NDE* 5 August 1914)
The majority of the Parliamentary Labour Party came out in favour of the war and urged men to join the armed forces. The Marxist BSP also came out if favour of the war and put this position relentlessly in the Justice and the Clarion. The BSP stated that "neutrality is out of the question". Hyndman wrote an editorial for Justice 13 August. "Everyone must eagerly desire the final defeat of Germany". He attacked the Parliamentary pacifists of the ILP and lauded plucky little Belgium under attack from Germany. Then in a statement signed by Hyndman and Albert Inkpin (later founding secretary of the CP) the BSP called for all able-bodied men to join the forces. (*Justice* 6 August 1914, 13 August 1914, 15 September 1914) Clarion sought to explain the issue: "It is primarily a war of two democracies – France and England – against a reactionary autocracy, Prussia". (*Clarion* 21 August 1914)
These positions were met by dissent from some in the BSP. The Islington BSP with the local ILP held two great anti-war meetings. Glasgow BSP and other Socialist and Labour organisations held a meeting attended by thousands that carried a resolution for "a general armistice and sending fraternal greetings to the workers of all nations." Glasgow BSP and other Socialist and Labour organisations held a meeting attended by thousands that carried a resolution for "a general armistice and sending fraternal greetings to the workers of all nations". (*Justice* 6 August 1914, 13 August 1914, 22 October 1914)


Henry Mayers Hyndman

It was not until 1916 that the BSP was won over to an anti-war position. The Hyndmanite British Workers' National League then split from the BSP, due to the majority of "rabid internationalists". Hyndman's ally Blatchford helpfully redefined Socialism: "We mean the Britain should belong to the British for the good of the British". (*Justice* 5 May 1916, 7 July 1916)
The ILP took a different position to the other Parties and issued a Manifesto. It had predicted the war. "Great Britain is not at war because of oppressed nationalities or Belgian neutrality." It was because of secret treaties. "To us who are Socialists the workers of Germany and Austria, no less than the workers of France and Russia, are comrades and brothers: in this hour of carnage and eclipse we have friendship and compassion to all victims of militarism". But what were the ILP members to do? "Our nationality and independence, which are dear to us, we are ready to defend; but we cannot rejoice in the organised murder of tens of thousands of workers of other lands who go to kill and be killed at the command of rulers to whom the people are as pawns." The sense seems to be, do not become happy warriors but sentimental and reluctant warriors. The less than bold manifesto ends on a high note: "Long live Freedom and fraternity! Long live International Socialism!"
Regardless of the equivocations and ambiguities, the ILP instructed branches not to take part in the recruiting campaign; unlike the Labour Party and BSP. The mood was clearer in several of the ILP local branches. The Haworth ILP protested against "the Jingoism of the Daily Citizen and the action of the Executive of the Labour Party in encouraging young men to join the army, which is always ready to crush the workers of all countries". (*LL* 13 August 1914)

Two delegates from the National Council of the ILP visited Nottingham to maintain "the solidarity of the Party in the present war crisis". The meeting approved the National Council Manifesto and supported the resolute stand by MacDonald and Keir Hardie against the policy of Sir Edward Grey. (*LL* 10 September 1914)

Most ILP branches supported the Manifesto and refused to take part in a recruiting campaign except for just seven. Nottingham, Derby, North Notts and Langley Mill supported the Manifesto and the refusal to take part in recruiting and 95 branches in total agreed. 16 local Labour Parties and Trades Council also agreed with the ILP position. Many branches of the British Socialist Party endorsed the ILP position and repudiated the attitude of their own executive under the influence of the nationalist Henry Hyndman. (*LL* 22 October 1914)

There was a decision by both Conservative and Liberal Parties that the November City Council elections should not be contested and sitting councillors should not be opposed. Those candidates who belonged to the ILP should be required to dissociate themselves from the ILP Manifesto. This was particularly aimed at Gutteridge who was the secretary of the local ILP. Gutteridge was an extremely sick man. Labour Party representatives H. Bowles and G. O. Richards wrote that the policy of the Labour party to which they and Gutteridge are responsible "is to sink all political differences in this, the nation's hour of need, and to assist the Government and Opposition by every possible means in endeavouring to bring the war to a successful conclusion, and to crush once and for all the military despotism of Germany". The Labour MP Frank Goldstone had appeared on the platform of a recruiting meeting which "is sufficient proof of the attitude adopted by the Labour party." They argued it was unreasonable to ask Gutteridge to dissociate himself from the ILP manifesto. Gutteridge was unable to stand and was replaced by Arthur Turney. So, with side stepping and evasion they managed to avoid openly dissociating themselves from the ILP manifesto. The political truce meant that all candidates were returned unopposed: 5 Liberals, 9 Conservatives and the two Socialists, Turney and Bowles. (*NDE* 3 October 1914, 6 October 1914, 6 October 1914, 26 October 1914, 3 November 1914)
The Nottingham Suffragettes were swept up in the patriotic fervour and volunteered for Special Constable duties and also ran classes on both first aid and signalling. In contrast the East London Federation of Suffragettes, led by Sylvia Pankhurst, opposed the war. (*NDE* 31 August 1914, Collins op.cit. p79)

The local Cooperative movement was initially pro-war. This was due to the prominence in Nottingham and regionally of W. J. Douse, who had over many decades transformed from a radical into a Liberal jingo. Douse was chosen to deliver the inaugural address to the 1915 national Coop Congress: "…many of them had their hearts lacerated by the losses inflicted in the war by the fiendish ferocity of the Kaiser and his murderous Huns…They hated war, but they hated more treason, chicanery, blasphemy and the cold, callous, calculating murder of men, women and children…" (*Dublin Daily Express* 25 May 1915) At the same Congress Aneurin Williams MP read a paper on The Future Policy of Cooperation: National and International. "Many of them would never forget how, at the last International Cooperative Congress…two years ago, they passed with wild enthusiasm a resolution in favour of peace… (*and*)…cried out 'We will never fight Germany'… <u>When this war was successfully over</u> (*my emphasis*) we must return to it." The delegate from Sheffield said that neither the Co-operators of Britain or Germany wanted war. Douse objected and raised the sinking of the Lusitania. (*Leicester Daily Post* 27 May 1915)
The ILP was deeply unimpressed: "The most uninspiring inaugural address that Congress has ever listened to, delivered by W. J. Douse of Nottingham, would have given the impression that the Co-operative movement was committed to a policy of hopeless Jingoism…" (*LL* 27 May 1915)
There were considerable pressures on the Trades Council not to oppose the war; some of which were deeply personal. At the July AGM of the Trades Council A. Hayday was elected president and G. Thundercliffe as secretary. By September, both of Hayday's sons had joined up and would soon be on active service. Despite this, Hayday declared that he was not a militarist. In October the sad news came that Thundercliffe's son had died when his naval vessel was lost.

In December the Trades Council discussed whether it should send a representative to the recruiting Committee. A. Hayday had changed his mind and came out in favour of the proposition. Mr. H. Tutin, the delegate of the tramway workers, who, being on leave from the Lincolnshire Regiment in which he was a sergeant, "appeared at the meeting in khaki, expressed himself with the chairman's remarks". Hayday was appointed the delegate to the Recruiting Committee. The emotional pressure on delegates not to oppose the way must have been immense. (*TrM9* 15 July 1914, *NDE* 1 Sept 1914, 10 September 1914, *NJ* 8 October 1914, *NDE* 31 December 1914)

The Trades Council had many bread and butter issues to deal with caused by the war. There was a disruption of industry as it was converted to war production, which caused unemployment. There were food shortages, possibly caused by hoarding, and food prices soared. To combat rising food prices the Trades Council called for a maximum price for food. Milk should be supplied for nursing mothers, children and the old, and rent rises should be restrained.

The right of property owners to distrain goods for owing rent should be suspended. Hayday said food prices had gone up due to the well-to-do stockpiling. The poor "had to pay the price either in blood or money". (*TrM9* 6 August 1914, *NDE* 7 August 1914

By October, the Trades Council found that unemployment caused by war was 1,064, the partially employed numbered 4,409 and 985 members had answered the call to colours. Within a year of the start of the war 25% of miners had enlisted. (*NDE* 8 October 1914, Collins op.cit. p.71)
The Trades Council had sent a delegation to see the Mayor to propose suggestions for the relief of the community. Hayday said the Mayor was not definite in his reply. The Corporation had been asked for additional work to provide employment. There was dissatisfaction about the meeting of a Citizens Conference that had been convened. "It was alleged that one section of the conference … (*had been)* …jeering at the Trades Council representatives". The Mayor refused questions. Hayday urged:" While that spirit and parochialism existed among the well-to-do, his advice to workers was to see first what these moneyed people intend to do before subscribing themselves." (*NDE* 13 August 1914) There was little sense that "we are all in it together".

The City Council set up a War Relief Committee to deal with such problems. The Trades Council called for ward committees of the Nottingham Relief Committee be set up with adequate Labour representation. Mr Askew of the Miners told the meeting that colliery workers were paying 3d. a week for dependents. "We are not sending any money to Buckingham Palace…We are going to deal with our own people ourselves, and our limit is 30s, a week." 28 married and 56 single men have joined the colours. Mr Hayday suggested that a collection be taken for the relief of distress. "I am in no sense a militarist, but I think under the circumstances we should make some sacrifice." The reference to the Palace related to the Prince of Wales Fund which was not fully trusted by the working class. (*NDE* 10 September 1914)

Dissatisfaction with the official War Relief Committee led to the setting up of a War Emergency Vigilance Committee consisting of the Trades Council Executive, two representatives from the ILP, two from the BSP and one from the LP. (*TrM9* 23 September 1914) Increasingly during the war there was a feeling that the workers should not be paying the price more than the rich. Even by November 1914 it was clear that some employers were not letting the crisis go to waste. The NUR official W. Halls showed that some firms in the city had reduced wages by 25% and some of these were doing Government work. (*TrM9* 4 November 1914)
By the end of the war, the Nottingham Liberals were in long term decline. The working class had moved to Labour and the middle class to the Conservatives. By 1938 there were no Liberals on the City Council, whereas Labour had ten and the Conservatives fourteen. This Conservative control lasted until 1945 and only then did Labour achieve a majority. (Nick Hayes op.cit p. 467) Unlike other cities Nottingham had only slowly turned towards the Labour Party.

The Workers' Friend – The Legacy of Vale Rawlings

Elaine Pritchard

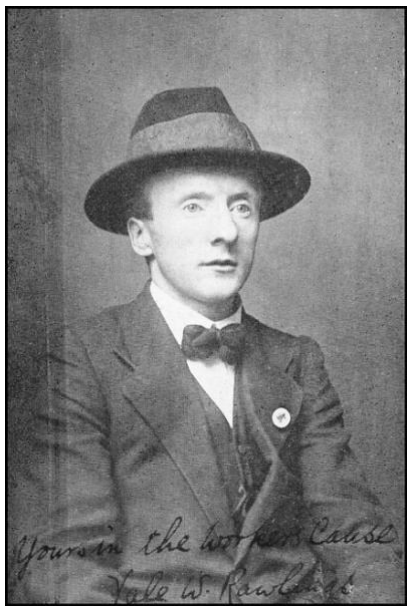
Elaine spoke at our November meeting about her efforts to raise awareness of forgotten trade unionist Vale Rawlings. Here she shares more about his story and how she is commemorating his legacy.

We remember 1914 as the year World War One began. But weeks before Britain joined that dreadful conflict, a very different story was taking up space in the nation's newspapers and occupying the minds of the public.

It was a hot, dry summer and flies were a huge nuisance. The demand for fly papers was massive and this was good news for manufacturing chemists F. W. Hampshire, based at the Silk Mill in Derby. Fly papers were one of the lines they produced using an almost exclusively female workforce. But they were struggling to recruit enough women and girls in Derby to meet demand. So, they decided to open a factory in Mosley Street, Burton-on-Trent, to produce fly papers only.

By early June they employed around 60 girls, many of them aged 13 to 17. The girls had to glue and roll hundreds of fly papers an hour. Many reported that the strong adhesive made them feel sick and dizzy. It's likely they had to handle arsenic as this was a usual ingredient in fly papers.

The girls were paid a piecework rate and discovered that their average weekly wages were less than a quarter of what girls in the the Derby factory were earning. Some Burton girls were taking home as little as 2s.6d. for a 55 hour week. So, 40 of them came out on strike.



On Friday, June 12, Vale Rawlings, who had been a founder member of the Burton branch of the Workers' Union in 1911, went to talk to the striking girls on their picket line and advise them on how to put their case to the management. At the age of 27, Vale was a seasoned activist credited with boosting trade union membership in the town and being a key player in securing a minimum wage of 23 shillings a week for brewery labourers.

A police inspector and two constables came down Mosley Street and Vale was arrested and accused of punching the Inspector in the chest. Multiple witnesses, and Vale, swore in court that no such assault took place. Vale's defence solicitor pointed out that the union man was only 4ft 11ins and seven stone whereas the Inspector was a well-built man of almost six feet tall. Why, he asked, would an experienced campaigner be so foolish as to launch a public, unprovoked attack on a police officer accompanied by two constables – let alone one so much bigger than him?

A girl called Alice Horton also came forward and claimed that Vale had pushed her earlier that day when she said she didn't want to strike and crossed the picket line. Vale denied this and others backed him up. Under cross examination she admitted that she had not wanted to bring an assault charge against Vale, but her manager had insisted. He paid for the summons and arranged for Inspector Oulton to help her prepare her evidence for court.
Magistrates fined Vale 10 shillings and costs, or 14 days in prison, for assaulting the inspector and a further five shillings and costs, or seven days in prison for assaulting Alice. Vale said he would not pay for crimes he had not committed and said: "Twenty-one days for me! Liberty forever!" as he was led from the dock and taken to Derby Gaol.

Newspapers across the country reported on the case. It was raised several times in the House of Commons by Keir Hardie, who called it a gross miscarriage of justice and said Vale had been framed and victimised for being the workers' friend. The Labour Party founder spoke outside Burton Town Hall on Saturday June 27. His passionate defence of Vale prompted some men to walk the 10 miles to Derby next day to join a protest march organised by the Derby branch of the Independent Labour Party and supported by local trade unionists.

They gathered in Derby Market Place and at 3 p.m. they set off for Friar Gate prison, led by a brass band playing 'The Red Flag'. They cheered, shouted, gave speeches and sang songs outside the prison in hope that Vale, who had been on hunger strike, would hear them and be encouraged. Around 10,000 people signed a petition demanding a retrial, including Alice Horton.Four days after the Derby protest march, Vale was released. Keir Hardie and others had relentlessly lobbied the Liberal Government's Home Secretary Reginald McKenna, who finally agreed to release Vale a week 'early' by making his two prison sentences run concurrently instead of consecutively. He refused to grant a retrial.

Weakened by his hunger strike, Vale was taken to Derby's Clarion Club for breakfast by his supporters who had gathered outside the prison from 6am. Henry Sharpe, president of Derby Trades Council, told them that Vale's work had made him a victim of the 'powers that be' and that when they saw they could not break his spirit, they tried to break his body by imprisonment.

When Vale returned to Burton the next day, up to 15,000 people are said to have lined the streets and gathered in the Market Square to hear Vale speak after he was carried there in a victory procession from Horninglow railway station.

But something else had happened on Sunday, June 28, 1914, the day of the Derby protest march. Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife were assassinated in Sarajevo, igniting World War One.

Vale was a committed pacifist and a conscientious objector. He fought to secure the timely payment of allowances, which wives and children were entitled to when Workers' Union men volunteered to serve. This money, which replaced the breadwinner's wage, was sometimes delayed by bureaucratic inefficiency. He campaigned against wartime profiteering and raised funds for injured soldiers and sailors. When conscription was introduced, he helped men prepare their cases for local military tribunals as they tried (and usually failed) to gain exemption from service on religious, moral or hardship grounds.

Although the minimum height for soldiers was 5ft 2, and despite his family doctor testifying that Vale had suffered from a chronic heart condition since childhood and was 'no earthly use to the Army', he was called up in 1917. His eloquent arguments at tribunal and on appeal were dismissed. He was conscripted to the non-combatant corps. When he refused to follow orders, he was court martialled and sentenced to two years with hard labour in Dartmoor Prison.

His wife and sister, backed by MP Philip Snowden, secured his release on ill-health grounds after a few months. They were convinced for the rest of their lives that Vale's conscription was punishment for continuing to be a thorn in the side of the authorities.
After the war, Vale played a key role in local politics. He was instrumental in the building of new council houses in the village of Branston, job creation and road improvements. He also travelled around the country campaigning on behalf of Labour candidates in Parliamentary elections.

After years of ill-health, he died on Christmas Eve, 1940, four days before his 53rd birthday. His family have always believed that his two spells in prison shortened his life.

I found a passing mention of Vale Rawlings in a book about conscientious objectors a couple of years ago. Since then, I have researched his life and times, tracked down several of his grandchildren and great grandchildren and founded The Vale Rawlings Project Community Interest Company with William Walker, secretary of the East Staffordshire Trades Council. This CIC will raise funds for two Burton charities that we believe Vale would have endorsed: YMCA Burton and the rape advice centre SARAC.
In December 2024, a play I wrote about Vale, called *Strikers!* was performed for one night only at Burton Town Hall and raised more than £2,000 for our two nominated charities. Three days after the play, East Staffordshire Borough councillors of all political parties voted unanimously to rename a room at Burton Town Hall in honour of Vale Rawlings.

This year I am writing a book about Vale and all profits from this, along with any speakers' fees from talks I give, will go to YMCA Burton and SARAC.

Back in 1914, a series of commemorative postcards of Vale were issued by the Independent Labour Party to celebrate his release from Derby Gaol. We have had these reprinted and they are also for sale to raise funds for the CIC.
To find out more go to facebook.com/ForgottenBurtonStories or www.forgottenburtonstories.co.uk.
Elaine can be contacted at valerawlingsprojectcic@gmail.com

The transnational lace-makers of Nottingham and Calais

Fabrice Bensimon

The lace-makers of Nottingham and those of Calais have been the object of several substantial studies, like those of Stanley Chapman, Sheila Mason, Roy Church and Katrina Honeyman for Nottingham, and Michel Caron for Calais*. But their connected history is still partly to be written, and I have attempted to do this over the past few years.

Such a transnational history is worthwhile because the Calais industry was set up by Nottingham lace-makers, and this was not a one-way trip but included a series of back of forth moves between the two towns and their respective lace industries. This paper addresses the background of this migration, the relationships between the British and French workers in Calais, and forms of transnational activism.

The story began in 1816, soon after the end of the Napoleonic wars. This was not long after John Heathcoat had patented his 'bobbin-net' machine in 1809, which had been improved by John Leavers, and produced impressive and cheap imitations of hand-made lace. Three of the Nottingham artisans wanted to penetrate the French market, which was protected with high tariffs. They settled in Calais, where they had to pay neither the customs officer nor the smuggler, and they were soon followed by others. Calais was a well-located harbour, half-way between Paris, which was the largest lace market in France, and Nottingham, where the craftsmen went back for cotton, models, the hiring of workers,

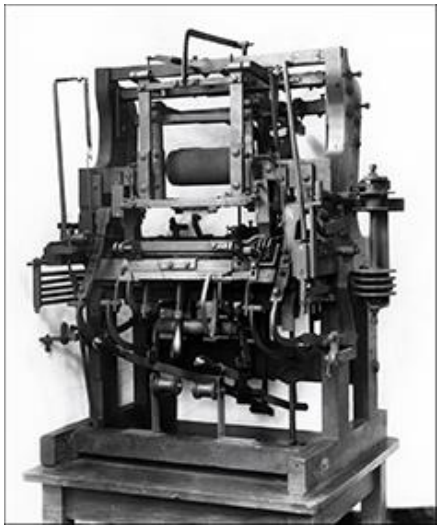
We don't know much about the lives of the first generations of migrants. They often worked ten to twelve hours a day, six days a week, in two day shifts, so as to maximise the use of the expensive Leavers machines, whose price could reach £1,000, a fortune at the time. Although the lace makers were men, unlike the hand lace workers who were exclusively women, it seems that many migrants emigrated in family groups. This was easy as the production of lace was very much a family matter, with male 'twisthands' operating the large Leavers machines, while women and children worked with them, replacing and refilling the bobbins, doing the embroidery ('running') and the mending, bleaching, dying and dressing of the lace. In Calais, the gendered structure of the trade was very much like that in Nottingham. However, family separations were also common, e.g., in 1840 a Nottingham newspaper reported the death of a young mother whose husband was 'now of Calais' (*Nottingham Review*, 2 October 1840, p. 4). Young Britons also went to Britain to marry fellow-subjects, and several such marriages took place in St Mary's Church in Dover. Others married young local French women. Obviously, many lace-makers went back and forth, depending on various family or business events.

Relationships between British and French workers

Once in Calais, the Nottinghamshire migrants often worked with French people. Although the first generations obviously had the expertise and the skills which the French had not yet mastered, such exclusiveness does not seem to have lasted for very long. Despite the fact the two countries had been at war, almost uninterruptedly between 1793 and 1815, many Franco-British couples and families were formed. While in the 1840s, only four percent of the Methodist babies baptised in Calais were born to such families, by the 1860s, the rate reached twenty percent, and by the end of the century, most marriages were mixed. Many bonds of friendship were also created, as the French and the British worked in the same workshops and lived in the same neighbourhoods. Gravener Henson (1785-1852), the champion of the framework knitters and of the lace makers, whom E.P. Thompson portrayed as one of three 'truly impressive trade union leaders' of the time, was bitter about the emigration of his fellow-workers to Calais. He complained that 'Calais [was] rising upon the ruins of Nottingham' and argued against the exportation of machinery to Calais. (Select committee on postage, 1837-8, vol. II, p. 217, q. 9192.)

However, Anglophobia did exist in France. In March 1848, in the wake of the revolution that toppled the July Monarchy in February, several demonstrations against foreign workers occurred across the country. France had been going through a serious economic crisis since 1847, and the lace market had collapsed. In Calais, the British consul E.W. Bonham reported:

> On Sunday the cries of "A bas les Anglais" were first heard in the Basse ville, these were redoubled yesterday and accompanied by much occasional abuse towards English workmen in the streets on the part of the lowest rabble. Some placards were posted, calling a meeting for last night to petition for work, bread and the expulsion of the English workmen: this meeting was attended by about 200 of the lowest of the mob. (The National Archives, Kew. FO 146 350. Letter of the consul in Calais to Palmerston, Foreign Secretary, 21 March 1848)



It is difficult to know more about this outburst of xenophobia, which was denied in the Calais press. Anyway, many British workers now wanted to return home. But the local elite in Nottingham was not keen on this, as the same crisis had hit the East Midlands industry. The British government and the press were now promoting emigration to the settler colonies, Australia in particular as this could be beneficial to the development of what had mostly been a convict colony, and could also help alleviate distress in Britain and get rid of the paupers. As a result, it was suggested by the Colonial Land and Emigration Commission (CLEC) that the Calais lace makers should

emigrate to Australia, with their voyage being paid for. Many lacemakers and their families, totalling 642 people, went, and settled there for ever, renouncing lace making. Others stayed, or returned from Britain to Calais in the 1850s, when the economy improved. Apart from this brief moment of crisis, there is little evidence of structural hostility between the French and the British workers.

Transnational solidarity

Little is known about early forms of solidarity. But as early as 1825, the French authorities were concerned with agitation which they suspected had originated in Nottingham. In Paris, the Interior ministry was obviously alarmed and sent an enquiring letter to the préfets of the three départements where lace makers worked (Pas-de-Calais, Nord, Aisne), commenting on a resolution of the Nottingham lace makers which demanded an eight hour day and required that 'a copy of the above resolution be transmitted to the Bobbin Net Committee at Calais, Lisle and St-Quentin, requesting their assistance in case of need, as required in the foregoing resolution'. (*Nottingham Mercury* (23 September 1825); a clipping of the article was translated in the correspondence.) Only the Saint-Quentin authorities answered positively about discontent in the city, mentioning the suspected role of a 'foreman' who worked in Saint-Quentin but was currently in Nottingham.

In the late 1840s, the Chartist *Northern Star* reported on branches of Feargus O'Connor's Land Plan in France, especially in Calais, where at least 23 men subscribed to the Land Plan. O'Connor, who was the MP for Nottingham, often quoted letters from Calais, and he spent a day there in September 1849, hoping to address the lace makers.

By the middle of the century, the artisan stage of the trade, with machines owned and operated by individuals and very small businesses, was ending and machines were now in factories owned by masters with a rising amount of capital and important trade connections. The workers were wage-earners, who set up their trade unions on both sides of the Channel. Strike solidarity was reported. In 1890, a strike broke out among the Calais lacemakers. One of them, Georges Hazeldine, was sent to curry support in Nottingham, probably because he was related to a British trade unionist based there: £257 was collected in Nottingham where the local press daily reported on the strike. This was repeated in 1900–1901 when a strike occurred in Calais in favour of the eight-hour day, at a time when lacemakers still toiled some twelve hours a day, and the Amalgamated Society of Lace Makers supported the strike. Three years earlier, in 1897, the Calais lacemakers supported the Nottingham mechanics. (Magali Domain,'Jaurès et la grève des tullistes calaisiens (12 novembre 1900–7 février 1901), *Cahiers Jaurès*, 2014/1, no. 211, pp. 53–75; Nicolas Delalande, *La Lutte et l'entraide. L'Âge des solidarités ouvrières*, Paris, 2019, pp. 187–9.

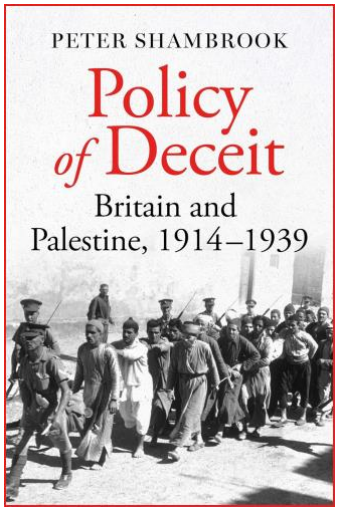
In other words, in the age of the Socialist International, while Calais and Nottingham had become two competing lace-making industrial centres, and while the lace manufacturers of both towns used competition as an argument to minimise social improvements, the workers of both towns saw one another as partners rather than as rivals.

*S.D. Chapman, 'The life and work of William Felkin (1795-1874)', in William Felkin, *A history of the machine-wrought hosiery and lace manufactures* (Newton Abbot, 1967), v–xxxviii ; S. D. Chapman, 'Felkin, William (1795–1874)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004); Roy A. Church, *Economic and Social Change in a Midland Town. Victorian Nottingham 1815-1900* (London, 1966); Katrina Honeyman, *Origins of enterprise. Business leadership in the industrial revolution* (Manchester, 1982); Sheila A. Mason, *Nottingham Lace 1760s-1950s. The Machine-made Lace Industry in Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire and Leicestershire* (Stroud, 1994); Michel Caron, *Du tulle à la dentelle, Naissance d'une industrie (1815-1860)* (La Sentinelle, 1997); Fabrice Bensimon, *Artisans Abroad. British migrant workers in industrialising Europe*, *1815-1870* (Oxford, 2023).

Fabrice Bensimon (Sorbonne Université – IUF

Joint Meeting with
Palestine Solidarity Campaign Nottingham

Wednesday March 19th 7.30 pm
Queen's Walk Community Centre, The Meadows, Nottingham NG2 2DF
Mary Seacole Room



A Talk by Peter Shambrook

The venue is immediately opposite the Queen's Walk Tram Stop and has a car park accessed from Houseman Garden.

Please note that the entrance is at the back of the building.

The talk will be preceded by the NDLHS AGM beginning at 7.00 pm

Non-members welcome

Pamphlets published by NDLHS

1. "Volunteers for Liberty: Notts and Derbys Volunteers in the Spanish Civil War", £2.00
2. "Who Dips in the Tin? The Butty System in Notts Coalfield", Barry Johnson, £2.50
3. "Women in British Coal Mining", Chris Wrigley, £2.00
4. "Bravery and Deception: The Pentrich Revolt of 1817", Julian Atkinson, £2.00
5. "Luddism in the East Midlands", Julian Atkinson and Roger Tanner, £3.00
6. "Florence Paton M.P.", Val Wood, £2.50
7. "Chartism in Nottingham", Julian Atkinson and Roger Tanner, £5.00

NDLHS Members and Supporters books/pamphlets from other publishers:

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2. "Glossop's Oldest Textile Trade Unionist", Joe Doyle's interview with Mr E Watts pub. 'The Wheatsheaf' Co-op paper, February 1926, £2
3. "The Co-operative Movement in Nottingham", Christopher Richardson, £3
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5. "Nine Days That Shook Mansfield", Barry Johnson, £3
6. "Nottingham Miners Do Strike", Keith Stanley, £7
7. "The Lost Missionary", Chris Richardson, £2
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10. "Kettling the Unions", Alan Tuckman, £14.99
11. "How Glossop Supported the Miners", Gwyneth Francis, £3
12. "The Air of Freedom: the story of the striking boot and shoemakers in Eyam and Stoney Middleton 1918 – 1920" - Steve Bond and Philip Taylor £6
13. "The Derby Lock-out 1833-34 and the Origins of the Labour Movement", Bill Whitehead, £1.00
14. "A Radical History of Heanor, Derbyshire 1800-1850" Paul Jones, £3.50 (or more as the proceeds from this sale are given to Heanor Food Bank, so please give generously.)

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