

[i]

Papers  
Cooperative  
Part I

Book I

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Analysis of evidence given  
by certain prominent Master-  
Bakers & journeymen before  
the Labour Commission.

and also  
at interviews with myself.

Organization of the Men

Price of bread in  
London

Mr John Jenkins Secretary

Secretary of the Amalgamated  
Union of Operative Bakers & Confectioners

... which has 90 branches and  
contains 4,400 members  
was established in 1861.

London is the head-quarters of the Society  
and there are 1,500 members  
of the Union in London  
and about 7,500 operative bakers  
not in the Union.

The working  
5½ is the average price of the  
fourth-rate loaf: but the finer bread  
runs up to 6½ and 7, the latter  
figure being often charged in  
the "aristocratic" parts of London.

Bread supplied to the  
working classes.

Wages & Hours of work.

2

The usual supplies are in 4 pound loaves.  
There are two qualities of bread  
over almost the whole country.

Five pence per quarter is the price  
for the ordinary quality, and Six pence  
for the finer quality in the provinces.  
~~London~~

The wages are lowest and the hours  
are longest in the East, South and  
West of England.

In the North of England wages are  
highest & hours are shortest.

Manchester it could best be said as to  
wages & hours. That town has  
been the centre of the baking  
trade organization for the last 25  
years & First Hand there get  
3<sup>s</sup> 4<sup>d</sup>; second hands 3<sup>s</sup> and other  
adult hands 2<sup>s</sup> 9<sup>d</sup>, for 60 hours

Wages & Hours outside Manchester.

Method of work.

per week, meal-time included: about 40 minutes of that time being given to meals per day.

Outside Manchester hours range in no case less than 60 & often 70 or 80.

Average rate of wages.

First-Hands 3<sup>s</sup> per week

Second or 3<sup>d</sup> Hands . . . 2<sup>s</sup> 6, 2<sup>s</sup> 4 and 2<sup>s</sup> 0

In some cases it is much worse, e.g.

In Sault aux Piles, men work often 75 hours per week at 16 or 18<sup>s</sup>.

A Baker goes on duty at about midnight & remains at work for about 14 hours, or 12 hours.

He takes his sleep when he can.

Many men have to work also on Sundays in which case they begin at 9<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> or 10 a.m. to cook dinners till 1 or 2 p.m. & have to return at 11 p.m. for the bread baking.

The Sunday dinner is often taken to

Sunday dinners.

Night work.

4  
the bakehouse to be worked.

This is the practice in towns especially, and it prevents very much in London.

But not at all in Lancashire & very little in Yorkshire.

In some of the Midland towns processions of families are seen on Sundays bringing their dinners from the bakehouses.  
In Newcastle

There is no Sunday work: men work there only 6 days a week and overtime is paid for, which is scarcely recognized in any other town in England.

I see no necessity for night work in the baking trade. It is due to the business habits of the employer.

As regard hot rolls any competent baker can start to make rolls & have them finished to go out of the shop in 2½ hours.

As a matter of fact - middle class people prefer their bread a day old, but they want to be sure that they are buying the bread fresh & as new as possible. In fact they w<sup>d</sup> prefer perhaps to have it warm, to be sure that it is fresh.

But that is owing to the tricks of the trade that they have had played on them by the employers not giving them bread according to what they said it was ..

Right work is done for the purpose of delivering the bread the next morning. The employers want to send out vans at 7. a. m. to get their bread into the small chandler's shops & to serve small private families to enable them to serve fresh new bread every day to their customers. But if they could bake good bread



5

they could start baking at 8 a.m.  
and finish in the evening &  
then w<sup>d</sup> expect them to send out  
their vans at 6 a.m., if they  
could bake with good sound flour  
& they would not need to sell it new.

The working classes do not want  
hot new bread & I sh<sup>d</sup> think  
the fashionable people are too well  
educated to eat new bread & destroy  
their digestive powers!

I don't think that night-work  
can be abolished by means of  
better organization amongst the men,  
because union is so strong amongst  
many of the employers who think  
that it would interfere with their  
profits. It would mean perpetual  
warfare between us & the employers.  
In Scotland the bakers have

Baking - from a sanitary  
point of view

7  
No night work, except partially  
in Glasgow where owing to  
the factory system competition  
is very keen.

I have heard no complaints in  
Scotland amongst the consumers  
about fresh bread not being produced.

Baking is a very unhealthy occu-  
pation. With the exception of  
a few modern factories, bakeries  
are very confined places & are  
nearly always underground, in cellars.  
There is little ventilation & the at-  
mosphere is fetid & very bad.  
- A great many bakers die of con-  
sumption & other kindred diseases.  
In the large modern factories the  
state of things is fairly healthy  
& they are fairly ventilated.

But still baking is not a very healthy job under any conditions

you cannot work at less than 75 degrees to keep the stuff going & then there is the dust. And it is very hard work & intermittent: you have to go on for hours.

In a big place for see 10 or 15 men stand a table working away as hard as they can go, with all the weight of their hands & body put upon the loaves that they are moulding & they will go on for 4 or 5 hours at a stretch without being able to turn round & get a drink of cold tea.

The mortality is very great amongst bakers out of 120 examined at Guy's Hospital 100 were touched with consumption. Most of our men die of phthisis, consumption & pneumonia.

The State ought to limit  
the working hours.

Recent Trade Disputes

London

It is a public danger that men  
sh<sup>d</sup>. be working in an unhealthy con-  
dition or people's food, particularly  
with bread & flour.

Though it is such an absurdity that it is  
unsafe for people to eat bread which is  
made under disadvantageous sanitary conditions.  
I say that the State ought to be in con-  
act to limit hours of work in our trade,  
& to see that the sanitary conditions  
are perfect.

Where the bake houses are above ground  
& are decently ventilated there is  
much less sickness among the men.

In 1889-90 there was a London  
bakers strike & 5000 men were  
affected by it.

The men remained out for 3 or 4 months  
& cost our Society men £3000.

Strikes at Manchester  
Liverpool etc.

Co-operation etc

The strike was chiefly for 60 hours  
a week, and also against the low  
wages & bad sanitary conditions of  
the bake houses.

The strike was conducted peacefully.  
We obtained an advance of wages  
by it & reduction of hours.

A large number of the upper class of  
employers have stuck honourably  
to their engagement then made  
for 60 hours a week & payment for  
overtime.

But many lower grade employers  
have departed from it.

We have had successful strikes against  
long hours <sup>night work</sup> & low wages in 1890-91  
at Manchester; in 1891-2 at  
Liverpool & Birkenhead; in 1891  
at Leicester and also at Wolverhampton.  
To avoid disputes, I think, cooperation

Inspection of Bakeries.

no  
not entirely

Boys.

Factories & Machinery.

and Profit-sharing would be of use.  
They have already got large Co-operative  
Bakeries at Plymouth & Manchester  
& Leeds.

Also in Woolwich and Stratford

The sanitary inspection of bakeries  
is very badly neglected.

It is now under the factory inspectors  
who have more work to do than they can do.

I have worked over 30 years and

I have only seen an inspector in  
a bakery, twice in my life.

Begin to learn the trade at 15 or 16;

there are very few apprentices in the trade

I would <sup>like</sup> to see machinery every where.

it is much healthier, for get from 12

to 16 feet overhead in a factory bakery

Whereas in an ordinary cellar - bakehouse  
you have only 6 feet 6 inches to 7 feet.

I have seen a bakehouse not six feet  
high where tall men had to stoop.

I should prefer that the dough sh<sup>d</sup> be  
mixed by machinery, for in the mixing  
of heavy dough by hand there is  
a tendency to cause rupture.

It is said that 70 percent of our  
men are ruptured in trade after  
40 years of age.

These ruptures are caused, in my  
opinion by stooping to mix the  
heavy dough & lifting it up. In  
lifting a large piece of dough it some-  
times sticks & if it does not come with  
the lift you have to drop it down again  
& that is how the rupture takes place,  
that is, if the weight does not come  
up as they are pulling.

Eight Hours Day

Municipal Bakeries

The introduction of machinery would make very little difference in the number of men employed & it would do a good deal of our heavy work.

Of the members of our union, at least 90 per cent. are in favour of a statutory eight-hour day, either under a general law or under a special law something like the miners.

Am in favour of Municipal Bakeries - The municipality w<sup>d</sup> be able to supply bread at a price & quality that w<sup>d</sup> not give competition much chance of existing.



Wages & Hours in London

Bakehouses . Sanitation of

14  
Mr. C. Lee

Secretary of the London District of  
the Amalgamated Union of Operative  
Bakers & Confectioners

The average hours in London are from  
70 to 80, but there are men  
working in London as many as 90 and  
100 hours.

There are Jewish workers in the baking  
trade, near Whitechapel, working 90  
hours at 15<sup>s</sup> a week.

The average wages in London are 25<sup>s</sup> per  
week for a skilled worker, but many  
bakers work 80 and 90 hours for £1  
and 22<sup>s</sup> a week, particularly in the  
South & East of London.

Many London bakehouses are in a very bad  
state.

Some have water closets opening directly into the bake houses.

Many have sewage pipes running down the inside of the bake houses & these pipes become from time to time leaking & porous.

In these neighbourhoods you do not see are affected by the tidal fluctuations of the river, bake houses have been often flooded & the walls of the floor has become saturated with sewage.

(Refer to "Bakers Record" (the organ of the trade) of 30 July 1892

67 Bake houses in Southwark were recently inspected by the medical officer there: more than half were owned & managed by Germans. Several of the bake houses were found to be badly ventilated.

In one case an airy in a filthy

Southwark

Report by Dr. Waldo - medical officer of the vestry of St. George the Martyr.

## Relation of Employers & Employed

Difficulty of Organization  
amongst the men.

16  
Stalls opened into the bakehouse.

In three cases the closet opened directly  
into the bakehouse & in each case  
was without any ventilation. - )

The relations between bakers & employers  
in London are at present not very  
friendly, owing to the successful  
way in which the employers departed  
from the agreement they entered  
into in 1859 to grant the men  
terms of 60 hours a week and  
time & a half for overtime.

We work in isolated sections and  
in consequence it is often difficult  
to get men to join our Society, as  
they come under the influence of  
the masters to a much larger extent  
than operatives in other trades.

Lung Disease & Temperature  
of Baker's houses.

Skill required in the trade

17  
In my opinion the Lung Disease prevalent among operative bakers arise chiefly from sudden changes of temperature to which they are subjected by the nature of their work.

The normal temperature in a baker's house is 70 degrees, but, when bread is coming out of the oven, it runs up to 96 degrees.

And in some processes - such as the Vienna bread process - the temperature is as high as 116 degrees.

And from this temperature they go out into the cold air of the night or early morning.

A high class of skill & intelligence is required in order to produce uniformly good bread day after day.

Knowledge as to regulating the temperature can only be gained by considerable experience.

When you start fermentation you measure out a certain proportion of yeast, water & flour.

After that you have to have four calculations on the nature of the outside temperature; if it is cold you have to make artificial heat; if hot, to ventilate in order that the dough may not run away & produce sour bread.

A baker must moreover possess a natural faculty of calculation and comparison.

And he must be physically strong or he could not stand the work.

Even then he can only work for 20 years under present conditions.

Capacity lost.

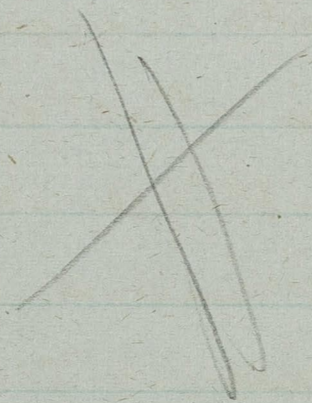
## Regularity of work.

19

That is to say where long hours  
are worked such as 14 hours  
a day and 18 hours on Saturday.  
But of course there are plenty  
of easy places & in them men  
work for longer than 20 years.  
He has introduced me to a man, under  
forty years of age, who has been  
discharged because he is not so  
good as he was owing to the long  
hours having taken it out of him.  
His operation will have to last  
for a time before he can get on & take  
up work again as an operative  
baker.

There is a slack time in the West-  
End of London from middle of August  
to first of November, when frolic  
is out of town. Work is pretty regular

## Methods of Training.



in other parts of London.

Some hands are dismissed at the slack time referred to, and no agreement is made to take them back. Of course the hands dismissed would generally be the lower grade of workers.

Most London bakers have learnt their trade in the country.

The system of apprenticeship has been out of date in London for many years; and in the country it prevails mostly as a nominal apprenticeship with no fixed term of years: say three or four years.

M<sup>r</sup>. Leo advocates the revival of the apprentice system, he says it was abolished in London by the action of the masters!

Germanus.

Unionists & Non Unionists

21  
In shops where German operatives are employed, men who were originally agricultural labourers in Germany are taken on as "greeners" & taught the trade: getting no wages till they have learned it.

It is true that, speaking of the higher type of German baker, he understands the manufacture of Vienna bread better than Englishmen. But the latter have now learned how to make it.

Twenty years ago there was no Vienna bread in London.

The best class of Germans are not trades-unionists as a rule, though they get good wages.

Work together amicably. The men working for two of the largest employers



Shifting.

Rate of wages

in the trade baking trade e.g.  
Chibnall's and Nevill's  
are all in the union.

Men don't shift much from shop  
to shop.

In an ordinary bakehouse  
A Foreman (first hand) over 10 men  
w<sup>d</sup> get £ 2 .. 5 a week  
First 2<sup>d</sup> hand 3<sup>s</sup>6<sup>d</sup> ..  
second 2<sup>d</sup> hand 3<sup>s</sup>2<sup>d</sup> to 3<sup>s</sup> ..

- Six or seven other men called often (especially in  
Scotland) Table hands - get 2<sup>s</sup>6<sup>d</sup> a week

At Nevill's Factory

The Foremen are numerous: there is one over  
each gang of six men & he gets 3<sup>s</sup>5<sup>d</sup> a week  
- No operative, there gets less than 2<sup>s</sup>8<sup>d</sup> a week.

Domestic Life.

23  
is sadly interfered with by the  
necessity of night work in L.M.  
As a consequence the relations be-  
tween husband & wife are perhaps  
worse than in other industries.

Hours of work

Mr. L. A. Hill

represents the Hammersmith branch  
of the amalgamated union of  
bakers & confectioners.

We work at hours when the doctors  
agree in saying that the vitality of  
the human frame is at the lowest.

I have worked night-after night  
throughout the year from 9 p.m.  
till 7 a.m.

I am still a working baker but now  
I am fortunate in my hours & only  
work 64 or 65 hours per week.

Now I work from 3 1/2 to 1 1/2, about  
ten hours, generally

On Saturday I start about one hour  
earlier & finish perhaps one or  
two hours later.

Every other Sunday I go in and stay

Long hours  
on  
Fridays.

Reasons for such hours

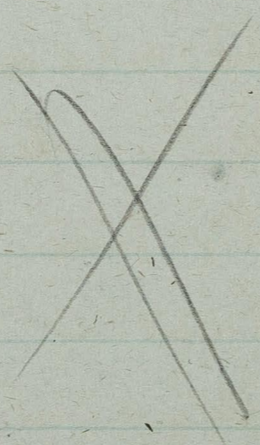
the sponge, that is about an hour's work in the evening from 8 1/2 to 9 1/2.

That is not the general condition of the bakers in Hammersmith.

There is a shop there in the Goldhawk Road where the men go in about 7 p.m. on Friday & only come out about 7 p.m. on Saturday. Even at Clibnall's (where all the men are in the union) the men during winter time go in on Friday night, and work 22 hours at a stretch, with intervals of perhaps two half hours only. And the same thing occurs at most of the large factories in London, when they are baking for the Saturday's & Sunday's bread.

These long hours would be unnecessary if

Boy Labour



They started more ovens.  
The short supply of ovens is responsible for it.

And the men themselves are also to blame, as they are willing often to work on in order to get paid time and a half.

The employer in question (Mr. Chubbuck) is not alone to be blamed.

He is on the whole as fair an employer as any in London.

Boy labour should at night should be prohibited under the age of 18. At the present time the age is 16, and the result is that there are a number of boys working in London between the ages of 16 and 18 at very early hours in the morning. You will find them working at 12 at night.

night work.

Underground Bakeshous.

and from that up till 5 a.m.

I strongly advocate that 16 should be increased to 18.

not only for boys but also for men.

I would prohibit night work, so far as is practicable.

The general mass of people in London never eat bread till it is at least 24 hours old, with the exception of hot French rolls.

and starting at 5 a.m. these hot rolls could be produced as required.

I have myself started at 6 1/2 a.m. & then had rolls out at 8 a.m.

Parliament sh<sup>d</sup> prohibit for the future the building of underground bakeshous. Such bakeshous generally badly ventilated & are subject to flooding, not only when adjacent to the river, but also at some distance from it.

In 1887 a severe storm occurred. I was working near Paddington at that time & I well remember that several bake houses in the neighbourhood were flooded with sewage.

As the rush of water came down from above, it drove the sewage back into the bake houses & the result was that the sacks of flour were swamped with this sewage & they waited till the water had run down again & then simply turned the flour from one sack into another, and it was used for the making of bread in the ordinary course.

In these cellar bake houses, gas has to be burnt all the time the work is going on. Some years ago a bill was brought into the House of Commons by Mr. W. H. Smith to prevent any further building of

gas.

take laws underground: but a  
deputation of employers waited  
upon him & succeeded in per-  
suading him not to persevere  
with it.

We do not advocate that such a  
bill should be made retrospective.



In Staffordshire  
night work the exception.  
Hours of work.

Continuous Character of Baker's work.

Mr. H. Emery

I represent the Staffordshire  
Operative bakers.  
In Staffordshire most of the work  
is performed in the day time;  
it is exceptional to work there at night.  
We begin on the first four days  
of the week a baker on Monday  
Tuesday, Wednesday & Thursday  
at 5 1/2 a.m. and work till 7 1/2 p.m.,  
with some times an hour for meals,  
but ~~generally~~ <sup>often</sup> they work through  
the Friday night till 4 p.m. on  
Saturday in order to get the  
supply of bread for the week end  
for Sunday.

Whether working in Staffordshire or London  
the baker is practically at work the  
whole of his working hours; in bread

## Sanitation

making he cannot leave the goods that he is manufacturing.

The process of fermentation never ceases going on during the whole of the time from when he starts until he gets his last batch in.

When he gets his last batch in he has to get ready to put in his sponges, or what we call "shoot his flour" for the following day.

In Staffordshire we suffer also from want of sanitation in bake houses. I know one bake house, a cellar bake-house where there is no sewer or drainage, & the cesspits is in a beastly drainage: the stench is frightful; there is no wind.

Two men & one boy work there. In another place, in Stafford, the bake house is 12 feet by ten feet,

Sickness

Inspection

32  
and eight feet high. The men have to go through this back door to get to the closet, which is two yards from the back door down.

I find for the past 12 months we have paid an average of about 2 weeks sick pay to each member & that is a high percentage, considering that more than half our members are young men.

The men suffer chiefly from Bronchitis. The work has to be done in a temperature of from 70 to 90 degrees & working in these places has a bad effect on health. More efficient inspection is needed.

There have been working for 15 years in my present situation & have not seen the medical officer half a dozen times.

I think every back door ought to be inspected at least once a month.

Questions of allowances  
beyond wages

Yearly inspections are not sufficient  
for in many bakeries all the  
refuse (the waste flour & sweepings)  
is thrown under the troughs, water  
gets amongst them & they are perhaps  
left there for 2 or 3 months & the  
stench from them is often abominable.

In addition to a journeyman's wage,  
there is often an allowance of  
seven half pence a week &  
half a penny of flour for a second  
or third hand

And seven pence a week and  
a penny of flour for a freeman.  
Several large firms have however  
knocked this off since the passing  
of the last Truck Act.

Since that act many master bakers  
have given their men 2 or 4 a week  
in lieu of the allowances.

Cooperative Bakeries

Cooperative Bakery.

Harroway, 6<sup>d</sup>  
Battersea

Here the conditions of work are good:

Six men are employed;

The foreman gets £2-5 + allowances

2<sup>d</sup> Hand ... £1-8 + 8<sup>d</sup> of bread flour

3<sup>d</sup> Hand ... £1-0 + 8<sup>d</sup>

The lowest hands employed get 1-4<sup>s</sup> a week.

No "bonus" is paid here.

They have Cooperative bakeries also at:

Stratford, where 22 men are employed on good terms and at

Woodwich, where 18 men are employed.



36

No. 10

London Bakers Protection Society.

Numbers of employers  
& employed in London.

Master Bakers

37

I am the ex President of the  
London Bakers Protection Society.  
The number of members is about  
500.

The objects of the Society are to protect  
defend & indemnify its members from  
unjust prosecutions brought against  
them by police, Government, or local inspectors.  
To prosecute fraudulent servants.

To carry out such plans as may  
appear advisable for the advancement  
of the best interests of the trade by  
holding conferences with the millinery  
trade, leading men of the baking trade  
in particular districts, or operatives,  
in order to carry out a given policy.

I estimate the numbers of employers  
in London as about 3,000



Number of employed.

Cellar Bakeries

Of these about 500 belong to our Society.

We have also a number of local associations affiliated to our Society. There are some 30 or 40 of them in London. And they are general throughout the Kingdom.

We think there are from 14000 to 15000 operative employed in London. This is merely an assumption.

I do not know of a bake-house where the bake house is a cellar converted into a bake house.

The term cellar bake house is misleading.

The baking may be carried on in the basement of the house or below the level of the pavement, but not in the cellar.

Very many London bake houses are

Night work.

His. Present hours of work

below the pavement & the cellars have been converted into ovens.

This is owing to the difficulty of getting room in London for over-ground bakehouses.

There has been a great improvement in the general condition of the trade during the last 20 years: the bake-houses are now healthier than they were.

I tried for six months doing away with night work.

My men worked from 4 a.m. to 4 p.m.

I discontinued this system at the request of my own foreman.

I believe the public will not buy stale bread, they will have it fresh even in the poorest localities.

My work could be easily done in

ten hours, but I cannot get my men to take sufficient interest in it or even to support the trade union idea & that is the general feeling of the men in London very largely. They have no life in the agitation that they are carrying on apart from their leaders.

I employ three men & a lad. The men come in at 12 midnight. My foreman has finished about 10 a.m.

Then he has to come for an hour in the evening to stir "sponge"

My second hand has to serve customers with respect to my other 2 men, one gets done about 12 noon & the other shortly after, but they might all be done early in ten hours, only they spin their time out.

Practically my bread is made, baked,

new bread

Scotland. The Metropolis

2 sold within 12 hours time.

I think the buyers consume it at once & do not keep it.

The general public like new bread.

Stale bread has no market.

It has to be cut up over the counter for make weight.

If we made the bread in the day-time & sold it the next morning, it ~~that~~ would not be fresh enough for our customers.

As regards day work in Scotland, as long as all bakers are working on the same system, one tradesman cannot steal an advantage over another, but competition steps in & competition has been the means of abolishing day-work in London.

Moreover provincial regulations & customs are simply impossible in

### Inspection of Bakerhouses

42  
A place like London, where we have such a vast population to cater for & so many requirements of all sorts. 1400 rolls might be made in the early morning, but in London they are but a small matter.

The bread which covers all the rest is the demand for household bread & I am strongly of opinion that it is quite impracticable, so far as London is concerned, to produce it in the day time.

If there were a compulsory Act it might be done, but it is the competition that makes it impossible.

Bakerhouses are inspected by the local authorities. Some years ago the inspection was taken away from the sanitary inspectors & given to the

## Rapture

Baking not specially unhealthy

factory inspectors, but since then it has been transferred again to the local authorities.

But if bakers are on a large scale they come under the factory act.

Many bakers are raptured.

I think one of the chief causes of this is their carrying heavy sacks of flour. These sacks weigh  $2\frac{1}{2}$  cwt.

They have tried to get the miller to reduce the weight to 2 cwt. but have not effected much.

In late years the Americans have sent us half sacks of ~~2~~ 140 pounds & they are very much easier to handle.

I don't think Baking is specially unhealthy. We have a good many old operators

bakers.

The journey men's Temperance Society have plenty of candidates from 30 years of age, who have worked from 30 to 50 years in the bakery.

Bakers seem to suffer chiefly from Asthma & that is caused by the particles of flour getting in the

They are not found to be more liable to bronchial attacks than other workmen.

They are as temperate as any other class of men.

I don't think the temperature in which they work, tends generally to make them take stimulants.

There are a great many foreigners in the trade.

One half of the London masters & certainly one half of the operatives are Germans.

Temperance.

Foreigners in the Baking Trade

- Very often these Germans come to London quite ignorant of the trade. A German Master baker takes them in & gives them board & lodging & teaches them & as far as they can "mould" a bit, they get another place at a low rate of wages & they persevere.

They are a very persevering sort of men & our trade is somewhat easily learnt.

So far as they have made their standing as journey men, their tariff pushes them on to become Masters in a small way at first & so they progress.

I don't think they are much soberer than the average English men.

There are no Germans in the Wholesale trade.

They manage small bakeries.



Improvement in Position  
of Operative bakers.

Wages.

Inspected Mr. Train's bakery N. 18  
at Tiverton R. D. in Stroud

There has been much improvement  
in the position of the operative baker  
during the last 25 years.

Twenty five years ago a second hand  
only got 17<sup>s</sup> a <sup>s</sup> a week & perquisites.  
Now he gets 25 & perquisites

Then a freeman only got 24<sup>s</sup> a 25<sup>s</sup>  
Now no freeman w<sup>d</sup> get less than 30<sup>s</sup>

The hours also used to be very much longer  
& Sunday labour much more prevalent  
than now.

Sunday labour is gradually dying out  
in London, except in very low-class  
working localities where the people  
have no accommodation for cooking  
their own dinner on a Sunday.

I saw Mr. Train's bake house & it  
appears to be well ventilated & lighted.

Apprentices.

Technical Schools

Flour

47  
- There are none in London.  
- Baking work is easily learned.  
- The foreman's business is the only  
difficult one: he must have a know-  
ledge of temperature.  
English journeyman bakers have no con-  
tention & little perseverance: they contrast  
most unfavorably with Germans in this respect.

- are of very little use in teaching baking.  
- At the South Kensington City & Guild  
Institution various lectures are delivered  
on the subject, but they deal mostly  
with the chemistry of baking & are  
of no practical use.

The Master Baker has to have special  
knowledge of the different qualities of flour,  
& he never leaves this to his foreman.  
American flour makes the best bread.

M<sup>r</sup>. Chitwell

Chitwell's Bread

English flour is "tricky", as it often does not make a large enough loaf; there is a want of gluten in it. - Some Hungarian flour is very choice & fetches a high price -

M<sup>r</sup>. George William Chitwell

I have a little over 100 men employed in my factory at Chiswick.

I make principally cottage bread & it is sold by dairies & cut grocers & chandler's shops in two pound loaves.

Bread is mostly sold in two pound loaves to the working classes.

We only make one quality of bread, which we sell to retailers at  $4 \frac{3}{4}$  d for two 2 lb loaves, and they resell it at  $5 \frac{1}{2}$  d. We also supply hospitals & 3 workhouses e.g. Taddington: Newn & Richmond.

night-work.

Hours of work.

The price at which bread is sold by us now is as low as I have ever known it to be.

Speaking of the wholesale trade in regard to night-labour, if night-labour were abolished it would simply mean the closing of all the wholesale bakeries, because our vans have to leave the bakery between 5 & 8 in the morning & the shops will have to be served by 12 and 1 in the day, and if you abolish night work that would be practically impossible.

Some of our vans have got to leave our place at Clitwick & go to the extreme north of London, to the West-End of London & to the South of London.

The average number of working hours in my factory are by hours per week & that includes one hour a day for meals.

Rating of Tany in the Wholesale trade

(Produces time-sheets for 4 or 5 weeks)  
Signed by two of the men (both mem-  
bers of the Union)

The sheets show  $9\frac{1}{2}$  hours on each  
day except Saturday - which is  $17\frac{1}{2}$  hours.  
On Saturday we have two days  
bread to bake ...

The men are paid for sixty hours  
work: over & above sixty hours we  
pay them time and a half.

Much about the same rate of wage  
is paid through the wholesale trade.

The lowest pay our men get is  
25 for a week of sixty hours.  
Over & above that they get  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per hour.  
Seven loaves a week & half a quarter  
of flour.

The "Setters" (the men who put the  
bread into the oven) get 27 a week

Number of Wholesale firms

Description of Clitwell's  
Bakery.

51  
and two loaves a day and one quarter  
of flour on Saturdays.

It has always been the habit of the  
trade to allow the men a certain  
allowance of bread & flour.  
I don't know whether it is the "truck"  
system or not.

From my experience the men prefer  
~~to have~~ the bread to a money payment.  
- One firm in London, Nevill's, never  
gives bread & flour.

There are about ten or a dozen whole-  
sale houses.

They employ over 1000 hands.

Nevill's firm employs 250 - 300 hands.

It is above ground & has been built  
about seven years.

The doughs are made by machinery, so

Germanicus

all the journeyman or operative has to do is to "mould" and set the bread in the oven.

The advantage claimed for machinery is its extreme cleanliness.

It is not a very great saving of labour & is rather expensive.

Usually employs an engine driver & a stoker to fire the boiler.

The engine is 12 horse power & the boiler 20 horse power.

There are no Germans in the large-scale trade.

Men

System of work.

Character of operations

Night work.

Duration

J. Walt & Sons

Baker at Gledhow Lane. South Kensington

Employs fifty men.

He recruits his hands from Scotland  
where they have a "nursery" in which  
boys are taught baking.

= His men work 12 hours a day  
except on Sat.

= Journeymen bakers are stupid for the  
most part & given to drink: they  
have no ambition.

- Would not object to its abolition if  
enforced on all by law, would like it.  
- Thinks night work may interfere  
with domestic happiness of the operatives  
& believes that it brutalises them into  
mere machines.

Has himself worked in a bakery & once



Cellar Baker

hours

nearly ruptured himself carrying heavy sacks of flour.

Has never seen one: he would prefer his bakehouse to be above ground but can't get space.

Flour.

Some of the best flour he uses is English; it is sweeter than foreign flour.

Wages

Baking Dept.

Their pay sheet were shown me

\$ Men. Walt. Sm.	£ 5.
Their Foreman - gets	2 - 12
Vienna Bread Foreman	2 - 2
Their 2 <sup>d</sup> . Hand.	1 - 15
" " " " " "	1 - 10
A "jobber" for Friday night.	6 - 6
The lowest wage paid to their journey men	1 - 5

N.B. In addition to the bakers wages there is the usual allowance of bread & flour, i.e.

- 7 quarters bread + quarter flour per week to Foreman
- 7 half quarters bread + half quarter flour per week to second & third hands.

Confect<sup>y</sup> Sept<sup>r</sup>

Bake & rise.

Two Cake Bakers	≠ 5
	1 - 15
	1 - 3
Ornamental Confectioner (a Swiss.)	1 - 18 + dinner
2 Biscuit Bakers	2 - 0 } + dinner
	1 - 6
Muffin Baker	1 - 7 - 6.

I inspected their Bakeries & they are well ventilated & lighted the windows being far apart & quite distinct from the bake house.

Messrs. Hill & Co

James St. Victoria Street  
etc. etc. S.W.

6  
This firm has their "Hygienic Bakery"  
in James Street, Victoria St. S.W.  
with depots at Bishopsgate St. E.C.

New Broad St. E.C.

Copthall Avenue, Br.

Dr. Wall. E.C.

Liverpool St. E.C.

Alexandra St. Westbourne Park W.

Fenchley Rd. N.W.

& Victoria St. S.W.

They employ 243 hands

i.e. 208 men & 35 women.

The arrangements at their Hygienic  
Bakery are very good.

No work is done underground & the  
rooms are spacious.

They employ a good deal of machinery  
which is worked by a gas engine.

On the top floor are stored the sacks of  
flour & here I noticed an ingenious

Machine Brushes

Weighing & Mixing Machine

Kneading Machine

Moulding

little machine fitted with brushes, for cleaning the mill flour sacks inside & out before returning them to the Miller for a fresh supply.

- Here also is a machine by which the proportions of the flour or flours used are weighed & subsequently mixed & then shot down into the Bakehouse floor below.

On the Bakehouse floor

The flour from the above machine is kneaded, together with the ferment (prepared separately) by a machine that has revolving fans, one set of fans being made to rotate at a slower speed than the other.

So far as the moulding of the bread is concerned, that has still to be done by hand: no <sup>trustworthy</sup> machinery having yet been invented for the purpose

Machine for cleaning  
& shredding Potatoes.

English Bakers house

German Bakers house

The Potatoes that are used for  
the ferment are cleaned &  
washed up also by machinery.

The Foreman of the English Bakers house  
has to watch the temperature  
with great care he is responsible for  
any failure in the batch.

He gets on wages £ 2-12-0  
and has under him ten general  
hands getting £ 1.7. each.

Men. Will also make a certain amount  
of house-hold bread for clubs, but  
their speciality is the cottage loaf  
for private families.

In the German Bakers house the foreman  
is an Italian getting £ 1-15  
with a 2<sup>d</sup> hand at £ 1-7-6  
and a fireman at £ 1-1-

Biscuit Dept.

59

I was told that the foreigners have a good deal of jealousy in their dispositions and object to disclosing their system of baking to English hands, nor does a foreign foreman, as a rule, get on amicably with English subordinates. Many Englishmen, however, now are employed in making Vienna bread. The German Oven - used for this style of bread is quite different in construction from an English oven. It has to be heated moreover to a much higher temperature & it consumes a great deal of coal.

Here and in the west (the cake Dept.)  
we leave the Baker proper and  
see the Confectioner at work  
The Foreman here gets £ 1.. 15  
The 2<sup>d</sup>. hand                   £ 1.. 10  
The 3<sup>d</sup>. hand                   £ 1.. 0  
a boy                               . 11

Cake Dept.

The work is much lighter than ordinary baking & has the advantage of being day work as opposed to the night work of the Baker.

The Foreman here is a young Englishman who has also learnt what is considered the highest branch of the trade - Ornamental Confectionery & is very clever at it. It is rare to find Englishmen equal to the highest efforts of foreign Ornamentals, as they want perhaps the lightness of touch that enables the artist to construct those elaborate devices in sugar & spice that are fast by way of embellishment to the birthday & the wedding cake.

Men still make their ordinary cakes in a machine, of which there are probably only four in all London.

Recent Rise in wages

Low wages

Household Bread

Some people say that hand made cakes are the best: but at any rate there is a great saving of expense in the machine work. There are two reeling forms in the machine one going faster than the other as in the <sup>double</sup> reeling machine.

The Foreman with the best <sup>of</sup> get	£1. 15
2 <sup>d</sup> Hand	£1. 3
Boy	11.

Mr. Wilson, the overseer, tells me that wages have gone up 50 per cent in bakeries since 1886. but surely? He knows however that in Elbery Street & in parts of Battersea, there are many journeymen taking only 5<sup>s</sup> a week, in addition to food & lodging: say 15 to 18<sup>s</sup> a week in all.

Men still & so make a certain amount



Rupture

Depôts

62  
of household bread for clubs, but  
their staple loaf is the "cottage"  
for private families

= I was told that they knew of only a  
few cases of rupture among the men:  
but I could see that the heavy sacks  
of flour must be a great strain &  
had the opportunity of watching these  
men at work shooting out the flour  
from the sacks. The process requires  
a knack & an expert might possibly  
run no risk of rupture.

= New Hill. Bros. have depôts at  
Bishopsgate: New Broad St. E.C.  
London wall <sup>E.C.</sup>: Liverpool St.: West End  
Park. W.: Fenchley R. N.W. and  
Victoria St. S.W.

Factoring  
320 Henman Buildings  
Trolley Street  
London Bridge.

long hours.

Baker's wages in East End

Average hours in East End

A. German.

Has been 21 years in England.

Secretary of Branch 26 of Amalgamated  
Bakers Union of Operative Bakers &  
Confectioners.

Now works as foreman at a English  
baker's in the Borough. & gets 33<sup>s</sup> a week  
Hours. 12. at night to 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ . a.m.

= was formerly with a German master  
at Russell Street.

Worked there 14 hours a day, and  
18 hours every Friday.

The wages in East-London for journey-  
men are 3 or 4 shillings lower  
all round than in West-London.

. But still he believes that the highest  
wage ever paid in all London to a  
foreman is that paid by Messrs. Brett, being  
in Whitechapel R<sup>d</sup>. viz. £ 2..10.

= Average hours in East-London are 76. a week  
at a wage of 2 $\frac{2}{2}$ .

Extreme case.

Immigrants

Few bakers.

A German baker named Wittich  
of 57 Middlesex Street, E. works  
his men from 110 to 112 hours a week.  
On Fridays they work for 24 hours.  
All his employes are Germans.  
After six or 8 months they have to  
give over work from exhaustion.  
They only get 10 a week when first  
taken on.

They go there fresh from the immigrant  
ship.

For the last 8 or 10 years the majority  
of the immigrant Germans who enter  
the baking trade, have done baking  
before in Germany. & are not "greeners"  
in the sense of taking up an entirely  
new branch of work.

The few work chiefly in Middlesex Street.  
Hambury Street: Taxton Street: &  
Fieldgate Street.

Three years ago he [?] fung got all the Jewish few bakers into his branch of the Union.

They were then 90 in number.

They left the branch because they could not pay their subscription.

A few freemen usually get 2<sup>s</sup> other hands 1<sup>s</sup> or 1<sup>6</sup>.

One case came before the courts where it was proved that a few freemen (with a family) got only 3<sup>s</sup> 6<sup>d</sup> a week. On Fridays they often work 24 hours on end.

On Friday nights they make "colars" i.e. ordinary bread baked very light & sprinkled over with poppy seed, for the Jewish Sabbath.

Their unleavened bread called "matzes" is made by machinery & will keep good for a long time.

Wages of Jews

Lowest wage

Hours

Sunday Baking

Underground Bakeries

Sanitary Aspect of Baking

There is a good deal of Sunday baking in East-London.

All Jewish Jews bake on Sundays & some Germans.

On one occasion the union all but stopped Sunday baking, but now it goes on largely.

Of bake houses in East-London 60 p.c. are underground.

Most of them are not high enough & are only six feet high.

40 p.c. of bakers are ruptured.

In his present bake house 4 out

of 6 men are ruptured from carrying heavy sacks of flour.

Mr. Jung - himself suffers from bronchitis & inflammation of the chest lungs brought on by rapid changes of temperature in baking.

After 50 years of age few bakers can

1  
No. 26 of the Union

The Pension Society.

67  
stand the strain of kneading the  
dough, but they can still set  
the bread & do moulding work.

has 77 members, of whom six  
are Englishmen.

This society is for Bakers only &  
is independent of the Amalgamated  
Society.

Both Millers & Master Bakers support it.  
The men subscribe  $1\frac{1}{4}$  a week.

M<sup>r</sup>. W. Hill  
of Bishopsgate  
etc  
night work

Men's Union.

propriety of Hill's Hygienic Bakery  
at Fenchley R<sup>d</sup>. N.W. at same  
vicinity. S.W. & in the localities.

Does not think night work can be abolished  
in bread. There must be some night  
workers in certain trades. As regards  
the establishment at Bishopsgate  
they issue every day 20,000 small  
~~bread~~ Vienna rolls & loaves: for  
these at least 8 hours fermentation is  
required, and if the process was hurried  
on the batch w<sup>d</sup> be spoilt. These  
rolls are required early in the morning:  
how c<sup>d</sup> they be supplied if there was no  
night work?

Wishes it was stronger than it is  
& deprecates the caputality that exists among  
the journeymen on this subject.  
wishes the union c<sup>d</sup> enforce reasonable laws  
of work & a minimum wage.

Machinery.

Tendency of the Trade.

Inspectors.

It is all the best machinery for making bread.

No machine has yet been invented for "moulding" bread. That process has still to be done by hand.

It is the tendency of the trade to get into fewer hands, operating on a big scale. In this way the mixing of biscuitary & cellar bake houses will be gradually reformed. The small masters who have not the requisite capital for bringing their bakeries up to the proper hygienic standard will by degrees disappear.

When the supervision of bake houses was vested in the factory inspectors the work was done well.

But since it has been handed over to the local authorities the inspection



Apprentices

This method of work

Cooks etc

has been very inefficient.  
The inspectors scamp their work &  
are possibly venal.  
- There are no apprentices in the  
London trade now & this is a great  
pity... ~~As~~ In my business I  
endeavour to train lads to the  
baking business, by transferring them  
there, if they are intelligent & willing,  
from other departments.  
- Our men work on an average  
11 hours  
Each gang of men under a foreman,  
has to make a certain quantity  
of bread. For anything made  
beyond this amount, the men  
receive extra pay.  
We employ also a number of cooks,  
who prepare dinners, wedding breakfasts  
etc. & who are paid high wages  
often from £3.10 to £4 a week.

Sacks of Flour

Rapture.

~~have~~

71  
Upon my commenting upon the  
size of the sacks of flour which  
the men have to handle, Mr  
Hill says he is anxious to have  
them smaller & has often asked  
his Miller to supply smaller ones,  
but in vain. The miller says his  
men would object to the change &  
that he would have to charge for extra  
a sack if it was insisted upon.

He does not think however that rup-  
ture amongst bakers arises from  
their lifting heavy sacks, but chiefly  
from dough kneading, when they  
have to lean over the trough against  
their stomachs & if the flour happens  
to be greasy they may slip up against  
the edge of the trough & thus occasion  
rapture.

Foreign Masters

Confectionery

Ornamented Confectionery

Decorated Bread Co.

72  
He says French & German Masters  
have no compassion for their work-  
men & drive them cruelly.

He gets all his chocolate from  
Lombard's in Paris & has no doubt  
that French chocolate is far  
superior to English.

He does a good deal in this way  
at his establishment in Trichley  
Road. His workmen in this Dept  
are foreigners & the chief of them  
get £2-10 to £3 a week.

Upon my telling him that this Co.  
had refused me leave to go over their  
premises & declined to give me any  
information, he remarked that their  
secrecy may arise from the report prevalent  
that in order to sell their stuff so cheap

As they do, they make use of  
rancid butter & subject it to  
certain chemical processes to  
avoid its being detected.

He tells me that the girls employed  
by the Co. are not allowed to  
eat anything from 7 a.m. to 7 p.m.  
except a sandwich.

N.B.

From my own knowledge, this Co.  
though earning  $37\frac{1}{2}$  per cent (paid  
by dividend during 1892) only pays  
\$ or at most 10 a week to its  
ship girls.

M<sup>r</sup>. Gilles  
Sec<sup>y</sup> of the Workers' Productive  
Soc<sup>y</sup> L<sup>o</sup>.

N.B. Every journeyman  
employed by the Society must be  
a shareholder.

74  
M<sup>r</sup>. Gilles

of the Canning Town Co-operative  
Bakery.

The men there work only 40  
hours a week at fixed wages.

At present they have 11 employees.

Their capital is small and is  
subscribed in 5 shares.

The peculiarity of this concern  
lies in the fact that those subscribing

the capital desire no return in  
the shape of interest.

95 p. c. of the subscribers are  
working men.

The Bakery is run in the <sup>cause</sup> ~~course~~ of  
labour: to improve the condition  
of those employed.

Any of the public can buy bread  
there & the bread is sold at 5 the  
pre-war level.

30 p. c. of their profits are expended

in what they consider educational purposes i.e. in spreading abroad the principles of their cooperative ideal.

Any subscriber of capital is entitled to have it paid back, but without any interest upon it.

M<sup>r</sup>. Gilles does not believe in the principle of profit sharing, as he considers it may have a tendency to make the workers too contented with their position & sluggish on the great question of emancipating labour from its subservient position.

The idea is apparently borrowed from Belgium where certain Societies are run upon similar lines.

M<sup>r</sup>. Knight. the Sec<sup>y</sup> of the North

M<sup>r</sup>. Knight

Metropolitan district of the  
Co-operative Union & Co.  
criticises Mr. Fille's form of  
cooperation and says it will  
not succeed.

He points out that it is run  
on a philanthropic basis & not  
on a business footing.

He condemns the absence of profit  
sharing.

He shows that, though Baking  
is the easiest & most lucrative  
trade, which a Co-operative  
Society can take in hand, yet  
from the figures given by Mr. Fille  
the latter's Society has been unable  
even to make a profit in this department.

Note

From a conversation with a journeyman  
employed at Mr. Fille's Co-operative,

77  
it appears that each of the men  
working there is obliged to be  
a shareholder.

And of this is so, one can see that  
such a shareholder does not receive  
return for the money he subscribes  
in the shape of shorter hours of  
work, food wages & a sanitary  
bake house.





