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Pakers : Cooperative Book I

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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.

Organisation of the men

Price of bread in London

Mr John Jenkins ~~Mr Lee~~

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.

~~Not working~~

5½ is the average price of the quartern 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.

The usual supplies are in 4 pound loaves. There are two qualities of bread over almost the whole country. Five pence per quartern is the price for the ordinary quality, and Six pence for the finer quality in the provinces.

~~Turbots~~

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 stands next bottom as to wages & hours. That town has been the centre of the taking trade organisation for the last 25 years & First Hands there get 34s; second hands 30s and other adult hands. 29s, for 60 hours

Wage & Hours outside Manchester

Method of work.

per week, meal-times 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 30s per week

Second or 3d Hands .. 26s, 24s and 20s.

In some cases it is much worse. e.g. In Scotch confec. men work often 75 hours per week at 16s or 18s.

.... 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 9½ 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.

the bakehouse to be cooked.
This is the practice in towns especially and it prevails very much in London.
But not at all in Lancashire & very little in Yorkshire.
In some of the Midland towns proprietors of families are seen on Sundays bringing their dinners from the bakehouse.

In Manchester

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

I see no necessity for night work in the baking trade. It is done to suit the business habits of the employer.
As regards hot rolls any competent baker can start to make rolls & have them finished to go out of the shop in 2 ½ 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.d 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..

Night 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 chandlers 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

they would start baking at 8 a.m
and finish in the evening &
then w^d enable 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 th^k 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 organisation amongst the men,
because union is too 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

No night work, except partially in Glasgow where owing to the factory system competition is very keen.
I have heard no complaint in Scotland amongst the customers about fresh bread not being produced.

Baking is a very unhealthy occupation. With the exception of a few modern factories, bakehouses are very confined places & are nearly always underground, in cellars. There is little ventilation & the atmosphere is foetid & very bad. A great many bakers die of consumption & other kindred diseases. In the large London 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 & uninterrupted: you have to go on for hours.
In a big place you see 10 or 15 men stand at 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 105 were touched with consumption.
Most of our men die of phthisis, consumption & pneumonia.

The State ought to limit the working hours.

Recent Trade Disputes

Lond.

It is a public danger that men sh.d be working in an unhealthy condition or people's food, particularly with bread & flour.

Dough is such an absorbent that it is unsafe for people to eat bread which is made under disadvantageous sanitary conditions.

I say that the State ought to pass an 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 Lond.n bakers strike & 5000 men were affectedby it.

The men remained out for 3 or 4 months & cost our trade 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.
The bakers had successful strikes against long hours, night work & 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, Co-operation

Inspection of Bakehouses.

No VCL 2107 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 bakehouses is very badly neglected.
It is now under the factory inspectors who have more work than they can do.
I have worked over 30 years and I have only seen an inspector in a bakehouse, twice in my life.

Begin to learn the trade at 15 or 16; there are very few apprentices in the trade

I would like to see machinery everywhere; it is much healthier, for get from 12 to 16 feet overhead in a factory bakehouse

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 should 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 per cent of our men are ruptured in London 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 sometimes 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 hours day, either under a general law or under a special law touching like the miners.

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

Wages & Hours in London

Bakehouses. Sanitation of

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 15s a week.

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

Many London bakehouses are in a very bad state.

Southwark

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

Some have water-closets opening directly into the bakehouses.

Many have sewage pipes running down the inside of the bakehouses & these pipes become from time to time leaky & porous.

In those neighbourhoods which are affected by the tidal fluctuations of the river, bakehouses have been often flooded & the whole of the flour has become saturated with sewage.

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

6 Bakehouses in Southwark were recently inspected by the medical officer there: more than half were owned & managed by Germans.

Several of the bakehouses were found to be badly ventilated

In one case an cutcrdy in a filthy

Relations of Employers & Employed

Difficulty of Organization amongst the men.

State 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 at present not very friendly, owing to the shameful way in which the employers departed from the agreement they entered into in 1889 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 Bakehouses.

Skill required in the trade

In my opinion the lung diseases 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 bakehouse 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 degree of skill & intelligence is required in order to produce uniformly good bread day after day.

Capacity lost.

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 your 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 turn sour & produce sour bread.

A baker must moreover possess a natural facility 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:

Regularity of work.

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 & intelligent men & women work for longer than 20 years.

He 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. This operative will have to rest for a time before he can go or 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 society is out of town. Work is pretty regular

Methods of Training.

in other parts of London.
Some hands are dismissed at the clock 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.
Mr. Lee advocates the revival of the apprentice system, he says it was abolished in London by the action of the masters!

Germans.

Unionists & Non Unionists

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

Men don't shift much from shop
to shop.

In an ordinary bakehouse
a Foreman (first hand) over 8 or 10 men
w^d get £2 . 5 a week
First 2^d hand 36^s "
Second 2^d hand 32^s to 30^s "
- Six or seven other men called often (especially in
Scotland) Table hand - get 26^s a week
At Nevill's factory
the Foremen are numerous: there is one over
each gang of six men & he gets 35^s a week
- No operative, there gets less than 28^s a week.

Domestic Life.

is sadly interfered with by the necessity of night work in London. As a consequence the relations between husband & wife are perhaps worse than in other industries.

Hours of work

Mr. L. A. Hill

represent 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 3½ to 1½, 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 stir

Long hours
on
Fridays.

Reasons for such hours

the Sponge, that is about an hour's work in the evening from 8 ½ to 9 ½.
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 Chitnalls. (where all the men are in the union) the men during winter time go in on Friday night, and work 22 hours at at stretch, with intervals of perhaps two half hours only.
And the same thing occurs at most of the large factories in Lond., 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 Chibnall) 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 Bakehouses.

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 6½ a.m & then had rolls out at 8 a.m.

Parliament shd prohibit for the future the building of underground bakehouses. Such bakehouses generally badly ventilated & are subject to flooding, not only when adjacent to the river, but also at some distance from it.

Gas.

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

As the rush of water came down from above, it drove the sewage back into the bakehouses & the result was that the sacks of flour were saturated 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 bakehouses, 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

take hours underground: but a deputation of employers waited upon him & succeeded in persuading 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 quarter or Monday
Tuesday. Wed^y & Thursday
at 5½ a.m and work till 7½ p.m.
with sometimes an hour for meals.
but ~~generally~~ the other they work through
the Friday night till 4 p.m or
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 "Short his flour" for the following day.

In Staffordshire we suffer also from want of sanitation in bakehouses. I know one bakehouse, a cellar bakehouse where there is no sewer or drainage, & the cesspool is in a beastly drainage: the stench is frightful; there is no urinal. Two men & one boy work there.
In another place, in Stafford, the bakehouse is 12 feet by ten feet,

Sickness.

Inspection

and eight feet high. The men have to go through their bakehouse to get to the closet, which is two yards from the bakehouse door.

Sick

I find for the past 12 months we have paid an average of about 2 weeks 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.

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

I think every bakehouse ought to be inspected at least once a month,

Question of Allowances
beyond wages

Yearly inspections are not sufficient for in many bakehouses all the refuse (the waste flour & sweepings) is thrown under the troughs, water gets amongst them & they are perhaps kept 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 quartern a week & half a quartern of flour for a second or third hand

And seven quarterns a week and a quartern of flour for a foreman.

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 2s or 4s a week in lieu of the allowance.

Cooperative Bakeries

Cooperative Bakery.
Harrowby St
Battersea

Here the conditions of work are good:
Six men are employed.
The foreman gets. £2-5s. + allowances of bread & flour
2nd Hand ... £1-8 + 50
3rd. Hand .. £1-7 + 50
The lowest hand employed gets £1-4s a week.
No "bonus" is paid here.

They have Cooperative bakeries also at
Stratford. where 22 men are employed on good terms
and at
Woolwich. where 15 men are employed.

Mr. Prain

London Master Bakers Protection Society.

Numbers of employers & employed in London.

Master Bakers

I am the co President of the London Master 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 milling 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 Bakehouses"

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.

The trade there are from 14000 to 15000 operatives employed in London. This is merely an assumption.

I do not know of a bake-house where the bakehouse is a cellar converted into a bakehouse.
The term cellar bakehouse 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 bakehouses 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 bakehouses 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.
The London 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 trade 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

& 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 Bakehouses

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

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

Rupture

Baking not specially unhealthy.

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

But if bakehouses are on a large scale they come under the factory Act.

In many bakers are ruptured. I think one of the chief causes of this is their carrying heavy sacks of flour. These sacks weigh 2½ cwt.

I have tried to get the millers to reduce the weight to 2 cwt. but have not effected much.

Of late years the Americans have sent us half sacks of ~~24~~ 140 pounds & they are very much easier to handle

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

?

Temperance.

Freigners in the Baking Trade

bakers.

The Journeymen's Pension Society have plenty of candidates from 50 years of age, who have worked from 30 to 50 years in the bakehouse.

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

I have not found them 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.

- 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 lot of men & our trades somewhat easily learnt.

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

I don't think they are more sober than the average Englishmen.

There are no Germans in the wholesale trade.

They manage small bakeries.

Improvement in Position of Operative bakers.

Wages.

Inspected Mr. Train's bakehouse at Tenbiro Rd. in Elmythwife

N.15

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 15s a 18s a week & perquisites. Now he gets 25s & perquisites.

Then a foreman only got 24s a 25s. Now no foreman w^d. get less than 30s.

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

- There are none in London
- Baking work is easily learnt
- The foreman's business is the only difficult one: he must have a knowledge of temperature
English journeymen bakers have no ambition & little perseverance: they contract most unfavourably with German & Italian lads.
-
Use of very little use in teaching baking.
- At the South Kensington City & Guilds 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 a special knowledge of the different qualities of flour, & he never leaves this to his foreman.
American flour makes the best bread

Mr. Chibnall

"Chibnall'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 -

Mr. George William Chibnall

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

I make principally cottage bread & it is sold by dairies & cat grocer's & 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 & workhouses e.g. Taddington: Hendon & 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 call home 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 Chiswick & go to the extreme north of London, to the East End of London & to the South of London.

The average number of working hours in my factory are 60 hours per week & that includes one hour a day for meals.

Rates of Pay in the Wholesale trade

(Produces time-sheets for last 5 weeks signed by two of his men both members of the Union)

This sheet shows 9½ hours on each day except Saturday - which is 17½ 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 throughout the wholesale trade.

The lowest pay our men get is 25s for a week of sixty hours.

Over & above that they get 7½ per hour.

Seven loaves a week & half a quarter of flour.

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

Number of Wholesale firms

Description of Chitnall's Bakery.

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 receive~~ the bread to a money payment.
The firm in Leeds, Nevill's, never give bread & flour.

There are about ten or a dozen wholesale 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

Germans

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.
Chibnall employs an engine driver & a stoker to fire the boiler.
The engine is 12 horse power & the boiler 20 horse power.

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There are no Germans in the whole-sale trade.

Men

System of work.

character of operatives

Night work.

Rupture

J. Watt & Sons

Baker at Gledhow Terrace. 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 brutalizes them into mere machines.
Has himself worked in a bakery some

Cellar Bakehouses

Flour.

Wages

Baking Deptt.

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.

nearly ruptured himself carrying heavy sacks of flour.

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

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

Their pay sheet were shown me

	£	s.
Men. Malt - Sen.		
Their Foreman - gets.	2 -	12
Vienna Bread Foreman	2 -	2
Their 2d. Hands.	1 -	15
"	1 -	10
A "Jobber" for Friday nights.		6 - 6
The lowest wage paid to their journeymen . . .	1 -	5.

Confect.r Dept.

Bake House.

	£	s.	
Two Cake Bakers	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 urinals being far apart & quite distinct from the bakehouse.

Messrs. Hall & Son

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

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.
Copped Hall Avenue. Ex
Moorgate. E.C.
Liverpool St. E.C.
Alexandra St. West Brompton Park W
Finchley 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 cleansing the ~~mill~~ flour sacks inside & out before returning them to the Miller for a fresh supply.

- There 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 trustworthy machinery having yet been invented for the purpose

Machine for cleansing & shredding Potatoes.

English Bakehouse

German Bakehouse

The Potatoes that are used for the ferment are cleansed & mashed up also by machinery.

The Foreman of the English Bakehouse has to watch the temperature with great care he is responsible for any failure in the batch
He gets as wages $2-12-0
and has under him ten general Hands getting $1.7. each
Mess. Hill & Co make a certain amount of home-hold bread for clubs, but their specialty is the Cottage loaf for private families.

In the German Bakehouse the foreman is an Italian getting $1-15
with a 2d hand at $1.7.6
and a Fireman at $1.1.

Biscuit Deptt.

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 next (the Cake Deptt.) we leave the Baker proper and see the Confectioner at work.

The Foreman here gets	£1 .. 15
The 2d. hand	£1 .. 10
The 3d. hand	£1 .. 0
a Boy	.. 11

Cake Dept.

The work is much lighter than ordinary Baking & has the advantage of being daywork as opposed to the nightwork 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 ornamentalists, as they want perhaps the lightness of touch that enables the artist to construct these elaborate devices in sugar & spice ~~that are part~~ by way of embellishment to the birthday & the wedding cake.
Men will 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 revolving pans in the machine one going faster than the other as in the dough kneading machine.

The Foreman in the dep.t gets £1-15
2.d Hand £1-3
Boy. 11.

Mr. Wilson. the surveyor. tells me that wages have gone up 50 p.c in bakeries since 1886. but query.

He knows however that in Eldon Street S.W & in parts of Battersea, there are many foreigners taking only 5s a week, in addition to food & lodging: say, 15 to 18s a week in all.

Messrs. Hill & Son make a certain amount

Rupture

Depôts

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

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

= Nelson Hill & Sons have depôts at Bishopsgate: New Broad St. E.C. London wall E.C.: Liverpool St.: West Brompton Park. W.: Finchley Rd. N.W. and Victoria St. S.W.

Jacob Jung
320 Hanway Buildings
Tooley 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 33s a week
Hours. 12. at night to 11½. a.m
= Was formerly with a German master at Rickmansell Street.
Worked there 14 hours a day, and 18 hours every Friday.
The wages in East London for foreman are 3 or 4 shillings lower all round than in West London.
But still he believes that the highest wage ~~over~~ paid in all London to a foreman is that paid by Mr Brett, Berry in Whitechapel Rd. viz. £2..10.
= Average hours in East London are 76. a week at a wage of 22s.

Extreme case.

Immigrants

Jew Bakers.

A German baker named Wittich of 59 Middlesex Street. E. works his men from 110 to 112 hours a week. On Fridays they work for 24 hours.
All his employés are Germans.
After six or 8 months they become too fine over work from exhaustion.
They only get 10s 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 Jews work chiefly in Middlesex Street. Hanbury Street: Toxton Street: & Fieldgate Street.

Wages of Jews

Lowest wage

Hours

Three years ago his young got all the Polish Jew bakers into his branch of the Union.

~~They~~ These Jews were then 90 in number: they left the branch because they could not pay their subscription.

A few foreman usually get 25s: other hands 15s or 16.

One case came before the courts where it was proved that a Jew foreman (with a family) got only 3s.6d a week.

On Fridays they often work 24 hours on end.

On Friday night 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.

Sunday Baking

There is a good deal of Sunday baking in East London.
All Polish Jews bake on Sundays & some Germans.
On one occasion the union called out stopped Sunday baking, but now it goes on largely.

Underground Bakeries

. of bake houses in East London 60 p.c. are underground.
Most of them are not high enough & are only six feet high.

Sanitary Aspect of Baking

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 change of temperature in baking.
After 50 years of age few bakers can

Branch 26 of the Union

The Pension Society.

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 1/4 a week.

Mr. W. Hill
of Bishopsgate
E.C.

Night work

Men's Union.

proprietor of Hill's Hygienic Bakery at Finchley Rd. N.W. at James St. Victoria. S.W. & in other localities.

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

Wither it was stronger than it is: & deplores the apathy that exists among the journeymen on this subject.

Wither the union c.d enforce reasonable hours of work & a minimum wage.

Machinery.

Tendency of the Trade.

Inspectors.

Has 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.
Thinks the tendency of the trade is to get into fewer hands, operating on a big scale. In this way the miseries of insanitary & cellar bakehouses 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 bakehouses 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

Costs ch

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. ~~the~~ 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.

Rupture.

~~Sacks~~

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 w^d have to charge 8^d extra a sack if it was insisted upon.

He does not think however that rupture 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 "rupture".

Foreign Masters

Confectionery

Ornamental Confectioner.

Aerated Bread Coy.

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 Finchley 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 Coy had refused me leave to go over their premises & declined to give me any information, he remarked that their secresy 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 this Coy are not allowed to
eat anything from 7 a.m. to 7 p.m.
except a sandwich.

N.B.
From my own knowledge, this Coy
through earning 34½ per cent (paid
in dividend during 1892) only pays
8s or at most 10s a week to its
ship girls.

Mr. Gilles

Secy. of the Workers Productive Soct.y L.d.

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

Mr. Gilles

of the Canning Town Cooperative Bakery.

The men there work only 48 hours a week at fair wages.

At present they have 11 employés.

Their capital is small and is subscribed in 5s 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 ~~Cause~~ cause of labour: to improve the condition of those employed

Any of the public can buy bread there & the bread is sold at 5 the quartern loaf.

30 p.c of their profits are expended

Mr. Knight

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

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

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

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

Mr. Knight. The Sec.y of the Health

Note

Metropolitan District of the Co-operative Union &c.
Criticises Mr. Filles's form of Co-operation unfavourably & does not believe it will 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, ~~in~~ which a Co-operative Soc.ty can take in hand, yet from the figures given by Mr. Filles the latter's Society has been unable even to make a profit in this department.

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

it appears that each of the men working there is obliged to be a shareholder.
And if this is so, one can see that such a shareholder does get some return for the money he subscribes in the shape of shorter hours of work, good wages & a sanitary bakehouse.