



# **The Derby Lockout and Strike of 1852**

**by**

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Amesbury Carriage Museum

Amesbury, Massachusetts

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## The Notices

When the employees of the Salisbury Manufacturing Co. – 125 men and 225 women<sup>1</sup> – were leaving work at 7:00 PM on Monday, May 31, 1852, the sun was low on the horizon (daylight savings time didn't start in the US until 1918) eighteen minutes from setting. The sun had risen at 4:11 AM and they had been at work since 5:00 AM. As they walked out into the fading light that evening, there were likely many animated conversations.

That day, throughout the textile mills, notices were posted changing some of the working conditions for the mill workers, or “operatives,” as the company described those who operated the machines in the mills. Those changes were effective the next day, June 1, 1852. It would turn out to be quite a day.

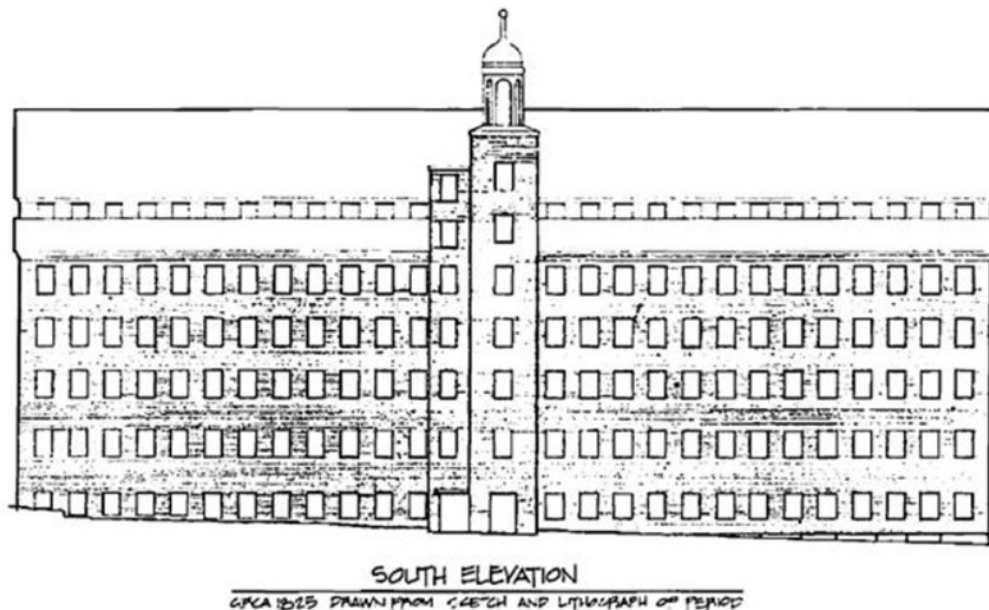


Figure 1. View of the Salisbury Mill (No. 2) from inside the mill yard. (From *Report of the Amesbury Millyard Project*, 1978.)

We have not yet found a copy of the notice, but *The Villager* newspaper reported in its weekly edition the following Thursday,<sup>2</sup> the notice specified three changes. First,

*that every hand, male and female, should be in the mills the very minute the gates were hoisted, and any hand not in at the appointed time should be reported at the counting room*

The gates hoisted were the watergates that, when raised in the basement of Mill No. 2 (currently Amesbury Industrial Supply and the ACM's Industrial History Center), allowed the water from the mill race that entered the building on the High Street side to begin turning the two 20-foot diameter wheels that powered the spinning and weaving machines in the building as the mill rumbled to life. This provision caused no reaction.

The next change was

*that no hand should leave the places where they were employed until the bell rang. This seemed to many rather unjust, as their work was of such a character that by hurrying they usually got it completed by six o'clock, thereby gaining one hour's time, which enabled them to attend to domestic and other matters.*

Despite that sense of injustice, there was no strong objection to this provision either, though the pattern set by the first two changes made the third provision inevitable.

That third provision was the elimination of what was referred to as "the luncheon privilege." In the nineteenth century "luncheon" referred to a light meal taken between the traditional three meals, either mid morning or mid afternoon. Today we would call it a coffee break. Mill workers, both men and women, began work at 5:00 AM with a half an hour for breakfast at 7:00 AM and an hour for lunch beginning at noon. Since the day ended at 7:00 PM, that meant twelve and a half hours of actual work. In addition, however, as the public broadside, put out some days later, explains, "The male operatives generally had enjoyed the privilege for thirty years of leaving their machines and their work in the forenoon and afternoon luncheon, or any other purpose which they chose."<sup>3</sup> While the general shape of the work-day was rigidly set out, this flexible break (which was supposed to be about fifteen minutes) allowed the male worker some individual control.

The *Villager* article reporting the events puts "privileges" in quotation marks and comments, "*rights we should say.*"<sup>4</sup> The luncheon breaks were common in the Salisbury and Amesbury Mill Village from before the time of Salisbury Manufacturing. For the male workers, this change took away some control and lengthened the work day. However, no outcry was raised about how these luncheon privileges or rights belonged only to the male operatives; women and children could not leave their machines during the times of work.

## The Lockout

On June 1, 1852, despite the notices posted, when the usual time for the morning luncheons began, a large number of the male operatives left in a body, an unusual occurrence. When the men who had left returned, they were met at the gate and fired from their jobs.

John Perley Derby, the agent in charge of the Salisbury Manufacturing Co., had taken over as agent just one month before, replacing the widely liked James Horton, who had been the agent for 22 years. Derby was an outsider, related to the powerful Derby family of Salem, and he came to the Mills Village from Vermont. A *Haverhill Banner* editorial, reprinted in the *Villager*, comments, "He is from Vermont, where he was probably brought up to drive cattle, and now he has got down in Massachusetts he thinks he can drive men."<sup>5</sup> So a month after his arrival, with one day's notice, he summarily eliminated the important, long-standing lunch practice at the mills and thereby disrupted the works.

The events that happened beginning on the last day of May in 1852 are popularly referred to as "The Derby Strike," but in at least two ways the name is not quite accurate. John Derby was the first to implement the new rules, but the Amesbury Flannel Company – which employed 260 operatives, half male and half female<sup>6</sup> – was also involved. Joshua Aubin, who like Horton, had been the Amesbury Flannel agent for many years, had just retired in April, 1852 and was replaced by Samuel Langley.<sup>7</sup> A broadside published shortly after June 1, 1852, ostensibly by the Salisbury Manufacturing Co. Overseers (i.e., supervisors), claimed that it was Langley, the Amesbury Flannel Co. agent, who initiated the idea for the rule changes.<sup>8</sup> However, while Derby posted his notices on May 31 and implemented the changes the next day, Langley waited until June 15, 1852 to post the notice, to be effective two weeks after.<sup>9</sup> John Derby, who acted first and decisively, became the chief bad guy in this drama.

The second way the name "Derby Strike" is inappropriate is that what happened to the male operatives was more a lockout than a strike. The male operatives who returned to the mill after their break were willing to work under what they saw as established working conditions but were not permitted to return to their jobs.

The women workers, on the other hand, did strike. In a time when gender discrimination was not just tolerated but was blatantly institutionalized, the women operatives were paid half what the men were paid and did not have the luncheon privilege. Nevertheless, eventually the women voted to recommend that each woman should decide whether to quit her job or not. Over 100 decided to quit in protest, concerned that such high-handedness meant that all workers were vulnerable. The story of the women's strike and their attempt to negotiate a settlement is told in the Amesbury Carriage Museum article "[Female Operatives and the Derby Strike: Their Story.](#)"<sup>10</sup>

## The Workers' Response: The first sets of resolutions

The first meeting of the workers happened at 2:00 PM on the day of the lockout, June 1, at Washington Hall (Figure 2), which had been completed the year before and was near the mills on Market Street between the Baptist Church and today's BankProv, where there is now a parking lot. At that time a large crowd assembled and both workers and prominent citizens spoke about the injustice of Derby's actions, but they did not arrive at a course of action. They agreed to reconvene at 8:00 PM.

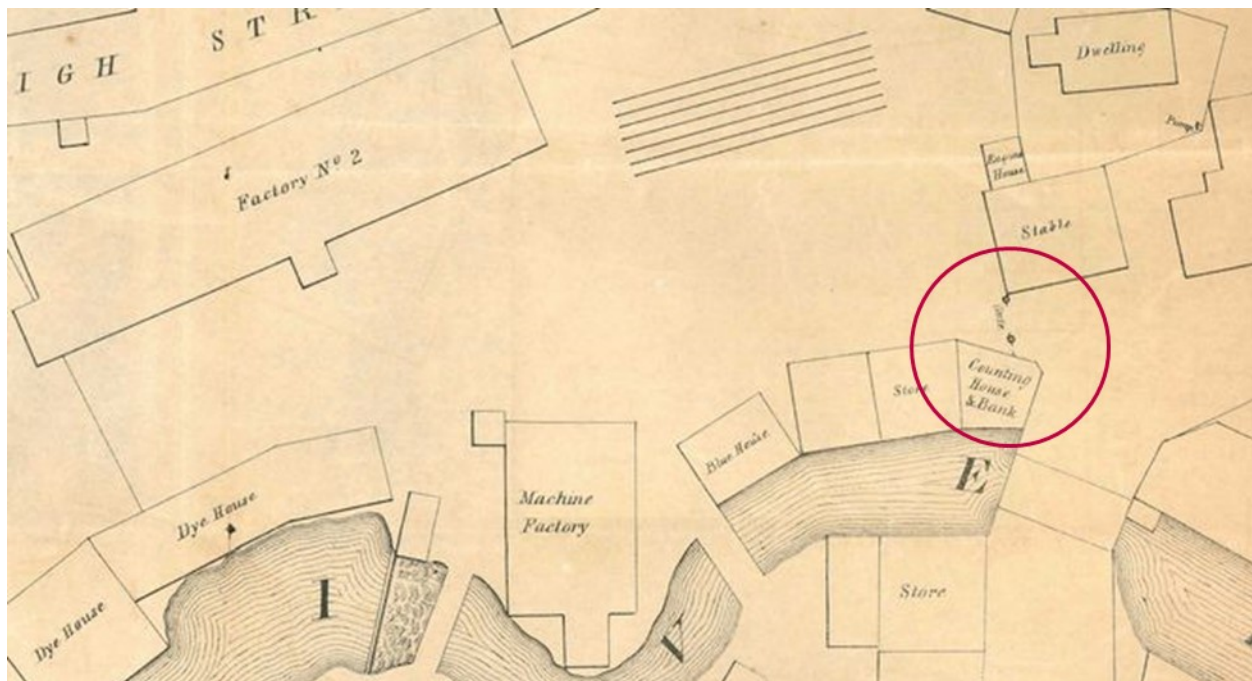


**Figure 2. Washington Hall on Market Street. The Market Street Baptist Church is visible on the left side of the photo. (From Warren Lodge A.F. & A.M. Century Celebration. Amesbury, MA, 1925.)**

Before the 8:00 PM meeting, crowds of men and women gathered in the street, and by 8:00 PM, the auditorium was filled, and some people had to be turned away. At this meeting, an organized response began to take shape. Jacob Flanders, who was active in the local temperance organization, was chosen to lead the meeting. Nahum Osgood spoke, as did Augustus C. Carey, a machinist in the mill, whose speech was on the importance of all those involved working together. The assembly determined that a committee should be sent to the Salisbury Manufacturing Company Board of Directors in Boston in hopes that the Board would reinstate the luncheon break and allow those dismissed to return to work. The assembly chose a three-member nominating committee, which in turn chose a six-member committee to visit the directors. That committee included the lawyer Jonathan Nayson, the author John Greenleaf Whittier, and the mill operative Austin Swan to meet with the directors. They also voted not to return to work if their request for their usual time was not granted. The meeting lasted until 10:00 PM.<sup>11</sup>

On the next day, Wednesday, June 2, the committee met in Boston with the directors (though Whittier was ill, and Dr. Sparhawk took his place), and the assembly of workers and citizens met again at Washington Hall at 8:00 PM that night to receive their report. As described in the June 10, 1852 *Villager*, the report was that "the directors were disposed to do what was right and informed the committee that a statement of the case to Mr. Derby would receive favorable attention." With this encouraging news the assembly nominated a committee to create a committee to meet with Derby. This six-member committee included Flanders, who was chairing the assembly, and only Austin Swan from the committee that met with the directors. They resolved that the committee should present their objections to Mr. Derby's elimination of the luncheon privilege and that he be "respectfully requested" to "restore to them their former rights."<sup>12</sup> They also voted that the committee circulate the resolution and obtain signatures of support.

On June 3, the situation began to deteriorate. The locked-out male employees operated the spinning machines, which produced the thread; the female employees operated the looms that wove the thread into fabrics. We don't know how far ahead of the fabric production the spinning was completed, but it is likely that the looms could be operated for some period without spinning additional thread. We do know that on June 3, women operatives were still working at the mill and did not meet for the first time until the morning of June 4. Austin Swan spent the morning of June 3 around the entrance gate on Market Square (Figure 3) trying to recruit female operatives to sign, most likely, the resolution. We know this was the case because Swan was later arrested and tried for inciting a riot at the entrance gate on that morning. From the testimony we know that there was a demonstration in Market Square, which included banners, chanting, a band, and young people making a ruckus. The details of what happened to Austin Swan are outlined in the Amesbury Carriage Museum article, "[Swan Song: The Derby Strike Riot.](#)"<sup>13</sup> Since he was on both committees and was visible in taking direct action, it is not surprising that Swan would make a good scapegoat, though others were also charged, including A. C. Carey.



**Figure 3. 1849 Salisbury Manufacturing Plant (Factory No. 2). Red circle marks gate between Market Square and mill yard. (From *Lands and Buildings of the Salisbury Manufacturing Company*, September 1849.)**

The demonstration broke up after the female mill workers were sent home, so it is likely things quieted down before the meeting with Derby in the Counting Room began. The meeting did not go well for the workers. Apparently, at the first meeting in Boston, either the directors misled the committee or the committee misinterpreted what they were told. Four of the directors were present at the meeting that morning. After the committee presented its demands, the directors expressed concern about the way the mill operatives had insulted Derby with hissing and flags with

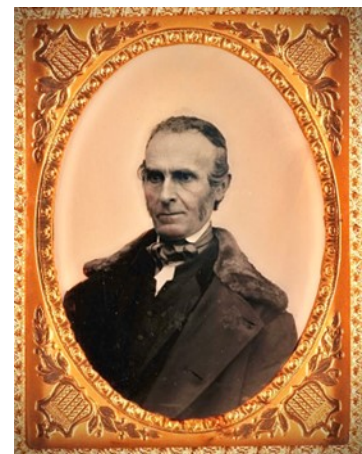
mottos. One that was recorded, hung across from the Counting Room where the meeting was likely taking place, proclaimed “Down with Factory Tyranny.”<sup>14</sup> Derby pointed out that no body of operatives or citizens had approached him to discuss the issue until now, and that he was merely doing his duty. The directors said that the workers violated the rules and deserved the result and that they fully supported Mr. Derby’s actions.<sup>15</sup>

That evening at 8:15, the assembly meeting in Washington Hall responded to the report on the meeting with Derby by creating a series of resolutions, the first of which was that Derby’s response was “to be deemed an insult to the community.” The other resolutions, however, were quite practical, designed to build support for the workers’ action. They acknowledged the support of the *The Villager* and *The Newburyport Clarion* newspapers, they sought to have what was happening in Amesbury/Salisbury to be published, particularly in Lawrence, Lowell, Nashua and Manchester, where sympathetic support would be located and from which replacement workers could be lured if they were unaware of what was going on. Finally, they set up a twelve-member committee to obtain material aid for mill workers “who may be in want” and for those who arrive in town seeking work, return fare if they cannot afford it. Interestingly, forming a vigilance committee was voted down.<sup>16</sup>

## The Second Set of Resolutions

The next meeting, Friday, June 4, was mostly a pep rally with a debate and speakers. The meeting the following day, however, chaired by J. Nayson this time, after speeches by two lawyers from Lowell, considered and approved a set of resolutions written by John Greenleaf Whittier, the noted abolitionist, poet and Quaker (Figure 4). These resolutions did not state merely demands or actions to be taken; they sought to embody arguments supporting the position of the workers.

1. Derby had abolished with short notice what was seen as settled practice, and then workers were fired on their first offense.
2. There was no systematic abuse of the privileges involved, and individuals who did abuse it were appropriately dealt with.
3. The workers at the mill have been “faithful and punctual in the discharge of their duties” and are “mostly residents, under the wholesome influences of home, – they have something at stake in the common prosperity.”
4. Given the harmonious situation that has prevailed, it cannot be a good policy to put the interests of the village and the corporation against each other.



**Figure 4. Portrait of John Greenleaf Whittier around the time of the Derby lockout and strike. (Image courtesy of Wikipedia.)**

5. The community would regret that if as a result of these changes, “a large proportion of those whose industry and good conduct have enlarged the dividends and established the reputation of the Salisbury M[anufacturing] Company – are driven elsewhere for labor and their places supplied by a vagrant and unsettled class”

These resolutions are based on the stated assumption that, “humanity and liberality toward the operative is the best economy for the capitalist,”<sup>17</sup> an assumption subscribed to by few of the 19<sup>th</sup> century capitalists, whose attitude spawned the rise of labor unions around the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. These resolutions also played on the fear of immigrants, in a manner still familiar. Beginning in the 1840’s the Irish Potato Famine drove many Irish to America. Beginning in 1848, revolts against European monarchies, which involved Ireland and Germany among others, drove refugees to the United States. Between 1840 and 1860, the population of Boston grew by 91%.<sup>18</sup> An influx of foreign outsiders could be seen as a threat to the harmony of the mill village.

However, it is unclear whether these resolutions were even submitted to the Salisbury Manufacturing Company because they were overshadowed by the events of the next day.

### **Overseers’ Broadside and the Workers’ Response**

At some point during June 5, 1852, a broadside, a one-page statement signed by the overseers, was likely posted around town. It summarized the events of the previous week – the rule change, the workers taking the break and being fired, the public meetings, the hanging of banners, a band parade – in a way consistent with other descriptions. However, they characterized those actions as “outrages on common decency that have been perpetrated in our quiet village in the past few days.” The overseers also point out how Derby was “insulted while quietly passing through our streets.”<sup>19</sup> It is likely that this statement represents the Salisbury Manufacturing Company position; an article in the *Villager* notes that some of the overseers “regret having endorsed as truth the views contained in their document.”<sup>20</sup>

On Monday, June 7, 1852, operatives and citizens met in Washington Hall once again at 8:00 PM and the overseer’s broadside was read to them. The negative tone of the broadside generated a strong negative reaction and a list of resolutions restating the workers’ position asserted that they would stand their ground, and conceded that, only if the previous working conditions were restored, would they return to work. The final resolution acknowledged that for Derby the issue is authority and for the workers it is respect, to at least some degree, for their right to self-determination.

*... if Mr. Derby should now concede to the operatives their labor and rights that enough of the principle of firmness has been manifested to inspire both agent and operatives with respect for the firmness of both, and that while one shall be proved of the fact that the agent has some stern stuff in him he will be proved of the intelligence and integrity of the operatives.*<sup>21</sup>



Between the June 5, 1852, and June 8, 1852, in a series of meetings, the female operatives had met among themselves, met with Derby to clarify his position, drafted a potential compromise, and met with Derby again to discuss it. In the course of these meetings 125 of the female operatives voted not to return to work under the current conditions. Derby rejected the compromise and in fact the whole idea of negotiating. The female operatives spurned Derby's response and published it in *The Villager*. (Once again, for more details about the activities of the female operatives, see Amesbury Carriage Museum article "[Female Operatives and the Derby Strike: Their Story.](#)").

## The Ten-Hour Day

The next meeting of the locked-out workers and citizens on June 10, 1852, began with the lawyer Johnathan Nayson, who had been chairing these meetings but also had been advising the female operatives, reporting the flat rejection of the female operatives' compromise offer. The workers seemed to move beyond dealing further with Derby and resolved "to look to the moral force of the people and future legislation to redress our wrongs."<sup>22</sup> The next night, June 11, the assembly approved the resolution and created two seven-member committees, one from Salisbury and one from Amesbury, to petition the selectmen to summon the inhabitants of each town to a meeting that would review the situation involving the Salisbury Co. and join with other towns to consider the adoption of a "ten-hour system of labor."<sup>23</sup> The Amesbury committee included both A. C. Carey and his father, William Carey.

Both committees were successful in having the meetings called, the actions of the company condemned, and committees formed to approach other communities about 10-hour-day legislation. The Amesbury voters met on June 15, 1852, and in addition to the ten-hour resolution, they voted for a fund of up to \$2,000 to provide for relief of those "seriously and injuriously affected by the continuation of the current state of affairs"<sup>24</sup> The Salisbury town meeting was held at the Rocky Hill Meeting House (Figure 5) on June 19, 1852. In the July 8, 1852, edition the *Villager*, the two committees published a joint Amesbury and Salisbury circular calling on Massachusetts towns to call sessions and pass resolutions in support of ten-hour-day legislation.<sup>25</sup>



Figure 5. Rocky Hill Meeting House, now in Amesbury. (Photo courtesy of Wikipedia.)

Unfortunately, this ten-hour effort would fizzle out, and though other states passed ten-hour-day legislation, Massachusetts would not do so until 1874.<sup>26</sup> But two important figures who will affect the length of the work-day emerged from the events of 1852 – George McNeill, a national labor leader, and A. C. Carey, who was significant in labor history of Massachusetts. More will be said about them in a future article.

## The Ending?

In the meantime, the disruption continued in the Mill Villages. In the interval between the two town meetings Langley, the agent at Amesbury Flannel Co. and the purported instigator of the work-rule changes, finally posted a two-weeks notice of implementation of the same rules as the Salisbury Manufacturing Co. had.<sup>27</sup> It is odd that, despite seeing the effect of Derby's actions, Langley went ahead with the announcement, which led eventually to mass resignations there. A possible explanation for his going ahead might be rooted in preparations for the purchase of Amesbury Flannel by Salisbury Manufacturing that will take place in January of 1853<sup>28</sup> and the wish to keep the mills coordinated. McNeill says the Derby Strike lasted for six months,<sup>29</sup> a time that would correspond to the purchase of Amesbury Flannel.

Because the labor action was not successful in either reestablishing the previous conditions or negotiating a compromise, determining when it was "over" is difficult. By June 24, 1852, one correspondent to the *Villager* notes that 30 men who had come to town actually took jobs at the mills, but since no one would rent them rooms, they were staying at the Manufacturers' Hotel (Figure 6).<sup>30</sup> In his summary of the events in his history of labor, George McNeill, who was fourteen and worked in the mill before the work stoppage, said that about 50 men "mostly Irish immigrants" were sleeping on mattresses in that hotel ballroom. He also wrote that some youths threw rocks through the windows of the hotel.<sup>31</sup> There was also an incident involving "six or eight of Mr. Derby's new help" who were arrested for being drunk and disorderly. Half of them skipped town rather than face trial.<sup>32</sup> Also in the August 18, 1852, *Villager*, a column satirized Derby's efforts to replace workers by casting him as John Falstaff, a Shakespeare character known for his love of brandy-fortified wine and for recruiting soldiers as unqualified and unreliable as he is (Figure 7).<sup>33</sup>



**Figure 6. Map of the Town of Amesbury and Salisbury. Richard Clark. 1854 Harvard Collection. The Manufacturers' Hotel is circled in red. Mill No. 2 is at the top left.**

The former female operatives held a benefit levee or gala to encourage support and raise money for the affected mill workers on July 8, 1852, at Washington Hall, where there were 14 non-alcoholic toasts in praise of workers and condemnation of tyranny.<sup>34</sup> In the July 22, 1852, *Villager* is a reprint of a letter from the leadership committee of the former female operatives to the *Boston Times* denying its story claiming the work stoppage had ended, and all of the workers had returned to

work. The operatives are adamant in reaffirming the intention of the “former” employees to continue to stand on principle.<sup>35</sup>

While the workers lost their jobs, the Salisbury Manufacturing Co. did not fare so well either. When the stockholders met for their annual meeting on August 4, 1852, instead of the usual 12% dividend, none was able to be paid.<sup>36</sup> Derby himself lasted only one more year, leaving in August, 1853.<sup>37</sup> In 1857, the Salisbury Manufacturing Co. was sold and reorganized into the Salisbury Mills Co. The *Villager* ascribed the failure of the company to causes “too well known to our citizens to be recapitulated here,”<sup>38</sup> but are clearly assigned to Horton’s successor, Derby. It is likely the conditions leading up to the Panic of 1857 played a part.

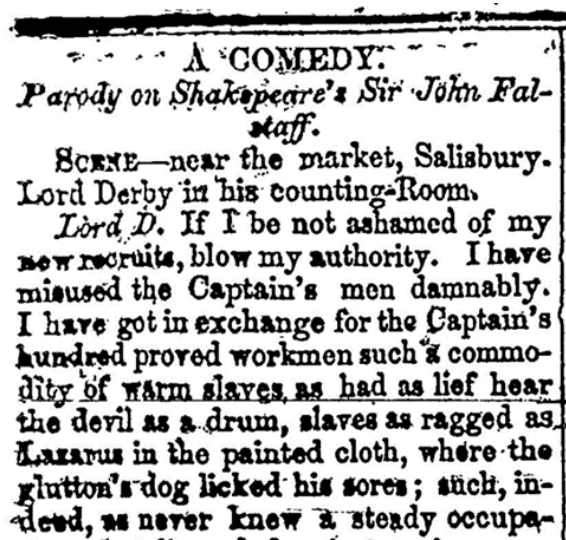


Figure 7. A column in the *Villager* satirizing Derby's efforts to replace workers by casting him as John Falstaff, a Shakespeare character.

## Conclusions

Derby had made it clear from the beginning he was not prepared to negotiate; he viewed that as an abdication of authority. In his written response to the female operatives, he explained that the company “cannot allow any dictation with regard to the rules and regulations by which they will be governed in the management of their mills.”<sup>39</sup> The mill workers saw the situation differently. After the initial meeting on June 1, an anonymous poem, “The Operative,” was published in the *Villager*. The first stanza and chorus read,

*Although I am an operative  
And summoned by the bell,  
I will not curry favor,  
For I'm independent still  
And my liberty is precious  
As the fibers of my heart,  
In bonds we are united,  
And nevermore shall part.*

*For I cannot be a slave,  
No, I will not be a slave,  
I am so fond of FREEDOM,  
That I cannot be a slave.<sup>40</sup>*

The Fugitive Slave Act had just been passed as part of the Compromise of 1850, and consistent with the spirit of the “The Operative,” an editorial comment suggested that Derby’s attitude is “fitted only to a more southern clime.”<sup>41</sup>

For both sides. this matter involved grave principles based on two different frames of reference. The operatives saw themselves as skilled craftsmen using the spinning machines as tools to make the fabric. For Derby, the spinning machines and looms made the fabric, and the humans involved, both men and women, were just laborers who tended the machines that actually produced the product. Unlike Horton, Derby had neither personal nor historical connection with the operatives and would have been more easily able to view them as cogs in a machine and as easily replaceable.

Amesbury can be seen as a bellwether for the upcoming widespread struggle between management and labor as industrial processes increasingly absorbed the skills of craftspeople, and workers became alienated from the results of their work and more rigidly regimented. The editorial in the June 3, 1852, *Villager* points out the danger: “The hours of labor which a man must perform should not be left with those whose only motive is to assimilate the *man* and the *machine*.” Aside from its applying to both men and women, the principle is still meaningful today as the machines that allow remote work threaten to shrink the time over which workers exercise control: just because the machine is available 24/7 does not mean the person should be. How much control should employees have over their time? As discussion of the four-day week began to emerge, it becomes clear that just as in the Mill Village in 1852, changes in the technology mean changes in the way we work and live.

## Notes

- 1 United States, “Non-Population Census for Amesbury and Salisbury Massachusetts,” Transcription, U.S. Census, 1850, Amesbury Carriage Museum.
- 2 “Great Meeting of the Operatives in Washington Hall,” *Amesbury Villager*, June 3, 1852.
- 3 “Broadside - To The Public: The Undersigned Overseers” (Salisbury Manufacturing Co., s.n 1852), Broadside, American Antiquarian Society, <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1yCwMOJj-CsZWvNIzVi0GkwPr-efx2IkD/view>.
- 4 “Great Meeting.”
- 5 “Opinions of the Press Abroad,” *Villager*, June 10, 1852.
- 6 United States, “Non-Population Census for Amesbury and Salisbury Massachusetts.”
- 7 “Joshua Aubin, Esq.,” *Villager*, April 25, 1852, Amesbury Public Library.
- 8 “Broadside - To The Public: The Undersigned Overseers.”
- 9 “While the Looms . . .,” *Villager*, June 17, 1852, Amesbury Public Library.
- 10 Tom Murphy, “Female Operatives and the Derby Strike: Their Story,” Amesbury Carriage Museum, September 9, 2021,
- 11 “Progress of the Workmen’s Cause,” *Villager*, June 10, 1852, Amesbury Public Library.
- 12 “Progress of the Workmen’s Cause.”
- 13 Tom Murphy, “Swan Song: The Derby Strike Riot,” Amesbury Carriage Museum, September 3, 2022,
- 14 “Amesbury and Salisbury Turn Out,” *Newburyport Herald*, June 15, 1852, Newburyport Public Library.

- 15 “Progress of the Workmen’s Cause.”
- 16 “Progress of the Workmen’s Cause.”
- 17 “Sixth Meeting of the Citizens and Operatives,” *Villager*, June 10, 1852.
- 18 US Census Bureau, “Fast Facts - History - U.S. Census Bureau,” accessed April 3, 2023, [https://www.census.gov/history/www/through\\_the\\_decades/fast\\_facts/](https://www.census.gov/history/www/through_the_decades/fast_facts/).
- 19 “Broadside--To The Public: The Undersigned Overseers.” Amesbury Carriage Museum
- 20 “Sixth Meeting of the Citizens and Operatives.”
- 21 “Proceedings of the Operatives,” *Villager*, June 17, 1852, Amesbury Public Library.
- 22 “Proceedings of the Operatives.”
- 23 “Proceedings of the Operatives.”
- 24 “Nine Cheers for Amesbury,” *Villager*, June 17, 1852.
- 25 “Circular,” *Villager*, July 8, 1852.
- 26 Sarah Scovill Whittelsey and Arthur Twining Hadley, “Massachusetts Labor Legislation, An Historical and Critical Study,” *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 17 (1901): 1–157. 12
- 27 “While the Looms . . .”
- 28 Joshua Aubin, “Particulars of Woolen Mfg-Amesbury Flannel Mfg Co,” ca 1853, Amesbury Carriage Museum.
- 29 George Edwin McNeill, Terence Vincent Powderly, and Edmund J. (Edmund Janes) James, *The Labor Movement: The Problem of to-Day* (New York, The M. W. Hazen co., 1891), <http://archive.org/details/aeb4570.0001.001.umich.edu>.
- 30 Citizen, “To the Editor,” *Villager*, June 24, 1852, Amesbury Public Library.
- 31 McNeill, Powderly, and James, *The Labor Movement*.
- 32 “Derby’s Men,” *Villager*, June 24, 1852, <http://amesbury.advantage-preservation.com>.
- 33 “A Comedy. A Parody on Shakespeare’s John Falstaff,” *Villager*, August 19, 1852.
- 34 “Social Levee,” *Villager*, July 15, 1852.
- 35 Jane Story and et al, “The Troubles in Amesbury:A Card,” *Villager*, July 22, 1852, Amesbury Public Library.
- 36 “Annual Meeting of the Salisbury Manufacturing Co,” *Villager*, August 5, 1852.
- 37 “Derby Gives up Agency,” *Villager*, August 4, 1853, Amesbury Public Library.
- 38 “Great Sale of Property in This Village,” *Villager*, April 23, 1857.
- 39 “Sixth Meeting of the Citizens and Operatives.”
- 40 “The Operative,” *Villager*, June 10, 1852.
- 41 “Sixth Meeting of the Citizens and Operatives.”

### Author’s Note

After I had completed the research and had begun to write, I came upon this article:

Voss-Hubbard, Mark. “The Amesbury-Salisbury Strike and the Social Origins of Political Nativism in Antebellum Massachusetts.” *Journal of Social History* 29, no. 3 (1996): 565–90.

This is an excellent, detailed analysis of the Derby Strike in the context of the politics of mid-nineteenth century Massachusetts. Voss-Hubbard and I drew from many of the same sources to describe what happened, and since nothing in his article was inconsistent with what I was saying, I did not change my article. I have used online sources, and he was able to consult additional print sources. His twenty-five page analysis is more extensive than this one, which focuses on the narrative. Unfortunately, the Voss-Hubbard article is behind a paywall, and to read it, you must be able access JSTOR.