During the last half of the nineteenth century, many American firms joined with one another in so-called trade associations. These groups were voluntary and were usually composed of manufacturers (or retailers) within a relatively limited geographical area. Among the earliest such trade associations was the New England Cotton Manufacturers Association (formed around 1865), which evolved into the National Association of Cotton Manufacturers early in the twentieth century. Other pioneer trade associations were the Writing Paper Manufacturers Association (probably formed in 1862) and the National Association of Wool Manufacturers (formed around 1864).

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The purposes of these trade associations varied from one enterprise to another, although some common elements are to be found. Trade associations composed of manufacturing companies frequently gathered and disseminated statistics on output and prices as well as set discount terms and credit ratings for the customers of member firms. The sharing of such information facilitated a climate of open competition and it also served to standardize some aspects of the relationships between manufacturers and the wholesalers who bought from them. The rise of organized labor unions, especially in the manufacturing trades, stimulated and solidified the formation of united fronts among management.

Questions of a national character, such as tariff issues, were addressed by trade associations, as well as matters of local dispute. Manufacturing is a capital-intensive enterprise, and the trade associations among manufacturers often led to pool or merger arrangements during the last two decades of the nineteenth century. These coalitions affected virtually every major industry in the United States, and they were the objects of considerable legislation, culminating in the Sherman Antitrust Act (1890).

A typical trade association was born on December 11, 1874, when the proprietors of sixteen South Side glass manufacturing companies assembled at the Twenty-eighth Ward schoolhouse in Pittsburgh. John Adams, president of Adams and Company and temporary chairman of the meeting, articulated the purpose of the gathering: "to devise some means for our mutual protection." Like the many trade associations in other American businesses, the group would come to share heretofore confidential financial information and would grapple with rules and regulations for setting the terms of sale and the extending of credit. Labor questions would be addressed, and the financial lures inherent in a proposal for a pool would be considered by the group, which was named the Western Flint and Lime Glass Protective Asso-

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2 Minutes, Dec. 11, 1874; the proceedings of the WFLGPA and its successor, the American Association of Flint and Lime Glass Manufacturers, are in six handwritten volumes; these were made available to me through the courtesy of Frank M. Fenton, chairman of the board of the Fenton Art Glass Company. These factories were present at the first meeting: Evans, Sell and Company; Campbell, Jones and Company; King, Son and Company; the Penn Glass Company; the Crystal Glass Company; Plunkett and Company; Geo. Duncan and Son; Adams and Company; Doyle and Company; Atterbury and Company; Challinor, Hogan and Company; Ripley and Company; Bakewell, Pears and Company; Dithridge and Company; the Excelsior Glass Company; and the Duquesne Glass Company; for information on the histories of these firms, see Lowell Innes, Pittsburgh Glass, 1797-1891: A History and Guide for Collectors (Boston, 1976), esp. 48-57.
ciation (WFLGPA). Except for some incidental references, the history of this early trade association has been ignored. This article will detail the growth and development of the WFLGPA from its inception through 1887 when it absorbed a regional group of eastern United States glass manufacturers to form a national entity, the American Association of Flint and Lime Glass Manufacturers.

During the first five years of its existence, the WFLGPA, like any fledgling trade association, sought to develop an organizational structure to serve its members' needs and concerns as well as to extend the influence of the association. Between December 11, 1874, and mid-March 1875, the entire association or its executive committee held frequent, often weekly, organizational meetings. A constitution and bylaws were approved at the WFLGPA's second meeting (minutes, December 18, 1874).

Membership in the Western Flint and Lime Glass Protective Association was initially limited to glass manufacturing firms "west of the Allegheny Mountains." The phrase "flint and lime," incidentally, defines the enterprise of the member firms, which were engaged in the manufacture (by blowing or pressing) of glassware products ranging from common jelly tumblers and tableware to lamps and lamp chimneys. Other glass manufacturers, such as those in the window glass business, had a trade association, but those who produced common bottles (so-called green glass) were not so organized at this time. As one would expect, the charter members of the WFLGPA and most companies that joined in the early years were from the Pittsburgh area, the major exception being a Wheeling firm, Hobbs, Brockunier and Company. Although the constitution seems to have provided for newcomers to be admitted upon a majority vote of the current members, this procedure was apparently not followed scrupulously, for the minutes throughout 1875-1878 mention at least a dozen noncharter members, only a few of which had had their applications for membership acted upon at a regular meeting. In early 1878, the constitution

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5 Seven of these — the Keystone Glass Company, J. H. Sullivan and Son, Richards and Hartley, the O'Hara Glass Company, McKee and Brothers, the Rochester Tumbler Company, and Bryce, Walker — were Pittsburgh-area
was changed significantly by striking out the clause that limited membership to those firms west of the Alleghenies (minutes, April 9, 1878). This was done in response to a request from a major Philadelphia glass firm, Gillinder and Sons. If the Pittsburgh-area members anticipated a membership boom as a result of the constitutional revision, they must have been disappointed, for no eastern firms — not even Gillinder — joined for over four years. Nonetheless, the Pittsburgh-based members attended meetings faithfully during 1875-1878, and the association was able to transact its business.

The WFLGPA's first headquarters was a room in the Germania Bank Building. By April 1877, the group had relocated to the English Building (minutes, April 10, 1877), where it remained for about nine years. Members bore the costs of furnishing the rooms through a special assessment in addition to their annual dues and initiation fee. In 1875, the annual dues seem to have been one hundred dollars, payable in quarterly installments (minutes, February 6, 1875), but the dues structure may have allowed the Pittsburgh members a credit for each meeting attended or a fine may have been levied for non-attendance. Non-Pittsburgh members probably paid dues at a lower annual rate and were not subject to credits or fines.

The constitution delineated the usual offices of president, vice-president, secretary, and treasurer, as well as two managers; these six comprised the executive committee. The first election was held on January 6, 1875. John Adams of Adams and Company was elected president, Benjamin Bakewell vice-president, John C. McCutcheon of Doyle and Company secretary, William C. King of King, Son and Company treasurer, and Thomas B. Atterbury and George R. Robertson (treasurer, Excelsior Flint Glass Company), managers.6

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6 The following chart summarizes the WFLGPA officers:

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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>President</th>
<th>Vice-President</th>
<th>Secretary</th>
<th>Treasurer</th>
<th>Managers</th>
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<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>John Adams</td>
<td>Benj. Bakewell</td>
<td>John C. McCutcheon</td>
<td>Wm. C. King</td>
<td>Thos. Atterbury, Geo. Robertson</td>
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<td>1876</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Thos. Evans, Jas. B. Lyon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>John Adams</td>
<td>Benj. Bakewell</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Jesse Lippincott, Paul Zimmerman</td>
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At an early meeting of the association, the group decided to hire an actuary and empowered the executive committee to do so (minutes, January 14, 1875). The actuary was an employee of the association and could not be chosen from the membership. A Mr. McBride held the position from February to July 1875, when the executive board let him go (minutes, July 12, 1875); H. D. Murray replaced him.7

When the association's bylaws were revised and approved in January 1878, a nine-part division of Section 5 laid out the responsibilities of the actuary. Among other duties, he was charged with the collection and recording of all dues and assessments as well as accounting for all expenses of the association. He was an ex-officio member of all committees, and almost all the minutes are in his hand even though the association had an elected secretary. The actuary was responsible for all correspondence and was instructed to

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<th>Treasurer</th>
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<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>Wm. C. King</td>
<td>Paul Zimmerman</td>
<td>Wm. Doyle</td>
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<td>1880</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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<td>Jesse Lippincott</td>
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<td>1881</td>
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<td>Wm. Doyle</td>
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<tr>
<td>1882</td>
<td>Jesse Lippincott</td>
<td>Andrew Bryce</td>
<td>Wm. Doyle</td>
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<tr>
<td>1883</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Jas. D. Wilson</td>
<td>Augustus Heisey</td>
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<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td>Daniel C. Ripley</td>
<td>Andrew Bryce</td>
<td>Edward Hogan</td>
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<td>1885</td>
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<td>Jas. W. Campbell</td>
<td>Geo. Blair</td>
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<td>1886</td>
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<td>Edward Hogan</td>
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<td>Geo. Blair</td>
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Even after the WFLGPA absorbed an eastern group to form the American Association of Flint and Lime Glass Manufacturers, Pittsburgh-area glassmen dominated the elected positions. Ripley was president from 1887 to 1892 and also from 1897 until his death in 1912; Thomas Evans served as treasurer from 1887 to 1912, after which he succeeded Ripley as president. The AAFLGM eliminated the office of secretary, but provided for two vice-presidents and, depending upon the specific year, either two or three managers; one of the vice-presidents was always a Pittsburgh man and most of the managers between 1887 and 1914 were from the "western" factories if not Allegheny County itself.

7 Murray served until June 14, 1880, when he resigned upon entering the glass business; Joseph G. Walter was hired at that time and held the position throughout the life of the WFLGPA. Walter's services were retained by the American Association, where he remained until 1891.
have the rooms and books of the association "in proper order and accessible at all times during the day to the members" (minutes, January 8, 1878). At an earlier date, the actuary had been directed to "get up a letterhead and what blanks are necessary to transact our business" and to visit all members' plants twice weekly to gather and dispense information. He wrote and posted calls to special meetings and frequently polled the membership on questions that came before the association. Since the actuary was in constant contact with the members, he was privy to much news and information about the glass manufacturing trade. Realizing this, the executive board called upon the actuary "to write a letter . . . [each] week to . . . [Crockery and Glass] Journal, giving items of interest in the Glass Ware business" (minutes, April 17, 1879). In short, then, much of the actuary's job encompassed the roles of corresponding and recording secretary, financial manager, and trade press liaison.

The actuary was also involved in matters of considerable financial importance. Within a few weeks of the association's inception, the actuary was coordinating efforts to consolidate credit information regarding each member firm's customers. The plan was simple enough: each member was "requested to hand in a list of their customers with the [credit] rating" (minutes, March 2, 1875). The actuary prepared a summary, and the members had several chances to check and recheck the various customer ratings. Essentially, the members were sharing with one another their judgments of each customer's financial reliability. Having done so, they then agreed to sell their goods on the same terms to each customer, depending upon that customer's rating. Those customers in the highest class might be sold on credit terms of ninety days, with a 3 percent discount for cash within thirty days; another group would face terms of thirty days net; and still another group would be sold only for cash before the delivery of the goods. Sometimes a customer would have such poor standing

8 These letters appeared under various headlines — "Pittsburgh Trade Report," "Pittsburgh Glass Factories," "The Glass Factories," "What the Glass Factories Are Doing" — in the weekly Crockery and Glass Journal during May-December 1879 and subsequently. Before 1879, trade journal coverage of the Pittsburgh-area glass factories was relatively scant in comparison to regular weekly reports from Boston, New York, and Philadelphia; occasionally a "special correspondent" would travel to Pittsburgh (Crockery and Glass Journal, Feb. 26, 1875, Feb. 8, June 21, 28, Dec. 13, 20, 1877, Aug. 28, 1878) and report via an unsigned letter column, but coverage of Pittsburgh glass affairs was generally limited to brief items reprinted from the Pittsburgh Herald or the Pittsburgh Commercial Gazette. By about mid-1881, the reports from Pittsburgh were grouped with those from other cities under such headlines as "From the Glass Factories" or "In the Glass Factories."
(or a record of bankruptcy) that the association would agree not to sell goods on any terms (minutes, March 13, 1877). From time to time, customers would appeal their ratings in a letter to the actuary, and the membership would reconsider the rating at the next regular meeting.

When a bankruptcy or "failure" occurred, the actuary acted in behalf of those creditors who were members of the WFLGPA. The actuary was not empowered to negotiate a settlement, but his efforts to coalesce the claims of all creditors (sometimes including non-members) often resulted in "compromises" of fifty or sixty cents on the dollar. At times, the exchanges between the creditors and the bankrupt party were both heated and lengthy; settling the claims against one Charles Tugenschmidt took several months (minutes, December 16, 17, 1875, and February 16, 1876) and resulted in Tugenschmidt's not being able to buy glass in early 1877 except for "cash before . . . delivery" (minutes, March 13, 1877).

The above description of the actuary's role in the WFLGPA's financial interests leads quite naturally to a listing of the association's "rules and regulations," eight statements of policy and procedure which had been agreed upon by the membership. When the constitution and bylaws were revised and reaffirmed in January 1878, the rules and regulations were similarly rewritten. Each will be considered in turn below.

Rule number one, adopted on May 4, 1875, was of particular interest to the manufacturers of glass tableware, for it dealt with the tendency of manufacturers to duplicate one another's products: "No member of this Association shall copy or imitate any design or pattern originated and made by another member. . . . That designs or patterns may not be unwittingly copied or imitated, members are requested to place on exhibition in the room of the Association samples of any new design or pattern they may issue." 9 When a member felt that his design had been copied, a complaint was made and a committee appointed to decide the matter.

The association's second rule was clearly a counterweight to the emerging strength of the American Flint Glass Workers' Union. Most of the WFLGPA's members were operated with union labor, so this rule is not surprising: "In the event of a strike by the men employed by any firm or company connected with the Association, notice shall at once be given to all the other members, through the actuary, and it

9 See Innes, *Pittsburgh Glass*, 333-41, for a careful discussion of the close relationship among patterns made by various firms.
shall be unlawful for them to employ any of the said men while the factory in which the strike occurred is idle by reason of it” (minutes, January 7, 1878). There were several regional strikes during the late 1870s, and the tension caused by this rule was probably great at times. The minutes sometimes reflect, in terse language, what must have been strident exchanges: “[the] Keystone Flint Glass Co. and the Dithridge Glass Co. said they were not hiring one of their strikers. Mr. Zimmerman stated that they were hiring one of their strikers” (minutes, February 12, 1878).

Rule three provided that customers were to be invoiced for packages (in which glass was shipped) at rates agreed upon by the association. This rule took some time to become fully implemented and will be discussed later. Rule four — “the terms of credit shall not exceed 90 days except in the case of goods sold for export” — has already been alluded to. Rule five declared that association members could not pay shipping charges to allow customers to take credit for such charges, except on goods for export. Rule six put forth both the procedure and the terms for settlement by association members who were creditors:

A compromise or settlement shall not be made by any member of the Association until after a meeting of all the creditors interested who are members has been held. And no debt or claim of any member of this Association shall be settled or compromised at less than 75¢ on the dollar.

If there is reason to believe that a debtor has retained any portion of his assets or in any way acted dishonestly toward his creditors, no member of the Association shall sell him any goods except for cash before delivery (adopted December 11, 1877).

Rule six seems straightforward, but it was not unusual for the membership to set the rule aside in a particular case, simply because a settlement realizing forty or fifty cents on the dollar was the best to be had (minutes, August 14, 1877, October 8, 1878, April 14, 1879). When rule six was reaffirmed in January 1878, a committee proposed adoption of several additional resolutions that later became part of the rules and regulations; among these were provisions for the prompt reporting of credit problems to the actuary and a statement regarding the binding nature of agreed-upon settlements at compromise meetings arranged through the association.

Rules seven and eight, respectively, set the time for monthly meetings (second Tuesday at 3:00 p.m.) and the structure for annual dues, credits, and fines. Both of these rules were altered on occasion, but there were no major changes between 1875 and 1879.

The minutes also reveal the social and fraternal aspects of the
association. Certainly it is easy to imagine the generally convivial gathering of like-minded businessmen who strove, albeit tentatively at times, to make the association work for their mutual interests. When officers were elected in January, the incoming president was usually motivated to speak of his gratitude and "return thanks to the Association for the honor conferred in a few appropriate remarks" (minutes, January 4, 1876). When John C. McCutcheon, the WFLGPA secretary, died on January 4, 1877, the association met in special session the next day to offer memorial resolutions and, "if agreeable to the family, to furnish . . . pall bearers" (minutes, January 5, 1877).

An association banquet on January 1, 1878, was reported in some detail in a letter published in the Crockery and Glass Journal of January 17, 1878. Thomas Atterbury presided over the festivities, at which the concerns of the association were reflected in a series of toasts and responses offered by various WFLGPA officers and members. Benjamin Bakewell, Jr., spoke against the copying of glassware patterns and urged the association to assume the duties of a patent officer. William C. King advocated repeal of the current bankruptcy laws. George W. Blair of Dithridge and Company called for a strong protective tariff, while Atterbury spoke in favor of increased exports, particularly to South America and England. WFLGPA President John Adams's remarks, reported at length in the letter to the Crockery and Glass Journal, centered upon the rise of Pittsburgh-area glass production to a position rivaling that of Boston. Adams reviewed the statistics of glassware production in Pittsburgh for the previous year, noting that the factories had operated 40 percent below capacity. In closing, he expressed the sentiments behind the founding of virtually all trade associations: "I congratulate the glass manufacturers for their success in perfecting this excellent organization. I would say in conclusion, that, like the politicians, who regard the price of liberty to be eternal vigilance, the glass trade must consider the price of success to be eternal vigilance, and it depends entirely upon the glass men to individually watch their interests. You can't trust to Providence to do it for you, and if one suffers all suffer; and this course unquestionably is the best thing for all concerned, inasmuch as we are in the same boat."

An important issue facing the association during the 1875-1879 period was the "summer stop." Most factories shut down for four to six weeks during June, July, or August. This pause made possible repairs to furnaces and chimneys but it also curtailed production and
reduced inventories, allowing an advance in prices during the fall buying season because of intensified demand. The WFLGPA, with its emphasis upon cooperation and adherence to rules and regulations for mutual protection, reasoned that a uniform summer stop was preferable to individually-determined shutdowns. At an executive committee meeting, the actuary "was instructed to give notice that the propriety of stopping for two months during the summer would be brought up for discussion" (minutes, May 24, 1875). The issue was not fully resolved at the regular meeting in June 1875, so a committee was appointed to call upon the various manufacturers and assess the degree of support for the proposal. No official actions are to be found in the minutes until nearly three years later when a resolution to close all factories for three months was passed by a twelve-to-eight vote (minutes, April 9, 1878).

The workers apparently opposed the summer stop resolution, but they were even more upset by the introduction of new machinery (particularly a lamp-chimney crimping apparatus) and by the manufacturers' unwillingness to increase wages. These disputes led to several long strikes; the union chimney plants were virtually halted for nearly two years between October 1877 and July 1879, and the union pressed-ware factories were struck beginning in November 1878 for about ten months.\(^\text{10}\) The latter dispute resulted in a major change in determining workers' wages; instead of shift (or "turn," as it was called) work, the workers were to be paid by the piece. Labor and management jointly agreed upon the minimum number of pieces to be made and published these numbers in the "move list."

Although the chimney factories and the pressed-ware firms were represented in the WFLGPA's membership, they decided to deal with their somewhat separate concerns by forming subgroups within the present organization. The chimney factories began their coalition, named "The Western Chimney Manufacturers' Association," in July 1876; the pressed-ware firms were active under the banner "Pittsburgh Pressed Glass Table Ware Manufacturers" in 1879, but exactly when this group was founded cannot now be ascertained.\(^\text{11}\) Both or-

\(^{10}\) Ibid., 75; Scoville, Revolution in Glassmaking, 38; Harry H. Cook, History of the American Flint Glass Workers' Union of North America, 1878-1957 (Toledo, 1958), 8.

\(^{11}\) The proceedings of the chimney subgroup are contained in two slim volumes (about 160 pages total). This subgroup held its first recorded meeting on July 24, 1876, and may have been reorganizing itself as the "Chimney Manufacturers' Organization" at its last recorded meetings in August 1883. The pressed-ware subgroup had its proceedings recorded in the WFLGPA minutes and in two other small volumes that report some meetings between 1884 and 1887.
ganizations held their meetings at the WFLGPA headquarters, and the actuary served as secretary of the pressed-ware group.

In mid-1879, the WFLGPA had been in existence for about four and a half years. It had an organizational structure set by its constitution, bylaws, and rules and regulations, but disputes among members and threatened withdrawals were frequent. Certainly the strife with the workers took its toll on those manufacturers who may have been on a financial tightrope. Perhaps the fortunes of the WFLGPA were typical of the early trade associations in general as described by Emmett Hay Naylor:

It is against all natural laws of commerce, against the nemesic law of supply and demand, against the best dictates of human nature itself, to fix prices, limit production, and divide territory, and yet that is exactly what the early trade associations tried to do. . . . And so the records of these old trade associations are replete with the agonies of evolution; they would all agree to something that might work a few weeks, then someone would forget and do differently, a wail would go up, the agreement fly to pieces, the association would gasp and die or go to sleep for a number of months until the storm of wrath had passed. Then the members with suspicion and hope would foregather once more and do it all over again.12

In any case, a circular was distributed in July 1879 that called for the dissolution of the association at the end of the year unless "a greater degree of interest is . . . manifested and members pledge themselves that they will hereafter attend the meetings" (minutes, July 26, 1879). The problems were deeper than nonattendance, and a committee composed of James B. Lyon, James W. Campbell, and Daniel C. Ripley raised five considerations and called for a vote at the upcoming September meeting (minutes, August 1, 1879):

1st The want of interest is manifested in the very limited attendance at the meetings — it is common to be without a quorum, and rare to get that number till long after the appointed hour.
2nd The large number of factories outside of the Association, fully one-third of the whole number, makes it onerous for the members to maintain the rules against so large a proportion who are not under such obligations.
3rd Without a revival of interest is it not more than probable that the Association must gradually die out? If so, would it not be better to dissolve at once?
4th Have the benefits been of such a character as to make it worth an effort to preserve it? This question will no doubt be answered at the meeting named for consideration of the subject. The houses not represented at that meeting will naturally be classed among the members who think the Association not worth preserving.
5th If it is worth preserving, is it practicable to do so with advantage with the present proportion of the whole number of factories? Are the outsiders to

derive all the benefits of the Association without its obligations and their proportion of its cost?

With these suggestions, the committee would refer the decision of the question to you at the regular meeting in September.

Seventeen members attended the WFLGPA meeting on September 8, 1879, and a committee of five was appointed to call upon nonmembers. Over the next two months the committee reported progress and the membership rolls grew, albeit modestly (minutes, October 13, November 10, 1879). The association may have faltered, but it did not dissolve or die. The next few years would bring different challenges.

During the early 1880s, the essential structure of the WFLGPA remained intact. The membership increased slightly when eastern firms began to join, and the position of actuary assumed greater importance. There were, of course, a variety of disputes among members, but major gains in promoting uniformity were made on some key matters, especially charges for packages.

James Gillinder, proprietor of Gillinder and Sons in Philadelphia, had inquired about membership in the WFLGPA several years earlier (minutes, March 12, 1878), but his firm did not forward an application for membership until mid-1882 (minutes, July 10, 1882). Among other new members during this period were the Enterprise Glass Company of Ravenna, Ohio, and several firms from the Martins Ferry-Bridgeport-Bellaire area, including Rodefer Brothers, the Buckeye Glass Company, the Bellaire Goblet Company, and the Aetna Glass and Manufacturing Company. In January 1883, the membership numbered thirty-two, including one firm temporarily not in business. When questions came before the members, it was not unusual for those voting on the question to instruct the actuary to poll absent members as well as nonmembers of the WFLGPA; the minutes contain several reports of the actuary’s successful attempts to secure the signatures of nonmembers to an association rule or regulation. A circular issued in December 1883, for example, carried the names of thirty-nine factories.

The actuary continued to assemble credit data on the customers served by member firms, a task that must have become more time-consuming as the trade proliferated (minutes, January 9, 1882). Collections from bankrupt customers continued to be channeled through him, and he reported each January on the claims filed and collected. He frequently corresponded with customers and manufac-
turers alike as he ameliorated conflicts and clarified procedures or policies.

The actuary helped collect information over a period of several years that resulted in substantial clarification of rule three, that is, "all packages shall be a specific charge and extended in the invoice as other goods are, and the prices for packages shall be such as agreed upon from time to time" (minutes, January 8, 1878). Every firm had a packing/shipping room that prepared the company's products for shipment by rail or boat. The usual methods of protecting against breakage involved pasteboard sleeves, sawdust, or straw to prevent the items from coming together or being jostled about within a wooden box or barrel. A difficulty arose in the mid-1870s because some firms preferred to add the price of the package to the wholesale price of the goods. Rule three eliminated this problem, but differences in package sizes and variations in the charges for packages often created strained relations between customer and manufacturer as well as among WFLGPA members.

A report prepared by Augustus H. Heisey (minutes, January 9, 1880) listed fifty-one different packages ranging from boxes (to hold tumblers, wine glasses, or goblets) at twenty-five to forty-five cents each to casks, hogsheads, and large casks ranging in price from one to five dollars. The actuary circulated Heisey's report among all glassware manufacturers in the United States. Although the price schedule was tentatively adopted (minutes, March 8, 1880), differences in package sizes necessitated the formation of a study committee (minutes, May 9, 1881). The committee and the actuary attempted to establish some agreement (minutes, May 25, 1881, February 13, May 8, 1882, February 19, 1883), but it was not until March 1883 that sixty-six WFLGPA members and nonmembers agreed to prices ranging from thirty-five to sixty-five cents on six different sizes of barrels. There were problems with this simple price schedule over the next few months (minutes, May 21, June 11, 1883), so it must have been with a sigh of relief that the actuary heard the executive committee report "that they have enough confidence in members of the Association to believe that they will not willfully violate their pledges and agreements" (minutes, August 13, 1883).

A local, more short-lived dispute between WFLGPA members over copying designs was probably no less provocative than the package charge issues. The situation was this: in December 1879, the LaBelle Glass Company of Bridgeport, Ohio, unveiled its new pattern for the coming year with a full-page advertisement in the
Crockery and Glass Journal. The “Queen Anne” set, as it was called, sold quite well, so it may have been inevitable that someone would imitate it. In August, the LaBelle firm charged that Doyle and Company had duplicated the Queen Anne pattern (minutes, August 9, 1880). A committee of three found the accusation to be without basis, but LaBelle appealed the decision to the WFLGPA’s executive committee (minutes, September 13, December 13, 1880). That body said that “whilst the Queen Anne and Doyle and Co. sets differ on details sufficiently to prevent the one being called a copy of the other, yet the Doyle and Co. set resembles the Queen Anne sufficiently to be called an imitation” (minutes, January 6, 1881). The association’s members, hearing this analysis, tersely referred the matter back to the executive committee which, in turn, reaffirmed its report (minutes, January 20, 1881). The membership tabled the whole matter, whereupon LaBelle sought to withdraw its membership from the association (minutes, February 14, 1881); a committee of one, James B. Lyon, was then appointed “to write to and if necessary to wait on LaBelle Glass Co. with a view of inducing them to withdraw their resignation.” A month later, Lyon reported no reply to his letter (minutes, March 14, 1881), but later minutes show representatives of the LaBelle Glass Company in attendance, so perhaps the matter was finally put to rest.

The most significant development of the 1880-1883 period was, without doubt, the calling of national conventions of glass manufacturers in which many WFLGPA members took part. The first meeting was held in May 1880. The impetus for a national conclave came from the Protective Association of Flint Glass Manufacturers of the Eastern States, which had been formed in early November 1879 (Crockery and Glass Journal, November 13, 1879). Its president, James Gillinder, wrote to WFLGPA president John Adams in April 1880, and the WFLGPA authorized Adams and Gillinder “to appoint the time and place ... and call a general meeting” (minutes, April 12, 1880). This meeting was held in Philadelphia, and the group assembled there endorsed the principle of a four-week summer stop at all factories (except tumbler plants), allowing each concern to select any period in June, July, or August (minutes, May 31, 1880).

A second meeting was held on June 16, 1881, at the Congress Hotel in Atlantic City. An announcement in the Crockery and Glass Journal (June 9, 1881) called this gathering the “first annual meeting of [the] National Flint and Lime Glass Association.” A brief account of this day-long meeting appeared in the Crockery and Glass Journal,
which termed the assembly a "closed session." Greater space was given to describing the group's banquet, at which James Gillinder noted the presence of reporters and said that "although no great results had been achieved... it was well to meet and talk over matters." More than forty firms attended the 1882 meeting in Long Branch, New Jersey, on June 21. The WFLGPA had decided to underwrite the actuary's expenses to this convention (minutes, June 12, 1882). In anticipation of the 1883 meeting, the WFLGPA passed a resolution favoring a six-week summer stop (minutes, June 11, 1883). The outcome of the national meeting, held on June 22, 1883, in Boston, is not known, for the group voted to bar the press, and the Crockery and Glass Journal (June 28, 1883) had little to report save for brief accounts of speeches given at the banquet.

These joint national meetings allowed the WFLGPA members to share their ideas and concerns with their eastern counterparts, even though formal public resolutions seem not to have resulted from their discussions. Rapport between the two geographic halves of the American glass industry was thus established and the way made clear for an eventual consolidation.

From time to time, the WFLGPA became involved in other national matters, especially tariff questions. The group ordered two thousand copies of a speech on the tariff by the Honorable William D. Kelly (minutes, March 14, 1881) and heard "a few remarks" from a representative of The American Protectionist at its meeting in December 1881. When the United States Tariff Commission was gathering information for a report in 1882, it held a session at Wheeling on October 12, 1882, perhaps because glassmaker C. W. Brockunier of that city was chairman of the National Flint and Lime Glass Manufacturers' tariff committee. The WFLGPA sent nine representatives, including president Jesse Lippincott and immediate past president John Adams, to the session (minutes, October 9, 1882).

Statistics gathered in the early 1880s for the nation's Tenth Census most clearly reveal the growth and development of the Pittsburgh-area factories and the other tableware plants that were members of the WFLGPA. Pennsylvania ranked first in the production of table glassware and lamp chimneys, and Ohio and West Virginia ranked third and fourth, respectively. Most WFLGPA members came from

13 Crockery and Glass Journal, June 23, 1881; Scoville, Revolution in Glassmaking, 60, mistakenly concluded that the 1880 organizational meeting of the National Flint and Lime Glass Association was a formal merger of the WFLGPA and its eastern counterpart.
14 Joseph D. Weeks, Report on the Manufacture of Glass (Washington,
Allegheny County, Belmont County (Ohio), or Ohio County (West Virginia), and these were among the top seven glassmaking counties in the United States, together accounting for nearly 34 percent of national production. Joseph D. Weeks, who acknowledged the assistance of James B. Lyon of Pittsburgh in preparing his 1884 report on the industry, considered the Pennsylvania glassware statistics "very imperfect" but still found the annual production of the state to be 2,500,000 dozen tumblers and 2,719,649 dozen lamp chimneys. Somewhat surprising, Weeks did not mention the Western Flint and Lime Glass Protective Association, although he certainly must have had the cooperation of many of its members.

Although attempts to form a pool of pressed-ware manufacturers in April and May 1884 and the merger of the WFLGPA with the eastern group were the dominant events of the mid-1880s, the month-to-month records of the association attest to its stability and to relative freedom from the kinds of conflicts that characterized the earlier years. The minutes of this period are, for instance, free of any outright conflicts, save for one accusation that a member firm was not charging for packages and another inquiry about barrel sizes (minutes, November 10, 1884, March 8, 1886).

A charge levied against McKee and Brothers alleged that goods were shipped to customers accompanied by bills that were "dated ahead," a practice that had the result of extending the WFLGPA's rule on the maximum time of credit (ninety days). This matter came before the association a number of times (minutes, April 13, May 11, July 13, August 10, September 15, October 12, November 7, 1885), but it was settled when McKee explained that they often shipped goods earlier than the order stipulated because of a need for room to store inventory.

When the O'Hara Glass Company had some glassware returned by an unsatisfied customer, the matter was quickly and amicably resolved by an arbitration procedure devised by the association. The customer — Clark, Adams and Clark of Boston — alleged that the glassware in question was the quality of "seconds," pieces of glassware containing small bubbles and imperfections. Since they had ordered (and paid for) first-quality goods, they returned the barrels of glass-

D.C., 1884), 10; this report is reprinted in the Tenth Census, 2: 1029-1152. A preliminary version of Weeks's report was published in Crockery and Glass Journal, May 5, 1881.

15 Weeks, Report, 11.
ware to O'Hara (minutes, May 12, 1884). Both parties to the dispute agreed to abide by the association plan, whereby "the O'Hara Glass Co. select one party, Clark, Adams and Clark, one, and they two the third, and that the matter of quality of the goods in question be referred to this committee of three, their decision to be final" (minutes, June 9, 1884). These three arbitrators — Daniel Ripley, Charles Brockunier, and A. H. Heisey — examined the goods in question and decided that they were "up to the average of first quality . . . and any manufacturer in the business would send same out as first quality" (minutes, August 11, 1884). Accepting the decision as final, Clark, Adams and Clark requested the return of the glass.

In mid-1885, the WFLGPA began to revise its list of customers' credit classifications. This list was an extensive one, for it embraced the customers of nearly three dozen firms; the work continued over many months. In November 1886, the actuary reported that the classified list of more than seven hundred names would be distributed to all members for a final rechecking. The list was accepted as revised the next month (minutes, December 13, 1886).

During the 1880s, a number of industries in the United States addressed themselves to the "pool," or "cartel" question.16 The WFLGPA did not discuss a pool of all its members, but a subgroup called the Pressed Glass Table Ware Manufacturers considered forming a pool in 1884. The impetus seems to have come from the Wheeling-area firms, which held a meeting on April 17, 1884. James B. Lyon of Pittsburgh attended that meeting and reported that the Wheeling firms had appointed a committee to confer with a group representing the Pittsburgh tableware interests. At a meeting on April 22, 1884, the Pittsburgh firms selected a committee of seven: James B. Lyon, Jesse Lippincott, A. H. Heisey, Andrew Bryce, John Adams, Daniel Ripley, and James Gillinder.17

A meeting of the Wheeling and Pittsburgh committees was called for May 26, 1884. Apparently the two groups had prepared separate

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17 The Wheeling-area committee consisted of J. H. Hobbs, N. B. Scott, George Miller, Edward Muhleman, and W. A. Gorby (refer to Innes, Pittsburgh Glass, 460). The proceedings of one Pittsburgh-area committee meeting (April 22, 1884) are extant, as are the proceedings of the joint meetings held on May 26-27, 1884; the next page records the actions of the Pittsburgh pressed-ware subgroup at an entirely unrelated meeting a year later, leaving the pool question frustratingly unresolved.
pool proposals. The content of the Wheeling plan cannot be reconstructed, but a printed version of the Pittsburgh group's plan is extant. This document bore the warning, "CONFIDENTIAL — PLEASE DO NOT SHOW TO ANY OUTSIDE YOUR FIRM." Over the signature of committee chairman James B. Lyon, the Pittsburgh proposal called for at least twenty-five factories to form a corporation. The corporation would lease the stockholders' factories for at least five years and seek to lease other glassworks as well. Profits would be based upon individual firms' profit histories over the past four years.

The alleged strengths of the pool proposal were threefold: lessen competition; reduce costs; and raise prices. The pool's executive committee would diminish competition by limiting the number of new glassware designs allowed into the market and by ruling on any expansion of an individual factory's capacity. Costs would be reduced by eliminating drummers and resident agents as well as by negotiating more favorable prices for raw materials purchased in large quantities. Increased prices would be effected by an across-the-board advance of 10 percent, coupled with a reduction of the discount for cash from 3 percent to 2 percent. Using 1883 sales and profit figures and predicting a 25 percent drop in demand, the Pittsburgh proposal projected profits of $800,000 to be divided among twenty member firms. The report concluded with a conditional, but optimistic, prediction: "If this pool can be successfully established and production and prices controlled, with all the manufacturers working in harmony for one common end, there is no possible doubt but that our profits can be doubled and the business be transacted much more satisfactorily, both to seller and buyer, than it has ever been done."

The joint meeting of the Pittsburgh and Wheeling producers, which began at 11 a.m. on May 26, 1884, carried over into the next day as the various pool proposals were debated and amended. By the end of the first day, the group had agreed that any pool must contain at least twenty-five members, governed by a rule-making executive board whose decisions could be appealed; profits were to be distributed pro rata based on each firm's prior history of profits — a key plank of the Pittsburgh plan. On May 27, John Hobbs presented the Wheeling plan. The Pittsburgh plan was reread and discussed. Apparently, the clamor of many minds and voices precluded progress, for the group decided to form a six-member subcommittee (three from Pittsburgh and three from Wheeling) to finalize a proposal for the consideration of the full committee. It was anticipated that the full
committee would forward the proposal to the National Flint and Lime Glass Manufacturers' Association in June 1884. But the results of the subcommittee's work are not to be found, and there are no references to the pool in the WFLGPA minutes, nor is there any evidence that the proposal came before the national group; no pool resulted from the 1884 deliberations. The WFLGPA continued as before, indicating that the probable disagreements over formation of a pool did not affect the trade association.

Throughout 1885 and the first six months of 1886, the Western Flint and Lime Glass Protective Association approved a number of firms for membership. Some of these were such established factories in the Pittsburgh and Wheeling areas as Challinor, Taylor and Company, Limited of Tarentum, the Belmont Glass Works, and the Elson Glass Company (minutes, January 12, May 11, 1885, June 14, 1886). The willingness of others outside these areas to become members probably reflects the influence of the association. Among these new members were the New England Glass Works, Rohrbacher and Hormann of Philadelphia, and the Mount Washington Glass Company of New Bedford, Massachusetts (minutes, May 11, July 13, September 15, 1885).

The first signs of a possible merger between the glass manufacturers of the east and west, of course, had come early in the WFLGPA's history when its constitution was amended to permit the admission of eastern firms (minutes, April 9, 1878). This was in response to a request from Gillinder and Sons of Philadelphia, who joined the WFLGPA about four years later (minutes, July 10, 1882).

Rumors of a pool were heard again about two years later. The WFLGPA minutes mention an article in the *Pittsburgh Commercial Gazette* of April 28, 1886, that said "the Tableware Mfrs. had formed a pool or combination to advance the price of glassware." The actuary and another representative of the association, William King, pressed the *Gazette* to retract its report, but the paper stood by the story and would not reveal its source of information. Since other Pittsburgh papers had published denials of the *Gazette*'s story, the WFLGPA decided to take no action (minutes, May 10, 1886, and *Crockery and Glass Journal*, May 6, 1886). Pool proposals were discussed again about 1889, and eighteen firms joined together to form the United States Glass Company on July 1, 1891; see Innes, *Pittsburgh Glass*, 460-63, and Scoville, *Revolution in Glassmaking*, 236-37. Another combination was effected in 1899 when nineteen companies merged under the aegis of the National Glass Company; see James Measell, *Greentown Glass: The Indiana Tumbler and Goblet Company* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1979), 16-19, 39. Daniel C. Ripley was the first president of the United States Glass Company, ten of whose members were located in Pittsburgh or Wheeling. The National Glass Company was a Pennsylvania corporation, and its headquarters were in Pittsburgh, although most of its nineteen members were in Ohio and Indiana; H. C. Fry of the Rochester Tumbler Company was the first president.
James Gillinder was probably interested in cementing relations between the glass manufacturers of the east and the west when he wrote to WFLGPA president John Adams calling the first meeting of the National Flint and Lime Glass Manufacturers’ Association for May 1880 (minutes, April 12, 1880). In July 1886, Gillinder wrote again to the WFLGPA, “stating that there is a disposition among Eastern Mfrs. to join the Western Association, and that he has appointed a Committee to see what arrangements might be made to have meetings held occasionally in New York . . .” (minutes, August 9, 1886). The association asked its executive committee to consider Gillinder’s request and to prepare revisions in the constitution and bylaws.

The executive committee acted with dispatch, approving the merger in principle (minutes, September 8, 1886) and laying out a number of relatively minor revisions in the constitution and bylaws. The full membership of the WFLGPA acted on these immediately (minutes, September 13, 1886), and eleven eastern firms were admitted to membership in October 1886. In deference to the new members, the November meeting was held in New York City at the Astor House. The group decided to hold four meetings per year (February, May, July, and October) in the East and the other eight in Pittsburgh. President Daniel C. Ripley was asked to appoint a committee to oversee final revisions in the constitution and bylaws.

In a report of the merger appearing in the Crockery and Glass Journal, it was suggested that “the combination into one effective organization will secure a degree of unanimity in action hitherto found impracticable, and render more effectual whatever measures are decided upon. . . .” Two weeks later, the trade journal called the Astor House gathering “the most important convention of glass manufacturers ever called together” and noted that nearly sixty firms had agreed to the specifics of the merger.

Formal absorption of the eastern firms came in January 1887 when the Pittsburgh area firms bore the expenses of entertaining their fellow manufacturers from outside the city. The WFLGPA had moved its offices to the Stevenson Block (minutes, February 8, 1886), but the rooms there were not large enough for the gathering, so the association secured a meeting room at the Monongahela House hotel.

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19 Minutes, Oct. 11, 1886; five other firms, some of which had withdrawn from the WFLGPA earlier, were also elected to membership (minutes, Dec. 13, 1886), bringing the total of member firms to fifty-five.

20 Crockery and Glass Journal, Nov. 4, 1886.

21 Ibid., Nov. 18, 1886.
At a business meeting on January 5, 1887, the name of the group was officially declared as the American Association of Flint and Lime Glass Manufacturers.

The new constitution eliminated the office of secretary, those duties falling to the actuary, and provided for two vice-presidents. James Gillinder was elected to one of the vice-presidencies, but all other offices were filled by familiar figures from the ranks of the WFLGPA: president, Daniel C. Ripley; vice-president, James H. McCloy; treasurer, Thomas Evans; and additional managers, Andrew Bryce and Paul Zimmerman (minutes, January 5, 1887). Ironically, longtime WFLGPA member and former president John Adams had died in November 1886, necessitating a special meeting of the WFLGPA and postponing the first joint meeting of the eastern and western firms (minutes, November 8, 11, 1886).

The rules and regulations of the American Association of Flint and Lime Glass Manufacturers were essentially those of the WFLGPA. The terms of credit (ninety days, with 3 percent discount for cash within thirty days) were reaffirmed as were those rules dealing with package charges, the hiring of strikers, and the settling of claims due to insolvent debtors. The new association deleted the rule regarding pattern copying but there was no explanation for this action. Perhaps the members anticipated some difficulty in enforcing such a rule within the enlarged membership of the association.

A spirit of comradeship emerged due to the efforts of the Pittsburgh firms, who opened their factories for tours by the visitors and hosted a banquet the evening after the business meeting on January 5, 1887. In fact, a brief historical reminiscence prepared for the American Association’s meeting over a decade later recalled the occasion as follows: “a banquet was tendered the eastern members by the western members. The fraternal feeling that developed between the eastern and western members has ever since been maintained.”

From modest beginnings, the Pittsburgh-based Western Flint and Lime Glass Protective Association grew, albeit tentatively at first, to become the major trade association of the American glass tableware, common tumbler, and lamp chimney manufacturers. The WFLGPA’s rules and regulations provided the organizational structure with which the glass manufacturers met difficult financial times and internal dis-

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Putes. During the association's life-span, the interests of its members were protected, and the companies themselves enjoyed relative prosperity. It was an excellent example of how nineteenth-century businessmen subordinated their parochial interests to limit competition in favor of cooperation.