

---

PRISM: Political & Rights Issues & Social Movements

---

1-1-1924

## The British labour movement: A syllabus for study classes

George D. H. Cole

Find similar works at: <https://stars.library.ucf.edu/prism>  
University of Central Florida Libraries <http://library.ucf.edu>

This Book is brought to you for free and open access by STARS. It has been accepted for inclusion in PRISM: Political & Rights Issues & Social Movements by an authorized administrator of STARS. For more information, please contact [STARS@ucf.edu](mailto:STARS@ucf.edu).

---

### Recommended Citation

Cole, George D. H., "The British labour movement: A syllabus for study classes" (1924). *PRISM: Political & Rights Issues & Social Movements*. 179.  
<https://stars.library.ucf.edu/prism/179>

WORKERS' EDUCATION SYLLABUS SERIES — No. 3

# THE BRITISH LABOUR MOVEMENT

A SYLLABUS FOR STUDY CLASSES

By G. D. H. COLE

Staff Tutor, London District  
Workers' Educational Association of Great Britain



*Abraham Lincoln studied by firelight*



Workers Education Bureau of America  
476 West 24th Street  
New York



PRICE TEN CENTS

## FOREWORD

The advent of the British Labor Party to the administration of the government of Great Britain in January, 1924, is one of the most significant facts in the recent political history of that country. It may be too early to pass any lasting judgment upon the quality of that achievement. The fact, however, is significant and is not to be denied.

The relation of the British Labor Party to the British Labor Movement is such that it is essential to understand the long history of the economic movement to fully appreciate its more recent political history. Students of Labor Problems in the United States as well as representatives of labor have expressed a genuine desire to know about the origin and development of the British Labor Movement. The most authoritative brief outline of the Labor Movement of Great Britain that has been published thus far by a British scholar and writer, is this syllabus by Mr. G. D. H. Cole. To satisfy the legitimate desire to know about the British movement, it has seemed advisable to print an American edition of this syllabus which originally appeared in 1920, and was subsequently re-edited and printed in 1922. To each chapter is attached a list of readings which will refer the student to the fuller treatments of the various subjects which are outlined.

The Workers Education Bureau of America was organized in the spring of 1921, to unify the separate experiments

in American workers' education and to give them the strength that comes from a consciousness of cooperative effort. A good deal of sharing of views has been possible through this agency. These outlines and syllabi are but another way in which this Bureau is attempting to assist the various educational experiments in giving system to their efforts and a high standard to their instruction. The Bureau will gladly supply further information whenever asked.



## PREFACE.



The following syllabus is an attempt to provide a clue to the labyrinth of Labour organisation in Great Britain, by showing how the British Labour Movement has developed in the period since the Industrial Revolution of the Eighteenth Century. It seeks to bring together into a connected story the histories, so often separately recounted, of the various forms and aspects of working-class organisation, and especially of the three movements the growth of which, during the Nineteenth Century, is the central fact in the story of the British working class. Not in Great Britain alone, but in nearly all civilised countries, the Nineteenth Century was the period of the formation and growth to power of these three movements. It witnessed the rise of Trade Unions expressing the corporate solidarity of the wage-earners, their will to resist oppression, and their desire for the creation of a more free and democratic industrial order. It witnessed the rise of Co-operation, both as a means of protecting the working-class consumers against high prices and profit-making industrialism, and as an expression, in the sphere of production, of the desire of workers for independence of the capitalist employer. It witnessed the rise of Socialism, as above all a movement of ideas aiming at the substitution for a Society based on class divisions and competition for the good things of life of a Society based on the principle, "to each according to his needs, from each according to his ability." And out of these movements, and particularly out of Trade Unionism and Socialism, has come political organisation of the workers aiming at the conquest of political power.

In two of these three movements, Great Britain led the way to the rest of the world. British Trade Unionism and British Co-operation, however they may have been surpassed in particular directions by other movements, historically have served as models upon which the workers in other countries have largely based their forms and methods of organisation.

A more than national interest, therefore, attaches to the history of British Labour development. Its story, as told in a brief syllabus such as this, can hardly help seeming often dull and uninspiring. Here can be no adequate account either of the men who have been the makers of the movement in its various phases, or of the prodigious obstacles, deeply rooted in the system, with which they had to cope. Nor can there be any proper exposition of the various theories and ideas which have, at different periods, dominated this or that section of the movement. These things are told in the books to which this syllabus is only intended to introduce the reader, and must be reserved for the lectures, papers, and discussions, which are intended to be based upon it. All that has been attempted is to give, not a mere chronicle of isolated facts, but as far as possible a connected story with a meaning and a quality of suggestion.

Appended to each section will be found a list of the most important books dealing with the questions discussed. This list is necessarily rather lengthy, as the ground covered is very wide. There is, however, no reason for the reader or student to be alarmed by the number of books suggested for further reading. One will find his interest attracted especially by one phase of the movement, one by another. I have had to do my best to give the book which each will find most useful. The list is not a list of books that must be read, but one from which a selection must be made by the individual according to his particular interest.

It is impossible, however, to stress too strongly the need for every member of any class or circle that meets to discuss this syllabus to read for himself as much as he can. If he wants to get a clear picture of the growth of the Labour Movement, there are certain books which he must read. I give the following as an indispensable *minimum* list:—

(a) Some general short economic history of England. The best is: "*The Economic Organisation of England*," by W. J. Ashley, which has the merit of being short and simple, and of giving an essentially synoptic view.

(b) Some book of Nineteenth Century Social History, such as "*The Making of Modern England*," by Gilbert Slater. This is not very good, but it is the best available.

(c) "*The History of Trade Unionism*," by S. and B. Webb.

(d) A book on Co-operation, such as Mrs. Webb's "*The Co-operative Movement*," or L. S. Woolf's "*Co-operation and the Future of Industry*."

(e) It is most unfortunate that there is no even reasonably good short book on the Socialist Movement. One of those available should, however, be read by any student who does not tackle Max Beer's books. (See (h) below).

(f) As the only good short text-book giving an outline history of the Labour Movement, W. W. Craik's "*Outlines of the History of the Modern British Working-Class Movement*" should be bought by the student, read, and kept handy for reference.

In addition to these, any student who really wants to get a grip of the working-class movement on its historical side ought to make an effort to read certain larger and more specialised books.

(g) "*The Village Labourer*" and "*The Town Labourer*," both by Mr. and Mrs. Hammond, are by far the best written and most informative books on Social History that I have ever read. They deal with the period from 1760-1832. Reading them will be, for any student, not a duty but a pleasure and an inspiring experience.

(h) Max Beer's two volumes on "*The History of British Socialism*," which cover the whole period, are the only really good account of the growth of Socialist theories and policies.

It would, of course, be possible to continue indefinitely the list of special books. I have set out the above three because they seem to me to stand out head and shoulders above the rest. For others the student is referred to the fuller bibliographies given in the text.

G. D. H. COLE.

October, 1920.

REVISED December, 1922

## A FEW GENERAL BOOKS.

(Included here are only books which do not fall definitely under one or another of the divisions in the syllabus. There are a few repetitions, but not very many).

### (A) GENERAL ECONOMIC HISTORIES :—

- “The Growth of English Industry and Commerce,” by W. Cunningham. Three vols.
- “The Economic Organisation of England,” by W. J. Ashley.
- “Economic History of England,” by H. O. Meredith.
- “Economic History : Select Documents,” by Bland, Brown, and Tawney.

(There are, of course, many other text-books of varying merits.)

### (B) MODERN ECONOMIC HISTORIES :—

- “The Making of Modern England,” by Gilbert Slater.
- “The Industrial History of Modern England,” by G. H. Perris.
- “A Social and Industrial History of England, 1815-1918,” by J. F. Rees.
- “Life and Labour in the Nineteenth Century,” by C. R. Fay.
- “The Evolution of Modern Capitalism,” by J. A. Hobson.

### (C) GENERAL HISTORIES OF ENGLAND :—

J. R. Green's “*Short History of the English People*” is still as good as any thing as an outline. G. K. Chesterton's “*Short History of England*” gives an interesting and distinctive point of view, but is emphatically not a text-book. There are many short text-books by A. D. Innes, T. F. Tout, and others.

Of large histories, the “*Political History of England*,” published by Longman's, has two volumes dealing with the Nineteenth Century. The large history, published by Messrs. Methuen, covers the period in one large volume. Hilaire Belloc's continuation of Lingard's “*History*,” may be described in the same terms as Mr. Chesterton's book mentioned above. The “*Cambridge Modern History*” is always useful for reference.



## I. HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION—TO 1760.

---

**T**HE Labour Movement, as we know it to-day, is the child of the capitalist system and the industrial revolution. Long before the period which has come to be known by this name (about 1760-1832), there had, of course, been class divisions and class antagonism. Capitalism did not arise suddenly in the middle of the eighteenth century, and still less did struggles between classes begin then for the first time. England had her Peasants' Revolt in 1381, and throughout the Middle Ages there were occasional struggles against the abuses of "feudalism" in the country, and to a less extent, between the richer and poorer classes concerned in industry and commerce in the towns. Under the Guild system journeymen sometimes combined to resist their masters, and, in the latter days of the Guilds, there were frequent class conflicts between rich and poor. Trade Unionism of the modern kind, even, has, in a number of crafts, a history dating back beyond the Industrial Revolution to the beginning of the eighteenth century. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that the Labour Movement *developed* until the Industrial Revolution, by introducing new methods of production and widening the operations of commerce to a world scale, crowded the workers into the factories, degraded the life standard of many, and immensely increased the social and economic distance separating master and man. It was not until the nineteenth century that, slowly and painfully, the Labour Movement developed for the protection of the workers against the new capitalist conditions.

See "The Economic Organisation of England." By W. J.

*Ashley.*

"The History of Trade Unionism." By S. and B. Webb.

"La Révolution Industrielle." By Paul Mantoux.

"English Economic History: Select Documents." By Bland, Brown and Tawney.

Especially for the period before the Industrial Revolution, the student will find useful the companion syllabus in this series, "English Economic History." By G. D. H. Cole.

## II. THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION.

1760—1832.

The period known as the "Industrial Revolution" was marked by (1) an immense widening of markets and increase in the relative importance of foreign trade; (2) a series of inventions, resulting in a widespread introduction of large-scale machine production, the application of power to industry, and an immense improvement in the facilities for transport by land and water; (3) the enclosure of a large proportion of the common fields, resulting in new methods of agricultural production, the dispossession of large classes of the rural population and consequent migration from the country to the towns; (4) a shifting of population and a new and frightfully rapid growth in the new industrial centres, situated principally in the North of England; (5) the supersession, slow or rapid, of many forms of handicraft, resulting in intense distress for large classes of workers; (6) foreign wars which gave Great Britain the opportunity of establishing an early pre-eminence in world markets; (7) the French Revolution, and consequent waves of revolutionary feeling and unrest elsewhere, met by severe repressive measures by the governing class; (8) the rise of a new class—the Capitalist class—to economic power, resulting in a change in the distribution of political power also.

The French Revolution of 1789 was followed by unrest all over Europe. In this unrest Great Britain shared, but only to a comparatively small extent. Societies, including many working men, sprang up in sympathy with the revolutionary principles, and aiming at Radical transformation of the British political system. Of these "Corresponding Societies," the most important were in London and Glasgow. Inspired by these movements, and by the Bread Riots of the 1790's, with the fear of a revolutionary movement in Great Britain, the Government, especially under Pitt, adopted a policy of repression, which was *particularly* severe between 1797, the year of the Seditious Meetings Act, and about 1820. The Combination Acts of 1799 and 1800, and the notorious Six Acts of 1819, were only part of a general policy, including the systematic suppression of popular movements and the regular use of espionage. During the economic depression which followed the peace of 1815, there were many riots, often coupled with "Luddite" attacks on machinery. The notorious Peterloo massacre, and the Six Acts, mark the culmination of the epoch of repression.

Tyrannous as the Combination Acts were, the working class was as yet not enough capable of united action to make any considerable effort for their repeal, and the work of destroying them was left in the main to sympathisers drawn from other classes. The attack on them was organised by Francis Place, the "Radical tailor," and led by Joseph Hume in the House of Commons. It succeeded beyond all expectations, and in 1824 the Combination Acts were completely repealed. Strikes and unrest, however, followed so rapidly that in 1825 the Act of the previous year was replaced by a much less liberal measure, which still placed very great restrictions on Trade Union freedom. The bare right to combine was, nevertheless, won, and Trade Unionism began to develop, although Place and other supporters of repeal, who held, in accordance with current economic theories, that Unions were powerless to raise wages, had contended that they would tend to disappear, save as friendly societies, when freedom of combination was granted. It should be noted that, even under the Combination Acts, many Unions had existed secretly or disguised as Friendly Societies, and many prosecutions of workers for combination had taken place. Although employers were also legally liable to penalties for combination, there is no single recorded case of an employer having been penalised for such an offence. The employers combined openly throughout the whole of this period.

The Trade Union Movement did not attract great attention during this period, because of the Political Reform agitation, which was then in full swing. This, backed by the manufacturers, as well as the working class, was the first big social movement in which the workers took a prominent part. The writings of William Cobbett, and especially the periodicals published by him, were big factors in causing the first real awakening of working-class opinion. Nevertheless, when the Reform Act was finally carried in 1832, after an agitation which had succeeded largely through working-class support, the working class found itself still excluded from the franchise.

- For the Industrial Revolution—  
 See "The Town Labourer." By J. L. and B. Hammond.  
 "The Skilled Labourer." By J. L. and B. Hammond.  
 "The Industrial Revolution." By Arnold Toynbee.  
 "La Révolution Industrielle." By Paul Mantoux.
- For the Agrarian Revolution—  
 See "The Village Labourer." By J. L. and B. Hammond.  
 "British Farming." By R. E. Prothero.  
 "History of the Agricultural Labourer." By W. Hasbach.  
 "Cobbett's Rural Rides" and other writings.

- For the effects of the French Revolution—  
 See "The Rights of Man." By *Tom Paine*.  
 "The French Revolution in English History." By *P. A. Brown*.  
 "Godwin, Shelley and their Circle." By *H. N. Brailsford*.  
 For Government repression—  
 See "The Town Labourer."  
 "The Revolution in Tanner's Lane." By *Mark Rutherford*.  
 "The Life of Francis Place." By *Graham Wallas*.  
 "The History of Trade Unionism."  
 For the Reform agitation—  
 See "Cobbett's Writings."  
 "William Cobbett." By *E. I. Carlyle*.  
 "The Genesis of Parliamentary Reform." By *G. S. Veitch*.  
 "The Passing of the Great Reform Bill." By *J. R. M. Butler*.

## II. OWENISM, CHARTISM AND THE CORN LAWS. 1832—1848.

The passing of the Reform Act was almost immediately followed by a great industrial crisis—the first mass movement of British Trade Unionism. The voteless workers turned from political to industrial agitation, and the Trade Union movement swelled suddenly to vast proportions. Already, in 1829, the cotton spinners had formed a National Union, and in 1830 the first real attempt had been made to unite the whole Trade Union movement in a single organisation, the National Association for the Protection of Labour. Both these bodies, however, soon fell to pieces, the various local societies which had formed them for the most part surviving. In 1832 the Builders' Union was founded, and included in its programme aspirations not unlike those of the Building Guild to-day. In 1834 this was followed by the Grand National Consolidated Trades Union, which in a few weeks claimed to have enrolled three-quarters of a million members, partly by the adhesion of numerous local societies, but also largely from new recruits, including agricultural labourers, women, and many classes of workers never previously organised. The great General Strike planned by this body with a view to the assumption of control over production by the workers, never developed; for the Grand National soon found itself involved all over the country in premature sectional disputes, often provoked by employers who insisted that their employees should leave the "Trades Union." Moreover, savage attacks were made upon the members through the law. The most famous case is that of the Dorchester labourers who were sentenced, in 1834, to seven years' transportation for the taking of illegal oaths.

Soon, financially exhausted and torn by dissensions within, the Grand National began to collapse, and at the end of 1834 it practically disappeared. The first great industrial working class movement thus ended in ignominious collapse. The Trade Union movement as an organisation for destroying Capitalism at a blow and erecting a new Society in its place fell asunder, but the local societies which had entered the Grand National in many cases survived, to become the nuclei of the modern national Trade Unions.

The "Grand National" was largely under the influence of the ideas of Robert Owen and his circle. Owen, idealist and business man, the first great factory reformer, probably the first man to call himself a "Socialist," the father, in many respects, of the Co-operative movement, had, long before he became prominently associated with Trade Unionism, been well-known and widely influential as a social theorist. Himself an employer, he had shown in his mill at New Lanark that humane principles could be applied to the factory, and that they conduced to efficiency. Without faith in political agitation, he saw the need for a total change of industrial system—for the substitution of co-operation for competition, and of industrial democracy for autocratic control. It was largely under his influence that the first developments of Co-operation were made, though his ideals, which included the establishment of Co-operative Settlements, differed widely from the practice of modern Co-operation. His followers occupied a prominent position in nearly all the working class movements of the period.

The collapse of the Grand National was less felt than it would otherwise have been, because the attention of the workers was already being attracted by other movements. The Chartist Movement, which, although its economic policy was far from clear, deserves to be regarded as the forerunner of modern Socialism, was the direct consequence of the Reform Act. Although its programme was purely political, its aims were definitely social, and the motive power behind it was largely economic. Especially in the North of England, the principal factor was the hatred of the new Poor Law, passed by the Reformed Parliament in 1834. It also attracted to itself all the economic unrest caused by the "industrial revolutionary" changes, as well as the theoretical support based on the writings of the early "Socialist" economists (Bray, Thompson, Hodgskin, etc.) and their followers. Although middle class Radicals took some part in it, it was throughout essentially a working class movement, and not

merely so, but to a great extent an anti-Capitalist movement, and definitely Socialist in the sense of a proletarian uprising. The Chartist agitation falls into two periods. The first section closes with the rejection by the House of Commons of the Chartist Petition of 1839, and the wholesale suppression and arrests which followed. The second, the revival of the "Forties," is marked by increasing dissensions among the various sections. After the Petition of 1842, there were serious internal dissensions, especially on "the moral force *versus* physical force" issue, and defections increased as the movement passed completely under the sway of Feargus O'Connor. A further great Petition was presented in 1848, the year of many European revolutionary movements; but thereafter Chartism slowly expired.

During the second period of Chartist activity, it proceeded side by side with, and often in stormy hostility to, the agitation for the repeal of the Corn Laws, which, backed as it was by the manufacturing interests, Chartists often denounced as a Capitalist movement, designed to lower wages. The Free Trade movement, however, secured widespread public support, and the Corn Laws were repealed in 1846, though not at once with the effects expected on agricultural prices. The "Hungry Forties" were a period of great working class distress, which none of the popular movements of the time were able, or strong enough, to remove.

See "The History of Trade Unionism."

"Life of Robert Owen." *By Himself.*

"Life of Robert Owen." *By F. Podmore.*

"Robert Owen, Factory Reformer." *By B. L. Hutchins.*

"Robert Owen, Idealist." *By C. E. M. Joad.*

"History of Co-operation." *By G. J. Holyoake.*

For Chartism—

See "The Chartist Movement." *By Mark Hovell.*

"The History of Chartism." *By Julius West.*

"The History of British Socialism, Vol. II." *By Max Beer.*

"Life and Struggles." *By W. Lovett.*

"Sybil." *By B. Disraeli.*

"The Hungry Forties." *By J. Cobden Unwin.*

"Alton Locke." *By Charles Kingsley.*

See also "Condition of the English Working Class in 1844."

*By F. Engels.*

"The Public Health Agitation." *By B. L. Hutchins.*

## v. THE "NEW MODELS," TRADE UNIONISM AND CO-OPERATION. 1848—1880.

The period following the decline of Chartism witnessed the creation of the movements of Trade Unionism and Co-operation in something like their modern forms. The Roch-

dale Pioneers' Co-operative Society began business in 1844, and, whether or not the society was the first to adopt the method of "dividends on purchases," the development of the Co-operative Movement, as we know it to-day, dates from this period. The Co-operative Wholesale Society, a federation of local societies for trading purposes, was formed in 1863, and the Co-operative Union, the propagandist and educational representative of the movement, in 1869. Throughout this time Co-operation, as a method of mutual trading, was growing rapidly. It developed, however, like the Trade Unionism of the time, on strictly reformist and moderate lines, putting aside the revolutionary ambitions of the previous period.

During this period, Trade Unionism was being slowly built up again into a national movement. The collapse of the "Grand National" had left in existence for the most part only local associations of workers of a single craft. The leaders of these bodies, abandoning their wider and more revolutionary ambitions, set to work to build up the Unions into moderate and essentially constitutional defensive organisations, whose chief function lay, for the time, in the provision of friendly benefits. Strikes were deprecated, and attempts at combination on a basis wider than that of a single trade were regarded with suspicion. When, in 1845, an attempt was made to co-ordinate the Unions in all trades, the new body, the National Association of United Trades for the Protection of Labour, was intended only as a loose consultative committee, and not as an offensive mass formation. The Union, as bodies, took very little part in the Chartist Movement, though, of course, many individual Trade Unionists were active in it.

In 1850-1, the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, the first big amalgamated national Trade Union, was formed by the fusion of most of the local societies of skilled mechanics. Its structure and rules served as a "new model" for other national craft Unions, which were subsequently formed in the same way. The Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners was formed in 1860. Thus the recovery of Trade Unionism from the collapse of 1834 became complete, and the movement grew again to power, though now each Union was more or less isolated, save for occasional assistance in disputes. From about 1858 onwards, largely as a result of temporary combination for particular purposes, permanent Trades Councils began to be formed in the larger towns, uniting all the local Unions and branches in a district. The London Trades Council was

formed in 1860. The Trades Councils represent the first renewal of the attempt to form a united Labour Movement, including all trades.

The progress made by Trade Unionism was the signal for fresh attacks upon it through the law. The Protection afforded it by the repeal of the Combination Acts was very inadequate, and many workmen were condemned for breach of contract for leaving their employment, or given savage sentences for other offences. Trade Unionism had itself no legal security, and, with the development of considerable funds for benefit purposes, this became a matter of very great importance. The attack on the workers through the law stimulated the desire to unite the whole Trade Union Movement for resistance, and a Special Conference, the first to represent anything like the whole movement, was convened by the Glasgow Trades Council in 1864. In the same year the (First) International Working Men's Association was founded in London, under the inspiration of Karl Marx. The British Trade Union leaders at first played a considerable part in this, and numerous Trade Unions and Trades Councils affiliated to it; but, as it became more definitely a revolutionary Socialist body, some of the more moderate Trade Union leaders withdrew.

At about this time (1864-5), the employers in a number of trades embarked on a series of lock-outs, and in 1866, a second Trade Union Conference met in Sheffield to consider methods of resistance. In the same year occurred the famous Sheffield outrages, which drew the attention of the governing classes still more to the Trade Union Movement. There were cases of "rattening" or "sabotage," i.e., destruction of machinery and the like. An enquiry was demanded with the object of getting Trade Unionism suppressed; but the Royal Commission of 1867 showed these practices to be entirely exceptional. Its result was to vindicate Trade Unionism completely. William Allan, Robert Applegarth, and the rest of the group known as the "Junta," who had for ten years or so been the recognised leaders of the Trade Union Movement, marshalled the evidence, working through the Conference of Amalgamated Trades, founded in 1867. In the same year, the Master and Servant Act for the first time put employer and workman in the same position in respect of breach of contract, and abolished imprisonment as a punishment inflicted on the worker for breaking his contract by striking. In 1868 the first regular Trade Union Congress met; but most of the "Junta" held aloof



till 1871, when unity was secured, and the first Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress appointed. The Royal Commission resulted in the Trade Union Act of 1871, which assured the legal position of the Unions; but the Criminal Law Amendment Act of the same year, which prohibited picketing and imposed other restrictions, largely neutralised this gain. A big agitation followed, and at the General Election of 1874 many Trade Union candidates went to the poll, and T. Burt and A. Macdonald, the miners' leaders, were returned to Parliament. The Liberal Government was defeated, and the Unions secured from its Conservative successor the Acts of 1875-6, which greatly improved the position, and gave Trade Unionism its assured legal position and a freedom of action which was adequate until the Taff Vale decision of 1902. These successes were greatly facilitated by the Reform Act of 1867, which enfranchised the town householders, and thus for the first time created a large working class electorate.

Thus, in the period under review, Co-operation developed with astonishing rapidity and success. Big national Trade Unions were created in a number of trades, the legal status of Trade Unionism was assured, the Trades Union Congress came into existence, and Trade Union representatives appeared in Parliament. Considerable advances were also made in the sphere of factory and other industrial legislation. One important movement arose, only to disappear. In 1872, under the leadership of Joseph Arch, the Agricultural Labourers' Union was founded. It enjoyed a brief period of very great success, and then collapsed. For most of the period the Trade Union Movement was guided by a group of leaders, including the "Junta" and the miners' leaders, who combined great caution and restricted vision with considerable administrative ability.

For Co-operation—

See "The Co-operative Movement." By *Beatrice Potter (Mrs. Webb)*.

"Co-operation and the Future of Industry." By *L. S. Woolf*.

"History of the C.W.S." By *P. Redfern*.

"History of Co-operation." By *G. J. Holyoake*.

For Trade Unionism—

See "History of Trade Unionism." By *S. and B. Webb*.

"History of Trades Councils." By *C. Richards*.

"History of Labour Representation." By *A. W. Humphrey*.

"Robert Applegarth." By *A. W. Humphrey*.

"Life of Joseph Arch." By *Himself*.

"History of the Agricultural Labourer." By *F. E. Green*.

"Village Trade Unions in two Centuries." By *E. Selley*.

- For Socialism—  
 See "History of British Socialism, Vol. II." *By Max Beer.*  
 "The Workers' International." *By R. W. Postgate.*  
 For Industrial Legislation—  
 See "History of Factory Legislation." *By B. L. Hutchins and  
 A. Harrison.*

## v. SOCIALISM & THE NEW UNIONISM.

1880—1892.

The successful culmination of the Trade Union struggle for legal recognition was followed after a few years by the great industrial and commercial crisis of 1879. The depression of trade had a serious effect on the Trade Union Movement, which had none the less by this time sufficient stability to survive intact. The early 'eighties are, however, a period of no great significance in Trade Union history, although, after the temporary set-back, the Unions continued to grow in numbers and power. Their policy remained essentially pacific, and, after their legal successes, unenterprising. Consisting mainly of skilled workers, they showed a tendency to dry up into friendly societies. At the most they aimed only at protecting their members under Capitalism, and had no large ambitions or thought of challenging the Capitalist system as a whole. Considerable progress was, however, made, especially by the miners, in securing legislative reforms, culminating in the Mines Act of 1887.

On the other hand, the early 'eighties are notable for the first appearance, apart from the brief career of the First International, of a definite Socialist Movement in Great Britain. In the late 'seventies there was considerable growth and activity among the Radical Clubs in the big centres, especially in London. In 1879 Henry George, the American "Single Tax" advocate, published his "Progress and Policy." This book exercised a great influence in paving the way for Socialist propaganda. It was, however, under definitely Marxian influence that the Socialist Movement made its appearance. The Democratic Federation, which became the Social Democratic Federation in 1884, was founded in 1881, largely on the basis of the more advanced London Radical Clubs. The S.D.F., led by Hyndman, was the first Socialist body of any size in Great Britain. William Morris, at first connected with the S.D.F., left in 1885, and founded the Socialist League, which subsequently became practically "Anarchist." The Fabian Society, adopting a moderate policy of "permeation," was founded in 1884, but did not become influential until after the appearance of "Fabian Essays," in 1890. The S.D.F., and to a less

extent the Socialist League, were the pioneer bodies of British Socialism. The influence of William Morris's ideas and activities in the Socialist Movement, which is often under-estimated, was of great importance in these formative years.

The new ideas abroad in the working class world were not long in producing their effect upon the Trade Union Movement. Hitherto the great mass of the less skilled workers, except in the mining industry, had remained totally unorganised, and had been regarded as "unorganisable" by the leaders of the Trade Union Movement. When Socialists began to emphasise the idea of the class struggle and of the unity of purpose and interest of workers among all grades, the older conceptions of Trade Unionism no longer satisfied those who were touched by the new ideals. Although the S.D.F., judging Trade Unionism by its leaders of the early 'eighties, saw in it no hope of effective anti-capitalist action, and therefore tended to ignore it in their programmes, some of the Social Democrats soon began to agitate among the unorganised less skilled workers, and to try to stir in them the spirit of revolt. New Unions, such as the Gas Workers' and General Labourers', sprang up, and a series of strikes occurred. By far the most important of these was the London Dock Strike of 1889, which is generally regarded as one of the principal landmarks in Trade Union history. The movement, led by Tom Mann, John Burns, and Ben Tillett, attracted widespread public sympathy, and subscriptions poured in. These, and the spirit which animated the strikers, secured a substantial victory. Out of this strike arose the Dockers' Union, and this body, together with the Gasworkers' Union, took the lead in a great organising campaign. Thus the less skilled workers were organised in separate Unions, apart from the skilled workers, whose Unions did not attempt to open their doors for their admission. Indeed, the general attitude of the old school of Trade Union leaders was to regard the new Unions as mushroom growths, which would disappear as soon as the temporary excitement passed over. But, although after a few years there were big drops in membership, the new Unions had come to stay, and the "unskilled" workers had definitely begun to play their part in the Labour movement. It was not long before the new Socialist spirit and the change in the character of Trade Union membership produced a considerable effect on the attitude of the Trades Union Congress, which was for some time a battleground for the rival sections.

The Co-operative Movement continued during this period to make rapid progress within its own sphere, but it was practically unaffected by the coming of Socialism, or by the new spirit animating the Trade Unions. Its record is one of steady commercial growth and expansion, and of a rapid development of the Co-operative Wholesale Society, without any participation in politics or in the Labour Movement in its wider aspects.

The third Reform Act, which enfranchised the householders in the county divisions, was passed in 1885.

For Socialism—

- See "The History of British Socialism, Vol. II." *By Max Beer.*  
"Socialism in England." *By Sidney Webb.*  
"The Record of an Adventurous Life." *By H. M. Hyndman.*  
"Further Reminiscences." *By H. M. Hyndman.*  
"The History of the Fabian Society." *By E. R. Pease.*  
"Fabian Essays." *By Bernard Shaw.*  
"The Early History of the Fabian Society." *By Bernard Shaw.*  
"The Life of William Morris." *By J. W. Mackail.*  
"Socialism, its Growth and Outcome." *By William Morris and E. Belfort Bax.*

For Trade Unionism—

- See "The History of Trade Unionism." *By S. and B. Webb.*  
"Trade Unionism, New and Old." *By George Howell.*

## VI. LABOUR POLITICS AND INDUSTRIAL UNREST.— THE WAR. 1892—1918.

The influence of Socialist ideas on Trade Unionism was paralleled by its influence in the political sphere. In 1892 many Labour candidates appeared in the field, and Keir Hardie was elected to the House of Commons as the first really independent Labour Member, previous Labour representatives in Parliament having sat as Liberal-Labour Members. In 1893, the year of the great Coal Strike, the Independent Labour Party was formed at Bradford, absorbing a number of local bodies. The I.L.P. soon became the most influential Socialist Society, and at once began to press in the Trades Union Congress the demand for Labour political action, which it visualised as the principal means to the attainment of Socialism. In 1899, the Trades Union Congress voted in favour of forming a Labour Representation Committee. This was formed in 1900, on the basis of a Trade Union-Socialist alliance, and at the General Election of that year it returned two Members, of whom Keir Hardie was one. The L.R.C. assumed the name of "The Labour Party" in 1906.

The most important industrial events of this period were the Coal Strike of 1893, the National Engineering Lock-out of 1896, and the formation of the General Federation of Trade Unions in 1899, as an attempt to unite the workers of all industries for mutual assistance in case of strikes. Both the L.R.C. and the G.F.T.U. were founded by the Trades Union Congress, but in such a way as to be completely independent of it.

In 1902 the whole energy of the Labour Movement was called out by the Taff Vale decision in the House of Lords, which, against all previous opinions as to the meaning of the Trade Union Acts, declared Trade Union funds to be liable for breach of contract and other offences committed by the members. This jeopardised the whole position of the movement, and the agitation caused by it was one of the causes of the return of 29 Labour Members at the Election of 1906. The first action of the new Party was to secure the passage of the Trade Disputes Act of that year. This practically reversed the Taff Vale decision and made Trade Union funds secure. But in 1908 a second legal decision of the House of Lords—the Osborne Judgment—threatened the existence of the Labour Party, by declaring illegal the use of Trade Union funds for political purposes. This also was quite against previous views of the law; for Unions had so used their funds without interference for more than thirty years. Only partial reversal of the judgment, however, was secured in the Trade Union Act of 1913. The Labour Party about maintained its position in the General Elections of 1910, in which the miners' M.P.'s, who had previously sat as Liberals, joined it. The Party, from 1906 to 1914, was sometimes in opposition to, but at other times almost in alliance with, the Liberal Government of the day.

The period before 1900 was one of falling prices and almost stationary nominal wages. From 1900 onwards, prices rose, and up to 1910 at least, real wages fell steadily. This fact, with some disillusionment at the meagre results of political action, led to the growing industrial unrest of the period 1910-1914. The new industrial movement took definite shape in the Seamen's and Dockers' Strikes of 1911, which resulted in important victories. These were immediately followed by the National Railway Strike of the same year, which was a partial victory, and led the way to an important amalgamation of Trade Unions. The National Union of Railwaymen was formed in 1912-13 on an industrial basis, which made it to some extent the twentieth century "new model" of Trade Union structure. The Railway

Strike of 1911 was followed by the National Miners' Strike of 1912, which resulted in the unsatisfactory compromise of the Coal Mines (Minimum) Wage Act. The great Dublin Lock-out of 1913, and the London Building Dispute of 1914, are the outstanding crises of the next two years, and it is certain that, but for the outbreak of war in August, the autumn of 1914 would have been a period of great industrial trouble. The outbreak of war caused a suspension of industrial hostilities, and throughout the war years the number and severity of strikes was very limited in comparison with the years immediately preceding it. The years of war were, however, years of great Trade Union activity; for the enormous rise in prices soon compelled the workers to demand compensating wage advances, and the peculiar conditions of modern warfare necessitated industrial re-organisation. "Dilution" in the workshops led to the growth of a new militant type of Unionism in the "Shop Stewards'" Movement, and questions of military service, State control of industry and prices, and foreign policy, all caused the Labour Movement to play a very big part. Despite legislation which greatly abridged industrial liberties, Trade Union membership grew very rapidly, especially among women, whose numbers in the big industries greatly increased. As the war dragged on, both industrial and political unrest became more acute, and the Socialist Movement gained many new recruits. Despite the Munitions Acts, the Military Service Acts, and the Defence of the Realm Acts, Labour emerged from the war far stronger than before. From 1916 onwards, the Labour Party was represented in the Coalition Governments, leaving definitely after the conclusion of hostilities, just before the General Election of 1918. In this year the Party also re-organised itself by admitting individual members as well as affiliated bodies, and by adopting a new programme. The Representation of the People Act, 1918, further widened the franchise for men, and admitted women over 30 to voting rights.

For Labour Representation—

See "The History of Labour Representation." By A. W. Humphrey.

"The History of Trade Unionism." By S. and B. Webb.

For Labour Unrest—

See "The World of Labour." By G. D. H. Cole.

"Trade Unionism on the Railways." By G. D. H. Cole and R. Page Arnot.

"The Transport Workers' Strike." By Ben Tillett.

For the War period—

See "Labour in War Time." By G. D. H. Cole.

"The Labour Year Book." *Issues of 1916 and 1919.*

"Labour in Transition." By W. A. Orten.

## VII. LABOUR AFTER THE WAR. 1918—1922.

At the General Election of 1918, Labour, fighting as an independent Party, returned 61 members; but the Coalition Government of Mr. Lloyd George secured an overwhelming majority. Industrial troubles soon began. Every important Trade Union came forward with its programme of demands, and during 1919 important concessions were secured. The working week was in most industries reduced to 48 hours or less; but unofficial strikes on the Clyde and in Belfast for the 40 and 44 hours' week respectively were defeated during the first months of 1919. Then came a mining crisis, resulting in the appointment of the Coal Commission to report on the miners' demands, including national ownership and democratic control of their industry. At the same time the Government summoned a fully representative Industrial Conference of Employers and Trade Unionists to consider industrial reforms.

The Coal Commission first granted higher wages and shorter hours to the miners, and then dealt with the questions of ownership and control. A majority declared the nationalisation with some workers' control, but the Government refused to carry out the decision. The miners threatened direct action, and appealed to the Trades Union Congress, which declared in favour of action to compel the Government to carry out the Commission's Report. But early in 1920 the Congress determined against direct action for this purpose, and in favour of "political action," thus shelving the whole question indefinitely.

Meanwhile, in September, 1919, a national railway strike, on the question of wages, had taken place. Excitement ran high. The Government mobilised all its resources against the strikers, running road services and trains with blacklegs, and spending vast sums in propaganda. Nevertheless, the settlement was favourable to the workers, clear indications having been given that the trouble would become general unless the Government gave way. The power of Labour was at this point at its height. At the municipal elections in November there were sweeping Labour gains, especially in London.

In 1920 the position was already changing. The withdrawal of the threat to strike for public ownership of the mines was the first sign of the set-back. In the middle of the year the threat of British intervention in the Russo-Polish War caused a rally. A Council of Action was formed by the

national Labour bodies, and local Councils of Action were created in all parts of the country. War was prevented, and Labour credit again stood high. But by the autumn of 1920 the trade slump, following on artificial post-war prosperity, was beginning, and the number of unemployed was rapidly increasing. A national mining strike in the autumn ended in a temporary and inconclusive settlement.

By the beginning of 1921 the position had fundamentally changed, and the great counter-offensive against Labour was beginning. Its first outstanding incident was the national mining lock-out of April, 1921, following on the premature decontrol of the mines by the Government, which, armed with arbitrary authority under the Emergency Powers Act passed in 1920, mobilised the whole resources of the State to defeat the workers. The miners appealed to their Triple Alliance partners, the railwaymen and transport workers, who decided on a sympathetic strike. But the other Unions quarrelled with the miners on the question of strategy, and the Triple Alliance strike was cancelled on April 15th ("Black Friday"). The miners fought on until the end of June, when they had to admit defeat in face of the depression. Throughout 1921 wages in all trades came tumbling down, often more rapidly than the cost of living. When the workers struck they were worsted; when they yielded without a stoppage the result was the same. The national engineering lock-out of 1922, ending in the defeat of the engineers, was the culminating point of the Capitalist offensive which began with the mining dispute. Meanwhile, the number of unemployed varied between two millions and a million and a half, and Trade Union funds were wholly depleted by payment of benefits. Trade Union membership, which had reached nine millions at the end of 1920, decreased fast to about six millions in 1922. Nevertheless, at the General Election of 1922 the Labour Party secured 138 seats, and the Co-operators, who had entered politics in the 1918 election, another four. At the end of 1922 there were signs that in the Labour movement the recovery from the slump was definitely beginning.

See "The Workers' Register of Capital and Labour." *By the Labour Research Department.*

"Wages, Prices and Profits." *By the Labour Research Department.*

"Labour in Transition." *By W. A. Orten.*

"Labour in the Mining Industry, 1914-1921." *By G. D. H. Cole (in the press).*



## VIII. THE PRESENT POSITION OF LABOUR ORGANISATION, 1922.

There are four main sections of the organised Labour movement to-day—Industrial, Political, Socialist, and Co-operative. These are related and linked together in various ways.

Industrially, the workers are organised in over a thousand separate Unions of every conceivable type and structure, conflicting, overlapping, and acting together in most diverse ways. In some cases there is an approximation to union by industry; that is, the combination in one union of all grades of workers employed in a particular industry. Of this type are the National Union of Railwaymen, the Miners' Federation, and others. Others are craft, or kindred craft, Unions, organising only workers possessing a common craft, or belonging to a number of kindred crafts. Such are the Amalgamated Engineering Union, the Spinners' Amalgamation, and many others. Often, where an industry is organised on a craft basis, there is a federation covering the industry as a whole. (Building, printing, etc.). The less skilled workers are still largely organised apart in the general labour Unions, which have grown immensely in recent years, and are federated together in the National Federation of General Workers. Despite the very large number of separate Unions, the real power of the Labour Movement is largely concentrated in a comparatively few very large Unions and Federations.

The central industrial body is the Trades Union Congress, to which nearly all the big Unions belong. This now represents over five millions out of a total of about six million Trade Unionists. It carried through, in 1920-1, a scheme of co-ordination designed both to create a "General Staff" and central direction for the whole Trade Union Movement and to secure close co-operation with the Labour Party. Locally, Trade Union branches are co-ordinated by Trades Councils; but, on the industrial side, quite inadequate use is made of these bodies, which are for the most part weak, owing to lack of funds and co-ordination. A remarkable tendency of the last few years has been the development of Trade Union organisation among non-manual workers, united since 1920 in a Federation of Professional Workers.

Politically, the Trade Unions and some of the Socialist Societies are united in the Labour Party, with its local Parties in most constituencies. There is an increasing

tendency for the Labour Party and the Trades Union Congress to act jointly on big questions of policy, especially on international matters.

The leading Socialist Societies are the Independent Labour Party and the Communist Party, formed in 1920, which absorbed the old British Socialist Party. The Socialist Movement is much divided at present in the question of policy, especially in relation to the question of Bolshevism or Communism. A more extreme point of view gained ground rapidly after the Russian Revolution. This dispute is one which exists in the Socialist Movement in practically all countries at the present time. The Communist Party applied for affiliation to the Labour Party, but was refused. It secured the return of one M.P. in 1922.

The Co-operative Movement, with its four million members in distributive stores covering almost the whole country, is linked up nationally for three distinct objects. The Co-operative Wholesale Society (and for Scotland the Scottish C.W.S.) is a federation of local societies with an enormous wholesale business, large productive works, and banking and insurance departments of its own, and a growing international trade. The Co-operative Union is a more inclusive federation, uniting not only the local and wholesale societies, but also the producers' societies and the women's and men's Guilds. Through its Annual Co-operative Congress, it represents the propagandist and educational side of the Movement. The Co-operative Party, created by the Congress in 1918, generally works in alliance with the Labour Party in the constituencies, but is not formally linked up with it. This recent entry of the Co-operative Movement into politics, and also the closer relations between the Trade Unions and the Co-operative Movement for industrial purposes, are likely to lead to important further developments. Considerable trouble, however, has arisen in recent years between the Co-operative Societies and their employees, and these hinder a complete common understanding. The Women's Co-operative Guild is an important educational and propagandist body, representing women co-operators.

A great deal remains to be done in order to make the organisation of any section of the Movement really effective, or adequate to the task before it.

For Trade Unionism—

See "An Introduction to Trade Unionism." By G. D. H. Cole.

"The History of Trade Unionism." By S. and B. Webb.

"Trade Unionism." By C. M. Lloyd.

There are no up-to-date books describing the political Labour or the Socialist Movement. See the literature issued by the various bodies.

For Co-operation—  
See "Co-operation and the Future of Industry." By L. S.  
Woolf.  
"The Co-operative Movement." By S. and B. Webb.

## IX. SOCIAL THEORIES OF TO-DAY. 1922.

Trade Union policy has developed in recent years in a quite definite direction—that of a demand for a real share in the "control of industry." This is seen most clearly in the change of attitude on the question of "nationalisation." With the demand for public ownership, common to Socialism and Trade Unionism since the 'nineties, is now coupled the demand for "democratic control" or "workers' control" in industry. The demands placed by the Miners' Federation before the Coal Commission in 1919 form the clearest Trade Union exposition of this new policy.

The new Socialist Movements of the past decade have all stressed this demand. Syndicalism and Industrial Unionism before the war, the Shop Stewards' Movement, and Guild Socialism, are alike in this respect, and the older Socialist bodies, such as the I.L.P., have been led to accept the new demand, of which the Guild Socialists, working through the National Guilds League, and the Marxian Industrial Unionists have been, from their varying standpoints, the most active propagandists. These developments of British Trade Unionism have been closely akin to developments of Socialist thought in other countries. On the other hand, a school of Co-operative theorists is inclined to reject the demand for producers' control in favour of consumers' control of industry exercised through Co-operation.

Between 1920 and 1922, Guilds, *i.e.*, self-governing productive associations based on the Trade Unions, were started by the workers in a number of industries (Building, Furnishing, Clothing, Engineering, etc.). In the building trades especially, these attracted much attention as a practical expression of Guild Socialist ideas.

Recently, the new situation caused by the Russian Revolution has caused a vast upheaval of opinion throughout the Labour Movement, and acute differences have arisen concerning Communism with its insistence on the "Soviet System," and the "dictatorship of the proletariat." The Communists, who are revolutionaries, are sharply divided from the evolutionary political Socialists, and there is a large body of intermediate opinion that has not yet found adequate expression.

It is impossible, in a syllabus, to discuss the rival Socialist theories and policies, or to do more than state a few of the leading questions of immediate policy involved. The principal problems seem to be :—

- (1) The question of revolution. To what extent should the policy of Labour be directed to catastrophic, or revolutionary, action, and to what extent to constitutional or ordinary industrial action?
- (2) The attitude of Labour towards the State. Is it to be regarded as an instrument of class domination to be captured in order to be overthrown, or as a piece of social machinery, to be captured by constitutional parliamentary action and thereafter used for the establishment of Socialism?
- (3) The industrial policy of Labour. How is Labour to take the next steps towards its ideal of democratic control in industry? Is the Guild method, adopted in certain trades, capable of general application?
- (4) The question of "Direct action." Is Labour justified in using its industrial power for political purposes to bring pressure on the State by strike action?
- (5) The question of Parliamentary action. What use should Labour make of the political weapon, and what should be the policy of Labour representatives in Parliament?
- (6) The question of internationalism. What should be the attitude of Labour on questions of world politics, and what its relations to foreign Labour movements and to international revolutionism?

For Trade Union Policy—

- See "Trade Unionism: a new model." *By R. Page Arnot.*  
"Workers' Control in Industry." *By G. D. H. Cole (I.L.P.)*  
"Further Facts from the Coal Commission." *By R. Page Arnot.*  
"The Workers' Committee." *By J. T. Murphy.*  
And many other pamphlets.

For Guild Socialism—

- See "National Guilds." *By S. G. Hobson.*  
"Guild Socialism Re-stated." *By G. D. H. Cole.*  
"National Guilds: an Appeal to Trade Unionists." (National Guilds League). And many other books and pamphlets.

For Co-operation—

- See "The Consumers' Co-operative Movement." *By S. and B. Webb.*  
"Socialism and Co-operation." *By L. S. Woolf.*

- For the latest attitudes of political Socialists—  
 See "A Constitution for the Socialist Commonwealth of Great Britain." By *S. and B. Webb*.  
 "Socialism, Critical and Constructive." By *J. R. MacDonald*.  
 For Communism—  
 See "The State and Revolution." By *N. Lenin*.  
 "The Bolshevik Theory." By *R. W. Postgate*.  
 "Creative Revolution." By *E. and C. Paul*.  
 "Left-Wing Communism," an Infantile Disorder. By *N. Lenin*.  
 For Syndicalism—  
 See "Syndicalism in France." By *L. Levine*.

## x. THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR MOVEMENT. 1847—1920.

International Socialism found its first clear expression in the Communist Manifesto, drawn up by Marx and Engels in 1847. Effective international organisation was, however, much longer in arriving.

The First Socialist International was founded in London in 1864, after an address by Karl Marx. It included at first the British Trade Union leaders, as well as the Continental Socialists. Many of the former, however, withdrew as its policy became more clearly revolutionary. Soon dissensions broke out, especially between the followers of Marx and Bakunin. The headquarters were removed from London to America, where the International expired in 1876. The movement which created the Second International began in 1889, when the First International Socialist Congress met in Paris. In 1900, there grew out of the Congress the more permanent International Socialist Bureau, which in 1914 had its headquarters in Belgium, and during the war in Holland. The office of the Bureau is now being transferred to London. The British Labour Party, as well as the Socialist Societies, was affiliated to this body. In 1901 was held the first regular International Trades Union Congress, though less formal conferences had been held much earlier. Out of the 1901 Congress grew the International Federation of Trade Unions, to which only the British General Federation of Trade Unions, and not the Trades Union Congress, was affiliated. This Federation had its headquarters in Germany before the war. There were also International Federations of workers in most of the principal industries, including miners, textile workers, metal workers, transport workers, postal workers, and many others. Most of these had their headquarters in Germany. The Co-operative Movement was linked up internationally by the International Co-operative Alliance, founded in 1895.

The war has profoundly altered the face of international Labour organisation. The International Co-operative Alliance, indeed, continues largely unchanged, and plans are on foot for an International Wholesale Society. A joint committee of the leading Wholesale Societies is already in existence. The International Federation of Trade Unions, and most of the separate Industrial Federations, have been reconstructed, and new ones, including one for agriculture, have been formed. The British Trades Union Congress, as well as the G.F.T.U., is now affiliated to the International Federation of Trade Unions, which is now centred in Amsterdam. International Socialism is, however, now sharply divided between the reconstituted Second International, now centred in London, and the new Third (or Communist) International, which is centred in Moscow. Opinion in almost every country is acutely divided, and a number of important bodies are not at present affiliated to either International. This division has extended to the industrial sphere, and there is a "Red International of Labour Unions," in sharp hostility to the Amsterdam I.F.T.U. In some countries, notably France, the Trade Union Movement has been split in half by the struggle between Communists and Anti-Communists. The position is changing so rapidly that it is useless to attempt to describe it. Again, it is only possible to indicate certain questions, while pointing out that the main problems involved are the same as those raised at the end of the preceding paper:—

- (1) Is an inclusive Socialist International possible?
- (2) What is the proper function of International
  - (a) Socialist; (b) Trade Union; (c) Co-operative organisations?
- (3) What are the real questions at issue between the Second and Third Internationals?

For International Socialism—

- See "The Workers' International." By R. W. Postgate.  
 "Socialism and the Social Movement." By W. Sombart.  
 "International Socialism and the War." By A. W. Humphrey.  
 "The Socialists and the War." By W. E. Walling.  
 "The War of Steel and Gold." By H. N. Brailsford.  
 "The Labour Year Book, 1919."  
 "Labour Party Annual Reports."  
 "The Manifesto of the Communist International."  
 "The Bolshevik Theory." By R. W. Postgate.  
 "The Two Internationals." By R. Palme Dutt.

For International Trade Unionism—

- See "Le Syndicalisme Européen." By Paul Louis.  
 "Reports of the International Federation of Trade Unions."  
 "Labour Research Department Monthly Circular, International Section."

## XI. LABOUR AND EDUCATION.

Though there were many earlier attempts to provide education for the working class by Settlements, Working Men's Colleges, Extension Lectures, Adult Schools, etc., educational movements actually controlled and directed by the workers are of comparatively recent date. There is likely to be a great development of such agencies in the near future, as the demand is rapidly growing, and the Labour Movement is realising its responsibilities in this respect. The principal existing agencies are, first, the two residential colleges, Ruskin College, Oxford, and the Labour College, London. The latter is jointly owned and controlled by the National Union of Railwaymen and the South Wales Miners' Federation. It has a propagandist auxiliary in the Plebs League, and is connected, through the National Council of Labour Colleges, with a number of (mostly non-residential) Colleges and Councils for Independent Working-Class Education throughout the country. All the Labour Colleges, except Ruskin College, are predominantly Marxian in attitude. Ruskin College maintains a large Correspondence Department, in addition to its collegiate work. Of a different type is the Workers' Educational Association, with branches throughout the country, to which many Trade Unions and other Labour bodies are affiliated. It is both a propagandist body focussing Labour opinion on all educational matters, and a body for the organisation of classes, both on its own and in conjunction with the various University Tutorial Classes Committees, the local education authorities, and the Board of Education. The W.E.A. is criticised by the Plebs League, whose motto is "I can promise to be candid but not impartial," for its "non-sectarian and non-party-political" attitude. It maintains, jointly with a number of Trade Unions, a Workers' Educational Trade Union Committee, which provides special educational facilities for Trade Union members. The Co-operative Movement also does important educational work, and both it and the W.E.A., in addition to organising winter classes throughout the country, conduct a number of summer schools. Ruskin College has also a Trade Union Summer School. The work of the Labour Research Department, which acts as an information bureau, research department, and publishing agency for Labour, and has many hundreds of affiliated Trade Unions, Co-operative Societies and other Labour bodies, has also important educational aspects.

See Final Report of the Adult Education Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction.  
 Report of the Trade Union Education Enquiry Committee on "Educational Facilities for Trade Unionists."  
 Trade Union Congress Reports, 1921 and 1922.  
 "The Plebs" (organ of the National Council of Labour Colleges, monthly).  
 "The Highway" (organ of the W.E.A., monthly).  
 Information concerning the various movements can be obtained by direct application to the organisations concerned.

## DATES.

### PERIOD II. 1760-1832.

- |        |  |
|--------|--|
| 1766   | Agrarian troubles.   |
| 1791   | Riots at Birmingham (Dr. Priestley).   |
| 1792   | London Corresponding Society formed.   |
| 1793   | Reform Convention at Edinburgh (Transportation of Leaders).  |
| 1794   | Trial of Horne Tooke, Hardy and others.<br>Suspension of Habeas Corpus Act.  |
| 1795   | Agricultural troubles. Speenhamland decision.  |
| 1797   | Treasonable Practices and Seditious Meetings Acts.   |
| 1797   | Mutiny at the Nore.  |
| 1799   | Owen at New Lanark.<br>Unlawful Societies Act and Combination Act.   |
| 1800   | Further Combination Act.   |
| 1801   | Enclosures (Consolidating) Act.  |
| 1802   | First Factory Act (Health and Morals of Apprentices). Cobbett's Political Register begins.   |
| 1810   | Durham Miners' Strike.   |
| 1811   | Luddite Riots.   |
| 1813   | Elizabethan Wage Legislation repealed.   |
| 1814   | Elizabethan Apprenticeship Legislation repealed.   |
| 1816   | Spa Fields and other Riots.  |
| 1817   | The March of the Blanketeers and the Derbyshire troubles. Seditious Meetings and Assemblies Act. Corresponding Act renewed. Suspension of Habeas Corpus. |
| 1819   | Peterloo Massacre. Six Acts.   |
| 1821   | London Co-operative and Economic Society.  |
| 1824-5 | Repeal of Combination Acts.  |
| 1825   | Stockton and Darlington Railway.<br>Northumberland and Durham Colliers' Union.   |
| 1826   | Lancashire Power-Loom Riots.   |



- 1829 London Co-operative Trading Association.  
Grand General Union of the United Kingdom.
- 1830 National Association for the Protection of Labour.  
"Captain Swing" Riots.
- 1831 National Union of the Working Classes and Others.
- 1832 First Reform Act.
- PERIOD III. 1832-1848.
- 1832 Owen's Labour Exchange.  
Builders' Union founded.
- 1833 First effective Factory Act.
1834. Grand National Consolidated Trades Union  
founded.  
London Building dispute.  
Dorchester Labourers condemned.  
New Poor Law.
- 1835 Municipal Corporations Act.
- 1836 London Working Men's Association founded.
- 1837 Financial Crisis
- 1838 Charter adopted.  
Manchester Anti-Corn Law Association founded.
- 1839 Chartist Convention and Petition.  
Newport "Insurrection."
- 1840 National Charter Association.
- 1841 Miners' Association of Great Britain (d. 1848).
- 1842 Complete Suffrage Movement.  
Second Chartist Petition.  
First Mines Act.  
Peel's Corn Law.
- 1844 Rochdale Pioneers start business.  
Peel's Factory Act.
- 1845 National Association of United Trades for the  
Protection of Labour.
- 1846 Repeal of the Corn Laws.
- 1847 Ten Hours Act.  
Communist Manifesto.
- 1848 Year of Revolutions in Europe.  
Last Chartist Petition.
- PERIOD IV. 1848-1880.
- 1848 Public Health Act.
- 1849 Repeal of Navigation Acts.
- 1850-1 Amalgamated Society of Engineers founded.
- 1858 London Building Lock-out.  
Glasgow Trades Council formed.
- 1860 London Trades Council formed.  
Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners  
founded.  
Conciliation Board in Hosiery Trade.  
*The Beehive* founded.

- 1863 Co-operative Wholesale Society formed.
- 1864 First Trade Union Conference on Law of Contract.  
International Working Men's Association formed.
- 1866 Trade Union Conference on Lock-outs.  
United Kingdom Alliance of Organised Trades  
formed (d. 1870).  
London Working Men's Association formed.  
Sheffield "Outrages."
- 1867 Royal Commission on Trade Unions.  
Conference of Amalgamated Trades ("Junta")  
formed.  
Second Reform Act.  
Master and Servant Act.
- 1868 Trades Union Congress founded.
- 1869 Co-operative Union and Scottish C.W.S. founded.  
Labour Representation League founded.
- 1870 Education Act.
- 1871 Trade Union Act.  
Criminal Law Amendment Act.  
First Parliamentary Committee of Trades Union  
Congress appointed.  
North-East Coast Engineers' Strike.
- 1872 Agricultural Labourers' Union founded.
- 1874 First Labour M.P.'s (Burt and Macdonald) elected.
- 1875 Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act.  
Employers and Workmen Act.  
Public Health Act.
- 1876 Factories and Workshops Consolidating Act.  
Trade Union Amending Act.

PERIOD V. 1880-1892.

- 1880 Henry George in England.  
Employers' Liability Act.
- 1881 Democratic Federation formed (S.D.F.).
- 1883 Fabian Society and Co-operative Women's Guild  
formed.
- 1885 Socialist League formed.  
Third Reform Act.
- 1886 United Textile Factory Workers' Association  
formed.
- 1887 Trafalgar Square (Unemployed) Demonstrations.
- 1888 Scottish Labour Party formed.  
Miners' Federation of Great Britain formed.  
Local Government Act (County Councils).
- 1889 London Dock Strike. Gasworkers' and Dockers'  
Unions formed.
- 1890 Fabian Essays.

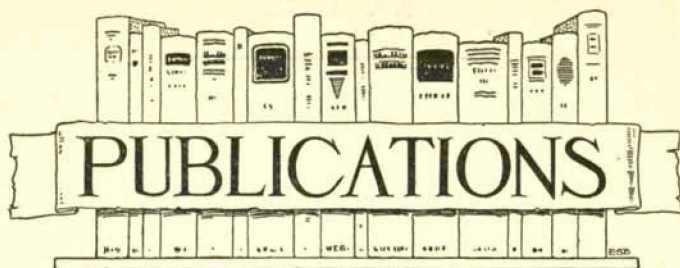
PERIOD VI. 1892-1922.

- 1892 Keir Hardie and John Burns elected to Parliament.  
 1893 Independent Labour Party founded.  
 Royal Commission on Labour.  
 1894 Trades' Union Congress votes for Nationalisation.  
 Parish Councils Act.  
 1895 Trades Councils expelled from Trades Union  
 Congress.  
 1896 Engineering Lock-out.  
 1897 Workmen's Compensation Act.  
 1899 General Federation of Trade Unions formed.  
 Ruskin College founded.  
 London Government Act (L.C.C.).  
 1900 Labour Representation Committee formed (Hardie  
 and R. Bell elected).  
 International Socialist Bureau formed.  
 1901 Taff Vale Judgment.  
 International Federation of Trade Unions formed.  
 1902 Education Act.  
 1904 L.R.C. joins Socialist International.  
 1906 L.R.C. becomes Labour Party (29 Labour M.P.'s  
 returned).  
 Trade Disputes Act.  
 1907 Railway All-Grades Movement.  
 1908 Old Age Pensions Act.  
 Coal Mines (Hours) Act.  
 Osborne Judgment.  
 1909 Central Labour College founded.  
 Poor Law Commission Reports.  
 Trade Boards Act.  
 Labour Exchanges Act.  
 1909 "Lloyd George" Budget.  
 1910 Two General Elections.  
 Transport Workers' Federation formed.  
 Syndicalist Movement in England begins.  
 1911 Railway and Transport Strikes.  
 Insurance Act.  
 Parliament Act.  
 1912 Coal Strike and Coal Mines (Minimum Wage) Act.  
 London Transport Strike.  
 Shops Act.  
*Daily Herald* and *Daily Citizen* founded.  
 1913 National Union of Railwaymen formed.  
 Trade Union Act (Political Action).  
 1913-4 Dublin Dispute.  
 1914 London Building Lock-out.  
 Outbreak of War.

- 1915 Treasury Agreement and Munitions Act.  
Shop Stewards' Movement begins.  
National Guilds League founded.  
Triple Alliance formed.  
Labour enters Coalition Government.
- 1916 Clyde Deportations.  
First Military Service Act.  
Irish Rebellion.
- 1917 First and Second Russian Revolutions.  
Iron and Steel Trades Confederation formed.  
Consumers' Council formed.  
Trade Union Amalgamation Act.  
Corn Production Act.  
Whitley Report.
- 1918 Trade Boards Act.  
Education Act.  
Representation of the People Act.  
New Labour Party Constitution.  
Termination of War.  
Labour leaves Coalition. General Election.
- 1919 Forty Hours' Strikes—Clyde and Belfast.  
Industrial Conference.  
Coal Industry Commission.  
Police Strike.  
Railway Strike.  
Washington Labour Conference.  
Industrial Courts Act.
- 1920 Dockers' Inquiry.  
Building Guilds founded.  
Amalgamated Engineering Union formed.  
Communist Party founded.  
Council of Action formed.  
Trades' Union Congress adopted "General Staff"  
proposal.  
Mining Strike.  
Emergency Powers Act.
- 1921 Mining Lock-out.  
"Black Friday."
- 1922 Engineering Lock-out.  
General Election (Labour strength 142).

# NOTES

---



### **The Workers' Bookshelf**

A series of modern, constructive books on Labor, Science, and Literature for Men and Women of the Labor Movement, published in cooperation with the Doran Company.

Volume 1.

*Joining in Public Discussion.*

Price, 50c.

By Alfred Dwight Sheffield.

Volume 2.

*The Control of Wages.*

Price, 50c.

By Walton Hamilton and Stacy May.

Volume 3.

*The Humanizing of Knowledge.*

Price, 50c.

By James Harvey Robinson.

Volume 4.

*Women and the Labor Movement.*

Price, 50c.

By Alice Henry.

Volume 5.

*The Labor Movement in a Government Industry.*

By Sterling D. Spero.

(In press) Price, 50c.

Volume 6.

*A Short History of the American Labor Movement.*

By Mary Beard.

(In press) Price, 50c.

### **Workers' Education Bureau Series**

A series of annual publications, manuals, and special texts.

*Workers Education in the United States.* (Out of Print)

Report of Proceedings, First National Convention. 1921.

*Workers Education in the United States.*

Price, 50c.

Report of Proceedings, Second National Convention. 1922.

*Workers Education Year Book—1924.*

Price, \$1.00

Including Report of Proceedings, Third National Convention. 1923.

### **Workers' Education Pamphlet Series.**

1. *How to Start Workers' Study Classes.* Price, 10c.  
By Broadus Mitchell.
2. *How to Run a Union Meeting.* Price, 10c.  
By Paul Blanshard.
3. *Workers' Education.* Price, 10c.  
By Arthur Gleason.
4. *The Voluntary Basis of Trades Unionism* Price, 10c.  
By Samuel Gompers.
5. *The American Federation of Labor* Price, 10c.  
By Matthew Woll.
6. *Child Labor.* Price, 10c.  
By William Green.
7. *How to Keep Union Records* Price, 10c.  
By Stuart Chase. (In preparation)

### **Workers' Education Syllabi Series**

1. *An Outline of the American Labor Movement* Price, 10c.  
By Leo Wolman.
2. *An Outline of the Social and Political History of the United States* Price, 10c.  
By H. J. Carman.
3. *Outline of the British Labour Movement* Price, 10c.  
By G. D. H. Cole.
4. *An Outline of American Parties and Politics* Price, 10c.  
By Phillips Bradley.

### **Workers' Education Reading List.**

1. *Reading List. American Federation of Labor.* Price, 10c.  
Prepared by Frank Anderson and David Saposs.

### **Periodicals**

*Workers' Education*, a Quarterly Journal. \$1.00 a Year  
February, May, August, November. Single Copies, 25c.

*Workers' Education News Service.*

Published monthly for all affiliated organizations without charge.



*"Education for all"*