

Peterborough Trades Union Council 1899-1979: A Forgotten Arena for Working Class Politics

Hazel Amanda Perry

Institute of History, De Montfort University

This thesis is partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, awarded by De Montfort University

Research funded by De Montfort University

Submitted September 2022

Abstract

Peterborough Trades Union Council 1899-1979: A Forgotten Arena for Working Class Politics

Hazel Amanda Perry

Labour historians have only analysed trades union councils briefly. These encounters have rarely looked beyond high-profile events such as suspected communist infiltration in the early interwar and post-war periods and the 1926 General Strike, neglecting much of the significant work which trades councils have done. This kind of analysis has led academics to conclude that trades councils had three functions: industrial; political; and civic. But their work also suggested that these organisations did not make much of an impact in any of these areas during the twentieth century.

This thesis will add to the scant literature on trades councils in the academic field by producing an intimate study of Peterborough Trades Union Council (PTUC) established in 1899. The study will assess PTUC's industrial, political, and civic functions and establish the extent of delegates' relationships with civic society and the working class. The research methodology was to use local newspapers which reported regularly on PTUC meetings throughout the period to provide analysis alongside PTUC documents. These documents included correspondence and annual reports from the TUC archives at the University of Warwick and London Metropolitan University and meeting minutes from the trades council's archive at Peterborough Archive Service. These documents were used to demonstrate the variety of activities which PTUC took

part in between 1899 and 1979. The research found that PTUC started its transition to a civic body in 1914 and by the late 1920s industrial and political functions no longer feature much in the trades council's activities. It concluded that trades councils provided a useful link between the working class and civic leaders which put them in a unique position in local society.

Table of Contents

Charts and Tables	7
Glossary	8
Acknowledgements	10
Introduction	11
(1) Peterborough Industry and Trade Unions	13
(2) Peterborough Trades Union Council	17
(3) Trades Councils and Labour History	19
(4) Sources and Methods	27
(5) Research Questions and Thesis Structure	36
Chapter One Trades Councils, Bureaucracies and Resilience, 1898-1939	43
Trades Councils as Bureaucracies	46
The General Council and Reform of Trade Unions	58
Bureaucratic Controls, Trade Councils and the Communist Threat	70
Conclusion to Chapter One	83
Chapter Two Foundations, Influences, and Identities in the Edwardian Period and Beyond, 1898-1919	87
Identities and Religion: Middle-Class Influences on Radical Nonconformists	90
Political Identities: Liberal, Labour and Socialists	102
Workplace Cultures: Sports Clubs, Labour Aristocracy and the Great Unrest	124
Conclusion to Chapter Two	140

Chapter Three PTUC During the First World War, Interwar Functions and Women Workers	144
PTUC as an Authoritative Body	147
Interwar Industrial Action, Unemployment, Women and Children	158
Women Activists and Social Networks in the Trade Union World	177
Conclusion to Chapter Three	189
Chapter Four Attitudes, Significance and Visibility in Early Post-War Britain	193
War, Nationalisation and Trade Union Control	196
Housing and Changes to Working-Class Communities	213
Health, Welfare Reforms and Visibility	230
Conclusion to Chapter Four	244
Chapter Five Conflict, Competition, Cooperation, and the New Left	247
Communism as a Cause of Conflict in the Post-War Period	252
The Bridlington Agreement, Interunion Disputes and Conflicting Aspirations	268
Hostility and Cooperation with the New Left	281
Conclusion to Chapter Five	297
Chapter Six New Town, New Economy, 1964-1979	301
The Trade Union Movement and New Town Developments	304
Trade Unions, Migrant Workers, and the Anti-Racism Movement	315
Economic Crisis and the Winter of Discontent	332
Conclusion to Chapter Six	345
Conclusion	349

Bibliography	359
Section 1 – Primary Sources	359
(a) Archives	360
(b) Email Correspondence	360
(c) Films	360
(d) Government Debates and Reports	360
(e) Statistics and Census Returns	361
(f) Contemporary Books and Pamphlets	361
(g) Articles, Chapters and Journal Articles	363
(h) Newspapers	364
Section 2 – Secondary Sources	366
(a) Books and Pamphlets	366
(b) Articles, Chapters and Journal Articles	376
(c) Unpublished Theses and Dissertations	396

Charts and Tables

Charts

Chart 1 Total Number of Trade Unionists Affiliated to Peterborough Trades Union Council 1950 – 1990 (collated from Annual Returns 1950-1990)	19
--	----

Tables

Table 1 Peterborough and District Trade and Labour Council: Statement of Accounts for Year Ending December 5, 1906 (taken from the 1905 Annual Report)	56
--	----

Table 2 Affiliations for 1904 (Peterborough and District Trade and Labour Council: Annual Report and Directory with Balance Sheet for 1903)	131
---	-----

Table 3 List of Trades Council Representatives on Public or Other Bodies, for Confirmation of Annual Meeting 1954 (taken from the Peterborough and District Trades Council Annual Report and Statement of Finances for 1953)	204
--	-----

Glossary

ACTC - Annual Conference of Trades Councils
AGM – Annual General Meeting
ANL – Anti-Nazi League
ASE – Amalgamated Society of Engineers
ASRS – Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants
AUEW – Amalgamated Union of Engineer Workers
BAME – Black and Minority Ethnic Workers
BPC – British Productivity Council
BSP – British Socialist Party
CCE – Citizen Council for Expansion
CND – Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament
CP – Communist Party
CRC – Community Relations Councils
CTUC – Conservative Trades Union Council
DAC – Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War
FCC – Food Control Committee
HEC – Health Executive Council
HMC – Hospital Management Committee
ICFTU – International Confederation of Free Trade Unions
ILP – Independent Labour Party
IRA – Industrial Relations Act
IRB – Industrial Relations Bill
LRC – Labour Representation Committee
LRD – Labour Research Department
LTC – London Trades Council
MHH – Manor House Hospital
NAFTA – National Amalgamated Furnishing Trades Association

NCCL – National Council of Civil Liberties
NF – National Front
NFTC - National Federation of Trades Councils
NFWW - National Federation of Women Workers
NHS – National Health Service
NMM – National Minority Movement
NSHC – National Service Hostels Corporation
NUALAW – National Union of Agricultural Labourers and Allied Workers
NUGWGL – National Union of Gasworkers and General Labourers
NUGMW – National Union of General and Municipal Workers
NUPE – National Union of Public Employees
NUR – National Union of Railwaymen
NUT – National Union of Teachers
OSB – Operative Society of Bricklayers
PCCR - Peterborough Council for Community Relations.
PDC - Peterborough Development Corporation
PSS – Peterborough Socialist Society
PTUC - Peterborough Trades Union Council
RCA – Railway Clerks Association
RWG – National Union of Railwaymen Women’s Guild
SDF – Socialist Democratic Federation
TUC – Trades Union Congress
TUCJCC – Trades Union Council Joint Consultative Committee
UCATT – Union of Construction, Allied Trades and Technicians
US – United States
WCG – Women’s Cooperative Guild
WEA – Workers Educational Association
WFTU – World Federation of Trade Unions
WU – Workers Union

Acknowledgements

When I saw that De Montfort University was offering funding for a PhD project on trade unions I applied straight away. I could not believe that this opportunity had come along at such a perfect time in my life. Following on from this my thanks must go to Peter Ackers and Robert Colls for giving me the initial opportunity to take this research forward. My appreciation also goes to Matt Taylor and Dave Dee for stepping in as supervisors for the last few years and for giving me feedback on my thesis drafts and intellectual support.

I would also like to acknowledge PTUC delegates past, present and future. Although I never knew him special thanks go to Tom Browning who started collating the history of PTUC in the 1990s. I am grateful that the opportunity to put that material to good use has come my way. I would also like to mention the archivists at Peterborough Archive Service. I spent a lot of time in this archive during the early research phase of this project and I received a warm welcome and really appreciate the assistance of the archivists in accessing relevant material.

Finally, it would not have been possible for me to complete this thesis without the support of my family. Special thanks go to my partner Tim Cox who has been an excellent sounding board for ideas and discussion and has inspired me to complete this. My appreciation also goes to Nina and Phil Perry who have provided me more support than they will ever know, and a space for rest and recuperation at their home in Spain when needed.

Introduction

Sir Vincent Tewson sat at his desk in Congress House wondering what to write. As the general secretary of the Trades Union Congress (TUC), he was invited to write a short piece for the Peterborough Trades Union Council (PTUC) diamond jubilee yearbook. During his time as secretary of the TUC which lasted from 1946 to 1960, he had had plenty of time to mull over the position of trades councils within the labour movement.¹ Tewson was particularly fond of PTUC because his parents hailed from a few miles outside of Peterborough and a decade previously, on 9 October 1949, Tewson had accepted an invitation to the PTUC golden jubilee dinner at the Angel Hotel. The golden dinner was the last event during a week of celebrations and the city mayor gave the PTUC event civic recognition, the highest honour bestowed on events organised by local community groups. It suggested that PTUC held some civic importance in the district.² Eventually Tewson put pen to paper and wrote,

throughout the land the local prestige of our movement rests largely on the way Trades Councils carry out the many public tasks that in recent years have come their way. Representation on civic and local government bodies and the continuing task of building up trade union strength where it is weak exact their price in time, effort, and standards of service. It is a price we must all be prepared to pay if, as a movement we continue to grow in strength, standing and influence.³

The paragraph which Tewson wrote gave a very clear indication of the functions of trades councils. They provided representation on civic and public bodies and recruited

¹ 'Sir Vincent Tewson,' Britannica Academic, accessed 31 March 2022, <https://academic-eb-com.proxy.library.dmu.ac.uk/levels/collegiate/article/Sir-Vincent-Tewson/71876>.

² 'Trades Council Jubilee,' *Peterborough Standard*, 30 September 1949, 3.

³ 'TUC Secretary at Trades Council Dinner: Time to Face up to Realities and Responsibilities,' *Peterborough Standard*, 14 October 1949, 8.

members for trade unions, making them an integral part of the labour movement.⁴ But labour historians have also stressed the broader functions of trades councils - political and industrial alongside civic. Because of the discrepancy between the views of the TUC and labour historians on the functions of trades councils, the aims and objectives of this research are to add to the literature about these organisations by critically analysing the varied activities of a trades union council and assessing its influence on local industry, politics, and as civic bodies in working-class communities during the twentieth century.

Trades councils have been active in the UK as permanent bodies from the late 1850s and many are still active today, described by the TUC as bodies 'promoting working class solidarity in local communities.'⁵ Also known as Trades Union Councils and Trades and Labour Councils, 'local bodies' were easy to define – they were committees of delegates representing different trade unions in a town, city or district. Trades councils were originally established for the purpose of organising solidarity within the trade union movement and among the working class. Industrially, they set up conciliation machinery to solve employer-employee disputes as seen in the 1860s when London Trades Council (LTC) was established to provide support for a builder's strike.⁶ Meanwhile, an early example of political functions came from Glasgow Trades Council

⁴ *Peterborough and District Trades Union Council: Diamond Jubilee* (Peterborough: Peterborough Trades Union Council, 1959), 1, 17.

⁵ 'Trades Councils: Who we are and what we do,' The TUC, accessed 13 January 2022, <https://www.tuc.org.uk/trades-councils-who-we-are-and-what-we-do#:~:text=Trades%20union%20councils%20are%20often,the%20wider%20working%20class%20community>.

⁶ Alan Clinton, *The Trade Union Rank and File: Trade Councils in Britain 1900 - 40* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1977), 9; Henry Pelling, *A History of British Trade Unionism* (1992: MacMillan Press, London), 55. ⁷ Pelling, *A History of British Trade Unionism*, 63, 74; Christopher Frank, 'He Might Almost Be Without Trial: Trade Unions and the 1823 Master and Servant Act – The Warrington Cases, 1846-47,' *Historical Studies in Industrial Relations* 14 (2002): 4-5.

established two years before the London body, which played a prominent part in reform of the Master and Servant Act (1823), legislation under which prosecutions for breach of contract which included trade union activity could lead to a prison sentence, in 1873.⁷

But it has often been difficult for researchers to separate the industrial from the political functions, and labour historians have tended to ignore the fact that individual trades councils were involved in many more activities concerning civic duties from the early twentieth century. These activities can only be identified by analysing a local trades council. Therefore, a central aim of this research is to examine not just the industrial and political functions of a trades council in depth, but attempt to establish their relationship with and role within civic society and working-class communities too. To achieve this aim, PTUC, an organisation established in 1899, is used as a case study in this thesis and the research will also draw briefly on the evidence from other trades councils, such as Nottingham, Chelmsford, and Wolverhampton and Bilston to help assess the measure of similarity between bodies which were alike but also somewhat unique.

(1) Peterborough Industry and Trade Unions.

The industrial development of the city of Peterborough, which started in the mid nineteenth century, is crucial in setting the local context to this study. Each trades council was unique depending on the area's industries and the trade unions which were

⁷ Pelling, *A History of British Trade Unionism*, 63, 74; Christopher Frank, 'He Might Almost Be Without Trial: Trade Unions and the 1823 Master and Servant Act – The Warrington Cases, 1846-47,' *Historical Studies in Industrial Relations* 14 (2002): 4-5.

established there. For instance, during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries Peterborough grew rapidly from an agricultural market town to one important for brickworks, engineering, and the railway industry which led to an influx of skilled workers, many of whom were working-class trade union members.⁸ These new industries contained many trade unionists and established working-class communities such as those which developed around the railway cottages known as 'The Barracks' in the New England area of Peterborough.⁹ However, Peterborough's working-class communities have not been written about by local historians before.

Researchers have written extensively about Peterborough's Monastery established in 655AD and the great Norman Cathedral as well as the two Queens of England, Katherine of Aragon and Mary Queen of Scots who were buried there.¹⁰ But the importance of the cathedral declined after the English Civil Wars (1642-51) and Peterborough became an unremarkable, market town. There was a general nation-wide drift from urban to rural centres in the first half of the nineteenth century and as Peterborough was located on the western edge of the Fens, an area with a high population of agricultural labourers, census figures showed an increase in the population of 40 per cent between 1801 and 1851. However, there was a much larger population increase of 287 per cent between 1851 and 1901 when Peterborough's development as a major railway hub from 1845 resulted in an increase to 33,574

⁸ Clinton, *The Trade Union Rank and File*, 54.

⁹ Herbert F. Tebbs, *Peterborough*, (Cambridge: The Oleander Press, 1979), 165.

¹⁰ Bernadette Fallon, *Cathedrals of Britain: Central and East* (Barnsley: Pen and Sword, 2018), 52, 54, 56.

residents.¹¹ In 1872, in what appeared to be a pivotal decade for trade unionism in Peterborough, a branch of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants was established.¹² The following year, influenced by the work of Joseph Arch, a branch of the Agricultural Labourers Union was set up and funders included the LTC and Durham Miners Association.¹³ It was during this decade that Peterborough had its first working-class candidate stand in a general election following the Reform Act of 1867. The candidate was George Potter of LTC, editor of the working-class newspaper *The Beehive* who stood in 1872 coming fourth in an election of six candidates.¹⁴ It was therefore during the 1870s when working-class consciousness started to develop in Peterborough laying the foundations for PTUC to develop in 1899.

In the early twentieth century, Peterborough continued to develop industrially when two large engineering firms moved to the city following the railways. Baker Perkins, known as Werner, Pfleiderer and Perkins until after the First World War, arrived in 1904 and Peter Brotherhoods arrived in 1911 after relocating from London.¹⁵ There were no major alterations in Peterborough's industry again until the 1960s and 1970s. However, from the early post-war period onwards, the population regularly changed with migration. From 1945, many people arrived in the city to settle from the British Commonwealth or elsewhere in the world. Some of the newcomers came directly from

¹¹ Tebbs, *Peterborough*, 148, 166.

¹² 'Northamptonshire: Peterborough. Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants,' *Peterborough Standard*, 28 September 1872, 6.

¹³ 'Peterborough District Labourers Union,' *Peterborough Standard*, 19 April 1873, 3.

¹⁴ Tebbs, *Peterborough*, 98.

¹⁵ 'Peter Brotherhood,' Graces Guide to British Industrial History, accessed 13 January 2022, https://www.gracesguide.co.uk/Peter_Brotherhood; 'Werner, Pfleiderer and Perkins,' Graces Guide to British Industrial History, accessed 13 January 2022, https://www.gracesguide.co.uk/Werner,_Pfleiderer_and_Perkins.

the Caribbean to help with post-war reconstruction. Others arrived from continental Europe, with Italians arriving to work in the brick yards.¹⁶ In the 1960s and 1970s, a large Asian community was established with the 1971 census recording 1,150 inhabitants of Asian and Oceania, the largest of which were populations of Indians and Pakistanis. Additionally, in 1970, 165 displaced Ugandan Asians were settled in the city.¹⁷ At the same time, Peterborough's 'New Town' development which started in the 1970s brought in families from the London over-spill and other British cities, such as Nottingham.¹⁸ Consequently, the first new industries for half a century were brought into the city and resulted in occupational changes from blue collar work to white, with less emphasis on engineering and more office jobs in banking, insurance and the public sector.

All this impacted on industrial and political matters in Peterborough and as a result, was a concern for the local trade union movement, especially the trades council. Because there were so many newcomers to Peterborough during the period, Robin Guthrie, Social Development Officer for the Peterborough Development Corporation (PDC), wrote in the *New Society* in 1970, that 'Peterborough is not a place with a clear identity in the minds of those who do not know it.'¹⁹ But the fact that well established institutions such as PTUC with its clear community and trade union identity existed, suggested that Guthrie had not explored Peterborough's history to any extent.

¹⁶ 'Building Italian Communities: Caterers, Industrial Recruits and Professionals,' accessed 13 January 2022, <https://www.ourmigrationstory.org.uk/oms/building-italian-communities-catering-war-service-industrial-recruitment>.

¹⁷ David S. Pearl, 'Legal Problems of Immigrants: A Case Study in Peterborough (UK),' *Journal of the Indian Law Institute* 22, 1 (1980): 82-83, 85.

¹⁸ Terence Bendixson, *The Peterborough Effect: Reshaping a City* (Peterborough: Peterborough Development Corporation, 1988), back cover.

¹⁹ Robin Guthrie, 'Expanding a Town: Peterborough's Example', *New Society*, 24 September (1970): 532.

Consequently, Peterborough developed as a modern urban space in the 1970s, forging its own path and a new identity with the new town development. However, it also retained elements of a small provincial city where trade unionists were involved in civic matters making it a valuable social history study as well as a labour one.

(2) *Peterborough Trades Union Council.*

Trades councils are the focus for this thesis because they have not been given enough attention to allow labour historians to fully understand where they fit into the British labour movement. This assertion that trades councils are misunderstood is analysed in more detail in the literature review but it is hoped that this study will provide a new analysis of these misunderstood bodies. In doing so it will provide scope for a new understanding of where they fit into the civic and social fabric of a town, city or district, as well as the industrial and political. PTUC provides the framework for this research and acts as a case study. This particular trades council was chosen to act as the focal point for several reasons.

First of all, there is evidence that this trades council was operational for the entire study period from 1899 to 1979 and beyond. This was not the case for all trades councils as many others went through periods of inactivity as noted by Alan Clinton in *The Trade Union Rank and File: Trades Councils in Britain, 1900-1914*. Clinton listed the active dates of trades councils in the South Midlands and Eastern Counties in whose boundaries PTUC were within for much of the period. He recorded that Hitchin trades council established 1905 had a period of inactivity between 1926 and 1929, while

Cambridgeshire's (as opposed to Cambridge trades council) only functioned between 1919 and 1929. Peterborough, however, was active throughout and that was because the employment opportunities provided by the railway industry and engineering remained stable throughout the twentieth century and allowed for a healthy population of trade union activists to continue to develop.²⁰

The second reason for using PTUC as a case study is because there has been no academic work published about PTUC although some post-war annual reports were published in *Peterborough Local History Society Magazine*.²¹ While many other trades councils charted their history in the form of local history studies, such as Chelmsford's *Nothing to lose... A World to Win* by Malcolm Wallace and George J Barnsby's *A History of Wolverhampton, Bilston and District Trades Union Council, 1865 – 1990*, there was no such information published for Peterborough.²² Although no academic work exists, Tom Browning, delegate to PTUC from 1953, gathered materials together to write a history of the trades council and produced a draft manuscript. The manuscript was unpublished by the time of Browning's death but was passed on to the author of this thesis for future adaptations.

The third reason for using PTUC as a case study is because of the wide-reaching influence which delegates had throughout Peterborough in the decades after the Second World War. Total membership of PTUC was 9,000 in 1950, the lowest of the

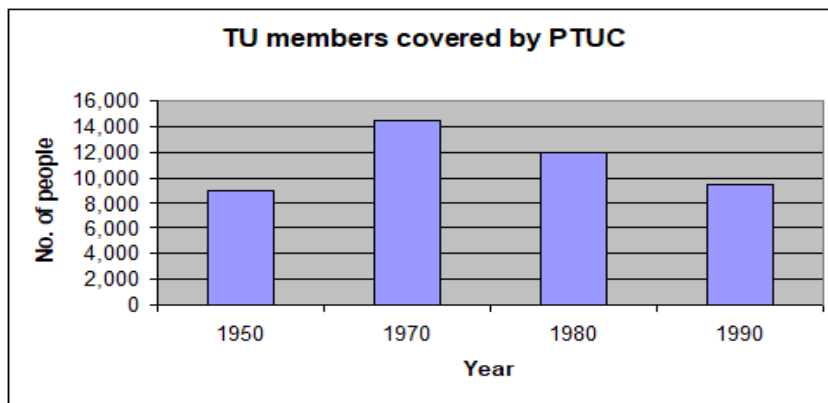
²⁰ Clinton, *The Trade Union Rank and File*, 196.

²¹ *Peterborough Local History Society Magazine* 37-45 (2010-14).

²² Malcolm Wallace, *Nothing to Lose... A World to Win, A History of the Chelmsford and District Trades Union Council* (Malcolm Wallace: Chelmsford, 1979); George. J. Barnsby, *A History of Wolverhampton, Bilston and District Trades Union Council 1865 – 1990* (Wolverhampton, Bilston and District TUC: Wolverhampton, 1994).

period but the population of the city was 53,412 giving PTUC a potential influence of 16 per cent. Membership peaked in 1970 with 14,000 affiliated trade unionists but the organisation's influence would have reached wider due to delegates' social networks, workplace connections, committee work and political activism.²³

Chart 1 | Total Number of Trade Unionists Affiliated to Peterborough Trades Union Council 1950 – 1990 (collated from Annual Returns 1950-1990).²⁴



(3) Trades Councils and Labour History.

The period covered by this thesis is 1899 to 1979. The focus of eighty years was chosen because it was a time of frequent change nationally with two world wars, as well as a substantial period of political, industrial and social change. In Peterborough there were specific adjustments with regards to the working-class population, politics, employment, gender equality, reconstruction, immigration, and urban renewal. The period provided an opportunity to look at these national themes on a local scale providing the context of PTUC's evolution. The study stops at 1979 due to the changes

²³ Annual Returns for 1950-1990, in possession of author.

²⁴ Ibid.

that came about to the trade union movement from the 1980s when Margaret Thatcher's Conservative Government's legislation affected the trade union movement quite radically lessening the power which they had built up since the Second World War. The period also covered a longer time-frame than many theses because of a lack of material covering the first fifty years of PTUC's existence - before the archive was set up by Tom Browning, documents were held locally by various PTUC officers including original sets of minutes and financial records. However, the documents up to 1949 were destroyed due to water damage and wear and tear.²⁵

But being forced to study a longer period allowed the researcher to make a comparison between post- and pre-Second World War activities in PTUC, thus addressing Alan Clinton's theory that trades councils lost their significance after 1940.²⁶ Other documents from the early section of PTUCs history were found in archive collections from further afield. These were annual reports and balance sheets from 1903-05 found at the University of Warwick Modern Records Centre alongside other documents from the London Metropolitan University's TUC archives. Therefore, there were some older records available but not enough to analyse for an entire thesis. However, there was a complete set of minutes from 1949 going beyond 1979 located at the archives centre in Peterborough for which setting a context was important. These archives will be discussed in more detail in the methodology section.

²⁵ PAS, PAS/TUC/1/1, Peterborough Trades Union Council Executive Committee and Meeting Minutes, 1 January 1949 – 31 December 1951, inside cover.

²⁶ Clinton, *The Trade Union Rank and File*, 183.

This thesis will contribute to the understanding of the historical role of trades councils in the trade union movement and wider society. There is scant literature about trades councils in academia. There is even less evidence for trades councils in popular culture, the exception being Robert Tressell's 1914 semi-autobiographical novel *The Ragged Trousered Philanthropist*, in which local working-class and civic dignitaries referred to trades council delegates as 'pot house politicians,' and 'beer-soaked agitators.'²⁷ If Tressell was expressing people's attitudes towards trades councils at the time then it suggested a tendency for those outside of the trade union movement not to take them seriously. But writing in the same era as Tressell were Sidney and Beatrice Webb. As Fabians and labour activists, the Webbs produced social and economic histories in two of their publications on trade unionism, *The History of Trade Unionism* (1894, 1920) and *Industrial Democracy* (1897). In *The History of Trade Unionism*, the Webbs described trades councils as 'the active soldiers and non-commissioned elements of the trade union army,' comparing the militancy of trades councils' delegates to ordinary rank and file members of the trade union movement.²⁸

The academic literature which came after the Webbs barely acknowledged the existence of trades councils: historians generally gave little more than a paragraph or two in publications that could be quite lengthy studies of labour history. Consequently, the authors mentioned trades councils in the context of a handful of events and situations. Early formations and the industrial and political functions of trades councils

²⁷ Robert Tressell, *The Ragged Trousered Philanthropist* (Ware: Wordsworth Editions Limited, 2012), 364.

²⁸ Sidney Webb and Beatrice Webb, *The History of Trade Unionism* (London and New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1894), 476.

were most frequently cited. Hamish Fraser for example wrote that the functions of trades councils in the 1870s included co-ordinating disputes, signposting people to trade unions and spreading the trade union word.²⁹ Meanwhile, Alastair Reid's popular study of trade unions claimed that that trades councils simply came to function as discussion groups for political and industrial matters.³⁰ Much of Sidney and Beatrice Webb's *History of Trade Unionism* (1920) covered the 'Junta' of the LTC and the founding of the TUC in Manchester in 1886 which was spearheaded by Manchester and Salford Trades Council.³¹

Meanwhile, Henry Pelling, covered the trades council's expulsion from the TUC in the 1880s, explaining it as a matter of a duplication of delegates, while Hugh Clegg, Alan Fox and A. F. Thompson's 1960s study claimed that the functions of trades councils by the early 1900s were little more than to secure fare wage clauses and to organise candidates for local elections.³² But trades council delegates assisted in establishing the Labour Party and went on to set up local branches in 1918 despite the threat that they would become the weaker of the two labour bodies.³³ However, the big political threat according to the TUC, came from Communist Party infiltrators and Ross Martin argued that it led to the establishment of the Trades Union Council Joint Consultative

²⁹ Hamish Fraser, *A History of British Trade Unions 1700 - 1998* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1999), 38.

³⁰ Alastair J. Reid, *United We stand: A History of Britain's Trade Unions* (London: Penguin Books Ltd, 2004), 105.

³¹ Sidney Webb and Beatrice Webb. *History of Trade Unionism* (London: Sidney and Beatrice Webb, 1920).

³² Pelling, *A History of British Trade Unionism*, 105; H. A. Clegg, Alan Fox and A. F. Thompson, *A History of British Trade Unions Since 1899* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1964), 288.

³³ Clinton, *The Trade Union Rank and File*, 52.

Committee in 1925 to oversee local groups, and in 1926, the TUC refused to recognise any trades council associated with the communist National Minority Movement.³⁴

1926 was also the year of a General Strike, where in many places, trades councils assumed the role of local strike committees. There were many academic and local history studies of the General Strike. For instance general studies include Keith Laybourn's, *The General Strike of 1926 (New Frontiers in History)*; studies on local industries include C. R. Potts, *The GWR and the General Strike (1926): No. 194 (Locomotion Papers)*; and Rachelle Hope Saltzman wrote about the behaviour of upper and middle-class volunteers and the specific behaviours they displayed while replacing striking workers in *A Lark for the Sake of Their Country: The 1926 General Strike Volunteers in Folklore and Memory*.³⁵ Yet, despite the role trades councils played, it was difficult to find a mention of them, one exception being several pages explaining their activities in Margaret Morris' *The General Strike*.³⁶ Following the strike, and trades council support for communist backed hunger marches, the story of these organisations vanished in the history of the trade union movement. Trades councils were not really mentioned again until there were regional changes within the TUC in the 1970s, which explained why Ken Coates and Tony Topham argued that by 1980 only 25 per cent of

³⁴ Ross M. Martin, *TUC: Growth of a Pressure Group 1868–1976* (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1980), 196-97.

³⁵ Keith Laybourn, *The General Strike of 1926 (New Frontiers in History)* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993); C. R. Potts, *The GWR and the General strike (1926): No. 194 (Locomotion Papers)* (Sidcup: Oakwood Press, 1996); Rachelle Hope Saltzman, *A Lark for the Sake of Their Country: The 1926 General Strike Volunteers in Folklore and Memory* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), 6; R. A. Florey, *The General Strike of 1926: The Economic, Political and Social Causes of that Class War* (London: John Calder Press, 1980).

³⁶ Margaret Morris, *The General Strike* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd, 1976).

trade union branches were thought to be affiliated to trades councils.³⁷ Previous literature therefore explained the wider context within which trades councils operated but missed out key factors through concentrating on the national picture.

The research in this thesis aims to plug some of the gaps which labour historians have left in the local record. Labour historians tend to lump all trades councils together as one homogenous group but although they were loosely based on the same principles and all took part in some of the major labour movement issues of the day, trades councils were distinct due to geographical location as well as industrial bases. This uniqueness can only be identified by studying trades councils on an individual basis and, while there are a few in-depth studies of trades councils, none have offered any analysis for after 1951.

Alan Clinton published the most important of these, writing the only comprehensive study of trades councils after submitting a thesis titled 'Trades Councils from the Beginning of the Twentieth Century to the Second World War' (1973). In the thesis, Clinton quoted a definition of trades councils from the 1937 Annual Conference of Trades Councils which described them as 'a body formed by the voluntary association of trades union branches in a given locality, in order to promote the interests of those affiliated organisations and the strengthen the position of trade unionism in it.'³⁸ Describing trades councils working as 'loose organisations,' functioning through monthly meetings, executive committees, sub-committees, and with subscription finances,

³⁷ Ken Coates and Tony Topham, *Trade Unions in Britain* (Nottingham: Spokesman, 1980), 121.

³⁸ Clinton, Alan, 'Trades Councils from the Beginning of the Twentieth Century to the Second World War' (University of London PhD Thesis, 1973), 7.

Clinton used a rich variety of sources in his research, such as newspapers, annual reports, library documents, TUC collections, individual trades council archives and books.³⁹ But the subject material was generally the same as those topics covered by other labour historians. The most detailed and new material came from the section on the First World War, in which Clinton explained the involvement that trades councils had in organising welfare. PTUC was also mentioned several times in Clinton's work with information taken from the 1959 diamond jubilee booklet.⁴⁰ Clinton's PhD thesis concluded that the most active years of trades councils had ended by the 1940s and that they held 'subordinate' and 'obscure' positions in the trade union movement. However, Clinton also acknowledged in the 1970s that trades councils still existed, providing the same functions as they always had but, 'Quietly... and with none of the same independent spirit that they had shown in the past.'⁴¹ This thesis argues, in contrast, that trades councils were still important in the 1970s but operated in a slightly different way to the interwar period.

In his follow up publication, *The Trade Union Rank and File: Trades Councils in Britain 1900 – 1940* (1979), Clinton noted that trades councils had, 'never the same significance as in the past, and the changes in their attitudes and during the [Second World] war and after it never again had the same importance for the working-class movement or for society as a whole.' But despite his pessimistic conclusion, he urged historians to take up the mantle and continue to analyse trades councils from where he

³⁹ Ibid. 15-19.

⁴⁰ *Peterborough and District Trades Union Council*.

⁴¹ Clinton, *Trades Councils from the Beginning of the Twentieth-Century*, 307-08.

left off. Clinton said that ‘there would be much to tell of their internal life and of the important part they still play in the lives of many local communities.’⁴² Nobody has taken up Clinton’s challenge to date. Mike Bor’s *Come Together: Trades Councils 1920-50* was due for publication sometime in 2022, although it had not appeared by the time this thesis was submitted. Bor’s work aimed to extend Clinton’s study by a decade and shows that there is interest in the subject of trades councils.⁴³

A regional study of trades councils was completed by Richard Stevens whose study was set in the East Midlands between 1929 and 1951. The Midlands was split into two trades council federations from the mid-1920s, and Stevens concentrated on the northern one which covered Nottinghamshire and most of Derbyshire and Lincolnshire. Peterborough was in the south midlands federation, alongside Coalville, Hinckley, Leicester, Loughborough, Market Harborough and Melton Mowbray in Leicestershire and Corby, Higham Ferris, Kettering, Northampton, Rushton, Towcester and Wellingborough which were in Northamptonshire.⁴⁴ Stevens completed his thesis in the 1990s and followed up his work with a journal article which, in line with Martin, argued that the TUC reorganised their structures over the 1920s and 1930s to prevent the communist infiltration of trade unions, or for Stevens, specifically trades councils.⁴⁵

Stevens was not the only labour historian who believed that trade unions were suspicious of trades councils. It was also the theory of Yann Beliard who completed a

⁴² Clinton, *The Trade Union Rank and File*, 7, 183.

⁴³ Email Correspondence from Andrew Coburn, ‘Come Together: Trades Councils 1920-50,’ 5 January 2022.

⁴⁴ Richard Stevens, ‘Trades Councils in the East Midlands, 1929-1951: Trade Unionism and Politics in a Traditionally Moderate Area,’ Nottingham: University of Nottingham, 1995, 1-26.

⁴⁵ Richard Stevens, ‘Containing Radicalism: The Trades Union Organising Department and Trades Councils, 1928-1953,’ *Labour History Review* 62, 1 (1997).

PhD study of the working class in the Humberside dock town of Hull in 2007. Beliard stated that trades councils were 'stimulating' subjects to study because the rest of the trades union movement was suspicious of them.⁴⁶ Furthermore, Beliard praised the work of Clinton for still being the most comprehensive study of trades councils and offering a balanced view of bodies with 'shifting aspirations.'⁴⁷ But apart from Clinton, Stevens and Beliard the trend for labour historians was to analyse trades councils through a national lens.

(4) Sources and Methods.

In the 1974 journal article, 'The History of Trades Councils', Clinton gave advice on methodologies for researching trades councils and suggested where to find relevant archives and documents. Clinton's research included numerous newspapers, the Labour Research Department (LRD), the Board of Trades, the National Archives and Independent Labour Party and Labour Party publications.⁴⁸ Quite often these collections have proved to be out of date or documents merged or moved and have not necessarily been a useful methodology for researching a provincial trades council. Therefore, some of the documents used in this research were located from elsewhere. The national archive collections which were used in this study were the TUC archives in the Modern Records Centre at the University of Warwick and the London Metropolitan University's

⁴⁶ Yann Beliard, 'Contested Coordinator: The Hull Trades Council, 1872-1914,' in *Labour United and Divided from the 1830s to Present*, ed. Avril Emmanuel and Yann Beliard (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018), 66.

⁴⁷ Ibid. 66-67.

⁴⁸ Alan Clinton, 'The Histories of Trades Councils,' *Society for the Study of Labour History*, 74, 29, (1974): 39-40.

Special Collections. The Warwick collection provided much of the older material which included the PTUC annual reports and balance sheets for 1903-05. The annual reports were useful because they gave the researcher an insight into the early aims, objectives and political and social concerns of the early trades council. These included the nationalisation of public services, the work of the LRC, medical and health matters and broke the year down into lists of achievements by month. The reports also contained more personal messages from trades council officials and the campaigns that were included were indicative of the attitudes of the day. Annual reports also included lists of affiliated unions and their delegates. The balance sheets showed the income and spending the trades council had and were signed off by the trustees. The balance sheets showed that there was little income and no funding from the TUC, with most income coming from affiliations and fundraising. This meant funding was sparse. Outgoings also often included room hire and postage. Similar annual reports were used from 1927-29. There were less detailed annual reports for 1938-39 and 1943.

Warwick's archives also contained a collection of monthly hand-written reports spanning the period from July to December 1925 which were written by PTUC Secretary Percy Woodall and addressed to Fred Bramley, the Secretary of the TUC and his successor Walter Citrine. Information in the reports were neatly separated and included sections about housing, the National Minority Movements, the employment exchange and much, much more. Correspondence between PTUC and the TUC was also held by Warwick and included letters asking for advice on how to handle employers which delegates were in dispute with, such as local printer C. G. Caster and Co. Ltd., in 1951

after they refused to print a trades council leaflet and updating on campaigns such as the proposed division of Peterborough's wards in 1952.⁴⁹ Unlike the formal returns, hand-written reports and correspondence revealed the personalities of delegates and communicated the relationships which individuals formed with the various members of the TUC including general secretaries, Fred Bramley, Walter Citrine and Vincent Tewson.

Post-war annual reports for 1971, 1972-73 and 1975 were found in archives at Warwick too, while others were found in the London Metropolitan University's TUC Archive Special Collections.⁵⁰ London Metropolitan University held the typed annual reports, later known as yearbooks, for 1959, 1964-65 and 1971. They were less formal than previous annual reports with illustrated front covers and were given titles such as *The Peterborough Pentagon* (1964) which sported photographs of the secretary and president and *Men Who Matter - and a Lady or Two as Well* (1971). Delegates' surnames adorned the front cover. As well as the usual lists of affiliations, balance sheets, reports from officials and dates of the coming years meetings, the yearbooks included notes on the committees which PTUC sent representatives to. There was much more 'personality' involved in these yearbooks than in previous annual reports demonstrated through humorous anecdotes and quotes such as one from the 1969 year book. Placed to fill a gap on the page at the end of the secretary's report it stated that 'two foremen were standing together in the gangway of the shop talking, when one

⁴⁹ University of Warwick, Modern Records Centre (MRC), MRC, MSS.292/944/P/13, Letter from the TUC Economic and Research Department to E. F. Grunow, 30 April 1951; Letter from E. F. Grunow to the TUC Economic and Research Department 17 June 1951; Letter from the Economic and Research Department to E. F. Grunow, 30 April 1951; Letter from the TUC Economic and Research Department to E. F. Grunow, 20 June 1951.

⁵⁰ MRC, MSS.292D/79/138, Peterborough Trades Union Council Yearbook 1971; 1972; 1973; 1975.

looked up and said “Look out Jim, we’d better get busy there’s a shop steward coming”.⁵¹ These anecdotes helped the researcher to understand what attitudes were towards workers, women and culture at the various different stages of the evolution of PTUC.

One of the most important pieces of documentation found in the London Metropolitan University TUC archive (but also available from Peterborough Archive Services) was the PTUC diamond Jubilee booklet published in 1959. This booklet assisted in filling some of the gaps which were left after PTUC destroyed the pre-1949 documents because it provided a list of some of the most important activities which PTUC had taken part in between 1899 and 1959. Although each year’s activities were summed up in just a sentence or two, it suggested that PTUC had continued to be active since its inception in 1899. The booklet also contained articles which implied the PTUC delegates looked forward to an equally active future, an example of which was connected to Peterborough’s town twinning with Bourges and the trades councils’ desire to connect with the trade union equivalent in that town in France.⁵²

Although the London Metropolitan University provided some of the yearbooks, the Peterborough Archive Service held a complete set from 1956-79. The documents from these archives included older annual reports and balance sheets, yearbooks and correspondence between the TUC and PTUC officials, sometimes typed but often hand-written. Other documents were obtained from Peterborough Local Archives Service but

⁵¹ London Metropolitan University, Special Records Collection (SRC), SRC, JN1129PET, Peterborough Trades Council Yearbook 1964; 1965; 1969; 1971.

⁵² *Peterborough and District Trades and Labour Council*, 14.

these tend to cover the post-war period some of which were found in the Tom Browning and PTUC archives. The Tom Browning archive contained newspaper cuttings and leaflets such as one published in 1903 by the cooperative society to promote Ben Jones as the PTUC candidate for the 1906 general elections. Most of the collection, however, was post-1980 material. Additionally, the PTUC archive included hand-written signing in books but because they only contained the first initial of the delegate and a surname, they were not useful for finding out important information such as the number of women delegates.⁵³ The archive did contain PTUC minute books though – there was a complete set from 1949-1979 in hardback and typed entries, which included not just records of executive and monthly delegate meetings but discussions of specially arranged and public meetings too. The minutes were formal containing only details of the topics discussed and recording any outcomes of decisions made by PTUC. These were crucial documents for analysing PTUC's activities, but they missed out the detail of delegates debates making it difficult to evaluate attitudes. However, each meeting was carefully dated and the number of delegates attending recorded from late 1953. These details revealed that more delegates attended in winter and spring than in summer – there were probably too many distractions for people on warm, light evenings. As a result, full meetings did not take place in August, or executive ones in July from 1957. The highest number of delegates attending full meetings were 67 in February 1959 and

⁵³ PAS, PAS/TUC/3/1-23, Annual Meeting Books 1956-79.

the lowest was 22 in July 1960. Most meetings between 1953 and 1979 attracted 35-45 delegates which suggested a steady active membership throughout the period.⁵⁴

To better understand delegates' attitudes from the earlier years of PTUC, old newspapers were used in this research accessed via the British Newspaper Archives. National newspapers included the TUC's *Daily Herald*. The *Daily Herald* was published from 1912 when people from the labour movement grew concerned about the lack of accessibility to left-leaning newspapers. It was funded by high profile members of the movement including future Labour leader George Lansbury and trade unionists Ben Tillett. The newspaper was owned by the TUC between 1922 and 1964 and it was overtly political, making it different from the other national newspapers. In 1933 the *Daily Herald* was the world's best-selling daily newspaper with a circulation of 2 million.⁵⁵ The editors were obviously sympathetic towards trades union bodies and the labour movement and concentrated on delivering news from those quarters. The occasional mention of PTUC could be found in relation to strikes. Other left-leaning national newspapers were quite short lived and were used to spread socialist propaganda. Editors were supportive of the working class and campaigning over their conditions in general but not so much of their leaders. Keir Hardie's, *The Labour Leader* (1891-1922), for instance, campaigned about bad working conditions and long hours.⁵⁶ Robert Blatchford's *The Clarion* (1891-1932), about health and safety for match and

⁵⁴ PAS, PAS/TUC/1/1-11, Executive and Committee Meeting Minutes 1949-1981.

⁵⁵ John Simkin, 'The Daily Herald,' accessed 17 August 2022, <https://spartacus-educational.com/Jherald.htm>; see also Huw Richards, *The Bloody Circus: "Daily Herald: and the Left* (London: Pluto Press, 1997).

⁵⁶ Deborah Mutch, 'The Merrie England Triptych: Robert Blatchford, Edward Fay and the Didactic Use of Clarion Fiction,' *Victorian Periodicals* 38, 1 (2005): 83-4; 'Labour Leader,' British Newspaper Archive, accessed 17 August 2022, <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/titles/labour-leader>.

pottery workers, while Henry M Hyndman's *Justice* (1884-1928) used fiction as well as fact to teach the readership simple morality lessons.⁵⁷ All these publications mentioned PTUC but only briefly when advertising or reporting on political meetings and recording donations received for various campaigns, providing information and analysis about what was happening politically in Peterborough but with a 'left-leaning' bias. The three 'socialist' publications are used to provide evidence of PTUC's activities in chapters one and two.

Local newspapers were used in this research to provide the balance and more of the detail in the day to day lives of PTUC. The *Peterborough Standard*, *Peterborough Advertiser* and *Peterborough Express* provided much of the evidence. These newspapers were accessed through the British Newspaper Archive Online.⁵⁸ Depending on their owners, journalists could be sympathetic or indifferent towards trades councils. The *Peterborough Advertiser and South Midlands Times* for example, established in 1872 was purchased by Liberal Richard Winfrey in 1897.⁵⁹ Because of the Liberal aspect of the owner one would expect the paper to be sympathetic towards PTUC and it did publish numerous articles to begin with. The paper was so popular that by 1925 the proprietor had to ration the number of advertisements published to the readership of 30,000. The *Peterborough Advertiser* was also a pioneer of provincial papers in the illustrations that

⁵⁷ 'Clarion' British Newspaper Archive, accessed 17 August 2022; <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/titles/clarion>; 'Justice,' British Newspaper Archive, accessed 17 August 2022, <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/titles/justice>.

⁵⁸ 'Home,' British Newspaper Archive, Accessed 9 March 2022, <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/>.

⁵⁹ Rita McKenzie, *Mayors of Peterborough 1874-1924: Volume 1, the First Fifty Years* (1992: McKenzie, Peterborough), 62.

it published and featured articles on agriculture, while aiming at a family readership.⁶⁰

Newspapers were an important medium for officials who used them for communicating their concerns and activities to the general public.

Local papers provided evidence of PTUC activities throughout the entire period of this thesis. For much of the time journalists reported on trades council meetings but during some periods there were weekly columns detailing the activities of Peterborough's labour movement with input from both PTUC and the local Labour Party specifically in the *Peterborough Standard*.⁶¹ The weekly *Peterborough and Hunts Standard* first published in 1872 was a Conservative paper but it was this one which gave PTUC the opportunity to write the labour movement column.⁶² In the first of these published in the 19 June 1920 edition there was an explanation of how the 'General Committee of the Trades and Labour Council' had accepted an invitation from the Editor of the newspaper to write a weekly column, a 'trade union section' containing items of interests to all workers and to promote the opinions and attitudes of local trade unionists.⁶³ The column contained not just trade union matters such as demonstrations supporting striking miners, disputes by railway workers and opinions on strike ballots over wage rise offers but international ones such as trade with Russia and reports from meetings of the League of Nations.⁶⁴ In August 1922 the column's name changes to

⁶⁰ *Peterborough and District Directory and Year Book 1927* (Peterborough: Peterborough Standard, 1927), 87.

⁶¹ 'Labour's Point of View: Trades and Labour Council Notes,' *Peterborough Standard*, 25 December 1920, 9; 'Labour's Point of View: Trades and Labour Council Notes,' *Peterborough Standard*, 8 January 1921, 7.

⁶² *Peterborough and District Directory and Year Book 1927*, 88.

⁶³ 'Labour's Point of View,' *Peterborough Standard*, 19 June 1920, 9.

⁶⁴ 'Labour's Point of View,' *Peterborough Standard*, 7 May 1921, 9; 'Labour's Point of View,' *Peterborough Standard*, 20 November 1920, 9.

'Labour's view' and was halved and the material centred more around election news and political views and the Labour Party than trade unions.⁶⁵ The last one was published in October 1922 but there was no explanation as to why it was stopped.⁶⁶

An analysis of letters printed by newspapers from various delegates also featured frequently in the newspapers. They were aimed either at readers or at other delegates during periods of disagreement. There are examples of articles reporting on such quarrels in chapters two and five, but newspapers provided much of the evidence throughout the thesis alongside meeting minutes and reports. When using newspapers as source material however it was important to understand the biases of journalist and editor. Another local newspaper, for instance, the *Peterborough Express* first published in 1884 by an unacknowledged organisation was often very critical of PTUC with one article condemning the body to 'the position of ludicrous ineptitude and chilling obscurity' and describing them as 'the toy of the [Liberal] Association.'⁶⁷ Articles about PTUC were often relegated to the 'City Chat' gossip columns in the *Express* but this newspaper did not publish for long and the last publication according the British Newspaper Archive was dated 19 December 1917.⁶⁸ Different aspects of the three local newspapers demonstrated the difficulties for researchers when trying to sort fact-based from biased reporting and the author of the thesis approached them as sources with an awareness that the articles could be prejudiced.

⁶⁵ 'Labour's View,' *Peterborough Standard*, 11 August 1922, 9.

⁶⁶ 'Labour's View,' *Peterborough Standard*, 13 October 1922, 9.

⁶⁷ 'Trades Council Recantation,' *Peterborough Express*, 16 April 1902, 2.

⁶⁸ 'Gossip of the Passing Hour: A Splendid Victory,' *Peterborough Express*, 4 November 1903, 2;

'Peterborough Express,' British Newspaper Archive, accessed 26 September 2022, <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/titles/peterborough-express>.

(5) Research Questions and Thesis Structure.

The main research question in this thesis asks what was the relationship between trades councils and the working class? But there are other questions too. The thesis will look at how trades councils were organised, which identities and influences shaped the ideologies of delegates, what was the role of women in trades councils and how trades councils reacted to them and adapted to social change. The thesis also analyses delegates' relationships with each other and other campaigning bodies and will address how trades councils managed to stay relevant for such a long period of time. One of the problems presented by the subject of the thesis, however, is the lack of secondary source material concerning trades councils themselves. This problem will be overcome by analysing trades councils in the context of broader twentieth century social history and comparing PTUC's activities with other trades councils as far as the sources allow as explained in the methodology.

The six main chapters of the thesis cover themes from different periods of the twentieth century. The first three chapters focus on the years 1899-1939. The first chapter covers the first thirty years of PTUC's existence, examining the bureaucratic procedures used to organise the trades council both before and after the TUC reorganised the structures of trades councils in the 1920s. It argues that PTUC delegates retained much of their independence despite the additional layers of bureaucracy introduced by the TUC under the leadership of Fred Bramley and Walter Citrine who introduced the Organising Department and the TUCJCC. The chapter also suggests that

contrary to the arguments of labour historians such as Stevens, the TUC structures were reorganised to unify and offer solidarity to trade union bodies rather than to pacify the threat of communist infiltration.⁶⁹

The second chapter is the only one in the thesis where the relationships between PTUC and local political parties are assessed. The focus is on the Edwardian 'golden age' between 1901 and 1914, a period which led to the modernisation of the British working class. It analyses three societal changes which took place during the period which altered the influences and the identities of PTUC delegates. These were, the waning popularity of the church and radical non-conformism, the demise of the Liberal Party and the rise of socialist and labour politics, and higher living standards which lead to increased leisure time and a growth in trade union membership. The chapter argues that many PTUC members were part of the better-off working class and were influenced by middle-class activists at the start of the period. However, they were more influenced by the socialist working-class movements prior to the outbreak of the First World War in 1914.

Chapter three considers the role of women in PTUC focussing on the period of 1914-1939. The outbreak of war in 1914 put more women into workplaces including the engineering works and munitions factories. This affected the engineering workshops of Peterborough. The period was also one in which PTUC delegates first felt accepted as a useful organisation locally and when representatives were first given spaces on responsible civic committees. Their activities during the interwar period showed that

⁶⁹ Stevens, 'Containing Radicalism,' 8.

PTUC was more than a mere discussion group as demonstrated by the role as coordinating body in the 1926 General Strike. Although PTUC's first woman delegate was not elected until 1925, the strength of guild membership in Peterborough illustrated the role which kinship played in encouraging women's trade union activism during the interwar period. The chapter also argues that trade unionism was intergenerational and complex social networking patterns were at play between women and men. This research showed that women were keen to be activists as further demonstrated by Peterborough's 1928 Celta Mill strike. But until the attitudes of the TUC towards women trade unionists were altered in the late 1920s and 1930s, they would rather be within their own organisations than with men and that was understood by PTUC delegates.

The second part of the thesis covers the years 1939-79, giving equal weight to the earlier and later periods of the twentieth century. Alan Clinton stated that from 1940 trades councils lost significance to the working-class due to a change in attitudes and activities when they were accepted onto public bodies. But chapter four, which covers the theme of post-war reconstruction, argues that their attitudes and activities did not change but their visibility did due to the new social conditions created by post-war governments through reconstruction and economic changes. During the Second World War trades council delegates were once again invited onto important local bodies. But during the 1945-1951 period, PTUC delegates became less influential in matters of housing when working-class communities moved into council house estates after the post-war slum clearances. In response to these challenges, this chapter argues,

the focus of delegates changed and they developed more of a responsible role in the administration of public health once local committees were established for the National Health Service in 1948.

Chapter five argues that despite conflict being a natural feature of the trade union movement, the 1952-64 period provided many more examples of hostilities than any other for PTUC and introduces the concept of trades councils as emotional bodies. In a recent study of the Greater Federation of Trade Unions, Edda Nicolson implied that a framework of acceptability and morality existed for trade unionists based around the language of feelings.⁷⁰ Individuals in PTUC also had their emotions which they often shared with other delegates and communicated them through discussions full of passion, anger and expressions of solidarity. An analysis of these individual emotions resulted in PTUC's collective responses to various topics. Like humanitarian organisations such as the Red Cross, another example of an emotional body, delegates could show empathy, and sympathy and although they displayed their dislike of certain employers and politicians they were not as extreme as, for example, the Petroleuses of the Paris Commune in the 1870s who cultivated a collective hatred of both real and imagined threats as an emotional body.⁷¹ Delegates could be incredibly stubborn or show solidarity and needed to show determination and resilience in campaigns for higher wages or improvements to housing. But all of these skills helped with debating

⁷⁰ Edda Nicolson. "'Manifestations of Warmth': Emotions in Trade Unions," accessed 17 August 2022, https://socialhistory.org.uk/shs_exchange/manifestations-of-warmth-emotions-in-trade-unions/.

⁷¹ Dolores Martin-Moruno and Beatriz Pichel, 'Introduction,' in *Emotional Bodies: The Historical Performativity of Emotions*, ed. Dolores Martin-Moruno and Beatriz Pichel (Chicago: University of Illinois, 2019), 11; Martin-Moruno, Pichel, 'Part IV. Humanitarian Bodies in Action,' in *Emotional Bodies: The Historical Performativity of Emotions*, 155; Martin-Moruno, 'Fearful Female Bodies,' in *Emotional Bodies: The Historical Performativity of Emotions*, 141.

and negotiating with employers, and they were values that were understood to be part of trade union community. The chapter illustrates the internal conflict between delegates who were members of the Communist Party of Great Britain and those who were not in the early part of the period when the Korean War was still being fought. Meanwhile, interunion conflict was demonstrated through a dispute between the National Union of Railwaymen and the Amalgamated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen in 1955-56 which led to hostility between delegates from those unions, which regularly disrupted meetings.

The final chapter analyses the relationships between delegates and the post-Stalinist 'new left,' most notably groups which campaigned against the establishment of US atomic weapons bases in East Anglia and the Midlands which suggested that even when trades councils shared causes with external groups, they preferred to organise their own campaigns. The 1960s and 1970s were times of urban and industrial change for Peterborough and PTUC found it difficult to define their position in this new context. Therefore, chapter six argues that by the 1970s PTUC delegates were involved almost exclusively in civic activities during the period. The reasons for this were first that they were no longer taken seriously as representatives of the working class, as illustrated by their dealings with Peterborough Development Corporation, which bought in new public service and banking industries to replace the engineers. Secondly, PTUC delegates' attitudes differed from the rank and file with the former being more progressive as illustrated in attitudes towards immigration both nationally and locally. Finally, PTUC's reluctance to get involved as an organisation in the 'Winter of Discontent,' the largest

bout of industrial action since the 1926 General Strike, suggested that this body was no longer interested in delivering industrial functions by 1979.

This research in this thesis challenges the notion that PTUC was simply a discussion group and demonstrates that delegates were a strong and determined force throughout the twentieth century in Peterborough. They adapted to change with resilience, concentrating on different functions as the local and national situation required. This research has also found that trades councils operated in three distinct phases during the twentieth century. Prior to the First World War, delegates tended to be male and socialist and took part in elections but were not taken seriously as activists. The second phase during the interwar period saw trades councils acting with more confidence after PTUC was accepted as a responsible body by city leaders. At the beginning of this phase, they passed political functions onto the local Labour Party, which many delegates were members of. The third phase for trades councils came at a time when consumerism and the affluent worker, which first started to emerge in the interwar period, along with post-war reconstruction, changed working-class cultures and the way trades councils operated. During this phase delegates were invited onto more public bodies and were less visible in the community. Throughout the period therefore, trades councils had an increasing function which has previously been either missed or misinterpreted by labour historians – their role in civic society. Industrial functions referred to trade unions and workplace activism, and political to dealing with party political activities and the government. But if civic engagement referred to the

actions of individuals towards their town or district, then they were at the forefront of this kind of citizenship.

Chapter One | Trades Councils, Bureaucracies and Resilience, 1898 - 1939

When the idea of forming a trades council in Peterborough was floated among trade unionists in October 1898, one of the assembled - exclusively male - attendees stated that 'on the occasion prospects looked good.'⁷² Prospects looked good due to the growing power of the unions. In the late Victorian period, when PTUC was formed, Britain was an industrial superpower producing large amounts of coal, iron and steel. However, competition from other countries such as Germany and the USA meant that the workplace was also competitive, thus creating conflict between employers and employees.⁷³

The late nineteenth century was also a time when new unionism developed. New unionism was the process where small craft unions which only accepted skilled workers were replaced by bigger amalgamated ones which included unskilled labourers in their membership. New unions such as the National Union of Gasworkers and General Labourers (NUGWGL), established by Will Thorne in 1889, were larger and therefore more powerful than previous workers' organisations.⁷⁴ The period commenced with a wave of strikes starting with the London dockers who were led by Tom Mann. The dockers were influenced by industrial action taken the previous year by Bryant and May Match makers who were predominantly women and labour unrest continued to

⁷² 'Formation of a Trades Council at Peterborough,' *Peterborough Advertiser*, 22 October 1898, 5.

⁷³ Marianne Ward and John Devereux, 'Measuring British Decline: Direct Versus Long-Span Income Measures,' *The Journal of Economic History* 63, 3 (2003): 835; Michael Dintenfass, 'Converging Accounts, Misleading Metaphors and Persistent Doubts,' in *The British Industrial Decline*, ed. Michael Dintenfass and Jean-Pierre Dormois (London: Routledge, 1999), 14.

⁷⁴ Alastair J. Reid, *United We Stand: A History of Britain's Trade Unions* (London: Allen Lane, 2004), 220-224.

develop until the start of the First World War in 1914.⁷⁵ The growth of new unionism led to an expansion of trades councils and by 1900, there were over 150 across the length and breadth of Britain and one in every urban and industrial town and city by 1914.⁷⁶ This included Peterborough, which had a large number of working-class engineers and railwaymen and as a result, the prospects looked good in the sense of stronger unions, more workplace activity and the potential to attract a large affiliation.

Trades councils were complex bodies, a mish-mash of individuals who subscribed to different ideologies and conflicting union strategies. But nothing demonstrated the complexity of trades councils more than the seemingly simple matter of a name. From 'trades union councils' to 'district trades and labour councils,' each one chose its own version of the name throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Names included Robert Owen's Grand National Consolidated Union in 1845 temporarily established prior to the first modern versions of trades councils formed in the big British cities like Birmingham, Glasgow and Liverpool in the 1850s and 1860s.⁷⁷ They were followed by Nottingham Trades Council (1890) and Peterborough and District Trades and Labour Council (1899). To add to the confusion, different time periods resulted in different combinations of words and even the meaning of them. For instance, pre-1900

⁷⁵ Louise Raw, *Striking a Light: The Bryant and May Matchwomen and Their Place in History* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), 2.

⁷⁶ Malcolm Wallace, *Nothing to Lose, a World to Win, a History of the Chelmsford and District Trades Union Council* (Chelmsford: Malcolm Wallace, 1979), 20, 23.

⁷⁷ Eric J. Evans, *The Forging of the Modern State: Early Industrial Britain, 1783-C. 1870* (London: Taylor Francis, 2018), 220.

'labour' referred to the acceptance of unskilled labourers onto trades councils.⁷⁸ For those trades councils established after 1900 the 'labour' element referred to the Labour Party and was used during a time when political and industrial bodies were linked. Whichever version was used the 'labour' part of the name was dropped by most trades councils after 1945. But because of this convoluted history, trade unionists have simply referred to these organisations as 'trades councils.' The names of trades councils demonstrated the nature of these bodies as similar, yet largely independent.

Whatever its name, a trades council was essentially a body made up of representatives from different trade union branches in an area. Yet the trade unions involved in trades councils changed over time, with the replacement of craft unions by new unions which continued to amalgamate into powerful super unions during the twentieth century. Consequently, the scope and nature of trades councils were complex, and so were the internal structure and functions. Therefore, an investigation of trades councils' functions can be problematic because the remit of these organisations frequently changed from one decade to the next. But bearing in mind that the case study trades council for this thesis was formed in 1898, the best way to demonstrate the changing functions of trades councils is through an analysis of their internal structures, policies, and procedures prior to and after 1920 when the Trades Union Congress (TUC) reformed the trade union movement in, what the chapter will argue, was an attempt to unify and strengthen it during the interwar period.

⁷⁸ Yann Beliard, 'Contested Co-ordinator: The Hull Trades Council, 1972-1914,' in *Labour United and Divided from the 1830s to Present*, ed. Emmanuelle Avril and Yann Beliard (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2018), 66.

This chapter will start with an exploration of trades councils' functions before 1920, focussing on their internal structures, bureaucratic policies and procedures, and their aims and objectives as laid out in manifestoes. It will then move on to analyse in detail, the changes which took place after the tightening of trade union bureaucracy between 1921 and 1927 and the effects of these modifications on trades councils. The final part of the chapter will challenge the widely accepted conclusions that the TUC introduced these changes to combat communist infiltration as put forward by labour historians such as Richard Stevens and Ross Martin and offer an alternative analysis of trade union unification.⁷⁹

Trades Councils as Bureaucracies

This part of the chapter will focus on functions starting with an analysis of the internal policies and procedures of trades councils from 1898 to 1920, focussing on PTUC. Trades councils had some stability in functions and structures, prior to the 1920s when the TUC's reforms led to the creation of new bureaucratic layers and radical changes. However, before 1898 trades councils had varying functions, which extended and declined with some frequency. They were open to all workers - skilled or unskilled – yet they were dominated by the traditional craft unions and were largely used as forums to discuss industrial and political matters. Trades councils were lobbying bodies, which gave support to trade unionists during local strikes and campaigned on issues such as working-class representation on school boards and sweated labour. Alastair Reid

⁷⁹ Richard Stevens, 'Containing Radicalism: The Trades Union Congress and Organisation Department and Trades Councils, 1928-1953.' *Labour History Review* 62, 1, (1997); Ross. M. Martin, *TUC: The Growth of a Pressure Group, 1868-1978* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980).

described trades councils as 'weak... vulnerable to the undermining of financial resources,' but research on PTUC showed that although a lack of funds hampered its potential as an activist body, delegates still held some powerful positions in their communities.⁸⁰ The functions of trades councils changed for a variety of reasons, but delegates adapted to changes of direction with flexibility. For instance, from the 1860s to the 1870s trades councils were mostly concerned with the legal rights of trade unions.⁸¹ However, major changes occurred in the functions of trades councils after 1871 when the leaders of big unions moved their attention from the London Trades Council, the most important of the trades councils, to the TUC Parliamentary Committee. There were more changes for trades councils in the 1880s when trade union leaders were replaced by socialists such as Tom Mann who was elected onto the London body which led to the expulsion of trades councils from the TUC in 1895.⁸² But until then, trades councils were able to send delegates to congress on an equal basis to the unions, however, the TUC argued that allowing trades councils to attend led to dual representation, so implemented rules which excluded them from congress.⁸³

Acting as a loose network of labour bodies, trades councils adapted to decreasing functions with resilience and continued with some important work during the 1890s. For instance, their fair wages campaigns were described by Hugh Clegg, Alan Fox and A. F. Thompson as 'the most important contribution which the councils made to

⁸⁰ Reid, *United We Stand* 105-06.

⁸¹ Alan Clinton, 'The History of Trades Councils,' *Society for the Study of Labour History*, Vol. 29, 1974, 37-40.

⁸² H. A. Clegg, Alan Fox and A. F. Thompson, *A History of British Trade Unions Since 1899* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), 288-90.

⁸³ Henry Pelling, *A History of British Trade Unionism* (London: Macmillan Press, 1992), 105.

the "industrial" work of the unions for this period, for their industrial functions were disappearing as a result of changes in the union structure and the development of collective bargaining.⁸⁴ Meanwhile, Reid stated that the local activities of trades councils 'contributed significantly to the cultivation of the... distinct labour agenda.'⁸⁵ Certainly by the early 1900s trades councils were the central point for the developing labour movement. But they also worked with the unemployed, acted as sounding boards for radical thought and planned new strategies within the labour movement. Due to their links with the working class, trades councils were able to use 'collectivist policies to solve social problems,' consequently, trades councils showed a flexibility when adapting to new functions - they did so too when their policies and procedures were reformed in the 1920s.⁸⁶

Although sometimes cited as having horizontal structures, trades councils were more likely to be hierarchical because they contained aspects of Webberian administration with officials, rules and clear functions which effectively created a 'ruling class.'⁸⁷ They contained representatives who were sent from local branches of affiliated unions and were known as 'delegates' structured around an 'executive committee' of five to ten delegates, headed by officers, who looked after the day to day running of the organisation akin to bureaucratic officials. The officers were: the president, whose role it

⁸⁴ Clegg et al. *A History of British Trade Unions*, 289.

⁸⁵ Reid, *United We Stand*, 6.

⁸⁶ Clinton, 'The History of Trades Councils,' 38-9.

⁸⁷ Beliard, 'Contested Coordinator,' in *Labour United and Divided from the 1830s to Present*, ed. Avril Emmanuel and Yann Beliard (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018), 66; John P. Olsen, 'Maybe it is Time to Rediscover Bureaucracy,' *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 16, 1 (2006): 2; Helen Constan, 'Max Weber's Two Conceptions of Bureaucracy,' *American Journal of Sociology* 63,4 (1958): 400.

was to chair the meetings and enforce the rules; the secretary, who carried out the internal and external communications and administrative tasks; and the treasurer, who looked after the finances. Officers and committee members were elected by ballot, usually at an annual general meeting (AGM). The way elections were run varied between trades councils; however, they were democratic bodies with one vote per delegate. Elections could be strategically fought when different trade unions felt advantaged by a particular candidate. In the case of a trades council, such an election strategy could be created when a faction of delegates who belonged to the same union or political grouping worked together to aid the election of a specific candidate.

There was also a deputation committee in a trades council which contained fewer delegates than the executive but was an important body. The deputation committee's main task was to meet with organisations in dispute with local trade unions, and they were key in advancing local union campaigns, such as the fair wage clause. PTUC's first deputation committee was headed by John Secker, a delegate from the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants (ASRS), who met with the municipal council in 1899 to argue that a fair wage clause be inserted into the contract of a company chosen to fit the boilers in Peterborough's new electric power station.⁸⁸ PTUC was unsuccessful in this instance, but the fair wage clause campaign was a popular cause for trades councils, where delegates lobbied public bodies to encourage contractors to pay trade union rates. Trades councils across the country campaigned on the matter after 1885, following the victory of the London Society of Compositors which

⁸⁸ 'The Electric Lighting Tenders.' *Peterborough Advertiser*, 21 June 1899, 3.

successfully lobbied the Government's Stationery Office to introduce the clause into their contracts.⁸⁹ The matter of the fair wage clause demonstrated that trades councils shared an interest in similar campaigns and provided evidence of the homogenous attitudes of delegates towards three factors: capitalism and the general state of industrial employment; socialist and labour politics; and the working class and the development of class consciousness. Nevertheless, their involvement in advancing such campaigns made deputation committees important bodies within trades councils.

Regular meetings of trades councils took place, and a formal 'full council' was arranged monthly. In Peterborough full council meetings took place on a Sunday morning from 1911, between 10.45 and 12.30 and followed certain rules and best practise in a bureaucratic fashion.⁹⁰ The full council meeting was attended by all delegates, including those with and without official committee positions. Minutes of the meetings were taken by the secretary, however, the quality of these could vary between trades councils and few remained from the early 1900s, due to being destroyed, damaged or misplaced, making it difficult to analyse the finer details of discussions and debates. Debates among trades councils were informed by the political and industrial issues of the day, which were presented by delegates as 'motions,' and usually 'carried' by a trade union branch before being brought to the trades council for discussion. Motions were written in a particular way as instructed in the trade's councils 'standing orders', a document which detailed how a trades council should operate. Therefore,

⁸⁹ Alan Clinton, *The Trade Union Rank and File: Trades Councils in Britain 1900-40* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1977), 16-17.

⁹⁰ *Peterborough and District Trades Council Diamond Jubilee 1899-1959* (Peterborough: Peterborough and District Trades Council, 1959), 15.

motions, such as this from 1903, were set out as follows,

this Council view with indignation the methods adopted by the Imperial Vaccination League where pressure is being brought to bear upon employers of labour, to enforce the vaccination of their employees by withholding employment except top workers that are 'vaccinated.' Such tyrannical methods are deserving of the severest censure, and every effort will be put forward to ensure the liberty of workers.⁹¹

When a motion was carried by a majority vote, it became a 'resolution' to be acted upon. Emergency motions, which needed a swift resolution, could also be submitted, and agreed to by the executive committee instead of waiting until the next full council meeting. Motions could also be used to stop an activity or change the wording of an official document, although the latter could only be agreed to at an AGM, for instance:

standing orders be amended as follows: - Order 2 – add the word 'subject' on line 2 'unless by permission of the Chairman' and add at the end of the clause the following – 'upon a motion that the question now be put, it shall now be put to the meeting without further debate.'⁹²

Trades councils were therefore independent bodies where motions and resolutions were part of a bureaucratic structure. Motions and resolutions were directed by individual trade union branches and brought along to monthly meetings by regular delegates, as agreed to by a democratic process as outlined by standing orders. The resolutions informed the activities, attitudes and direction of a trades council and were implemented through a hierarchical three-tiered system headed by officials and committees. Trades councils were similar to each other yet were largely independent of the TUC and individual trade unions prior to 1920.

⁹¹ MRC, MSS.524/4/1/29, Peterborough and District Trade and Labour Annual Report and Directory with Balance Sheet for 1903, Trades Council Report 1903 Maidstone to York.

⁹² MRC, MSS.524/4/1/29, Peterborough and District Trade and Labour Annual Report and Directory with Balance Sheet for 1903, Trades Council Report 1903 Maidstone to York.

With regards to officials, presidents were at the top of the hierarchy followed by secretaries in the structure of a trades council. Like the other delegates who were part of the rank and file they were essentially volunteers, unpaid and untrained - although expenses were provided to make up for the time lost by individuals who sat on the committees of public bodies during the working day. Although there was no formal training for officer and committee roles, some delegates already had experience of official positions through their trade union branch. For instance, railway signalman Charles Parkinson was secretary of both PTUC and his affiliated branch of the ASRS in 1899.⁹³ Trades council officials, especially secretaries, were highly influential and often consulted with each other when writing rules and constitutions. This kind of collaboration between delegate explained why trades councils were similar in structure and hierarchy throughout Britain.⁹⁴ For instance, trade unionists in Peterborough consulted with Leicester trades council secretary George Green, also a railway signalman in the ASRS, who spoke at a founding meeting of the organisation on 4 November 1898. As a result, PTUC adopted the many campaigns and strategies that Green suggested and although no specific set of rules remained from this period, a manifesto based on Green's suggestion was published. The manifesto confirmed that PTUC was formed,

to send representatives to the meetings of the council... to watch over and secure by fair and honest means the interests of labour and to help in the great work of the social and moral elevation of our order... the Peterborough trades and labour council... is intended to act as a mediator

⁹³ 'Peterborough Trades Councils.' *Peterborough Advertiser*, 26 July 1899, 2; 'The Bishop of Peterborough and the Rev. C. Frew.' *Peterborough Advertiser*, 5 April 1899, 2.

⁹⁴ Clinton. *The Trade Union Rank and File*, 184.

in disputes... applications may be made for assistance to those temporarily unemployed... it seeks to unite all the trades and labour societies for their mutual protection.⁹⁵

As an official, it was the secretary's role to deal with correspondence and reports. Consequently, the trades council secretary often became well known in the community, such as William H. Hackett, an early secretary who was also a preacher at the Cobden Street Primitive Methodist Church.⁹⁶ Being a lay preacher gave Hackett good skills as an orator but also gave him the opportunity to influence another section of society. The influence and high status of secretaries was illustrated by the decision that the position was held in perpetuity, unless the individual retired from their union or left the district. However, many officials were voted in as non-voting life members in recognition for taking an active part in trades council campaigns. Unlike the secretary, the other official positions, the president, treasurer, and committee members, were re-elected annually.

The secretary dealt with external communications, but it was the role of the president to apply strict discipline to delegates internally. This was done through the enforcement of bureaucratic rules which were applied uniformly, despite matters of kinship – trades council delegates formed bonds in the workplace, through sharing a common experience on the factory floor or as trade union activists, as neighbours in close knit working-class housing or through family and kinship.⁹⁷ Having said that, Alan Clinton described trades councils as having an 'elasticity in their rules,' and argued that

⁹⁵ 'Social and Moral Elevation of Labour at Peterborough,' *Peterborough Advertiser*, 12 November 1898, 5.

⁹⁶ 'Railway Mission Cobden Street,' *Peterborough Advertiser*, 6 November 1901, 5.

⁹⁷ Ross McKibbin, *Classes and Cultures, England 1918-1951*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 179-80.

they went 'considerably beyond [their] scope.'⁹⁸ Therefore, despite the bureaucracy of standing orders, rules and the manifesto, trades council officials applied them with discretion. Still, it was the knowledge, skills and experience gained by the secretary over a long period of time which made them an integral part of the trades council's structure and perhaps meant that they were as important as the president.

Unfortunately, there was no surviving evidence of the rules for PTUC prior to 1925 in the research for this chapter. However, there were annual reports which recorded the activities and attitudes of delegates in 1903 and 1905. An annual report was an important document which was published in time for the AGM and was created by the officers acting as a reflection on the past years' events. It was also used as a communication tool between trades councils and affiliated union branches, informing them how their subscriptions were spent and what campaigns delegates had been involved in throughout the year. The quality and size of reports varied and some trades councils took more care of them than others. For example, some produced a single sheet of paper while others produced more substantial pamphlets.⁹⁹ The PTUC annual reports for 1903 and 1905 were of the larger kind and contained details of delegates, which unions they belonged to and how many full trades council meetings they had attended. There were also lists of the motions agreed to over the year, addresses from the secretary and president, who were A. E. Butler and Hackett (ASRS) in 1904 and Arthur Boyce (Postal Clerks Union) and John W. Stimpson (Postmen's Federation) in 1906. The two annual reports also contained a 'municipal manifesto' which called for

⁹⁸ Clinton, *The Trade Union Rank and File*, 184, 186.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* 185.

the nationalisation of local industries such as gas, electric and the cattle market slaughterhouse, the appointment of working-class magistrates and the disqualification of councillors after six terms. The 1903 report alone included advertisements for businesses such as Walter Riseley's tailors' shop and John Casbon's taxi cabs, alongside an analysis of the Labour Representation Committee's constitution written by Hackett and the details of the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1897. The report also contained a list of Peterborough MP Sir Robert Purvis' activities in the House of Commons.¹⁰⁰ In the reports, officials demonstrated a socialist desire for the nationalisation of public services. Such ideologies were shared with affiliated trade unions through the annual reports but were also promoted directly to the public through newspaper articles.

The annual reports contained balance sheets, detailing the financial transactions which had taken place throughout the year. But because funding was based on a subscription basis and there was no financial assistance from the TUC, trades councils had to find other ways to make money which they could then spend on campaigns. PTUC took part in fundraising activities but often gave the money they made to deserving causes. In 1904 for example, PTUC collected over £4 from unions for the Farcet and Town bands which was entered as income, but that money was paid to the musicians through expenditure. Funding of trades councils did not change throughout the twentieth century which hampered the activities of trades councils throughout the period. Just like in other social and voluntary bodies, financial transactions were sometimes carried out by a secretary, but it was more often the role of a Treasurer who

¹⁰⁰ MRC, MSS.524/4/1/29, Peterborough and District Trade and Labour Annual Report and Directory with Balance Sheet for 1905.

was elected to document financial transactions. In PTUC the treasurer was W. Busby, of the NUGWGL between 1903 and 1905 and it was the role of two auditors to check that the procedures had been followed. The auditors were Maywood (Boilermakers) and Thompson (ASRS) in 1903 and R. Bell (National Union of Shop Assistants and General Workers) and J. E. Harris (Carpenters and Joiners Union) in 1905.¹⁰¹ In trades councils, as in other parts of the trade union movement, treasurers were required to produce a balance sheet of the years' income and expenditure for the annual report and as most income was the product of union subscriptions, which cost 2d per member in for PTUC in 1899, they were presented in a simple two column document as reproduced in Table 1 (below).¹⁰²

Table 1 | Peterborough and District Trade and Labour Council: Statement of Accounts for Year Ending December 5, 1906.¹⁰³

Receipts	£	s.	d.	Expenditure	£	s.	d.
Balance from 1904	0	2	10	Printing 1904	2	4	6
ASRS No 1 fees and levy	6	4	4	Printing 1905	2	10	0
No 2	0	16	6	Caretaker, Westgate School	0	2	0
Central	0	19	20	L. R. C. Reports	0	6	0
A. S. Engineers	2	1	2	Rent of Room	1	10	0
Operative Bricklayers	0	14	0	Postages and Stationery	1	14	10
A. S. Carpenters and Joiners	0	13	0	Part of West Ward Election Expenses	5	18	10
A. S. Tailors	0	2	6				
N.A.U Basket Makers	0	9	0				
G. W. and General Labourers	0	8	7				
Shop Assistants	0	5	0				
Postmen's Federation	0	10	0				
Co-operative Employees	0	5	0				
Postal Clerks	0	4	0	Total Receipts	0	13	11 ½
L. R. C. reports	0	2	4	Total Expenses	14	5	4
Proceeds of Concerts.	0	13	11 ½	Balance	0	7	5 ½

¹⁰¹ Ibid. Peterborough and District Trade and Labour Annual Report and Directory with Balance Sheet for 1903, *Trades Council Report 1903 Maidstone to York*; Peterborough and District Trade and Labour Annual Report and Directory with Balance Sheet for 1905.

¹⁰² 'Formation of a Trades Council at Peterborough.' *Peterborough Advertiser*, 22 October 1898, 5.

¹⁰³ MRC, MSS.524/4/1/29, Peterborough and District Trade and Labour Annual Report and Directory with Balance Sheet for 1905.

The treasurer's job became more important after the implementation of the Trade Union Act 1913 which required trade unions to record any funds spent on political action separately. The changes were the result of the 1910 Osborne Case in which court action was brought against the ASRS by a union member who complained that a part of branch subscriptions was given to the Labour Party. The 1913 Act acknowledged the right of unions to affiliate to a political party but stated this could only happen after being agreed to by a ballot of members. Individuals were also given the opportunity to opt out.¹⁰⁴ From 1913, bodies within the trade union movement, including trades councils, were ordered to separate funds into political and industrial accounts, although the functions often overlapped making it difficult to allocate to one or the other on a balance sheet. Unfortunately, there are no surviving annual reports for PTUC from the 1910s, making a comparison of balance sheets from before and after the 1913 Act impossible.

Put simply the evidence suggested that prior to 1920 trades councils were independent bodies without the interference of either the TUC or individual unions, funded through subscriptions and rules were applied liberally. Trades councils had functions inspired by bodies from other towns and cities as defined in their manifestoes. More specifically, PTUC was defined as a local body for mediation between trade unions and employers and a provider of welfare for members. They also represented the working class on public bodies. Delegates met monthly and defined their strategies through motions and resolutions and funding came mostly from trade union affiliations.

¹⁰⁴ Alan Fox, *History and Heritage: The Social Origins of the British Industrial Relations System* (London: Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1985), 185.

The trades council was overseen by a hierarchical three-tier structure containing officers with had specific roles, of whom one, the secretary, was most powerful. There were also executive and deputation committees and general delegates. Their organisation was reminiscent of bureaucratic administrations and other voluntary bodies. Except for the separation of industrial and political funds on balance sheets in 1913, little changed in the administration of trades councils between 1899 and 1920.

The General Council and the Reform of the Trade Unions.

Some leaders of the trade union movement, however, were not so keen on the independence of trades councils. For instance, at the Annual Conference of Trades Councils (ACTC) in February 1925, Alonzo Beaumont Swales stated that,

We do not want, nor would conditions permit us to return to the narrow limitations of the trades councils of the past. We do not want trades councils to be purely strike committees and nothing else, as they were originally. We cannot afford to neglect political action, the development of our cooperatives, the movement for working class education, or our youth's and children's movements, our social organisations...¹⁰⁵

This quote was part of a speech given by Alonzo Beaumont Swales at the ACTC in February 1925. The conference took place after the TUC made bureaucratic changes to the structure of the trade union movement including the establishment of an overseeing body for trades councils.¹⁰⁶ This part of the chapter will focus on what changes were made in the 1920s, who made them and how they were applied to trades councils. It will analyse the role of the trade union leadership in the process of these changes.

¹⁰⁵ Emile Burns, *General Strike! Trades Councils in Action* (London: Wishart and Lawrence Ltd., 1975), 87.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.* 87.

At the time of the conference, Swales, who was born in Bradford in 1870, was the president of the TUC General Council, a position he attained in 1921 as a member of the national executive committee of the Amalgamated Engineering Union.¹⁰⁷ Swales was the chairperson of the ACTC. However, he appeared to know little of the part that trades councils played in their communities. After all, trades councils assisted in the formation of the Labour Party in 1918 - they could hardly be neglecting political action. Trades council delegates were also active members of social organisations, such as sports clubs and churches and were involved in working-class education through the Workers Educational Association and the Plebs League.¹⁰⁸ Swales appeared to be devoid of an intimate knowledge of trades councils but as a full time trade union officer, he was a member of the 'trade union bureaucracy,' a layer of paid full-time trade union officials, who became important after the First World War.¹⁰⁹ The term 'bureaucracy' applied to officials in the TUC as well as national, regional and also local branch officers and they grew in importance due to the reinstatement of national bargaining in the early interwar

¹⁰⁷ 'A. B. Swales 1926,' Winning Equal Pay the Value of Women's Work, accessed 29 October 2020, <http://www.unionhistory.info/equalpay/display.php?irn=5001516&QueryPage=advsearch.php>.

¹⁰⁸ The Plebs League was an adult education college established in 1909 for the working class interested in Marxism and socialism. It was created by a group of students who had broken away from Ruskin College. Frank Horrabin, Peterborough's first Labour MP edited *The Pleb*, the League's Journal. Andy Miles, 'Workers Education: The Communist Party and the Plebs League in the 1920s,' *History Workshop* 18, 1 (1984): 102-03, 105; Margaret Cole and Amanda Capern, 'Horrabin, James Francis,' Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, accessed 1 August 2022, <https://www-oxforddnb-com.proxy.library.dmu.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-33995;jsessionid=D2CBD666674A3D7049769EFD9188AE4>

¹⁰⁹ See Richard Hyman, 'The Politics of Workplace Trade Unionism: Recent Tendencies and Some Problems in Theory,' *Capital and Class* 8 (1979): 54-6; A. Hassel, 'The Politics of Social Pacts,' *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, 41, 4 (2003): 707-726; V. Gore, 'Rank and File in Dissent,' *A History of British industrial Relations, 1875-1914* ed. Chris Wrigley (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1982).

period.¹¹⁰ This coincided with the strengthening of bureaucratic procedures by the TUC who were given extra responsibility as a consultative body by the Government from 1914.¹¹¹ Prior to 1914 the TUC was simply a lobbying body headed by a parliamentary committee, however, modernisation of the internal structure was discussed as early as 1916, when the president, Harry Gosling, spoke in congress about the need to employ more staff in order to keep up with the developing machinery of employers' associations. Gosling also advised the TUC to add more offices and to increase affiliation fees.¹¹²

The establishment of a trade union bureaucracy was problematic. At the end of the war the TUC was inspired by the formation of a 'mediation committee' made up of unions whose members were affected by a railway strike in 1919. The mediation committee helped the NUR to reach a decent settlement with railway employers and as a result, the TUC called for the immediate recruitment of full-time permanent staff to assist trade unions during times of industrial action. However, the creation of full-time officers created a potential conflict of interest. Staff earned wages; therefore, full-time officials had a vested interest in keeping the capitalist function of wage labour going. This put them in direct conflict with the rest of the trade union movement who were anti-capitalist and the term 'trade union bureaucracy' came to have a derogatory meaning among the trade union rank and file.

¹¹⁰ Ralph Darlington and Martin Upchurch. 'A Reappraisal of the Rank-and-File Verses Bureaucracy Debate.' *Capital and Class* 36, 1, (2012): 77-95, 80.

¹¹¹ Clinton, *The Trade Union Rank and File*, 102.

¹¹² 'Section – The General Council Replaces the Parliamentary Committee.' TUC- Changing the World for Good, accessed 9 November 2020, <https://www.tuc.org.uk/research-analysis/reports/section-general-council-replaces-parliamentary-committee>.

The changes which Gosling referred to were implemented between 1921 and 1925. First, in 1921, the TUC parliamentary committee was replaced with the 'General Council,' whose task was to watch industrial movements, co-ordinate industrial action, settle inter-union disputes and to assist trade unions to organise.¹¹³ Like the parliamentary committee, the General Council was headed by a president which changed annually and there was also a general secretary. As in trades councils, it was the secretary who held the real power. The first TUC general secretary was C. W. Bowerman who held the position from 1921-1923 until it became a full-time position, and Fred Bramley replaced him.

Born in Otley, in the West Riding of Yorkshire during 1874, Bramley grew up in Bradford and trained as a cabinet maker, joining the local branch of the Independent Labour Party as a socialist and lecturing for the Clarion. Bramley moved to London and became active in the National Amalgamated Furnishing Trades Association becoming National Organiser in 1912 and was elected to the parliamentary committee in 1915 and became assistant secretary of the TUC in 1916. Bramley had assisted Gosling in persuading the TUC to form the 32-person General Council to help the trade unions formulate a response to the 1921 trades depression and had experience of trades

¹¹³ 'Section – The General Council Replaces the Parliamentary Committee.' TUC- Changing the World for Good, accessed 9 November 2020, <https://www.tuc.org.uk/research-analysis/reports/section-general-council-replaces-parliamentary-committee>.

councils too, becoming a delegate to Bradford's while living there.¹¹⁴ However, twenty years later Bramley dismissively described the ACTC as 'utopian.'¹¹⁵

If the introduction of full-time paid officials strengthened the bureaucratic nature of the TUC, it also threatened the independence of trades councils in the process. Labour historians such as Martin Upchurch and Ralph Darlington have argued that trades council officers did not belong to the bureaucracy. However, neither did they fit into the rank and file element of the trade union movement. Instead, they argued that trades councils were part of a 'semi-bureaucracy' which was made up of paid full-time officers in districts and local activists such as workplace conveners, senior stewards and other influential trade unionists. Therefore, trades councils sat in the layer between the bureaucracy and the active rank and file.¹¹⁶ However, Percy Woodall, secretary of PTUC during the 1920s and the early 1930s was not a full-time officer: instead, he was a volunteer, an active member of the Typographical Association who worked as a compositor in his trade as a printer. Woodall appeared to be a rank and file member which demonstrated the complexities of attempting to prescribe a bureaucratic role to trades council officials - perhaps a semi-bureaucracy as suggested by Darlington and Upchurch was the most realistic term to use to describe them.

It was during Bramley's secretaryship that the next considerable changes were implemented in the trade union movement. These changes which also directly

¹¹⁴ Patrick Renshaw, 'Bramley Fred.' Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, accessed 30 October 2020, <https://www-oxforddnb-com.proxy.library.dmu.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-4732>.

¹¹⁵ Clinton, *The Trade Union Rank and File*, 105.

¹¹⁶ Darlington, Upchurch, 'A Reappraisal of the Rank-and-File Versus Bureaucracy Debate,' 78.

threatened the independence of trades councils concerned the creation of two new bodies – the Trades Union Congress Joint Consultative Committee (TUCJCC) in 1924 and the Organisation Department in 1925. The TUCJCC was made up of equal numbers of General Council representatives and trades council delegates. However, an existential crisis was created when the TUCJCC redefined trades councils' functions as recruiters for the unions and disseminators of TUC propaganda overseen by the organisation department's full-time staff, such as Vincent Tewson.¹¹⁷ Tewson was the first secretary of the organisation department and at 27 years old, he was part of a new generation of young trade union bureaucrats at the TUC. Tewson's organisational experience came from membership of the Amalgamated Society of Dyers which he left in 1925 to join the organisation department.¹¹⁸ Tewson was also the secretary of the TUCJCC in 1925 and lost no time in bringing the rules and constitutions of trades councils into line, as demonstrated in a communication sent to Woodall, dated 27 November 1925,

owing to the fact that it is desired that there should be a somewhat uniform basis in the constitution of trades councils and further, that the model rules and constitution now approved by the General Council will revolutionise the constitution of trades councils, it is hoped that you will hold your hand in regard to the provision of new rules until this draft is in your hand.¹¹⁹

At the 1925 and 1926 conferences delegates agreed to a raft of organisations structures and changes. But at the 1925 conference, Swales started by defining trades councils as community bodies explaining that,

¹¹⁷ Clinton, *The Trade Union Rank and File*, 140.

¹¹⁸ 'Victor Tewson.' Britannica, accessed 30 October 2020, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Vincent-Tewson>.

¹¹⁹ MRC, MSS.292/944/P/13, Letter from TUCJCC secretary to Percy Woodall, 27 November 1925.

a trades council today is really not a 'trades' council in the old, restricted craft sense, it is a council of workers' representatives from various working-class organisations - industrial and political and in some sense cooperative – met to consider how conscious working-class action can be taken in regard to every sphere of activity.¹²⁰

Under Swales, there were organisational changes when a form of federation between trades councils was introduced in geographical regions. Conference delegates agreed that trades councils were to 'consist of trade unions or branches of trade unions,' located in a district and were to be federated by region. After the conferences, PTUC was federated to the group which contained Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, and Northamptonshire which had a total of 35 trades councils within it. The TUC argued that federation was essential to provide support for isolated trades councils and to strengthen weaker bodies. One of the structural changes which trades councils agreed to affected those that dealt with both industrial and political work, such as PTUC. Trades councils of this nature were expected to form industrial committees of delegates from specific groups to coordinate action. Industry groupings were defined in the model rules, and these were: mining, quarrying, railways and transport; ship building, engineering, iron and steel, building; cotton, textiles, clothing, leather; glass, pottery, distribution, agriculture and general workers; printing, paper, public employees, non-manual workers; women's groups. The extent to which trades councils were willing to centralise their bodies was demonstrated in resolutions that were passed at the conferences. Three key resolutions called for strategies to: coordinate the local, national and international campaigns in line with TUC policy,

¹²⁰ Burns, *General Strike!*, 87.

demanding greater unity between unions; obtain 100 per cent trade union affiliation and to pass lists of unaffiliated branches to the TUCJCC to follow up; and agreed to strengthen workplace shop committees to 'force capitalism to relinquish their grip on industry,' a direct copy of a resolution passed at the Scarborough TUC conference in 1925.¹²¹

Wider community resolutions called for greater assistance for strikers or locked out employees and to look at the provision of welfare schemes for workers in the form of organising sport and entertainment and obtaining the use of playing fields.¹²² The resolution regarding sport and entertainment was easiest to organise and Woodall took positive action suggesting that PTUC delegates should concentrate on the 'lighter side,' and form a sports committee to organise bowls, cricket and tennis tournaments and an annual dinner. The sports committee was put into action when PTUC acted as the local Council of Action during the 1926 general strike, arranging fundraising concerts and sporting activities to keep the strikers occupied.¹²³ There was also a summer outing for PTUC delegates to help them to socialise and relax.¹²⁴ Consequently, delegates at the first two ACTC conferences agreed to centralise structures and the internal organisation of trades councils, which demonstrated that they were fully behind the changes.

¹²¹ Burns, *General Strike!*, 87.

¹²² MRC, MSS.292/944/P/12, Peterborough and District Trades and Labour Council Annual Report with Balance Sheet for Year Ending 31 December 1925.

¹²³ The 1926 General Strike took place over 9 days in May 1926 and many general studies have been made. See for example, Keith Laybourn, *The General Strike of 1926: New Frontiers in History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993); Margaret Morris, *The General Strike* (Middlesex: Penguin Books Ltd., 1979). See also, Hazel Perry, *Peterborough Trade Unions in the 1926 General Strike* (The Open University: MA Dissertation, 2014).

¹²⁴ MRC, MSS.292/944/P/12, Peterborough and District Trades and Labour Council Annual Report with Balance Sheet for Year Ending 31 December 1925.

The positivity shown by PTUC officers towards adopting practical strategies and a new centralised internal organisation suggested that it was a flexible body with the ability to cope with adjustments. Consequently, delegates were praised by Tewson for their enthusiasm to embrace the changes, which he called ‘gratifying.’ It also implied that PTUC had a good relationship with the organisation department. Reporting on the practical measures taken by PTUC officers, Woodall wrote in the 1925 annual report that ‘your officials have devoted much time in attempting to solidify the movement in Peterborough.’¹²⁵ The term ‘solidify our movement’ was also used in the Nottingham Trades Council annual report for 1925 which demonstrated that trades councils shared the same sources of information and support networks, because they used the same language.¹²⁶ As a result of their work, affiliated branches in PTUC grew from 16 to 33 between 1924 and 1925 and the number of delegates grew from 65 to 117. The total membership doubled from 2,953 to 5,377 during the same period. The affiliation figures suggest that the conference strategy to improve unity in the trade union movement was working in Peterborough and PTUC delegates were inspired by attending the ACTC conference in 1925 which Woodall described as, ‘a landmark in the progress of trades councils.’ Delegates also attended a follow up regional conference in Nottingham, implying their desire to strengthen the structure of regional federations too.¹²⁷

¹²⁵ Ibid. Letter from Secretary of the TUCJCC to Percy Woodall, 19 December 1925; Peterborough and District Trades and Labour Council Annual Report with Balance Sheet for Year Ending 31 December 1925.

¹²⁶ *Nottingham and District Trades Union Council: 1890-1990 Centenary* (Nottingham: Nottingham and District Trades Union Council, 1981), 41.

¹²⁷ MRC, MSS.292/944/P/12, Peterborough and District Trades and Labour Council Annual Report with Balance Sheet for Year Ending 31 December 1925.

In 1925 Bramley unexpectedly passed away and Citrine was given the position of general secretary of the TUC. Citrine was described as a 'super-bureaucrat' - born in Liverpool in 1887, Citrine joined the ILP early on and began work as an apprentice at an electricity plant. He fully qualified as an electrician in 1906 and joined the Electrical Trades Union in 1911. In 1920 Citrine was elected as assistant general secretary to the parliamentary committee of the TUC and to the General Council when it was created. As a reformist, Citrine was seen to push the TUC towards the right, however, it was also acknowledged that he instilled some discipline into the trade union movement, as demonstrated in his book, the *ABC Book of Chairmanship: All About Meetings* (1939).¹²⁸ However, revisionist historians state that far from being a trade union bureaucrat and a reformist, Citrine was, in fact, 'one of the most outstanding intellects and actors which the unions have contributed to British society.'¹²⁹ One of Citrine's greatest legacies was that he continued the trend of bureaucratic changes started by the TUC in 1921.

Although the TUC General Council was at the top of the hierarchical structure of the trade union movement, it was the Organisation Department's responsibility to implement bureaucratic changes. The new policies which affected trades councils were introduced via a circular or memo, therefore, in the Weberian sense, they were implemented in a rather impersonal manner. Citrine continued this trend, when he introduced the Annual Return, a questionnaire managed by the TUCJCC and sent to

¹²⁸ Walter Citrine, *A.B.C. of Chairmanship: All About Meetings* (London: Co-Operative Printing Society, 1939).

¹²⁹ James Moher, 'Walter Citrine: A Union Pioneer of Industrial Cooperation,' in *Alternatives to State Socialism in Britain: Other Worlds of Labour in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Peter Ackers and Alastair J. Reid (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 179-60, 186.

trades councils between the years 1927 and 1939.¹³⁰ The annual return provided two opportunities for the TUCJCC. First, the information collected in the annual returns allowed the TUCJCC to see which branches to follow up for affiliation. Second, it allowed the TUC to monitor the implementation of centralised rules, uniform constitutions and national strategies. Regarding affiliations, the annual returns asked three key questions – which local trade union branches were affiliated, which were not, and which had unaffiliated over the past two years. The figures from PTUC varied. For instance, in 1927 there were 25 branches affiliated and seven had recently left bringing the total of unaffiliated union branches to 26. Meanwhile, there were 19 affiliated branches with five recently unaffiliating in 1938. The annual return also sported a question on the total membership of trades councils in comparison to the previous year. Membership was variable again for PTUC who had a total of 4,500 members in 1927 and 4,714 in 1938.¹³¹ The PTUC figures showed that there were more affiliated members in 1938 than in 1927, although fewer unions were affiliated. This discrepancy was the result of the trend in the amalgamation of trade unions which continued throughout the 1920s and into the 1930s however, it also demonstrated that in 1939 there was still a long way go to achieve 100 per cent affiliation and the unity Citrine so desperately craved.

The internal structures of trades councils were also monitored with questions in the annual return regarding industrial and political functions – were they separate or was there a joint body considering both? PTUC had a joint body in 1927; however, by

¹³⁰ Stevens, 'Containing Radicalism,' 12.

¹³¹ MRC, MSS.292/944/P/13, Peterborough and District Trades and Labour Council Annual Report with Balance Sheet for Year Ending 31 December 1927; Year Ending 31 December 1933.

1933, there were separate industrial and political functions and a detailed breakdown of finances separated in a similar fashion was required from 1932. Supplementary questions were added to the annual return's questionnaire throughout the 1930s as different information was required to suit the TUC's strategy. For instance, the TUCJCC requested the contact details of the trades council's secretary from 1927 and the president's information was also required from the early 1930s. These details were required for communication purposes, such as sending reports and other TUC propaganda - in 1927, the secretary was still Woodall for PTUC however, by 1938 it was E. Willis and John Swain was the President. From 1930 the annual return also required the name of the regional federation to which the trades council belonged, which for PTUC was the South Midlands Federation of Trades Councils. From 1932 they were asked if they had organised either an association of unemployed workers or a woman's committee. PTUC responded 'no' to both. The questions in the annual return regarding federation, the unemployed and women's committees were designed to gather information about the trades council's relationships with regional federations, women trade unionists and the local unemployed movement in line with new TUC strategies. An analysis of the annual returns showed that there were only three years which PTUC missed, 1935, 1937 and 1939.¹³² However, the experience of PTUC should not be taken as evidence that all trades councils adapted so easily to the TUC's new bureaucratic

¹³² Ibid. Peterborough and District Trades and Labour Council Annual Report with Balance Sheet for Year Ending 31 December 1927; Annual Returns Peterborough and District Trades and Labour Council Annual Report with Balance Sheet for Year Ending 31 December 1929; Year Ending 31 December 1932; Year Ending 31 December 1933; Year Ending 31 December 1934.

structures - other trades councils were more erratic with their returns.¹³³ The reasons for the lack of response were complex. But it became remarkably clear that while the TUC embraced trades councils to build unions in the regions, for strength, unity and modernisation delegates in some regions were not convinced that the trade union bureaucrats of the TUC should have such power or control over them as they had later in the period.¹³⁴

This part of the chapter has demonstrated that changes took place to modernise the structure of the trade union movement during the early interwar period, instigated by the TUC and carried out by the trade union 'bureaucrats' such as Tewson, Citrine and Bramley. It has demonstrated that bringing trades councils under the supervision of the TUCJCC and the organisation department led to an existential crisis for trades councils with new functions and allocated roles. However, these changes were embraced through participation of the ACTC with trades councils demonstrating an ability to cope with change and resilience.

Bureaucratic Control of Trades Councils and the Communist Threat.

The establishment of the TUCJCC and the Organisation Department, the scrutiny of reports and correspondence by the TUC and the annual returns have all been interpreted as evidence of the bureaucratic policies established by the TUC to control trades councils during a renewed time of militant radical politics in the interwar

¹³³ Stevens, 'Containing Radicalism,' 12.

¹³⁴ Clinton, *The Trade Union Rank and File*, 187.

period.¹³⁵ This part of the chapter will focus on two matters. First, it will explore the extent to which radical politics, specifically communism, influenced trades councils during the 1920s and 1930s. And second, it analyses the reactions of the TUC towards radical politics, to establish if their bureaucratic policies were the result of communist infiltration and a desire to control the rank and file, or simply a matter of modernising the trade union movement.

While the TUC introduced new bureaucratic structures and policies during the 1920s, the parallel trend of communist ideology also developed, which put a strain on relationships between the TUC and trades councils. This trend even affected PTUC which had so clearly embraced the new structures under the leadership of Woodall. However, on 16 March 1939, the secretary of the TUC's organisation department, Edgar Harries, wrote to H. F. Turner, the secretary of the Eastern Counties Federation of Trades Councils in response to a complaint made against PTUC. Harries wrote that 'this trades council is under grave suspicion by us at the moment owing to their tacit refusal to operate circular 16. I am awaiting developments but it well may be that we shall have to reorganise there.'¹³⁶ The organisation department was sceptical of the refusal to carry out the directive and PTUC were distrustful of the TUC. 'Circular 16' was less formerly known as the 'black circular,' and it was a directive from the TUCJCC which threatened trades councils with derecognition from the TUC if they admitted communist or fascist

¹³⁵ Stevens, 'Containing Radicalism.' 12.

¹³⁶ MRC, MSS.292/944/P/13, Letter from the secretary of the organisation department to H. F. Turner dated 16 March 1939.

delegates.¹³⁷ The circular was published on 26 October 1934 and was aimed at trades councils because the TUC considered them to be the ideal breeding ground for radical thought.

The extent of communist infiltration into trades councils has been debated by labour historians. Ross Martin argued that the TUCJCC was established to break up the Communist Party (CP) and that communist influence on trades councils has been underestimated and neglected, and that the bureaucratic structures which the TUC put in place were done to keep trades council delegates away from them.¹³⁸ However, historical debates have failed to acknowledge that structural changes were needed to modernise and strengthen the trade union movement during the interwar period, as a response to the post-war economic boom and bust. The TUC also needed to maintain a relevancy within a new political landscape, as in the years following the First World War the Liberal Party was destroyed by factionalism leaving the door open for the Labour Party. Additionally the representation of the People Act (1918) gave the vote to women over 30 and all men over 21 widening the franchise and the Labour Party was formally constituted as a socialist party.¹³⁹ Due to their support for the Labour Party, trade union bureaucrats such as Tewson, Harries, Citrine and Ernest Bevin were thought of as 'Labour Loyalists.'¹⁴⁰ Bevin joined the General Council in 1925 after previously working as the national organiser of the Dockers Union from 1910 and became the first secretary

¹³⁷ Clinton, *The Trade Union Rank and File*, 152.

¹³⁸ Martin, *TUC: The Growth of a Pressure Group*, 196.

¹³⁹ Paul David Webb, 'The Labour Party.' Encyclopaedia Britannica, accessed 3 November 2020, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Labour-Party-political-party>.

¹⁴⁰ Stevens, *Containing Radicalism*, 6.

of the new Transport and General Workers Union in 1922.¹⁴¹ Labour loyalists, such as Bevin, were seen as reformists, 'maintaining gradualist positions' and were accused of being anti-communist.¹⁴² Consequently, the situation was fraught with complexity. For instance, Citrine was a supporter of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution and was recalled from a visit to Russia due to Bramley's death in 1925. But Citrine also concluded over the next decade that communism weakened the trade union movement in Russia and other European countries and wanted to prevent it from weakening the British movement too, thereby saving trades councils rather than controlling them.¹⁴³

The CP was founded at a conference which took place in London between 31 July and 1 August 1920. 160 delegates were present, and they represented the British Socialist Party, the Socialist Labour Party, Guild Communists, and other militant groups.¹⁴⁴ However, closer analysis has revealed that the TUC was not directly threatened during the early years of Communism which made little headway. It was not until the NMM was established and the organisation's second conference in 1925 attracted affiliations representing 750,000 workers and 41 trades councils that the matter was taken more seriously by the TUC.¹⁴⁵ Numbers peaked between the 1926 general strike and the aggressive 'class against class' phase of agitation of 1928 but by 1930 membership of the British CP was at an all-time low of 2,500 probably due to mass

¹⁴¹ 'Ernest Bevin,' *TUC 150*, accessed 3 November 2020, <https://tuc150.tuc.org.uk/stories/ernest-bevin/>.

¹⁴² Stevens, 'Containing Radicalism,' 7.

¹⁴³ Moher, 'Walter Citrine,' 193-94, 200.

¹⁴⁴ Thomas Lineham, *Communism in Britain 1920-39: From the Cradle to the Grave* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 15.

¹⁴⁵ Henry Pelling, 'The Early History of the Communist Party of Great Britain, 1920-9,' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 8 (1958): 48.

unemployment.¹⁴⁶ Communism was therefore tolerated before many of the TUC's bureaucratic structures were introduced. As such, the creation of the TUCJCC and organisation department cannot be seen as primarily anti-communist policies. A more likely threat to the TUC were the discussions around restructuring the trade union movement into 'one big union' akin to the Industrial Workers of the World, which was led by trades councils at the National Federation of Trades councils (NFTC) conferences, which took place in 1922 and 1923. Some trades councils were supportive of communism, which resulted in Harry Pollitt, the first full-time organiser for the CP, chairing the 1923 NFTC conference.¹⁴⁷ The involvement of Pollitt has led historians to believe that the NFTC was replaced with the ACTC to check communist infiltration while trade union bureaucrats argued that they were preventing the NFTC from replicating the TUC. Still, the TUC developed the direction of trades councils differently from the federation and kept all debates under strict control at the annual conference.¹⁴⁸

There were obvious attempts by the TUC to stop communists from infiltrating the trade union movement in 1927. The first came when the TUC asked trade councils to confirm that the National Minority Movement (NMM) was not affiliated to them. The NMM was the trade union wing of the CP established in 1923 which shared a similar aim to syndicalism, in that it wanted to over-throw capitalism. The NMM was critical of the trade union leadership and labour loyalists of being bureaucratic and 'often under capitalist influence' but advocated for state rather than the workers control of

¹⁴⁶ Matthew Worley, 'The Communist International, The Communist Party of Great Britain and the "Third Period", 1928-1932,' *European History Quarterly* 30, 2 (2000): 187.

¹⁴⁷ Wallace, *Nothing to Lose*, 61.

¹⁴⁸ Clinton, *The Trade Union Rank and File*, 110-11.

syndicalism.¹⁴⁹ The aim of the organisation was to contest the seats of trade union officials and to build on rank and file organisation. The creation of the NMM coincided with a 'left grouping' of trade union militants which sat on the TUC from 1924 and included Bramley, Swales, A. J. Cook, general secretary of the Miners Federation, George Hicks, Operative Society of Bricklayers and A. A. Purcell, NAFTA.¹⁵⁰ However, within a year, most trade unionists saw the NMM 'as an illegitimate pressure group, an instrument of outside interference,' although some trade unionists remained sympathetic towards the NMM, including PTUC.¹⁵¹ The sympathy that PTUC had for the NMM was demonstrated in a report dated 17 December 1925, written by Woodall and sent to the TUC which contained a section headed, 'imprisonment of the communists.' In the report Woodall transcribed a resolution in which PTUC agreed to support the acting secretary and members of the NMM who were arrested and imprisoned in October 1925. The arrests were made at a raid on the CP headquarters in Covent Garden after police intercepted an envelope containing a thirty-five-page strike strategy and plans for military combat and civil war. Twelve communists were sentenced to between six and twelve months in prison after an 'overtly political trial' under the 1797 Incitement to Mutiny Act.¹⁵² PTUC's resolution was sent to the TUC's newspaper, the *Daily Herald* and declared, 'that this council emphatically protests against the suppression of free speech and demands that the communists recently imprisoned be

¹⁴⁹ Fox, *History and Heritage*, 306; Stevens, 'Containing Radicalism,' 6.

¹⁵⁰ Mary Davis, *Comrade or Brother? A History of the British Labour Movement* (London: Pluto Press, 1993), 195-96.

¹⁵¹ Roderick Martin, *Communism and the British Trade Unions 1924-1933: A Study of the National Minority Movement* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 186-87.

¹⁵² 'The Raid on the Headquarters of the CPGB. H.O.144/6719/485074,' *Bulletin – Society for the Study of Labour History* 40 (1980): 23.

released forthwith.' Evidently, there was no official criticism of the trades council's support for the NMM by the TUC. However, the following year the first evidence of the TUCs anti-communist policies appeared when trades councils were made to sign a declaration of noncompliance with the NMM. Woodall, A. J. Andrews (PTUC president) and A. Flaunt (member of the executive committee), signed a letter addressed to Citrine dated 2 April 1927, to deny any association with the NMM.¹⁵³ Therefore, an analysis of pre-1926 bureaucratic reports and resolutions demonstrated that there were no official anti-communist policies until the TUC created them in 1927.

The extent to which full-time officers were willing to tolerate communists changed after 1927 when the CP implemented the class against class strategy which was hostile towards the trade union leadership.¹⁵⁴ Class against class was disruptive and devise and encouraged members to use slogans such as 'don't trust your leaders,' while accusing the TUC leadership of being 'traitors, renegades and capitalist lackeys.'¹⁵⁵ In May 1926, the NMM represented 956,000 members after a number of representatives were elected to officer positions in the trade unions, yet as a result of class against class, NMM members were banned from holding official positions and the CP was stopped from standing in local and national elections as trade union officials.¹⁵⁶ Class against class was established by the Soviet Comintern in 1928 against a backdrop of increased radical militancy. In Britain it resulted in measures being taken throughout the trade

¹⁵³ MRC, MSS.292/944/P/13, Report to the TUC, 17 December 1925; Letter, to Walter Citrine from Percy Woodall, 2 April 1927

¹⁵⁴ Roderick Martin, 'The National Minority Movement,' *Bulletin – Society for the Study of Labour History* 17 (1968): 2; Matthew Worley, *Class Against Class: The Communist Party Between the Wars* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2001).

¹⁵⁵ Moher, 'Walter Citrine,' 193.

¹⁵⁶ Fox, *History and Heritage*, 306.

union movement to limit the role of communists, because, in response to the failed general strike in 1926 CP membership rose from 6,000 to 11,127. The growth in membership was the rank and file's militant reaction to the Trades Disputes and Trade Union Act of 1927 which banned solidarity strike action, changed the political levy to an opt-in, rather than an opt-out and tightened rules for civil service and local government members.¹⁵⁷ It created a situation of paranoia which was further exasperated when London trades council voted to oust communist trade unionists from the ranks but they were not quorate at the time of the meeting. A hastily rearranged meeting saw the room filled with non-communist members and according to the *Manchester Guardian* the decision was taken to ratify the exclusion of communists throughout London's trade union movement.¹⁵⁸ Additionally the TUC asked trades councils for their annual reports and correspondence they were accused of checking for signs of political radicalism. The annual returns to the TUCJCC were also seen as part of the war on communism, despite simply being part of the TUC's strategy for affiliation and recruitment as discussed in the ACTC conferences.¹⁵⁹

The depth of sympathy which individual trades council delegates had, or did not have, for communist ideology is impossible to know. However, there is evidence that some trades councils were supportive of the National Unemployed Workers Movement (NUWM), which arranged hunger marches during the interwar period, and this led to the TUCJCC issuing a questionnaire in 1936 to find out about how involved they were in

¹⁵⁷ Matthew Worley, 'The Communist International,' 190; Reid, *United We Stand*, 365.

¹⁵⁸ 'Trades Council's Dilemma: No Quorum when Communists were Expelled,' *Manchester Guardian*, 12 August 1927, 17.

¹⁵⁹ Stevens, 'Containing Radicalism,' 12.

the communist-led body. Hunger marches were separate contingents, often of men, who walked from their towns to London to draw attention to unemployment during the interwar period. The marches took place against a backdrop of mass unemployment and poverty and the first took place in 1922. However, after the Wall Street Crash in October 1929 the marches were more frequent, taking place in 1929, 1930, 1932, 1934 and 1936. In the early 1930s when the Great Depression was in full swing, three million workers were unemployed in Britain, mainly from the north of England, Wales and Scotland, areas with employment in shipbuilding and coal mining.¹⁶⁰ In Peterborough 3000-4000 people were out of work at the peak of unemployment in 1932. But PTUC assisted the Tyneside Contingent which stayed in the city on the night of 15 February 1934 and a group from the Jarrow Crusade's 'March for Jobs' in October 1936.¹⁶¹ Trades councils were often called upon to provide hospitality to the marchers on their stopovers and many obliged. Unable to counter trades council sympathy for the communist-led hunger marches, the TUC distributed a questionnaire in 1936 asking for the details of those which had passed through, and the level of support given. The questionnaire was interpreted by some as being hostile, with the TUC attempting to put an 'indefinite' end to support for hunger marches. Consequently, when a motion was moved by H. H. Elvin at the TUC conference on 28 October 1936 it recognised that the marches were inconvenient for trades councils drawing on evidence from cities such as

¹⁶⁰ Martyn Everett, 'We Refuse to Starve in Silence.' *Saffron Walden Historical Journal*, Autumn 2016, 1.

¹⁶¹ 'City Council Receives a Deputation.' *Peterborough Standard*, 5 February 1932, 10; 'Itinerary of the 1934 Hunger March.' Working Class Movement Library, accessed 6 November 2020 <https://www.wcml.org.uk/our-collections/protest-politics-and-campaigning-for-change/unemployment/itinerary-of-the-1934-hunger-march/>; *Peterborough and District Trades Union Council*, 17.

Leeds who were unable to assist a contingent of the Jarrow march in 1936 as they had run out of resources and Kendal, where there was pressure to arrange hospitality for 400 marchers from elsewhere.¹⁶² It could therefore be argued that rather than attempting to control trades councils as part of an anti-communist agenda, the TUC's questionnaire was used as a bureaucratic method to scrutinise the amount of time and resources trades councils spent on the hunger marches especially as the responses to the questionnaire suggested that support for the communist-led NUWM hunger marches was patchy among trades councils.

How far communist infiltration went into trades councils might have been a debate for the TUC and historians, but Matthew Worley argued that most infiltration developed around London.¹⁶³ But there was evidence detailing pockets of communist activity elsewhere in the British Isles and it was particularly strong in East Midlands cities such as Nottingham and Leicester. Mining areas in the north of England, south Wales and Scotland were also cited as places which were ideologically primed for communist infiltration.¹⁶⁴ Evidence of communism in individual trades councils could be found in local histories where they existed. For instance, Nottingham trades council recorded that in 1935 the vice-President resigned, and some unions disaffiliated when the trades council reluctantly decided to implement the black circular. Delegates voted against reading the black circular initially; however, they relented due to pressure from the TUC, whose leadership Chris Preston (a contributor to the Nottingham trades council

¹⁶² Matthias Reiss, 'Circulars, Surveys and Support: Trades Councils and the Marches of 1936,' *Labour History Review* 73, 1 (2008): 91, 94, 97.

¹⁶³ Matthew Worley, *Class Against Class*, 28.

¹⁶⁴ Stevens, 'Containing Radicalism,' 6; Reid, *United We Stand*, 316.

centenary publication in 1990) referred to as 'right wing.'¹⁶⁵ Meanwhile, in Chelmsford, secretary Dick Seabrook was reluctantly removed from office in 1935 when the trades council were ordered by Edgar Harries to implement the demands in the black circular.¹⁶⁶ There were also communist members of Wolverhampton, Bilston and District Trades Union Council in 1931 and even in Exeter's in the rural south west of England.¹⁶⁷ This analysis of local bodies suggests that communist delegates were a common feature of trades councils prior to the implementation of the black circular. The extent to which the trade union bureaucracy would go to implement their policies was demonstrated in the follow up to the complaint made against PTUC by Turner in 1939. PTUC resisted the implementation of the black circular much longer than the other trades councils and it was under the secretaryship of Swain (National Union of Foundry Workers) that they were eventually forced to add the rules banning communist and fascist delegates. Following the complaint, Vic Feather, assistant secretary of the organisation department, attended a PTUC meeting in 1939 to justify the black circular. Feather's report to the TUC wearily acknowledged that the organisation department was powerless to completely rid trades councils of communist sympathisers stating that,

the discussion and the questions cleared the air ...and apparently some of the sympathisers of the CP, whom I could spot easily from their questions, have been so vocal that they have been able to bludgeon opposition by great shows of indignation. I don't think they will be able to do that, for three or four meetings anyway.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁵ Chris Preston in, *Nottingham Trades Council*, 49.

¹⁶⁶ Wallace, *Nothing to Lose*, 78.

¹⁶⁷ George J. Barnsby, *A History of Wolverhampton, Bilston and District Trades Union Council, 1865-1990* (Wolverhampton: Wolverhampton, Bilston and District TUC, 1994), 57; Andrew Kirkby, *Exeter Trades Council 1890-1990: In the Cause of Liberty* (Exeter: Sparkler Books, 1990), 25.

¹⁶⁸ MRC, MSS.292/944/P/13, Report by Vic Feather, 24 April 1939.

Besides, if the TUC wanted trades councils to operate in working-class communities, carrying out their functions of recruitment and spreading propaganda, it was almost impossible in small towns or cities such as Chelmsford, Peterborough or Nottingham, to avoid contact with people sympathetic to left-wing politics. Communist influences in Peterborough included Frank Horrabin, Peterborough's first Labour MP elected in 1929. Horrabin was a founder member of the CP and within PTUC itself, Frederick Terrell, an ex-Labour Councillor was called out for his 'communistic views' during a May Day event at the Mansfield Hall in 1932. Terrell was called out for using phrases reminiscent of communism in his speech such as, 'we must not compromise with the oppressor' and 'we must not put trust in our leaders,' and these statements were cited as a cause for concern for a member of the audience.¹⁶⁹ It was during this period that Southampton-born communist Harold Laws moved to Peterborough. He worked at Baker Perkins and represented Peterborough's Amalgamated Engineering Union branch 5 on PTUC before moving to Birmingham in 1936. The following year Laws was killed in Spain where he fought as part of the International Brigade during the civil war.¹⁷⁰ Moreover, the secretary of the Peterborough CP, Mrs. L. Gill and her husband attended the annual trades council dinner at the Cooperative Hall on 26 March 1936 and they also joined forces with PTUC to organise relief for republican refugees during

¹⁶⁹ 'May Day at the Mansfield Hall,' *Peterborough Standard*, 6 May 1932, 12.

¹⁷⁰ Alan Lloyd, *Hampshire Heroes: Volunteer Fighters in the Spanish Civil War* (London: The Clapton Press, 2022) 65, 68.

the Spanish Civil War.¹⁷¹ This included organising collections of food, clothes and fund raising for refugee children from the Basque region in Spain, alongside local branches of the Labour Party, the Peace Pledge Union, the CP and the Cooperative Guilds.¹⁷² Mrs. Gill was also Secretary of the Peterborough Spanish Relief Committee which represented 36 local trade union branches as well as other local community groups in 1939, however, the organisations collecting for Spanish Republicans were not formerly supported by the TUC due to their links to the communist-led Popular Front opposing Franco's coup in Spain. But Nottingham trades council also supported Aid Spain groups, as did Chelmsford and many others trade unionists which provided more evidence that the TUC were unable to prevent trades council delegates from supporting communist-led initiatives.¹⁷³ Besides, it was, in many cases, impossible for delegates not to encounter communists.

This part of the chapter has focused on the aims of the TUC's bureaucratic polices, investigating to what extent they were informed by the communist infiltration of trades councils. But the chapter at large has shown that structural changes to the TUC's internal organisation was almost complete by the time the first anti-communist policies were enacted, demonstrating that the formation of the TUCJCC, ACTC and the

¹⁷¹ 'Mr. Eden's Resignation,' *Peterborough Standard*, 25 February 1938, 10; For more on the Spanish Civil War see for instance, Burnett Bolotten, Stanley G. Payne and George Essenwein, *The Spanish Civil War: Revolution and Counter-Revolution* (North Carolina: The North Carolina Press, 2015); Paul Preston, *The Spanish Holocaust: Inquisition and Extermination in Twentieth-Century Spain* (New York: Harper Press, 2013).

¹⁷² 'Basque Children,' *Peterborough Standard*, 24 June 1938, 4.

¹⁷³ MRC, MSS.292/94632/62, letter, 27 April 1939, Eastern Counties Foodship for Spain, Spanish Conflict: Funds Collection and Administration 1938-1940; Preston in *Nottingham Trades Council*, 49; Wallace, *Nothing to Lose*, 82,

organisation department were not the result of anti-communist policies. However, anti-communist policies developed from 1927, when warnings against involvement with the NUUW and the NMM were issued to trades councils, and they continued with the black circular in 1934.

This part has also offered alternative explanations, demonstrating that TUC policies over the hunger marches and affiliations were part of a strategy and the resourcefulness of a modern interwar trade union movement. Although it was clear that the TUC developed anti-communist policies later, individuals such as Feather recognised that it would not be possible for communist sympathies to be completely driven from trades councils as demonstrated in his report on Peterborough's refusal to implement circular 16. Therefore, despite being structurally aligned with each other and overseen by the organisation department, the trades councils retained some independence, and this was in part due to their ability to cope with changes and an attitude of resilience.

Conclusion to Chapter One

This chapter has analysed the complex nature of trades councils who were independent from the rest of the trade union movement before 1920. This changed when the TUC modernised during the interwar period and implemented bureaucratic reforms between 1920 and 1925. Although the structure of trades councils remained with a hierarchy of regular delegates and committees headed by an officer class, after the reforms, another bureaucratic layer was added, headed by trade union bureaucrats such as Tewson in the organisation department. In turn the organisation department

was overseen by the TUC General Council, specifically Bramley then Citrine. Although trades council rules and standing orders were similar, centralisation by the Organisation Department aligned them and in doing so removed some independence from them. Functions were redefined, relegating trades councils to recruitment and propaganda bodies which could have caused an existential crisis. However, these changes were agreed to by the trades councils at the annual conferences of 1925 with some enthusiasm. Having been through many transformations over the years, trades councils were able to adapt to the changes, demonstrating the flexible, resilient nature of these bodies when led by an optimistic rank and file leadership, such as Woodall. For PTUC, Woodall could see the potential in bringing the trade union movement closer together with a drive towards 100 per cent affiliation and the request for information in the annual returns. But not all trades councils saw the request for information in such simple terms and the annual returns were seen alongside circular 16 and the hunger march questionnaire as cause for suspicion and so relationships between trades councils and the TUC deteriorated during the 1930s.

Labour historians such as Stevens and Martin blamed much of the functional and structural changes implemented by the TUC on the activity of the CP. Following the failure of the general strike, the adoption of the class against class strategy threatened the TUC and under the leadership of Citrine, who having witnessed the effects of communism on trade union movements elsewhere, decided to take preventative action. However, most of the TUC's reforms were already completed before 1926, proving that they were not implemented as a reaction to communism. However, by the late 1930s

the organisation department admitted that they were unable to completely rid trades councils of communist sympathisers as demonstrated in the report from Feather's meeting with PTUC, which acknowledged that officials lacked power over local bodies. Although lack of evidence prevents researchers from fully understanding the extent of infiltration into trades councils, it was clear that there were communists in many of these local bodies across the country and in order for them to carry out functions it would be impossible not to come into contact with radical political ideologies. It has also offered alternative explanations to the theory that the organisation department's request for the information was part of anti-communist policies, put forward by labour historians such as Stevens. An example of this was the hunger march questionnaires which were sent out to analyse the use of resources rather than to spy on radical activity on trades councils.

The chapter concludes that the TUC's reforms in the 1920s were a matter of modernisation in a new world, where the trade union movement had become a national bargaining organisation, recognised by the government as more than a lobbying body. The Labour Party had become the official opposition to the Conservatives, therefore, in order to unify the labour movement, the TUC brought trades councils into the fold giving them extra support from the organisation department, a voice through the ACTC and new functions to keep them relevant. Despite having to deal with reforms and altercations trades councils were resilient, voluntary bodies who adapted to changing functions and despite the trade union bureaucracy trades councils continued to operate as they had done prior to 1920 as community organisations with industrial and political

functions. The bureaucracy was not able to control trades councils but the trade union movement looked very different in 1939 from what it had done in 1914.

Chapter Two | Foundations, Influences, and Identities in the Edwardian Period and Beyond, 1898 - 1919

Mr. H. Allen thought that the trades council would be of great service in its relation to municipal matters. Mr. Harribin... thought that the usefulness of the trades council would be more in the direction of assisting employees in their trades than... in the arenas of party and municipal politics. One enthusiastic amalgamated man summed up the intentions of the various societies in the sublimely optimistic utterance, 'we mean to go ahead like Barnum and Bailey's.'¹⁷⁴

The trade unionists quoted above who met to discuss the formation of a trades council in Peterborough in 1898, had two objectives, first to assist people in the workplace and second in civic matters through the municipal council. Two of the men had different opinions on what a trades council should be (political or industrial). The third referred to working-class culture (the circus).¹⁷⁵ The three individuals provided important clues to the identities of some of the founders of Peterborough's trades council in the late Victorian and Edwardian periods - they were workers, interested in politics and working-class culture and these two features formed part of their identities. Research completed on trade union identity often referred to that of trade unions as organisations, rather than individual members and were placed within studies of contemporary unionism rather than historical.¹⁷⁶ But what was clear was that trade unionism was weak at the beginning of the period with only fifteen per cent of workers subscribing as members. Many trade unionists were members of the lower middle class during this period but

¹⁷⁴ 'Formation of a Trades Council at Peterborough,' *Peterborough Advertiser*, 22 October 1898, 5.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.* 5.

¹⁷⁶ See for instance, Robert George Smale, 'Trade Union Identities and the Role of Niche Unionism: Exploring United Kingdom Trade Unions' (Portsmouth University PhD Thesis, 2017); Sian Moore, *New Trade Union Activism: Class Consciousness or Social Identity?* (New York: Springer, 2010).

they often met in the back rooms of public houses, the haunt of the working man.¹⁷⁷

This was not so of the original PTUC delegates, who tended to be from the upper working-class and, at least to begin with, delegates met in the Bedford Coffee, which was part of a temperance hotel complex.¹⁷⁸ This suggested that trades council delegates were different to other trade unionists.

When labour historians have examined the identities of individual trade unionists they have concentrated on national leaders of the movement, such as Fred Bramley. As secretary of the Trades Union Congress (TUC) from 1917-1923, Bramley was identified as being a member of the Independent Labour Party (ILP), a member of *The Clarion*, and a cabinet maker. These associations formed Bramley's political and workplace identities and similar influences were important to PTUC delegates.¹⁷⁹ In their 2016 study, *Alternatives to State Socialism in Britain*, Ackers and Reid dedicated a section to 'informative influences' in a chapter on Walter Citrine, who took over Bramley's TUC role in 1923.¹⁸⁰ Additionally, Richard Whiting argued that individual trade unionists were part of groups of associations where membership contributed to the formation of identities. For J. N. Figgins, such associations included 'school or college...

¹⁷⁷ Paul Thomson, *Edwardians: The Remaking of British Society* (Abingdon: Taylor and Francis, Group, 2004), 136, 154.

¹⁷⁸ 'Peterborough Trades and Labour Council: The Recent Congress,' *Peterborough Express*, 12 December 1900, 4.

¹⁷⁹ Patrick Renshaw, 'Fred Bramley,' Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, accessed 30 October 2020, <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-47329>.

¹⁸⁰ James Moher, 'Walter Citrine: A Union Pioneer of Industrial Cooperation,' in *Alternatives to State Socialism in Britain: Other Worlds of Labour in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Peter Ackers and Alastair Reid (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 180-86.

parish or county... union or regiment [and] family.’¹⁸¹ The same associations applied to trade unionists but it was political identities which were most important to trades council delegates because as well as being community-based and workplace activists they were also political campaigners. Therefore, the aim of this chapter is to analyse how these factors influenced individual identities. It will focus on the three associations which had the most influence on the lives of PTUC delegates, as the organisation laid down foundations in the early twentieth century - religious, political and workplace.

During the early twentieth century, active trade unionists were part of civil society with powers of influence which lay between the state and the individual, through an expression of citizenship.¹⁸² These were important factors during the turbulent but ‘golden age’ of the Edwardian period (1901-1914) and the years immediately before and after which is the period covered by this chapter. It was a time of legitimacy when women agitated for the vote and labour unrest demonstrated that Britain was a divided society. The threat of international competition and relationships among countries of the Empire vied with the constitution and citizenship.¹⁸³ It is within this context that the chapter is set. It will analyse the traditions and rituals of trade unionists which were rooted in religious affiliations especially Methodism, Wesleyan and other nonconformist religions, which were reflected in the parades, language and activities of individuals. It will analyse political attachments which were more commonly

¹⁸¹ J.N. Figgis, *Churches in the Modern State* (London, 1913), 48; Richard Whiting, ‘Trade Unions: Voluntary Associations and Individual Rights,’ in *Alternatives to State Socialism in Britain: Other Worlds of Labour in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Peter Ackers and Alastair Reid (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 32.

¹⁸² Whiting, *Alternatives to State Socialism*, 31-2.

¹⁸³ Ian Fletcher, ‘Reframing the Edwardian Crisis: Contentious Citizenship in the British Empire Before the First World War,’ *World History Bulletin* 29, 2 (2013): 37-8.

through the Liberal Party in 1899 but became socialist early in the following decade because of the influence of the Clarion Clubs, Social Democratic Federation (SDF) and Syndicalism in the 1910s, before committing permanently to Labour affiliation in 1919. The third part will analyse workplace cultures such as sporting clubs and trade unionism, at a time when standards of living were increasing and trade unionism growing, the latter which led to the conflict between employer and employee seen in the 'Great Unrest' between 1910 and 1914. The chapter will build up a profile of PTUC delegates being men who were part of the better-off working class, influenced by the middle-class ideals of Liberal Nonconformism and socialism. These were the influences which created the personal identities and characters of individual delegates and in turn they influenced the concerns and activities of the trades council.

Identities of Religion: Middle Class Influences on Radical Nonconformists

Some trade union rituals were influenced by Christianity, specifically Nonconformism which was the religion of the dissenters and radicals. Therefore, many trade unionists invested in Christianity and it became part of their identity with religious influences reflected in their activities during the Edwardian period.¹⁸⁴ However, during the period the growth of leisure, a decline in the influence of the church in social activities, and an abatement of the paternalistic society led to a decline in the faith of the working class and caused a 'religious crisis.' Therefore, the identities which trade unionists had created for themselves by the start of the Edwardian period had changed

¹⁸⁴ Callum G. Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain: Understanding Secularism 1800-2000* (London: Routledge, 2009), 29.

by the outbreak of the Great War in 1914.¹⁸⁵ This section of the chapter will examine the influence of religion on PTUC during the first part of the period. It will focus on shared Christian rituals and values seen in parades and brass band music, the language in speeches and the religious activism of delegates. It will also analyse the support and influence of the nonconformist Clergy and middle-class activists in Peterborough to argue that Christian identity was important at the start of the period but was not so towards the end because of a decline in church attendance and a 'rise in democracy.' This resulted in the dawning of a new age with regards to faith and belief.¹⁸⁶

The founders of PTUC were influenced by traditional trade union rituals, such as parades which contained banners painted with symbolic artwork and brass bands playing music important to the movement. One of PTUC's first public activities was to organise a parade and rally in early September 1899 which contained these rituals, to raise money for Peterborough's Infirmary and the local Nursing Association.¹⁸⁷ The Nursing Association was established by Florence Saunders, the daughter of the Dean of Peterborough Cathedral. Although coming from an Anglican and middle-class background, Saunders formed the Nursing Association after being struck by the poverty she saw in the local slum area of Boongate. Consequently, she was one of the first women to train as a nurse at the Evelina Hospital in London and when she returned to Peterborough in 1884, Saunders established the association to provide free District Nurse services to the poorer residents of the city. She was assisted by Alfred Caleb

¹⁸⁵ Hugh McLeod, *Religion and Society in England, 1850-1940*, (Houndmills: MacMillan, 1996), 169.

¹⁸⁶ Clive D. Field, 'The Faith Society? Quantifying Religious Belonging in Edwardian Britain, 1901-1914,' *Journal of Religious History* 37, 1 (2013): 40.

¹⁸⁷ 'The Importance of Unity.' *Peterborough Advertiser*, 6 September 1899, 2.

Taylor who became Secretary of the Infirmary's Board of Governors in 1889.¹⁸⁸ Taylor also demonstrated sympathy towards the working class of the city by attending the informal trades council meeting which took place on 16 October 1898, to oversee the election of five working-class representatives onto the Infirmary's Board of Governors. The elected men were, Herbert Charles Parkinson, of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants (ASRS) who became the first PTUC Secretary in January 1899 and Charles Harribin of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers (ASE), who became the first Treasurer. Other future PTUC delegates elected to the board were George Markley, of the Operative Society of Bricklayers (OSB), George Pyewell, of the Operative Society of Carpenters and Joiners. A. Cox, from the Order of the Druids was also elected at the meeting - the Druids society was established in 1871 and was similar to the trade union movement in that it provided a platform to discuss politics and aimed to better the condition of humanity.¹⁸⁹

But not only did Peterborough have reformers from Christian and public health backgrounds to influence trade union activists, it also had a middle-class model employer. Taylor built the first x-ray machine outside of London at Peterborough infirmary and it was powered by recharging accumulators with electricity from a steam flour mill on the banks of the River Nene owned by Cadge and Colman who were quite

¹⁸⁸ Peterborough U3A Shared Learning Members, *People of Peterborough: Famous, Infamous and Interesting People from the History of Peterborough* (Peterborough Museum Publications), 132-33.

¹⁸⁹ 'Formation of the Trades Council at Peterborough.' *Peterborough Advertiser*, 22 October 1898, 2; Ronald Hutton, *Blood and Mistletoe: The Druids in Britain* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009), 132-33.

enlightened in their employment practices.¹⁹⁰ Colman of the Norwich mustard-making family sent his workers to art school, gave them paid holidays and sick pay.¹⁹¹ Additionally, Colman was a non-Conformist Baptist active in the church community.¹⁹² The cases of Saunders, Taylor and Colman demonstrated that activism to help improve conditions for the working class was a culture of society in Peterborough before the trades council was established but led by the middle classes. The early trades council therefore took on aspects of middle-class identity by engaging in similarly philanthropic work.

The 1899 fundraising parade for the infirmary and Nursing Association consisted of two separate marches in which the trade unionists held banners and brass bands played. Banners were specifically symbolic for the trade union movement and for the other political organisations, churches and women's groups who carried them in procession.¹⁹³ The PTUC march included the banner of the Oddfellows, a friendly society which protected workers and their families from illness and injury. Peterborough's Oddfellows lodges included one named after philanthropist Louise Creighton and there was also a Mechanics Pride Lodge and an Ingram Lodge. The Grand Master in 1899, tinsmith, Thomas Baker was a Wesleyan involved in young men's bible classes and the

¹⁹⁰ 'Alfred Caleb Taylor and the First X-ray Machine outside of London', Our Journey Peterborough, accessed 14 July 2020, <https://ourjourneypeterborough.org/story/alfred-caleb-taylor-and-the-first-x-ray-machine-outside-london>.

¹⁹¹ 'Milling classes.' *Peterborough Advertiser*, 10 December 1898, 5; Herbert F. Tebbs, *Peterborough* (Cambridge: The Oleander Press, 1979), 127-28.

¹⁹² 'Character Sketch: S. C. Colman,' *Peterborough Advertiser*, 14 December 1898, 3.

¹⁹³ M. J. Smith, K. Thompson and E. Hermens, 'Breaking Down Banners: Analytical Approaches to Determining the Materials of Painted Banners,' *Heritage Science* 4, 1, (2016): 1.

Sunday School.¹⁹⁴ There were two strands to the parade - one group of people marched from the north of the town in the hamlet of New England, and the other from Fletton in the south. On display were the banners of the ASE, ASRS, the OSB and the St. John Ambulance. Parades of this kind took on an air of tradition, as the trade union banners of the late Victorian period bore a remarkable resemblance to the old heraldic symbols and craft guilds of the past. Additionally, many of them were made of fabric and were painted by sign makers or decorators with tabs at the edges for carrying poles and they sported slogans demanding justice and identifying with calls for freedom and unity.¹⁹⁵ Trade union banners were produced with care over symbolism and artwork, whether professionally made by banner-makers like George Tutill, or home-made. For example, the banner of the Electrical Trades Union produced in 1898, had a banner with the slogan 'light and liberty.' The banner was designed by Walter Crane, a friend of William Morris of the Arts and Crafts movement and included a figure called the Angel of Freedom first seen in Crane's 1885 painting *Freedom*.¹⁹⁶ Other banners included religious symbols, such as the banner of the Amalgamated Society of Tailors Belfast District, which depicted Adam and Eve in the garden of Eden.¹⁹⁷ The inclusion of banners in trade union parades in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century made it seem like they were raising 'cathedrals to labour.'¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁴ 'Death of PPGM Thomas Baker: A Prominent Figure in Local Oddfellowship,' *Peterborough Express*, 14 March 1917, 4.

¹⁹⁵ Smith, Thompson, Hermans, 'Breaking Down Banners,' 1.

¹⁹⁶ John Gorman, *Banner Bright, an Illustrated History of Trade Union Banners*, (Buckhurst: Scorpion Publishing Ltd., 1986), 89.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.* 83.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.* 20.

PTUC did not have a banner at this stage, although in 1905 the colours black and white were adopted which were used in the pennant for the Peterborough Trades and Labour band which formed in 1915.¹⁹⁹ Instruments were purchased for the band when a local firm loaned them the money and its activities included serenading new recruits to the army, accompanying the funerals of prominent trade unionists such as Charles Frederick Askew, secretary of the Friendly Society of Iron Mongers, and raising money for the St John Ambulance and British Red Cross through Flag Days.²⁰⁰ The band did not last for more than a decade, as it was wound up in 1923 due to a 'sinister influence emanating from another band in the city,' and the instruments were sold to the National Union of Railwaymen (NUR).²⁰¹ But back in 1899 the PTUC fundraising parade was accompanied by the New England Temperance and Town bands.²⁰² Many bandsmen were from the skilled or semi-skilled working classes, and the tradition of brass bands came from small industrial towns and cities of the north of England and the Midlands, at the eastern edge of which Peterborough was located. Bandsmen had to be disciplined, not unlike trade unionists and so they shared some of the same values.²⁰³ Bands were a traditional feature of religious parades too, adopted by the Salvation Army, during the

¹⁹⁹ MRC, MSS.524/4/1/35, Peterborough Trades and Labour Council Annual Report with Balance Sheet for Year Ending 31 December 1905, Trades Council Report 1905 Maidstone to York 1905, 5.

²⁰⁰ 'A Foretaste: The Volunteers Service-Like Weekend,' *Peterborough Express*, 9 August 1916, 4; 'A Trades Union Funeral,' *Peterborough Express*, 25 October 1915, 2; 'Our Day,' *Peterborough Express*, 20 October 1915, 3.

²⁰¹ Peterborough and District Trades Union Council: *Peterborough and District Trades Union Council: Diamond Jubilee 1899-1859* (Peterborough: Peterborough and District Trades Union Council, 1959), 15, 17.

²⁰² 'The Importance of Unity,' *Peterborough Advertiser*, 6 September 1899, 2.

²⁰³ Dave Russell, *Popular Music in England 1840-1914: A Social History* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1987), 171, 237-38.

Victoria era, who used 'vernacular music' to attract the attention of the working-class.²⁰⁴

Therefore trade union marches were full of Christian symbology, which was a clear influence on the identity of members who carried or marched behind the banners and brass bands.

PTUC was also influenced by spiritual matters of nonconformist values as illustrated by the language used by speakers at public meetings and rallies. This was seen in September 1899 when the two parade marches met for a rally with speakers at Stanley Recreation Ground, a park in the town centre. It was reminiscent of the big May Day rallies which took place in Hyde Park from 1890, the first of which, called for an 8-hour day, a campaign which became a feature of new unionism.²⁰⁵ The *Peterborough Advertiser* reported that,

The speaking was done from a wagonette, the banners being grouped at the back in the semi-circular order characteristic of Hyde Park parades. There was a large crowd in the field and the bright colours of the dresses harmonised with the brilliant hues of the official sashes while the sheen of the banners was dazzling in the strong sunlight.²⁰⁶

However, the speeches reflected the influence of religious values, specifically non-conformist ones. The speakers were introduced by ASRS branch 1 delegate to PTUC, railway engine driver, John Secker. Secker called the afternoon, 'thoroughly Christian work, and one which any religious organisation would be proud to be associated.' Meanwhile, J. Dobson called the aim of the parade a 'kind and Christian duty' but also criticised the institution of the church by saying that,

²⁰⁴ David Hempton, *Religion and Political Culture in Britain and Ireland: From the Glorious revolution to the Decline of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 124.

²⁰⁵ Mary Davis, 'Timeline,' accessed 17 September 2020, http://www.unionhistory.info/timeline/1880_1914.php.

²⁰⁶ 'Formation of the Trades Council at Peterborough,' *Peterborough Advertiser*, 22 October 1898, 22.

if the Christianity of England were what it ought to be, there would be no necessity for private and voluntary support to be extended to hospitals. Everyone who was too poor to obtain medical assistance when overtaken by an illness, or who met with an accident, should have the right to demand the assistance of the state.²⁰⁷

Dobson's speech demonstrated that although some PTUC delegates identified with Christian values they felt they could criticise the church for not doing enough to help society. Dobson also spoke of brotherhood, another facet of religious language and of unity among trade unionists. This used the ideology of the Young Italy movement and demonstrated that trade unionists did not rely solely on British influences but international ones too.²⁰⁸

Young Italy was an insurrectionary group, brought about by Giuseppe Mazzini to campaign for Italian unification in 1831. It was a democratic body which relied on laws of progress, duty and sacrifice, influenced by Mazzini's moral basis and belief in God.²⁰⁹ Mazzini was exiled to England where he won support among radicals and liberals after establishing the People's International League in 1847 to educate British people on political conditions abroad.²¹⁰ Despite his death in 1872 Mazzini's influence was acknowledged at PTUC's parade when Dobson quoted from the Mazzini's tract *Association is the Law of Progress*, and spoke about the importance of unity.²¹¹ This was followed in 1902 by a Liberal Party meeting attended by many PTUC delegates including

²⁰⁷ Ibid. 22.

²⁰⁸ Ibid. 22.

²⁰⁹ Frank J. Coppa, 'The Religious Basis of Giuseppe Mazzini's Political Thought,' *Journal of Church and State* 12, 2 (1970): 239-240.

²¹⁰ Giuseppe Mazzini, 'Chapter Seventeen: On Public Opinion and England's International Leadership (1847),' in *A Cosmopolitan of Nations, Giuseppe Mazzini's Writings on Democracy, Nation Building, and International Relations*, ed. Stefano Recchia and Nadia Urbinati, (Princeton University Press, 2009), 199.

²¹¹ 'Peterboro' Trades Parade: Big Procession on a Brilliant Afternoon,' *Peterborough Advertiser*, 6 September 1899, 2.

William Hey Hackett, Busby and Arthur Boyce, when speaker George Greenwood quoted Mazzini's 'democracy is progress of all through all, under the leadership of the best and wisest.'²¹² Mazzini's influence was personal for some as the father of a local Councillor, John Whitsed, joined the army of Italian liberation in 1860 supported by Giuseppe Garibaldi and Mazzini.²¹³ Whitsed quickly moved on to fight for the union side in the American Civil War before returning to settle in Peterborough with grand ideas of liberal democratic states and international influences.²¹⁴

Clergy from the local churches and chapels also influenced trades council delegates through their assistance for the working class and helped shape their identities. For instance, Reverend Robert Frew of the Episcopalian Free Church based at Christ's Church in Russell Street also spoke at the rally in 1899. Frew had a good relationship with the railwaymen of Peterborough and other working-class societies and he was presented with a silver tea and coffee set from the ASRS and OSB, at a fundraising social for the ASRS Orphans in April 1898. On that occasion, Frew spoke of using all his influence to help the 'brotherhood of railwaymen.' Frew said he would do all in his power to help them and promised that 'I will never be a Conservative as long as I breathe.' As a minister of the Free Church, Frew sat on the local Board of Guardians and retained a seat on the county council.²¹⁵ His influence, therefore, went far and wide. Frew was also president of the New England Railway Mission. Missions as organisations

²¹² 'Peterborough Liberal Candidature: Rousing Meeting Last Night at the Liberal Club,' *Peterborough Advertiser*, 16 July 1902, 8.

²¹³ 'Town Council at Work Today: Re-appointment of Overseers,' *Peterborough Advertiser*, March 28, 1900, 2.

²¹⁴ M. D. Howe, 'John Whitsed: Soldier of Fortune,' in *Posh Folk: Some Notable Personalities (and a Donkey)*, ed. Mary Liquorice (Cambridgeshire: Cambridgeshire Libraries Publications, 2011), 76-7.

²¹⁵ Untitled, *Peterborough Advertiser*, 5 April 1899, 2.

were first established in 1881 to help combat drunkenness in railwaymen. As part of the drive for temperance, mission halls provided railwaymen and their families with education in the way of vocational training and lectures and evangelised them through bible classes and Sunday schools. Entertainment was also provided. Coffee shops were built near to mission halls or railway stations to give railwaymen alternative places to go, rather than public houses. At their peak, there were 250 railway Mission Halls across the world and Peterborough had two of these - another was located in the Westwood area of the town.²¹⁶ By assisting the campaign for temperance as well as organisations designed to help the working-class, Frew clearly shared in the beliefs of radical dissent, contained in the values of the Victorian Liberalism - sobriety, self-help and hard work.²¹⁷ The railwaymen of the ASRS also were influenced by these ideas, including Hackett, PTUC's secretary from 1901, who was involved with the Band of Hope, a temperance organisation which encouraged children who were believed to be in danger of neglect or poverty from adult alcohol consumption, to take a pledge of abstinence.²¹⁸

But despite its influence and the moral compass it provided, religion fell victim to the increasing democratisation of society in Edwardian Britain. Recruitment during the First World War revealed the extent of religious decline when only a small number of

²¹⁶ Ashleigh Hawkins, 'Temperance on the Rails, the Railway Mission Archive,' Railway Museum Blog, accessed 15 July 2020, <https://blog.railwaymuseum.org.uk/temperance-on-the-rails/>; 'Railway Mission Westwood Street.' *Peterborough Advertiser*, 6 November 1901, 5.

²¹⁷ J. R. Vincent, *The Formation of the British Liberal Party 1857-1868* (Brighton: The Harvester Press, 1976), 38.

²¹⁸ 'A Trade and Radical Candidate for the City: Mr Jones Recommended,' *Peterborough Standard*, 31 August 1901, 6; Annemarie McAllister, 'Giant Alcohol – A Worthy Opponent to the Band of Hope,' *Drugs Education, Prevention and Policy* 22, 2 (2015): 104.

British soldiers were discovered to have identified with a faith.²¹⁹ But Methodism was the branch of nonconformism which trade unionists were most often influenced by. Hackett for instance strongly identified as a trade unionist as evidenced not just through his involvement in the local trades council but was also nationally by attending the TUC conference on behalf of his branch.²²⁰ Similarly Hackett was influenced by involvement as a committed nonconformist and lay preacher at the local Cobden Street Primitive Methodist Church but was also part of the wider general Methodist sect.²²¹ Methodism was a popular religion and in 1898 the largest of the many non-dissenting worshippers in Peterborough attended the Methodist, Wesleyan Chapel on Wentworth Street. The chapel had room for 1,000 service-goers.²²² It was no surprise that Hackett would be drawn to Methodism as a religion because from the 1870s it provided a platform for social agitation and trade union leaders including Joseph Arch, who formed the National Agricultural Union (NAU), were Primitive Methodists. By 1873 the NAU claimed to have a membership of 70,000 and with the influence of radicalism on agricultural trade unionism, Methodist Primitivism became a force, especially in East Anglia to the east of Peterborough.²²³ Consequently, trade union activists were spurred on by higher church attendance in the rural areas and when people migrated from the countryside into working-class urban areas, people carried their beliefs with them.²²⁴ Agricultural

²¹⁹ Field, 'The Faith Society?' 40.

²²⁰ 'Peterborough Notes.' *Peterborough Advertiser*, 16 November 1898, 2.

²²¹ 'Railway Mission Westwood Street.' *Peterborough Advertiser*, 6 November 1901, 5.

²²² *Kelly's Directory of Bedfordshire, Huntingdonshire and Northamptonshire, 1898* (London: Kelly's Directories, 1898), 232.

²²³ Reid, 'United We Stand,' 219; Hempton, *Religion and Political Culture in Britain and Ireland*, 6.

²²⁴ Ross McKibbin, *Classes and Cultures, England 1918-1951*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 275; Hempton, *Religion and Culture in Britain and Ireland*, 125.

labourers who lived in the villages around Peterborough were organised into NAU branches under the leadership of local President, Benjamin Taylor from the 1870s.²²⁵ Taylor was born in to a family of agricultural labourers in Lincolnshire in 1812 but moved to Peterborough to make his fortune attaining the position of High Bailiff of the Court and municipal Councillor in the 1870s. With sympathy for the working class, Taylor toured local villages from 1873 encouraging labourers to form a union under the influence of Arch and his leadership spurred on trade unions to form in other local industries. For instance, Taylor tried to organise a meeting with workers who were engineers, perhaps attempting to establish earlier version of a trades council in Peterborough.²²⁶

Christianity was useful for trade unionists because it helped to provide a framework for political and social identities.²²⁷ However, belief itself was not always easy to calculate in the working class for although people attended Christian baptism, marriage and funeral services, as recorded in formal church records, it did not necessarily mean that there was a high intensity of belief.²²⁸ Nonetheless, during the Edwardian period, radical liberalism was associated with dissenting churches and Conservatism with the Anglican church.²²⁹ Both middle-class men such as Colman and working-class men such as Hackett shared religious identities through links to the

²²⁵ 'Peterborough District Labourers' Union,' *Peterborough Advertiser*, 15 November 1873, 2.

²²⁶ 'Sudden Death of Mr. Benjamin Taylor,' *Peterborough Standard*, 2 September 1882, 5; 'Peterborough District Labourers Union,' *Peterborough Advertiser*, 19 April 1873, 3; Liguorice, *Posh Folk*, 71; 'Peterborough Labour Union.' *Peterborough Advertiser*, 18 January 1873, 2.

²²⁷ Alan Fox, *History and Heritage, the Social Origins of Britain's Industrial Relations System*, (London: Allen and Unwin, 1985), 138.

²²⁸ McKibbin, *Classes and Cultures*, 289, 292.

²²⁹ A. Gamble, *The Conservative Nation* (London: Routledge & Keegan Paul, 1974), 202-03.

nonconformist church and political ones through the membership of the Liberal Party. However, there was no doubt that there was a decline in church attendance through the Edwardian period. The decline was partly caused by the austere services and poverty of the late Victorian and Edwardian periods while illiteracy and other working-class matters made church an unwelcoming place and alienated many people. Other reasons for the decline included the emergence of the Labour Party and the relaxation of attitudes after the First World War, which eradicated causes such as temperance. Moreover, the church 'lost control of leisure,' when a rise in living standards gave the working class, including trades council delegates, greater access to leisure facilities, theatres and sports.²³⁰

Political Identities: Liberals, Labour and Socialists

Trades council delegates identified quite strongly with middle-class activism and Christian nonconformism during the early Edwardian era, as illustrated by their activities, traditions, symbols and networks. But as the period moved on, political identities became more important than religious ones. In 1900, trade unionists were largely affiliated to the Liberal Party although it would not be until 1906 that they regained Parliamentary control after 19 years of Conservative rule. The Liberal Party was essentially a middle-class construct, but the members of the working class joined it for two reasons. Firstly, they joined prior to 1900 because of the Liberal's deep-rooted

²³⁰ McKibbin, *Classes and Cultures*, 274, 282 -83; Hempton, *Religion and Culture in Britain and Ireland*, 123, 141.

loyalism to radical dissent. Secondly, they joined because their electoral base was not wide enough to merit a mass party of their own.²³¹

Aware of the situation, both the Liberal Party and dissenting churches entered the twentieth century with the confidence that the political culture created by 'Lib Labism' and the 'Nonconformist Conscience,' would continue. But changes were taking place as the old attitudes of laissez faire and Victorian institutions such as charities and administration of the Poor Law, were starting to break down.²³² Additionally, 29 members of the fledgling Labour Party won parliamentary seats in the 1906 general election, and this changed the mood of British politics and the minds of trade unionists. Consequently, by 1919, Labour had become the new opposition to the Conservatives, usurping the Liberal Party.²³³ But as well as identifying politically as Liberals and members of the ILP during the Edwardian period, trade unionists also joined the Labour Representation Committee (LRC) and socialist organisations such as the SDF, Clarion Clubs, and the British Socialist Party (BSP) and political identities therefore became more aggregated. This part of the chapter will analyse the complex role of political groupings which influenced and made up the identities of PTUC delegates during the Edwardian era. It will argue that PTUC's influences started as Liberal and moved on to Labour briefly, but were more broadly socialist by the outbreak of the First World War before delegates threw their lot in entirely with the Labour Party in 1919.

²³¹ Chris Chamberlain, 'The Growth of Support for the Labour Party in Britain,' *The British Journal of Sociology* 24, 4 (1973): 474-89.

²³² Barry M. Doyle, 'Modernity or Morality? George White, Liberalism and the Nonconformist Conscience in Edwardian England,' *Historical Research* 71, 176 (1998): 336.

²³³ Vincent Geoghegan, 'Socialism and Christianity in Edwardian Britain: A Utopian Perspective,' *Utopian Studies* 2, 10 (1999): 42.

PTUC delegates operated within a complex framework of political affiliations. Some trades councils such Wolverhampton, Bilston and district were influenced by Tory and Liberal factions prior to 1898 after which socialists and labour delegates fought each other for control.²³⁴ Others like Exeter were not interested in electoral politics believing there was no point in backing a labour candidate because the Tory and 'Radical' Liberal candidates had too much influence. Exeter trades council preferred to campaign on 'bread and butter' issues such as health, education, wages and unemployment instead of electoral politics.²³⁵ But PTUC was created with the opposite view and was drawn towards radical Liberal and electoral politics early on. When PTUC held two meetings establishing the organisation in October and November 1898 they were supported by two Liberal councillors and at least in part, the organisation owed its identity to them.²³⁶ The two Councillors concerned were Richard Winfrey and Walter Riseley and the two men came from very different backgrounds. Riseley came from a working-class background. Born in rural Bedfordshire his first job was scaring birds at the age of 15 but after completing an apprenticeship in tailoring he moved to Peterborough in the 1890s and became a master tailor with his own shop. Riseley also became a Liberal councillor for North Ward in 1896 and chaired the inaugural PTUC meetings in October and November 1898.²³⁷ He was keen on creating a trades council in Peterborough because

²³⁴ George J. Barnsby, *A History of Wolverhampton, Bilston and District Trades Union Council, 1865-1990* (Wolverhampton: Wolverhampton, Bilston and District Trades Union Council, 1994), 20-21.

²³⁵ Andrew Kirkby, *Exeter Trades Council 1890-1990: In the Cause of Liberty* (Exeter: Sparkler Books, 1990), 8, 10.

²³⁶ 'A Trades Council for Peterborough: Peterborough's Old Fogey's,' *Peterborough Advertiser*, 9 November 1898, 2.

²³⁷ Rita McKenzie, *Mayors of Peterborough 1874-1924: Volume 1, the First Fifty Years* (1992: McKenzie, Peterborough), 54.

he believed that it would be 'beneficial in correction of... labour anomalies,' such as unfair wages, and wanted to investigate 'contrasts between certain acts of recorded procedure on the town council.'²³⁸

Winfrey on the other hand, was born in Long Sutton, Lincolnshire, into a wealthy nonconformist, middle-class family. He trained as a pharmaceutical student but in a sudden change of direction purchased the *Peterborough Advertiser* newspaper in 1897. Winfrey was elected as Liberal councillor for the Walpole Street District in 1898. But he did not make it to either of the trades council meetings which Riseley chaired due to prior commitments sending a message to the future delegates instead stating that he was 'heartily in sympathy with the proposal to form a trades council.' He also asked the trade union body to use its power, 'wisely and skilfully... for the progress of trade union principles.'²³⁹ Both Riseley and Winfrey appeared to be on the side of trade unionists and the working class but it was not necessarily the case vice versa.

Several PTUC delegates sat alongside Riseley and Winfrey on the local Liberal Association so there were certainly some PTUC delegates who identified as Liberals in the early Edwardian period. The exact number of Liberals was difficult to ascertain but the party was key to PTUC's political strategy, which was to support the local Liberal Association's candidate in parliamentary elections. However, when it came to municipal elections, the trades council ran their own independent candidates which put them in direct competition with their founders, Riseley and Winfrey. The first independent

²³⁸ 'Formation of Trades Council of Peterborough,' *Peterborough Advertiser*, 22 October 1898, 5.

²³⁹ McKenzie, *Mayors of Peterborough 1874-1924*, 62; 'A Trades Council for Peterborough,' *Peterborough Advertiser*, 9 November 1898, 2.

candidate fielded by PTUC was Boyce. Boyce was delegated to PTUC from the Postal Clerks Union from 1899 and was described as 'highly respected,' with a heart 'in the cause of labour.' Boyce stood as an independent candidate for West Ward in the municipal election in November 1899, 'neither as Liberal, or Conservative.'²⁴⁰ The attempt to elect Boyce was unsuccessful, although the annual report for 1899 mentioned that it established a platform on which PTUC could launch further contests, and that the support shown by other societies and friends was encouraging.²⁴¹ It helped build electoral confidence. Additionally, Boyce was elected as a 'progressive' candidate to Peterborough's Board of Guardians in 1902 and he joined the PTUC executive committee in the same year.²⁴² Boyce was just one example of candidates who ran independently for PTUC between 1899 and 1910, although all had individual political ideologies which they subscribed to.

There were different political factions within the Liberal Party too and Riseley and many PTUC delegates would have subscribed to the Lib Labs, which focussed on working-class issues. The introduction of factions demonstrated that political identity was a complex matter for trades councils. For instance, two factions of the Liberal Party in Peterborough were set against each other in 1902 over choosing a Liberal parliamentary candidate for the next general election. Harry Allen, a delegate to PTUC from the ASRS, who did not identify himself as a Lib Lab was very vocal on the matter. A railway engine fireman, Allen believed that his role in the trades council, as mandated

²⁴⁰ 'A labour candidate for the West Ward,' *Peterborough Advertiser*, 13 September 1899, 2.

²⁴¹ 'Is There No Other Way Round?' *Peterborough Advertiser*, 24 January 1900, 2.

²⁴² MRC, MSS.524/4/1/29, Peterborough and District Trade and Labour Council: Annual Report and Directory with Balance Sheet for 1903, 1.

by his branch, was to oppose anybody who acted in a way that benefitted the Conservatives. In 1902, Allen believed that some PTUC delegates were being obstructive to these ends, specifically Walter Rimes, a railway signalman and also a delegate from the ASRS. The arguments between Allen and Rimes were played out through letters in the *Peterborough Advertiser* which included accusations that to the contrary, it was Allen who was trying to obstruct the trades council by saying that delegate elections were corrupt. Furthermore, Allen put forward accusations that PTUC's choice of parliamentary candidate for Peterborough, Ben Jones, was chosen contrary to the society's rules. Nevertheless, Allen referred to Rimes respectfully and as a friend, demonstrating that despite passionate debates over party politics and democratic processes, delegates still felt a brotherly unity, or at least showed it in public. Allen was a member of the local Liberal Association, but Rimes led more towards the Lib Lab side which illustrated the complexity of being politically factionalised within an independent organisation.²⁴³

PTUC's parliamentary candidate, Ben Jones, received praise from the labour movement but criticism from the Liberal Party and from socialists which added to the complexity of political debate. Jones was another Lib Lab, whose background was working class. Born in Salford in 1847, to a labourer and weaver, Jones received education in the Wesleyan Church and left school between the ages of nine and eleven for work but later benefitted from evening classes at the Manchester Mechanics Institute where he attended lectures on 'political economy' at Owens College, which

²⁴³ 'A Labour Candidate for Peterborough,' *Peterborough Advertiser*, 22 January 1902, 5.

improved his status.²⁴⁴ Identifying with Jones' working-class background, PTUC

Secretary, Hackett and President, George Kent, who were members of the Liberal

Association wrote of their support for Jones in a pamphlet, stating that,

Peterborough is a working-class constituency... largely animated by Liberalism... therefore we do not hesitate to bring Mr. Jones forward as an enthusiastic candidate both for Labour direct and for real progressive Liberalism... Labour has a claim to be directly represented by those gentlemen favourable to all questions affecting the lives and happiness of the toilers, but our representatives should be free and unfettered in every sense of the word.²⁴⁵

Jones also had support from high profile members of both the Liberal Party and the

fledgling labour movements, including the leader of the Liberal Party, Sir Henry

Campbell-Bannerman, Sidney Webb of the Fabian Society, and the General Secretaries

of the TUC, ASRS and the National Union of Gasworkers and General Labourers

(NUGWGL), Sam Woods, Richard Bell MP, and Will Thorne.²⁴⁶ However, Allen suggested

that the candidature was never discussed by PTUC and he was therefore unhappy with

the decision.²⁴⁷

Also critical of PTUC's nomination of Jones for Parliamentary candidate were members of the SDF. Although the SDF were not organised in Peterborough in the early 1900s, members were interested in Jones' nomination as parliamentary candidate. The SDF was one organisation which came out of the socialist revival of the 1880s, created from London's political clubs and influenced by Marxism and Chartism. The SDF became a key influence on the Edwardian labour movement and was involved in creating the

²⁴⁴ John W. Kent and William H. Hackett, *Mr. Ben Jones, Who and What is He?* (London: Co-operative Printing Society, 1901), 3.

²⁴⁵ Kent and Hackett, *Mr. Ben Jones*, 3.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 3.

²⁴⁷ 'Labour Candidate for Peterborough.' *Peterborough Advertiser*, 22 January 1902, 5.

LRC in 1900, a forerunner to the Labour Party. The LRC was formed at a conference which also featured the TUC, the Fabian Society, and the ILP, but the SDF soon left because of their ideological differences. The ILP was formed nationally in 1893 to field working-class candidates in Parliamentary elections when the Liberal Party refused to do so.²⁴⁸ Trades councils took more of an interest in the LRC than the ILP, probably because Harry Quelch, editor of *Justice* and James Macdonald, both SDF activists and delegates to London Trades Council, were voted onto the LRC's Executive Committee where socialists held five out of the ten seats.²⁴⁹ Although the SDF did not have a foothold in Peterborough, members were familiar with the city after W. R. Smith visited on 15 October 1901 as part of a socialist propaganda tour. He spoke for over an hour on the market square and attracted a large crowd, including the city Mayor and a policeman.²⁵⁰ The SDF also contained factions, pro and anti-union, but by the early 1900s the organisation pursued a policy of socialist unity and approached the unions positively, hence their involvement in the Jones case. The SDF was part of a British socialist movement which influenced the labour movement in general and included trades council delegates adding to the intricacy of political identities.²⁵¹

Some PTUC delegates aspired to the politics of the LRC despite being members of the Liberal Association. Hackett was one of these and he encouraged other PTUC

²⁴⁸ 'ILP History: An Introduction to the History of the ILP,' Independent Labour Publications, accessed 14 December 2021, <https://www.independentlabour.org.uk/history/>.

²⁴⁹ Fox, *History and Heritage*, 182; Martin Crick, *The History of the Social-Democratic Federation* (Keele: Ryburn Press, 1994), 97.

²⁵⁰ 'Eastern Counties Propaganda.' *Justice*, 19 October 1901, 2.

²⁵¹ Fox, *History and Heritage*, 182; Crick, *The History of the Social-Democratic Federation*, 81, 97.

delegates to support them in the annual report for 1903.²⁵² But the SDF saw the LRC as a reformist body, which championed parliamentary democracy while, at the same time, maintaining cooperation with any other party that pursued the interests of the working class. According to the SDF, the LRC supported the policies of other parties, despite having a party whip and their own agreed strategies, which meant that they disregarded socialism.²⁵³ The SDF continued to criticise the LRC and took the opportunity to include the ILP and Liberal Party in their complaints in Peterborough when on 15 February 1902, the organisation published an article in *Justice*, questioning the method of Jones' selection. The article referred to a PTUC meeting where the resolution to accept Jones was moved by George Barnes, the General Secretary of the ASE, an ILP member. The article stated that as a member of the ILP, Barnes should have backed the selection of an independent candidate, not a Liberal and went on to call Lib Labism a 'sham, delusion,' and, 'a mockery.' It was the same idea which caused the SDF to withdraw support from the LRC in 1901.²⁵⁴ The matter of Barnes and the SDF illustrated that factional politics were problematic throughout the movement, with a mixture of labour, Liberal and socialist identities which sometimes overlapped - as demonstrated by Hackett and Barnes.

Peterborough's Liberal Association members were also unhappy with PTUC's support for Jones as a candidate, but the conflict it caused was a mirror image of what was happening nationally in the British political scene as the popularity of the Labour

²⁵² MRC, MSS.524/4/1/29, Peterborough and District Trade and Labour Council: Annual Report and Directory with Balance Sheet for 1903, 12.

²⁵³ Fox, *History and Heritage*, 182; Mary Davis, *Comrade or Brother? A History of the British Labour Movement* (London: Pluto Press, 2009), 134.

²⁵⁴ 'Topical Tattle from East Anglia,' *Justice*, 15 February 1902, 5.

Party grew.²⁵⁵ The Liberal Party was thought to be 'dead or dying' before 1900 due to its inability to adapt to the social, economic, and political changes of the late Victorian period. These changes were initially caused by the depression of 1873-1896, but the party was about to have a 'final fling' after Campbell-Bannerman became leader in 1902 and helped to unify the party.²⁵⁶ A pact was brokered in 1903 in which Liberal candidates agreed to stand down to make way for LRC candidates in working-class constituencies.²⁵⁷ Consequently, the Liberals received 49.4 per cent of the vote in the 1906 election, the Conservative Party took a 43.4 per cent share and the LRC gained 4.8 per cent.²⁵⁸ The Liberal Party was elected to Government and Bannerman's leadership paved the way for a policy of 'New Liberalism' which advantaged the Lib Lab faction.²⁵⁹ Trades councils were one of several bodies which represented labour at a conference held under the 'United Committee' which formed to hold the Liberal Government to account in 1909. However, by then PTUC had withdrawn their support for the Liberals and showed support for socialist ideologies and the growing labour movement instead.²⁶⁰ But, the Liberal Association was strong in Peterborough and in January 1902 PTUC wrote asking the Liberal's executive committee to receive a deputation to discuss the matter of Jones, a proposal that was accepted. The discussion was held in a 'friendly manner' where the Liberal executive explained they did not believe that Jones was a

²⁵⁵ 'The Duty of Peterborough's Liberals,' *Peterborough Advertiser*, 29 January 1902, 8.

²⁵⁶ Michael Bentley, 'The Liberal Party 1900-1939: Summit and Descent,' in *A Companion to the Early Twentieth Century*, ed. Chris Wrigley (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2003), 28-9, 25.

²⁵⁷ Mary Davis, *Comrade or Brother? A History of the British Labour Movement* (London: Pluto Press, 1993), 133.

²⁵⁸ Colin Rallings and Michael Thrasher, *British Electoral Facts, 1832-1999* (London: Routledge, 2017), 41.

²⁵⁹ Bentley, 'A Companion to the Early Twentieth Century,' 25, 28-9, 41; G. A. Phillips, *The Rise of the Labour Party, 1893-1931* (London: Routledge, 1992), 5.

²⁶⁰ John Cooper, *The British Welfare Revolution, 1906-14* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2017), 141.

strong enough candidate to win the constituency.²⁶¹ A few days later, a public meeting was held, chaired by Bell, where all the potential Liberal candidates were invited to speak. Also, in attendance were Barnes, and William Charles Steadman from the TUC Parliamentary Committee. However, it did not go well for Jones. Winfrey reported on the meeting in the *Peterborough Advertiser*, saying that Jones 'began his opening remarks in an impromptu manner and was urged on by his hostile reception, to hurl charges at the Liberal Party and liberal press, which he himself, in his calmer moments will recognise were not wise tactics.' After a vote, it was decided that Jones would withdraw from the candidate race and George Greenwood won the nomination gaining Peterborough's Parliamentary seat in the 1906 election.²⁶² Jones however had only lost by one vote and PTUC delegates declined to back Greenwood to begin with due to his refusal to cooperate with the Labour Party in parliament.²⁶³ Consequently, despite the wishes of a writer in the *Peterborough Express* who hoped that due to the episode the trades council would 'become the toy of the [Liberal] Association and will recede to a position of ludicrous ineptitude and chilling obscurity,' the Liberal Association's influence over the trades council decreased rapidly from then on.²⁶⁴

Once the LRC was established, Liberal and Labour identities became incompatible with each other. Hackett knew this and eventually admitted it was contradictory to be both PTUC secretary and an executive of the Liberal Association, a

²⁶¹ 'The Duty of Peterborough's Liberals,' *Peterborough Advertiser*, 29 January 1902, 8.

²⁶² 'Notes on Friday Night's Meeting,' *Peterborough Advertiser*, 5 February 1902, 4,

²⁶³ 'To-night's Meeting at the Drill Hall,' *Peterborough Standard*, 1 February 1902, 6.

²⁶⁴ 'Peterboro' Trades Council and Mr Greenwood; They Decline to Support His Candidature,' *Peterborough Express*, 23 July 1902, 3; MRC, MSS.524/4/1/29, Peterborough and District Trade and Labour Council: Annual Report and Directory with Balance Sheet for 1903, 15; 'Trades Council Recantation,' *Peterborough Express*, 16 April 1902, 2.

quandary which Winfrey said was like having 'two wives.'²⁶⁵ It was increasingly obvious that Hackett would have to choose between identifying as a Liberal or Labour supporter. However, Hackett's choice was made for him as trade union leaders realised that working-class voices in Parliament were needed to prevent attacks on their communities, prompting a growth in the membership of the LRC. Therefore, by 1904, 650,000 trade unionists were members of the LRC.²⁶⁶ The leaders of the LRC turned to trades councils to act as electoral bodies because they were established organisations that were trusted by the labour movement. Consequently, trades councils were the only organisations that could affiliate to the LRC until 1905 but they continued to be used as electoral bodies until 1918.²⁶⁷ PTUC affiliated to the LRC in 1903 and purchased their reports to sell on to local union branches.²⁶⁸ But in December 1905, a resolution was passed to disaffiliate due to lack of funds.²⁶⁹ PTUC, however, continued to field municipal election candidates without any distinct political identities.

It was shortly after the disaffiliation to the LRC that socialist ideologies appeared to become more prevalent among PTUC delegates. Socialist groups, such as the SDF, interpreted Marxist ideology and brought it to the British working class for the first time in the 1880s as there were few texts available until then. Some socialist teachings were more akin to the revolutionary socialism of Owenism than classic Marxism, while

²⁶⁵ 'Trades Council Recantation,' *Peterborough Express*, 16 April 1902, 2.

²⁶⁶ MRC, MSS.524/4/1/29, Peterborough and District Trade and Labour Council: Annual Report and Directory with Balance Sheet for 1903, 12.

²⁶⁷ Alan Clinton, *The Trade Union Rank and File, Trades Councils in Britain 1900-40* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1977), 50-1.

²⁶⁸ MRC, MSS.524/4/1/29, Peterborough and District Trade and Labour Council: Annual Report and Directory with Balance Sheet for 1903, 9.

²⁶⁹ MRC, MSS.524/4/1/32, Peterborough and District Trade and Labour Council: Annual Report and Directory with Balance Sheet for 1905.

philosopher Ernest Belfort Bax ‘fused his Marxism with German idealism and republican positivism.’ Meanwhile Henry Mayers Hyndman fused Marxism with Mazzini to create an authoritarian brand of ‘Tory radicalism.’²⁷⁰ But there was little interest in such extremes among the socialists of Peterborough until a brand developed during the Edwardian period which was somewhat diluted by the other ideologies which political leaders aspired to. This was social democracy based on a strategy where democratic procedures and decision-making were carried out by a mass party structure.²⁷¹ There was no evidence to suggest that the socialists such as the Marxist SDF had a direct influence on PTUC until Boyce became secretary in 1906 and used the term ‘comrade’ to refer to delegates in reports – an address used by socialists from 1884 which suggested that the delegate was influenced by their ideologies.²⁷² Geographically, most of the time the influence of socialist groups depended on locations. The SDF was the dominant force in London, and the ILP in Yorkshire. Therefore, whereas Peterborough’s socialist scene included the Clarion Clubs and the ILP from 1906 and the BSP from 1911 it did not feature the SDF because there were no substantial groups to form networks with.²⁷³ Further evidence that individual delegates were influenced by socialism was illustrated by H. H. Thompson’s involvement with the ILP and W. Martin who organised local Clarion Clubs. Meanwhile, Charles William Popp, who was PTUC Secretary from 1911,

²⁷⁰ Crick, *History of the Social-Democratic Federation* 64; Mark Bevir, *The Making of British Socialism* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2011), 45.

²⁷¹ Duncan Tanner, ‘The Development of British Socialism, 1900-1918,’ *Parliamentary History* 16, 1 (1997): 51; Mohamed Ismail Sabry, *The Development of Socialism, Social Democracy and Communism: Historical, Political and Socioeconomic Perspectives* (Bingley: Emerald Publishing Limited, 2017), viii-ix.

²⁷² MRC, MSS.524/4/1/32, Peterborough and District Trade and Labour Council: Annual Report and Directory with Balance Sheet for 1905, 6; ‘Comrade,’ Etymology Online, accessed 31 December 2021, <https://www.etymonline.com/word/comrade>.

²⁷³ Graham Johnson, ‘Social Democracy and Labour Politics in Britain.’ *History* 85, 277 (2000): 68-9.

was also a member of the Peterborough Socialist Society (PSS) and the BSP. As a body, PTUC was considered to be influenced by socialism when in 1908 local branches of the ASE, Postmen's Federation, the Typographical Association and the National Amalgamated Union of Shop Assistants withdrew their affiliations accusing PTUC of having 'socialistic tendencies.'²⁷⁴

The identities of socialists in Peterborough were reinforced through networks based around the Clarion or BSP clubs. For instance, there were calls to start up a socialist cycling club in the city in 1907 led by Thompson, the lecture secretary of the local ILP branch and PTUC delegate. The Peterborough branch of the ILP was formed by PTUC on 20 May 1906 and had twelve members. Thompson also called for 'socialist cyclists' to attend ILP meetings.²⁷⁵ In 1907 another PTUC delegate, L. Palmer, asked through *The Clarion* newspaper for either a socialist cycle club, a choral club or a socialist Sunday School to be established in the city.²⁷⁶

Clarion Clubs were part of a movement which grew up around Robert Blatchford's *The Clarion* newspaper, founded in 1891. They acted as a focal point from where activists could organise political activities while being involved in their favourite leisure activities at the same time. Cycling, singing and rambling were designated as a proponent of the Clarion's ethical socialism which unlike the SDF, avoided Marxist theories, but still criticised capitalism. The Clarion's branch of socialism was described in simple terms in Blatchford's pamphlet, *Merrie England* which sold two million copies

²⁷⁴ *Cambridge Independent Press*, 24 April 1908, 7.

²⁷⁵ 'On the Wheel,' *The Labour Leader*, 14 June 1907, 752.

²⁷⁶ *The Clarion*, 28 June 1907, 8.

over ten years and was thought to be 'more influential than Paine's *Rights of Man*.'²⁷⁷ *Merrie England* also outsold Marx's *Das Capital* by ten to one.²⁷⁸ Blatchford's Clarion clubs were intended to ease socialists into a utopian life and Blatchford was also keen to replace the bureaucratic TUC with a more democratic body, using grassroots organising to establish direct democracy through the means of referendums.²⁷⁹ Subscription to Blatchford's brand of Socialism meant that being a Clarion Club member was more a way of life than an identity.

Clarion Clubs formed networks across towns and cities and attempts were made to establish several in Peterborough. In 1908 a cycling club was finally established when a branch of the Clarion Scouts was created, to 'back up' the ILP and 'save Peterborough.'²⁸⁰ The Clarion Scouts were cycling socialists, who handed out leaflets and went house to house, selling literature. A branch was established in Peterborough following an unsuccessful attempt to form a second ILP branch in the New England area on 25 August 1907. As a result of the failure fresh officers were elected and a series of meetings, 'along the lines of the Labour Church,' were arranged. The Labour Church was perhaps not the best comparison to make because although it was established in 1891 to merge politics with a utopian 'liberation theology' congregations were small and

²⁷⁷ Alastair Bonnett, 'Radical Nostalgia,' *History Today* 57, 2. (Feb 2007): 41-2; Davis, *Comrade or Brother?* 130.

²⁷⁸ See Logie Barrow and Ian Bullock, *Democratic Ideas and the British Labour Movement 1880-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996). Other studies of The Clarion Clubs and Socialism, David Buchan, 'Yours for the Revolution,': *Community and Identity in the Western Clarion, English Studies in Canada* 41, 2, (2015): 133-64, while Gregg McClymont refers to The Clarion as 'Tory Socialism,' in 'The Cultural Politics of Tory Socialism: The Clarion in the Labour Movement During the 1890s,' in *Classes, Cultures and Politics: Essays on British History for Ross McKibbin*, ed. Clare V. J. Griffiths, James J. Nott and William Whyte (Oxford Scholarship Online, 2015).

²⁷⁹ 'National Clarion Cycling Club History', Clarion Cycling Club, accessed 3 July 2020, <https://clarioncc.org/about-the-national-clarion/history/>.

²⁸⁰ 'Peterborough for Socialism,' *The Clarion*, 29 May 1908, 8.

subject to frequent collapse.²⁸¹ In May 1908, Palmer claimed of the Scouts that, 'we are growing steadily and are determined as ever' and although there were only six individuals in the branch of the Clarion Scouts, they were 'skirmishing' outlying areas of the city. Despite the slow growth of membership, Palmer, who clearly identified as a socialist, was very much gratified with the results.²⁸² Another Clarion Club which formed in Peterborough was the Clarion Fellowship described as 'an association for social intercourse.' Martin, a delegate to PTUC, became the secretary of the Fellowship and meetings were held weekly with 'lively discussion[s].' The Fellowship branch distributed over 100 copies of *The Clarion* each week. Despite this, the fellowship only managed to secure six members, which appeared to be the typical number of Clarion members in Peterborough, the same as the Clarion Scouts and the ILP.²⁸³ But to help address the lack of membership, a hoarding was built from two pram wheels and paraded around the town displaying notices painted in red, on white paper.²⁸⁴ Members of the ILP, which included PTUC delegates, tried to push the Clarion message by arranging a visit to Peterborough of the Clarion Van, a touring horse drawn caravan. But after previously visiting 17-19 Cathedral cities the organisers of the Clarion Van concluded that, 'the inhabitants [of Peterborough] are very conservative and suffer keenly from respectability.'²⁸⁵ *The Labour Leader* however, described the visit as 'successful.'²⁸⁶

²⁸¹ Peter Ackers, 'Protestant Sectarianism in Twentieth Century British Labour History: From Free and Labour Churches to Pentacostalism and the Churches of Christ,' *International Review of Social History* 64, 1 (2009): 137-138.

²⁸² 'The Socialist Movement,' *The Clarion*, 30 August 1907, 6; 'Clarion Scouts,' *The Clarion*, 23 October 1908, 9; 'Peterborough,' *The Clarion*, 29 May 1908, 8.

²⁸³ 'Social Clubs,' *The Clarion*, 16 Jan 1914, 10.

²⁸⁴ 'Peterborough,' *Justice*, 9 June 1914, 7.

²⁸⁵ 'Lincolnshire Van.' *The Clarion*, 20 August 1909, 6.

Whatever the outcome of the visit from the Clarion Van, it was clearly demonstrated that Peterborough's socialist societies contained a small but committed membership which revolved around PTUC delegates.

Socialists had problems trying to influence other residents of the city, especially at meetings of the ILP which were led by PTUC delegates. At a meeting in May 1908 where Labour leader Keir Hardie spoke, 'boisterous youths' made a disturbance by singing and throwing chairs.²⁸⁷ At another meeting organised by the ILP which featured Charlotte Despard, the socialist champion for women's rights, and Victor Grayson, the controversial MP for Colne Valley, 'young Ruffians' and other rowdy hecklers were in the audience interrupting proceedings.²⁸⁸ Rowdy hecklers were not the only problem for the ILP. Socialists levied accusations of suppression when the group was refused access to halls in which to hold their meetings. Access to meeting venues was a national issue though, according to *The Labour Leader*, and there were other, more subtle attacks locally on socialist propaganda. For instance, the librarian at Peterborough's new public library, financed and opened by industrialist Andrew Carnegie, on 24 May 1906, declined to stock copies of *The Clarion*.²⁸⁹ However, PTUC delegates did not allow people of different political persuasion pressure then into changing their identities.

From 1910, interest in the ethical socialism of Blatchford et al., started to wane and Peterborough's socialists finally turned towards the Marxist SDF which merged into

²⁸⁶ 'The Movement,' *The Labour Leader*, 20 August 1909, 535.

²⁸⁷ 'Mr Keir Hardie MP at Norwich, Peterborough and Hull,' *The Labour Leader*, 19 March 1909, 14.

²⁸⁸ 'Peterborough for Socialism,' *The Clarion*, 15 May 1908, 4; 'The Red Flag: Socialism and Women's Suffrage,' *Peterborough Express*, 13 May 1908, 8.

²⁸⁹ 'Anti-Socialist Campaign,' *The Labour Leader*, 25 October 1907, 282; Tebbs, *Peterborough*, 158; 'Notes to Clarionettes,' *The Clarion*, 5 June 1908, 11.

the British Socialist Party in 1911.²⁹⁰ This coincided with the development of the period known as 'Great Unrest,' a time of sustained industrial action and general uneasiness which lasted until the out-break of war in August 1914. Increasing militancy also led to a newfound confidence which resulted in the fielding of socialist candidates in elections. When the Peterborough Socialist Society was established in 1910 and became a branch of the BSP, member and PTUC delegate Popp, was asked by the trades council to stand as a candidate in a council by-election in 1911.²⁹¹ Popp, who was employed as a bakery machine engine fitter at Werner, Pfleiderer and Perkins agreed to stand, but only if he could identify himself as a Social Democrat. That was agreed to, but Popp was defeated by the Conservative Party candidate.²⁹² Popp, however, went on to stand as a municipal candidate in North Ward in direct competition against Liberal candidate and PTUC co-founder, Walter Riseley in November 1911. Popp was defeated again and hostilities arose when Riseley suggested that the socialist candidate had not run a fair campaign. The *Peterborough Advertiser* agreed, reporting that 'after [Riseley's] career and as a bona-fide trade unionist, the treatment he had received from his opponents was not the nicest.' PTUC came to a different conclusion though and reported that that Popp was 'beaten, but with high honours.'²⁹³

The relationship between Popp's double identity as a socialist and PTUC secretary, caused some confusion over the politics of the trades council among members of the local council. This was evident at a meeting of the municipal council

²⁹⁰ Keith Laybourn, 'The Failure of Socialist Unity in Britain, c. 1893-1914,' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 6, 4 (1994): 153.

²⁹¹ 'SDP Directory,' *Justice*, 25 June 1910, 11.

²⁹² 'Peterborough Socialist Society,' *Justice*, 3 June 1911, 8.

²⁹³ 'Municipal Contests at Peterborough,' *Peterborough Advertiser*, 4 November 1911, 6.

during a discussion of a motion which was submitted by PTUC regarding a living wage for council workers. Undermining PTUC, Conservative Alderman Batten suggested that the trades council might be a 'socialist club', however, Councillor Stanley corrected him, stating that, 'It is a recognised body. It is composed of neither Socialists, Liberals, or Conservatives, as such.'²⁹⁴ Although PTUC was officially non-partisan it did not stop individuals taking their personal politics into the trades council - and this was certainly the case with Popp.

Peterborough's socialists formed clubs but unlike with the Clarion Clubs in the early part of the period, the PSS was popular enough to provide a permanent meeting space in the city. Creating spaces helped to confirm member's identities and strengthened networks. Despite election losses, Popp wrote in *Justice*, that the PSS had a remarkable year in 1911. During the summer the group engaged in 'heavy propaganda,' and members acquired a building in Wood Street to use as a socialist club, complete with furniture and a piano. The socialists raised funds by selling tickets to events, such as tea dances, children's parties and by holding whist drives, all arranged by R. Allday, the 'energetic trade secretary.'²⁹⁵ In 1913, the PSS celebrated the organisation's third anniversary with 30-40 people at the club – it was an improvement on the 6 or so members of the Clarion Clubs and ILP. Fred Henderson, journalist and town councillor in Norwich, a member of the Socialist League, which split from the SDF in December 1884, took chairing duties at the anniversary celebrations. Henderson also spoke the next day, at a well-attended meeting in North Ward, on the differences between liberalism and

²⁹⁴ 'Peterborough Town Council and Labour.' *Peterborough Advertiser*, 27 January 1912, 7.

²⁹⁵ 'The Movement.' *Justice*, 30 December 1911, 14.

socialism. He sold several copies of his pamphlet, *A Case for Socialism* and Popp concluded that, 'we feel confident that we are making rebels in this smug and respectable city of ours.'²⁹⁶ The club acted as a space for socialists to meet, share influences and form bonds and through creating a place of permanency, the club actively helped bond socialists and strengthen identities for those who attended, including PTUC delegates.

But PTUC delegates were also influenced by the syndicalist movement which was popular from 1910 and formed the ideology around the Great Unrest. For syndicalists, the socialist transformation of society would be achieved through industrial solidarity, starting with the general strike. Workers would take control of the factories and warehouses changing power relations and forcing unions to amalgamate by industry, changing their very nature. Rather than relying on change through Parliament, syndicalism relied on industrial unions to transform society.²⁹⁷ Although there was no evidence that individuals in PTUC identified as syndicalists there were some incidents which suggested that delegates were supportive of the ideology. Syndicalism was led by influential trade unionist and former SDF member, Tom Mann, who on his return to Europe after eight years in Australia, championed the strategy of direct action to gain workers control over pay and conditions through mass strikes and rapid trade union recruitment.²⁹⁸ Mann was imprisoned in 1912 when *The Syndicalist*, the newspaper of the Industrial Syndicalist Education League which he edited, published a controversial

²⁹⁶ 'Peterborough.' *Justice*, 15 February 1913, 7.

²⁹⁷ Gayford Wilshire, *Syndicalism: What It Is* (London: Twentieth Century Press Ltd., 1912).

²⁹⁸ Barrow, Bullock, *Democratic Ideas and the British Labour Movement*, 248-9; Davis, *Comrade or Brother*, 121.

pamphlet written by railwayman Fred Crowsley which asked the British military not to shoot working-class strikers. It led to charges for Crowsley and Mann of sedition under an Act of 1797.²⁹⁹ Sustained public pressure in the form of campaigns and motions such as ‘we strongly protest at the imprisonment of Tom Mann and demand his immediate release,’ which was agreed to by Peterborough’s ASRS 1 branch, led to the reduction in Mann’s sentence from six months to seven weeks.³⁰⁰ Crowsley was not so lucky, and following Mann’s release, PTUC agreed to a motion stating that, ‘this meeting emphatically protests against the severe sentence passed on Frederick Crowsley and urges his immediate release and that the Labour Party should use the same influence on behalf of this comrade, as they did for Tom Mann and others.’³⁰¹ The motions of the ASRS and PTUC showed support for free speech and sympathy towards syndicalism among Peterborough’s trade union movement.

The BSP was also influenced by syndicalism at this time and in the autumn of 1912, the PSS edged further towards the radical action of syndicalist aims when they passed a resolution of protest against police brutality. The resolution demanded the recall of Lord Aberdeen, Deputy Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, following the defeat of the Dublin lock-out. The lock-out followed a general strike led by Jim Larkin, a syndicalist trade union leader, and as a result the resolution went as far as to demand the

²⁹⁹ ‘Leaflet for which Tom Mann was Jailed’, The Anarchist Library, accessed 3 July 2020, <https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/wildcat-inside-story-leaflet-for-which-tom-mann-was-jailed-in-1912>.

³⁰⁰ ‘Peterborough Railwaymen.’ *Daily Herald*, 17 May 1912, 4; ‘Leaflet for which Tom Mann was Jailed’, The Anarchist Library, accessed 3 July 2020, <https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/wildcat-inside-story-leaflet-for-which-tom-mann-was-jailed-in-1912>. (You could shorten this reference – i.e. ‘Leaflet for which Tom Mann was Jailed’.

³⁰¹ ‘Don’t Shoot, Continued Urgent Demands for the Release of Crowley.’ *Daily Herald*, 2 July 1912, 5.

organisation and arming of socialists and trade unionists to give them the means to fight back against the police and military.³⁰² The matters of Mann and Larkin suggested that Peterborough BSP members such as Popp were also influenced by the radical nature of syndicalism although they would first and foremost identify themselves as socialists.

Despite the influence of socialist ideologies, it was PTUC delegates who established a branch of the local Labour Party in Peterborough during 1918. The trades council affiliated to it and Palmer and Charles Leonard Fletcher became the first delegates to be elected onto the town council as Labour Party councillors the following year.³⁰³ With voting reform in 1918 allowing some women and all men over 21 to vote, the Labour Party became a serious political contender obtaining 20.8 per cent of the vote at the 1919 General Election, compared to the Liberal's 13 per cent.³⁰⁴ But some PTUC delegates still held onto socialism and in 1919 before the BSP merged into the CP the PSS stated that, 'the red flag is still flying over our city... trades unionism is growing here; we must be able to convert our local trade unionists to socialism.'³⁰⁵

This part of the chapter has illustrated that during the Edwardian period, PTUC was a politically non-partisan body, but delegates were influenced by a variety of complex political ideologies which filtered out into trades council policies through motions. Sometimes these ideologies caused conflict and hostility as illustrated in the relationship between PTUC and the Liberal Party and in reactions towards ILP meetings such as Keir Hardie's and Victor Grayson's. Delegates subscribed to several different

³⁰² 'An Appeal for a Fight.' *Justice*, 20 September 1913, 17.

³⁰³ *Diamond Jubilee 1899-1859*, 15.

³⁰⁴ Rallings and Thrasher, *British Electoral Facts 1832-1999*, 41.

³⁰⁵ 'Peterborough.' *Justice*, 15 Mar 1919, 7.

branches of socialism which created a melting pot of ideas and complexities of political thought. With the Clarion Clubs becoming a way of life for members and the BSP becoming more militant when influenced by syndicalism, the creation of the Labour Party stabilised PTUC and meant that they no longer took on electoral functions for working-class candidates.

Workplace Cultures: Sports Clubs, Labour Aristocracy and the Great Unrest

So far, this chapter has argued that the social identities of PTUC delegates were shared through the values of nonconformist radical discontent and political influences such as liberalism, socialism and eventually the Labour Party. The foundations for delegates' identities were laid in the Victorian era and came to full fruition during the Edwardian period. However, there was a third element to the identity of the founders of PTUC which was seen in the development of workplace cultures. Workplace cultures included the camaraderie built up between workers doing similar jobs or working for the same employer, the organisation of sports clubs and leisure and cultural activities which brought colleagues together. But it was also seen in trade union activism and in the solidarity between colleagues during the strikes, such as those which took place during the syndicalist-led Great Unrest. But trade unionism as a workplace culture could also damage identities and the relationships between employer and employee. Some workplace cultures, especially those centring on leisure, were new to the working class from the late nineteenth century as a rise in wages and shorter working hours meant

people had more flexibility in their lives.³⁰⁶ Because trades council delegates, including those in PTUC, were also employees they also organised sporting tournaments and leisure activities, formed bonds with those working in the same industry and supported fellow trade unionists in industrial action. Fostering workplace cultures meant that workers were part of distinct bonded communities, cementing relationships with co-workers and making employees more motivated in their work. Strong bonds between colleagues made it more likely that the workforce would remain loyal to their employers, and it also assisted individuals when chatting, and 'horseplay' with colleagues helped to pass the time during tedious or stressful jobs.³⁰⁷ Part of workplace culture was the establishment of works sports clubs. The largest employers in Peterborough, which during the Edwardian period related to the heavy industries and transport because of engineering, railways and brickworks, established sports clubs. But the larger the employer, the more trade unionists there were too. PTUC delegates at one of the largest employers, engineers Werner, Pfleiderer and Perkins (later known as Baker Perkins), included Popp, who was an engineer's fitter on laundry, woodworking

³⁰⁶ Catriona M. Parrott, 'Little Means or Time: Working-Class Women and Leisure in Late Victorian and Edwardian Britain,' *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 15, 2 (1998): 22.

³⁰⁷ McKibbin, *Classes and Cultures*, 129.

and bread making machines. He was aged 28 in 1911 and another delegate, John Mansfield was 22, and a fitter for the organisation.³⁰⁸

As a large employer, Brotherhoods established a sports club at the Westwood Works in 1910. The Chief Executive of the company, F. C. Ihlee, sat on the sports clubs committee and the first purchase that it made was of 'two bags of clay and two tonnes of railway sleepers,' to create nine quoits beds.³⁰⁹ Quoits was one of the most popular sports in Peterborough as it required the strength of foundry and brickyard workers of which there were many in the city.³¹⁰ By 1900, there were already over twenty quoits clubs in Peterborough.³¹¹ The game was often played in the back yards of public houses and gave the opportunity for working class men to play in local leagues, and national and international competitions. As it developed, the Westwood Works Club also established a swimming section, a bowling team and cricket and football clubs. Both the football and cricket teams were known as 'Panification,' which related to the process of making bread acknowledging the organisations trade of manufacturing baking

³⁰⁸ Charles William Popp, 1911 census, registration district number 170, sub-registration district Peterborough, ED institution or vessel 30, piece 8695, accessed 20 July 2022, https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/2352/images/rg14_08695_0085_03?treeid=&personid=&usePUB=true&_phsrc=asW1630&_phstart=successSource&pld=52247356; John Mansfield, 1911 census, registration district number 170, sub-registration district Peterborough, ED institution or vessel 29, piece 8694, accessed 20 July 2022, https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/2352/images/rg14_08694_0735_03?treeid=&personid=&hintid=&queryId=2b165f09e3684e989e0e3f5d99446ab8&usePUB=true&_phsrc=asW1634&_phstart=successSource&usePUBJs=true&_gl=1*sowbkw*_ga*MTEwODkyMDgyMS4xNjI3Mzk3OTQ5*_ga_4QT8FMEX30*MTY1ODMwOTE0OS4xMS4xLjE2NTgzMDk0NDMuMA..&_ga=2.239163523.1291906981.165830915-1-1108920821.1627397949&pld=52247091.

³⁰⁹ 'Sports and Pastimes', Baker Perkins History, accessed 17 July 2020, <http://www.westwoodworks.net/SportsAndPastimes/>.

³¹⁰ Peterborough's first quoits club, the Peterborough and Milton Club, was established in 1856, by some of the city's Gentlemen. Later, in the 1890s, the Liberty police established a quoits club as an alternative to cycling, which was deemed too dangerous. James Bye won the All England Club, for Peterborough in 1892, Tebbs, *Peterborough*, 179.

³¹¹ Tebbs, *Peterborough*, 179.

equipment. The football club first played in the Peterborough League during the 1904-05 season.³¹² They went on to win the league in 1911 and their original football ground was located under Westwood Bridge and belonged to the Great Northern Railway. However, in 1911, the team was asked to move because footballs were kicked into the overhead wires too many times and alternative space was found opposite the Westwood Works instead.³¹³ Other works football teams which played in the Peterborough league included the Queen Street Iron Works, Brainsbury's Trimmers, and the Great Northern Locomotives.³¹⁴

Sports, especially football, were important to the working class, uniting communities living in places with good transport links and railway towns especially provided the means to attract spectators.³¹⁵ For instance seven to eight thousand fans travelled from Birmingham, another railway town, to London to watch Aston Villa play Everton in the 1897 Football Association Cup final.³¹⁶ There were no such crowds for Peterborough's teams which played in local and county leagues. But grassroots football, played in alleys, on street corners and on vacant plots of land, often put people with similar aspirations, attitudes and shared social values together without the formality of commercial football clubs.³¹⁷ Even so, professional players had their own union, the

³¹² Rita McKenzie, *A Hundred Years of Baker Perkins at Westwood Works, 1903-2003* (Peterborough: Baker Perkins Historical Society, 2007), 7.

³¹³ 'Sports and Pastimes', Baker Perkins History, accessed 17 July 2020, <http://www.westwoodworks.net/SportsAndPastimes/>.

³¹⁴ 'Local Sports and Pastimes,' *Peterborough Advertiser*, 11 June 1901, 8.

³¹⁵ McKibbin, *Classes and Cultures*, 340.

³¹⁶ Adam Benkwitz and Gyoza Molnar, 'The Emergence and Development of Association Football: Influential Sociocultural Factors in Victorian Birmingham,' *Soccer and Society* 18, 7 (2017): 1028-29.

³¹⁷ Peter Kennedy, David Kennedy, 'DIY Football: The Cultural Politics of Community Based Football Clubs – Introduction,' *Sport in Society* 18, 4 (2015): 403.

Association Football Players and Trainers Union established in 1907. Before that players were included in the Liberal Government's Workmen's Compensation Act of 1906.³¹⁸ PTUC delegates were no doubt too busy spending their spare time on trade union activities to join quoits, cricket or football teams but they did arrange kick-about such as a 'comic football match' at the White Heart Ground, New England, to fundraise for 'distressed pensioners' on easter Monday in 1916.³¹⁹

Also in 1916, delegates organised a tournament of 'old English sports' to raise money for the brass bands fund which included tug of war, egg and spoon race, pillow fights, wheelbarrow race, flat races, needle threading, one mile walking and a slow bicycle race.³²⁰ These sports were not as competitive or taken as seriously as playing football or quoits matches for local teams and extended the capacity for amusement, recreation and sociability. Although PTUC's sporting events were inspired by games that took place in workplace clubs, delegates arranged them for different reasons. Organisations such as Cadbury, Boots and Lever Brothers for instance paternalistically encouraged their workers to take part in leisure and sporting activities as a form of staff welfare and to stop trade unionism.³²¹ The popularity of workplace sports and leisure

³¹⁸ Matthew Taylor, 'Trade Unionism in British Sport, 1920-1964,' *Labor History* 55, 5 (2014): 626; Matthew Taylor, *The Association Game: A History of British football* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), 74.

³¹⁹ 'Peterborough Trades and Labour Council: Comic Football Match,' *Peterborough Standard*, 8 April 1916, 4.

³²⁰ 'Trades Council Sports: A Successful Effort for the Brass Bands Fund,' *Peterborough Express*, 21 June 1916, 2.

³²¹ Steven Crewe, 'What about the Workers? Works-Based Sport and Recreation in England c. 1918-1970,' *Sport in History* 34, 4 (2014): 544-45.

continued after the end of the First World War with the interwar period being heralded as a 'golden age' for such activities.³²²

The time and means for leisure and sport started to increase prior to the First World War. There were two reasons for this – fewer working hours and higher wages. A decrease in working hours was first won by trade unionists in the engineering and building industries, who successfully campaigned for the 10-hour day in the 1830s. This led to a raft of legislation, granting half day holidays on Saturdays to textile workers and others in factories and workshops in the 1860s and adjustments to working hours that resulted in more regular leisure time. Alongside changes to working hours, wages doubled between 1851 and 1914 and prices stabilised improving living standards for most families.³²³ PTUC delegates embraced spare leisure time and many musicians and actors who entertained were union members - the Musicians' Union being established in 1901 and the Variety Artistes Federation for Music Hall performers in 1906.³²⁴ PTUC capitalised on the popularity of mass entertainment and popular culture when organising cultural activities such as 'smoking concerts,' entertainment popular in the Victorian times only open to men. PTUC held one in conjunction with the ASRS at the Spital Bridge Inn on 10 March 1900.³²⁵ Another time PTUC organised a concert at Peterborough's Drill Hall starring the Bethesda Male Voice Choir to raise money for the Penrhyn Quarrymen, Welsh slate workers who started a three year strike in November 1900, when their employers announced they would no longer collect union

³²² Crewe, 'What About the Workers?' 548.

³²³ Parrott, 'Little Means or Time,' 24.

³²⁴ 'The Musicians Union: A History (1893-2013),' The Musicians Union, accessed 28 December 2021, <https://www.muhistory.com/contact-us/1900-1909/>.

³²⁵ 'Local Railway Items.' *Peterborough Advertiser*, 28 February 1900, 3.

contributions.³²⁶ The *Peterborough Advertiser* described the Bethesda concert as ‘twenty-two... hardy sons of toil, [who] gave in the space of two hours, an entertainment which might be considered in all fairness as rivalling many of those given with much more pretentious display and ceremony – those concerts designated “high-class.”’³²⁷ The organisation of concerts of this nature hinted at the influence of the middle-class form of entertainment, but it was pitched at the newly liberated working-class as a leisure activity.

In the workplace, the identity of employees was linked to their job roles. During the Edwardian period work was classed as either unskilled or skilled, the latter of which required specialised training. The affiliated unions reflected male-based trades and most only sent between one and three delegates to PTUC. But as seen in the list of affiliated unions for 1904 on Table 2, the largest delegation came from the ASRS whose members were made up a variety of skill sets from foundry workers to railway engine drivers. The ASRS elected 9 delegates to PTUC in 1903 and 11 in 1905. The second largest delegation came from the NUGWGL which had six delegates representing two branches.³²⁸

³²⁶ ‘The Great Penryn Quarry Strike,’ accessed 14 September 2020, <https://tuc150.tuc.org.uk/stories/the-great-penrhyn-quarry-strike/>.

³²⁷ ‘Bethesda Choir at Peterborough.’ *Peterborough Advertiser*, 25 September 1901, 3.

³²⁸ MRC, MSS.524/4/1/29, Peterborough and District Trade and Labour Council: Annual Report and Directory with Balance Sheet for 1903, 11; Peterborough and District Trade and Labour Council: Annual Report and Directory with Balance Sheet for 1905, 4.

Table 2 | Affiliations for 1904 (Peterborough and District Trade and Labour Council: Annual Report and Directory with Balance Sheet for 1903).³²⁹

Trade Union / Branch	Number of Delegates
Amalgamated Railway Servants, Peterborough Branch No. 1	5
Amalgamated Railway Servants, Peterborough Branch No. 2	2
Amalgamated Railway Servants, Peterborough Branch No. 3	2
Boiler Makers	3
Gas Workers and General Labourers Union, Peterborough Branch No. 1	3
Gas Workers and General Labourers Union, Peterborough Branch No. 2	3
Postal Clerks	1
Cooperative Employees	2
Bricklayers	2
Engineers	3
Basket Makers	2
Carpenters	2

For skilled workers, their careers formed an important part of their identities. This was especially true for older railwaymen and the engine drivers, who were experienced and knowledgeable in their workplace roles due to the amount of training they were given which included several years in the locomotive works where potential drivers could learn how each part of the engine was made. Once they were allowed to drive, trainees started off with slow goods trains only graduating onto passenger trains

³²⁹ MRC, MSS.524/4/1/29, Peterborough and District Trade and Labour Council: Annual Report and Directory with Balance Sheet for 1903, 11.

when judged competent enough.³³⁰ The fact that railway engine driving was a skilled job was reflected in pay - in 1906, when 71.7 per cent of engine drivers earned a minimum of 40 shillings a week, which was close to the average income per head of £42.7 annually, although that amount was unevenly distributed throughout the country.³³¹ Still, a decent wage and a stable, skilled job, put engine drivers towards the top of the working-class hierarchy. As such, according to Marxist theory, people in the locomotive driving profession were part of a 'labour aristocracy.'³³² Marx used the term to refer to those in a skilled trade who were able to reap the rewards once trade unionism was fully legalised in the 1870s. Marx saw these rewards as a form of bribery and part of the industrialists' desire to instill feeling of apathy and resignation within the mass of the working-class and break class consciousness.³³³

In *Labouring Men: Studies in the History of Labour*, Eric Hobsbawm referred to the labour aristocracy as a group of people who were at the top of the working class hierarchy. They earned better wages, had stable jobs and were treated better by employers and society at large than the mass of the working class. Politically they were seen as moderate.³³⁴ One of the founders of PTUC, Henry Shreeve, could be seen as part of the labour aristocracy. He was a skilled railway engine driver on the Great Northern Railway before retiring in 1896. He was highly trained, with 35 years' experience of

³³⁰ 'Railway Engine Drivers', *Chamber's Journal of Popular Literature, Science and Arts* 8, 403 (1891): 607-08.

³³¹ 'Events of 1901,' The National Archives, accessed 30 December 2021, <https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/pathways/census/events/polecon3.htm>.

³³² Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Labouring Men: Studies in the History of Labour* (London: Weidenfield Goldbacks, 1971), 288.

³³³ John Foster, 'The Aristocracy of Labour and Working-class Consciousness Revisited,' *Labour History* 75, 3 (2010): 253.

³³⁴ Hobsbawm, *Labouring Men*, 272-73.

driving a locomotive. Although the labour aristocracy theory did not have a specific format for identifying its members, it was believed to signify a privileged group of workers who were more conservative than socialist.³³⁵ Shreeve, however, was said to be a 'sturdy radical and trade unionist,' according to the *Peterborough Advertiser* although it was unclear if Shreeve was a Liberal or a 'Radical Conservative.'³³⁶ Radical Conservatives were active during the early twentieth century including those from the reform wing of the party, which promoted new tariff reform policies to gain the support of the working class. The radical wing of the Conservative Party unsuccessfully appealed to the TUC to back their policies between 1903 and 1906, stating that tariff reform was necessary to protect British jobs, working conditions and wages.³³⁷ Political views aside, Shreeve was a delegate to the newly formed PTUC from ASRS 1 branch in 1899 despite having retired from his job by then. He had plenty of experience in trade union duties, having taken on the role of ASRS branch treasurer in 1873 and became a trustee to the benevolent fund, which was established in 1877. Shreeve became a 'great favourite,' in the ASRS 1 branch and was cited as a reason for its success.³³⁸ For men like Shreeve, whose identity was one of a skilled worker, trade union activism was an extension of their paid job because it provided them the opportunity to shape their working environment – whether they were a member of the labour aristocracy or not.

³³⁵ Timothy Kerswell, 'A Conceptual History of the Labour Aristocracy: A Critical Review,' *Socialism and Democracy* 33, 1 (2019): 70.

³³⁶ 'ASRS Stalwart Passes Away,' *Peterborough Telegraph*, 12 January 1901, 2.

³³⁷ Alan Sykes, 'Radical Conservatism and the Working Classes in Victorian England,' *The English Historical Review* 113, 454 (1998): 1181.

³³⁸ 'ASRS Stalwart Passes Away,' *Peterborough Telegraph*, 12 January 1901, 2.

Some Socialists did not trust trade unionists because they believed that they only served the interests of elite skilled workers.³³⁹ But it was often only those who were members of the better off working class, skilled workers, who could afford to join a union in Edwardian Britain. Others were dissuaded due to subscription payments. It was also the better off working class who joined sports clubs, because they were also based on membership subscriptions and there was often an entrance fee for sporting competitions as well.³⁴⁰ The cost was a problem for many working-class people, because although living standards and wages were higher than they had ever been before, there was still dire poverty throughout Britain. The extent of this hardship was verified by Joseph Rowntree who a decade on from Charles Booth's famous study of London's East End, claimed that 27.8 per cent of the population of York lived in total poverty. Consequently, if people could not afford to contribute to their local churches and chapels or to buy a newspaper, children's toys, tobacco, beer, new clothes or even to fall ill, they could certainly not afford to join a union or sports club and pay the subs.³⁴¹

But there were many men like Shreeve in Peterborough and more were employed in transport there than in any other industry during the Edwardian period. Figures from 1911 showed that the railway industry employed 3,186 men or 9.4 per cent

³³⁹ Bevir, *The Making of British Socialism*, 303.

³⁴⁰ Joyce Kay, 'Maintaining the Traditions of British Sport? The Private Sporting Club in the Twentieth Century,' *International Journal of the History of Sport* 30, 14 (2013): 1658.

³⁴¹ Charles Booth, *Life and Labour of the People in London: Volume 1* (1892); Benjamin Seebohm Rowntree, *Poverty: A Study of Town Life* (London: Macmillan, 1901); Ian Gazeley and Andrew Newall, 'Poverty in Edwardian Britain,' *The Economic History Review*, 64, 1 (2011): 55-56.

of the total population of Peterborough.³⁴² Nationally the main railway union, the ASRS, was the fourth largest with 75,000 members and when it merged with other unions to form the National Union of Railwaymen in 1913 its delegates continued to have most influence on PTUC.³⁴³ But the engineering industry also employed many people in Peterborough and in 1911, metal and machine industries employed 2,280 men, making it the second largest employer in the city.³⁴⁴ Nationally, the engineer's union, the ASE, was the third largest union in Britain and boasted 100,000 members.³⁴⁵ There were two branches of the ASE in Peterborough with approximately 374 members in 1912. A third branch opened in 1914.³⁴⁶ Members worked for companies such as Peter Brotherhoods, Aublett and Harry's and J.P. Halls, on tasks such as milling, drilling, shaping and turning and campaigned on matters such as a fair wages, bonuses, apprenticeships and bullying foremen.³⁴⁷ The majority of PTUC delegates were therefore the better off working class, railway men and engineers. They were skilled labourers, employed in large organisations with strong workplace cultures providing them with the opportunities to get involved in leisure, sport and trade union activism.

³⁴² 'Persons of Working Age by Sex and 1911 Occupational Order,' A Vision of Britain Through Time, accessed 10 September 2020, https://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10152914/cube/OCC_ORD1911_SEX; *Peterborough Standard Directory 1912* (Peterborough: Peterborough Standard, 1912), 2.

³⁴³ Arthur J. McIvor, *A History of Work in Britain, 1880-1950* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), 206.

³⁴⁴ 'Persons of Working Age by Sex and 1911 Occupational Order,' A Vision of Britain Through Time, accessed 10 September 2020, https://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10152914/cube/OCC_ORD1911_SEX.

³⁴⁵ H. Clegg, *A History British Trade Unions Since 1889, Vol. II, 1911-1933* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985); H. Clegg, *A History British Trade Unions Since 1889, Vol. III, 1934-1951* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1994).

³⁴⁶ McIvor, *A History of Work in Britain*, 206.

³⁴⁷ PAS, PAS/AEU/1/1/1, AEU District Committee Minute Book 1911-1914.

The growing trade union movement and activist workplace culture of the Edwardian period sometimes led to conflict between employer and employee. This was especially the case during the period of the Great Unrest led by syndicalists late in the period. But it also reflected the times - the Edwardian period was marred by social and political conflict including women's struggle for the vote, subjugation in South Africa and the Colonies and the development of Civil War in Ireland.³⁴⁸ Additionally, there was an unprecedented rise in trade unionism in Britain between 1888 and 1918 when the membership of 750,000 increased to 6.5 million. As a result, the number of trade unionists involved in workplace disputes between 1905 and 1912 rose from 93,000-1,463,000.³⁴⁹ The conflict between trade unionists and employers was played out several times on the national stage during the period, starting in 1898 with the Lyons v Wilkins and the 1901 Quinn V Leatham cases, which questioned the right to picket. This was followed with the Taff Vale Case, when the Taff Vale Railway Company sued the ASRS for damages following a strike of railwaymen in 1901. The Company won £32,000 and the matter set a dangerous precedent leaving unions and individuals vulnerable to legal action after taking part in industrial action.³⁵⁰ The anti-trade union rulings were made under a Conservative government; however, when the Liberal Party won the 1906 election, one of their first tasks, as concession to the working-class, was to pass the Trades Dispute Act (1906). The Act defined the right to picket and banned employers

³⁴⁸ Ian Christopher French, 'Reframing the Edwardian Crisis: Contentious Citizenship in the British Empire Before the First World War,' *World History Bulletin* 29, 2 (2013): 37.

³⁴⁹ Mary Davis, 'New Unionism,' accessed 28 December 2021, http://www.unionhistory.info/timeline/1880_1914.php; 'The History of the T&G,' Unite the Union, accessed 28 December 2021, <https://www.unitetheunion.org/who-we-are/history/the-history-of-the-tg/>.

³⁵⁰ Peter King, *Twentieth-Century British History Made Simple* (London: W, H. Allen and Company Ltd., 1980), 7-8.

from suing unions. However, in 1909 a conflict took place between a trade union and its members when Walter Osborne, secretary of the Walthamstow branch of the ASRS, sued the union to stop administering the one penny a week levy, which went to the LRC. Osborne won the case and a major source of funding for the LRC was cut off by the Liberals.³⁵¹ The Osborne case provided one example of how the growing workplace culture of trade unionism caused conflict between members and their employers.

The growing number of workers who identified with the workplace culture of trade unionism during the period, helped to build solidarity among the working class. An instance of this was displayed during a railway workers' strike in Peterborough in 1913. The strike took place during the Great Unrest which was influenced by syndicalism an ideology espoused by activists such as Tom Mann who was an influential trade unionist. Syndicalism was an ideology which promoted the idea that revolution could be bought about through industrial action with trades councils taking over the role of municipal councils to deliver 'social administration.'³⁵² Between 25 and 30 per cent of British workers took industrial action during the Great Unrest including sea farers, dockers, transport workers, miners and engineers. This bout of strike activity was often militant and unofficial without the backing of trade union officials and often included unskilled or semi-skilled workers.³⁵³ The strike in Peterborough concerned the Great Northern Railway foundry workers who started industrial action after a colleague named Hollis

³⁵¹ R. Frow, E. Frow and Michael Katanka, *Strikes: A Documentary History* (London: Charles Knight and Co. Ltd, 1971), 128-29.

³⁵² Richard Hyman, 'Tom Mann: The Road to Syndicalism and Beyond,' *Historical Studies in Industrial Relations* 33, 1 (2012); Bob Holton, *British Syndicalism 1900-1914* (London: Pluto Press, 1976), 62-3.

³⁵³ Ralph Darlington, 'Strike Waves, Union Growth and the Rank and File / Bureaucracy Interplay: Britain 1889-1890, 1910-1913 and 1919-1920,' *Labor History* 55, 1 (2014): 5

was dismissed. Hollis' employment was terminated after an explosion was caused when a blank cartridge was brought into the GNR foundry by a youth returning from a Territorial Army camp. Hollis was accused of placing the cartridge into a foundry ladle causing an explosion. No damage was done but Hollis was dismissed, and seventy men went out on strike in solidarity.³⁵⁴

By 1914 trade union membership had reached a 23 per cent density rate among the British workforce, largely due to the militancy of the Great Unrest which clearly influenced local trade unionists even if Peterborough as a city was largely unaffected by local strikes.³⁵⁵ But some trades were affected by strikes in parallel industries during the Great Unrest. Railway workers were affected by the first national coal miners' strike, which started on 26 February 1912 and was called because of unsatisfactory wage structures. As part of the miners' industrial action, the Unofficial Reform Committee published a scheme to reform the Miners' Federation along syndicalist lines and called for industrial unity and change.³⁵⁶ Fred Henderson, a socialist and writer from Norwich for *The Clarion*, noted that Peterborough's railwaymen were hit hard by the miners' strike. He argued that the railwaymen were only given short periods of work due to the shortage of coal and after attending two packed meetings, he stated that workers were starting to see that the miners' fight was their fight too, creating a sense of solidarity not just among colleagues in the same workplace but between industries.³⁵⁷ Fred

Henderson's analysis of the Peterborough railwaymen in 1912 suggested that they were

³⁵⁴ 'English Railway Workers.' *Belfast Newsletter*, 26 August 1913, 5.

³⁵⁵ G. Bain and R. Price, *Profiles of Union Growth* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), 37-8.

³⁵⁶ The Unofficial Reform Committee, *The Miners Next Step* (Tonypany: Robert Davies and Co., General Printers, 1912).

³⁵⁷ 'Reason Versus Rhetoric.' *The Clarion*, 29 March 1912, 6.

influenced in workplace activism by the industrial activity of the syndicalists and the Great Unrest and were eager to join to their comrades in the fight against capitalism when the opportunity arose. The 1913 Peterborough railway strike was just one example of how trade unionism caused conflict between employers and employees in the workplace but resulted in a renewed solidarity.

Trades councils supported the industrial action of the Great Unrest in a variety of ways. They encouraged unity between different groups of workers and advocated for the idea of one union body by spreading propaganda. They also supported striking workers by acting as coordinating bodies during national strikes. Delegates took the opportunity to further their aims by setting up unified union bodies such as the Building Trades Federations (Portsmouth and Liverpool 1912) and individuals were involved in strike action in their workplaces. Chelmsford trades council delegate Frederick Smyth-Tyrell of the Painters Union and future Chairman of the body was one of them; he took part in industrial action at his workplace, the Hoffman's Bearings Factory in 1910.³⁵⁸ Meanwhile, PTUC delegates were more concerned about securing the fair wages for the town hall's printing contractors than supporting the unofficial strike of the railwaymen despite a large number of them being members of the NUR.³⁵⁹ The NUR however, had not sanctioned industrial action over Hollis' dismissal.³⁶⁰ But to gain support, Peterborough's striking railwaymen sent circulars to other branches in the district and appealed for financial assistance. Branches such as Retford and Nottingham responded

³⁵⁸ Clinton, *The Trade Union Rank and File*, 88-89; Wallace, *Nothing to Lose*, 33.

³⁵⁹ 'The Corporation Printing Contract,' *Peterborough Standard*, 19 April 1913, 5.

³⁶⁰ 'Strike Over,' *The Lincolnshire Echo*, 22 September 1913, 2.

offering assistance, in the eventuality that the strike spread. Meanwhile, picketing made sure that only one furnace could be lit at the foundry.³⁶¹ The strike, however, took a more serious turn towards the end of September as Dent, the General Manager, refused the petition of a deputation to reinstate Hollis. Forty men refused to go back to work resulting in the lock out of 150 foundrymen.³⁶² The NUR however, reiterated that they would not support the strike and as a result, 120 men returned to work on the 22 September. They paid a heavy price. The foundry workers contracts were due to be renewed soon after the strike and the men were told that they would not be taken on again. Meanwhile, those who were re-employed lost seniority of privileges and were treated as new starters.³⁶³ Action of this kind, with unorganised, wildcat strikes were not encouraged by trades councils because even sanctioned strikes could damage the reputations of individuals, officials and trade unions. It meant that there were times when workplace cultures could be both positive and negative for workers when trying to build solidarity between colleagues. This was understood by trades councils.

Conclusion to Chapter Two

This chapter has demonstrated that at the start of the Edwardian period trades council delegates had three major influences – religion (rituals, traditions and non-conformist Methodism), politics (liberal, labour and socialist) and the workplace (sports clubs and trade unions). But trades council delegates were influenced above all by

³⁶¹ 'Strike of Foundry Men at Peterborough,' *The Scotsman*, 5 September 1913, 6.

³⁶² 'Great Northern foundry works at Peterborough Closed,' *The Grantham Journal*, 20 September 1913, 6.

³⁶³ 'Strike Over,' *The Lincolnshire Echo*, 22 September 1913, 2.

individuals - by the middle-class activism of people like Florence Saunders, Caleb Taylor and Samuel Coleman. Many delegates identified with them and aspired to be them as upper working-class labour aristocrats who were skilled workers on the railways or in engineering. Delegates were also internationalists influenced by ideologies shaped abroad. This was seen from the influence of Mazzini whose Christian democratic philosophies were referred to favourably in speeches at trade union rallies organised by the trades council delegates and Liberals several decades after his death. There was the influence of powerful trade union leaders which could be seen in the calibre of labour leaders getting involved in the case of Jones's electoral nomination and during the Edwardian period there was no greater example than Tom Mann whose syndicalist ideologies shaped delegates awareness of industrial and political activism in other countries. This was demonstrated in the PTUC motions to reduce Mann's gaol sentence and in the wildcat strike of Peterborough's railwaymen in 1913.

But the Edwardian period was one of great change. Delegates appeared to embrace the social, cultural, and political changes of the turbulent Edwardian age and after some grappling with a number of left-leaning ideologies emerged out of the First World War with a clear idea of their political leanings. The first political identities of PTUC delegates started with the Liberal Party which caused some hostility between delegates. The second group of political identities were revealed through the socialism of the Clarion and the ILP where members struggled to recruit all but a few committed but determined activists which revolved around trades council delegates. These brands

of socialism were followed by the arguably greater militancy and activism of the SDF or BSP and PSS which were more successful as they provided enough members to create networks and a socialist space to meet and fraternize. The lean towards socialism caused some controversy among the residents of Peterborough as seen at public meetings in the antagonism towards Hardie and Grayson and refusals to stock socialist material at the library. Throughout the period there were also leanings towards a fledgling Labour Party with interest shown in the LRC, but a lack of funds hampered attempts to affiliate in the long term. This matter was not settled until after the First World War after the party was taken more seriously upon entering the government as part of a war-time coalition and this was when the majority of delegates officially turned to the Labour Party as the official political organ of the trades council and ended one of PTUC's major functions – the electoral role.

By the time peace returned to Europe in 1918, PTUC was a mature modern trades council with a clear political position which resulted in the creation of Peterborough Labour Party to take on their electoral functions. Meanwhile, the struggle of the working-class against employers as seen in the Great Unrest and the Osborne case and the growth in trade unionism, which was present throughout the period, continued into the war years. Alongside increased trade unionism was a growth in living standards which contributed to extended leisure time in socialist clubs and on the sports field for PTUC delegates. Trade unionists understood that leisure activities such as holding comic football matches and cultural ones such as concerts could be combined with practical activism like fundraising. They also knew they were important for

wellbeing and for forming and maintaining networks and most importantly of all for building solidarity. Although there was still an underlying poverty for some members of the working class these new activities strengthened networks and created new influences for PTUC delegates which helped to shape the trades council's identity going into the interwar period.

Chapter Three | PTUC During the First World War, Interwar Functions and Women Workers

When war broke out in Europe during the summer of 1914 the British government was loathed to get involved because it would harm the economy. Even the public including many trade unionists took a neutral stance initially, although they did not want to be dominated by Germany. But after Britain declared war on Germany on 4 August 1914 attitudes changed.³⁶⁴ Those trade unionists who stayed in the UK away from the military front could continue to build the labour movement. While some trade unionists were asked to stay behind because of their work, others stayed behind because they wanted to stay true to their morals. For PTUC those who did stay behind in Peterborough became embroiled in civic life to a degree in which they never had done before. The first part of this chapter will therefore analyse the functions of PTUC during the First World War in the context of being first recognised as an authoritative body which was accepted onto public or civic committees, often run in conjunction with the municipal council and workers tribunals. PTUC delegates also held important industrial roles, such as working with women on district munitions committees and setting up industrial workers' conferences. These indicated a period of change in respectability among civic life for PTUC delegates.

There were 70,000 British civilian deaths during the First World War, mostly due to bombing, but there was a slight increase in living standards for the working class.

There was also some movement towards the enfranchisement of women with voting

³⁶⁴ Catriona Pennell, *A Kingdom United: Popular Responses to the Outbreak of the First World War in Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 26.

rights granted to women over the age of 30 with a property qualification in the 1918 Representation of the People Act.³⁶⁵ But the interwar period was also one which was dogged by economic problems leaving much of the working class suffering from unemployment and depression. Failure to develop technological production reduced competitiveness and competition with the US and Japan was fiercer than it was before war broke out in 1914. The re-adoption of the gold standard in 1925 added damage to the economy. The result was more bouts of industrial unrest. The triple alliance of railwaymen, dockers and miners launched a strike in the 1920s to campaign for higher wages for the miners. But it was also a period of perceived betrayal when the transport section withdrew from the alliance when they were called on for support by the miners again in March 1921, in an episode known as 'Black Friday.'³⁶⁶

The second part of the chapter examines changes which took place in the relationships between men and women trade unionists in the interwar period before examining the industrial action which took place in Peterborough from 1919 to 1929. It will assess the involvement which PTUC had in local strikes during the decade which mainly involved women which gave us clues to the kind of relationship which male and female trade unionists had in the city. The research covers the 1919 strike of teaching assistants in the National Union of Teachers (NUT) where PTUC delegates appeared to work more closely with the local education committee the trade unionists suggesting that they used their new-found responsibility in civic life seriously. This was also the

³⁶⁵ Adam Gregory, *The Last Great War: British Society and the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 1.

³⁶⁶ Alastair Reid, *United We Stand, A History of Britain's Trade Unions* (London: Penguin Group, 2004), 312-14.

route they took to solve problems for children when relief was needed because of parental unemployment during a strike of railway foundry workers around the same time. This section will also show that PTUC delegates were involved in campaigns in a variety of ways up until 1927 when after taking the lead as the local strike committee in the 1926 general strike, PTUC, like the rest of the trade union movement was subdued through anti-union legislation which meant that by the time of Peterborough's 1928 Celta Mill strike of women workers, they were absent. The Celta Mill strike mostly contained women whose voices were still lost within the paternal trade union movement which went to support their action but were also starting to assert their rights within the trade union movement.³⁶⁷

The final part of the chapter looks at the changes in society for women's groups during the first half of the twentieth century, concentrating on individual women who were connected with PTUC. As well as political organisations, mass membership civic associations grew through the interwar period too. For instance, the Women's Institute, British Legion, the Rotary Clubs and League of Nations were just a few.³⁶⁸ For women trade unionists, or the wives and daughters of male members, they had the opportunity to be active in different associations from the Victorian era. It analyses the complex reasons why women, many of whom were active in various women's union bodies such as the Women's Cooperative Guild (WCG) and National Union of Railways Women's Guild (RWG), were largely missing from PTUC's activities until after the Second World

³⁶⁷ McCormack, *Citizenship and Gender in Britain, 1688-1928* (London: Routledge, 2019), 176, 179.

³⁶⁸ Helen McCarthy, 'Parties, Voluntary Associations and Democratic Politics in Interwar Britain,' *The Historical Journal* 50, 4 (2007): 893.

War. By analysing the biographies of various women connected to the trade union movement, it argues that women's campaigns were separate to men's up until the post-war period but changes in society after the First World War led to a raft of changes making women more confidence in their actions as women trade unionists and campaigners. This was understood by PTUC, who, though they had no formal women delegates, were influenced by their campaigns and through complex intergenerational and social networks.

PTUC as an Authoritative Body

When the First World War broke out in 1914, trade union membership stood at 4,145,000 and by the time peace returned in 1918 it had increased to 6,533,000.³⁶⁹

During this time the significance of trade unions to the working-class also increased.

Prior to the First World War trade unions tended to concentrate purely on workplace campaigns. But once the Government took control of the economy, the TUC, who up until then had only met from time to time, was invited to represent the trade unions on government bodies which earned them respectability.³⁷⁰ The same happened on a local

level and in 1914 PTUC was 'first recognised as an authoritative body' when eight delegates were asked to sit on the Mayor's War Committee and other public bodies.³⁷¹

The war committee was established as an administrative body for the duration of the

³⁶⁹ Chris Wrigley, 'At the Cross Road: The Labour Party, the Trade Unions and the Choices of Direction for the Democratic Left,' 35-55, *Labour, British Radicalism and the First World War*, ed. Lucy Bland and Richard Carr (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018) 39.

³⁷⁰ Gerald A. Dorfman, *British Trade Unionism Against the Trades Union Congress* (Basingstoke: The Macmillan Press Ltd, 1983), 4-5.

³⁷¹ *Peterborough and District Trades Union Council Diamond Jubilee* (Peterborough: Peterborough and District Trades and Labour Council, 1959), 5.

conflict and was created to provide relief to residents in need. Trades councils were aware that the war would cause economic distress and wanted to assist; however, they had different opinions about joining local relief committees caused by issues such as the suitability or number of trades council representatives appointed onto them, the scales of relief which they offered and the registration process. For instance, Bethnal Green trades council complained of a 'charity-taint', while labour representatives were offered just three spaces in Camberwell and the Grimsby trades council boycotted the committee in that town altogether. But Peterborough sent delegates and were pleased to be asked to part in the civic life of the city.³⁷²

During the war years, trades councils were also given responsible industrial duties to carry out when they were invited to send delegates to munitions tribunals. Tribunals were established to arbitrate over employer and employee disputes and outlawed strikes and lockouts in factories through the Munitions of War Acts from 1915 and 1917. The TUC and Labour Party had agreed to the dilution of labour (giving skilled work to the semi-skilled or unskilled) in the Act and other restrictive practises in the Treasury Agreement after a series of strikes on the Clyde. Clinton argued that trades councils were often discontented with munition tribunals and thought of them as an erosion of civil liberties, especially when conscientious objectors turned out to be trades council officers.³⁷³ In reality, the radical left had few objectors due to having its own

³⁷² Alan Clinton, *The Trades Union Rank and File: Trades Councils in Britain 1900-40* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1977), 56-57.

³⁷³ Alan Clinton, 'Trade Councils During the First World War,' *International Review of Social History* 15, 2 (1970): 205-207, 230.

version of patriotism based on liberty and democracy.³⁷⁴ In Peterborough's case, future PTUC secretary and delegate from the Typographical Association, Percy Woodall, was a conscientious objector and was charged with being absent under the Military Service Act in 1917. After being arrested, he was taken to Northampton for tribunal and sent to Dartmoor prison for refusing to take part in the war.³⁷⁵ But the only evidence of criticism from PTUC made of the war was contained in a motion passed in 1915 against conscription which it called 'unnecessary and unjustified.'³⁷⁶ Meanwhile, W. Syred, a member of PTUC's executive committee was chosen to represent labour on the city tribunal and recruitment committee which created a complex situation when fellow trade unionists were potentially pitted against each other in legal matters such as Woodall's. But Syred's appointment onto the council was controversial anyway as although he replaced a fellow councillor, he was not elected to the position by the people of the ward but appointed by the town council. PTUC wrote to the mayor and then complained in person that their candidate chosen to represent labour was George Green not Syred, and an election was required. The town council ignored PTUC's protests and Syred, a signman for the Great Northern Railway and chairman of the

³⁷⁴ David Monger, *Patriotism and Propaganda in First World War Britain: The National War Aims Committee and Civilian Morale* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2014), 18.

³⁷⁵ 'Conscientious Objector: Printer Charged with Being an Absentee, *Peterborough Express*, 25 April 1917, 3; Hazel Perry, 'Peterborough's Conscientious Objector: Percy Woodall,' accessed 15 April 2022, <https://perrytwinkle.wordpress.com/2020/11/08/peterboroughs-conscientious-objector-percy-woodall/>.

³⁷⁶ 'Diary of the Past,' *Peterborough Standard*, 15 June 1945, 9.

National Union of Railway (NUR) branch No. 1 in Peterborough, remained in his important appointed position.³⁷⁷

At the beginning of the war, craft unions such as the Amalgamated Society of Engineers (ASE) were accused of hampering the war effort by hanging on to skilled employees. They used a system of 'badging' to stop workers from being recruited, but the TUC met with the government and agreed to help maximise war output by relaxing their demands and agreeing to accept women into the workplace.³⁷⁸ This was the first time in which PTUC delegates came directly into contact with women in their workshops. Because Peterborough had engineering workshops which could easily be used to manufacture weapons of war, John Kent and John Mansfield, both trades council delegates from the ASE and employees at Peter Brotherhoods, were elected to sit on the District Munitions Committee. Additionally, when Kent and Mansfield attended a meeting at the Guildhall in Peterborough on 25 June the latter was elected to sit on both the tribunal for the Munitions of War in nearby Stamford and Northampton. PTUC was also asked by the ASE District Committee for a representative to sit on a munition's tribunal to act when there was a case specific to Brotherhood's in March 1916.³⁷⁹ Therefore, trades council delegates in Peterborough sat on at least four important war-time committees.

³⁷⁷ 'Election of Town Councillor: Probable Choice of Mr. Syred to Succeed Mr. Lamplugh,' *Peterborough Advertiser*, 10 March 1917, 7; 'Rumpus at Town Council: Labour Party Creates a Scene at Peterborough,' *Peterborough Advertiser*, 17 March 1917, 7.

³⁷⁸ G. R. Rubin. 'The Origins of Industrial Tribunals: Munitions Tribunals During the First World War' 150-52.

³⁷⁹ PAS/AEU/1/1/2, ASE District Committee Meeting Minutes 1914-1917, 24 June 1915; 19 February 1915; 16 May 1916; 16 March 1916.

As well as sitting on the tribunal during the war, Syred was also a member of the committee which dealt with national work for women.³⁸⁰ Women workers in Peterborough did join trade unions prior to the First World War but none of them were delegates to PTUC. Before 1914, the largest of the women's unions nationally was the Women's Trade Union League which supported strikes and campaigned for women to join trade unions. There was also the National Federation of Women Workers (NFWW), which was especially active between 1910 and 1914 but only the NFWW and the Workers Union (WU) were committed to organising women seriously.³⁸¹ The WU, established in 1898 to recruit unskilled and semi-skilled workers and women as well as men, did not set up a branch in Peterborough until February 1916 which was organised mainly in the area's numerous brickworks.³⁸² The NFWW had 40,000 members by 1914 and a branch of the union in Peterborough covered the factory workers of Messrs. Luke Turner and Co., elastic weavers as well as Symington and Co, corset makers. In 1913, the secretary of the Peterborough NFWW branch was Miss Rowe.³⁸³

The large-scale use of women workers in the engineering industry was implemented in spring 1915. Men worried that women would dilute their work and this concern resulted in a conference of the Engineering Employers Federation in London on

³⁸⁰ 'Election of Town Councillor: Probable Choice of Mr. Syred to Succeed Mr. Lamplugh,' *Peterborough Advertiser*, 10 March 1917, 7.

³⁸¹ '1914-1918: Women Trade Unionists,' Mary Davis, accessed 12 May 2022, http://www.unionhistory.info/timeline/1914_1918.php.

³⁸² Cathy Hunt, 'Sex Versus Class in Two British Trade Unions in the Early Twentieth Century,' *Journal of Women's History* 24, 1 (2012): 90; *Peterborough Standard Directory for Peterborough 1922* (Peterborough, Peterborough Standard, 1922) 80; Richard Hyman, *The Workers Union* (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), 150.

³⁸³ Mary Davis, *Comrade or Brother? A History of the British Labour Movement* (London: Pluto Press, 2009), 122-23, 153; Cathy Hunt, *The National Federation of Women Workers* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 180.

26 November 1914, where it was agreed that women were not to be given skilled work and were only to be placed on automatic machines or in repetitive jobs. The Shells and Fuses Act set out an agreement with the ASE, that women who took over men's jobs would earn the same rate until the end of the war.³⁸⁴ In Peterborough, three members of the ASE were selected for a sub-committee to work on an agreement with the NFWW at a meeting held on 12 July 1915 with regards to women's war work.³⁸⁵

Women's war work was organised through a national central committee on Women's Employment which was established in 1914 with three aims - to distribute work to women in industry, to redeploy unemployed skilled workers, and to help the committee establish a national relief fund. Working-class women were represented on the committee by Mary Macarthur who founded the NFWW in 1906 and Margaret Bondfield, co-founder of the Women's Labour League, established in 1903. Bondfield was also the women's organiser of the National Union of General and Municipal Workers (NUGMW) and attended a meeting arranged by PTUC to talk about the organisation of women workers in 1915 and also attended a public rally organised by PTUC to demonstrate against an increase in food prices.³⁸⁶ Henry Hyndman of the Social Democratic Federation spoke at the rally alongside Bondfield, who represented the Women's Cooperative Guild at the event. Hyndman spoke to a motion protesting against price rises; food which cost 22s 6d in 1904 had risen to 33s 3d by 1915. He called on the government to deal with 'unpatriotic profiteers' and asked them to exercise

³⁸⁴ Sarah Boston, *Women Workers and Trade Unions* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 2015), 99, 100-101.

³⁸⁵ PAS, PAS/AEU/1/1/2, ASE District Committee Minutes 1914-1917, 12 July 1915.

³⁸⁶ Reid, *United We Stand*, 215.; 'Margaret Bondfield.' Working Class Movement Library, accessed 26 May 2020, <https://www.wcml.org.uk/>; *Peterborough and District Trades Union Council Diamond Jubilee 1899-1959* (Peterborough: Peterborough and District Trades Union Council), 15.

control of the price of coal, wheat and transport. The meeting was reported in the *Peterborough Express*; however, it demonstrated the difficulties of hearing women's voices because the article gave 4 lines to Bondfield compared to Hyndman's 4 long paragraphs.³⁸⁷ If Bondfield, the epitome of the women's labour movement in 1915, struggled to get her voice heard then it is possible that any women delegates to PTUC during the same period would also have been drowned out leaving a gap in the record.

As a result of the Shells and Fuses Act, Brotherhoods was ordered by the government to use women workers from the autumn of 1915 and a trade union steward was placed in the 'girls' department, at the start of 1916. Yet there was no mention of women workers at Werner's, Pfleiderer and Perkins until March 1916, with a further report that women were to be placed on the small milling machines and on rough fitting work, in accordance with the Munitions Act. Aublett and Harry, meanwhile, did not introduce women workers until July 1916.³⁸⁸ Despite workplace agreements, the WU reported that women workers, 'have not made the progress we are entitled to hope for.' The union did, however, recognise the growing trend of the employment of women in factories and workshops and acknowledged that they worked for less pay than men. The seeds of change had been sown because those women were doing work which they never imagined they could do two years previously; they were doing it well, and were likely to want to stay in those roles. However, men complained that this meant that there would be competition in the workplace and that limited future workplace

³⁸⁷ 'A Sunday Grizzle,' *Peterborough Express*, 14 July 1915, 2.

³⁸⁸ PAS/AEU/1/1/2, ASE District Committee Minutes 1914-1917, 28 October 1915; 10 January 1916; 24 March 1916; 5 April 1916; 3 July 1916.

opportunities for both genders.³⁸⁹ The results of such complaints were illustrated in Peterborough when from the summer of 1916 there was concern that women were displacing male workers at Werner, Pfleiderer and Perkins.³⁹⁰

Further examples of the increasing conflict between men's and women's roles during the war were recorded in the ASE minutes from the meeting held on 7 December 1916, when a woman was asked to work on a central lathe at Aublett and Harry. The lathe had a piece added to it, which resulted in the job becoming a semi-skilled one and the committee agreed to demand the same rate of pay for the woman that a man would get as stated in the Shells and Fuses Act. Meanwhile, both women workers and the ASE committee complained that wages were not high enough at Botherhoods, Aublett and Harry and Werner, Pfleiderer and Perkins which resulted in calls for equal pay.³⁹¹ In August 1917 the Ministry of Munitions increased women munition workers' wages to 2s 6d per week for those aged 18 and over although they were still not on par with men's earnings.³⁹² Munitions workers were not the only employees unhappy with wages during the First World War, as seen when Green and Andrew Martin represented PTUC at a meeting of cooperative workers demanding union wages in January 1916. At the meeting, Miss H. A. Kidd of the Cooperative Union's District Committee pointed out that although the Women's Co-operative Society had campaigned for a minimum wage scale it had not been adopted in Peterborough. A resolution to strike was adopted at the

³⁸⁹ Malcolm Wallace, *Nothing to lose... A World to Win: A History of the Chelmsford and District Trades Union Council* (Chelmsford: Malcolm Wallace, 1979), 39.

³⁹⁰ PAS/AEU/1/1/2, ASE District Committee Minutes 1914-1917, 12 June 1916.

³⁹¹ PAS/AEU/1/1/2, ASE District Committee Minutes 1914-1917, 7 December 1916.

³⁹² 'Women Munition Workers: Advance in Wages of 2s. 6d. Per Week,' *Peterborough Standard*, 11 August 1917, 2.

meeting and PTUC was acknowledged by district organising secretary, R. J Ball, as being part of the fight for better wages.³⁹³

Another way that PTUC delegates were involved in war time committees came in 1917, when delegates took part in an Industrial Conference Committee which formed after a public meeting organised by the Church of England Men's Society. The committee was made up of local engineering firms and representatives from the trades council. The committee was established because it was believed that 'capital and labour know far too little of other's difficulties and problems and it is the endeavour of the committee to remedy this to some extent by mutual exchange of views.'³⁹⁴ The committee was formed at the second conference, which was held in December 1917 and was chaired by Peterborough's Bishop Woods. During the second conference, the Mayor and J. E. Perkins spoke for the employers and Mansfield and John Swain for PTUC. The conferences claimed to discuss industry, historically and in the future and Perkins spoke of finance, machinery, and demobilisation, while Mansfield led a discussion on reconstruction and the trade unions before the war and the restoration of trade union conditions after they were sacrificed for the war effort. This committee did look very much like a debating group in this case as the issues of industry and economy in peacetime were discussed by the two sides with no real power to effect change. But out of this came the decision to form an unofficial industrial committee to look after the interests of both employers and employees containing three representations from each

³⁹³ 'Co-op Wages: Non-Payment of Union Rates, Workers in Revolt,' *Peterborough Standard*, 29 January 1916, 6.

³⁹⁴ *Peterborough Standard Directory 1922*, 75.

side. In the case of PTUC, the representatives were Martin, A. Gamble and T. Lemmy. The industrial committee, which also included three representatives from the municipal council, as well as from the employers and PTUC, went on to operate during the interwar period and was a legacy of the commitment to an understanding between local employers and employees.³⁹⁵ During the interwar period, the committee hosted discussions on subjects such with guest speakers such as 'taxation as it effects the worker' led by William Appleton, Secretary of the General Federation of Trade Unions, 'the practical value of Whitley Councils,' with the General Secretary of the Post Office Workers Union, J. W. Bowden and Frank Salter, Dean of Magdalen College, Cambridge spoke on 'social history and industrial problems.'³⁹⁶

There was also the matter of the local Food Control Committee (FCC) which dealt with rationing. As late as February 1918, delegates complained that there was not enough representation of labour on it and because a PTUC deputation met with the committee there was an agreement to increase the number of working-class representatives by four, all nominated by PTUC. Two of the representatives were elected directly from trades council delegates. Unlike Chelmsford, whose first women delegates were representatives from the trades council to the local FCC, PTUC's spokespeople were all men.³⁹⁷ But as well as representing the working class on the FCC, PTUC delegates continued to take a leading role in campaigns against the unequal

³⁹⁵ 'After the War Industrial Relations: Employers for No Restriction of Output Payment by Result,' *Peterborough Standard*, 22 December 1917, 2; *Peterborough Standard Directory*, 75.

³⁹⁶ 'The Man Who Works pays: Labour Leader on the Effects of Taxation,' *Peterborough Standard*, 4 February 1921, 9; 'Peterborough Industrial Conference Committee,' *Peterborough Standard*, 3 December 1921, 6; 'Peterborough Industrial Conference Committee,' *Peterborough Standard*, 27 January 1922, 6.

³⁹⁷ Wallace, *Nothing to Lose*, 43.

distribution of food and queues during the later war years. For instance, PTUC accompanied a parade of 5,000 men and women from local engineering firms who had downed tools in January 1918, while delegate Sam Digby chaired a rally which took place at the Stanley Recreation Ground in February. At the rally, the mayor announced that a new rationing scheme would shortly be put into effect and when he announced that PTUC were invited to send four more representatives to the FCC, there was applause.³⁹⁸

For all this, PTUC was absent when munition workers joined women from the Land Army, Royal Airforce, the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps and nurses in September 1918 for a parade through the streets of Peterborough. The parade was reminiscent of trade union marches and a service was held for them at the Cathedral afterwards. The women even carried banners like trade unions but these declared 'women, wheat and victory' and 'join the land army for health and happiness,' rather than a socialist message. Large crowds gathered to watch and the bishop addressed them stating that 'it is not only the men who are going to secure victory, it is the women too.'³⁹⁹

There was no evidence to suggest that PTUC had much involvement with the issues of women war workers, as a body. Individual delegates sat on the committees to organise women's work, came across the issues caused by their employment through their own trade union branches and shared their workspaces with them. With more women in the workplace there was a requirement for men to rethink and reshape their

³⁹⁸ 'Food Control, the Butter and Margarine Rationing: Representation of Labour,' *Peterborough Advertiser*, 2 February 1918, 5.

³⁹⁹ 'Land Girls Rally: Cathedral Service and Parade at Peterborough,' *Peterborough Standard*, 21 September 1918, 3.

attitudes. But when the First World War ended on 11 November 1918, the demobilisation of munitions workers began swiftly and delegates showed no interest in their plight. The demobilisation of 1000 women workers in Peterborough (out of a national total of 4,940,000) started in late November 1918.⁴⁰⁰ At agricultural machinery manufacturers Barford and Perkins, women were told that they should continue their 'patriotic duties' by going back to their pre-war occupations. Meanwhile at furniture manufacturer's, Frederick Sage and Co Ltd., night-shifts were dispensed with, and women were told that they should leave their jobs voluntarily, to prevent the company from 'taking action'. Baker Perkins meanwhile, gave the women enforced holiday's instead.⁴⁰¹ Baker Perkins was the new name for Werner's Pfleiderer and Perkins which according to an article called 'these seventy years' in PTUC's 1969 annual report, changed its name after a PTUC deputation was sent to show solidarity during a 'period of racial discrimination,' during the war.⁴⁰² This suggested that PTUC was progressive on some issues such as racism but when it came to women workers, there did not seem to be much of a change in attitude. PTUC remained a male space throughout the war and continued to remain so into the interwar period

Interwar Industrial Action, Unemployment, Women and Children

There was plenty of industrial action for PTUC to get involved with during the interwar period and PTUC delegates were keen to get involved in supporting workers

⁴⁰⁰ Gerry Holloway, *Women and Work in Britain Since 1840* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005), 144.

⁴⁰¹ David Gray, *Peterborough at War 1914-1918* (Great Britain: 2014), 442.

⁴⁰² MRC, 292D/79/183, PTUC 1969 Yearbook, 10.

with practical action rather than by merely discussing and passing motions when the opportunity arose. This opportunity arose in 1926 during the General Strike. However, PTUC's affiliated unions only contained delegates from male-dominated trades, meaning that they were unable to get involved in the younger industries which employed more women workers alone. In 1925, for example, there were branches affiliated from the AEU, Electrical Trades Union, Associated Society of Locomotive Engine Drivers and Firemen, Operative Bricklayers Society, United Operative Plumbers and Domestic Engineers Society, Iron Moulders Association, Amalgamated Society of House and Ship Painters and Decorators and the Amalgamated Union of Operative Bakers and Confectioners. Only the Amalgamated Society of Tailors and Tailoresses and Kindred Workers may have provided some female membership.⁴⁰³ But the overwhelmingly male element of PTUC meant that when it came to disputes involving women workers, such as Peterborough's 1926 Celta Mill Strike, they were unwilling to get involved. This was despite statistics confirming that, after demobilisation, women's trade union membership was at its peak. In 1920, 1,342,000 women, or 25 per cent of the female workforce, were members of a union. But women were still restricted to just a few trades - they were clerics, teachers, textile workers and domestic servants.⁴⁰⁴ However, the exception to PTUC's input into women's matters during the interwar period was during the 1919 teachers' strike.

⁴⁰³ MRC, MSS.292/944/P/12, Peterborough and District Trades and Labour Council Annual Report with Balance Sheet for Year Ending 31 December 1925.

⁴⁰⁴ '1918-1939: Women Workers in the Interwar Years,' Mary Davis, accessed 12 May 2022, http://www.unionhistory.info/timeline/1918_1939.php.

Immediately after the First World War authority figures such as police and armed forces were involved in a major strike wave alongside miners, transport workers and printers. 35 million working days were lost in 1919 alone due to strike action.⁴⁰⁵ But the industrial action which affected the Peterborough area the most in 1919 centred on women teachers and children. Teaching conditions were tough during the war - male teachers left their jobs to fight in the war and women were left to teach in dilapidated classrooms which had no heating, among other things. Additionally, classes were large – schools in London had to contend with over 100 pupils in each class.⁴⁰⁶ In late 1918, the London County Council and the National Union of Teachers (NUT), agreed to give 4,000 male teachers a pay rise but this left the 12,000 women teachers in England earning either nothing, or less than they had during the war.⁴⁰⁷ PTUC delegate John Mansfield wrote in the ‘Labour’s Point of View’ column introduced in the *Peterborough Standard* after the First World War that the NUT met with the local education committee the previous week and were furious at their pay offer and predicted that strike action was imminent. Mansfield accused the education committee of ‘asking for trouble’ by paying considerably less than other towns and cities of the same size.⁴⁰⁸

The NUT was a ‘male-dominated power structure’ even though most members were women and if conditions were bad, wages were worse – women teachers earned less in the first three years than female tram conductors did during their first six

⁴⁰⁵ Mary Davis, ‘1918-1939: Strikes of 1919,’ *The Union Makes Us Strong*, accessed 19 April 2022, http://www.unionhistory.info/timeline/1918_1939.php.

⁴⁰⁶ Janine Booth, *Minnie Lansbury: Suffragette, Socialist and Rebel Councillor* (Nottingham: Five Leaves, 2018).

⁴⁰⁷ Boston, *Women Workers and Trade Unions*, 146.

⁴⁰⁸ ‘Labour Notes,’ *Peterborough Standard*, 15 February 1919, 5.

months. Teachers drew up a petition against the new pay scale, collecting 10,000 signatures and even a back dated war bonus did not stop the campaign, which resulted in mass meetings and demonstrations being held across the country in 1918 and 1919.⁴⁰⁹ As a result, elementary school teachers in Peterborough demanded a 'moderate' pay deal of £320 per annum for headteachers and £240 for teaching assistants. In mid-May 1919 they were offered a compromise pay deal; however, the teachers rejected the offer and asked that their original demands be met by 30 April.⁴¹⁰ An article in the *Sheffield Independent* joked that after 30 April, 'down will come the canes and other things, and the committee instead of the children, may then feel the smart.'⁴¹¹ When the education committee did not respond by 1 May, elementary teachers resigned from their jobs giving one months' notice.⁴¹² The NUT pressed for a meeting with the education committee again and they agreed to meet before the end of May.⁴¹³

The education committee also responded by closing twenty-eight schools in the district while they sorted out the problem caused by the resignations.⁴¹⁴ This was effectively a lock out and the teachers called a strike. A meeting between the committee and the NUT had still not taken place by the end of May and one hundred teachers' jobs hung in the balance, resulting in an offer from the striking teachers to withdraw their resignations if a suitable agreement could be met. However, the Mayor of

⁴⁰⁹ Dolly Smith Wilson, 'Fighting the Damnable triumph of feminism: Battles Between Teachers Unions in Interwar Britain,' *Gender and Education* 19, 16, (2007): 669.

⁴¹⁰ 'Peterborough Teachers,' *Westminster Gazette*, 19 April 1919, 6.

⁴¹¹ 'The Spirit of the Time,' *Sheffield Independent*, 21 April 1919, 4.

⁴¹² 'Threatened Tramway Strike at Sheffield,' *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*, 1 May 1919, 4.

⁴¹³ 'Teachers Threatened Strike,' *Pall Mall Gazette*, 19 May 1919, 7.

⁴¹⁴ 'Power of the Strike,' *The Daily Herald*, 24 June 1919, 6.

Peterborough, who was former PTUC founder Walter Riseley, stated that the teachers could not withdraw their resignations and 100 teaching assistants left at the end of May.⁴¹⁵ But that was not a view shared by one of the few women of power and position in Peterborough at the time, Katherine Clayton. The Education Committee did sympathise with the teachers as confirmed by their spokesperson who was Clayton. Clayton had been active in Peterborough's social and political life since she arrived in the city with her husband, the Cathedral Canon Lewis Clayton in 1887. She was involved in philanthropic work to help the poor, specifically women and girls, and was an active social worker having established a Mother's Union in the city and was secretary of the local branch of the National Council of Women.⁴¹⁶ As such Clayton reported on behalf of the committee in the *Peterborough Standard* that they shared the concerns of the teachers with regards to the increase in the cost of living and the compromise offer was to re-employ the teachers and pay the national scale of pay from the date of their return. Clayton reported that there had been 'faults on both sides,' but the NUT representative had refused to consider the pay offer.⁴¹⁷ Speaking at a conference held about the dispute at the Cooperative Hall on 30 July 1919, which did not include any women teachers on the platform, the mayor acknowledged that Clayton was the only member of the committee who showed a genuine concern for the consequences of the strike on children's education.⁴¹⁸

⁴¹⁵ 'A Strike at Peterborough,' *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*, 28 May 1919, 8.

⁴¹⁶ W. H. Collin, 'Katherine Clayton OBE: Peterborough's Second Freewoman,' in *People of Peterborough: Famous and Interesting People from the History of Peterborough*, ed. Peterborough U3A Shared Learning Members (Peterborough: Peterborough Museum Publications), 127.

⁴¹⁷ 'Mrs Clayton's Views,' *Peterborough Standard*, 21 June 1919, 2.

⁴¹⁸ 'The Education Dispute: Teacher's Side of the Case Presented,' *Peterborough Standard*, 5 July 1919, 7.

The dispute continued throughout June and PTUC supported the teachers, sending a resolution to the Minister of Education protesting against the closure of schools, which the trades council argued had been done 'through the education committee not complying with the teacher's reasonable demands for an adequate living wage.'⁴¹⁹ The representatives of the NUT finally met the with the education committee on the week of 18 June to no avail. This resulted in a threat by the union to hold a large demonstration in the market square if results were not satisfactory, an idea backed by PTUC, as well as the Federation of the Discharged and Disabled Ex-Servicemen's Societies, and the local Labour Party.⁴²⁰ The strike finally ended on 7 July following arbitration organised by the Board and Ministry of Labour who ruled in September 1919 that local authority rates paid to teachers should be increased.⁴²¹ The NUT, PTUC and Peterborough's women teachers could all claim a part in this victory although in the 1920s the National Union of Women teachers was formed in response to the patriarchal attitudes of the NUT.⁴²² There was no mention of a women's teaching union in Peterborough in the newspapers in the early interwar period or in the PTUC documents though.

In 1919, there was also a national strike of railway iron moulders which lasted for at least 18 weeks and affected Peterborough. There were specific concerns over how children would suffer as a result and the workers brought it up with the trades council

⁴¹⁹ 'Teacher's Strike,' *Nottingham Journal*, 21 June 1919, 5.

⁴²⁰ 'Teachers' struggle,' *The Daily Herald*, 18 June 1919, 6; 'Peterborough Strikers Backed,' *The Daily Herald*, 11 June 1919, 6.

⁴²¹ 'Peterborough Teachers' Strike Ended,' *Western Times*, 8 July 1919, 8; 'The Award: Peterborough Local Education Authority and the National Union of Teachers,' *Peterborough Standard*, 25 October 1919, 2.

⁴²² Dolly Smith Wilson, 'Fighting the "Damnable Triumph" of Feminism: Battles Between Teachers' Unions in Interwar Britain,' *Gender and Education* 19, 6 (2007): 670. (669-676)

secretary at the time, Frederick Norval.⁴²³ Norval, who was PTUC secretary for four years was an employee at Peter Brotherhoods. He sat on the Council's food committee during the First World War and was 'instrumental' in setting up a committee to provide work or relief for the unemployed in the late 1920s.⁴²⁴ PTUC delegates brought the matter of hungry children to the attention of the education committee that immediate action should be taken through the Education Act to feed school children as there was much unemployment of railway workers throughout the town.⁴²⁵ There was also the matter of unemployment following demobilisation of war workers and military personnel which PTUC delegates also felt disadvantaged children. A further deputation to the education committee took place where PTUC President George Stimpson, keeper of the Co-operative Hall in Peterborough, quoted that out of 181 families where the breadwinner was out of work, 30 had more than four children to feed.⁴²⁶

The committee promised to speak to schools and look at ways to relieve distress on a case-by-case basis.⁴²⁷ It was a partial win for PTUC. Delegates continued to take an interest in children's education into 1920 when there was a comment in the *Peterborough Advertiser*, on the 'Pure Milk Bill' of which they accused the Government of profiteering and issued a call to delegates suggesting that by changing the education

⁴²³ 'Hungry Children: Soke Education Committee Interview Out of Work Moulders,' *Peterborough Standard*, 20 December 1919, 6.

⁴²⁴ 'Mr F. V. Norval,' *Peterborough Standard*, 26 March 1926, 9.

⁴²⁵ 'Local Paragraphs,' *Peterborough Standard*, 8 November 1919, 5.

⁴²⁶ 'Mr George Stimpson Retires: 41 Years Co-operative Hall Keeper,' *Peterborough Standard*, 9 December 1932, 9.

⁴²⁷ 'Hungry Children: Soke Education Committee Interview Out of Work Moulders,' *Peterborough Standard*, 20 December 1919, 6.

system, workers' children could become more 'useful citizens.'⁴²⁸ The wave of activity in 1919 and 1920 on matters of schools and food was the most sustained action which PTUC took throughout the twentieth century with regards to women and children. They did this through arranging deputations to local government committees for discussions but also used the local newspapers to spread propaganda and the organisation of physical public meetings to argue the case for workers.

Although there was no mention of a woman delegate to PTUC until 1925 delegates started to acknowledge the role of women workers in the labour movement earlier in the interwar period. Whilst arguing against claims levelled by their opponents that 'the labour movement is too narrow in its outlook' and was only interested in one class (working class men), Mansfield confirmed that the term 'workers' applied to both men and women and not just those who undertook manual labour. He went to explain that labour included all of those involved in work useful to the community, 'not only in the production of a commodity, processing an exchange value, such as boots, bricks or locomotives, but any service which performs an essential day to day service, rendered by a school teacher, doctor, lawyer, editor, singer, musician, accountant, etc.' The work of the trades council was therefore theoretically inclusive to both men and women from all spheres in equal measure as labourers who provided a useful commodity – in other words, the working class.⁴²⁹ The conformation of PTUC's attitudes towards women coincided with the period when the TUC started to discuss women trade unionists more

⁴²⁸ 'Labours Point of View: Trades and Labour Council Notes,' *Peterborough Standard*, 25 December 1920, 9.

⁴²⁹ 'Labour's Point of View,' *Peterborough Standard*, 6 November 1920, 9.

seriously, but little was done to encourage them to join trade unions either locally or nationally. Within male dominated structures such as the TUC and PTUC they remained a point for discussion. But women's unemployment after demobilisation was still a matter of concern for female trade union officials as late as 1922. For instance, Dorothy Jewson, Chief Organiser for women of the National Union of General Workers, wrote an article which was published in the *Peterborough Standard* urging the government to train and educate women in 'works of national utility' and the organisation of factories rather than giving them meagre sums of money through National Unemployment Insurance or forcing them into the bad conditions of domestic service or the unprotected catering services, the latter which the Board of Trade were slow to reform.⁴³⁰ It was a well thought-out article because domestic service was the largest employer of women in the Soke of Peterborough in 1921 when 1,957 women worked in service out of a total population of 24,312.⁴³¹ Although there were branches of the Domestic Service Union in London and Birmingham there was not one for the 8 per cent of Peterborough's population in the trade in 1920.⁴³²

But the TUC General Council still deferred a decision to let a woman be secretary of the TUC women's group in 1925, which was a great disappointment to campaigners. The General Council also agreed that it should be up to individual unions to set up women's committees and left the matter there. Consequently, some district women's conferences were held with support from trades councils, Women's Cooperative Guilds

⁴³⁰ 'Our Workless Women,' *Peterborough Standard*, 9 June 1922, 4.

⁴³¹ 'Soke of Peterborough, Administrative County,' A Vision of Britain Through Time, accessed 23 September 2020, https://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10152914/cube/OCC_ORD1921.

⁴³² 'Domestic Servants Union: The New Era in Birmingham,' *Peterborough Standard*, 13 March 1920, 2.

(WCG) and the Labour Party. But there was more positive action after the TUC annual women's conference met again in 1928 - following on from that, at the 1930 conference a proposal was drawn up that the General Council should establish a Women's Advisory Committee composed of the women workers' group and supplemented with reps from their trade unions. The conference also recommended that Trades Councils should establish sub-committees with representatives from local trade union branches again with the Labour Party, the WCG and others, to recruit new members and maintain the interest of the women who were already there. But out of the 421 circulars sent to trades councils requesting this action, 286 did not respond, 35 were considering the matter and another 35 had formed sub committees as requested.⁴³³ Although the question of setting up a women's sub-committee was asked on annual returns throughout the 1930s, PTUC's response was always negative and no further explanation was ever given.⁴³⁴ It was a rather disappointing result for campaigners when the sub-committees failed because trade unionists would rather recruit women through branches than trades councils. However, some trades councils started to hold 'special weeks,' where they targeted the recruitment of women and young people. The attitudes of trades councils, the TUC and trades unions suggested that the reasons for which women were rarely involved in PTUC were complex.⁴³⁵

There was an early interwar economic slump, caused by Britain's decline as leaders of manufacturing industries by the start of the period and its effects were just

⁴³³ Boston, *Women Workers and Trade Unions*, 100, 157, 160-61.

⁴³⁴ MRC, MSS.292/944/P/13, Peterborough and District Trades and Labour Council Annual Report with Balance Sheet for Year Ending 31 December 1927; 31 December 1929; 31 December 1932; 31 December 1933; 31 December 1934.

⁴³⁵ Clinton, *The Trade Union Rank and File*, 175, 140.

starting to be felt on business as Britain settled back into peacetime. The slump was followed by a brief boom because of the introduction of new industries such as electrical engineering, aircraft production, cars, chemicals, and man-made fibres but they were slow to take hold. PTUC's 1925 annual report recorded that 'unemployment is still rife... although the government is telling us it is decreasing' and suggested that the figures looked to be decreasing because of the removal of claimants from the registers at the labour exchange and the government's handling of recipients of the Poor Law rather than an economic upturn.⁴³⁶

Although new industries provided employment, employees in the older ones struggled. PTUC delegates reported that in Peterborough there was industrial unrest at the brickworks in 1925 after employers refused a 10 per cent pay claim. But negotiations averted a strike and the workers received 7.5 per cent instead. There was also a strike at Shepreth Cement Works in Bedfordshire during the same year where workers were out on strike for over a year - PTUC raised £1 1s 1d for their strike fund. There were also miners, railwaymen, and textile workers' strikes to name a few in 1925 – but none were successful in their aims. The annual report for that year suggested that PTUC delegates took a great interest in the disputes of the early interwar period even though they were not directly involved, and fundraising activities showed that they were

⁴³⁶ MRC, MSS.292/944/P/12, Peterborough and District Trades and Labour Council Annual Report with Balance Sheet for Year Ending 31 December 1925.

not just discussing industrial action but were physically supporting them, although they did not go as far as joining picket lines.⁴³⁷

There was one bout of industrial action that PTUC delegates were able to embrace during the 1920s – the 1926 General Strike. On 4 May 1926 two million workers downed tools as miners were locked out of their workplaces. They were locked out after their unions asked to negotiate the low terms offered to them after the subsidy ran out. The lockout started on 30 April after the Government negotiations to renew a subsidy broke down.⁴³⁸ PTUC predicted what would happen in the 1925 annual report which stated that,

special resolutions were passed pledging the Council's support to the Miners and to the General Council of the TUC. However, while the meeting was in progress, news came through that a temporary settlement had been arrived at by means of a subsidy, which is to end in May. The solidarity of workers as evinced by the coal trouble will stand out pre-eminently in the history of organised labour.⁴³⁹

The solidarity mentioned in the report would manifest itself in the form of a general strike that was led provincially and with the backing of trade union leaders. But because there was no central leadership, trades councils were given the opportunity to get involved. It was perhaps their finest hour.⁴⁴⁰ For trades councils such as Chelmsford the strike gave trade unionists the opportunity to revive a body which had not been functioning since 1924 and its main responsibility during the strike was to act as an

⁴³⁷ MRC, MSS.292/944/P/12 Peterborough and District Trades and Labour Council Annual Report with Balance Sheet for Year Ending 31 December 1925.

⁴³⁸ Margaret Morris, *The General Strike* (Hammondsworth: The Penguin Books Ltd., 1976), 21.

⁴³⁹ MRC, MSS.292/944/P/12, Peterborough and District Trades and Labour Council Annual Report with Balance Sheet for Year Ending 31 December 1925.

⁴⁴⁰ Alan Clinton, *The Trade Union Rank and File: Trade Councils in Britain 1900 – 40* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1977), 126.

umbrella for the strike committee, fundraising and organising meetings.⁴⁴¹ Despite being instructed by the TUC's general council to limit activities to the 'preservation of peace and order,' trades councils like PTUC took on the role of strike committee for the Peterborough District.⁴⁴² Local officials were instructed to bring any disputes to PTUC and secretary, Percy Woodall, and chair, J. R. Hall, claimed that the trades council was 'conducting the whole of the dispute' in the district and was 'in session all day.'⁴⁴³

Of the 5000 men who were out on strike in the Peterborough district many were railway workers where according to Woodall and Hall the National Union of Railwaymen (NUR), Railway Clerks Association (RCA) and Transport and General Workers Union branches were '100% solid.' The tram system where 80 to 90 workers were out on strike was also reported to be completely shut down. However, bus services were being run by non-union members and volunteers while 'distinguished young citizens act as bus drivers and dainty young misses of good families were ticket collectors' according to the *Peterborough Advertiser* newspaper.⁴⁴⁴ Attitudes in opposition to the strike were summed up by neighbouring Huntingdonshire Women's institute, when they passed a motion which stated that 'this meeting views with great distaste the general strike, and wishes to place on record the hope that the dissenting parties will soon be brought

⁴⁴¹ Wallace, *Nothing to Lose*, 65.

⁴⁴² Morris, *The General Strike*, 45.

⁴⁴³ 'Strikers Mass Meeting: Well Satisfied with the Progress of the Campaign,' *Peterborough Standard*, 7 May 1926, 9; 'Letter – Peterborough and District Trades and Labour Council (Page 1): 7 May 1926,' *The Union Makes Us Strong*, accessed 22 February 2023, <http://www.unionhistory.info/britainatwork/emuweb/objects/nofdigi/tuc/imagedisplay.php?irn=5001374>.

⁴⁴⁴ 'Letter – Peterborough and District Trades and Labour Council (Page 1): 7 May 1926,' *The Union Makes Us Strong*, accessed 22 February 2023, <http://www.unionhistory.info/britainatwork/emuweb/objects/nofdigi/tuc/imagedisplay.php?irn=5001374>; 'The Great Stoppage,' *Peterborough Standard*, 7 May 1926, 7, 12.

together and that the people and prosperity of the country might not be destroyed.⁴⁴⁵

But there are no detailed analyses of the involvement of women in the general strike in academia or elsewhere with the exception of those affected by the miners' lockout in the South Wales Coalfield by Sue Bruley.⁴⁴⁶ But there were mentions of middle and upper class 'reactionary' groups such as the Women's Guild of Empire and the Women's Legion who organised volunteer strike breakers to set type and work presses after a fire at the offices of *The Times*.⁴⁴⁷

Railway workers were solid, however, action within the local engineering industry was divided. Whereas members at Peter Brotherhoods stayed in, members of the AEU and Boilermakers Union at Baker Perkins were on strike. At J. P. Hall, nearly all 100 workers remained in the workshops but at Sage, all 200 men were out, except for those who were employed on house building work; the TUC had agreed for construction work to continue during the strike. There were knock on effects from the strike on workplaces which did remain open. For example, even though the brickyards remained open there were few trains running to distribute completed products.⁴⁴⁸ As a result, the yards were stacked full of bricks and if they ran out of room production would need to be halted. Meanwhile, the 'Peterborough Press' convinced all but two of their employees to remain at work by offering a raise of 25 shillings per week, but the firm acknowledged that the printing presses would only remain open if there was enough

⁴⁴⁵ 'Hunts. Women and the Trade Dispute: Federated Institutes Pass a Resolution,' *Peterborough Standard*, 7 May 1926, 6.

⁴⁴⁶ Sue Bruley, *The Men and Women of 1926: A Gender and Social History of the General Strike and Miners' Lock Out in South Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2010).

⁴⁴⁷ R. A. Florey, *The General Strike of 1926: The Economic, Political and Social Causes of that Class War* (London: John Calder Ltd., 1980), 113.

⁴⁴⁸ 'The Great Stoppage,' *Peterborough Standard*, 7 May 1926, 7.

electricity.⁴⁴⁹ Electricity was in short supply. During an emergency meeting of Peterborough Municipal Council early in the strike there was confirmation that there was enough electricity and gas to last for four weeks but it was thought that fuel may need to be rationed. An emergency food committee was also put in place by the mayor of Peterborough, John Thomas Fisher, with plans to use a road haulage system. The mayor appealed to the other councillors to 'remain neutral' during the strike and suggested they set an example as a body which listened to people, dispensed justice, administered fair pay and were 'keepers of law and order.'⁴⁵⁰ Although Fisher was not a Labour councillor or connected with the local trade union movement he was later praised for his calm and 'cool headed' attitude towards the general strike by trades council delegates such as John Mansfield and George Samuel Palmer.⁴⁵¹

Working with a town mayor who was somewhat sympathetic towards the plight of the striking workers made it easier for PTUC delegates to go about their business coordinating industrial action in the Peterborough District. Delegates sent deputations to the municipal council to negotiate the use of public bowling greens to keep those on strike active and out of trouble. On the condition the trades council could guarantee there would be no damage the request was agreed to.⁴⁵² There were also public meetings to arranged which were held 'as frequently as possible.' Some were held in a

⁴⁴⁹ 'Letter – Peterborough and District Trades and Labour Council (Page 1): 7 May 1926,' The Union Makes Us Strong, accessed 22 February 2023, <http://www.unionhistory.info/britainatwork/emuweb/objects/nofdigi/tuc/imagedisplay.php?irn=5001374>.

⁴⁵⁰ 'The Great Stoppage,' *Peterborough Standard*, 7 May 1926, 7.

⁴⁵¹ 'Peterborough's Popular Mayor re-elected,' *Peterborough Standard*, 12 November 1926, 7.

⁴⁵² 'Wednesday's Council Meeting: Playing Grounds at the Disposal of Strikers,' *Peterborough Standard*, 7 May 1926, 5.

local cinema which the local proprietor had given over to the trades council to use for 'purposes of propaganda' and Reverend J. S. Powell had also loaned the use of a Church Hall in Fletton to the strikers. Other meetings were held in the open air. One of these meetings was held on Stanley Recreation Ground on the morning of 7 May and was addressed by PTUC's George Green, Sam Howard from the National Union of Distributive Workers and Peterborough Councillor Charles Leonard Fletcher of the RCA. Another meeting took place at the Co-operative Hall featuring an address from the Bishop of Peterborough.⁴⁵³ PTUC delegates were also involved in distributing copies of the TUC's strike bulletin, *The British Worker*, which was picked from the London headquarters by motor car every day and arranging meetings which were 'being held as frequently as possible.'⁴⁵⁴

The general strike ended after nine days on 12 May after the TUC General Council signed the Samuel Memorandum without the agreement of the miners. The miners' unions refused to sign up to the wage agreements in the memorandum and wanted guarantees that strikers would not be victimised on their return to work. Therefore, the miners' reached a stalemate with the TUC and the government and concerned that the strikes could not be sustained by the mass of trade unionists the TUC signed the agreement and called the strike off.⁴⁵⁵ The miners fear of victimisation was realised because as well as punishments handed out by individual employers, the Trades

⁴⁵³ 'Strikers Mass Meeting: Well Satisfied with the Progress of the Campaign,' *Peterborough Standard*, 7 May 1926, 9,

⁴⁵⁴ 'Letter – Peterborough and District Trades and Labour Council (Page 2): 7 May 1926,' *The Union Makes Us Strong*, accessed 22 February 2023, <http://www.unionhistory.info/britainatwork/emuweb/objects/nofdigi/tuc/imagedisplay.php?irn=5001373>.

⁴⁵⁵ Morris, *The General Strike*, 268-69.

Union and Trades Dispute Act of 1927 was enacted by Baldwin's Conservative government. The legislation banned strikes and lock outs, reformed the closed shop, and sought to prevent intimidation from pickets.⁴⁵⁶ PTUC officials described the legislation as reviving 'collections of measures which were supposed to belong to a much less civilised age... [with] restraints, restrictions, and punishments not altogether dissimilar to those that existed before the repeal of the combination laws in 1824.' They organised a demonstration against the proposed legislation in June 1927 at Stanley Rec with Labour MPs Jack Hayes and Ellen Wilkinson as principal speakers and next to the fountain on the Triangle in New England.⁴⁵⁷ Wilkinson, a member of the National Union of Distribute and Allied Workers, had ties to Peterborough through her relationship with and support for the city's Labour parliamentary candidate Frank Horrabin. The two labour activists had embarked on a gruelling speaking tour across Britain throughout the 1926 strike which included a packed meeting at Peterborough's Corn Exchange which expressed deep sympathy for the miners' plight.⁴⁵⁸ PTUC's activities around the general strike and other bouts of industrial action during the 1920s demonstrated their willingness to get involved when the opportunity arose and to involve token woman activists if it was seen as advantageous to the local labour cause, as with Horrabin and Wilkinson.

⁴⁵⁶ Adrian Williamson, 'The Trades Dispute and Trade Unions Act 1927 Reconsidered,' *Historical Studies in Industrial Relations* 37, 1 (2016): 33.

⁴⁵⁷ MRC, MSS.292/79P/13, Peterborough and District Trades and Labour Council: Annual Report and Balance Sheet for the Year Ending December 31, 1927.

⁴⁵⁸ Matt Perry, *'Red Ellen' Wilkinson: Her Ideas Movement and Words* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014), 136, 138-39.

The introduction of the 1927 Act could be the reason why delegates largely ignored the longest strike in Peterborough's history which took place over 12 weeks in 1928. The number of days lost to strikes across Britain fell dramatically from 162,000,000 in 1926 to 1,170,000 in 1927 and then decreased further to 1,390,000 in 1928 which suggested trade unionists took the legislation seriously.⁴⁵⁹ Or perhaps delegates did not get involved because it was a strike which contained 1000 women workers and PTUC delegates believed that men and women had separate spheres to operate in.⁴⁶⁰ It was difficult to know as women were rarely if ever mentioned in the remaining documentation or newspaper reports. The women workers were employed at the Celta artificial silk mill in Fletton run by Kemil Limited which opened in 1924 as part of the new light engineering and chemical industries which led to the increase in women workers throughout the Midlands in the 1920s.⁴⁶¹ Kemil's workers took industrial action after a colleague was suspended in late October.⁴⁶² The strike quickly turned into one for trade union recognition – a solidaristic strike which was banned by the 1927 Act. It was male WU officials who took on the case, specifically regional organiser J. L. George and general secretary John Beard.⁴⁶³ Plenty of other male officials and politicians spoke in support of the women at the many public meetings held on Stanley Recreation Ground including the secretary of the TUC, Walter Citrine, Peterborough's first Labour

⁴⁵⁹ Peter King, *Twentieth-Century British History Made Simple* (London: W, H. Allen and Company Ltd., 1980), 110.

⁴⁶⁰ '1000 Out on strike,' *Daily Herald*, 27 October 1928, 5.

⁴⁶¹ *Peterborough Standard Directory 1922*, 83; Sheila Rowbotham, *Hidden from History, 300 Years of Women's Oppression and the Fight Against it* (London: Pluto Press 1974), 192.

⁴⁶² 'Silk Factory Strike,' *Nottingham Journal*, 27 October 1928, 7; 'Silk Trade Strike,' *Market Harborough Advertiser and Midland Mail*, 2 November 1928, 6.

⁴⁶³ 'News Points from All Parts,' *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 30 October 1928, 7; 'Trouble at the Silk Factory: Many Employees Involved in Sympathetic Strike,' *Peterborough Standard*, 2 November 1928, 5.

MP, Frank Horrabin, and PTUC's George Palmer; although the latter spoke on behalf of the NUR not the trades council.⁴⁶⁴ Although there was no evidence of PTUC's involvement in the activities centred around the strike, local branches of the WU were affiliated to PTUC and could keep the delegates updated on the progress.⁴⁶⁵ Significantly, reports on the women officials who were supporting the striking women such as the WU's Women's Organiser K. Manicom and former factory inspector Clara Rackham were either non-existent or shorter than those of the men – women's voices were often unseen in the Celta Mill strike despite the action belonging to them. That was how these events were documented.⁴⁶⁶

The Celta Mill case clearly demonstrated that the interests of the two sexes were kept separate as far as PTUC was concerned (a notion which will be discussed in further details in the final part of the chapter), especially compared to other trades councils. It suggested that their paternalistic attitudes were still prevalent in the interwar period. Before 1914, trades councils were generally keen to encourage women to join unions and in the early twentieth century efforts were made to support waitresses in Liverpool and nurses in Halifax, as well as teachers in the NUT.⁴⁶⁷ But the status of women in trades councils varied. Manchester and Salford and District Women's Trades Council was established in 1895. It addressed matters of low pay and cheap labour under the first secretary, Mary Quail and it ran until 1919 when it merged with the male

⁴⁶⁴ 'Stand Firm for Recognition: Mr Citrine's Advice for Silk Workers,' *Daily Herald*, 27 November 1928, 6.; 'Silk Strike: Some Kemil Workers Get Jobs Elsewhere,' *Daily Herald*, 23 November 1928, 5.

⁴⁶⁵ MRC, MSS.292/79P/13, report to the TUC, 11 April 1928, 2.

⁴⁶⁶ 'Statements By Managers and Strikers Representatives: Summonses on Workers,' *Peterborough Standard*, 9 November 1928, 5; 'Silk Strike: Some Kemil Workers Get Jobs Elsewhere,' *Daily Herald*, 23 November 1928, 5.

⁴⁶⁷ Clinton, *The Trade Union Rank and File*, 25.

dominated trades council.⁴⁶⁸ Nottingham Trades Council on the other hand did nothing to hide a dislike of women trade unionists. Many women worked in the lace and cigar making industries in Nottingham during the late nineteenth century and the Hosiery Workers Union was made up of 400 women. However, delegates ignored a request for assistance from the predominantly female lacemakers union in 1905 and voted against having a speaker from the women's suffrage movement in 1913. Before 1914, delegates spoke of the 'problem of women workers,' but there were six women delegates to Nottingham's trades council by 1915.⁴⁶⁹ Meanwhile, in 1907, Rochdale's trades council banned delegates whose family members including wives and daughters were not trade unionists, from taking up officer roles.⁴⁷⁰ Around the same time Emma Sproston appeared as the first woman delegate to Wolverhampton and Bilston trades council.⁴⁷¹ By comparison, before 1925 women did not even appear to be part of the discussions held by PTUC delegates. It must be noted that by 1928 there were fewer opportunities for PTUC to get involved in solidarity actions anyway as the trades council had been hampered by the new trade union legislation and they were somewhat subdued. Nonetheless, delegates were still active enough in the civic sphere with activity, for instance, as representatives on the mayor's unemployment committee.

⁴⁶⁸ Bernadette Hyland, 'Our Transcription Project: Minutes of the Manchester and Salford and District Women's Trades Council 1895-1919,' Mary Quaile Club, accessed 24 September 2020, <https://maryquaileclub.wordpress.com/minutes-of-the-manchester-and-salford-womens-trades-council-1895-to-1919/>.

⁴⁶⁹ Nottingham and District Trades Union Council, *Nottingham and District Trades Union Council Centenary, 1890-1990* (Nottingham: Nottingham TUC, 1990), 30, 39.

⁴⁷⁰ Clinton, *The Trade Union Rank and File*, 204.

⁴⁷¹ George J. Barnsby, *A History of Wolverhampton, Bilston and District Trades Union Council, 1865-1990* (Wolverhampton: Wolverhampton, Bilston and District Trades Union Council, 1994), 31.

Women Activists and Social Networks in the Trade Union World

As previously mentioned, as far as PTUC was concerned men and women kept their activism separate from each other despite the overall paternal attitude of the interwar period. Although they were not delegates to PTUC before the outbreak of war, there was a strong presence of women activists in Peterborough centred around the Women's Cooperative Guild (WCG), the NUR Railway Women's Guild (RWG) and the National Council of Women (NCW). Many of the women in the two guilds were working class and connected in some way to PTUC delegates, usually as wives or daughters. Meanwhile the NCW predominantly contained upper-class campaigners. However, the paths of these organisations often crossed while they carried out their civic duties as they did with PTUC.

The oldest of the guilds was the WCG. Peterborough's branch was one of the first to be established in Britain and was therefore known as a 'Mother Guild.'⁴⁷² The guild was created by Alice Acland and Mary Lawrenson in 1883 with the aim of improving the standing of women through lobbying, campaigning and training.⁴⁷³ It had a federal structure with branches sustaining a degree of autonomy and functioned through two strands, first the enhancement of cooperative work through trading goods and the second used the concept of citizenship to organise campaigns.⁴⁷⁴ Crucially, these strands were organised through an alliance of trade unionists and cooperatives

⁴⁷² Pen Portrait, *Peterborough Advertiser*, 8 February 1955, 6.

⁴⁷³ 'The Cooperative Women's Guild and the International Cooperative Women's Guild,' Hull History Centre, accessed 18 August 2020, <http://www.hullhistorycentre.org.uk/research/research-guides/cooperative-womens-guild.aspx>.

⁴⁷⁴ Sarah Hellawell, 'A Strong International Spirit: The Influence of Internationalism on the Women's Cooperative Guild,' *20th Century British History* 32, 1 (2020): 4.

and consequently, some male actors from the new union movement agreed with what the guild was trying to achieve. Tom Mann for instance recognised the drudgery in the lives of working-class women and proposed a system of 'cooperative childcare' and domestic chores to make life easier.⁴⁷⁵

The WCG was linked to the cooperative movement and PTUC had a good relationship with the local Cooperative Workers' Union - the trades council's first President, James Carr, was a delegate from the branch. Although Carr left Peterborough to take up the position of manager at the Boston Cooperative Society partway through 1899, a delegate from the same union, A. Yardley, was elected to replace him on the trades council.⁴⁷⁶ The evidence presented by the RWG and Co-operative showed that a network of activists made up of both men and women were present in Peterborough prior to the First World War. They were separate groups but supportive of each other. One woman who was very active on the WCG was Katherine Casburn, who was elected to a seat on the local Cooperative Education Committee (CEC). CECs were established from 1898 and there was a reserved seat for women from the local WCG.⁴⁷⁷ The committee's remit was to arrange various educational activities such as the meeting in Peterborough which took place on 28 February 1912 where Macarthur spoke on the effects of National Insurance (NI) on women at the Cooperative Hall on Westgate.⁴⁷⁸ As a result of Macarthur's influence, representatives of the CWG campaigned for and were given a seat on the local NI Committee. The seat was taken by Mrs. Sanderson who sat

⁴⁷⁵ Tom Mann, *Halfpenny Shortcuts* (No publishing details, 1890), 163.

⁴⁷⁶ PTUC Annual Report 1899, 7-8, in possession of author

⁴⁷⁷ 'Special Education Committee,' *Peterborough Advertiser*, 28 May 1898, 11.

⁴⁷⁸ 'Public Notices,' *Peterborough Advertiser*, 24 February 1912, 1.

alongside George Haddon, secretary of the Friendly Societies Medical Institute and Palmer, PTUC delegate who represented the county council on that occasion.⁴⁷⁹ Male and female activists therefore networked by sitting on these joint committees set up as civic bodies.

Casburn joined the CWG after moving to Peterborough and became the President of the local New England Guild, a position which she held for seven years. She was also President of the regional Central Guild where she presided over district rallies and took on the role of membership secretary of the local Cooperative Society.⁴⁸⁰ Women were expected to stay at home and were poorly educated when the guild was first established and activists were cautious but Casburn was a keen advocate of women's education.⁴⁸¹ Later she represented the CEC on the Workers Educational Association (WEA), an organisation founded in 1903 to take education into working-class communities which PTUC affiliated to in 1920, the year after the local branch was formed.⁴⁸² But the fact that the committee was organised by people from the middle classes and connected to the Anglican church (for instance Clayton was on the committee in 1928 as was Rev. H. Baxter Headmaster of the Kings School and the Bishop of Peterborough) meant that PTUC delegates took little interest and were probably more supportive of the more grassroots Marxist Plebs League and Central Labour

⁴⁷⁹ 'Peterborough Insurance Committee,' *Peterborough Advertiser*, 29 June 1912, 6.

⁴⁸⁰ 'Pen Portrait,' *Peterborough Advertiser*, 8 February 1955, 6.

⁴⁸¹ 'Women's Guilds go Cautiously,' *Peterborough Standard*, 18 September 1959, 17.

⁴⁸² 'Who Are We?' Workers Educational Association, accessed 22 September 2020, <https://www.wea.org.uk/about-us/who-we-are>; *Diamond Jubilee*, 17.

College than the politically neutral WEA.⁴⁸³ Casburn became the only woman to chair the local WEA branch during the interwar period. At the same time, she was secretary to the Cooperative Union's Women's Advisory Committee which also concentrated on promoting education specifically to women.⁴⁸⁴

The women of the cooperative guild were active in Peterborough from their creation in the Victorian era until well into the 1930s. They successfully formed a social network of women but also had a large, financially secure, influential backer in the Cooperative Society which provided grants for education.⁴⁸⁵ The 1922 Trade Directory recorded that the Peterborough Cooperative Society alone had 23 branches located across five counties which contained 23,000 members. Potentially the guild had access to many women members whom officers such as Casburn could recruit as active campaigners.⁴⁸⁶ She was clearly popular among members too as in a meeting at Unity Hall in January 1938 it was decided that all guilds would be asked to support Casburn's nomination to the Peterborough Cooperative's Board of Directors.⁴⁸⁷ Casburn was clearly confident in her campaigning activities many of which involved liaising with men as well as women but there were others too. Other women active in the WCG included Mrs. Hibling and Mrs. J. Hipkin who represented the body on the new Peterborough Unemployed Fund Committee to provide relief for the jobless by way of a voucher

⁴⁸³ 'Workers Educational Association: Bishop of Peterborough Accepts Presidency,' *Peterborough Standard*, 29 July 1927, 9; 'Formation of the Plebs League,' Working Class Movement Library, accessed 22 August 2022, <https://www.wcml.org.uk/about-us/timeline/formation-of-the-plebs-league/>.

⁴⁸⁴ 'Pen Portrait,' *Peterborough Advertiser*, 8 February 1955, 6; 'Who Are We?' Workers Educational Association, accessed 22 September 2020, <https://www.wea.org.uk/about-us/who-we-are>.

⁴⁸⁵ Nicole Robertson, *The Cooperative Movement and Communities in Britain 1914-1960: Minding Their Own Business* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010), 104.

⁴⁸⁶ *Peterborough Standard Directory 1922*, 71.

⁴⁸⁷ 'New England and District: Women's Guild,' *Peterborough Standard*, 14 January 1938, 22.

system in 1932. The guild worked on the unemployed committee alongside similar organisations such as the National Council of Women and the RWG branches 1 and 2 and PTUC which showed how these organisations were part of a wider network with both the working and middle classes sharing responsibilities on civic bodies and regardless of assigned gender roles of paternalism or passivity.⁴⁸⁸

The RWG was established in Peterborough the decade after the WCG and like the cooperative guild it was one of the earliest and achieved longevity. After being established in the late nineteenth century it remained active into the post-war period which followed the Second World War.⁴⁸⁹ Husbands and fathers who were delegates to PTUC from the NUR influenced wives and daughters on the guild, but women also shaped the experiences of the men. The Palmers and Bensteads were examples of families where experiences were shared - Kate Palmer and Gladys Benstead were mother and daughter and both were members of the RWG with husbands prominent in both the local and national trade union movement.

In the 1922 Trade Directory for Peterborough two branches of the RWG were listed. They contained fifty members who met at the Church Hall on Palmerston Road, Fletton.⁴⁹⁰ The RWG was part of the 'railway family' first developed in the late nineteenth century by the ASRS as an attempt by employers and trade unions to create a support network for, and a community of, loyal railway workers and their families. For trade unions, the idea of the railway family was initially a bonding of male railway

⁴⁸⁸ 'The Mayor's Committee: Getting Down to Service for the Unemployed,' *Peterborough Standard*, 19 February 1932, 9.

⁴⁸⁹ 'Railway Queen at NUR Guild Birthday Party,' *Peterborough Standard*, 4 November 1955, 11.

⁴⁹⁰ *Ibid.* 79.

workers and women, and children were welcomed later. Women in the railway family had their own support body in the RWG and adopted the term 'sisters' to describe themselves while older guild members were known as 'railway mothers.'⁴⁹¹

The aims of the RWG were social but also educational, to learn about trade unionism and to organise and build solidarity but members went on to campaign on issues outside of railway matters. The first Peterborough branch of the RWG was formed in 1895 with 38 members and their meetings took place in the Club Room of The Triangle Public House.⁴⁹² Lizzie Parkinson, the wife of Herbert Charles Parkinson, first secretary of PTUC, was involved in the early days of the guild. The guild created an 'imagined community' of women. It was imagined because individual members shared a national identity, but their paths would not cross except for in the small geographical area which they lived in.⁴⁹³ In the same way, all trade unionists were part of an imagined community, including Kate and Gladys and their husbands.⁴⁹⁴

PTUC delegate George Samuel Palmer was the husband of Kate and father of Gladys.⁴⁹⁵ He was a staunch trade unionist, Labour Councillor and, 'the first Labour representative on any public body locally – the Board of Guardians – and he was the first

⁴⁹¹ Hannah Jane Reeves, 'An Exploration of the 'Railway Family': 1900-1948' (Keele University PhD Thesis, 2018), 2, 164-65.

⁴⁹² *Peterborough Standard Directory 1922*, 79.

⁴⁹³ 'Peterborough Railway Women's Guild,' *Peterborough Advertiser*, 1 August 1900, 2;

⁴⁹⁴ 'Imagined Communities,' Oxford Reference, accessed 12 May 2022, <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803095958187>; Benedict R. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2016).

⁴⁹⁵ Gladys Palmer, 1901 Census, Peterborough, ED 43, Piece 1464, Folio 112, Household Schedule 168, accessed 20 July 2022 https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/8449849:7814?tid=&pid=&queryId=738f3e5af073cb05b06e2fed040a8d15&_phsrc=asW1639&_phstart=successSource; Reeves, 'An Exploration of the Railway Family,' 229.

working man to become a magistrate of the Liberty,' of Peterborough.⁴⁹⁶ Palmer, an engine driver on the Great Northern Railway, was also a prominent trade union official acting as the representative for workers between York and Hatfield on the Conciliation Board.⁴⁹⁷ He was also on the executive of the NUR even travelling on their behalf to Ireland to assist during a railway dispute. For men like Palmer, trade unions were a large part of their lives and officials often played host to others at their family homes. Their influences were therefore inescapable for wives, daughters, and even the Palmers' son was working in the booking office at Peterborough North Station at the time of George's death in June 1933.⁴⁹⁸

Two national RWG annual conferences were held in Peterborough - in 1913 and 1927. Kate chaired the 1927 conference. Mrs Mansfield, wife of PTUC delegate John Mansfield, also attended and Palmer was one of the several men who was also there acting as an official of the NUR. In her opening speech, Kate pointed out that attitudes towards women had changed since the last time the conference had been held in the city and this was echoed by speaker Mr Halls, NUR organiser who remarked that 'women had got their proper influence, not only in the guild, but in women's sections of trade unions. They had become educated to understand those matters which concerned them.' Mrs Page, wife of the Dean of Peterborough and honorary member mentioned the 'spirit of friendship and cooperation between the women in the guild' and wished them well with their work. She continued, 'it was nowadays especially important for

⁴⁹⁶ 'Lady Benstead to be Next Mayor,' *Peterborough Advertiser*, 1 March 1955, 7.

⁴⁹⁷ 'Engine Driver and Magistrate,' *Daily Herald*, 19 October 1912, 12.

⁴⁹⁸ 'Death of Mr. G. S. Palmer, J. P.: Sudden Relapse at Eastbourne,' *Peterborough Standard*, 16 June 1933, 11.

women to be good, wise, true, tender and loyal to the menfolk and for non-more so than the railwaywomen.' Also in attendance was Mrs Hibling of the CWG who spoke of the great responsibilities which women had which demonstrated a sense of support and solidarity between the two guilds.⁴⁹⁹

For women, the guilds were about friendship, networking, problem solving and community and for the same reasons the Peterborough branch of the railway guild was affiliated to the National Council of Women (NCW).⁵⁰⁰ The NCW was established as the National Union of Women Workers by philanthropist Louise Creighton in 1895 in response to the conditions which women faced. It was established around the time that Creighton's husband was Bishop of Peterborough, which led to her spending much of her time in the city.⁵⁰¹ Like the WCG and NCW, members of the RWG also embarked on campaigns on issues which affected women and the family as seen in a motion passed at the 1927 conference to ask the Government to agree to an amendment to the Widows' Pensions Act, to allow those widowed before 1926 to be provided for. At the conference at which 100 delegates were present, another motion demanded that all women over the age of 21 should be given the vote and the conference also asked for more council houses to be built by local authorities. A motion was also passed requesting an end to capital punishment and in another aimed this time at the trade unions, women agreed to ask the NUR to pay railway workers weekly, instead of fortnightly. A protest was also

⁴⁹⁹ 'How Women Can Help the Men: Railway Women's Guild Conference at Peterborough,' *Peterborough Standard*, 24 June 1947, 5.

⁵⁰⁰ 'Women and Service: Activities aim of the National Council, the Power of Cooperation,' *Peterborough Standard*, 7 April 1933, 20.

⁵⁰¹ 'Our History: 1895,' The National Council of Women, accessed 26 April 2022, <https://ncwgb.org/history/>.

registered against the 1927 Trades Union Bill which demonstrated that they recognised the concerns expressed by the men in their union.⁵⁰²

Gladys was elected President of the RWG Midlands District Association between 1927 and 1930. She was a pioneering woman clearly influenced by her trade union parents and, later, her husband. She was the first women clerk to work on the Great Northern Railway outside London and she sat on a union committee negotiating wages and conditions.⁵⁰³ Prior to the First World War, women were not permitted to join the NUR and were only permitted to do jobs in the railway industry such as offering refreshments and cleaning. However, during the war, women needed to fill the gaps in employment that men left behind, which resulted in them being granted permission to join the NUR from 1915. Unlike other women in many other industries, railway women were allowed to keep their posts after the war, although a marriage bar was put in place.⁵⁰⁴ Gladys took up activism in the RWG when she was affected by the marriage bar after her wedding with John Benstead, a delegate to PTUC, in 1922. John started his career as a blacksmith on the Great Northern Railway and later became a junior clerk in London. He served in the Navy during the First World War, after which he re-joined the railway industry as a clerk for the Great North-Eastern Railway becoming the secretary of the NUR No. 1 branch in 1922 and the NUR Eastern District Council from 1922 to 1929.⁵⁰⁵ Gladys and her mother were both clearly strong and confident women interested in their husband's roles as trade unionists during the interwar period and the

⁵⁰² 'Grateful to the Union,' *Daily Herald*, 23 June 1927, 6.

⁵⁰³ 'Mr John Benstead, Knighted: Mr A Griffiths OBE,' *Peterborough Standard*, 2 January 1953, 1, 3.

⁵⁰⁴ Reeves, 'An Exploration of the Railway Family,' 202, 205, 207.

⁵⁰⁵ David Howell, 'Benstead, John (Sir) (1897-1979),' *Dictionary of Labour Biography, Volume 15*, ed. Keith Gildart and David Howell (New York: Springer Publishing, 2016), 23-4.

same could be said of Casburn, whom, as a testament to her dedication continued in her CWG roles after her husband, a maintenance worker at Baker Perkins, died from a serious illness (date unknown).⁵⁰⁶ The CWG, RWG and NCW were just some of the places in which women could take up activism to address the issues that they faced but, even so, it was rarely without the interference of men.

The first woman on Peterborough's trades council, Mary Hart, came from the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineer and Firemen (ASLEF) women's section which was founded later than the guilds, in 1924.⁵⁰⁷ Mary was co-opted onto the trades council to take up a position dealing with unemployed women on the Labour Exchange committee. Percy Woodall told the TUC in a report dated 17 December 1925 when Hart was elected that

We have tried very hard to accomplish this and it looked like we might have to give it up. Whilst we have societies with women members, none sit on the council. As a last resort we approached the Women's Section of ASLEF asking them to appoint one of their members to fill the position. I am pleased to say they appointed one of their members and she shall be the woman representative from the council on the Employment Committee.⁵⁰⁸

Mary's husband, Sydney, was also a trades council delegate who started his working life as an apprentice engineer at the age of 16 on the Great Northern Railway but was discharged for trade union activity. He then took up employment at Brotherhoods as an engineer fitter's charge hand becoming a member of the ASE. He also joined the Labour Party in 1918 and Mary was also a member. Woodall explained with regards to the co-

⁵⁰⁶ 'Pen Portrait,' *Peterborough Advertiser*, 8 February 1955, 6.

⁵⁰⁷ Reeves, 'An Exploration of the Railway Family,' 215.

⁵⁰⁸ *Report* – MRC, MSS.292/79P/13, PTUC Report, 17 December 1925, 2-3.

option that 'owing to the difficulty of getting a woman to do this duty, either from lack of interest or diffidence, it was resolved that we craft a suitable woman onto the council for this express purpose.' In the quotation, Woodall accused women of being uninterested in trade union matters but also of not having the confidence to come forward. The report was sent to Citrine at the TUC as one of a series of monthly reports PTUC provided in 1925.⁵⁰⁹

The Hart family's association with PTUC lasted for several generations. Mary and Hart's daughter, Nora (or Norah), followed in her parent's footsteps, becoming PTUC's minutes secretary in 1947 while working in a clerical position in the costs and wages Department at the Baker Perkins Westwood Works.⁵¹⁰ Women's trade union membership rose during the Second World War from 559,000 in 1939 to 1,341,000 by 1945. Although the TUC assumed women would go back to domestic servant roles after the war, as they had after the First World War, women like Nora remained in the workplace in the post-war era, but she still had her career scuppered by the marriage bar.⁵¹¹ By 1949 Nora was secretary of the Peterborough Branch of the Clerical and Administrative Workers Union but she gave up her career in the office and her roles as branch secretary and assistant secretary to PTUC, when she married future PTUC President, Carl Hall, with whom she had a daughter.⁵¹² Although the marriage bar was

⁵⁰⁹ MRC, MSS.292/79P/13, Report from Percy Woodall to Walter Citrine, 22 November 1925, 2.

⁵¹⁰ 'Pen Portrait,' *Peterborough Advertiser*, 18 January 1955, 5; 'Trades Council President: Mr. Swain Resigns After 20 Years,' *Peterborough Standard*, 21 February 1947, 5; 'At the Hospital,' *Peterborough Standard*, 1 January 1932, 11; 'Twenty-One and Engaged,' *Peterborough Standard*, 24 May 1940, 12.

⁵¹¹ Davis, *Comrade or Brother?*, 259.

⁵¹² Norah Hart, 'Clerical and Administrative Workers Union Peterborough Branch: Notice of Annual General Meeting,' *Peterborough Standard*, 4 February 1949, 4; 'Straight Fights in Two County Council By-Election,' *Peterborough Standard*, 17 June 1959, 9.

no longer a formal barrier to women's career aspirations in the post-war period it was still the social norm to leave work upon marriage and especially after child-birth and this was still the case as late as the 1970s.⁵¹³

The Hart, Palmer and Benstead families were examples of inter-generational families in Peterborough where both men and women were involved in the trade union movement through guilds and trade union branches. Through their intergenerational links to PTUC (like the families featuring in this part of the chapter), networking on committees (such as the CEC or NI Committee) and paternal benefactors (through guilds), women could influence delegates without having to be formally involved. These women were confident (rather than diffident), active, and passionate and the PTUC delegates trusted the women to campaign on the issues which mattered to them.

Conclusion to Chapter Three

This chapter has highlighted three important themes with regards to PTUC during the First World War and interwar period. The first is about PTUC and its acceptance in society as a civic body. The second is about the changing attitudes towards women by PTUC and the labour movement as a whole. The third is about the relationships between women's groups and their familial and social networks. It has demonstrated that the First World War was a pivotal time for the development of PTUC as seen in the acknowledgement of their status as an important civic and industrial body for the first time. During the war this status was evidenced by delegates being given

⁵¹³ Angela Davis and Laura King, 'Gendered Perspectives on Men's Changing Familial Roles in Post-War England 1950-1990,' *Gender and History* 30, 1 (2018): 74.

positions on the council, the FCC, and on industrial and munitions tribunals. Civic and industrial functions continued during the interwar period when the trade union movement was expanding. PTUC delegates joined the industrial conference committee, lobbied the education committee on matters of low paid women teachers and starving school children and the mayor's unemployment committee. But it was their involvement in the 1926 general strike which was also a pivotal moment as the failure of the strike resulted in a subdued and less confident trade union movement, as evidenced by the decrease in dispute statistics and it also affected PTUC's industrial role.

Changing attitudes towards women workers came with the First World War. Despite many returning to their pre-war roles as domestic servants, for other women there were plenty of opportunities to take up employment in new industries. Although the trade unions and TUC were slow to react to changes and did not seriously address the problem of lack of representation for women until the 1930s, PTUC demonstrated an attitude of equality to both men and women of all classes through the press early in the period. But delegates did not necessarily show this in practice as demonstrated in the Celta Mill strike when the evidence suggested that despite being a strike of women it was almost exclusively male in its organisation and support. Neither was there any evidence that delegates did anything practical to encourage women (Hart excepted) to take up any seats on the trades councils, hence the lack of any women's sub-committee. The paternalist nature of PTUC remained throughout the period and certainly until the Second World War it was assumed that men would represent affiliated unions even when there were women members. Compared to other trades councils Peterborough

seemed especially paternalistic. But without the minutes and other any documentary evidence from the early years it is difficult to be analytical on this matter, however this conclusion argues that some trades councils were less paternalistic than the labour movement as a whole, including PTUC who left women to deal with their own matters in their own spheres during the First World War and interwar period. There were, after all, many spaces for women to be active in Peterborough from the late Victorian period.

Many women were bound up in a social network of activism and their relationships with each other and their male counterparts in trade unions were often complex. This was the third theme of the chapter. A strong movement of women's activism in Peterborough was demonstrated through the formation of the NCW and the railway and cooperative guilds. Although some of these groups could be quite paternal, especially the RWG, they gave women the opportunity to campaign on matters which were important to them with minimal interference from men. Women were less likely to join trade unions because of the barriers they faced such as gaining little press coverage, but more commonly the marriage bar, and so invested less time on their careers. But the separation in the spheres of men and women was accepted (publicly at least) in Peterborough. Even during the First World War when women joined the workforce thanks to the efforts of influential women such as Mary Macarthur and Margaret Bondfield, their matters continued to be very much separate, even if things were starting to change by the interwar period when women such as Gladys Benstead were employed by the Great Northern Railway or in new works such as the Celta Mill.

To summarise this chapter, PTUC continued to be a very male space, despite the co-option of Mary Hart onto the Employment Committee and this was the case up until the Second World War. The trade union movement continued to be paternalistic during the interwar period and this was demonstrated by the inclusion of men on committees, and at guild meetings and implementing the marriage bar. The missing narrative of women may be a problem for a researcher but despite their lack of voice they were always there in the background, as wives and daughters and even on other committees influencing husbands and fathers as part of a complex pattern of social networks.

Chapter Four | Attitudes, Significance and Visibility in Early Post-War Britain

Alan Clinton argued that, for the working-class, trades councils lost much of their significance from 1940 due to ‘changes in [their] attitudes and activities.’ According to Clinton they lost significance because they surrendered most of their independence when the TUC centralised trades councils in the 1920s and 1930s.⁵¹⁴ The matter of independence during this period has already been partly addressed in chapter one of this thesis. But if Clinton had analysed trades councils through to the post-war period he might have come to a different conclusion with regards to significance because during the post-war period, trade unionists were appointed to key positions giving them the power to formulate government policy and the opportunities for collective bargaining increased.⁵¹⁵ As national trade union leaders assumed higher positions of responsibility during the period of reconstruction so did trades council delegates. Clinton stated that after the Second World War trades councils were ‘firmly under the control of their leaders,’ and that delegates ceased to ask questions or express ideas about how to service union members.⁵¹⁶ This chapter will argue that, to the contrary, it was social attitudes which changed, causing trades councils to lose significance in some matters, such as housing. On other issues, such as public health, it was their public visibility which decreased rather than their significance. Without doubt Trades councils were slow to

⁵¹⁴ Alan Clinton, *The Trade Union Rank and File: Trades Councils in Britain 1900-1949* (Manchester: Manchester University, 1977), 182-83.

⁵¹⁵ Keith Laybourn, *British Trade Unionism c. 1770-1990* (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1991), 163; Francis Williams, *Magnificent Journey: The Rise and of the Trade Unions* (London: Oldhams Press Limited, 1954), 427.

⁵¹⁶ Clinton, *The Trade Union Rank and File*, 183.

adapt to the new economic and political landscape in post-war Britain, which was overseen by a Labour Government led by Clement Attlee.⁵¹⁷

The first part of the chapter argues that during the Second World War PTUC activities were barely different from the interwar period except that the discussions focussed heavily on national or international topics, rather than local ones. There were also more opportunities to get involved in civic bodies such as the Food Control Committee (FCC). It also showed that trades councils' attitudes during wartime and post-war were largely consistent with approaches developed during the interwar period. This was seen in trades councils' reactions to the Labour government's policy of nationalisation, which caused trade union members to be at odds with their leaders who were also responsible for maintaining wartime orders, such as strike prohibitions, as seen in order 1305 into the 1950s.⁵¹⁸

The second part of the chapter argues that trades councils became less significant for the working class due to wider social transformations, specifically to working-class culture, rather than as a result of their own attitudes and activities. This argument will be illustrated through an analysis of the post-war Government's housing policy, which resulted in greatly improved conditions for the working class by the way of slum clearances and an increase in council house estates and led to an extension of the

⁵¹⁷ Martin Chick, *Industrial Policy in Britain 1945-1951: Economic, Planning, Nationalisation and the Labour Governments* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Francis Beckett, *Clem Attlee: Labour's Great Reformer* (Belgium: Hans Publishing, 2015), 11.

⁵¹⁸ National Archive (NA), CAB 129/46, CP (51) 221, 1951 Cabinet Memorandum on Ending Restrictions on Unions.

affluent working class.⁵¹⁹ Trades councils were active in publicly campaigning for better conditions and lower rents in the interwar period and took a keen interest in the development of council house estates. During the Second World War PTUC's activities included campaigning over the conditions of the many industrial hostels domestic war workers were allocated to in Peterborough. The hostels continued to be used into the 1950s. This part of the chapter will show that because governmental housing policies improved the living conditions of the working class during the post-war period, trades councils lost some of their significance in housing matters although they were still able to campaign on matters such as public facilities, as seen at Nottingham's Clifton Estate and in setting up Residents Associations like one for Peterborough's Newark-Dogsthorpe Estate.⁵²⁰

The final part of the chapter will analyse trades council campaigns in health services to argue that the significance of trades councils did not decrease, although their public visibility most certainly did. This will be illustrated through an analysis of PTUC's campaigns around health issues from the interwar period Manor House Hospitals (MHH) to the post-war National Health Service (NHS).⁵²¹ It will demonstrate how PTUC delegates were forced to change from public campaigns to behind-the-scenes committee work which reduced their physical presence and therefore their visibility in

⁵¹⁹ Peter J Gurney, 'Co-operation and New Consumerism in Interwar England,' *Business History* 54, 6 (2012): 906.

⁵²⁰ 'Post-war Council Housing Estates: The Planner's Dream of the Future,' Historic England, accessed 12 October 2021, <https://historicengland.org.uk/whats-new/in-your-area/midlands/post-war-council-housing-estates/#65961afb>; Philip Shapely, 'Social Housing and Tenant Participation,' accessed 12 October 2021, <https://www.historyandpolicy.org/policy-papers/papers/social-housing-and-tenant-participation>.

⁵²¹ William Beveridge, *Social and Allied Services: Report* (London: HMSO, 1942).

the community. The press, however, specifically the *Peterborough Standard*, continued to report on PTUC's activities which suggested that they continued to function with the same vigour which characterised the interwar period. This chapter will argue that delegates felt that taking up positions on committees was the best way in which they could serve their members and the working class in general during this period. It was this shift from being predominantly campaigning to administrative bodies which led to a major change in the evolution of trades councils.

War, Nationalisation and Trade Union Control

During the Second World War, most trades councils carried on with the same activities and bureaucratic procedures which they had done during the interwar period. As well as record keeping and holding democratic elections, representatives were also sent to regional and national trade union meetings and conferences. For PTUC, these included the South Midlands Federation of Trades Councils, the Annual Conference of Trades Councils and a TUC weekend school held in Leicester during 1943. Some public meetings were arranged by PTUC to focus on domestic issues such as the Beveridge Report and post-war reconstruction and sometimes TUC officials spoke at local trade union meetings. Vic Feather, for instance, spoke to PTUC on the subject of 'the TUC in Wartime' in 1944. Motions continued to be presented at monthly trades council meetings which covered subjects as varied as antisemitism, agricultural cottages, Circular 16 and the opening-up of a second front in Europe although there are no surviving minutes for the 1940s and details of the resolutions were not reported in

either the 1943 annual report or in the press, just listed by subject as above. The Secretary recognised that the experiences which trades council delegates gained by undertaking their various activities would come in useful once peace returned to the nation. He commented that 'we have an important part to play both before the war is over and in the post-war period.'⁵²²

Specific wartime activities which delegates took part in included lobbying the Municipal Council's Air Raid Precaution (ARP) Committee to provide more shelters for the residents of the city. The TUC's *Daily Worker* newspaper also campaigned to improve air-raid shelters but the drive in Peterborough was instigated by the local branch of the Building Trades Operatives' Society who wanted to see Anderson shelters built in the city at an affordable price for working-class people. Members were concerned that the current public provision was too scattered.⁵²³ Delegates were unsuccessful as Anderson Shelters were never allocated to Peterborough; however, the Air Raid Precaution committee agreed to their suggestion that cellars in private houses could be used instead.⁵²⁴ Issues with the shelters resurfaced in January 1942 when it was announced by the committee that up to 50 Peterborough builders would be loaned to other cities to help build air raid shelters. At the same meeting it was agreed to write to PTUC to tell them that a request made for heating shelters could not be carried out

⁵²² MRC, 292/944/P/13, Annual Report 1943; Peterborough and District Trades Union Council, *Peterborough and District Trades Union Council: Diamond Jubilee* (Peterborough: Peterborough and District Trades Council), 1, 17; 'TCL Resolutions,' *Peterborough Standard*, 1 October 1943, 1.

⁵²³ I. McLaine, *Ministry of Morale: Home Front and Morale and the Ministry of Information of Information in World War II* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1979), 190.

⁵²⁴ 'City and District War News: Request for Shelters,' *Peterborough Standard*, 19 July 1940, 10.

owing to a shortage of labour.⁵²⁵ But otherwise, it was pretty much business as usual for the trades council. Delegates continued to lobby the city council on various issues – a common frequent trades council strategy since 1899 – after Britain declared war on Germany on 3 September 1939.⁵²⁶

PTUC officials also produced annual reports and balance sheets as in peace time and motions were passed and regular member and public meetings continued to be organised. The difference in their activities from the interwar period was simply the subjects which they focussed on – trades councils developed a more international outlook than during peacetime. The National (Armed Forces) Conscription Act 1939 demanded that physically fit men between the ages of 18 and 41 sign up for military duty, but because many of the delegates were older trade unionists or worked in protected trades, such as engineering, the organisation was able to continue as before.⁵²⁷ Examples of delegates outside who exceeded the maximum age for conscription included Charles Proctor, who was Vice-President of PTUC for two years during the war and was an engineer who worked as a fitter in the Baker Perkins Westwood Works Inspection Room. Proctor also held positions in AEU branch No. 3 for 47 years and was district president for 21.⁵²⁸ One of the older delegates to PTUC was George Michael Green, a former President born in 1879, and a member of the NUR. Green was elected to the County Council in 1919 where he served on several

⁵²⁵ 'Shelter Erection and Heating: 50 City Builders Transferred,' *Peterborough Standard*, 2 January 1942, 3.

⁵²⁶ Mark Donnelly, *Britain in the Second World War* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1999), viii.

⁵²⁷ 'Conscription: The Second World War,' UK Parliament, accessed 30 November 2021, <https://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/transformingsociety/private-lives/yourcountry/overview/conscriptionww2/>.

⁵²⁸ 'AEU to Honour Old Member,' *Peterborough Standard*, 9 April 1948, 1.

committees, acting as Chair of the Public Health and Housing Committee, War Emergency and War Agricultural Committee. He was also elected to Peterborough City Council in 1933, where he became part of the War Pensions Committee and became a member of the Discharged Sailors and Soldiers Committee. Green was still a delegate to PTUC at the start of the Second World War, before he passed away in 1940 at age 61.⁵²⁹ Older delegates brought a wealth of workplace and trade union experience to the trades council and were an integral part of collective decision-making at this time. The only real difference in the makeup of trades council delegates during the Second World War came in the appearance of several women delegates, such as Norah Hart, literature secretary Mrs. Benton of the National Union of General and Municipal Workers in 1947 and Miss Quinn, who resigned from the executive in 1949.⁵³⁰

Delegates illustrated their knowledge on international matters by holding public meetings and by taking part in activities organised by other committees who shared their values and interests. For instance, in 1941 a public meeting was organised by PTUC on the subject of 'German workers and the war' which featured Hans Gottfurcht as the principal speaker. Gottfurcht was a Jewish trade unionist who fled from Nazi Germany to Britain in 1938 and assumed the position of Chairman of the German Trade Unions in the UK.⁵³¹ There was also a public meeting organised by the Anglo-Soviet Friendship Committee, one of many organisations set up across the globe to create political

⁵²⁹ 'Death of George Green: City Councillor, County Alderman,' *Peterborough Standard*, 5 January 1940, 4.

⁵³⁰ 'Trades Council President,' *Peterborough Standard*, 21 February 1947, 5; PAS/TC/1/1, Peterborough Trades Union Council Executive and Committee Minutes, 1 January 1949 – December 29 December 1951, 10 April 1949.

⁵³¹ 'The German Workers and the War,' *Peterborough Standard*, 5 September 1941, 4; Rebecca Zahn, 'Hans Gottfurcht: How the TUC Helped Keep European Unionism Alive During WWII,' accessed 25 November 2021, <https://tuc150.tuc.org.uk/stories/hans-gottfurcht/>.

support for the Soviet Union, under the influence of local Communist Party (CP) activists.⁵³² The meeting was chaired by PTUC delegate John Swain and was organised as an activity to commemorate the anniversary of Germany's Operation Barbarossa, when the Nazis attacked the Soviet Union in June 1941.⁵³³ The meeting took place at a time when Germany occupied five per cent of Soviet Russia in an important region rich in agriculture and with a large population.⁵³⁴ The meeting was held at the Co-operative Hall and featured author and economist, Maurice Dobb who spoke on 'Soviet Industry and the Trade Unions,' and encouraged the representatives of the 200 organisations in attendance which included the Red Cross, St John Ambulance and the British Legion, to affiliate to their local trade union branches.⁵³⁵ Even the Mayor (Harry Johnson Farrow) attended the event, announcing the start of an Aid to Russia fund and a local cinema showed two Soviet films later in the day.⁵³⁶ PTUC also held a meeting which focussed on the failures of imperialism, when in 1944 Krishna Menon, a campaigner for Indian independence spoke to delegates on the subject of the Indian 'Bengal' famine.⁵³⁷ The Bengal famine was partly caused by the 'Denial Policy' where the Government moved food and bicycles from the region and destroyed boats because of worries that Japanese

⁵³² Louis Nemzer, 'The Soviet Friendship Societies,' *The Public Opinion Quarterly* 13, 2 (1949): 266-67.

⁵³³ 'Operation Barbarossa,' Britannica Academic, accessed 4 January 2021, <https://academic-eb-com.proxy.library.dmu.ac.uk/levels/collegiate/article/Operation-Barbarossa/545372>.

⁵³⁴ Christian Hartmann, *Operation Barbarossa: Nazi Germany's War in the East 1941-1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 69.

⁵³⁵ John Simkin, 'Maurice Dobb,' accessed 30 November 2021, https://spartacus-educational.com/Maurice_Dobb.htm.

⁵³⁶ Herbert F. Tebbs, *Peterborough* (Cambridge: The Oleander Press, (1979), 196; 'Our Friendship with Russia: Something to be Proud of,' *Peterborough Standard*, 26 June 1942, 3.

⁵³⁷ *Peterborough and District Trades Council Diamond Jubilee*, 17.

soldiers would have access to supplies if they invaded India from Burma.⁵³⁸ Meetings on Germany, the Soviet Union and India were just a few examples of the international aspect of PTUCs activities during this period.

During the Second World War, trades councils were also invited to public meetings alongside other respected civic organisations which aimed to help with organising society or fundraising for the war effort. These were not permanent bodies although some lasted longer than others. Temporary help was required when funding was needed for war supplies and public campaigns such as 'salute the soldier' and 'warship week' were launched.⁵³⁹ PTUC delegates were invited to a 'Spitfire meeting' at the Town Hall on 1 August 1940 to help fundraise for military aircrafts where organisations such as the National Council of Women, the Workers Educational Association, the Co-op Educational Committee, branches of local trade unions and women's guilds were invited. Political associations, employers, schoolteachers, Scouts and Guides were also included.⁵⁴⁰ To be invited alongside these other organisations meant that trades councils were seen as respected organisations alongside these other civic bodies and community representatives.

One of the longer-term civic bodies which trades councils were asked to send delegates to during the Second World War were local FCCs. Representatives on the FCC in Peterborough included the Associations of Dairymen, Grocers, Master Bakers and Confectioners, the Cooperative Society, and members of various urban and rural

⁵³⁸ Abhijit Sarkar, 'Fed by Famine: The Hindu Mahasabha's Politics of Religion, Caste, and Relief in response to the Great Bengal Famine 1943-1944,' *Modern Asian Studies* 54, 6 (2020): 2025.

⁵³⁹ Carol Harris, *Women at War, 1939-1945: The Home Front* (Stroud: Sutton, 2000), 40.

⁵⁴⁰ 'Spitfire Meeting: List of Invited Organisations,' *Peterborough Standard*, 2 August 1940, 1.

councils as well as the trades council.⁵⁴¹ FCCs were set up by each local authority during the Second World War to implement rationing and they contained people who could represent all classes of society which is why it was important to have bodies such as trades council to act as the voice of the lower classes. Chelmsford trades council was another one invited to sit on a local FCC in Essex and officials formally encouraged delegates to participate.⁵⁴² The FCCs organised rationing from 8 January 1940 and their role was to distribute licenses and enforce new legislation. They took their lead directly from the Ministry of Food rather than from local Government, despite being made up of local community activists and councillors. Representatives included two women who were to give the views of 'housewives,' and there was also one trade unionist nominated by the local trades council.⁵⁴³ In Peterborough, Swain was the trades council representative on the FCC and he was Chairman when it disbanded after 14 years, when rationing finally came to an end in June 1954.⁵⁴⁴ During the years that the FCC met, there was concern that the introduction of rationing would lead to profiteering from savvy middle-class business men.⁵⁴⁵ Overall, though ration prices were fixed on essential goods to the benefit of the working class while the luxury goods of the middle classes

⁵⁴¹ 'City Council News from Minutes,' *Peterborough Standard*, 6 September 1940, 10.

⁵⁴² Wallace, *Nothing to Lose... A World to Win: The History of Chelmsford and District Trades Union Council* (Chelmsford: Wallace, 1979), 103.

⁵⁴³ 'Ministry of Food: Food Control Committees Selected Minutes,' The National Archives, accessed 15 June 2021, <https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C10468>.

⁵⁴⁴ 'Food Overseers: Committee Elected,' *Peterborough Standard*, 5 November 1953, 6; 'Food Committee to Disband on 3rd July,' *Peterborough Standard*, 14 May 1954, 13.

⁵⁴⁵ Terry Charman, 'How the Ministry of Food Managed Rationing in World War Two,' accessed 15 June 2021, <https://museumcrush.org/how-the-ministry-of-food-managed-food-rationing-in-world-war-two/>.

were heavily taxed.⁵⁴⁶ Delegates took part in these extra fundraising and organisation duties while also organising their usual trades council work.

Clinton was correct to suggest that trades councils had been more readily accepted onto public bodies from 1940 but this did not mean that their attitudes and activities were significantly different from the interwar period.⁵⁴⁷ However, delegates were given greater opportunities as part of the post-war consensus of political cooperation when peace returned and the power and influence of trade unions increased despite membership only increasing at a steady rate of 1.3 per cent a year between 1946 and 1952.⁵⁴⁸ After 1945, trades council delegates were invited to sit, not just on local civic bodies like those dealing with disabled advisory, national insurance, and youth employment, but also on important regional economic ones. Such invitations followed a general trend seen when the TUC, which had been represented on 12 national committees in 1939, were given places on 60 by 1949. These committees covered everything from pricing and rationing to productivity and technical education.⁵⁴⁹ Trades council representatives were given places on the local Board of Governors of Technical Colleges, positions which both delegates to Chelmsford and Peterborough's trades council eagerly held.⁵⁵⁰ By 1954, PTUC had representatives on many public bodies and charities covering subjects from welfare to education as noted in table 3 (below).

⁵⁴⁶ Mark Roodhouse, *Black Market Britain: 1935-1955* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 5.

⁵⁴⁷ Clinton, *The Trade Union Rank and File*, 183.

⁵⁴⁸ Chris Wrigley, *British Trade Unions Since 1933* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 20.

⁵⁴⁹ Alastair J. Reid, *United We Stand: A History of Britain's Trade Unions* (London: Penguin Books Ltd, 2004), 378.

⁵⁵⁰ Wallace, *Nothing to Lose*, 103-04.

Table 3 | List of Trades Council Representatives on Public or Other Bodies, for Confirmation of Annual Meeting 1954 (taken from the Peterborough and District Trades Council Annual Report and Statement of Finances for 1953).⁵⁵¹

Committee	No. of Reps		No of Reps
Eastern Regional Price Committee	1	Advisory Committee, National Assistance Board	1
Smallholdings Committee, County Council	1	United Nations Association	1
Road Safety Committee	1	Disabled Persons Advisory Committee	1
Workers Educational Association	1	Food Control Committee	1
Executive Council, National Health Committee	1	Appeals Tribunal, National Insurance Act	2
Local Insurance Tribunal, National Insurance Act	1	Cancer Campaign Committee	2
National Council of Labour Colleges	1	Governing Body, Peterborough Technical College	3
War Pensions Committee	1	Advisory Committee, Youth Education Board: Adult Education; Building Trades; Commercial Trades, Engineering Trades.	8
Civil Defence Committee	1	Youth Employment Committee, Joint Education Board	5
National Blind Association	1	Local Advisory Committee, National Insurance Act	6
Hospital Management Committee	1	Local Employment Committee, Ministry of Labour	11
Youth Committee, Joint Education Board	1	Standing Joint Committee with the Labour Party	5

One of the important economic bodies in which PTUC was involved was the British Productivity Council (BPC), created in 1947 to drive up economic productivity. The BPC was a non-political organisation which represented both management and workers and their objectives were to improve the British economy through efficiency by looking towards American productivity strategies. As a member of a team of specialist industrial engineers, PTUC secretary Ernie Grunow was invited on a tour of the USA in

⁵⁵¹ MRC, 292/944/P/13, PTUC 1953 Yearbook, 4.

1953 by the TUC to report on methods of productivity there.⁵⁵² Grunow wrote to Ray Boyfield on his return stating that,

for me it was a wonderful experience, and quite apart from our normal programme I took advantage of the opportunity of meeting with trade unionists at branch meetings and even [in] their homes. The whole programme was in a way, overwhelming, and will take some sorting out of impressions, but in due course I hope to be able to give a good account of my experiences in the states.⁵⁵³

Furthermore, Peterborough was chosen as one of seven areas across Britain chosen to set up a local BPC committee because of the 'great progress' made in the city's industry since 1945.⁵⁵⁴ The BPC attempted to establish a Local Productivity Council in Peterborough in 1953 but it left Grunow feeling disappointed that the TUC sent the General Secretary of the Boot and Shoe Makers Union, Lionel Poole, to speak at an inaugural meeting rather than someone who was connected to engineering and transport which were still Peterborough's primary employers at the time. As a result, a BPC was not successfully established in the city that time.⁵⁵⁵ But another attempt was made later in 1953 when the President of the National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives, James Crawford, who was a member of the BPC spoke. It was attended by PTUC's E. L. Hughes and John W. Cooper as well as other trade unionists, trade and employers' associations, and representatives from Peterborough's technical college.⁵⁵⁶ The evidence provided by PTUC's relationships with civic and economic bodies including

⁵⁵² 'Peterborough Selected as a Productivity Area,' *Peterborough Standard*, 27 March 1953, 14; 'Engineers Tour of States Ends,' *Peterborough Standard*, 6 March 1953, 12.

⁵⁵³ MRC, MSS.292.933/P/13, Letter from Ernie Grunow to Ray Boyfield, 22 March 1953.

⁵⁵⁴ 'Peterborough Selected as a Productivity Area,' *Peterborough Standard*, 27 March 1953, 14; 'Productivity Committee to be Formed,' *Peterborough Standard*, 19 June 1953, 12.

⁵⁵⁵ MRC, MSS.292/944/P/13, Letter from E. F. Grunow to Vic Feather, 8 February 1959.

⁵⁵⁶ 'Decision Held on Productivity Committee,' *Peterborough Standard*, 3 July 1953, 1.

the FCC and the BPC backs up Clinton's suggestion that committees designed to deal with societal problems welcomed trades councils in as significant partners alongside economic ones.⁵⁵⁷

Trades council delegates were involved in civic and economic bodies at this respectable level not because of changes in their attitudes but due to a change in government policies brought about by the post-war Labour government led by Clement Attlee. This included the repeal of the Trades Disputes Act (1927) in 1946.⁵⁵⁸ At the start of the post-war reconstruction period, 48 per cent of the British public who were eligible voted for the Labour Party in the General election of 1945 and one of the party's objectives was to rebuild the economy through the nationalisation of key industries.⁵⁵⁹ Only 6 per cent of people polled on the eve of the election were interested in nationalisation with housing and employment being higher up on their list of priorities. But the theory was that an increase in public ownership would boost production and supply and assist economic recovery which would be led by the government through a central planning system and by 1947 all the industries which Labour promised to nationalise in its 1945 manifesto had been taken into state ownership.⁵⁶⁰ The economic and industrial policies of the early post-war Labour government were created during both the Second World War and interwar periods with assistance from the trade unions.

⁵⁵⁷ Clinton, *The Trade Union Rank and File*, 182.

⁵⁵⁸ Clive Griggs, *The TUC and Education Reform 1926-1970* (London: Frank Cass, 2002), 162.

⁵⁵⁹ Reid, *United We Stand*, 376; Nicklaus Thomas-Symonds, *Attlee: A Life in Politics* (London: I. B. Taurus, 2010), 129.

⁵⁶⁰ John Singleton, 'Labour, Conservatives and Nationalisation,' 13-36 in *The Political Economy of Nationalisation in Britain 1920-1950*, edited by Robert Millward and John Singleton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 20-21; Nationalisation,' accessed 22 September 2021, https://www.economicsonline.co.uk/business_economics/nationalisation.html/.

But whereas the interwar years themselves had been full of disappointment for trade unionists when the Labour Party was defeated in 1931 and 1935, ideas surrounding nationalisation had much deeper roots.⁵⁶¹ Trades councils campaigned alongside miners in the 1870s for the mining industry to be brought into public ownership. This was followed up at a conference in 1895, where trades council delegates carried resolutions in favour of nationalising mines, minerals, railways and docks.⁵⁶² Nationalisation was also one of PTUC's earliest desires, as demonstrated in the 1903 annual report when delegates called for the municipal government to take control of gas and electric companies, tramways, land and slaughterhouses in a 'Municipal Programme.'⁵⁶³ Additionally, in 1916 PTUC affiliated to the Railway Nationalisation Society, an organisation created in 1910 to collect information on how railways were run at home and abroad, to publicise grievances against the private companies who ran them and to persuade the public to back nationalisation of the industry.⁵⁶⁴ Chelmsford Trades Council also affiliated to the society in 1924.⁵⁶⁵ When the Labour Party won the 1945 general election, trades councils were visibly moved as demonstrated at a conference in Wolverhampton, which was called to persuade trades councils to affiliate to local Labour Party bodies. Delegates were in a celebratory mood following the election and passed a resolution to support the new Government's policies, including those of

⁵⁶¹ Francis Williams, *Magnificent Journey: The Rise of The Trade Unions* (London: Oldhams Press, 1954), 424-25.

⁵⁶² Clem Edwards, 'The Trades Union Congress of 1895,' *The Economic Journal* 5, 20 (1895): 640.

⁵⁶³ MRC, MSS.524/4/1/29 Trades Council Report 1903 Maidstone to York.

⁵⁶⁴ *Peterborough and District Trades Council: Diamond Jubilee 1899-1959* (Peterborough: Peterborough and district Trades Council, 1959); 'Railway Nationalisation: A Society to Focus Opinion,' *The Manchester Guardian*, 27 February 1908, 8.

⁵⁶⁵ Wallace, *Nothing to Lose, A World to Win*, 39.

nationalisation.⁵⁶⁶ The support of trades councils for nationalisation, including PTUC's, was therefore unequivocal before the Second World War and that sentiment continued into the beginning of the early post-war period, as the Bank of England became the first body to be nationalised by Attlee's government in 1946.⁵⁶⁷

Trade unionists were emboldened by a left wing Labour government which had the opportunity to reshape British politics and society so in March 1948 PTUC delegates sent a resolution to national conference to request that anyone appointed to the board of a nationalised industry should have a 'socialist connection.'⁵⁶⁸ It is not clear what happened to the motion but the early post-war drive for public ownership gave trade unionists the greatest opportunity they would ever have to assist the Government in creating policy in peacetime. Peterborough's John Benstead was one of them. A former PTUC delegate and general secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen in 1943-1947, Benstead was offered a top job in a nationalised industry as deputy Chairman of the British Transport Commission in 1946, which bought together railways, docks, inland waterways, road and London transport and hotels.⁵⁶⁹ Additionally, Walter Citrine left his position as TUC secretary to take up a position on the newly nationalised National Coal Board alongside Ebby Edwards of the National Union of Mineworkers in 1947.⁵⁷⁰

⁵⁶⁶ George J Barnsby, *A History of Wolverhampton, Bilston and District Trades Union Council* (Wolverhampton: Wolverhampton, Bilston and District TUC, 1994), 66.

⁵⁶⁷ Sucheen Patel, 'Accounting for Policy Change Through Multi-Level Analysis: The Reform of the Bank of England in the Post-war Era,' *Policy Studies* 30, 3 (2009): 333.

⁵⁶⁸ 'Trades Council Attack on Displaced Persons,' *Peterborough Standard*, 10 March 1948, 5.

⁵⁶⁹ David Howell, 'Benstead, John (Sir) (1897-1979): Railway Trade Union Official,' in *Dictionary of Labour Biography Volume XV*, ed. Keith Gildart and David Howell (London: Springer Nature, 2020), 26, 29.

⁵⁷⁰ Dr Jim Moher, *Walter Citrine: The Forgotten Statesman of the Trades Union Congress* (Plymouth: JGM Books, 2001), 267; Mary Davis, 'Nationalisation and Planning,' accessed 15 September 2021, http://www.unionhistory.info/timeline/1945_1960.php.

Therefore, trade union leaders sympathetic to trades councils were in a position to influence the policies of the government in the post-war period.

However, there were criticisms of Labour's policies from rank and file trade unionists and trades council delegates. Nationalisation was criticised because delegates felt that the programme did not go far enough to help the working class but it also failed in its aim for economic stability as demonstrated in a PTUC motion submitted by the AUBTW in 1949 which protested against the devaluation of the pound, which one delegate feared would lead to rising living costs and unemployment. The motion called on the TUC to 'urge the government to develop increased exports and trade agreements with non-dollar areas and to pursue a policy of an end to wage freezes, drastic cuts in prices and profits, and a reduced military spending.' But while delegate Andrew Utting insisted during the discussion that he no longer thought of 'the Labour government as a workers government,' others were more sympathetic, with secretary Hardie Mann Blatchford Henderson who was elected to replace Cyril Pask in March 1948, declaring his faith in the party. The motion was not carried.⁵⁷¹ Furthermore, members were unwilling to give up key functions to the government in the way of retaining wage differences between skilled members and non-members.⁵⁷²

For Wolverhampton and Bilston Trades Council, criticism of the Labour government was due to foreign policy, rather than the process of nationalisation.

Nevertheless, the height of achievement for the post-war Labour government was the

⁵⁷¹ 'Three Things a Union Would Like the Government to Do,' *Peterborough Standard*, 30 September 1949, 8; 'Trades Council Attack on Displaced Persons,' *Peterborough Standard*, 10 March 1928, 7.

⁵⁷² Dennie Oude Nijhuis, 'The TUC and Failure of Labour's Post-war Social Agenda,' *International Labor and Working Class History* 29 (2016): 163.

nationalisation of key industries and this achievement was largely aided by the trade unions.⁵⁷³ Meanwhile, political opponents, who thought the policy of nationalisation was too socialist, criticised the influence of the trade unions within the Government. Peterborough's Conservative MP Harmer Nicholls criticised trade union influence stating in January 1949, that giving top appointments to trade unionists 'may well drive industry to Communism, through to Anarchy.'⁵⁷⁴ Nicholls was exaggerating of course, even though trade union power increased and membership grew from 8 million in 1945 to 10 million in 1950.⁵⁷⁵ However, there were rank and file trade unionists who thought that the policy of public ownership was not socialist enough and there was a growing disappointment with the Labour Government among the rank and file and trade unionists alike not only because of nationalisation but also because of the continuation of wartime orders which banned industrial action.⁵⁷⁶

The continuation of restrictions on trade unions, despite the repeal of the Trades Dispute and Trades Union Act 1927 immediately after the war, meant that Order 1305, the Conditions of Employment and National Arbitration Order, remained in place and was not repealed until August 1951.⁵⁷⁷ The Order banned strikes and lock outs from 1941, although it was ignored by many trade unionists, including coal miners in Betteshanger, Kent, which resulted in fines and the imprisonment of officials organising

⁵⁷³ Barnsby, *A History of Wolverhampton, Bilston and District Trades Council*, 67.

⁵⁷⁴ 'Nationalisation – A Terrifying Threat to National Economy,' *Peterborough Standard*, 14 January 1949, 8.

⁵⁷⁵ Reid, *United We Stand*, 378.

⁵⁷⁶ Paul Smith, 'Employment Law,' accessed 25 January 2021, <http://www.unionhistory.info/britainatwork/>.

⁵⁷⁷ 'Industrial Disputes: New Order,' Hansard, accessed 16 June 2021, <https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1951/aug/02/industrial-disputes-new-order>.

industrial action in 1942 and 12,000 bus drivers and dockers in Liverpool and Birkenhead who went on strike in 1943.⁵⁷⁸ Most disputes during the war years concerned pay, despite the increase of the average real wage.⁵⁷⁹ But it was the arrest of striking gas workers in 1950 which caught the attention of PTUC delegates and caused them to send a copy of a motion defending the right to strike to the National Council of Civil Liberties.⁵⁸⁰ The Attlee Government believed that wage restraint, which TUC leaders had agreed to, was the cause of unofficial strikes in the early post-war period.⁵⁸¹ But with so many top trade unionists involved in the implementation of government policy, it meant that members were being critical not just of the government but of their leaders too and their policies changed some trade unionist's attitudes towards Labour.

Trades councils led criticisms of government policy especially with regards to nationalisation, but this did not mean that their attitudes had changed from the interwar period. Instead, it meant they were firmly stuck in a past concept of public ownership rather than appreciating what could realistically be achieved. Some trades councils were critical, with a degree of sympathy for the government - Nottingham Trades Council noted with satisfaction the implementation of policies of 'social advancement' and 'industrial reconstruction with condemnable enterprise.' But delegates also warned that they were fully prepared to criticise the international and

⁵⁷⁸ Mary Davis, 'The Labour Movement and World War Two,' accessed 16 June 2021, http://www.unionhistory.info/timeline/1939_1945.php.

⁵⁷⁹ Geoffrey G Field, *Blood, Sweat and Toil: Remaking the British Working Class, 1939-1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 102, 120.

⁵⁸⁰ PAS/TUC/1/1, Peterborough Trades Union Council Executive Committee and Meeting Minutes January 1949 - December 1951, 13 July 1950, Executive Meeting, December 1950; AGM February 1950.

⁵⁸¹ 'Letter to Prime Minister from P F Jordan,' 6 October 1950, Cab 124, 1194 in Laybourn, *British Trade Unionism*, 167.

domestic policy of the Labour government.⁵⁸² Criticisms from trade unionists were severe, despite their leaders securing collective bargaining rights which led to more support for trade unions in the private sector.⁵⁸³ While a few members of the TUC took advantage of their new found influence on bodies of publicly owned industries, it was felt in other quarters of the trade union movement that government policies of nationalisation, did not 'adequately meet the aspirations of working people.'⁵⁸⁴ Moreover, there was a feeling of betrayal when the government planned for industrial boards to be comprised of men with specific abilities and experience, while commercially, they would be independent of the treasury, accountable to local communities, not the Government.⁵⁸⁵ Chelmsford Trades Council criticised the Labour Government for not having workers' representation on the board of nationalised industry.⁵⁸⁶ Consequently, there were differences between the 'socialist' conception of nationalisation from before 1940 and the reality of the early post-war era and it was clear that support for the Labour government was waning among rank and file trade unionists and trades councils by the late 1940s. While PTUC delegates embraced their enhanced status on public bodies, there was little evidence in the documents to suggest the strength of support for Labour's economic policies - besides the occasional hotly debated motion which indicated that opinions were split.

⁵⁸² *Nottingham and District Trades Union Council 1980-1990: Centenary* (Nottingham: Nottingham and District TUC, 1990) 53.

⁵⁸³ Roger Undy, 'Trade Union Organisation,' accessed 16 September 2021

<http://www.unionhistory.info/britainatwork/narrativedisplay.php?type=tradeunionorganisation>.

⁵⁸⁴ Wallace, *Nothing to Lose*, 103.

⁵⁸⁵ 'Labour Will be in Power Again,' *Peterborough Standard*, 20 June 1947, 1.

⁵⁸⁶ Wallace, *Nothing to Lose, A World to Win*, 103.

Housing and Changes to Working-Class Communities

It was not so much the attitude of trades councils which changed in the middle of the twentieth century, as the culture of the working class itself caused by post-war government policies. These changes, facilitated by an increase in the standard of living during the interwar period, resulted in a decrease in the significance of trades councils in post-war housing matters. There was an urgent need to rehome thousands of people who were left without shelter due to bomb damage during the war and a desire to make general improvements to the conditions of the working class, many of whom still lived in overcrowded urban slums. As a result, housing strategies were the top priority for 54 per cent of British people surveyed in a Gallup poll in 1945. The poll was taken prior to the general election which resulted in a victory for the Labour Party who held power until 1951.⁵⁸⁷

During its time in office, the Attlee government implemented a housing strategy partly based on the continuation of council house estates first seen during the interwar period. Trades councils took a great interest in the new public housing estates despite the changes they made to the culture of working-class communities, when families which moved into new suburban council house estates near to the middle classes developed their aspirations of consumerism and affluence. Aspirations of consumerism and affluence only increased post-war when many more suburban council estates, such as Nottingham's Clifton Estate, were created, even if new bonds between working-class

⁵⁸⁷ George R Boyer, *The Winding Road to the Welfare State: Economic Insecurity and Social Welfare Policy in Britain* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2019), 278; Eugene Byrne, 'Postwar Squatters: A Very British Uprising,' accessed 14 September 2021, <https://www.historyextra.com/period/second-world-war/postwar-squatters-a-very-british-uprising/>; Brian Lund, *Housing Politics in the United Kingdom: Planning, Power and Protest* (Bristol: Policy Press, 2016), 1.

families were made through the sharing of estate facilities and joining residents' associations, such as the one for the Dogsthorpe-Newark Estate. Another part of the policy consisted of providing temporary housing. Temporary housing came in the form of government-run industrial hostels for single workers, which were places where trades councils took a lead in with regards to campaigning for better conditions until they closed in 1956. The second temporary housing scheme were prefabs for families, comfortable kit-built houses with modern fittings and fixtures; here, though, there was little which trades councils needed to campaign on. This analysis of post-war housing suggests that it was not the attitude of trades councils that had changed since 1939 but that of the government. The post-war Labour government demonstrated class consciousness through their more 'socialist' housing policies. Because trades councils had campaigned for better housing conditions for the working class prior to the Second World War they did lose some significance to the working class in the sphere of campaigns for better housing due to the fact that conditions were greatly improved by the Labour government.

The attitudes of trades council delegates towards housing were no different in 1945 to 1935 - delegates simply wanted decent homes for the working class to live in.⁵⁸⁸ Prior to the Second World War, trades councils took a prominent lead in campaigns to improve housing for the working class and took an interest in the construction of the suburban housing estates which became a feature of the interwar period's social policy. Estates of semi-detached houses were built in towns throughout Britain from the early

⁵⁸⁸ Clinton, *The Trade Union Rank and File*, 38-40.

1920s to 1939. They were aimed at the affluent worker, professional white-collar owner-occupiers working in the new light industries and car manufacturing.⁵⁸⁹ The decision to implement a programme of house building on such a large scale was introduced after the First World War when the drive for 'Homes for Heroes' led to the passing of the Housing and Town Planning Act 1919. The Act gave local authorities the power to survey, plan and build houses and 500,000 new houses were built by 1924.⁵⁹⁰ The Planning Act, also known as the Addison Act, was named after Christopher Addison, the first Minister of Health and by 1929, 1.1 million brand new homes had been built in Britain, with the total increasing to 4 million in 1939.⁵⁹¹

For trades councils, the interwar housing boom led to campaigns for low rents with activism common on council estates and the lobbying of councils.⁵⁹² For instance the implementation of the Housing (Financial Provisions Act) in 1924, otherwise known as the Wheatley Act, resulted in a deputation from PTUC to Peterborough's municipal council to present plans delegates had drawn up for public housing. Enacted shortly after the first Labour government was voted into in, the Act provided subsidies for councils to build affordable homes for low income families and jobs in the construction industry. This was after previous subsidies had been cut by the 1923 Chamberlain

⁵⁸⁹ Mark Clapson, 'The Suburban Aspiration of England Since 1919,' *Contemporary British History* 14, 1 (2000):155.

⁵⁹⁰ Philip Shapely, 'Social Housing and Tenant Participation,' accessed 12 October 2021, <https://www.historyandpolicy.org/policy-papers/papers/social-housing-and-tenant-participation>; Roger Smith, Paul Whysall, 'The Addison Act and the Local Authority Response: Housing Policy Formulation and Implementation in Nottingham 1917-1922,' *The Town Planning Review* 61, 2 (1990): 185, 187; John Boughton, *Municipal Dreams: The Rise and Fall of Council Housing* (London: Verso, 2018), 25.

⁵⁹¹ Matthew Hollow, 'Suburban Ideals on England's Interwar Council Estates,' *Garden History* 39, 2 (2011): 203; John Boughton, *Municipal Dreams*, 23; William Hatchett, 'Christopher Addison: Health Visionary, Man of War, Parliamentarian and Practical Pioneer,' in *Pioneers in Public Health: Lessons from Pioneers* ed. Jill Stewart (Abingdon: Taylor and Francis Group, 2017), 97-8.

⁵⁹² Clinton, *The Trade Union Rank and File*, 180.

Housing Act. The result was that half a council houses, were built under the Wheatley Act by 1933.⁵⁹³ The deputation was led by PTUC's secretary, Percy Woodall in 1925. Woodall proudly commented in a report to TUC secretary, Walter Citrine, that 'the [municipal] council was greatly impressed to think that the trades council could draw up plans which were practical, in their demonstration of the urgent necessity for the building of houses for the people.'⁵⁹⁴ The PTUC plans suggested that delegates were quite serious about contributing to the improvement of housing for the poor as early as the mid-1920s.

Although nothing came out of PTUC's housing plans in 1925, attitudes did not change, and delegates remained determined to show their interest in public housing by educating themselves on the latest developments into the 1930s. Delegates were keen to learn about new public housing experiments not just because they were keen on education but also because individual trade unionists who were working class would benefit. Increased social mobility was a key factor in the period as demonstrated by the growth in the housing market. The better-off moved to urban areas to prevent themselves from rubbing shoulders with the lower classes but they did not escape for long, because wage increases for skilled manual workers led to a migration of the

⁵⁹³ 'Wartime Housing: Between the Wars,' accessed 17 February 2023, <https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/cabinetpapers/themes/wartime-housing.htm#:~:text=The%201923%20Chamberlain%20Housing%20Act,and%20500%2C000%20houses%20were%20built>; 'John Wheatley and the Housing Act 1924,' accessed 17 February 2023, <https://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/transformingsociety/towncountry/towns/collections/labhousing1/housea2/>.

⁵⁹⁴ MRC, MSS.292/79P/13, Report from P. Woodall to Fred Bramley, 6 July 1925.

affluent working class to the suburbs later in the period.⁵⁹⁵ The affluence of suburban house owners also allowed them to have access to the latest mod-cons and labour-saving devices such as telephones, irons, and radios. In addition to an increase in wages there were more obtainable mortgage agreements from Building Societies as they competed against each other in the 1930s, which also contributed to a wider housing market.⁵⁹⁶ As a result of these changes, 32 per cent of British people were owner-occupiers by 1939, an increase of 10 per cent from 1914.⁵⁹⁷

Still, because of their interest in housing during the 1930s, PTUC took up an invitation from Grantham Town Council to view two estates in the town - Belton Lane and Hill Avenue. PTUC accepted the invitation so they could get 'a little idea of what can be done when those in authority have the people's welfare really at heart.'⁵⁹⁸ The developments were created for lower paid workers in 1923 and were typical of the Addison housing programme which contained semi-detached or detached houses with a minimum of two bedrooms, a parlour, larder and bathroom along with gardens front and back, which gave them the appearance of country cottages.⁵⁹⁹ After the visit to Grantham, one PTUC delegate responded that 'a man could go home after a day's work and forget the humdrum and the noise and enter... a haven of peace.' Another asked, 'is

⁵⁹⁵ John H Goldthorpe, 'Class and Status in Interwar England: Current Issues in the Light of a Historical Case,' *The British Journal of Sociology* 72, 2 (2021): 243.

⁵⁹⁶ Clapson, *The Suburban Aspiration in England Since 1919*, 155; Goldthorpe, 'Class and Status in Interwar England,' 244; Peter Scott and Lucy Ann Newton, 'Advertising, Promotion and the and the Rise of a National Building Society Movement in Interwar Britain,' *Business History* 54, 3 (2012), 405.

⁵⁹⁷ Deborah Sugg, *Ideal Homes 1918-39: Domestic Design and Suburban Modernism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018), 45.

⁵⁹⁸ 'Council Houses which Are Homes: Peterborough Trades and Labour Council Inspect Grantham Schemes,' *Peterborough Standard*, 16 May 1930, 9.

⁵⁹⁹ Boughton, *Municipal Dreams*, 25.

there any reason why Peterborough could not do something similar?’⁶⁰⁰ Bartram, Frederick Terrell and Henry William Kelley were three of the PTUC delegates who went on the Grantham trip and all three were Labour Councillors. Consequently, they continued to campaign for council housing in the chamber where Kelley was especially keen to lobby for extending accommodation to the working class stating that, ‘my policy is also to press for better housing conditions for the workers... the electors appear to approve of my insistence that there is a need for more council houses.’⁶⁰¹ In 1931 Kelley also lobbied for the local building trades to be involved in the construction of Peterborough’s housing estates and suggested a quick turnaround as ‘scores of people were clamouring for houses.’⁶⁰² This was a successful lobby when the next month an advert for a tender to build housing on the Park Lane Estate was placed in the paper specifying local labour to be used ‘as far as possible.’⁶⁰³ Trades council delegates were therefore resolute in their quest for decent housing for the working class in the interwar period.

Trades Councils showed their resolve when being active in campaigns around temporary accommodation in the early post-war years. These campaigns illustrated that trades councils continued to be significant to the working class regarding housing issues during the period. As the problems caused by temporary accommodation were only relevant up until the mid-1950s, it also demonstrated that there was a natural cycle to delegates’ activism. Poverty was a concern for local trades council delegates and

⁶⁰⁰ ‘Council Homes Which are Homes,’ *Peterborough Standard*, 16 May 1930, 9.

⁶⁰¹ ‘Candidates’ Interviewed: Considerable Criticism of Certain Departments,’ *Peterborough Standard*, 28 October 1932, 7.

⁶⁰² ‘Housing and Local Labour,’ *Peterborough Standard*, 6 March 1931, 15.

⁶⁰³ City of Peterborough: Erection of Council Houses,’ *Peterborough Standard*, 3 April 1931, 10.

following bombing raids on cities, thousands of people found themselves living in a variety of makeshift shelters. No new houses were built in Britain during the Second World War because many construction workers were involved either in the war industry or the military.⁶⁰⁴ Therefore, trades councils campaigned on the conditions of temporary housing concentrating on industrial hostels and prefabricated builds. The Labour Government started out with an ambitious plan to build 100,000 temporary and permanent houses by the end of 1946. However, a shortage of materials meant it took an average of 6 months for private companies to build a new house and by September only 40,000 prefabs had been completed.⁶⁰⁵ Therefore, returning ex-servicemen and their families, desperate to be rehomed, squatted in empty properties, first on the south coast of England and then in huts on old military sites, many of which were in very bad conditions. But squatting did not just apply to servicemen and their families; for instance, in Scunthorpe, the expansion of the steel industry left workers without housing, and they were left to find their own accommodation which was in short supply.⁶⁰⁶

Many workers in key industries, such as steel, were housed in industrial hostels during the war years. Industrial Workers' Hostels were established in 1941 by the National Service Hostels Corporation (NSHC), acting as a reception area for bombed out people and providing facilities for shadow factories built in rural areas. Most commonly though, they were used for industrial and munitions workers who were undertaking

⁶⁰⁴ Adrian Fleissig, 'The impact of World War 2 and Rationing on UK Expenditure in the Short and Long Run,' *The Journal of European Economic History* 49, 3 (2020): 112.

⁶⁰⁵ 'Two Types of Building,' *Peterborough Standard*, 6 September 1946, 4.

⁶⁰⁶ Eugene Byrne, 'Post-war Squatters: A Very British Uprising,' accessed 7 January 2021, <https://www.historyextra.com/period/second-world-war/postwar-squatters-a-very-british-uprising/>

'work of national importance.'⁶⁰⁷ The Labour Movement was represented on the NSHC by Margaret Bondfield, a former Minister of Labour and high-profile female trade unionist.⁶⁰⁸ In Peterborough, there were industrial hostels in Yaxley, Fletton, Woodston and Westwood, which up to 1956, housed working-class farm workers, students, railwaymen, jam makers, fruit and vegetable canners, builders and at one time, Italian prisoners of war.⁶⁰⁹ PTUC frequently sent deputations to the hostels to check conditions and food rations and lobbied the local authority for lower rents and increased privacy in dormitories. They also investigated complaints between residents while they continued to be in use for single workers, until 1956.⁶¹⁰

While single working-class men and women continued to be housed in hostels during the interwar period and beyond, families were given prefabricated housing as temporary accommodation. Trades councils took an interest in this initially but found there was nothing to campaign on as they were safe and modern places to live despite their slow build. A columnist for the *Peterborough Standard* suggested that the construction of more factory-made prefab bungalows would be very much welcomed by

⁶⁰⁷ 'End of Industrial Hostels,' *The Manchester Guardian*, 11 October 1955, 2; Howard Robertson, 'Industrial Hostels,' *The Architectural Review* 97, 579 (1954), 83.

⁶⁰⁸ 'War Workers Hostels,' *The Workers' War: Home Front Recalled*, accessed 8 June 2021, [The Worker's War: Home Front Recalled \(unionhistory.info\)](https://www.unionhistory.info/).

⁶⁰⁹ 'Farmyard Animals – Animals, Not Men,' *Peterborough Standard*, 9 July 1948, 3; 'River Lane Hostel,' *Peterborough Standard*, 7 September 1945, 6; 'Ministry of Education and Peterborough Joint Education Board: Peterborough Training College River Lane,' *Boston Guardian*, 9 October 1946, 2; 'Westwood Hostel: Council Not to Take Over,' *Peterborough Standard*, 13 January 1956, 15; 'Carpenters Discontent at Power Station: Strike Action Hint at Trades Council,' *Peterborough Standard*, 25 November 1949, 8; 'River Lane Hostel,' *Peterborough Standard*, 7 September 1945, 6.

⁶¹⁰ PAS/TUC/1/1, Peterborough Trades Union Council Executive Committee and Meeting Minutes January 1949 - December 1951, 5 June 1949; 31 July 1949; 'Employees Political Convictions,' *Peterborough Standard*, 15 August 1948, 8; 'Yaxley Hostel Cleared: Allegations Made in Good Faith,' *Peterborough Standard*, 11 June 1948, 8; 'Westwood Hostel Stays Open,' *Peterborough Standard*, 3 February 1956, 6; 'End of Industrial Hostels Within 12 Months,' *The Manchester Guardian* 11 October 1955, 2.

the thousands of families who had 'taken the law into their own hands,' through squatting, but was quick to point out the terribly slow pace at which the Government moved. There was an 8 month turn-around time for permanent housing and 131 workers were required to construct 100 pre-fabs.⁶¹¹ Consequently, shortages of materials hampered progress. The addition of prefabricated housing was first brought to the attention of PTUC when delegates discovered that aluminium houses were to be rented to the employees of engineering company F. Perkins Ltd. PTUC delegates decided to write to the employer to ask for a workers' representative to consult on the matter.⁶¹² Still, Perkins was allocated 25 prefab Bungalows with inside toilets and modern fittings on Welland Close.⁶¹³ However, the pace of building was slow for prefabs and also for permanent houses - in Chelmsford, only 24 per cent of people on the housing list had been rehomed by 1948 and the trades council was concerned that the local authority was not building the correct allocation of housing. Despite these worries, Chelmsford was fourth on the national house building league table that year.⁶¹⁴ Like Chelmsford, Peterborough benefitted from a government scheme to supplement new housing for the working class, by adding to house stocks with cheap prefabricated bungalows.⁶¹⁵

Additionally, trades councils believed that the labour shortages in the construction industry during the early post-war period could be relieved by local

⁶¹¹ 'Two Types of Building,' *Peterborough Standard*, 6 September 1946, 4.

⁶¹² PAS/TUC/1/1, Peterborough Trades Union Council Executive Committee and Meeting Minutes January 1949 - December 1951, 13 July 1950.

⁶¹³ 'The Prefabs,' Baker Perkins at Westwood Works, accessed 10 June 2021, <http://www.westwoodworks.net/HowItWas/Housing/index.htm>.

⁶¹⁴ Wallace, *Nothing to Lose*, 104-05.

⁶¹⁵ 'Prefabricated Bungalows,' *The Architectural Journal* 103, 2666 (1946): 173.

authorities offering 'direct labour' contracts. Direct labour on housing meant local authorities would employ builders directly, instead of going through private contractors. Campaigns for direct labour started during the interwar period when Torquay trades council, for instance, called refusals to enact direct labour policies 'stupid' and 'pernicious' in the mid-1930s.⁶¹⁶ PTUC took on the campaign for direct labour after the presentation of the pamphlet *Building by Local Authorities* by the Association of Building Technicians in 1947. The information in the pamphlet inspired PTUC delegates to try and organise an conference on direct labour with the city council's Labour Group.⁶¹⁷ There was no response from the Labour Group, only the Conservatives which led the city council who produced a report which was against direct labour for house building.⁶¹⁸ Nevertheless, PTUC delegates failed to convince those in power that it was cheaper and more efficient to use the direct labour method in the construction of council houses – and that more could be built and it would help alleviate local unemployment. One example of good practice was Northampton City Council which used direct labour policies and employed 70 men through the local labour exchanges. PTUC agreed to send a deputation to talk to the Labour Group about a direct labour scheme and secretary, Dave Patchett of the AUBTW and Andrew Utting of the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers, met the Estates Committee of Peterborough City Council on 21 October 1947. The committee promised that if they could be guaranteed enough labour to take

⁶¹⁶ Clinton, *The Trade Union Rank and File*, 180.

⁶¹⁷ 'Direct Labour on Housing: Trades Council to Hold Conference,' *Peterborough Standard*, 27 June 1947, 1.

⁶¹⁸ 'Trades Council Call for Direct Labour Building,' *Peterborough Standard*, 19 September 1947, 7.

on the work, they would recommend direct labour to the city council.⁶¹⁹ However, PTUC officials were refused sight of the committee's report.⁶²⁰ The failure of PTUC to persuade the council to implement direct labour policies on public building projects was a continuation of successive failures from the interwar years, first seen in the plans submitted for council houses in 1925 and then in the lobby for low rents in 1935.

One of the most obvious signs of change in trades councils' roles during the reconstruction period was demonstrated by the fact that there were fewer opportunities for trades councils to campaign on the state of housing or high rents for the working class. That was because the Labour government attempted to sort these problems out by building more council houses. But trades councils who were also active on tenants or residents' associations during the interwar period continued to be during the early post-war period although for a short while in Peterborough's case. In Peterborough, the first interwar version of such an organisation was a Tenants Protection Association which formed in May 1920 with George Samuel Palmer delegate to PTUC as Chairman. Tenants Protection Associations were established to protect any residents subject to the Rent Restrictions Act 1915, a piece of legislation which restricted rent and mortgage repayments during the First World War. After the conflict ended, Palmer was concerned that landlords were illegally increasing rents, hence the formation of the organisation.⁶²¹ With regards to the Rent Restrictions Act 1915, the trades councils at Coventry and Woolwich claimed to have inspired the legislation while

⁶¹⁹ 'Direct Labour: Lack of Workmen Drawback,' *Peterborough Standard*, 31 October 1947, 5.

⁶²⁰ 'Scamped Work on Houses,' *Peterborough Standard*, 6 August 1948, 5.

⁶²¹ 'Punching the Dough: A Tenants Association formed at Peterborough: Good and Bad Landlords,' *Peterborough Standard*, 8 May 1920, 5.

other bodies organised leafleting campaigns and public meetings to promote the new legislation. Later in the interwar period trades councils in Halifax and Oldham supported the formation of tenants' associations, while industrial councils created organisations for residents in Newport. Additionally, Leeds Trades Council offered professional legal advice to residents' associations and as new housing increased, there was a push for a wider improvement in living conditions alongside and campaigns for fairer rents, which continued into the early post-war period.⁶²²

There were plenty of opportunities for trades councils to campaign on housing matters post-war as more estates were built to provide housing for the people displaced by the slum clearances. Slum clearances were part of the Government's post-war policies which extended the Addison Act to build extra council house estates. The removal of substandard urban housing was partly to prevent overcrowding in the cities and was debated by the state from the late nineteenth century onwards.⁶²³ Consequently in the 1930s, a wave of clearances undertaken by local authorities resulted in a total of 1,300 demolition orders at the outbreak of the Second World War.⁶²⁴ Slum clearances were regularly debated in Peterborough throughout the 1930s with 65 houses identified for demolition across 11 streets in 1937; this continued after the war, starting in 1946 in Peterborough when housing on St Johns Street and Fengate

⁶²² Clinton, *The Trade Union Rank and File*: 39, 180.

⁶²³ Peter Dewey, *War and Progress: Britain 1914-1945* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014), 165.

⁶²⁴ 'Slum Clearance,' Hansard, HC Deb 25 January 1940, 356, 760-61.

were bulldozed.⁶²⁵ However, residents were given new housing in prefabricated bungalows and in houses on the Park Lane estate.⁶²⁶

Extensive changes were made to traditional class structures during the early post-war period with the removal of slum dwellers to suburban areas. Just like the interwar estates, post-1945 developments contained complex hierarchies and class structures, which developed because of competition over culture. Many residents were still middling or were the affluent working class and were wary of newcomers from the slums who they saw as 'invading' their suburban way of life.⁶²⁷ But plans for the first part of Peterborough's Dogsthorpe Newark Estate released to the public in 1945 meant housing was available within 2 miles of many of Peterborough's major employers, including Baker Perkins, Brotherhoods Works and an area earmarked for future factory development in the Fengate area of the city. This estate was clearly aimed at the working class. It was to feature attractive houses separated by ornamental walls and fences. Also to feature on the estate was a shopping centre, public house, church, junior and nursery schools, lock up garages, allotments, ornamental gardens and flowering trees and shrubs to give it a 'garden city' atmosphere.⁶²⁸

Tenants' associations were formed on estates to assist working-class newcomers in assimilating into estates. Trades councils often became involved in them and PTUC was no exception. Delegates' involvement was down to the political aspects of

⁶²⁵ 'More Slum Clearance,' *Peterborough Standard*, 3 December 1937, 13.

⁶²⁶ 'News Items from City Council: Slum Clearance,' *Peterborough Standard*, 4 January 1946, 6; 'City Council News Items,' *Peterborough Standard*, 6 September 1946, 6.

⁶²⁷ Matthew Hollow, 'Utopian Urges: Visions for Reconstruction in Britain, 1940-1950,' *Planning Perspectives* 27, 4 (2012): 209, 571-72.

⁶²⁸ 'Garden City in Prospect,' *Peterborough Standard*, 19 January 1945, 1.

associations' campaigns. But whereas interwar tenants' groups were often formed with reference to rent campaigns, those that developed later in the period were more likely to be used for confronting estate management on maintenance issues and networking, rather than for social gains.⁶²⁹ The wider remit gave trades councils more opportunities to carry out activities supporting tenants' associations who formed because of the need to pressure developers into finishing pavements or to address a lack of repairs, amenities and transport routes.⁶³⁰ One housing development which had such problems was Nottingham's Clifton Estate which had 1000 acres for 40,000 residents and was the largest development of its kind in Europe. Building started in the late 1940s and planners attempted to recreate the community spirit seen in the back-to-backs but to increase green space at the same time.⁶³¹ The ambitious project was built over a period of eighteen years and resulted in a 5-year waiting list for housing. Consequently, in 1956 Nottingham Trades Council called for a public inquiry into the prolonged construction period of the estate.⁶³² Other tenants' and residents' associations were formed to give working-class residents some responsibility and a sense of unity. Estates such as Kensal House in West London formed various groups for this purpose - an estate tenants' and

⁶²⁹ Liz Cairncross, David Clapham and Robina Goodlad, 'The Origins and Activities of Tenants Associations in Britain,' *Urban Studies* 29, 5 (1992): 711.

⁶³⁰ Castlemilk People's History Group, *The Big Flit: Castlemilk's First Tenants* (Glasgow: The Workers Educational Association Castlemilk People's History Group, 1990), 25-6.

⁶³¹ Dion Jones, 'The History of Clifton Estate,' *Nottingham Post*, 6 August 2018.

⁶³² 'Post-war Council Housing Estates: The Planner's Dream of the Future,' Historic England, accessed 8 June 2021, <https://historicengland.org.uk/whats-new/in-your-area/midlands/post-war-council-housing-estates/>; *Nottingham and District Trades Union Council: 1890-1990 Centenary* (Nottingham: Nottingham TUC, 1990), 92.

staircase committees and a Feather Club for entertainment purposes.⁶³³ However, the examples of the Clifton Estate and Kensal House demonstrated that moving to a new estate was difficult. It certainly was for people whose support networks, traditional kinship, friends and family were left behind. Women were particularly affected, so they were encouraged to take part in active citizenship by participating on housing committees.⁶³⁴ Additionally, a lack of social cohesion was found in estates often where facilities, such as shops and entertainment venues, took a long time to build.⁶³⁵ These matters offered plenty of opportunities for trades council activities.

PTUC actively supported the Dogsthorpe Residents' Association created for the new Newark-Dogsthorpe Estate built in Peterborough between 1945 and 1952.⁶³⁶ There were no delays on the scale of the Clifton Estate during the construction of the 350 houses built by 24 contractors. But bad weather temporarily affected the construction of sewers and roads and PTUC delegates had to pressure the council into make sure shopping facilities were provided on the estate.⁶³⁷ There was, however, a problem with increasing rents and in February 1949, Lillian Gill, secretary of Peterborough CP and wife of PTUC delegate Matt Gill, canvassed the estate in a campaign against rent increases.⁶³⁸ PTUC's Andrew Utting who lived in Dogsthorpe and was affected by the rent increase chaired a public meeting on the matter in February 1949 where he blamed the

⁶³³ Elizabeth Darling, 'What the Tenants Think of Kensal House: Experts Assumptions Versus Inhabitants Realities' in the Modern Home,' *Journal of Architectural Education* 53, 3 (1984): 170-71.

⁶³⁴ Cairtriona Beaumont, *Housewives and Citizens: Domesticity and the Women's Movement in England, 1928-64* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), 168.

⁶³⁵ Ross McKibbin, *Classes and Cultures: England 1918-1951* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 191.

⁶³⁶ *Peterborough Standard Directory 1952*, 7.

⁶³⁷ '10 Years Ago,' *Peterborough Advertiser*, 11 December 1956, 10; 'Dogsthorpe Shops to be a Serial!' *Peterborough Standard*, 2 December 1949, 2.

⁶³⁸ 'Communists and Corporation Houses: *Peterborough Standard*, 18 February 1949, 1.

government for increasing interest rates on loans and called on the City Council to protest.⁶³⁹ Because the increase would cause hardship, PTUC delegates supported the campaign as illustrated through a discussion of a motion submitted by the Association of Engineering, Shipbuilding and Draughtsmen. The motion noted that residents of the estate still lived in inferior conditions, yet they were still charged a high rent. In response, PTUC delegates decided to campaign for a better government subsidy for tenants, a reduction in rent up to a maximum of 2 per cent and a cut in profits for the building industry.⁶⁴⁰ Interestingly the very same demands found in the PTUC motion were the same ones that Peterborough CP published in the *Peterborough Standard* the previous January.⁶⁴¹

Another woman campaigning for the residents' association, Doreen Lutkin, was a delegate to PTUC from the Post Office Workers Union until 1946 and was also a member of the Peterborough CP from 1948.⁶⁴² Women were very much involved in housing issues as acknowledged by Swain in 1943 when he unsuccessfully attempted to get a representative from the NUR No.1 Women's Guild onto the Municipal Council's Estates Committee. Swain told the committee as early as 1943 that 'housing was as important as education and allotments, and women should have some voice in determining the

⁶³⁹ 'Communists and Corporation Houses: Petition Against Rent Increases Going to City Council,' *Peterborough Standard*, 18 February 1949, 1.

⁶⁴⁰ 'Trades Council Supports Tenants, Call to Government: Increase Subsidy, Cut Interest and Builders' Profits,' *Peterborough Standard*, 18 March 1949, 8.

⁶⁴¹ 'Communists and Rents,' *Peterborough Standard*, 14 January 1949, 5.

⁶⁴² *Peterborough Standard: 1952 Directory* (Peterborough Standard, 1952), 7; 'Dogsthorpe Tenants Secretary Resigns – "Pressure of Work",' *Peterborough Standard*, 24 September 1954, 1; 'Why I resigned: By Mrs Doreen Lutkin,' *Peterborough Standard*, 1 October 1954, 8; 'P O Union Disclaimer,' *Peterborough Standard*, 8 April 1955, 6.

class of house to be built and also the siting and allocation of houses.⁶⁴³ As a result the *Peterborough Standard* reported in 1946 that ‘all women’s organisations in the city were consulted in the house designs [for the Newark-Dogsthorpe estate] and as a result of the composite findings, plans were redrafted.’ Following the consultations, the designs included nine different styles of housing and all mod cons kitchens. It was quoted by the Peterborough’s deputy engineer as being a ‘model estate.’⁶⁴⁴ But PTUC was not much more involved in the estate’s residents’ association past chairing the inaugural meeting, passing a motion on rent and campaigning for shops. Neither did they appear to have a relationship at all with the other residents’ associations operating in Peterborough during the period, such as the Southfield Estates Tenants’ Association in Stanground.⁶⁴⁵ However, community groups such as residents’ and tenants’ associations had a lifecycle due to being formed in response to a particular matter such as high rents as seen in Peterborough, or a lack of facilities. The next Dogsthorpe association project, for instance, was not until 1954 when members started to campaign for a community centre.⁶⁴⁶ But it was during the protest part of the cycle when trades councils had the opportunity to take on the causes as one of their activities. However, once the initial matter was resolved the association focussed on welfare or social issues and on occasion disbanded which removed a platform for trades council activities.⁶⁴⁷ The policy planners, who agreed that the post-war future should be better than the interwar

⁶⁴³ ‘Women for House Planning: Mr. Swain’s Council Motion,’ *Peterborough Standard*, 1 October 1943, 1.

⁶⁴⁴ ‘“Town” of 3,250 at Dogsthorpe,’ *Peterborough Standard*, 2 August 1946, 3.

⁶⁴⁵ ‘Old Fletton UDC Council to Help tenants Associations,’ *Peterborough Standard*, 19 August 1949, 4.

⁶⁴⁶ ‘Dogsthorpe Estate Wants a Community Centre: Tenants Will Hold City Council to Its Promise’, *Peterborough Standard*, 3 September 1954, 1.

⁶⁴⁷ Cairncross, et. al, ‘The Origins and Activities of Tenants’ Associations,’ 723.

period implemented a housing programme which strove to ‘breakdown the spatial segregation of different social classes’ but which also left trades councils out in the cold.⁶⁴⁸

Health, Welfare Reforms and Visibility

Despite Clinton’s arguments to the contrary, there is evidence that during the post-war period the significance of trades councils did not decrease; but there was certainly a change in their visibility in the community.⁶⁴⁹ This change was a direct result of the creation of public bodies associated with the post-war welfare state by the 1945 Labour government. In the new committees, which sought to achieve better social conditions for the working-class, work was carried-out behind closed doors rather than in public. Representatives sitting on the committees had full administrative and financial decision-making powers which would hugely affect the lives of the working class; they were positions of immense responsibility.

The change in visibility was best illustrated with regards to the administration of health and social welfare legislation, the third of the post-war Labour government’s flagship policies alongside housing and industrial nationalisation. Health and social welfare policies were dependent upon there being stable economic and political systems and once in power, the Labour Party reformed the welfare system including old age pensions, family allowances, and other vital social support systems such as national

⁶⁴⁸ Peter Malpass, ‘The Wobbly Pillar? Housing and the British Postwar Welfare State,’ *Journal of Social Policy* 32, 4 (2003): 594, 601.

⁶⁴⁹ Clinton, *The Trade Union Rank and File*, 183.

insurance. But reforms of the public health system were to provide the biggest changes of the era in the conditions of the working-class. The creation of the NHS, which was free at the point of use and offered 'cradle to the grave' health care for all people in Britain, was the Labour Party's legacy.⁶⁵⁰

As well as housing and nationalisation, public health was a long-term concern for trades councils. One trades council delegate interested in health was former PTUC President Arthur Thomas Andrews. Andrews became chair of the Peterborough and District Memorial Hospital Contributory Association in 1944. Established in 1940, the association organised contributions from workpeople.⁶⁵¹ From 1940-1944, Andrews sat on the contributory association's executive committee and even prior to that he had experience of volunteering in health services, alongside his day job as a sorting clerk for the Post Office. Andrews spent 21 years as a local organiser for the Post Office Union arriving to work in Peterborough from Cambridge in 1913 and as well as working for the post office, he spent 25 years in support work for Peterborough's Infirmary and, later, the Memorial Hospital. Andrews also spent time as Chairman of the General Post Office Hospital Association and was active in the voluntary hospitals such as the old Hospital Saturday Fund established in the mid nineteenth century, to raise subscriptions for healthcare, and the Workpeople's Hospital Fund.⁶⁵² Because of his extraordinary work,

⁶⁵⁰ Rachel Reeves and Martin McIvor, 'Clement Attlee and the Foundations of the British Welfare State,' *Renewal: A Journal of Social Democracy* 22, 3/4 (2014): 42-43.

⁶⁵¹ Wellcome Library (WL), WX28/BE5/P47, The Hundred and Twenty-Fifth Annual Report of the Peterborough and District Memorial Hospital, for the Year Ending 31 December, 1940, 7, 9, 12.

⁶⁵² 'The Origins of the Hospital Saturday Fund: The Contribution of the Hospital Saturday Fund to Nursing History: Evaluation of a Primary Source,' *Nursing History* 7, 1 (2002): 23.

Andrews received an Imperial Service Medal in 1944, for his contribution to health services.⁶⁵³

When the Labour government's National Health Service Act (1946) came into effect in 1948, trades council delegates, such as Andrews' hopes for a universal healthcare system were finally realised.⁶⁵⁴ But within the socialist health care system new challenges were set for trades councils, as they set about gaining representation on health committees to make sure that the new health service was implemented in such a way that it would be of benefit to the most vulnerable in society. The NHS was overseen by 14 regional boards appointed by the Ministry of Health and local management committees.⁶⁵⁵ In rising to the challenge, delegates joined local NHS committees set up by the regional boards and worked from within the new institution. In doing so, they became less visible when dealing with health matters in their communities. However, this lack of visibility did not mean that trades councils were any less significant than they had been prior to the Second World War; just meant that they were working differently.

Prior to the Second World War delegates campaigned in their communities to improve health services and to raise funds for the care of the working-class. Health conditions were poor for the least well-off in society in 1898, when PTUC was established. Institutions were privately run and were a matter for trades councils to agitate on. Prior to 1948, people in Britain had to pay for health care through charitable funding or by paying subscriptions to the friendly societies or the medical clubs

⁶⁵³ 'Contributory Association Chairman: Mr A. T. Andrews P O Overseer,' *Peterborough Standard*, 1 December 1944, 1.

⁶⁵⁴ John Lister, 'The National Health Service Act 1946,' *British Medical Journal* 343. 7826 (2011): 749.

⁶⁵⁵ Nicklaus Thomas-Symonds, *Nye: The Political Life of Aneurin Bevan* (London: I. B. Tauris & Co. Ltd., 2015), 135.

established during the Victorian period.⁶⁵⁶ Consequently, trade unionists called for Britain to adopt a public health system alongside campaigns for the nationalisation of industry and undertook fundraising activities for medical institutions. One of PTUC's public campaigns, was to organise five annual parades to raise money for the local District Nurses Association and the city's infirmary.⁶⁵⁷ Trades council delegates also liked to speak on the causes of ill-health which they linked to the social problems of the day, such as unemployment. Unemployment was rife in the 1920s and 1930s resulting in malnutrition. In 1933 for example, 11 per cent of children were thought to be malnourished in Stockton-on-Tees and hunger marches were a feature of interwar Britain.⁶⁵⁸ In Peterborough a study by the Chief Medical Officer found that 25 school children were malnourished in 1920 and 11 were in a very poor state. The Doctor also found the parents of the children were also malnourished and linked the condition to poor diet and tuberculosis.⁶⁵⁹ The city education committee found that malnutrition was rare in Peterborough, even in the 1930's.⁶⁶⁰ That was in stark contrast to Wolverhampton, Bilston and District Trades Council who found that malnutrition caused by unemployment resulted in soup kitchens being opened with alarming regularity.⁶⁶¹

Bad housing conditions also affected the health of the working-class. Unhealthy, slum conditions existed into the twentieth century despite social reformer Edwin

⁶⁵⁶ Sharon Schildein Grimes, *The British National Health Service: State Intervention in the Medical Marketplace, 1911-1948* (London: Taylor Francis Group, 1991), 7.

⁶⁵⁷ 'Peterborough Trades Council Parade: Curious Situation,' *Peterborough Standard*, 9 September 1899, 6.

⁶⁵⁸ John Stevenson and Chris Cook, *The Slump: Britain in the Great Depression* (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2010), 48, 183.

⁶⁵⁹ 'Children's Health: Cleanliness, Nutrition and Teeth Around Peterborough,' *Peterborough Standard*, 13 August 1921, 6.

⁶⁶⁰ 'Malnutrition in Schools: Low Percentage in the City,' *Peterborough Standard*, 26 October 1934, 22.

⁶⁶¹ Barnsby, 'A History of Wolverhampton, Bilston and District Trades Council,' 17.

Chadwick making the first link between housing conditions and health in 1842.⁶⁶² Fifty years after Chadwick's discovery, shortly after forming in 1889, Chelmsford Trades Council campaigned on the state of housing, particularly agricultural cottages which were in a state of neglect and therefore cold and damp in the winter. Neglected houses were likely to attract vermin and therefore diseases, and water supplies were polluted from the state of latrines and pits.⁶⁶³ There was also the problem of unsafe work practices in engineering works and on the railways, which often resulted in industrial accidents. These led to the creation of the trade union sponsored Manor House Hospital (MHH), the first 'Labour Hospital.'⁶⁶⁴

There were other aspects of health which also concerned PTUC delegates in their early years, such as the suggestion from the Imperial Vaccination League that compulsory vaccinations for Smallpox should be a condition of employment.⁶⁶⁵ In response, a one and half page article against such a policy appeared in PTUC's annual report for 1903 which reproduced quotes from medical professionals such as Edward Jenner and Alfred Milnes MA.⁶⁶⁶ Trades councils also campaigned for the introduction of municipal maternity services during the First World War and for public awareness of vulnerable diseases after 1916, when a Royal Commission was ordered.⁶⁶⁷ Trades Councils were therefore concerned with various aspects of health matters which

⁶⁶² Jill Stewart and Zena Lynch, *Environmental Health and Housing: Issues for Public Health* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018): 5.

⁶⁶³ Wallace, *Nothing to Lose, A World to Win*, 26.

⁶⁶⁴ *The First Labour Hospital* (London: Co-operative Printing Society Limited, 1923), 4.

⁶⁶⁵ 'The Imperial Vaccination League,' *The British Medical Journal* 1, 2194 (1903): 165.

⁶⁶⁶ MRC, MSS.534/4/1/29, Peterborough and District Trade and Labour Council: Annual Report and Directory with Balance Sheet for 1903 in Trades Council Report 1903 Maidstone to York.

⁶⁶⁷ Clinton, *The Trade Union Rank and File*, 38.

affected the working class before, during and after the First World War. As demonstrated by their fundraising efforts these campaigns helped lift the organisation's public profile.

During the interwar period, the TUC and trades council delegates took more of an interest in industrial diseases, whereas prior to the First World War the subject had been left to individual trade unions to deal with. As a result, some trades councils such as Torquay and Huddersfield sent representatives to sit on the administration bodies of local hospitals.⁶⁶⁸ PTUC took a different approach. In Peterborough a new general hospital was built during the 1920s as a memorial to the fallen from the First World War and PTUC delegates helped with fundraising. They also worked to get a fair wage clause inserted into the contract for construction workers. Consequently, when contractors were accused of not paying the trade union wage, even though a thorough investigation was carried out no evidence of any wrongdoing was found. Still, the relationship between PTUC and the developers remained cordial, and representatives were present at the laying of the hospital's foundation stone in 1925. Furthermore, delegates maintained a healthy interest in the care provided once the building was opened, demonstrating PTUC was actively involved in local health campaigns during the interwar period.⁶⁶⁹ The TUC started to show their interest a little later than trades councils, starting with a pamphlet produced by TUC President, Ben Tillett, in 1929, *Health of the Worker*. It was distributed throughout the trade union movement to raise awareness of

⁶⁶⁸ Ibid. 38.

⁶⁶⁹ MRC, MSS.292/944/P/13, Peterborough and District Trades and Labour Council, Annual Report and Balance Sheet for the Year Ending December 31st 1925; December 31st 1927.

occupational health issues and was followed in 1930 by the appointment of the first TUC Medical Advisor, Sir Thomas Legge. Like trades councils, the TUC also supported the MHH.⁶⁷⁰

PTUC first showed support for the MHH in the annual report for 1926 which stated that the decision was made to create a branch in Peterborough following a meeting attended by the Midland Organiser and Secretary of the hospital. There was no evidence that one ever existed in the city, however, a branch of hospital supporters was set up in Peterborough in 1927 after a second public meeting arranged by PTUC. Officials from the Midlands organisation department provided speakers, however, attendance at the meeting was not as large as expected.⁶⁷¹

Support for the MHH often meant that delegates collaborated with employers. The MHH was in Golders Green in North London which was in easy reach of Peterborough by rail. It was established in 1917 by the Allied Hospital Benevolent Fund, and became the Industrial Orthopaedic Society after the First World War when it started treating workers involved in industrial accidents.⁶⁷² In 1923, there were 546 in-patients and 18,325 out-patients, which gave an idea of how common industrial accidents were; without the MHH, many workers would have lost their ability to work at all.⁶⁷³

A short while after the meeting in Peterborough, engineering companies, such as Baker Perkins, encouraged employees to join the MHH. Subscriptions were deducted

⁶⁷⁰ Vicky Long, *The Rise and Fall of the Healthy Factory: The Politics of Industrial Health, 1914-60* (Springer, 2010); Clinton, *The Trade Union Rank and File*, 180.

⁶⁷¹ MRC, MSS.292/79P/13, Peterborough and District Trades and Labour Council: Annual Report and Balance Sheet for the Year Ending December 31st, 1927.

⁶⁷² 'Manor House Hospital,' Lost Hospitals of London, accessed 10 October 2021, <https://ezitis.myzen.co.uk/manorhouse.html>.

⁶⁷³ *The First Labour Hospital*, 4.

straight from wages and there were enough members in Peterborough to warrant representation on both the MHH's Local Regional Committee and the Hospital Executive Committee. Moreover, members became representatives of the hospital within the works and the offices, recruiting members.⁶⁷⁴ Robert Duddin was one such employee of Baker Perkins and as a former Londoner had who was 'a worker for' the MHH. He was a delegate to PTUC from the Amalgamated Engineering Union and an executive member of PTUC.⁶⁷⁵ Peterborough residents also showed support for the MHH by raising £937 in 1938 which demonstrated the importance to local workers and their families, of having access to such a valuable health resource. In 1939 the South Midlands organiser for the hospital attended a meeting where Peterborough was cited as being one of the four cities where the hospital was once again considering establishing another branch (the other cities were Sunderland, Cardiff, and Manchester). But although the outbreak of war in September put paid to the creation of any further branches Peterborough residents continued to fundraise for the hospital throughout the Second World War.⁶⁷⁶ On one particular occasion in 1944, £850 was raised by the Westwood Works and split between the hospital and the organiser's internal medical service.⁶⁷⁷ Still, the campaigns around the MHH in Peterborough demonstrated that trade unionists, including PTUC delegates, were interested in the health of the working class during the interwar years

⁶⁷⁴ 'Manor House Hospital,' Baker Perkins at Westwood Works, accessed 25 September 2021, <http://www.westwoodworks.net/howitwas/manorhousehospital/index.htm>.

⁶⁷⁵ 'Mr R J E Duddin's 38 years at Walton: A "Livewire" in Public Affairs,' *Peterborough Standard*, 22 March 1946, 1.

⁶⁷⁶ 'Cities £1000 for Manor House: Possibility of Branch at Peterborough,' *Peterborough Standard*, 17 February 1939, 5.

⁶⁷⁷ 'Westwood Gala: £850,' *Peterborough Standard*, 9 June 1944, 8.

and were seen by their colleagues and in their communities as campaigners for better treatment.

Changes to the way in which health services were organised during the early post-war period meant that although trades councils continued to work on health matters, they did so from inside institutions. Working within the system, rather from outside, meant that delegates were less visible in their communities. The question of visibility has not previously been addressed by labour historians but there was no suggestion from Clinton that interest in health services was on the wane at the end of the interwar period. Clinton stated that most trades councils firmly believed that by that time the voluntary hospital system was no longer working and nationalisation was the future for health.⁶⁷⁸ But the lack of analysis of such a popular campaigning issue goes some way towards explaining why trades councils were less well-known than other parts of the labour movement or misunderstood.

The coalition Government which governed Britain during the war years debated changes to the health and welfare system from the early 1940s. The Labour Party demanded the creation of a national health service, as well as full employment, better housing conditions and the reform of social security, when peace returned.⁶⁷⁹ Consequently, in the early post-war years, the condition of housing was tackled with slum clearances and by increasing the stock of council housing, while the government looked to solve the problems caused by unemployment through the reform of social security. Attlee and his allies believed the social and economic problems which Britain

⁶⁷⁸ Clinton, *The Trade Union Rank and File*, 180.

⁶⁷⁹ Reid, *United We Stand*, 377.

faced from 1945 would be solved with better access to welfare. Reform of the welfare system was recommended in the 1942, *Social Insurance and Allied Services Report*, also known as the Beveridge Report.⁶⁸⁰ The report proposed to extend national insurance contributions for each adult to provide access to health care through private and local authority hospitals.⁶⁸¹ PTUC delegates such as Charles Proctor, District President of the AEU, were supportive of the Beveridge Report as demonstrated at a meeting attended by the AEU Assistant General Secretary, Dr W. McLaine, in 1943. At the meeting a motion was unanimously passed stating that the AEU district committee 'demands that the government implements the Beveridge Report immediately and places the same on the statute book.'⁶⁸²

The context which led to a decrease in the visibility of trades councils during the early post-war period, was set out in the Beveridge Report, a blueprint for post-war Britain. The report was compiled by social economist William Beveridge and called on the state to remedy the social ills of idleness, ignorance, disease, squalor and want through the reform of social insurance and the implementation of a free public health programme.⁶⁸³ Beveridge had a poor relationship with the trade union movement after drafting legislation to limit collective bargaining. As a result of the relationship, Beveridge was demoted from his post and asked to compile the report by the war-time

⁶⁸⁰ '1942 Beveridge Report,' UK Parliament, accessed 5 October 2021, <https://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/transformingsociety/livinglearning/coll-9-health1/coll-9-health/>

⁶⁸¹ Robert Heys, 'Medical Classics: The Beveridge Report (Report of the Interdepartmental Committee on Social Insurance and Allied Services),' *British Medical Journal* 345, 7870 (2012), 34.

⁶⁸² 'Mr H. J. Done Leaving: Joining A.E.U. Staff,' *Peterborough Standard*, 8 October 1943, 1.

⁶⁸³ '1942 Beveridge Report,' UK Parliament, accessed 29 September 2021, <https://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/transformingsociety/livinglearning/coll-9-health1/coll-9-health/>; Reid, *United We Stand*, 376.

coalition Government instead. When it was published, the Beveridge Report recommended an increase in maternity and unemployment benefits, as well as pensions and compensation for industrial accidents.⁶⁸⁴

Some trade unionists did not think the report went far enough. In January 1943 Mr Gilpin (AEU delegate to PTUC) said that the report could have gone further with regards to setting a national minimum wage and suggested that works councils should be a feature of all organisations with over 50 employees. He also called for the report to include the distribution of profits.⁶⁸⁵ But most PTUC delegates were overwhelmingly behind the report's recommendations. After a meeting in February 1943 when J. L. Smyth, a representative of the TUC's Social Services department, spoke about the report, the trades council voted to accept a motion of support submitted by the NUR No. 4 branch. PTUC President John Swain said the Beveridge Report was 'worthy of all the support we can give it,' whereas Smyth declared that it had 'struck the imagination of the people.'⁶⁸⁶

However, by extending national insurance payments the Beveridge Report continued the premise that access to health care depended on economic 'purchasing power.' It would continue to disadvantage access for women and children.⁶⁸⁷ However, under the Labour Party's proposals in the National Health Service Act 1946, the NHS

⁶⁸⁴ Stephen M. Davis, 'Promoting Productivity in the National Health Service, 1950 to 1966,' *Contemporary British History* 31, 1 (2017): 48.

⁶⁸⁵ 'Westwood Plans for After War: Industrial Team Spirit, Beveridge Report,' *Peterborough Standard*, 22 January 1943, 8.

⁶⁸⁶ 'Public and the Beveridge Plan: Overwhelmingly in Favour,' *Peterborough Standard*, 26 February 1943, 1.

⁶⁸⁷ Will Anderson and Steve Gillam, 'The Elusive NHS Consumer: 1938 to the NHS Plan,' *Economic Affairs* 21, 4 (2001): 14.

would be paid for out of taxation and would be free at the point of need. All hospitals would be nationalised with just a different class for teaching hospitals.⁶⁸⁸

After the NHS was created there was in theory no need for private treatment for the victims of industrial injuries which were previously seen to by the MHH. However, the MHH was exempt from being nationalised and remained in private hands. It continued to be run on a not-for-profit basis and was still supported by the trade union movement. Mrs Hangar of the ASLEF Women's section was elected as secretary of the MHH in 1948 and PTUC's treasurer became an executive committee member in 1949.⁶⁸⁹ Meanwhile, it was thought that 75 per cent of Peterborough's working-class subscribed to the hospital in 1951.⁶⁹⁰ But with an improvement in the condition of housing, the programme to nationalise industry in progress, and with the introduction of a free public health care system, these were no longer campaigning causes for trade unionists and trades councils. However, making sure these policies were implemented effectively, was the new challenge for trade unionists in the early post-war period and beyond. The challenge was taken up by trades councils. However, some trade unions were unsupportive of the idea of a free for all public health service. The British Medical Association for instance, voted by a majority of 8 to 1 to boycott the service. Yet the

⁶⁸⁸ Thomas-Symonds, *Nye*, 135.

⁶⁸⁹ 'Lost Hospitals of London: Manor House Hospital,' Lost Hospitals of London, accessed 29 September 2021, <https://ezitis.myzen.co.uk/manorhouse.html>; 'A.S.L.E & F. Women,' *Peterborough Standard*, 9 January 1948, 8; PAS/TUC/1/1, Executive Committee and Meeting Minutes 1 January 1949 - 31 December 1951, 3 July 1949.

⁶⁹⁰ 'Hospital Extensions More than Ever are Necessary,' *Peterborough Standard*, 31 August 1951, 10.

public obviously backed the scheme because by launch day in July 1948, 94 per cent of the population of Britain had signed up to the service.⁶⁹¹

The final part of the process for creating a new public health system was the nationalisation of hospitals. The government recognised that the varying standards of hospitals had to be addressed and believed that by bringing them into public ownership they would be able to offer an equal standard of service across the board.⁶⁹²

Consequently, Britain's 3,000 Hospitals were nationalised in 1948, starting with Trafford General Hospital.⁶⁹³ This was the context which created new challenges for trades councils and which would test their community presence in the early post-war period.

Trades councils adapted to the new challenges caused by the creation of the NHS with confidence and vigour, and although campaigns for fundraising for workers medical treatments and infirmaries were no longer needed, delegates were given important responsibilities on hospital committees. Trades councils were invited to sit on NHS health committees and PTUC delegates sat on two – the Hospital Management Committee (HMC) and the Health Executive Council (HEC). The HMC was a body appointed by the East Anglian Regional Hospital Board. Regional boards, created in 1947, consisted of a chairman and committee members, who were all volunteers. They had responsible jobs advising and appointing sub-committees for planning, mental health, staff, medical advisory, finance and general purposes. Trades council delegates did not sit on regional boards but were appointed to HMCs which were sub-committees

⁶⁹¹ Dai Smith, 'Bevan, Aneurin (Nye),' accessed 05 October 2021, <https://doi-org.proxy.library.dmu.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/30740>.

⁶⁹² Grimes, *The British National Health Service*, 136-37.

⁶⁹³ Dennis Campbell, 'Nye Bevan's Dream: A History of the NHS,' *The Guardian*, 18 January 2016.

of the regional board which allowed members to play key roles in local health services. HMCs had a key responsibility for running local hospitals and appointing staff to them.⁶⁹⁴ The Peterborough and Stamford HMC consisted of 21 representatives from the district and city councils, medical staff, the helpers league, Peterborough Nursing Association, NHS and Trade Unions who also oversaw a number of sub-committees. Some PTUC delegates also sat on the HEC. The HEC was a committee consisting of 25 medical, dental and pharmaceutical professionals who alongside social, legal, business and union representatives oversaw 36 sub-committees. The main functions of the HEC committee were to administer NHS doctors, dentists, opticians and chemists in the district, while also investigating claims repairs and replacements, making payments, checking prescriptions and dealing with complaints.⁶⁹⁵ Delegates still sent representatives to the two health committees in the 1970s when PTUC secretary Ernie Grunow was Vice-Chair of the HEC in 1973 and delegate A. V. Butler attended the HEC meetings.⁶⁹⁶ Other trades councils sat on different committees, and these were also held behind closed doors. For instance, Chelmsford's delegates joined an Occupational Health Council in 1949 which was composed of doctors and trade unionists and provided educational and promotional information on health matters.⁶⁹⁷

But there were still occasions for campaigning within communities when the NHS was hampered by lack of finance and support from the medical profession. While

⁶⁹⁴ Dr W. T. J. Kimber, 'Regional Hospital Boards – Their Functions and Possibilities,' *British Journal of Occupational Therapy* 12, 37 (1949): 14.

⁶⁹⁵ *Yearbook* – London Metropolitan University Special Collections (SC), JM1129PET, Peterborough and District Trades Council Annual Report for 1964, 14, 16.

⁶⁹⁶ MRC, 292D/79/183, Peterborough Trades Union Council, 1973 Yearbook, 16-17.

⁶⁹⁷ Wallace, *Nothing to Lose*, 107.

Chelmsford's delegates successfully campaigned for the NHS to establish a committee to improve working conditions in local factories, on which they sent a representative, PTUC protested to the Ministry of Health in 1948 about the lack of room at the Memorial Hospital.⁶⁹⁸ Moreover, PTUC was forced to protest about the lack of health centres in Peterborough in 1955, the provision of which was a specification of the 1946 Act. Delegate Stanley Gascoine argued that health clinics were 'unpopular with the medical profession' while F. W. Morton complained about the amount of money spent on education compared to health, both being equally important to children.⁶⁹⁹ The Peterborough health clinics campaign was covered in the local newspapers and gave PTUC some public exposure but there was less visible activism in the committee role. The cases of Peterborough and Chelmsford trades councils suggests that delegates took on the challenge to put themselves forward for responsible positions within the local NHS institutions created in the early post-war period. Delegates' commitment to making sure the working class was represented in health committees was a move which saw their visibility reduced, but their significance remained very much intact as demonstrated by the longevity of delegates' tenures on these bodies.

Conclusion to Chapter Four

In conclusion, this chapter has shown that trades councils were trying to adapt to the new circumstances of post-war Britain and the high status of the trade union movement during the post-war period. With new civic and public responsibilities

⁶⁹⁸ Ibid. 107; *Peterborough and District Trades Union Council*, 17.

⁶⁹⁹ 'Trades Council Asks for Health Centre to be Urgent Priority,' *Peterborough Standard*, 6 May 1955, 7.

created by policies of the post-war Labour government, it has illustrated that campaigns which encouraged the public ownership of industry, decent housing for the working-class and accessible health services for all, were main parts of PTUC's activities during the interwar period and afterwards. During the Second World War and the post-war period, the organisation of the economy changed due to the policies of a Labour government, and they were largely based on the aspirations of the TUC and implemented with the influence of trade union leaders. But reactions to nationalisation showed that some of the PTUC delegates attitudes had not changed with the political circumstances. This reaction was felt across the rank and file and put them at odds with their leaders as demonstrated by reactions to order 1302 and the less socialist nature of nationalisation.

The changes implemented during the post-war period also meant that trades councils lost significance in matters such as housing, because political policies and circumstances worked towards improving conditions and changed working-class culture. This made the campaigns of PTUC redundant - other than assisting in formation of a residents' associations on the Newark Dogsthorpe Estate – although there was still work to do on conditions of the industrial hostels until the mid-1950s. Other policies such as the creation of the NHS, however, meant that delegates took on administrative roles but while their public visibility decreased, they were still significant by the way of making sure trade union members had an input into local public health service and championed the working class. By taking up positions on committees such as the HMC and HEC it was felt by delegates to be the best way in which they could serve their members and the

working class in general during this period. By the 1950s, therefore, PTUC was less of a campaigning body than during the interwar period and was more of an administrative one with civic responsibilities which mirrored the increasing authority of the TUC. The early post-war period could therefore be viewed as a major turning point in the evolution of trades councils. This turning point was not acknowledged as important by academics who have studied the national trade union movement. But it was only by studying them at a local level that their impact and significance was really felt. Clinton did acknowledge that despite trades councils having their hey-day in the decades before the Second World War much could still be learnt from studying their 'attitudes and activities' from 1940 onwards. This chapter has made a start on doing just that.⁷⁰⁰

⁷⁰⁰ Clinton, *The Trade Union Rank and File*, 7.

Chapter Five | Conflict, Competition, Cooperation, and the New Left, 1952-64

This chapter is based on conflict, a common theme throughout the documents of Peterborough Trades Union Council (PTUC) during the post-war period of 1952-1964. In fact, it was a common theme for trade unions in general. Greig Taylor argued that intra or interunion conflict was historically caused by the Marxist division of bureaucratic officials versus the rank and file membership while writing about dock strikes in 1970s Britain. He also acknowledged that examining the micro-perspective of the workplace or industry within the broader historical context was key to avoiding generalisations when analysing disputes within and between trade unions.⁷⁰¹ Although the subject of conflict in trades councils has not been researched by labour historians, they were ideal organisations to research from the micro-perspective when it came to interunion disputes and PTUC particularly showed that the causes were complex.⁷⁰² The research for this thesis highlighted three major causes of conflict in PTUC during this time which resulted in heightened emotions among delegates. Emotions were manifested in feelings of anger, hostility, solidarity, suspicion, and compassion to name a few. The causes of conflict were first, the renewed war on communism, a result of the developing Cold War. The second cause was interunion hostility, which came about during disagreements over strategies. Finally, there were disagreements with the anti-nuclear social movements of the new left over the extent of the militancy of joint campaigns.

⁷⁰¹ Greig Taylor, 'Intra-union Conflict and the 1970 Dock Strike in Britain,' *Labor History* 61, 2 (2020): 139-40.

⁷⁰² 'Interunion,' Merriam-Webster, accessed 18 August 2021, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/inter-union>.

Hostile encounters were a feature of a period of international paranoia and suspicion when the British security and intelligence services were used to gather data about institutions and individuals.⁷⁰³ Deteriorating relationships between East and West also resulted in the first armed hostility of the Cold War era, the Korean War (1950-52), in which 400,000 British servicemen took part.⁷⁰⁴ The consequences of the Cold War played out in a context of global economic competition and high inflation in Britain ultimately modified cultural, social and political ideas affecting all members of society including PTUC delegates.⁷⁰⁵

The first part of this chapter will examine a familiar cause of conflict among trade unionists - the threat of communism. Once peace was restored in Europe after the Second World War, communism became a point of conflict for the trade union movement again in attitudes which were reminiscent of the attacks of the 1920s and 1930s.⁷⁰⁶ From the mid-1940s the Trade Union Congress (TUC), led by Victor Tewson, became an anti-Communist propaganda mouthpiece for Attlee's Labour government, even though there was very little evidence to suggest that communism was a threat to British industry.⁷⁰⁷ Labour historians such as Willie Thompson argued that despite disagreeing with their politics many rank and file trade unionists still respected

⁷⁰³ Huw Dylan, *Defence Intelligence and the Cold War: Britain's Joint Intelligence Bureau 1945-1964* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 1.

⁷⁰⁴ Grace Huxford and Penny Summerfield, *The Korean War in Britain: Citizenship, Selfhood and Forgetting* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), 2.

⁷⁰⁵ Lawrence Black, *Redefining British Politics: Culture, Consumerism and Participation, 1954-70* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 2.

⁷⁰⁶ Kevin Morgan, 'The Communist Party and the Trade Unions,' accessed 15 August 2021, <https://www.historyandpolicy.org/trade-union-forum/meeting/the-communist-party-and-the-trade-unions>.

⁷⁰⁷ Giselle Gwinnett, 'Attlee, Bevin and Political Warfare: Labour's Secret Anti-Communist Campaign in Europe, 1948-51,' *The International History Review* 39-3 (2017): 426-24.

communist members because of their determination to support oppressed workers and therefore preferred to deal with them through the democratic mechanisms already in place.⁷⁰⁸ But there was conflict within trades councils whose affiliates had different opinions on how to deal with communist trade unionists. This chapter will analyse the debates which PTUC had in reaction to the different strategies which the TUC put in place to prevent communist trade unionists from influencing trades councils. The TUC's strategies included, checking up on the backgrounds of new officials and scrutinising correspondence. But it will argue that the experiences of PTUC gave gravitas to Nina Fishman's theory that the war on communism was in fact a 'phoney war.'⁷⁰⁹ The TUC's anti-communist strategies actually strengthened delegates' commitment to democracy, freedom of speech and their resolve to take their lead from left-leaning political ideologies.

The next part of the chapter will examine interunion conflict which was another feature of the post-war period according to PTUC documents. However, interunion conflict was always a common feature of the trade union movement, caused first by different organisational strategies, tactics and competition, and secondly because of personality clashes and conflicting aspirations. The TUC went to some lengths to prevent internal conflict with the formation of the General Council in 1921 and the Bridlington Principles in 1939, which included a disputes committee created to solve internal

⁷⁰⁸ Willie Thompson, 'British Communism in the Cold War, 1947-52,' *Contemporary British History* 13, 3 (2001): 125.

⁷⁰⁹ Alastair J. Reid, *United We stand: A History of Britain's Trade Unions* (London: Penguin Books Ltd, 2004), 343; Nina Fishman, 'The Phoney Cold War in British Trade Unions,' *Contemporary British History* 15, 3 (2001): 85.

conflict.⁷¹⁰ This chapter will examine the causes of interunion conflict using the example of a dispute between Amalgamated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen (ASLEF) and National Union of Railwaymen (NUR) delegates in PTUC during 1955-56 and the conflicting aspirations and personality clashes of Conservative trade unionists who tried to infiltrate the movement during the post-war period when the British government imposed an Incomes Policy on industry in an effort to solve the economic problems of high inflation from the 1950s.⁷¹¹ The chapter argues that the Bridlington Principles for solving disputes did not work when implemented at local level, as trades councils did not have the same kind of powers as the TUC. However, trades councils were part of a trade union movement which had a unique identity, traditions and ideologies which could not be changed by the conflicting views of Conservative trade unionists.

The final part of the chapter focusses on conflict caused by the new social movements of the new left which sprung up in the late 1950s plugging the gap which was left by communism when the ideology declined in popularity from the early 1950s.⁷¹² This part of the chapter specifically analyses the conflict between the social movements which formed in the late 1950s, as a reaction to the development of nuclear weapons and the citing of United States (US) rocket bases on British and European soil, the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War (DAC) and the Campaign for Nuclear

⁷¹⁰ Peter J. Kalis, 'The Effectiveness of Utility of the Disputes Committee of the Trade Union Congress,' *British Journal of Industrial Relations* 16, 1 (1978): 41-51.

⁷¹¹ 'A Way Out,' *Daily Herald*, 7 June 1955, 2.; Chris Wrigley, *British Trade Unions Since 1933* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 55.

⁷¹² Martin Linton, 'The Party's Over for British Communists,' *The Guardian*, 22 November 1991, 6.

Disarmament (CND).⁷¹³ Historians such as Thomas R. Rocton argued that although trade unions had alliances with peace groups which helped to mobilise people to the cause, they restricted their support to certain demonstrations.⁷¹⁴ No specific reasons were given by historians for the apathy among trade unionists but the research for this chapter discovered that although trade unionists were generally in agreement with the cause of the DAC and CND, there was conflict between the two sides. This was due to differences in organising strategies and identity because social movements were formed by middle-class intellectuals who were supportive of strategies of civil disobedience, whereas trade union strategy was more about lobbying and collective bargaining. The second cause of conflict came from different priorities, with the trade union drive for jobs and better wages informing their strategy. This meant that labour movement bodies organised and attended each other's anti-nuclear demonstrations, as seen in the case of those organised by Birmingham and Cambridge trades councils. The third argument was that there was more cooperation after the Labour Party agreed to support nuclear proliferation at the 1960 conference, as demonstrated when PTUC delegates George Fovargue and Jack Griffin started to take an active part in the local CND group. The chapter adds to the historical knowledge of trades councils and conflict during the Cold War era.

⁷¹³ 'Trade Unions and CND,' Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, accessed 18 August 2021, <https://cnduk.org/about/trade-unions/>.

⁷¹⁴ Thomas R. Rocton, *Mobilising for Peace: The Antinuclear Movement in Western Europe* (Princeton: The Princeton University Press, 1988), 18, 145.

Communism as a Cause of Trade Union Conflict

There was an uneasy truce between the West and communists during the Second World War. During the conflict of 1939-45, both communists and the Allies were heavily involved in resistance movements against a common enemy, but hostilities were rapidly renewed. In Greece, for example, the government, ELAS, which formed in 1944 after defeating the Nazi occupation, owed much of its creation to the Communist Party (CP). For the sake of cooperation ELAS were left to operate until the allied victory was secured in Europe. It was only then that the allies reimposed a monarchy and right-wing government on Greece.⁷¹⁵ As a result, Peterborough MP Stanley Tiffin spoke to Kettering Trades Councils in 1946 stating that the Greek people should be left to solve their own problems.⁷¹⁶ But interference by Western governments in Greece signalled the continuation of hostilities towards communists which culminated in the Marshall Plan. The Plan provided aid for post-war reconstruction policies against communism and was supported by Vincent Tewson, General Secretary of the TUC, who created a trade union committee to advise on the distribution of financial aid.⁷¹⁷

Tewson's involvement affected the trade union movement which during and after the Second World War gained much more responsibility than they had previously had. He reinforced what this meant at the PTUC jubilee dinner which he spoke at in 1949, by saying 'that our movement will always be judged by the responsibility it shows

⁷¹⁵ Mary Davis, *Comrade of Brother? A History of the British Labour Movement* (London: Pluton Press, 1993), 230.

⁷¹⁶ 'Pull Our Boys Out of Greece,' *Peterborough Standard*, 21 June 1946, 3.

⁷¹⁷ 'Sir Vincent Tewson,' *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, accessed 4 August 2021, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Vincent-Tewson>; Geoffrey Roberts, 'Moscow and the Marshall Plan: Politics, Ideology and the Onset of Cold War, 1947,' *Europe-Asia Study* 46, 8 (1993): 1371-1386.

and at no time greater than this emergency will we be judged by the way in which we face up to this difficult time.' He also went on to speak about communist trade union delegates without mentioning the group by name by saying that 'If unions or groups of individuals within a union, pursued a line of policy in their own narrow interests without regard to the wider and deeper considerations that would have to decide the policies of the movement as a whole, they would lose all – and probably more than all – of what had been gained by solidarity.'⁷¹⁸ Tewson's high profile role in the distribution of aid in an anti-communist organisation, made it difficult for trades councils. Affiliated unions contained individuals with a complex mix of different organisational strategies and political ideologies who were concerned that once communists were purged from the movement then it would not stop there.⁷¹⁹ But it was the attitudes of trades councils towards their own communist delegates which illustrated that the TUC's policies were unenforceable and counter-productive.

In late 1946, PTUC delegates discussed the infiltration of the trade unions and soon concluded that the trades council was not influenced by communist ideology. The discussion came about in October 1946, when Tewson issued a statement to the TUC General Council in response to communications from trade union branches and trades councils, seeking assistance to remove communist members and delegates. The statement was later issued as a circular and was distributed through the trade unions. The circular stated that 'trades councils will assist by examining the position [of

⁷¹⁸ 'TUC Secretary at Trades Council Dinner: Time to Face up to Realities and Responsibilities,' *Peterborough Standard*, 14 October 1949, 8.

⁷¹⁹ Thompson, 'British Communists in the Cold War,' 125.

communism] in their locality and by combatting attempts to use trades councils as a vehicle for the propagating of policies directed against the democratic structure and machinery of our movement.' ⁷²⁰ However, delegates shared a variety of opinions on the inclusion of communist trade union members and on strategies for dealing with them. Delegates identified three ways of dealing with members of the CP in trades unions: some believed that communist members should be banned outright, while others thought that communist members should offer to resign with immediate effect. Meanwhile, a few believed that communist delegates should be allowed to remain in the trade union movement. Even so, all delegates agreed, despite Utting and Hancock being members of the CP, that PTUC was not influenced by communist ideology. Such confrontational discussions and controversial opinions were reflected in trades councils across Britain during the late 1940s, when dealing with the question of communist delegates, including in Chelmsford where discussions over their representation on the local peace council took place among delegates in 1950. ⁷²¹ Yet as far as PTUC was concerned, it was conflicting opinions, and not communist influences, which caused pockets of tension in the early post-war period.

The TUC's 'phoney war' was described as such because there was a lack of evidence to suggest that communists posed any threat to the British labour movement in the late 1940s, when conflict over communism was at its peak. However, the TUC was motivated by the post-war Attlee government and the foreign minister, former trade

⁷²⁰ Nina Fishman, 'The Phoney Cold War in British Trade Unions,' *Contemporary British History* 15, 3 (2001): 93, 95.

⁷²¹ 'Trades Council to Watch Communists: TUC Report Adopted After Wordy Warfare,' *Peterborough Standard*, 24 December 1948, 8; Malcolm Wallace, *Nothing to Lose... a World to Win: A History of the Chelmsford and District Trades Union Council* (Chelmsford: Malcom Wallace, 1979), 112.

union official, Ernest Bevin. Bevin took a dislike to communists when he was challenged by them during his time as secretary of the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU) in the interwar period.⁷²² But during the Cold War he went on to focus on the imagined communist subversion of industry at the expense of foreign policy because the CP contained a large membership of 45,435 in August 1945 and many members were working class, skilled manual workers and union members which were a potential threat to the movement.⁷²³ There was alarm when two CP candidates secured seats in the Houses of Parliament in the July 1945 election.⁷²⁴ Locally communists put themselves forward as election candidates too. Dave Patchett, PTUC secretary, was nominated as a candidate for the local CP in 1945. He was a member from 1932 and the candidacy was announced by Eddie Page, secretary of the Peterborough Branch of the CP and delegate to PTUC.⁷²⁵

Bevin believed that the way to secure British imperialist power was through partnership with the capitalist USA which led to the demonisation of the Soviet Union and communism alike.⁷²⁶ Consequently, the government used the TUC as a propaganda tool to educate 'wayward' trade unionists. Tewson believed that the sole aim of the CP was to capture industrial power and warned conference delegates at the 1949 congress that the CP was looking to exploit the post-war economic crisis by forming 'battle

⁷²² John Callaghan, 'The Cold War and the March of Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy,' *Contemporary British History* 15, 3 (2010): 8.

⁷²³ Fishman, 'The Phoney Cold War in British Trade Unions,' 93.

⁷²⁴ Thomas J Maguire, 'Counter-Subversion in Early Cold-War Britain: The Official Committee on Communism (Home), the Information Research Department and 'State-Private' Networks,' *Intelligence and National Security* 30, 5 (2015): 640.

⁷²⁵ 'Communist Candidate for West Ward,' *Peterborough Standard*, 31 August 1945, 5.

⁷²⁶ Tom Sibley, 'Fighting Anti-Communism 1945-51: The Case of the Fire Brigades Union,' *Historical Studies in Industrial Relations* 27-28 (2009), 43.

groups' of factory workers in key industries.⁷²⁷ Despite lack of evidence for this, Tewson was determined to 'preserve the fundamental principles of our movement, the integrity and honesty of our movement and the independence of our movement' which was similar to what he told PTUC in 1949. It was this propaganda for the 'phoney war' which started to cause a great deal of conflict in the trade union movement in the late 1940s and early 1950s.⁷²⁸

Speeches such as Tewson's jubilee dinner address increased the tension between rank and file trade unionists on both sides of the argument and highlighted how easily working-class organisations could be divided, especially as most of the working class rejected communism.⁷²⁹ For trades councils, relationships with communists lead to the threat of less friendly branches withdrawing support which happened in spring 1948 when the Amalgamated Engineering Union (AEU) unaffiliated local branches from PTUC, accusing it of being 'communist-ridden.'⁷³⁰ The AEU was a moderate trade union which meant that the leadership and officials made fewer demands than militant unions. Moderate unions also made more concessions, threatened less industrial action and made more partnerships with managers. More militant unions such as the TGWU made demands that were more ambitious based on

⁷²⁷ 'TUC Report 1949,' TUC Library Collections, London Metropolitan University, 349, 351.

⁷²⁸ Maguire, 'Counter Subversion in Early Cold-War Britain,' 649-50.

⁷²⁹ Victor G. Dezinatz, 'A Cold War Thaw in the International Working Class Movement? The World Federation of Trade Unions and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, 1967-77,' *Science and Society* 77, 3 (2013): 342.

⁷³⁰ 'Old Scarlet Hears,' *Peterborough Standard*, 14 May 1948, 4.

an ideology that conflict between employer and employee was inevitable.⁷³¹ There was often ill-feeling therefore between militant and moderate trade union members because of these strategic differences.

1948 was a turning point for communists in trade unions at least for those in PTUC with the disaffiliation of the AEU being the first antagonistic incident between delegates over communism in the post-war period. The next disagreement took place between delegates in November 1948 and was publicly displayed in letters published in the *Peterborough Standard*. In the first letter, delegate Charles Proctor quoted Vladimir Lenin on the communist infiltration of trade unions and stated that 'communism is a political racket.'⁷³² Eddie Page, a delegate to PTUC from the AEU, responded, accusing Proctor of orchestrating a 'witch-hunt' against communists and claimed that the trade union movement would be 'spineless' without them. The expressions used by Page suggested that he was more than just a sympathetic supporter of communism. He believed that any absence of communists in the trade union movement would lead to attacks on wages and conditions and eventually to the adoption of US labour methods. Additionally, he claimed that communists encouraged a militant trade union membership which would 'smoke out traitors to the working-class.'⁷³³

Page moved to Peterborough in 1941 and joined the CP the following year.⁷³⁴ From the language used, it was clear that Page subscribed to a part of a social identity,

⁷³¹ Nicolas Bacon and Paul Blyton, 'Militant and Moderate Trade Union Orientations: What are the Effects on Workplace Trade Unionism, Union-Management Relations and Employee Gains,' *International Journal of Human Resource Management* 13, 2 (2002): 306.

⁷³² 'Communist Infiltration of Trade Unions,' *Peterborough Standard* 5 November 1948, 5.

⁷³³ 'Communists in Trade Unions,' *Peterborough Standard*, 1 November 1948, 5.

⁷³⁴ 'Communists to Contest Paston Ward,' *Peterborough Standard*, 15 January 1954, 1.

common among communists who saw themselves as outsiders and distrusted the established authority. Communist community culture was built through attendance at demonstrations which suggested that they favoured a strategy of direct action. Direct action tactics were not generally approved by trades councils which presented another potential point of conflict for trade union members.⁷³⁵ Consequently, there were conflicting identities among trade unionists, as most people saw the ideology as extremist and un-British, while for others, such as Page, it was part of their culture.⁷³⁶ Despite the odd disagreement though, delegates were generally welcoming of communist delegates into their democratic body because not only did they campaign for the oppressed worker, they were equally committed to improving the lives of the working class as seen with housing campaigns in chapter four.

Despite the tough talk from individuals such as Tewson, TUC officials were reluctant to do much for fear of splitting the domestic movement.⁷³⁷ Even so, examples were sometimes made of trade union members who refused to follow the TUC's policies when life in the movement was made difficult for them.⁷³⁸ This was the case when a propaganda campaign was launched when the TUC published the pamphlets, *Defend Democracy: Communist Activities Examined* in 1948 and *The Tactics of Disruption: Communist Methods Exposed*, in 1949. The pamphlets described communists as 'abject and Slavish agents of forces working incessantly to intensify social misery,' and were

⁷³⁵ Celia Hughes, 'Narratives of Radical Lives: The Roots of 1960s Activism and the Making of the British Left,' (63-79) in *Against the Grain: The British Far Left from 1956*, edited by Evan Smith and Matthew Worley (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014), 69.

⁷³⁶ Paul Ward, *Britishness Since 1870* (London: Routledge, 2004), 101-02.

⁷³⁷ Fishman, 'The Phoney Cold War in British Trade Unions,' 86.

⁷³⁸ Peter Weiler, *British Labour and the Cold War* (California: Stanford University Press, 1988), 2.

published following militant opposition to the Labour government's economic austerity drive which was blamed on communists. The pamphlets were widely distributed throughout the trade union movement including among trades councils.⁷³⁹

There was more trouble in store for communist delegates in December 1948 when a TUC report which noted that 'trades councils will assist by examining the position in their locality and by combatting attempts to use trades councils as a vehicle for propaganda,' was adopted by a large majority by PTUC.⁷⁴⁰ It was the first time that PTUC delegates had agreed to adopt a TUC anti-communist policy since circular 16 in 1939 (as discussed in chapter one). The TUC's justification for enacting such policies was a belief that a few ideologically motivated members could be a threat to the labour movement under the right conditions. PTUC delegates still believed that the communist delegates were good trade unionists and despite adopting the report agreed that there was no reason why they should actually be banned from the trades council.⁷⁴¹ PTUC officials presumably thought that they could get away with adopting the report without doing anything practical to support it, assuming a position of neutrality and placating both sides in the process. Following the adoption of the report though, a minority of delegates accused others of having a 'big tongue in cheek attitude' towards the infiltration of trade union bodies and W. A. Howlett accused a core of delegates of

⁷³⁹ Trades Union Congress, *Defend Democracy: Communist Activities Examined* (London: Trades Union Congress, 1948); Trades Union Congress, *The Tactics of Disruption: Communist Methods Exposed* (London: Trades Union Congress, 1949); Mary Davis, 'The Third Labour Government 1945-1951,' accessed 13 May 2021, http://www.unionhistory.info/timeline/1945_1960.php.

⁷⁴⁰ 'Trades Council to Watch Communists: TUC Report Adopted after Burst of Wordy Warfare,' *Peterborough Standard*, 24 December 1948, 8.

⁷⁴¹ 'Trades Council to Watch Communists: TUC Report Adopted after Burst of Wordy Warfare,' *Peterborough Standard*, 24 December 1948, 8.

pitting good and bad trade unionists off against each other calling them 'stunt artists and mud-slingers.' But the bulk of the argument was between delegates John Hancock and Stanley Gascoine.⁷⁴² The attitudes of PTUC delegates who voted 39 to 11 to accept the TUC's demands contrasted considerably with other trades councils such as London's where TUC officials fought to keep control.⁷⁴³ But the fact that delegates did not think communists were a serious threat meant that TUC officials were unable to enforce anti-communist policies. This was despite the demands of the government, whose ministers included high profile trades unionists, were concerned about the extent of ideological infiltration into educational establishments, and the cooperative movement, as well as the trade unions. But like the TUC instead of banning communists outright, the government set out to cause trouble for, and to discredit, communists.⁷⁴⁴

Neither the government nor the TUC's positions managed to stop communists attaining high positions in trade unions. The communist-led Fire Brigades Union for instance, continued to be critical of Labour's imperialist policy and the TUC's attacks on them. Therefore, as well as spreading propaganda through reports and memos, the TUC created a new strategy of investigating trades councils through checking documentation and correspondence for signs of radical politics.⁷⁴⁵ In October 1949 an internal memo between TUC officials noted that PTUC had 'shown no particular leanings towards the

⁷⁴² 'Letters to the Editor: "Trade Union Poachers Become Gamekeepers",' *Peterborough Standard*, 14 January 1949, 5.

⁷⁴³ Sibley, 'Fighting Anti-Communism, 1945-1951,' 42; Richard Stevens, 'Containing Radicalism: The Trades Union Congress Organisation Department and Trades Councils, 1928-1953,' *Labour History Review* 62, 1 (1997): 11-14.

⁷⁴⁴ Joan Mahoney, 'Civil Liberties During the Cold War: The Role of the Central Government,' *The American Journal of Legal History* 33, 1 (1989): 65.

⁷⁴⁵ Stevens, 'Containing Radicalism,' 12-3.

Communist Party,' except from being affiliated to the Labour Research Department (LRD) and the National Council of Civil Liberties (NCCL). The LRD and NCCL both had tenuous links to communism - the TUC and Labour Party proscribed the LRD in 1942 due to accusations that it was under the control of communists, but the TUC reinstated it after just one year.⁷⁴⁶ Additionally, although the NCCL had the support of the CP, it was broadly aligned and had cross-party support from Conservative MPs, and Liberals, alongside church organisations and anti-fascist groups.⁷⁴⁷ Therefore the strategies of the TUC which concerned investigating correspondence were designed to encourage conflict and to make life awkward for communist trade unionists. Labour historian Mary Davis claimed that it ultimately resulted in the deregistration of 'several' trades councils although she was no more specific with details.⁷⁴⁸

Another TUC strategy which caused conflict within trades councils was investigations into newly appointed officials. This strategy involved background checks for radical influences. For instance, Hardie Mann Blatchford Henderson, a member of the Railway Clerks Association was appointed as PTUC Secretary in mid-1947 and was investigated by the Organising Department. Ray Boyfield, Department Secretary, pointed out that the 50-year-old's names gave 'an idea of the political associations of his parents.' Boyfield referred to the fact that Henderson was named after three of the

⁷⁴⁶ 'Labour Research Department: Our First 100 Years,' Labour Research Department, accessed 7 July 2021, <https://www.lrd.org.uk/index.php?pagid=60>.

⁷⁴⁷ David Renton: 'Not Just Economics but Political as Well: Trade Unions, Labour Movement Activists and Anti-Fascist Protests, 1945-51,' *Labour History Review* 65, 2 (2000): 168.; Janet Clark, 'Sincere or Reasonable Men? The Origins of the National Council for Civil Liberties,' *20th Century British History* 20, 4 (2009): 516.

⁷⁴⁸ Mary Davis, 'The Third Labour Government 1945-1951,' accessed 13 May 2021, http://www.unionhistory.info/timeline/1945_1960.php.

most influential members of the radical labour movement during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century - Keir Hardie, leader of the early Labour Party, Tom Mann, trade union leader and Robert Blatchford, editor of *The Clarion* newspaper.⁷⁴⁹

Nevertheless, Henderson was not an immediate cause for concern, unlike some of the appointments in other trades councils. For instance, the new secretaries of Nottingham trades council, Jack Charlesworth, in 1950 and Leicester's Alf Webster in 1951, one of whom was a Labour Party supporter and the other a communist, immediately caused suspicion simply because neither were in TUC-affiliated unions.⁷⁵⁰ These incidences illustrated that the Organising Department's strategy to conduct background checks on trades council officials was another cause of conflict among trade union members.

The TUC led anti-communist strategies domestically, but also enacted them on the global stage. When Cold War tensions led to increasing paranoia about communist subversion, as illustrated by the suspected exploitation of strikes in France and Germany, the international trade union movement reacted.⁷⁵¹ However, it was global economic matters rather than the communist threat which was brought up by PTUC in June 1952 when delegates carried a motion on the 'threat to Britain's economic position and living standards,' blaming the 'menace of German and Japanese competition... [and the] unchecked economic war.' The motion requested that the TUC consult with the

⁷⁴⁹ 'J Keir Hardie: British Labour Leader.' Encyclopaedia Britannica, accessed 7 July 2021, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/J-Keir-Hardie>; 'Tom Mann: British Labour Leader.' Encyclopaedia Britannica, accessed 07 July 2021, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Tom-Mann>; 'Robert Blatchford (1851-1943): Journalist and Author,' Oxford Reference, accessed 7 July, 2021, <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803095511547>; MRC, 292/944/P/13, Internal-Correspondence from Ray Boyfield to Victor Tewson, 7 October 1949.

⁷⁵⁰ Stevens, 'Containing Radicalism,' 13.

⁷⁵¹ Maguire, 'Counter-Subversion in Early Cold War Britain,' 641.

World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) and draw up a programme to counter the economic threat. However, the WFTU and ICFTU were both preoccupied with the communist threat. The TUC was a founding member of the WFTU created in October 1945, but soon left along with the unions from the US and other Western European countries following disagreements over communism.⁷⁵² The WFTU was accused of being a Soviet front and biased towards communist countries.⁷⁵³ Led once again by Tewson, the TUC helped to create the ICFTU with the USA's American Federation of Labour which had 108 affiliates by the mid-1950s.⁷⁵⁴

The PTUC motion suggested that the trades council was not interested in the communist aspect of the Cold War and that delegates were more concerned about the standard of living for the British people.⁷⁵⁵ There was, after all, no substantial evidence to suggest that Britain was under industrial attack from communists and the economy was not suffering from the same deflation as Italy or France. The TUC's phoney war on communism was therefore played out on an international as well as a domestic stage, creating conflict among global trade unions as well as throughout the domestic labour

⁷⁵² Dezinatz, 'A Cold War Thaw in the International Working Class Movement?' 344.

⁷⁵³ Geoffrey Goodman, 'Tewson, Sir (Harold) Vincent,' accessed 29 May 2021, <https://doi-org.proxy.library.dmu.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/31751>.

⁷⁵⁴ Anthony Carew, 'Conflict within the ICFTU: Anti-Communism and Anti-Colonialism in the 1950s,' *International Review of Social History* 14, 2 (1996): 149-50.

⁷⁵⁵ PAS, PAS/TUC/1/2, Peterborough Trades Union Council Executive and Committee Minutes, 1 January 1951 – 31 December 1954, June 1952; 'World Federation of Trade Unions,' Britannica Academia, accessed 11 March 2021, <https://academic-eb-com.proxy.library.dmu.ac.uk/levels/collegiate/article/World-Federation-of-Trade-Unions/77489>; 'International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), Britannica Academia, accessed 11 March 2021, <https://academic-eb-com.proxy.library.dmu.ac.uk/levels/collegiate/article/International-Confederation-of-Free-Trade-Unions/42580>.

movement.⁷⁵⁶ The agreement with the US for providing financial aid through the Marshall Plan, was only valid if the governments of the countries who were to receive this funding, were void of communists in their markets and institutions. Institutions included trade unions; however, many officials were unwilling to risk the unity of the movement and so the TUC's anti-communist policies were somewhat half-hearted. Besides, many trade union officials were linked to communist colleagues through a commitment to international working-class solidarity, which was strengthened by reactions to the Spanish Civil War in the late 1930s and the role of the communist Soviet Union in the Second World War.⁷⁵⁷ As the Cold War developed, the TUC did not enforce anti-communist policies with any gusto. Yet lack of enforcement did not stop internal conflict within the trade union movement, and it continued until communism was discredited in 1956. However, as far as PTUC was concerned the most serious conflict caused by communism in the early 1950s, came because of a meeting arranged about the Korean War with the controversial speaker, Monica Felton. The consequences showed once more the unwillingness of TUC officials to enforce their own policies.

The Korean war which started in June 1950 was a crucial turning point in the Cold War and Britain's involvement as a junior partner to the US was widely condemned by the labour movement including the TUC. Cold War military action caused hostility and suspicion of the global political left and resulted in accusations that individuals were

⁷⁵⁶ Nina Fishman, 'The Phoney Cold War in British Trade Unions,' 96.

⁷⁵⁷ Fishman, 'The Phoney Cold War in British Trade Unions,' 84, 86.

not patriotic enough.⁷⁵⁸ Hostility of this nature also caused arguments and disquiet in trades councils. For instance, in Wolverhampton, Bilston and District trades union council there was a 'considerable' minority of delegates who were opposed to the war.⁷⁵⁹ Meanwhile, in February 1952 following the public meeting organised by PTUC where Felton spoke about the Korean War, Grunow wrote to Boyfield stating that, 'the C.P. [Communist Party] boys are ever on the alert to slip one in and they certainly did do it with regards to Mrs. Felton.' Felton was a feminist peace activist who travelled to communist North Korea to visit communities affected by atrocities, allegedly committed by British, American and South Korean troops during the war.⁷⁶⁰ On her return from Korea, she was expelled from the Labour Party, stripped of her role as chair of Stevenage Development Corporation and was discussed in Parliament, where she was accused of having carried out treasonable offences - although no further action was taken.⁷⁶¹ In August 1951, PTUC delegates called for Felton's reinstatement to the development corporation, in a motion which said that the issue in this case is not solely the dismissal of one person, but the implied threat of dismissal of anyone holding a public post who expresses an opinion which does not find favour with the employing

⁷⁵⁸ Tom Buchanan, 'Loyal Believers and Disloyal Sceptics: Propaganda and Dissent in Britain during the Korean War, 1950-1953,' *History* 101, 348 (2016): 738, 753; Mario del Pero, 'Incompatible Universalisms: The United States, the Soviet Union and the Beginnings of Cold War,' 3-16 in *The Routledge Handbook of the Cold War* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014), 13.

⁷⁵⁹ George J Barnsby, *A History of Wolverhampton, Bilston & District Trades Union Council* (Wolverhampton: Wolverhampton, Bilston and District TUC, 1994), 68.

⁷⁶⁰ Mark Clapson, 'This rise and fall of Monica Felton, British Town Planner and Peace Activist 1930s to 1950s', *Planning Perspectives* 30, 2 (2015): 211.

⁷⁶¹ 'Mrs Felton, visit to Korea,' Hansard, accessed 2 March 2021, <https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1951/jun/14/mrs-felton-visit-to-korea>.

authority, however remote the subject matter of the opinion from that of the post occupied.⁷⁶²

PTUC delegates clearly regarded Felton's case as a matter of free speech and civil liberties, whereas some trades councils stayed away from such controversial matters, such as Wolverhampton, Bilston and District which decided against a proposal for Felton to speak at a meeting, thus avoiding unnecessary conflict.⁷⁶³ Still, Grunow dismissed the sympathies which Peterborough delegates had for communist delegates by asking Boyfield, 'how can this be overcome? I am waiting for the day when the TUC will refuse to recognise a trades council that has any officers or executive who are members of proscribed organisations... and the lead should come from the top.'⁷⁶⁴ The lax attitude towards implementation of TUC policies was confirmed in the response which Grunow received advising the secretary that complaints should be dealt with inside the trades council and warning that PTUC should concentrate on their primary functions of: publicising the policies of the TUC; providing industrial, civic and educational services to branches; and nominating delegates to committees or tribunals. Moreover, they were to leave politics to the local Labour Party.⁷⁶⁵ The communication between Grunow and Boyfield therefore suggested that the TUC was unwilling to enforce its own policies on trades councils by 1952.

Calls for communists to stand down proved to be counterproductive and unenforceable for the TUC anyway. This was demonstrated frequently by trades

⁷⁶² Huxford and Summerfield, *The Korean War in Britain*, 127; 'Trades Council Urges: Reinstatement Mrs. Felton,' *Peterborough Standard*, Friday 3 August 1951, 1.

⁷⁶³ Barnsby, *A History of Wolverhampton, Bilston and District Trades Union Council*, 68.

⁷⁶⁴ MRC, 292/944/P/13, letter from Ernie Grunow to Ray Boyfield, 26 February 1952.

⁷⁶⁵ MRC, 292/944/P/13, Letter from Ray Boyfield to Ernie Grunow, 28 February 1952.

councils. For instance, the TUC wrote to PTUC in February 1954 questioning their affiliation to the Socialist Medical Association (SMA), an organisation established in 1930 which advocated a free socialised health service for all and the distribution of socialist materials.⁷⁶⁶ Despite a warning from the TUC that the SMA was ‘a political body that the council’s fund could not be used for,’ PTUC made the decision to affiliate and purchased leaflets which the SMA published on Hiroshima and the medical effects of nuclear explosions. PTUC also elected delegates to send to SMA conferences and the trade union body remained affiliated until the 1970s despite the reservations of the TUC.⁷⁶⁷

The problems caused by the inability and unwillingness of the TUC to enforce policies in the trade union movement regarding communist infiltration was naturally resolved by a general decline in interest in communism as an ideology after 1956.⁷⁶⁸ The decline was caused by the actions of the USSR - first by Khrushchev’s admission that atrocities had been committed under Stalin and then by the brutal putdown of the Hungarian uprising in 1956. The uprising created 7,000 refugees, mainly students and intellectuals, which discredited communism and the TUC wrote a statement condemning ‘the ruthless action of the Soviet government in suppressing the struggle of Hungarian people.’⁷⁶⁹ Britain was directly affected by the uprising because the government agreed to rehome Hungarian refugees. It was a policy which was generally

⁷⁶⁶ Alistair J Reid, *United We Stand: A History of Britain’s Trade Unions* (London: Penguin Group, 2004), 343; John Simkin, ‘Socialist Medical Association,’ Spartacus Educational, accessed 9 March 2021, <https://spartacus-educational.com/SPsma.htm>.

⁷⁶⁷ PAS/TUC/1/2, Peterborough Trades Union Council Executive and Committee Minutes, 1 January 1951 – 31 December 1954; PAS/TUC/1/3, Peterborough Trades Union Council Executive and Committee Minutes, 1 January 1955 – 31 December 1957, 21 February 1954; 19 June 1955; 3 April 1955, 5 July 1956.

⁷⁶⁸ Mary Davis, *Comrade or Brother?*, 244-45; Reid, *United We Stand*, 343.

⁷⁶⁹ LC, ‘Hungary – TUC Leaflet 1956,’ *The Union Makes Us Strong*, 4 August 2021, http://www.unionhistory.info/timeline/TL_Display.php?irn=100344&QueryPage=.%2FAdvSearch.php.

supported by trades councils, including PTUC which contributed to the £10,000 of funds raised by the TUC. Because PTUC had already donated via the TUC they refused to give to the local collection organised by the mayor of Peterborough. But because Grunow was concerned that the organisation was 'conspicuous by the absence of our name from the list of subscribers' he wrote to the *Peterborough Standard* and 'earnestly implore[d] everyone to give of their best in this worthy and urgent cause.'⁷⁷⁰ On this issue at least, there was cooperation in the trade union movement and the outpouring of sympathy for Hungarian refugees and the condemnation of Stalinism led to a shift in the way people thought about socialism. As new socialist ideologies led to a decline in communism, the social movements of the new left developed.⁷⁷¹ However, the new left would bring its own conflicts and challenges to the trade union movement, including to PTUC. These challenges will be examined later in the chapter.

The Bridlington Agreement, Interunion Disputes and Conflicting Aspirations

Trades councils were 'emotional communities' which displayed and communicated feelings collectively.⁷⁷² This often resulted in conflict which was a natural part of the trade union movement which stirred up emotions both collectively and at other times individually. There was external and internal conflict, the former between trade unions and employers which at its most extreme resulted in industrial action. Internal conflict was caused by competition between trade unions, arguments over strategies and

⁷⁷⁰ 'Trades Council Support,' *Peterborough Standard*, 23 November 1956, 4.

⁷⁷¹ Sheryl Bernadette Buckley, 'Division British Communism? Televising the Decline of the Communist Party of Great Britain,' *British Politics* 9, 4 (2014): 495-96.

⁷⁷² Barbara H, Rosenwein and Riccardo Cristiani, *What is the History of Emotions?* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2018), 39-40.

tactics, personality clashes and concerns about union autonomy. Therefore, in 1924 the foundations of what became known as the Bridlington Principles (1939) were laid out, which included policies to assist in interunion disputes, stop the poaching of members and ease competition between unions.⁷⁷³ This part of the chapter draws on some of the Bridlington Principles to analyse the nature of conflict present in the post-war trade unions. The first part will examine interunion conflict which occurred when there were disagreements between individual unions, who were in competition in one industry, as demonstrated by ASLEF and the NUR members during a strike in 1955. The ASLEF strike took place during a period of industrial unrest in vital industries and was a dispute between railway workers which led to conflict and hostility between PTUC delegates and the formation of a Bridlington Principles disputes committee. However, the disputes committee failed to resolve the dispute and demonstrated the lack of influence PTUC officials had over individual trade unions. The second section will cover interunion conflict caused by members playing dual roles of worker and activist which resulted in personality clashes and affected the functions of meetings and decision making. The section will end with an analysis of conflicting aspirations demonstrated by the attempted infiltration of Conservative trade unionists in the workplace, which also took place during the 1945-64 period, and resulted in hostility between trade unionists. The attempt at infiltration ended in failure as the traditional ideological structure of the trade union movement was too deeply ingrained.

⁷⁷³ S. E. Honeyball, 'Individualism and the Bridlington Principles,' *Kingston Law Review* 14, 1 (1984): 76.

Conflict between trade unions could be caused by competition and differences between organisational strategies and tactics. Such conflict could require the use of local disputes committees, as illustrated during one of the most important interunion conflicts of the 1952-1964 period, which occurred nationally between ASLEF and NUR members. From 1952, concerns over unemployment, attacks on the standard of living and economic problems were present in British politics alongside calls for equal pay for boot and shoemakers in 1952 and the National Union of Teachers in 1954.⁷⁷⁴

Additionally, hostility between ASLEF and the NUR arose during strikes of essential services in the period 1953-55 and was partly caused by competition between the two unions. The period of industrial unrest mainly affected food, coal and transport services and included strikes of oil distributors in 1953, dockers in 1954, and the railway industry. As a result of the NUR strike which took place over four months in 1953, the Government decided to prepare for the declaration of national emergencies when key industries took industrial action. The preparations included plans to recruit volunteers to run essential services, something which had not been done in peace time since the 1926 General Strike. Consequently, during this period (1957 to be precise), Britain had the highest number of industrial disputes since May 1926.⁷⁷⁵

The NUR aborted a planned strike in December 1953 and another in January 1955. Despite the NUR's failure at industrial action, ASLEF members went on strike in May and June 1955. The ASLEF strike was caused by differentials in pay between their members

⁷⁷⁴ George J. Barnsby, *A History of Wolverhampton, Bilston & District Trades Union Council 1865-1995* (Wolverhampton: Wolverhampton, Bilston and District TUC, 1994), 70.

⁷⁷⁵ Malcolm Pearce and Geoffrey Stewart, *British Political History: 1867-2001: Democracy and Decline* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1992), 478.

and the NUR. However, there was already tension between the two unions because of competition in the railway industry. There were differences between the two unions in their membership too, as the NUR was open to all grades of staff which totalled 383,000 members in 1945, whereas ASLEF was a craft union of 67,000. The differentiation in numbers of members meant that while ASLEF's work would be affected by an NUR strike, the reverse was not true, and there were enough NUR members to keep a skeleton service running during the 1955 strike. Because they continued to work, NUR members were seen as uncooperative by ASLEF.⁷⁷⁶ The NUR and ASLEF dispute demonstrated how competition played a part in interunion conflict.

As well as competition, interunion conflict was created by differences in organisational strategies and tactics in the railway industry, which went on to affect PTUC delegates. Differences between delegates were clearly demonstrated during trade union meetings, such as one in April 1956 where arguments between delegates from the railway unions resulted in the formation of a disputes committee, to try and resolve the conflict. Hostility between the two unions followed complaints by the ASLEF branch about the conduct of local NUR members in Peterborough during the 1955 strike included accusations that the latter had breached the Bridlington Principles, a pact forged by the TUC to prevent unions from being in competition with each other.⁷⁷⁷

The Bridlington Principles, first adopted in 1924 and re-established in 1939, banned unions from poaching others' members and established disputes committees to deal

⁷⁷⁶ Keir Thorpe, 'Rendering the Strike Innocuous: The British Government's Response to Industrial Disputes in Essential Industries, 1953-55,' *Journal of Contemporary History* 35, 4 (2000): 578, 585, 594.

⁷⁷⁷ PAS, PAS/TUC/1/3, Peterborough Trades Union Council Executive and Committee Minutes, 1 January 1955 - 31 December 1957, 27 June 1956.

with interunion conflict.⁷⁷⁸ The TUC sought to foster better relationships between individual bodies from the 1920s. Unions, especially those organising in the same industry, were often rivals over recruitment and strategies and there were also conflicting ideologies. The reorganisation of the trade union movement was anticipated by the TUC in 1918 and started in 1921.⁷⁷⁹ The reorganisation included the establishment of a disputes committee by the TUC, whose role was to act as a mediator when all other avenues for conflict resolution between trade unions had been explored. At the TUC conference in Bridlington in 1939, further measures were added to stop issues arising between unions. These included: sanctioning the use of recognised membership cards; establishing spheres of industrial and geographical significance of each union; and ordering unions to carry out thorough investigations into any member who tried to move from one union to another. The TUC also suggested amalgamation of unions to assist in the unity of members in the same industry, and to prevent 'poaching.' However, this was not practical as unions feared they would lose their autonomy, so the federation of trade unions in an industry was recommended instead.⁷⁸⁰ These policies made up the Bridlington Principles.⁷⁸¹

Since the TUC was a federation of trades unions, then so were trades councils, which acted as local ones. They were therefore responsible for recruitment and also acted as

⁷⁷⁸ Bob Simpson, 'The TUC's Bridlington Principles and the Law,' *The Modern Law Review* 46, 5 (1983): 635.

⁷⁷⁹ H A Turner, 'Trade Union Organisations,' *The Political Quarterly* 21, 1 (1956):57.

⁷⁸⁰ Howard G Gamser, 'Interunion Disputes in Great Britain and the United States,' *ILR Review* 9, 1 (1955): 6-8, 10, 14.

⁷⁸¹ Jane Elgar and Robert Cecil Simpson, 'The TUCs Bridlington Principles and Interunion Conflict,' accessed 31 July 2021, <https://cep.lse.ac.uk/new/publications/abstract.asp?index=160>.

local disputes committees.⁷⁸² Nonetheless, when ASLEF delegates to PTUC complained that NUR members had remained at work during the strike, Gascoine, an NUR delegate to PTUC, argued that he remained on duty because he was simply being loyal to fellow members who were not taking industrial action at the time. Gascoine's argument was important as the continuation of work by the NUR members nationally prevented the government from calling in volunteer troops to take over running the railways during the state of emergency, because there were enough employees at work to run train services without them.⁷⁸³ However, ASLEF members remained hostile to the NUR in what was seen by the press and Government as an interunion dispute over pay rather than tactics. When the 17-day strike was ended on 15 June 1955 following the negotiation of a 5-point plan by the TUC, it led to a compromised pay deal.⁷⁸⁴ Nevertheless, the outcome of a 6d per week rise for firemen left ASLEF members resentful and they blamed a lack of outsider and political support for the failure of the strike. The NUR clearly had a different organisation strategy to ASLEF, a union which they were in competition with, as confirmed by Stanley's explanation for NUR members continuing to work through the strike and which led to interunion conflict.⁷⁸⁵

Because of the dispute between local ASLEF and NUR delegates, PTUC officials were forced to convene a disputes committee, based on the instructions of the TUC in the

⁷⁸² Ralph Darlington and Stephen Mustchin, 'The Role of the TUC in Significant Industrial Disputes: An Historical Critical Overview,' *Labor History* 60, 6 (2019): 627.

⁷⁸³ 'Railway Strike Aftermath: ASLEF Branch Wants to Leave Trades Council,' *Peterborough Standard*, 13 April 1956, 5.

⁷⁸⁴ Thorpe, 'Rendering the Strike Innocuous,' 596, 598.

⁷⁸⁵ John Weston, 'Resentment on the Railways Finally led to National Strike and Rise of 6d Per Week,' *Derby Evening Telegraph*, 6 September 2010, 2.

Bridlington Principles.⁷⁸⁶ The matter demonstrated that local disputes committees had the same power as the TUC to resolve interunion conflicts which was actually not very much. Disputes committees were used to relieve pressure on local officials and members and tried to act as a mediator for interunion disputes. But more importantly they acted as a 'buffer' between the trade union movement and hostile institutions, allowing members to sort out their problems alone without the intervention of the government and out of the public eye. But the general public bore witness to the NUR and ASLEF dispute through PTUC meetings as reported in the press. It was a move which could potentially damage public relations by showing the unions up to be petty and divided.⁷⁸⁷ Furthermore, the PTUC disputes committee initially failed to reach an agreement between the two unions after setting up a meeting behind closed doors, even though the agreements in the Bridlington Principles directed the unions to accept the decisions of a disputes committee even when it caused a negative effect.⁷⁸⁸ The PTUC disputes committee tried to organise a meeting in August 1955 between delegates of ASLEF and the NUR to allow both sides to 'fully ventilate.'⁷⁸⁹ However, this ended in failure and in 1956 ASLEF delegates refused to reaffiliate to the trades council.⁷⁹⁰ Like the TUC whose only real option for subordinate unruly bodies was to impose a termination of union affiliation with 6 weeks-notice for ignoring a procedure, the PTUC

⁷⁸⁶ PAS, PAS/TUC/1/3, Peterborough Trades Union Council Executive and Committee Minutes, 1 January 1955 - 31 December 1957, 5 June 1955.

⁷⁸⁷ 'Railway Strike Aftermath: ASLEF Branch Wants to Leave Trades Council,' *Peterborough Standard*, 13 April 1956, 5.

⁷⁸⁸ Kalis, 'The Effectiveness of Utility of the Disputes Committee of the Trade Union Congress,' 41-43.

⁷⁸⁹ PAS/TUC/1/3, Peterborough Trades Union Council Executive and Committee Minutes PTUC Minutes, 1 January 1955 - 31 December 1957, 7 August 1955.

⁷⁹⁰ 'Railway Strike Aftermath: ASLEF Branch Wants to Leave Trades Council,' *Peterborough Standard*, 13 April 1956, 5.

disputes committee did not have many powers at their disposal to further impose sanctions. But, the PTUC disputes committee was not a formal body unlike the TUC's and unions were free to take or leave their advice, which demonstrated that trades councils lacked the power to intervene in branch business.⁷⁹¹ This provided evidence that during this period the influence of trades councils, specifically PTUC, lay not in the industrial scene, but elsewhere.

As previously noted, conflict was part of life for trade unionists and the TUC created collective bargaining to confront hostile employers and the Bridlington Principles for internal disputes.⁷⁹² There was also conflict between individual trade unions, as seen in the interunion dispute between ASLEF and the NUR. Additionally, disputes between individuals often came into effect because of the contrasting expectations of playing a dual role as both activist and employee which led to emotional exhaustion and resulted in conflict and hostility.⁷⁹³ The results were arguments at meetings and conflict instead of cooperation, which were a regular feature of PTUC meetings in the post-war period, although it was often difficult to tell whether some of these were genuine conflict situations created by personality clashes or just passionate debates. For instance, in February 1958 there was an angry exchange at the Annual General Meeting between Grunow (PTUC Secretary) and Page over the organisation of a forthcoming May Day rally. Page dramatically accused delegates of being apathetic and of only supporting activities which would benefit the labour movement, rather than the whole of the

⁷⁹¹ Simpson, 'The TUC's Bridlington Principles and the Law,' 637.

⁷⁹² Reid, *United We Stand*, xi.

⁷⁹³ Sharda S. Namdram and Bert Klandermans, 'Stress Experienced by Active Members of Trade Unions,' *Journal of Organisational Behaviour* 14 (1993): 416.

working class. In response, Page was called a 'dictator' by one delegate and there were discussions around a lack of decision-making by PTUC officials.⁷⁹⁴

This was not the only time that Page had clashed with individual trades council delegates - another example was demonstrated in the earlier part of this chapter on communism. Still, debate and conflict were a feature of trade unionism even before the post-war period. It was part of the long-established ideology and identity of trade unions and their activists, which rooted them firmly in society. Trade unions featured internal dimensions such as membership and union democracy and external features such as collective bargaining with employers, both of which created friction. Meanwhile, individual unions competed for resources in both the political and social spheres which added to the sense of hostility. These defining features were historical characteristics of trade unions which did not change over time and conflict was always present, but the extent of the discord was clearly quite prevalent during the 1952-64 period.⁷⁹⁵

As demonstrated throughout this chapter, personal disagreements between trade unionists were often rooted in conflict over political ideologies. These ideologies came from the left, as with communism, but also from moderate conservatism. For instance, Conservative Party trade unionists made a concerted effort to infiltrate the trade union movement during the 1945-64 period which was another cause of conflict, because whereas there was a degree of sympathy for communism among trade unionists, most delegates held conflicting aspirations with Conservative members due to their ideology

⁷⁹⁴ 'Trade Union Apathy Responsible for the Downfall of the Labour Movement,' *Peterborough Standard*, 7 February 1958, 12.

⁷⁹⁵ Andy Hodder and Paul Edwards, 'The Essence of Trade Unions: Understanding Identity, Ideology and Purpose,' *Work, Employment and Society*, 29, 5 (2015): 846-47.

of profit and libertarianism. Therefore, during the post-war period, ideological differences caused conflict among trade unionists and hostility was often enhanced by personality clashes. Consequently, Grunow felt compelled to complain to a branch of the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers when he discovered that a delegate had attended the Tory Party conference in 1953 as a trade union representative.⁷⁹⁶ Additionally, there was a narrative of personality clashes and antagonism when a 'Tory Trade Unionist' wrote to the *Peterborough Standard* in 1956 complaining that 'behind Mr. Grunow's cheap sneers, there undoubtedly lurks an anxiety which his childish forced humour displays.'⁷⁹⁷

These arguments were caused by differences in political ideology and conflicting aspirations and they became quite personal at times, because where Conservative Party members frequented trade unions, their aims and objectives were very different from the social democrats of the Labour Party. In contrast, whereas the Conservative Party saw the unions as hostile and irresponsible in their pursuit of industrial action and greedy for seeking excessive wage increases, trade unionists saw them as capitalists. The two sides were in different places ideologically and this led to disagreements in both national politics and within the trade unions themselves.⁷⁹⁸

Antagonism was not the aim of the Conservative Party during the 1950s. However, perceived attempts to enforce a communist ideology into workplace trade unions meant that moderate Conservatives were determined to change the narrative of workplace

⁷⁹⁶ PAS/TUC/1/2, Peterborough Trades Union Council Executive and Committee Minutes, 1 January 1952-31 December 1954, 18 October 1953.

⁷⁹⁷ 'Sneers Hide Anxiety,' *Peterborough Standard*, 14 October 1956, 5.

⁷⁹⁸ Peter Dorey and Professor Derek H. Aldcroft, *British Conservatism and Trade Unionism, 1945-1964* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2009), 1.

activism. Yet trade union support for the post-war nationalisation of industries, which members shared with the socialist wing of the Labour Party, and the traditions of radical ideologies within the trade union movement, suggested that the Conservative Party member would struggle to be successful in their aim.⁷⁹⁹ Conservative policies during the 1950s were meant to leave trade unions to 'modify' their own behaviour and to recognise their own responsibilities, while also keeping politics out of industry.⁸⁰⁰ Consequently, the Conservative Party planned to organise in trade unions to infiltrate and spread propaganda. By 1954, nearly 70 per cent of constituency parties had Conservative Trade Union Councils (CTUC) to coordinate in areas of importance. CTUCs contained trade unionists who were both Conservative Party members and trade unionists and a 1946 directive encouraged individuals to operate in factories, feedback intelligence on both socialist and communist colleagues and to help build an alternative organisation within the workplace. As a result, by 1956 there was a membership of 7,000 and 169 CTUCs, yet they were no competition for the trades councils of the labour movement of which there were 525 in 1954.⁸⁰¹

There was no CTUC in Peterborough, but a Conservative Divisional Council of Trade Unions was formed in September 1956 with 15 members. Both chair and secretary were members of the NUR and the function of the divisional council was not to undermine the TUC or trade union branches, but to encourage Conservative Party trade unionists to play a full part in union life, including taking part in elections for officials, and to rid the

⁷⁹⁹ Kevin Whitson, 'The Ideologies of Practical Men: Trade Unions and the Politics of Public Ownership,' *Contemporary British History* 29, 1 (2015): 86.

⁸⁰⁰ Dorey, Aldcroft, *British Conservatism and Trade Unionism*, 63.

⁸⁰¹ Andrew Taylor, 'The Conservative Trade Union Movement 1952-1961,' *Labour History Review* 57, 1 (1992): 21; PAS/TUC/8/3/1, Programme of Peterborough Trade Union Week, November 14-20, 1954.

movement of dominant communists and socialists.⁸⁰² Kershaw, the chair of the local divisional council was adamant that there was a large number of 'Tory trade unionists' in Peterborough and 10 out of the 61 groups throughout the East Midlands were based in the city.⁸⁰³ Despite the Conservative Party's policy not to antagonise the trade unions, the experience in Peterborough suggested that conflict was caused by local rivalry, as illustrated by the letters page of the *Peterborough Standard*.⁸⁰⁴ Still, there was little evidence to suggest that the divisional council lasted longer than five years as the last newspaper article which mentioned the group was in 1960.⁸⁰⁵ The matter of Peterborough's divisional council demonstrated that Conservative Party trade unionists briefly created conflict within the local trade union scene, despite orders not to. However, any challenges to the existing trade union community were quickly dealt with.

During the interwar period, the Conservative Party simply wanted to counter the left in trade unions without conflict and hostility and members were confident that they could achieve their aim. However, they were unsuccessful in their attempts to infiltrate the trade unions because the trade union movement was already deeply entrenched in the ideology of the left and by 1964 the two sides assumed their opposing positions. The Conservative Party plan failed because, first, the Conservative strategy was to entice the TUC away from the Labour Party, in order to leave two bodies as one purely industrial and the other political. The strategy did not work as some parts of the labour movement

⁸⁰² 'Tory Trade Unionists Organise,' *Peterborough Standard*, 5 October 1956, 18.

⁸⁰³ 'He Would be Surprised,' *Peterborough Standard*, 19 October 1956, 5.

⁸⁰⁴ H. F. Turner, 'Tories "False Claim to be Santa Claus of the Trade Union Movement,"' *Peterborough Standard*, 2 November 1956, 7; J. A. Kershaw, 'He Would Be Surprised,' *Peterborough Standard*, 19 October 1956, 5.

⁸⁰⁵ 'Tory Trade Unionists and School Leavers,' *Peterborough Standard*, 22 April 1960, 16.

were already distancing themselves from the Labour Party as demonstrated when the 'labour' part was removed from names after the Second World War.⁸⁰⁶ In 1944, PTUC's political fund was wound up and the name was changed to 'Peterborough and District Trades Council' which dropped the Labour element.⁸⁰⁷ The change came despite a statement in the 1943 annual report which recorded that the political fund was 'growing year on year' and it was believed that the extra finances would come in useful during the years of post-war reconstruction.⁸⁰⁸ However, from 1944 onwards, PTUC did not affiliate to any political parties and all dues were paid into the 'industrial' fund instead of being split between that and a 'political' fund. But although trade union bodies removed 'Labour' branding it did not mean that they were any less committed to social democratic political ideologies.

The second reason the Conservatives failed to infiltrate the trade union movement was because of the failure of the TUC backed Incomes Policy which aimed to reduce high inflation and unemployment in the mid-1960s. However, it only led to the trade unions and Conservative Party assuming their traditional stance of hostility towards each other. The 1964 Incomes Policy, aimed to balance the increase in the price of goods with wages, however, was a voluntary policy and there was a low take-up among industry and the measure was made compulsory in 1965. The TUC voted with a majority to accept compulsory imposition of the policy and consequently lost the right to free

⁸⁰⁶ 'Tory Trade Unionists: A Successful Wooing?' *The Manchester Guardian*, 15 March 1954, 1.

⁸⁰⁷ *Peterborough and District Trades Union Council: Diamond Jubilee, 1899-1959* (Peterborough: Peterborough and District Trades Union Council, 1959), 17.

⁸⁰⁸ MRC, MSS.292/944/P/13, Annual Report for 1943.

collective bargaining which weakened its power.⁸⁰⁹ Compulsion did not achieve the aim of stopping high inflation and a large number of unofficial strikes soured relationships between the TUC and the Conservatives.⁸¹⁰ This suggested that although weakened, the trade unions were too big to be challenged by the conflicting aspirations of the Conservatives during the post-war period, as it already had a well-established ideological base. Nevertheless, by the mid-1960s, both the communists and Conservatives – external elements to the trade union movement – had been removed. Yet the internal hostilities caused by union strategies, competition and personality clashes remained.

Hostility and Cooperation with the New Left

The relationship between the labour movement and new social movements which first appeared after the decline of communism in the 1950s also resulted in conflict. The formation of new social movements meant that the position of established groups of community organisers were also under threat. For the first time PTUC was in competition with other groups of activists who wanted to organise large campaigns and demonstrations. The discord between them was created by the differences in their structure and culture - trade unions of the 1950s were democratic membership organisations with bureaucratic structures and rules, whereas social movements were more informal and ran on a looser basis. Additionally, many of the leaders of the social

⁸⁰⁹ Davis, *Comrade or Brother?* 266-67.

⁸¹⁰ Pete Dorey 'The Conservative Party and the Trade Unions,' accessed 5 August 2021, <https://www.historyandpolicy.org/trade-union-forum/meeting/the-conservative-party-and-the-trade-unions>.

movements established during the period were middle class with little knowledge of either the working class or trade unions. Another cause of conflict was that the priorities of trade unions were jobs, conditions, and wages. Sometimes these came at the expense of new campaign groups whose chief focus was, for instance, the environment or equality for women and minorities. Trade unions were therefore sometimes seen by members of the new social movements as contributing to the problems which they tried to surmount. These differences could lead to competition between trade unions and social movements, however, there was also a degree of cooperation among individual members too.⁸¹¹

Elements of conflict with the labour movement, caused by disagreements over tactics, structures and priorities as well as cooperation from sharing the same goals, were clearly demonstrated during the 1950s and 1960s. They were seen in the relationships between trade union bodies and campaign groups which opposed the Cold War nuclear weapons, such as the DAC and CND, who were part of the post-communist new left. Challenges were also made from both within and outside of the Labour Party. Although many activists left the Labour Party to campaign from outside of it, during the late 1950s, many were convinced to return after the left won votes supporting unilateralism (nuclear disarmament) and clause 4 (common ownership of the means of production), during the 1960 conference. These victories gave activists the confidence to fight for Socialism through the Labour Party's bureaucratic structures including the trade unions. By returning to campaign through the Labour Party it meant that the new

⁸¹¹ Edmund Heery, Steve William and Brian Abbott, 'Civil Society Organisations and Trade Unions: Cooperation, Conflict, Indifference,' *Work, Employment and Society* 26, 1 (2012): 147-48, 154, 158.

left movement in the UK was quite short lived. CND, however, continued to operate independently after 1960.⁸¹²

The new left challenged trades councils, which could sometime be seen as 'establishment' and outdated after the Second World War. PTUC's reaction to the new left, however, was ambiguous. Support for groups such as CND were a cause for debate because trade unions and the social movements of the new left had a complex relationship due to their political position. Created after the collapse of communism in 1956-57, the new left was a political and social movement which filled the space between the Stalinist Communist Party and the Social Democratic Labour Party; it contained a variety of political and social campaign groups and emerged as a response to the Cold War.⁸¹³ As an international movement which developed in North America, as well as in Western Europe, the new left's intellectual theory was based on a revision of Marxist doctrines and referenced Trotskyism, Maoism and Libertarian Socialism.⁸¹⁴ Activists in the groups which sprang up at the time were often young intellectuals who would go on to be part of the 1960s counterculture and they were concerned about the threat of nuclear war and the damage it would do to the environment. The new left was also concerned about the Suez crisis and the antagonization of Soviet communism.⁸¹⁵

⁸¹² Paul Blackledge, 'The New Left: Stalinism and Social Democracy?' in *Against the Grain: The British far Left from 1956*, ed. Evan Smith, Matthew Worley (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), 44, 52.

⁸¹³ *Ibid.* 44.

⁸¹⁴ Jeremy Tranmer, 'The Radical Left and Popular Music in the 1960s,' (90-106), in *Preserving the Sixties: Britain and the Decade of Protest*, ed. Trevor Harris and Monica O'Brien Castro (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 95-96; Madeline Davis, 'New Left, Political Movement,' accessed 14 July 2021, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/New-Left>.

⁸¹⁵ Jodie Burkett, 'The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and Changing Attitudes Towards the Earth in the Nuclear Age,' *The British Journal for the History of Science* 45, 4 (2012): 633.

The anti-Stalinists and students who made up the new left were critical of trade unions and often became frustrated with the latter, believing that they were progressively apolitical, apathetic, and old-fashioned, male-dominated establishment bodies, defending jobs in the nuclear and armaments industries.⁸¹⁶

Yet, the new left also saw trades unions as 'the path to socialism' and recognised that some individuals were similarly anti-militarist, arguing for anti-nuclear policies and world peace. Consequently, some trade unionists joined the social movements of the new left which added to the complexity of relationships between the two groups. But many trade unionists were still social democrats with traditional ideas of structured forms of organising at heart which brought them into conflict with younger, modern activists because they were seen as old fashioned.⁸¹⁷ Although it had reached its zenith during the First World War, social democracy was a branch of Marxism which unlike communism continued to be a strong force in the British political scene in the post-war era.⁸¹⁸ As demonstrated in the previous chapter though, the older generations of trade unionists continued to cling onto the older interwar socialist forms of policies like nationalisation, while post-war Keynesian economics presented a 'managed' capitalist system which required the economic and social to be interwoven in a different way.⁸¹⁹ Trades council delegates also tended to be older in age and they were slow to adapt to post-war ideas. But the young activists of the 1960s were children of the post-war era

⁸¹⁶ Wrigley, *British Trade Unions Since 1933*, 3.

⁸¹⁷ Robert Currie, *Industrial Politics* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), 196, 200, 202.

⁸¹⁸ Mohamed Ismail Sabry, *The Development of Socialism, Social Democracy and Communism: Historical, Political and Socioeconomic Perspectives* (Bingley: The Emerald Publishing Limited, 2017), 267.

⁸¹⁹ Sheri Berman, *The Primary of Politics: Social Democracy and Europe's Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 179-80.

who grew up in the shadow of this form of social and economic reconstruction and desired to see the world around them in new ways. The home for instance was a more comfortable space than it had been prior to the war and centred the family offering a sense of stability and it was here that social and political connections were formed. It was no longer the workplace that provided those bonds. Yet there were still injustices and inequalities which remained, and families still struggled.⁸²⁰

The new left and trade unions clashed over campaign strategies, specifically with regards to the culture of direct action and tactics of civil disobedience. While the trade unions preferred to lobby the TUC, the Labour Party and the government over matters of social concern, the younger activists of the new left were more likely to be involved in direct action campaigns. One of them was PTUC delegate John Groom, a member of the DAC, a group which formed in 1957 in response to hydrogen bomb tests carried out by Britain on Christmas Island. The DAC was formed 'to assist the conducting of non-violent direct action, to obtain the total renunciation of nuclear war and its weapons by Britain and all other countries as a first step in disarmament.'⁸²¹ Members of the groups advocated the use of pickets, marches, vigils and civil disobedience, but also political action, such as tactical voting and the non-payment of taxes. Groom was a member of the group who protested at Pickenham airbase, Norfolk, in January 1959. During the protest, 53 activists, who were labelled as 'hostile, traitors, blackguards, hooligans... idiots,' in the *Peterborough Standard*, were 'flung exhausted from the guardroom gate

⁸²⁰ Celia Hughes, *Young Lives on the Left: Sixties Activism and the Liberation of the Self* (Manchester: Manchester University, 2015), 23-24.

⁸²¹ April Carter, 'Chapter One: Aldermaston and the Early Years,' in *The CND Story* (London: Allison and Busby, 1983), 49.

[even though] they offered no violence or active resistance which would have rendered meaningless their passive objectiveness.⁸²²

The majority of PTUC delegates were against the methods of direct action advocated by the DAC, as demonstrated in December 1959 when the group invited them to join a peace camp protest at the Harrington Rocket Base in Northamptonshire. When the DAC suggested using a ladder to scale the barbed wire fence, they were met with derision, with delegates suggesting that 'this was simply an incitement to break the law.' Delegates also remarked that it was an insult that working-class people were being asked to give up their precious time and income to join a peace camp which suggested to PTUC that they had not considered working-class interests. Nevertheless, the discussion between PTUC delegates over the strategies used by the DAC at the Pickenham and Harrington airbases showed that there were disagreements over methods of direct action and civil disobedience - a culture which most of the individuals involved in the trades council did not agree with.

Most of the labour movement and new left did agree in opposing nuclear weapons though. Even before the anti-nuclear campaigns were formed, trade unionists were unified in their opposition to government Cold War policies. Policies opposed by labour movement activists included the government's support for installing US Airforce rocket bases in Britain in 1951 and the Churchill government's development of a British

⁸²² 'The Three Basic Motives of Direct Action Group,' *Peterborough Standard*, 30 January 1959, 8.

hydrogen bomb in 1954.⁸²³ Trades councils were the first part of the labour movement to react to calls for peace. For instance, Chelmsford trades council joined a local peace group inspired by a Parliamentary petition opposing the atomic bomb as early as 1951.⁸²⁴ Later in the decade, Nottingham trades council passed motions against the presence of US troops, planes and missiles based in Britain, and called for arms funding to go towards the improvement of housing, road building, hospitals, schools and other social concerns instead.⁸²⁵ Additionally, Wolverhampton and Bilston trades council also joined in calls from CND to ban the bomb and campaigned to bring an end to nuclear tests and for the removal of US airbases from Britain.⁸²⁶

The rest of the trade union movement was slow to act, and it was not until 1959 that calls for an end to nuclear disarmament were enshrined in policy at the TUC conference. Motions 35 and 43, which accepted a policy to oppose the use of atomic weapons and ballistic missiles, were carried. The motions also opposed the containment of nuclear weapons in US bases throughout Europe.⁸²⁷ Additionally, in 1960, the Labour Party conference in Scarborough voted for complete nuclear disarmament.⁸²⁸ The examples of the lobbying work undertaken by trades councils, along with the anti-nuclear policies of the TUC and Labour Party demonstrated that the labour movement cooperated with each other and shared the new left's goal to scrap nuclear weapons. It

⁸²³ John Baylis, 'American Bases in Britain: The Truman-Attlee Understanding,' *The World Today* 42, 8/9 (1986): 158; Sean Greenwood, *Britain and the Cold War 1945-91* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 2000), 111.

⁸²⁴ Wallace, *Nothing to Lose*, 111.

⁸²⁵ *Nottingham and District Trades Union Council: 1890-1990* (Nottingham: Nottingham TUC, 1990), 102.

⁸²⁶ Barnsby, *A History of Wolverhampton, Bilston and District Trades Union Council*, 68, 71.

⁸²⁷ Laybourn, *British Trade Unionism*, 170-71.

⁸²⁸ Scott Hamilton, *The Crisis of Theory: E P Thompson, the New Left and Post-War British Politics* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), 98.

was also a turning point in the labour movement's attitude towards the Cold War and Britain's relationship with the US because it was an intense time when intercontinental ballistic missiles were being developed by both East and West.⁸²⁹

But it was the new left's methods which trade unionists disagreed with not the subject of their campaigns, and it resulted in disagreements over trade union democracy and structures between delegates. For instance, when Peterborough's CND branch asked PTUC to joint sponsor a meeting with them in 1959 a delegate from ASSET opposed the motion on the grounds of union democracy – 'we are not all of the same mind – my branch is not.'⁸³⁰ CND started out as a 'respectable' pressure group and practised non-violent direct action similar to the DAC but did not agree with actions of mass civil disobedience. Comprising 450 local groups by 1960 it soon became the biggest movement of its kind. Furthermore, CND aimed to act as a pressure group to lobby politicians into policy changes and aimed to educate the general public on the dangers of nuclear weapons and their effects on the environment through their 'youth' team.⁸³¹ When CND was established at a meeting of 5,000 people at London's Central Hall in 1958, the group's first action was to assist the DAC to organise a peace march from London to Royal Air Force base, Aldermaston in Berkshire.⁸³² Nevertheless, arguments over whether the group's strategy should include criminal acts and mass civil disobedience such as blockades of sites and sit-ins, or to work to win support of the

⁸²⁹ 'Cold War: International Politics,' Encyclopaedia Britannica, accessed 11 September 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/event/Cold-War>.

⁸³⁰ 'Trades Council Will Not Sponsor Nuclear Disarmament Meeting,' *Peterborough Standard*, Friday 6 March 1959, 11.

⁸³¹ Jodi Burkett, 'The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament,' 628, 631.

⁸³² Mervyn Jones, 'Chapter One: Aldermaston and the Early Years,' in *The CND Story*, 42.

Labour Party and trade unions caused as many disagreements among members of CND as they did within the labour movement.⁸³³ Consequently, the Cambridge-based President of CND from 1958-1960, Bertrand Russell, resigned from his position as CND would not adopt a campaign of civil disobedience. Russell created the radical Committee of 100 instead.⁸³⁴

Given this context, it is not surprising that when the Peterborough CND group, established just a few weeks after the national body was set up in London, invited PTUC to joint sponsor a meeting, it created some lively debates.⁸³⁵ Grunow, for instance, was opposed to joint sponsorship with CND on the grounds that he did not believe that members in his union would support it – and they had not been asked. In this instance, Grunow, a ‘Labour Loyalist’ and trade union official, demonstrated the importance of membership democracy. Gascoine agreed with Grunow and suggested that all 47 branches affiliated to PTUC should be consulted. As a result, the vote to co-sponsor the meeting was lost by eight.⁸³⁶ The discussion illustrated the importance of maintaining standing orders and formal rules, especially when it came to proxy voting on controversial matters. The importance of union democracy was further demonstrated by the AEU whose members had voted for nuclear disarmament in 1960. However, the vote was unlikely to represent the views of most members because national officials

⁸³³ ‘The History of CND,’ Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, accessed 14 July 2021, <https://cnduk.org/who/the-history-of-cnd/>; Frank Allun, ‘Chapter Two: Problems of the 1960s,’ 56-57, *The CND Story* (London: Allison and Busby Limited, 1983), 56.

⁸³⁴ Chris Elliott, ‘When Angry Protestors Marched in Cambridge – Against the Bomb,’ *Cambridgeshire Live*, 26 November 2016.

⁸³⁵ Monica Hirst, ‘Morality of Nuclear Weapons,’ *Peterborough Standard*, 21 March 1958, 4.

⁸³⁶ ‘The Trades Council will not Sponsor Nuclear Disarmament Meeting,’ *Peterborough Standard*, 6 March 1959, 11.

who made such decisions had only been voted in on a 10 per cent turn out.⁸³⁷

Nevertheless, the importance of bureaucratic structures and union democracy showed how the adoption of cultural strategies could create dissension between the activists of the new left and trade unionists, even when they shared the same goal.

The disputes caused by different priorities were illustrated by PTUC in September 1959. W. Abbott, AEU, presented a motion which asked PTUC to join a protest against proposals to use land at the nearby villages of Langtoft and Polebrook as US rocket bases and nuclear warhead sites. An amendment was submitted to the motion to declare work on the site as 'black' but only if alternative employment could be found.⁸³⁸ Grunow, who abstained on the matter, thought that it was a 'dangerous' proposal and questioned if PTUC would become an 'employment agency,' in such circumstances. The amendment was struck out due to concerns that PTUC would be held to account over any unemployment that would result from the protest and the motion was not carried.⁸³⁹

The discussion over support for employees on the rocket bases suggested that conflict between new left activists and trade unionists was unavoidable. It was, after all, the job of trade unionists to keep people *in* work. Because of such concerns the disaffected youths which made up the bulk of the membership of the new left, had an ambivalent relationship with all parts of the labour movement. Additionally campaigners worked in the 'third way' between the Labour Party's social democracy and the

⁸³⁷ Currie, *Industrial Politics*, 203.

⁸³⁸ 'Is Work on Rocket Sites Black?' *The Peterborough Standard*, 11 September 1959, 4.

⁸³⁹ PAS, PAS/TUC/1/4, Peterborough Trades Union Council Executive Committee and Meeting Minutes, 1 January 1958 – 31 December 1960, 6 September 1958.

Stalinism of the CP which also caused hostility from the government as well as with the labour movement.⁸⁴⁰ Moreover, the new left saw one of its duties as making Britain a more equal society and yet when they saw trade union leaders snubbing rank and file strikers and black workers, they championed an alternative - participatory democracy and workers' control, as seen in Germany.⁸⁴¹ This was a threat to the established institution of trade unionism and illustrated another reason why conflict could occur.

The different strategies and priorities of the younger activists created competition with the labour movement, and this forced trades councils to get out on the streets and organise their own anti-nuclear demonstrations.⁸⁴² As opposed to the direct action strategies favoured by the anti-nuclear groups, labour movement demonstrations were often organised in the form of traditional 'A to B' marches. One was held on 7 February 1958 in Cambridge organised by a committee from the local Labour Party and trades council. PTUC secretary George Fovargue left an executive meeting in Peterborough early to attend the parade of 200 people who marched to a nearby US air-base, of which there were many in East Anglia.⁸⁴³ Birmingham trades council also organised a protest march against the H-bomb in September 1959. According to the trades councils' journal, the march was attended by trade unionists, housewives, Co-op guildswomen, Clergy, teachers, university staff, students; and 'a large

⁸⁴⁰ Paul Blackledge, 'The New Left: Stalinism and Social Democracy?' in *Against the Grain: The British far Left from 1956*, ed. Evan Smith, Matthew Worley (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), 45.

⁸⁴¹ Wade Matthews, *The New Left, National Identity and the Break Up of Britain* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 10.

⁸⁴² 'Trades Council Dithers Over Support for Nuclear Disarmament Meeting,' *Peterborough Standard*, 8 May 1959, 17.

⁸⁴³ 'Draughtsman Musician is Trades Council's New President,' *Peterborough Standard*, 7 February 1958, 1; PAS/TUC/1/4, Peterborough Trades Union Council Executive and Committee Minutes, 1 January 1958 - 31 December 1960, 24 August 1958; '200 March in Rocket Base Protest,' *Birmingham Daily Post*, 25 August 1958, 1.

section from the campaign's youth group.' No new left anti-nuclear groups were listed by name as attending the Birmingham march.⁸⁴⁴

The new left and trade unions organised their own demonstrations because, as well as having different strategies and priorities, their identities were incompatible. Whereas trades councils saw themselves as part of working-class communities, social movements, especially CND, were often middle class and this caused a culture clash. CND was connected to student activism and university scientists took a leading role in analysing the damage made by nuclear weapons and they were also joined by clerics, actors, writers and politicians in campaigns which meant they were part of middle-class culture, not that of the workers.⁸⁴⁵ Historian Jodi Burkett characterised CND as a group of highly moralistic activists who set out to define Britishness and British identity as 'domestically conservative' and this threatened the moral position of the majority of British trade union activists.⁸⁴⁶ Therefore despite both groups sharing concerns over the nuclear threat, it appeared that CND's cultural identity was simply not appealing to working-class trade unionists, which made them feel unwelcome.

Although PTUC delegates did not organise their own public meetings or demonstrations, there was plenty of cooperation from individuals from 1959. Fovargue chaired a public meeting on nuclear disarmament at Peterborough in May 1959 but it was in a personal capacity rather than as PTUC President and only 23 people attended. Fovargue apologised for the lack of trade union and local Labour Party members despite

⁸⁴⁴ 'H-Bomb Special,' *The Birmingham, Journal: Organ of the Birmingham Trades Council*, September 1959.

⁸⁴⁵ Chris Elliott, 'When Angry Protestors Marched in Cambridge – Against the Bomb,' *Cambridgeshire Live*, 26 November 2016.

⁸⁴⁶ Jodi Burkett, 'Redefining British Morality: Britishness and the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament 1958-68,' *Twentieth Century British History* 21, 2 (21010): 185, 194.

it being aimed at them, explaining that 'there was a division of opinion' and the TUC and Labour Party were reluctant to get involved.⁸⁴⁷ A. Bowen of the Clerical Workers Union, who accused other delegates of being 'backward' in their lack of support, was eventually elected to represent PTUC on CND local executive.⁸⁴⁸ Additionally, in June 1959 the DAC decided to intensify trade union activity with poster parades and open-air meetings in Peterborough. The campaign was created to support picketing at the US air-force site in Polebrook which contained THOR ballistic missiles 1958-63.⁸⁴⁹ But the local trade union movement was not attracted to this either.

However, attitudes towards CND and DAC within the trade union movement changed around 1960. There were 5 motions covering opposition to nuclear weapons, US rocket bases and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation's dependence on them which were read and passed at the 1960 TUC congress.⁸⁵⁰ The Peterborough DAC suggested launching a letter writing campaign to local MPs and the Prime Minister, Harold Macmillan, who was elected in 1959 during a campaign where Labour and Conservative foreign and defence policies were almost indistinguishable.⁸⁵¹ Disappointed with the political context, trade unionists were spurred on by the 'leftward swing' of the TGWU and the unilateralism of the General and Municipal Workers Union, and became key in forcing a change of attitude during the 1960 Labour Party Conference. This resulted in the renouncement of the production and storage of nuclear

⁸⁴⁷ 'No Chance for us in Nuclear War,' *Peterborough Standard*, 29 May 1959, 5.

⁸⁴⁸ 'Trades Council Dithers Over Support for Nuclear Disarmament Meeting,' *Peterborough Standard*, 8 May 1959, 17

⁸⁴⁹ Matt Shardlow, 'Polebrook Airfield, Northamptonshire,' *The Guardian* 20 March 2014, 37.

⁸⁵⁰ TUC Library Collections, London Metropolitan University, TUC Report 1960, 88-89.

⁸⁵¹ 'Polebrook Missile Base Picketing,' *The Peterborough Standard*, 19 June 1959, 13.

weapons in Britain.⁸⁵² The endorsement of trade unionists at the Labour Party conference, signalled a change in attitude towards cooperation and the decision was spurred on by a demonstration against nuclear weapons which took place in Scarborough on the eve of the party conference. The demonstration was organised by federations of trades councils from Yorkshire, Lancashire, Cheshire, and Tyneside who set up an organising committee with CND.⁸⁵³ But trades councils like Chelmsford had been supporting their local branch of CND for several years already. The Chelmsford CND branch was inaugurated in 1958 and the Essex Federation of Trades Councils, which represented 60,000 trade unionists, held meetings protesting at the siting of rocket bases at Wethersfield. In 1962 delegates from Chelmsford joined massive marches and rallies against the blockade following the Cuban Missile Crisis alongside Labour Party and Communist members and other trade unionists. Chelmsford trades council also sent a representative along to local meetings of CND.⁸⁵⁴ Trade unionists were now showing cooperation with the new left activists and conflict subsided.

While the trades councils as a group decided against involvement with bodies campaigning against nuclear weapons outside the of trade union movement, delegates decided to join as individuals. Consequently, following the 1960 Labour Party conference, PTUC delegate Jack Griffin, became Chairman of the local CND group and as a member of the local Committee Against Tax for Nuclear Arms publicly threatened to

⁸⁵² Frank Allaun, 'Chapter Two: Problems of the 1960s,' *The CND Story*, 56; Mark Phythian, 'CND's Cold War,' *Contemporary British History* 15, 3 (2010): 136.

⁸⁵³ 'Trade Unions and the CND: A New Front,' *The Guardian*, 18 July 1960, 14.

⁸⁵⁴ Wallace, *Nothing to Lose*, 116.

withhold a quarter of his taxes.⁸⁵⁵ Refusing to pay tax was a criminal act and part of a strategy of civil disobedience. Griffin was joined by Fovargue in April 1962 when members of the Peterborough CND branch carried a coffin through the city in a protest against the H-Bomb.⁸⁵⁶ Griffin then went to join the 1962 Aldermaston march which took place over Easter along with 32 other members of the Peterborough CND branch.⁸⁵⁷ Even PTUC Labour loyalists such as Grunow and Cooper were not unsympathetic to the anti-nuclear cause by the 1960s and wished CND luck. Grunow asked in the 1962 Annual Report 'do you go far enough?... three inches of cold steel bayonet twisted in someone's stomach, a bullet in the back of the neck and who worries about nuclear disarmament? The end product is the same – death.'⁸⁵⁸ The new attitude of cooperation shown by the TUC and Labour Party in 1960 came after a sudden realisation of the dangerous threats caused by three international developments between 1957 and 1960 – the launch of new long-range nuclear weapons by the Soviet Union, the establishment of a government sympathetic to communism in Cuba and tension between Berlin and Khrushchev.⁸⁵⁹ PTUC's attitudes were different to those of July 1959 when a delegate accused PTUC of 'doing nothing' after attempting to get others interested in a demonstration at Polebrook. The delegate was concerned that

⁸⁵⁵ 'He'll Not Help to Pay for Terrible Weapons,' *Peterborough Standard*, 26 August 1960, 11.

⁸⁵⁶ Untitled, *Peterborough Standard*, 27 April 1962, 15.

⁸⁵⁷ 'On the March,' *Peterborough Standard*, 13 April 1962, 17.

⁸⁵⁸ Tom Browning Manuscript, 32, in the possession of the Author.

⁸⁵⁹ Sylvia Ellis, 'Leadership Experience in the Cold War: Cuba, Khrushchev, and Quemoy-Matsu and the 1960 Presidential Election Campaign,' *US Presidential Elections and Foreign Policy: Candidates, Campaigns and Global Politics from FDR to Bill Clinton*, ed. Andrew Johnstone and Andrew Priest (Kentucky: University of Kentucky, 2017), 129.

‘while we talk about dogs fouling footpaths, we should not ignore larger issues which threaten our very existence.’⁸⁶⁰

When the trade union movement became more cooperative with campaigners opposing nuclear weapons during the early 1960s the strategies which had been a cause of conflict previously became more acceptable. However, in the early 1960s CND started to lose their momentum and there were two reasons for this – the first included the peaceful conclusion of the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis, which brought the world close to nuclear war. Chelmsford trades council demonstrated against the blockade of Cuba which was enacted by the US, while at the same time opposing rocket bases in Britain and the ‘Brentwood Atom Village’ built for civil defence at the cost of £62,000.⁸⁶¹ The second reason, which also took place in 1962, was that the Soviet Union, the US and Britain signed a treaty which brought an end to atmospheric nuclear tests, although this only lasted for a year. Critical that it only achieved a partial ban on testing, CND was concerned that it had failed in its task to educate the public. Dwindling support was demonstrated in September 1962 when a ‘CND Caravan’ and an open-air meeting on the Peterborough Embankment attracted about 30 people. Still, CND helped to create a new kind of politics - the kind which was seen in the social movements of the new left and would go on to define the counter-culture of the 1960s.⁸⁶²

To sum up this part of the chapter, which was set within an atmosphere of international conflict, the relationship between the labour and new social movements

⁸⁶⁰ ‘Issues Which Threaten Our Very Existence,’ *Peterborough Standard*, 10 July 1959, 4.

⁸⁶¹ Wallace, *Nothing to Lose*, 116.

⁸⁶² Holger Nehring, *Political of Security: British and West German Protest Movements and the Early Cold War 1945-70* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 233-34.

could be split into two halves. The first half was prior to 1960 when antagonism between PTUC and the anti-nuclear campaign groups was at its height. It caused conflict within PTUC between delegates who took different sides and trades councils remained insular organising their own demonstrations without the assistance of new social movements as seen in Birmingham. The more cooperative period came after 1960 once the TUC had passed motions of opposition to nuclear weapons US rocket bases. This was upon the understanding that relationships between East and West were reaching a crisis point. This period saw PTUC delegates representing trade unionists on the executive bodies of campaign groups and individuals became more involved in CND activism.

Conclusion to Chapter Five

The research in this chapter has found that the 1952-64 period was full of fervent activity, more so than the other periods covered in the thesis. Periods of physical conflict (such as the Second World War) or imagined threats (such as the Cold War) heightened emotions in people who expressed their feelings by taking determined action or by being hostile. The chapter has illustrated that Cold War paranoia was not just a symptom of the state, but it was seen in TUC officials as they scrutinised the characters of PTUC delegates and their correspondence to make sure they were not communist infiltrators. As an emotional body, PTUC delegates felt different emotions to the TUC and other communist detractors early in the period which resulted in a collective sympathy with characters such as Monica Felton. Delegates showed their

frustration at the way the government had treated her by sending motions and messages of support and felt very strongly against Felton's removal from the Stevenage Development Corporation. The first part of the chapter therefore showed that there was a mixed reaction from PTUC with regards to the threat from communism which faded in popularity as the period went on, as it did internationally.

But a study of trades councils during the early Cold War 1952-64 period also showed that the individual delegates were not always in collective agreement in their opinions. The economic consequences of the Cold War stirred emotions in trade unionists and spurred them on into taking industrial action, testing the loyalties of trade union members, inside and outside the unions in dispute and checking notions of solidarity. Specifically, emotions brought out the competitive nature and the different strategies among trade unions. The NUR and ASLEF demonstrated this struggle within PTUC and showed the results of such a conflict. Consequently, even the tried and tested conflict resolution methods invoked by the TUC's Bridlington Agreement could not resolve the dispute, leaving feelings of frustration festering for over a year until ASLEF announced they were no longer going to affiliate. The refusal of ASLEF and the NUR to take part in serious dispute resolution offered by PTUC showed that the trades council was not taken seriously by the rest of the trade union movement and delegates were not trusted to resolve the relationship issues between the two railway unions. But one thing delegates could agree on during this period of conflict was their ideological dislike of Conservatives – especially 'Tory Trade Unionists' as demonstrated by the angry letters

which delegates sent to the local newspaper – and the curt responses from hurt feelings and disagreement over political ideology.

The Cold War invoked passionate responses, some of which PTUC shared with bodies outside of the trade union movement. These included groups like CND with their opposition to nuclear weapons. But the formation of the new left's anti-Stalinist social movements questioned the place of PTUC in community activism which left delegates feeling despondent. A decade after the First World War PTUC was a modern organisation with a place and purpose but the decade after the Second World War PTUC was seen in a different place by new left activists and regarded as part of the labour movement institution. The reignition of the arguments over the perceived communist infiltration of trades councils early in the period, containing echoes of the interwar period, did not help their image. The leaders of middle-class social movements were therefore sceptical of trade union activists and their aims. But many trade unionists including some PTUC delegates were equally cautious of the leaders of the new left, considering them a threat to their position as organisers in communities. The chapter demonstrated that delegates reacted to the leaders of the new left and although sympathetic to their cause some maintained a stubborn ambiguity about joining in with activities organised by groups outside of the trade union movement such as CND. Other delegates were enthusiastic about CND cause, which resulted in angry discussions and individuals giving independent support instead. Emotions therefore greatly affected the relationships which PTUC and individual delegates had with groups from outside the

trade union movement and it depended on the factors such as the group's political ideology and the class of leader as to how they were perceived by PTUC delegates.

Chapter Six | New Town, New Economy, 1964-79

In 1979 trade union membership stood at 13 million, the highest figure in the history of British trade unions.⁸⁶³ Strong trade union membership went along with high living standards which had been growing from the mid-1960s as post-war reconstruction continued to improve conditions for the affluent worker.⁸⁶⁴ Housing conditions also improved during the 1960s and the problems caused by population growth, a result of the post-war baby boom, were dealt with through the modern urban developments of 'new towns.' New towns were designed to take in the overspill from heavily populated areas, especially from London and were based on the socialist model of Ebenezer Howard's 'garden city,' first proposed in 1898.⁸⁶⁵ Consequently, governmental policies led to the development of twenty-eight new towns between 1946 and 1970, including Northampton, Milton Keynes and Peterborough.⁸⁶⁶ The first part of this chapter examines trade union activism in the new towns, analysing the role of construction workers in Stevenage in comparison to the Peterborough experience. The section will also focus on the experience of trades council delegates whom, it will be argued, were able to extend their influences as citizens and civic ambassadors through their relationship with the local development corporation at the expense of influence on industrial matters.

⁸⁶³ Mary Davis, *Comrade or Brother: A History of the British Labour Movement* (London: Pluto Press, 2009), 263-64.

⁸⁶⁴ John Sheppard, *Crisis What Crisis: The Callaghan Government and the Winter of Discontent* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), 4.

⁸⁶⁵ Peter Hall, Colin Ward, *Sociable Cities: The Legacy of Ebenezer Howard* (Chichester: John Wiley and Sons, 1998), 53.

⁸⁶⁶ Ikke Suge, 'The Nature of Decision Making in the Post War New Towns Policy: The Case of Basildon, c. 1945-70,' *Twentieth Century British History* 16, 2 (2005): 148.

However, beneath the exterior of a wealthy, modern Britain, inequality was still an issue. The failure of governmental policies to control migration in the drive to fill labour shortages for reconstruction between 1945 and the 1950s, followed by the decolonisation of European empires, led to substantial amounts of inequality within communities of migrant workers from the British Commonwealth.⁸⁶⁷ In the 1960s and 1970s the policies of the British government created an undercurrent of hostility towards migrant workers and multiculturalism and this resulted in racist attitudes among employers, race riots and the formation of the National Front (NF) in the late 1960s.⁸⁶⁸ Some first and second-generation migrants settled and grew up in Peterborough and as a result, the attitudes of local trade unionists toward migrant workers will also be analysed in this section, focusing on the motions discussed at meetings of PTUC in the 1950s and 1960s and the role that trades councils played in the anti-racism movement in both formal and informal committee work and street-movements during the 1970s. This section illustrates the ability of trades councils to engage both working-class communities and local government officials, acting as a bridge between the two sections of society to create a largely integrated multi-cultural community carving out a unique role for themselves in the process.

The 1964-1979 period was defined by political militancy as demonstrated in the third section of the chapter, with the analysis of PTUC's dealings with the December the Sixth Group and trade union opposition to the Industrial Relations Act (IRA) in 1971

⁸⁶⁷ A. James Hammerton, *Migrants of the British Diaspora from the 1960s: Stories from Modern Nomads* (Manchester: Manchester University, 2010), 27-8.

⁸⁶⁸ Richard C. Thurlow, *Fascism in Britain: From Oswald Mosley's Blackshirts to the National Front* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), 245-46.

introduced by Edward Heath's Conservative government to deal with high inflation during the early 1970s⁸⁶⁹. The growth of women trade unionists from the mid-1960s was also a defining factor of the period with the implementation of government policies including the Equal Pay Act 1976 as part of a 'social contract.'⁸⁷⁰ Women also frequently led industrial action during the period such as the TRICO-Folberth and Grunwick strikes.⁸⁷¹ Consequently, the third section of the chapter will analyse the role of PTUC in supporting national women-led strikes as well as the local nurses strike of June 1974 and will examine the influence of women delegates on a variety of matters. Women also played important roles during the 'winter of discontent,' a sustained period of industrial action which took place during the winter of 1978-79 and resulted in the largest wave of strike action since 1915-22 and those which took place earlier in the decade. The result was 5 million workers were involved in 2000 strikes in 1979.⁸⁷²

The final section of the chapter analyses how the failures of the social contract along with high unemployment during the 1970s led to the militant action of trade unionists during the winter of discontent. However, this action did not appear to be supported by trades councils in a physical form only through messages of solidarity, suggesting that by the late 1970s PTUC had become part of the trade union establishment, a trend further illustrated by delegates in their support of the social contract.

⁸⁶⁹ Chris Wrigley, *British Trade Unions Since 1933* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2002), 71.

⁸⁷⁰ Sarah Boston, *Women Workers and the Trade Unions* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 2015), 278.

⁸⁷¹ Johnathon Moss, *Women, Workplace Protest and Political Identity in England 1968-85* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2019), 82; Linda McDowell, *Working Lives: Gender, Migration and Employment in Britain, 1945-2007* (London: John Wiley and Sons, 2015), 222.

⁸⁷² Sheppard, *Crisis? What Crisis?*, 3.

The Trade Union Movement and New Town Developments

Post-war new towns shared a remarkable similarity with the 'garden cities' created by Howard prior to the First World War. Howard, concerned by the depopulation of the countryside in the 1880s and 1890s, was influenced by the work of Anarchists and Socialists such as William Morris, Peter Kropotkin, Leo Tolstoy and Robert Blatchford⁸⁷³ who wrote about experimental communities.⁸⁷⁴ As the founder of the Garden City Movement, Howard published his own version of an experimental community in the book, *Tomorrow: A Peaceful Path to Social Reform*, outlined in 1898 and republished as *Garden Cities of Tomorrow* in 1902.⁸⁷⁵ In *Tomorrow*, Howard concluded that modern towns should include rural as well as urban communities with economic and social ties to the larger cities.⁸⁷⁶ Towns should also contain their own jobs and factories; however, Howard also stipulated that garden cities would hold a maximum of 32,000 people and when full, a new town should be started with all areas linked by a rapid transport system.⁸⁷⁷ *Tomorrow* contained diagrams, such as the 'country-town magnet' which stated the disadvantages of staying in the city or country, such as overcrowding and detailed the advantages of the town-country (garden city), including lower prices,

⁸⁷³ The books which specifically influenced Howard were: Robert Blatchford *Merrie England* (London: Clarion Office, 1894); William Morris *News from Nowhere* (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1891); Leo Tolstoy, *Kingdom of God is Within You* (London: William Heinman, 1894); P. Kropotkin *Fields, Factories and Workshops: or Industry Combined with Agriculture and Brain Work with Manual Work* (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1891). Howard was also influenced by William Booth, *In Darkest England and the Way Out* (London: The Salvation Army, 1890).

⁸⁷⁴ Hall and Ward, *Sociable Cities*, 77.

⁸⁷⁵ Ebenezer Howard, *Tomorrow: A Peaceful Path to Social Reform* (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Ltd., 1898); Ebenezer Howard, *Garden Cities of Tomorrow* (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Ltd., 1902).

⁸⁷⁶ 'Sir Ebenezer Howard: British Urban Planner,' Encyclopaedia Britannica, accessed 17 December 2020, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Ebenezer-Howard>.

⁸⁷⁷ Hall, Ward, *Sociable Cities*, 23.

greater freedom and access to social and cultural functions.⁸⁷⁸ The first garden city established along Howard's principals were Letchworth, built in 1903 and Welwyn Garden City in 1920.⁸⁷⁹ British post-war new towns were built on a similar model and as a 'mark three' post-war new town, Howard's model was also important to Peterborough.

Peterborough was chosen for a new town expansion during the third phase of post-war designations. The first phase 'mark one' of new towns, which included Stevenage, were designated between 1945 and 1950, guided by the New Towns Act 1946 and developed around London, therefore designed to take in people displaced by the Second World War. New towns contained pedestrianised centres linked to neighbourhood units by landscaped roads which, in turn, were built around schools and smaller district centres. Residential and industrial areas were kept apart and there was plenty of green space, with walking and cycling routes away from the roads which were located near to major thoroughfares or motorways. 'Mark two' new towns were created after 1955 when slum clearances and rising birth rates created the need for more housing areas where there were already large populations, such as Telford near Birmingham, Skelmersdale and Runcorn in the Liverpool area, and Irvine and Stonehouse close to Glasgow.⁸⁸⁰ These developments were soon followed by the mark three new town designations in the early 1960s of Northampton, Milton Keynes and

⁸⁷⁸ Howard, *Tomorrow*, 8.

⁸⁷⁹ Encyclopaedia Britannica, *Ebenezer Howard*.

⁸⁸⁰ Hall and Ward, *Sociable Cities*, 57.

Peterborough. The Peterborough New Town development was expected to house 170-250,000 new residents.⁸⁸¹

The mark two and three towns were symbolic of rising living standards. The affluent worker and the integration of new employers should have made the trade union movement take an interest in the new town project. However, the extent of this interest was hard to analyse because very little academic research has been carried out on this matter, except for a study of Stevenage new town and building trade unions produced by Charlie Maguire, Linda Clarke and Christopher Wall.⁸⁸² However, in Peterborough, the trades council took an interest in the new town development as recorded in the minute books, with delegates acting as both workers for local industries and as modern outward-looking citizens interested in social and cultural matters.

In 1964 a feasibility study carried out to assess the suitability of mark three new towns was published. In it, Henry Wells author of the Government's report on the new wave of new towns, saw Peterborough as a progressive city with a moderately thinking local government and reportedly gave 'an excellent outline of the proposed future development of the city' at a PTUC meeting which took place on the 1 November.⁸⁸³

The development was granted 16,000 acres of land to provide employment and housing

⁸⁸¹ Ibid. 57.

⁸⁸² Charlie Maguire, Linda Clarke and Christopher Wall, "Through Trade Unionism you felt a belonging – you Belonged: Collectivism and the Self-Representation of Building Workers in Stevenage New Town," *Labour History Review* 81, 3 (2016): 221-236.

⁸⁸³ Town and Country Planning Association, 'A New Future for new Towns: Lessons from the TCPA New Towns Networks,' 2001, 37, https://tcpa.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/nfnt_final004-1.pdf; 'Peterborough Development Corporation 50 years ago', Peterborough Civic Society, accessed 17 December 2020, <https://www.peterboroughcivicsociety.org.uk/neneliving3.php>; PAS/TC/1/6, Peterborough Trades Union Council Executive and Committee Minutes, 1 January 1964-31 December 1966, 1 November 1964.

for 70,000 people, which aimed to double the city's population over the next twenty years by creating four free standing townships, Bretton, Orton, Paston and Castor linked by landscaped urban motorways. Robin Guthrie, social development officer in Peterborough saw the connection between the plan and Howard's model stating that it was 'so perfectly suited to the mobile and affluent society of a fully motorised age even before the end of the nineteenth century' and the growth in the ownership of private vehicles would be crucial for Peterborough's development.⁸⁸⁴

Although new town developments were organised by individual 'development corporations,' as established in the New Towns Act, local authorities retained planning powers which occasionally tested relationships between the two bodies. Moreover, new towns were funded through the government treasury with a 60-year loan after which the local authority could take control. Meanwhile, mark three expansions were unique in the way that four town councillors were given prominent roles on development corporation boards.⁸⁸⁵ In Peterborough two of these were also trades council delegates, Eddie Collinson, PTUC President (1967-70) and Charlie Swift. Trades council delegates were keen to follow the progress of the city's expansion and secretary Ernie Grunow of the Association of Scientific, Technical and Manual Staff wrote in the minutes of being 'amazed' by a coach trip of the development sites, which Swift organised for 47 delegates and their partners shortly after construction work started in 1968. The tour covered thirty miles and included a stop for refreshments at Peterborough Water

⁸⁸⁴ Robin Guthrie, "Expanding a Town: Peterborough's Example," *New Society* (1970): 16.

⁸⁸⁵ Hall, Ward, *Sociable Cities*, 801.

Works.⁸⁸⁶ The trip showed the extent of construction and the delegates' reactions towards the development demonstrated PTUC's early enthusiasm towards the plans.

However, new town projects were not always popular. PTUC presented evidence of this in the minutes when a discussion took place on the Citizen Council for Expansion (CCE), a panel of community activists interested in the new town development which delegates helped to establish. Grunow wrote in the minutes that the CCE 'were likely to disapprove in principle such expansion' and accused them of changing the organisation's objectives as well as trying to supplant the town council. Yet, a motion to withdraw PTUC from the CCE was defeated in 1966 before construction had even begun.⁸⁸⁷

Meanwhile, Harmer Nicholls the Conservative MP for Peterborough called for a debate in Parliament arguing that, 'I would like to have seen some of the smaller print explained, and I always felt that the Labour-controlled council accepted with too much enthusiasm and open-armed approval before probing the details further.' Harmer questioned the need for Peterborough to be expanded in this manner claiming it would happen whether the city was designated a new town or not – it would just develop more rapidly with the new town funding.⁸⁸⁸ In opposition to the views of both Harmer and the CCE, PTUC carried a motion confirming that, 'the executive committee fully

⁸⁸⁶ PAS, PAS/TC/1/7, Peterborough Trades Union Council Executive and Committee Minutes, 1 January 1954 - 31 December 1969, 6 October 1968; 16 February 1968.

⁸⁸⁷ Ebenezer Howard, *Tomorrow: A Peaceful Path to Social Reform* (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Ltd., 1898); *Minutes* – PAS, PAS/TC/1/6, Peterborough Trades Union Council Executive and Committee Minutes, 1 January 1964 - 31 December 1966, dated 6 February 1966.

⁸⁸⁸ 'Peterborough New Town,' Hansard, accessed 17 December 2020, <https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1967/nov/27/peterborough-new-town>.

supports the action of the city council in its attitude to the expansion of Peterborough.⁸⁸⁹

These matters illustrated the complexities involved in winning the support of local people for such a big project. Still, the new towns were controversial. They were accused of being ‘paternalist social-engineering experiments,’ and containing modernist, brutalist architecture made of dull looking concrete or large swathes of tinted glass, while the media showed images of young women pushing prams symbolising the family. Moreover, some people argued that new towns lacked soul and worried about the absence of functions associated with traditional towns, such as churches and universities.⁸⁹⁰ However, the old and new were linked in advertising for Peterborough new town through the image of actor Roy Kinnear who dressed as a Roman Centurion and adopted the slogan ‘the Peterborough effect’, while the Government described new towns as distinctly modern, using terms such as ‘futuristic’ and ‘civilised,’ with ‘lavish’ road systems in propaganda films which were designed to encourage people to move from London to the new townships.⁸⁹¹

PTUC remained firmly committed to the expansion plan for Peterborough and delegates submitted ideas and took up positions on committees. For instance, when a local newspaper asked the public for ideas to include in the development plans in spring

⁸⁸⁹ PAS, PAS/TC/1/16, Peterborough Trades Union Council Executive and Committee Minutes, 1 January 1964 - 31 December 1966, 23 January 1966.

⁸⁹⁰ Steve Rose, ‘Sterile or Stirring? Britain’s Love Hate Relationship with New Towns,’ The Guardian, accessed 25 February 2021, <https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2019/may/15/sterile-or-stirring-britains-love-hate-relationship-with-new-towns>.

⁸⁹¹ Terence Bendixon, *The Peterborough Effect: Reshaping the City* (Peterborough: Peterborough Development Corporation 1988), cover; ‘BFI Player, Peterborough: A City Fit to Live In’, British Film Institute, accessed 17 December 2020, <https://player.bfi.org.uk/free/film/watch-peterborough-a-city-fit-to-live-in-1971-online>.

1965 delegates submitted over 30 suggestions, and these were well received by the town planner Tom Hancock.⁸⁹² Hancock confirmed that many of the ideas would be incorporated into the designs when attending a PTUC meeting in March 1966. As a result of the meeting, PTUC set up a sub-committee to comment on the developing expansion plans and received regular visits and communications from Hancock and other officers from Peterborough Development Corporation (PDC).⁸⁹³ The addition of Collinson and Swift, illustrated that PTUC delegates had some influence on the PDC. However, that influence lessened in early 1972 when Collinson, organiser in the local branch of the National Union of Agricultural Labourers and Allied Worker (NUALAW), died in a car crash on 14 February.⁸⁹⁴

Despite the loss of Collinson, a PTUC delegate sat on the city centre improvement committee in December 1971 and in August PTUC were invited onto the social facilities committee by the PDC which looked at the social and recreational needs of new towns, keeping delegates in a powerful position.⁸⁹⁵ By taking up positions on the social facilities committee, PTUC delegates helped to create the social infrastructure of the new Peterborough townships. The infrastructures of new towns were designed to create communities where play areas, adventure playgrounds and sports facilities provided important recreational opportunities for children. The move to offer children the opportunity to experience traditionally rural activities in urban settings was popular

⁸⁹² PAS, PAS/TC/1/6, Peterborough Trades Union Council Executive and Committee Minutes, 1 January 1964 - 31 December 1966, 16 May 1965.

⁸⁹³ Ibid. 1 January 1964-31 December 1966, 15 August 1965; 5 March 1966; 20 March 1966.

⁸⁹⁴ 'Official Killed,' *Birmingham Daily Post*, 15 February 1972, 7.

⁸⁹⁵ PAS, PAS/TC/1/8, Peterborough Trades Union Council Executive and Committee Minutes, 1 January 1970 - 31 December 1973, 3 December 1972.

during the 1970s with the creation of urban farms, such as Peterborough's New Ark Adventure Playground, and country parks such as Ferry Meadows and it also gave them the opportunity to mix with other age groups.⁸⁹⁶ Therefore, Grunow was correct when recognising that PTUC would 'play a most important part,' by joining the social facilities committee.⁸⁹⁷

Employment was created in the course of new town development and that was sometimes a cause for concern, especially for construction workers. Worries for both workers and trade unionists included contracts in the construction industry known as 'lump labour,' where self-employed workers were paid a lump sum for an agreed amount of work. As a result of the scheme, lump labour relieved employers of providing sick pay or contributing towards national insurance and pension schemes. Crucially, health and safety policies were not enforced.⁸⁹⁸ Lump labour contracts were standard from the days of the mark one new towns; however, there were also other grievances among construction workers as seen in the mark one development of Stevenage.⁸⁹⁹

The development plans for Stevenage were ambitious with six new neighbourhoods containing 10,000 people each alongside social and cultural facilities. Construction workers were employed from around the London area, many of whom had recently finished their national service, and were originally accommodated in hostels and housed after six months. It was that housing scheme rather than lump labour which led to the

⁸⁹⁶ Colin Ward, *The Child in the City* (London: Bedford Square Press, 1990), 165.

⁸⁹⁷ PAS, PAS/TC/1/7, Peterborough Trades Union Council Executive and Committee Minutes, 1 January 1967 - 31 December 1969, 24 August 1969.

⁸⁹⁸ Charlie McGuire, Linda Clarke and Christine Wall, 'Battles on the Barbican: The Struggle for Trade Unionism in the British Building Industry, 1965-67,' *History Workshop Journal* 75 (2013): 33.

⁸⁹⁹ Charlie Maguire, *Building a Community: Construction Workers in Stevenage 1950-1970* (London: University of Westminster, 2011), 11.

first real dispute of new town construction workers in Stevenage, which resulted in a builder being sacked on Stevenage's Terson's site in 1951. The outcome was a meeting of trade unionists in the Amalgamated Union of Building Trades followed by a short strike which continued until the employee was reinstated. This first dispute led to the emergence of powerful trade unions in Stevenage, a place where 90 per cent of construction workers were unionised, and some had past experience of trade unions in London.⁹⁰⁰ However, this did not mean that trade union organisation had not taken place previously in Stevenage, as a trades council had been established in the district in 1918.⁹⁰¹ However, renewed trade union activism did result in builders winning better pay and conditions as they took part in a collective movement to improve the living conditions for working-class people through the new town developments.⁹⁰² Although, the unionisation of construction workers was not mentioned in the PTUC minutes, lump labour was an issue in Peterborough.

Lump labour was clearly a wider cause for concern in Peterborough than just in the new town development. For instance, PTUC delegates were keen to support the Shrewsbury Pickets arrested for conspiracy during a strike against lump labour conditions in 1973.⁹⁰³ A motion from the National Union of Public Employees (NUPE) – a branch of which was set up for the PDC and affiliated to PTUC in 1973 - noted with concern 'charges of conspiracy against building workers in North Wales and

⁹⁰⁰ Ibid. 16-17.

⁹⁰¹ Alan Clinton, *The Trade Union Rank and File: Trades Councils in Britain 1900-40* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1977), 196.

⁹⁰² Maguire, Clarke, Wall, *Through Trade Unionism you felt a belonging – you Belonged*, 215.

⁹⁰³ '1972 Building Workers Strike,' The Official Shrewsbury 24 Campaign, accessed 27 February 1971, <https://www.shrewsbury24campaign.org.uk/history/the-1972-strike/>

Birmingham' and urged all possible support from PTUC to defend them against victimisation.⁹⁰⁴ Meanwhile, closer to home, T. Gill and I. Jordan, regional organiser and secretary of the Union of Construction, Allied Trades and Technicians (UCATT) spoke at a PTUC meeting on 1 October 1972, where it was recorded that 96 out of 118 construction workers were self-employed and that there was a shortage of national insurance cards. The location of the site was omitted from the minutes; however, it was suggested at the meeting that PTUC should 'push all connected in the right direction.'⁹⁰⁵ Yet, it was not until the spring of 1975 when the minutes observed that an improvement had been made when Gill, who was also a delegate to King's Lynn trades council, reported that the PDC and Peterborough City Council had decided to phase out lump labour over the next twelve months. UCATT called for a national register of employers issuing lump labour contracts and PTUC agreed to form a sub-committee to look into the controversial employment practise.⁹⁰⁶ Nonetheless, it was recorded in the minutes of a meeting on 11 December 1978 between PTUC and Wyndham Thomas, General Manager of the PDC, that lump labour was still being used in the construction of the new town. Therefore, PTUC's failure to eliminate lump labour from construction workers in Peterborough, suggested that delegates wielded little influence with the PDC when it came to industrial matters.

⁹⁰⁴ MRC, MSS.292D/79/138, PTUC Yearbook 1974; PAS, PAS/TC/1/8, Peterborough Trades Union Council Executive and Committee Minutes, 1 January 1970 - 31 December 1973, 2 September 1972.

⁹⁰⁵ PAS, PAS/TC/1/8, Peterborough Trades Union Council Executive and Committee Minutes, 1 January 1970 - 31 December 1973, 1 October 1972.

⁹⁰⁶ PAS, PAS/TC/1/9, Peterborough Trades Union Council Executive and Committee Minutes, 1 January 1974 - 31 December 1977, 4 May 1975; 18 May 1975.

As well as creating employment in the construction industry, the PDC attempted to attract employers to the city to generate work for the new town residents. This was another area where PTUC delegates attempted to use their influence as trade unionists. Development corporations devised economic strategies to attract businesses to new towns and as a booming industrial city, with decent transport links to London by both road and rail and with plenty of space for development, Peterborough quickly established new employment opportunities.⁹⁰⁷ For Peterborough the economic strategy lay in forsaking the engineering industries and attracting modern public and private sector organisations instead. As a result, a passport office was established and the organisation's branch of the Civil Service Personnel Association affiliated to PTUC in 1969.⁹⁰⁸ Additionally, in 1977, travel agency Thomas Cook moved its headquarters from London to Peterborough.⁹⁰⁹

Throughout the period PTUC tried to hold the PDC to account over employment opportunities. For instance, on 2 May 1971 they requested the 'PDC to fully disclose their detailed plans to bring industry to the city to help combat unemployment and redundancy.' This was followed by a meeting on 12 September which was attended by PDC representatives and a number of the other employers in the city, who were, according to the minutes, 'not ones to argue with.' Yet the next big meeting of the trades council, PDC and employers did not take place until 11 December 1978 when

⁹⁰⁷ Guthrie, *'Expanding a New Town'*, 215.

⁹⁰⁸ PAS, PAS/TC/1/7, Peterborough Trades Union Council Executive and Committee Minutes, 1 January 1967 - 31 December 1969, 12 Feb 1969.

⁹⁰⁹ Peter Tyler, Emil Evanhuis and Ron Martin, 'Structural Transformation, Adaptability and City Economic Evolutions: An ESRC-Funded Project Under the ESRC Urban Transformations Initiative, Working Paper 10, Case Study Peterborough,' 2018, 77, <https://www.cityevolutions.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/180717-Working-Paper-10-Peterborough-Case-Study-Report-July-2018.pdf>.

there was 5 per cent unemployment in the city and during the two-hour discussion Thomas was confident that new industrial work and office jobs would be created over the next ten years. Thomas argued that the future looked bright. 'Trades council delegates made a good account of themselves', PTUC secretary Tom Browning recorded hopefully in the minutes.⁹¹⁰ However, PTUC appeared once again to lack influence on industrial matters and certainly among the city's employers.

This analysis of the new towns shows that despite PTUC's lack of influence over the industrial matters created by the new town development, individual trade unions such as UCATT and the CSPA would have more sway. However, PTUC managed to find itself in a position where it could influence the social aspect of the new town development, by integrating delegates as citizens of a modern social city. The activities and discussions of PTUC delegates in the minute books demonstrated the complex role of trades councils and a continuing confusion over their functions. However, the minutes also demonstrated that PTUC delegates found a role to influence the planning and progress of a modern urban development, to make them community ambassadors.

Trade Unions, Migrant Workers and the Anti-Racism Movement

The new town project led to some interesting debates among trade unionists which linked to social problems also emerging in other towns and cities across post-war Britain. For instance, at a PTUC meeting held on 7 March 1965, a delegate feared 'the

⁹¹⁰ PAS, PAS/TC/1/8, Peterborough Trades Union Council Executive and Committee Minutes, 1 January 1970 - 31 December 1973, 2 May 1971; 3 October 1971; PAS/TC/1/9, Peterborough Trades Union Council Executive and Committee Minutes, 1 January 1974 - 31 December 1977, 11 Dec 1978.

actions of some people in the city,' as 'the expansion of the population... may include many coloured workers.'⁹¹¹ The delegate therefore linked the development of the new town to the trend of hostility which was shown by some sections of British society and encouraged by militant nationalists during the post-war decades and into the 1970s.⁹¹²

Residents of Peterborough were used to immigration during the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. First there was an influx of railway workers and engineers from 1849 and after the Second World War some German families settled in the city after their release from Prisoner of War camps.⁹¹³ Britain needed alternative labour to plug the gap after one million women were stepped down from the work force post-war, while 810,000 soldiers were still posted overseas. Additionally, 600 Polish parachutists were employed in the brick yards, while European Volunteer Workers from the Ukraine arrived in the city in 1949, some of the 8,320 ex-prisoners of war from that country which extended further out than the Government would have liked. There were approximately one million displaced people in total who were in effect stateless refugees and 80,000 of them were taken from Austrian and German prison camps and were given a new life in Britain in return for plugging the labour shortage.⁹¹⁴ They were seen to making a positive contribution to the British economy and so they were well

⁹¹¹ PAS, PAS/TC/1/6, Peterborough Trades Union Council Executive and Committee Minutes, 1 January 1964 - 31 December 1966, 7 March 1965.

⁹¹² Thurlow, *Fascism in Britain*, 230. See, for example, Panikos Panayi, *An Immigration History of Britain: Multicultural Racism since 1800* (London: Longman, 2010), especially Chapter Five: 'Xenophobia and Racism.'

⁹¹³ H. F. Tebbs, *Peterborough: A History* (Cambridge: Oleander Press, 1979), 183.

⁹¹⁴ Johannes Dieter-Steinert, 'British Post-War Migration Policy and Displaced Persons in Europe,' in *The Disentanglement of Populations: Migration, Expulsion and Displacement in Post-War Europe 1944-9*, ed. Jessica Reinisch and Elizabeth White (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 229, 232.

regarded.⁹¹⁵ Displaced people were followed by Italian men who were invited to work in the brick yards through 'economic invitations' in the 1950s.⁹¹⁶

The encouragement of immigration in the immediate post-war years was part of a framework created by the British government to enlist workers to assist with the country's reconstruction and to alleviate labour shortages.⁹¹⁷ PTUC delegates Patchett and Utting were hostile to the use of displaced labour calling foreign employees 'scum of the earth' and 'blacklegs' accusing them of stealing jobs and causing unemployment among returning ex-servicemen after the Second World War. This discussion came about when the local branch of the AUBTW put forward a resolution in 1948 saying that foreign labour was no longer needed now that the night shifts had been stopped at the brickworks.⁹¹⁸ It was mostly Italians who were employed in the brickyards. Usually the Italians were placed in towns in the south east of England where housing was cheap and as a result they developed strong community ties.⁹¹⁹ In Peterborough, the Italian brick workers were housed in local hostels but they were accused of laziness as demonstrated in a newspaper article published on 1 April 1960, which said that, 'a high proportion of

⁹¹⁵ Diana Kay and Robert Miles, 'Refugees or Migrant Workers? The Case of the European Volunteer Workers in Britain (1946-51),' *Journal of Refugee Studies* 1, 3 / 4, (1988): 214-15, 217, 222.

⁹¹⁶ David S. Pearl, 'Legal Problems of Immigrants: A Case,' *Journal of the Indian Law Institute* 22, 1 (1980): 82.

⁹¹⁷ McDowell, *Working Lives*, 275.

⁹¹⁸ 'Trades Council Attack on Displaced Persons,' *Peterborough Standard*, 10 March 1948, 5.

⁹¹⁹ Margherito Spiro, 'Italian Post-War Migration to Britain: Cinema and the Second Generation,' (429-443) in *The Handbook of Diasporas, Media and Culture* edited by Jessica Retis and Roza Tsagarousianou (Hoboken: John Wiley and Sons Inc., 2019): 432.

the men seem to have no work to do. They hang around a certain café in the town every day except Thursday when they cheer on their countrymen at wrestling contests.’⁹²⁰

Peterborough’s residents were also accused of ‘apathy’ towards the refugees who arrived in 1956 following the response of the Soviet Union to an uprising in Hungary which resulted in 200,000 displaced people.⁹²¹ The Hungarian refugees were settled in 37 countries within three years, including Britain which took in total of 21,000 Hungarians, where they were generally welcomed as heroes deserving of charity.⁹²² But there was further indignation towards 118 of the Peterborough refugees who were housed at the Westwood hostel, as the majority declined to register at the employment exchange and 73 refused to work at all. This resulted in members of the Longthorpe branch of the NUALAW refusing to contribute to the local Hungarian Refugee Fund.⁹²³ Consequently, with emotions running high, PTUC received a letter from the Mayor in June 1958 inviting delegates to a meeting to address the attitude of the town towards the refugees, which they responded to positively.⁹²⁴ The reaction of Peterborough’s NUALAW branch was typical, for the initial enthusiasm towards the refugees soon changed after their arrival. Refusals to work, like those witnessed by the NUALAW gave

⁹²⁰ ‘Building Italian Communities: Caterers, Industrial Recruits and Professionals,’ *Our Migration Story*, accessed 03 February 2021 <https://www.ourmigrationstory.org.uk/oms/building-italian-communities-catering-war-service-industrial-recruitment>; ‘Notes and News by Odd Man Out,’ *Peterborough Standard*, 1 April 1960, 9.

⁹²¹ ‘Is Peterborough Doing All It Can for the Refugees?’ *Peterborough Advertiser*, 21 December 1956, 1; ‘Everyone Here Wants to Help You,’ Becky Taylor, accessed 03 February 2021. <https://www.historyworkshop.org.uk/everyone-here-wants-to-help-you-international-co-operation-refugee-rights-and-the-1956-hungarian-refugee-crisis/>.

⁹²² Amanda Cellini, ‘The Resettlement of Hungarian Refugees in 1956,’ *Forced Migration Review* 54 (2017): 6.

⁹²³ ‘Farm Workers Say No to the Hungary Appeal,’ *Peterborough Advertiser*, 7 December 1956, 1.

⁹²⁴ PAS, PAS/TC/1/4, Peterborough Trades Union Council Executive and Committee Minutes, 1 January 1958 - 31 December 1960, 6 June 1958.

the impression that the Hungarians were being 'difficult' and it soon became clear that they would rather be living in the US and Canada than in Britain, which was interpreted as a rejection of British charity.⁹²⁵ However, as a body, PTUC were keen to assist them.

As well as white Europeans, Peterborough also took in citizens from across the globe when the British Nationality Act of 1948 gave Commonwealth citizens the right to settle in Britain without restriction.⁹²⁶ Migrants included Afro-Caribbean communities from the West Indies, followed by individuals from undeveloped areas of South Asia, Pakistan and India who arrived in Peterborough from the late 1950s.⁹²⁷ However, in a change of policy, the subsequent Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1962 introduced by Harold Macmillan's Conservative government prevented Commonwealth citizens from settling in Britain, except for those who had the required skills needed to work in specific sectors.⁹²⁸ The new legislation was also designed to end 'chain migration,' a concept demonstrated by immigrants who arrived in Peterborough from the village of Morah Bari in Pakistan, the first of whom relocated to Britain in 1958 and once settled, friends and family followed.⁹²⁹ Still, PTUC welcomed new arrivals as seen in Grunow's response to the debate on 7 March 1965, which declared that 'as far as we are concerned, there

⁹²⁵ Becky Taylor, 'Their Only Words of English Were "Thank You": Rights, Gratitude and "Deserving" Hungarian Refugees to Britain in 1956,' *Journal of British Studies* 55 (2016): 130, 138.

⁹²⁶ Sarah Ansari, 'Subjects or Citizens? India, Pakistan and the 1948 British Nationality Act,' *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 41, 2 (2013): 286.

⁹²⁷ Panikos Panayi, 'Immigration, multiculturalism and Racism', *20th Century Britain: Economic, Cultural and Social Change*, ed. Francesca Carnival and Julie Marie Strange (London: Routledge, 2014), 248.

⁹²⁷ Pearl, 'Legal Problems of Immigrants', 82.

⁹²⁸ Ian R. G. Spencer, *British Immigration Policy since 1939: The Making of Multi-Racial Britain* (Abingdon: Taylor Francis Group 2015), 129.

⁹²⁹ Panayi, *Immigration, multiculturalism and Racism*, 249; 'My Hero, My Role Model and My Late Father,' Raja Tahir Masood, accessed 12 February 2021, <http://www.british-pakistani.co.uk/my-hero-role-model.html>.

would be no colour bar nor racial discrimination of any kind... the good citizens of Peterborough would see to it that this was so.⁹³⁰

There was underlying hostility toward outsiders, as seen in the case of the Hungarian refugees, and it depended on which cultural group had arrived in Britain last as to who were the victims at any one time.⁹³¹ Not all trade unionists shared the same liberal attitude as PTUC. With regards to race this was because the rank and file was concerned with keeping their terms and conditions by concentrating on the workplace shop steward, informal bargaining and unofficial strikes while being suspicious of newcomers they thought might negatively affect them. Trades councils, on the other hand, took more of an interest in their communities and were therefore more likely to witness the wider social problems faced by Commonwealth migrants than the rank and file. Moreover, it was clear that union leaders, who were more interested in the officialdom, leadership, bureaucratic sides of the movement, did not understand how to deal with ethnicity during the 1950s and 1960s.⁹³² This was because unions were male dominated with old-fashioned ideas which consisted of feeling threatened that a newcomer would drive down wages or take their jobs. They were part of the British establishment.⁹³³

Yet, even in the most enlightened of organisations the occasional dissenting voice could be heard. For instance, in 1958, the same year that Morah Bari's first resident arrived in Britain, PTUC agreed to support a Labour Party resolution calling for

⁹³⁰ PAS, PAS/TC/1/6, Peterborough Trades Union Council Executive and Committee Minutes, 1 January 1964 - 31 December 1966, dated 7 March 1965.

⁹³¹ Panayi, *An Immigration History of Britain*, 26.

⁹³² Jonathan Zeitlin, "'Rank and Filism'" In *British Labour History: A Critique*, *International Review of Social History* 34, 1 (1989): 43, 45.

⁹³³ Wrigley, *British Trade Union Since 1903*, 2-3.

legislation to prohibit any discrimination regarding race, colour or creed. During the discussion J. W. Cooper agreed to the motion describing the 'colour bar' as 'deplorable' and there was unanimous support; however, Councillor H. Cox accused immigrants of 'getting into the country too easily,' of being a financial burden on the state and of 'taking up work that an English man could do.' Yet Cox also spoke of 'an influx of Pakistani's [*sic*]' who were unemployed, thus contradicting his argument, before concluding that immigration should be restricted.⁹³⁴ Cox's tone reflected that of a group of white trade unionists who were concerned about losing employment to cheaper immigrant workers, a concern of the British labour movement long before the Second World War, yet trade unions did little to alleviate their fears, being ambivalent regarding their position.⁹³⁵

Trade unionists were as confused in their opinions on race as the general public were. For instance, during the late 1950s, Bournemouth trades council wrote to the TUC expressing concerns over an influx of labour but made it clear that their complaint did not include people from the Commonwealth. The Midland Region Advisory Committee agreed, while Andover and District Trades Council complained about workers coming to Britain from anywhere but the Empire. But some trades councils were more relaxed – Shingfield and Bedford Trades Councils for instance spoke out against a colour bar preventing Jamaicans from working.⁹³⁶ Of similar opinion was PTUC President George Fovargue, a delegate from the Musicians Union who was in favour of immigration and

⁹³⁴ 'Discrimination against Colour,' *Peterborough Citizen and Advertiser*, 9 September 1958, 1-2.

⁹³⁵ Davies, *Comrade or Brother*, 250-51; Alistair J. Reid, *United We Stand: A History of Britain's Trade Unions* (London: Allen Lane, 2004), 344.

⁹³⁶ Kathleen Paul, *Whitewashing Britain: Race and Citizenship in the Post-War Era* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1997) 140.

argued that if the government prevented 'coloureds' they would also have to stop Irish, Polish and Czechoslovakian workers coming into Britain. Fovargue concluded that the government was unable to stop the movement of any people and the rest of the delegates agreed.⁹³⁷

The motion was discussed in the wake of the Nottingham and Notting Hill 'race riots' which turned issues of race in Britain from overseas colonial problems into domestic national matters.⁹³⁸ The motion also reflected on the colour bar which excluded people of Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME) backgrounds from certain jobs, workplace development and promotion.⁹³⁹ These policies which were quietly enforced by employers, trade unions and local labour exchanges.⁹⁴⁰ Additionally, the colour bar extended to entertainment venues in many towns and cities and PTUC specifically contacted Wolverhampton trades council to offer support to the Musicians Union who had advised their members not to play at the Scala Ballroom or other venues which enacted racist policies.⁹⁴¹ However, despite some opposition to the colour bar within the trade union movement, there were still pockets of resistance to black workers. Xenophobia, language differences and contrasting cultures led to tension among

⁹³⁷ 'Discrimination against Colour,' *Peterborough Citizen and Advertiser*, 9 September 1958, 2.

⁹³⁸ See for example Kenetta Hammond Perry, *London is the Place for Me: Black Britain's and the Politics of Race* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), on 1958 race riots; Matthew Vaughan, 'Accepting the 'D' Word: Discrimination in 1960s UK Academic Discourse,' *Race and Class* 69, 2 (2019): 87.

⁹³⁹ Lorna Chessman and Dr. Biko Agozino, *From Immigrants to Ethnic Minority: Making Black Community in Britain* (Oxfordshire: Taylor and Francis Group, 2000), 132.

⁹⁴⁰ M. Duffield, *Black Radicalism and Politics of De-Industrialisation: The Hidden History of Indian Foundry Workers* (Aldershot: Avebury, 1988), 28.

⁹⁴¹ 'Colour Bar in Ballroom: Challenge to Union,' *The Manchester Guardian*, 19 June 1958, 3.

workers, although the official line of the TUC was in opposition to discrimination.⁹⁴² Yet unconsciously the trade union body perpetuated the myth that black and white workers could not integrate during the 1950s and 1960s and this caused many trade unions to actively stop migrant workers from becoming members.⁹⁴³

Consequently, white workers took industrial action to prevent people of colour from being employed in their workplaces, such as bus drivers in West Bromwich who took industrial action over the employment of a black conductor in 1955.⁹⁴⁴ Moreover, white workers, such as those in the Transport and General Workers Union were also loath to support the campaigns of black members as illustrated during the Bristol Bus Boycott in 1963.⁹⁴⁵ On 23 April 1968, trade union members from the London docks marched on Parliament alongside Smithfield Market porters in support of Enoch Powell, the Conservative MP for South Down who was removed from the position of Shadow Defence Secretary after delivering the controversial 'Rivers of Blood' speech.⁹⁴⁶ The speech was a response to the Race Relations Act 1968, legislation designed to prevent racism in housing, work and local government in which he spoke about the dangers of

⁹⁴² Henry Pelling, *A History of Trade British Trade Unionism* (Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1976), 272; 'Statement on Recent Disturbances,' Britain at Work, accessed 16 February 2021, <http://www.unionhistory.info/britainatwork/emuweb/objects/nofdigi/tuc/imagedisplay.php?irn=1000134>.

⁹⁴³ 'Race and the Trade Unions', Britain at Work, accessed 23 November 2020, <http://www.unionhistory.info/britainatwork/narrativedisplay.php?type=raceandtradeunions>.

⁹⁴⁴ Claire Mansour, 'The Cross-National Diffusion of the American Civil Rights Movement: The Example of the Bristol Bus Boycott of 1963,' *Miranda: Revue Pluridisciplinaire du Monde Anglophone* 10, 10 (2015): 5.

⁹⁴⁵ 'Race and the Trade Unions', Britain at Work, accessed 23 November 2020, <http://www.unionhistory.info/britainatwork/narrativedisplay.php?type=raceandtradeunions>.

⁹⁴⁶ Liz Fekete, 'Dockers Against Racism: An Interview with Micky Fenn,' *Race and Class* 58, 1 (2016): 55.

immigration from former colonies.⁹⁴⁷ Powell particularly focussed on immigration, the West Indies, India, Pakistan and Africa and he argued that they should be repatriated and treated the same as any other immigrants.⁹⁴⁸ But it came at a time of decolonisation, the process of colonial disintegration for the British Empire which moved apace from 1945 onwards leaving Britain ruling over a global population of 5 million, falling from 700 million at the end of the Second World War.⁹⁴⁹ For people like Powell who were still defined by the nationhood, sovereignty and Empire, the dilemma of decolonisation was illustrated through racialised arguments.⁹⁵⁰

Like those from other trades councils, PTUC delegates were not attached to the same ideas. For instance, Mickie Carr, leader of Nottingham trades council's colour bar sub-committee, tried to sum up the root of racism when he wrote in 1954 that 'there is no evidence of the existence of colour prejudice to any influential degree prior to the capitalist class and slave traders – on the contrary a glance into early history shows the opposite.'⁹⁵¹ Most trades council delegates were in general agreement that racism belonged to the capitalist, imperial elites and believed that they were the polar opposite - championing nationalisation, independence for Commonwealth nations and the working class. Naturally, providing a welcome to migrants was part of their ideology and

⁹⁴⁷ Claire Alexander and Bridget Byrne, 'Introduction,' in *Ethnicity, Race and Equality in the UK: State of the Nation*, ed. Bridget Byrne, Claire Alexander, Omar Khan, James Nazroo and William Shankley (Bristol: Policy Press, 2020), 3.

⁹⁴⁸ Andrew Crines, Tim Heppell and Michael Hill, 'Enoch Powell's "Rivers of Blood" Speech: A Rhetorical Political Analysis,' *British Politics* 11, 1 (2015): 3-4.

⁹⁴⁹ Nicholas White, *Decolonisation: The British Experience Since 1945* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014), 37.

⁹⁵⁰ Lindsay Aqui, Michael Kenny and Nick Pearce, 'The Empire of England: Enoch Powell, Sovereignty and the Constitution of Nation,' *Twentieth Century British History* 32, 2 (2021): 239, 245.

⁹⁵¹ *Nottingham and District Trades Union Council: 1890-1990 Centenary* (Nottingham: Nottingham TUC, 1990), 87.

in a response to Powell, delegates gave unanimous support for a motion submitted from the Association of Teachers in Technical Institutions in June 1968, which demanded an end to discrimination on account of race, colour and religion. The minutes relayed that PTUC 'deplores any action which might increase racial tension. It calls upon all organisations to affiliate to the trades council to give their unanimous support to actions designed to end discrimination.'⁹⁵² PTUC official Tom Browning later referred to 1968 as a 'crisis year' dominated by 'the sickening rise of Powellism.'⁹⁵³

It was not until the 1970s that the TUC planned to promote equality for ethnic minority workers when strategies were devised during a period of reflection on attitudes towards race.⁹⁵⁴ This took place when it became clear to some unions that BAME workers had become 'a permanent component of the labour force.'⁹⁵⁵ Yet despite the change in attitude, BAME workers were still subject to discrimination from some parts of the trade union movement because at least half of white collar shop stewards claimed to be politically right-wing or centre.⁹⁵⁶ Moreover, at the inaugural meeting of the Peterborough branch of the Anti-Nazi league (ANL) in August 1978, local lecturer Roger Moore of the Workers Educational Association accused 80 per cent of white workers of 'racialism', adding that 'there is a terrible problem squaring their trades

⁹⁵² PAS/TC/1/7, Peterborough Trades Union Council Executive Committee Minutes, 1 January 1967 – 31 December 1969, 9 June 1968.

⁹⁵³ Tom Browning Manuscript, 39, in possession of the Author.

⁹⁵⁴ Heather Connolly, Stefania Marino, Miguel Martinez Lucio and Richard Hyman, *The Politics of Social Inclusion and Labour Representation: Immigrants and Trade Unions in the European Context* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2015), 13-14.

⁹⁵⁵ Steve Jeffreys and Nouria Ouali, 'Trade Unions and Racism in London, Brussels and Paris Public Transport,' *Industrial Relations Journal* 38, 5 (20017): 408.

⁹⁵⁶ Dominic Sandbrook, *State of Emergency, The Way we Were: Britain 1970-1974* (London: Allen Lane, 2010), 101.

union loyalty with their racism.⁹⁵⁷ Although there were no suggestions in the PTUC minutes that Moore's figures were incorrect, the assertion was challenged at a meeting of the Cambridgeshire County Association of Trades Councils on 25 September 1978 where Grunow, Browning, H. G. Ellis and Ernie Hackney represented Peterborough.⁹⁵⁸

It was the change in economic policy favouring North America and Europe which resulted in the British government neglecting the countries of the empire from the 1950s. Withdrawal from the colonies was therefore caused by post-war economic factors but was also caused by the security concerns created by the Cold War.⁹⁵⁹ The racism experienced by Commonwealth migrants in particular demonstrated that Britain was not prepared for a future without its Empire and the government refused to seriously challenge racism until the 1968 Commonwealth Immigrants Act.⁹⁶⁰ The TUC's slow approach to implementing equalities strategies caused frustration for more committed trade unionists although there was an emergence of formal committees and anti-racist groups in the early 1970s.⁹⁶¹ Through these formations, trades councils supported BAME members and played a prominent role in local and national anti-fascist activities. For instance, PTUC delegates were invited to attend a local community

⁹⁵⁷ PAS/TC/1/10, Peterborough Trades Union Council Executive and Committee Minutes, 1 January 1978 - 31 December 1982, 20 August 1978.

⁹⁵⁸ The inaugural meeting of CCATC took place on 23 February 1974. The introduction of county associations of trades councils was part of a reorganisation of TUC regions during the early 1970s. This coincided with changes on in the borders of Northamptonshire and Cambridgeshire, placing Peterborough in the latter. The county association included representatives from the trades councils in Cambridge, Wisbech, St Neots and Huntingdon; Cambridge County Association of Trades Councils Minutes Book, 25 September 1978 – in possession of the Author.

⁹⁵⁹ White, *Decolonisation*, 33.

⁹⁶⁰ Andrew S. Thompson, *The Empire Strikes Back? The Impact of Imperialism on Britain from the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2005), 219.

⁹⁶¹ Evan Smith, *British Communism and the Politics of Race* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2017) 143.

relations council meeting in March 1972.⁹⁶² However, there was no further action until Mayor Ray Laxton invited delegates to attend a meeting two years later in February 1974 which resulted in the creation of Peterborough Council for Community Relations (PCCR) where PTUC delegate Stanley Gascoine took up a position on the executive committee.⁹⁶³ PCCR later became the Peterborough Community Relations Council (PCRC), one of many organisations supported by the Commission for Racial Equality a body established by the Race Relations Act 1976.⁹⁶⁴

Community Relation Councils (CRCs) were established to eliminate discrimination, to open up opportunities to BAME communities and to promote good relationships between different races. To achieve these aims PCRC applied for funding grants such as the £222.63 received for a summer play scheme in early 1979. Richard Crowson, secretary of PCRC and Peterborough city council's community relations officer on racial equality, kept PTUC updated with letters and leaflets and often spoke at their meetings including at one held on October 1976 where Crowson spoke about the deterioration of relationships between black and white people and further Notting Hill riots.⁹⁶⁵ Crowson also demanded a commitment from trade unions to cooperate in the push for equal opportunities legislation through a Parliamentary Bill. As a result of Crowson's visit,

⁹⁶² PAS/TC/1/8, Peterborough Trades Union Council Executive and Committee Minutes, 1 January 1970 - 31 December 1973, 5 March 1972.

⁹⁶³ PAS/TC/1/9, Peterborough Trades Union Council Executive and Committee Minutes, 1 January 1974 - 31 December 1977, 17 February 1974; 7 April 1974.

⁹⁶⁴ Email from Alison Davies to Hazel Perry, 11 February 2021 – in possession of the Author.

⁹⁶⁵ *Annual Report of the Commission for Racial Equality: January to December 1979* (London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1980), 2, 63, 44; PAS, PAS/TC/1/9, Peterborough Trades Union Council Executive and Committee Minutes, 1 January 1974 - 31 December 1977, 5 September 1976; See for example Tony Moore, 'The 1976 Riot' in *Policing Notting Hill: 50 Years of Turbulence* (London: Waterside Press, 2013) for Notting Hill riots 1976.

PTUC established a sub-committee to deal with race relations.⁹⁶⁶ Crowson also spoke at a PTUC meeting on 3 December 1978, stating that although there were no obvious signs of racism on the surface in Peterborough, there were concerns as to what was happening underneath but this was indicated through angry exchanges in the newspapers over the reasons for unemployment and left and right politics rather than physical attacks.⁹⁶⁷ Crowson's criticisms also extended to the way that industrial tribunals dealt with race relations, which was of interest to PTUC delegates who had a seat on the local tribunal body.⁹⁶⁸ But local trade unionists joined the Right to Work campaign and due to PTUC's links to working class communities, delegates were elected to attend PCRC AGMs throughout the 1970s and were able to assist providing support for Peterborough's BAME population.⁹⁶⁹

As well as joining formal committees, PTUC delegates were involved in supporting local trade union members affected by British immigration laws. In 1973, PTUC welcomed the head of the first Ugandan Asian family to settle in Peterborough, Vigji Khutti. Khutti was one of the 28,000 Ugandan Asians who settled in Britain following expulsion from Uganda in August 1972 by Idi Amin.⁹⁷⁰ Khutti had been a member of the cooperative movement and organiser for the National Union of Plantation and

⁹⁶⁶ PAS, PAS/TC/1/8, Peterborough Trades Union Council Executive and Committee Minutes, 1 January 1974 - 31 December 1977, 3 October 1976.

⁹⁶⁷ PAS/TC/1/10, Peterborough Trades Union Council Executive and Committee Minutes, 1 January 1977 - 31 December 1981, 3 December 1978.

⁹⁶⁸ Ibid. 3 December 1978; PAS/TC/1/9, Peterborough Trades Union Council Executive and Committee Minutes, 1 January 1974 - 31 December 1977, 7 March 1976.

⁹⁶⁹ PAS, PAS/TC/1/9, Peterborough Trades Union Council Executive and Committee Minutes, 1 January 1974 - 31 December 1977, 1 May 1977.

⁹⁷⁰ Becky Taylor, 'Good Citizens? Ugandan Asians, Volunteers and Race Relations in 1970s Britain,' *History Workshop Journal* 85 (2018): 121-22.

Agricultural Workers in Uganda. Within a year of settling in Britain Khutti obtained membership of the Cooperative Society and the Amalgamated Union of Engineer Workers (AUEW) as a skilled engineer. Khutti's activism within the AUEW enabled the Ugandan Asian to become a PTUC delegate.⁹⁷¹

Khutti appreciated the cultural differences between his own background and the majority of other trades council delegates. This is demonstrated in the 1973 yearbook with a response to an anecdote involving two sibling delegates spilling beer. Khutti 'appreciated the story when told,' and 'thought his country was not the only one with strange customs. And anyway, it was a waste of good beer.'⁹⁷² If Khutti was in a privileged position as a skilled worker, other unskilled BAME workers had a more difficult time when it came to being accepted into the workplace. Employment was often seasonal or contractual and limited to the textile industry and kitchen and waiter jobs, in transport, communication or in the National Health Service where, by the 1970s, 18-20,000 registered doctors in the UK were born elsewhere.⁹⁷³

The case of 'Brother' Dhanji who was concerned about deportation following a spell of unemployment, illustrated the difficulties faced by unskilled BAME workers in Britain during the 1970s. Following a meeting in June 1975, PTUC delegates agreed on a strategy to support Dhanji's trade union branch to campaign for him to obtain leave to

⁹⁷¹ PAS, PAS/TC/1/8, Peterborough Trades Union Council Executive and Committee Minutes, 1 January 1970 - 31 December 1973, 3 December 1972; 7 January 1973.

⁹⁷² MRC, MSS.292D/79/138, PTUC Yearbook 1973, 8.

⁹⁷³ A. Sivanandan, *A Different Hunger: Writer's on Black Resistance* (London: Pluto Press, 2015), 103-05; Julian M. Simpson, Aneez Esmail, Virinder S. Kalra and Stephanie J. Snow, 'Writing Migrants Back into NHS History: Addressing a 'collective amnesia' and its Policy Implications,' *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine* 103, 10 (2010), 392.

remain in Britain.⁹⁷⁴ PTUC also informed the National Council of Civil Liberties, a human rights organisation established in 1934 to campaign against police brutality towards protestors, which PTUC affiliated to from at least 1949.⁹⁷⁵ However, Dhanji secured work in the local hospital a few weeks later and the matter was no longer relevant.⁹⁷⁶

Other trades councils approached the issue of anti-racism differently. Chelmsford trades council, for example, organised their own community group to fight against racism forming the 'Mid-Essex Campaign to Combat Racism' on 10 November 1970.⁹⁷⁷

Other organisations took a more informal and often physical approach, as demonstrated by Birmingham trades council which led its own rally in February 1976 comprised of 300 anti-fascists in contrast to 700 supporters of the 'extreme right' NF, who marched in support of their by-election candidate in Setchfield.⁹⁷⁸ The rise of the NF coincided with Powellism and was later buoyed by the arrival of the Ugandan Asians who the Heath government reluctantly admitted into Britain despite making immigration more difficult again through the Immigration Act 1971.⁹⁷⁹ As a result, Peterborough Action Group Against Racism was created in 1976 as a non-political body to combat an NF candidate

⁹⁷⁴ Male PTUC members were often referred to as 'Brother' in the minutes rather than their first name as seen in all Executive and Committee Minute Books including PAS, PAS/TC/1/9, Peterborough Trades Union Council Executive and Committee Minutes, 1 January 1974 - 31 December 1977, 1 June 1975.

⁹⁷⁵ PAS, PAS/TC/1/9, Peterborough Trades Union Council Executive and Committee Minutes, 1 January 1974 - 31 December 1977, 22 June 1975; 'Liberty's History: How We've Been Making the UK a Fairer Place Since 1934,' Liberty, accessed 11 February 2021, <https://www.libertyhumanrights.org.uk/about-us/libertys-history/>; Trades Union Congress Annual Return from Registered Trades Councils, Peterborough and District Trades Council, 14 July 1949, in possession of the Author.

⁹⁷⁶ PAS, PAS/TC/1/9, Peterborough Trades Union Council Executive and Committee Minutes, 1 January 1974 - 31 December 1977, 22 June 1975.

⁹⁷⁷ Wallace, *Nothing to Lose*, 126.

⁹⁷⁸ Michael Higgs, 'From the Street to the State: Making Anti-Fascism Anti-Racist in 1970s Britain,' *Race and Class* 58 (2016): 67, 73.

⁹⁷⁹ Harry Taylor, 'Rivers of Blood and Britain's Far Right,' *The Political Quarterly* 89, 3 (2018): 386; Thurlow, *Fascism in Britain*, 246.

standing in the Bretton area of the city but it contained representatives of the Young Liberals, Right to Work Campaign, Communist Party and International Socialists.⁹⁸⁰

The following year a 'radical coalition' of trade unionists, Labour Party members and young people established the ANL in November 1977. Part of the ANL strategy was to instil anti-racism into youth culture through carnivals and music festivals although two Asian men from Peterborough were 'beaten up by Front bully boys' at the Rock Against Racism concert which took place in London's Victorian Park on 30 April 1978 where bands such as the Clash, X-Ray Spex and Tom Robinson performed.⁹⁸¹ 50,000 people were active in the ANL by summer 1978 and PTUC affiliated to the Peterborough branch in September.⁹⁸² The branch was supported by trade unionists, political parties, the general public and religious organisations, and members took part in propaganda campaigns distributing tens of thousands of ANL leaflets around the area.⁹⁸³ However, despite a willingness to support the ANL branch, PTUC was prevented from contributing financially when required to support a local candidate to run against an NF candidate in the election of 1979, due to lack of funds.⁹⁸⁴ Still, PTUC continued to be an anti-racist and anti-fascist organisation, bridging the gap between the working class and local

⁹⁸⁰ 'New Group Goes for National Front,' *Peterborough Standard*, 5 November 1976, 1.

⁹⁸¹ Satnam Virdee, 'Anti-Racism and the Socialist Left, 1968-79,' in *Against the Grain: The British Far Left from 1956*, ed. Evan Smith and Matthew Worley (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), 224; *Newsletter* – MRC, 292D/79/183, Peterborough Anti-Nazi League News, 1978, 4; Satnam Virdee, 'Anti-Racism and the Socialist Left', 221, 223.

⁹⁸² Higgs, 'From the Street to the State', 75-76; PAS, PAS/TC/1/10, Peterborough Trades Union Executive and Committee Meeting Minutes, 1 January 1978 – 31 December 1982, 3 September 1978.

⁹⁸³ MRC, 292D/79/183, Peterborough Anti-Nazi League News, 1978, 2.

⁹⁸⁴ PAS, PAS/TC/1/10, Peterborough Trades Union Council Executive and Committee Minutes, 1 January 1978 - 31 December 1982, 29 April 1979; MRC, MSS.292D/79/183, Peterborough Anti-Nazi League News, 1978, 2.

government to support Peterborough's BAME communities, which added to the political militancy of the era.

Economic Crisis and the Winter of Discontent

As well as the creation of a militant anti-racism movement, the late 1960s and 1970s was also an era of political militancy and social revolution. The baby boomers of the 1940s who grew up in the age of post-war reconstruction with modern expectations and optimism came of age in the 'swinging sixties.' It was all rock 'n roll music, pop art visuals and the fashion of Mary Quant and miniskirts. But the feel-good phenomenon of the sixties was soon replaced with anxiety and social conflict.⁹⁸⁵ The assassinations of Martin Luther King and JFK, the Vietnam War and wage restraint were just some of the issues which affected the mood in Britain. Furthermore, British students were inspired by militant French ones who campaigned to bring politics onto campus in French Universities and against the Vietnam War in 1968 which resulted in students and workers fighting police in the streets of Paris.⁹⁸⁶ But there was no university in Peterborough so no radical student protests.

Political militancy in Britain was demonstrated by groups such as the December Sixth Group. The group was a network of people who supported the defendants of the Stoke Newington 8 trial who were accused of being part of the Angry Brigade. The Angry Brigade was established during a wave of militant left-wing groups emanating from the

⁹⁸⁵ Mark Donnelly, *Sixties Britain: Culture, Society and Politics* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005), 1, 193-94.

⁹⁸⁶ Patrick Searle and Maureen McConville, *French Revolution 1968* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd., 1968), 19-20.

1968 student Vietnam War demonstrations and who claimed to be involved in several direct actions and skirmishes with the police between 1970 and 1971.⁹⁸⁷ PTUC received a letter from the December Sixth Group in 1972. The letter named trades councils in a list of grass roots organisations and activists who engaged in libertarian socialist politics which the group wished to speak to, swap ideas and share information with. The list also included women's liberation organisations, claimants and tenants' unions, black and gay groups and students, but not individual trade unions which suggested that trades councils were seen by some activists on the militant left as separate to the establishment trade unions who the December Sixth Group saw as 'working to develop industry along with the bosses,' and the 'kid glove side of repression.'⁹⁸⁸ But PTUC was not a militant group. Moreover, Grunow's musing that, 'we are not anarchists' when praising the change in public attitudes towards trade unions in a previous AGM with, 'it was now an established fact that TU members had a viewpoint, democratically expressed on many aspects of social economic life of the city,' suggested that PTUC delegates were part of the establishment, albeit a local one. Still, the letter continued that, 'it would be great if you are in contact with people active in the area and could get a meeting together... to talk on ways in which we could help each other.'⁹⁸⁹ Unsure how to respond, Browning wrote to the TUC Organising Department and a return letter

⁹⁸⁷ J. D. Taylor, 'Not that Serious: The Investigation and Trial of the Angry Brigade, 1967-72,' in *Waiting for the Revolution: The British Far Left from 1956*, ed. Evan Smith, Matthew Worley (Manchester: Manchester University, 2017), 33; J. D. Taylor, 'The Party's Over? The Angry Brigade The Counter Culture and the British New Left, 1967-1972,' *The Historical Journal*, 58, 3 (2015): 878.

⁹⁸⁸ *The Angry Brigade 1967-1984 Documents and Chronology* (London: BM Elephant, 1985), 13, back cover.

⁹⁸⁹ 'We're Not Anarchists: Championing the Trade Unions,' *Peterborough Advertiser*, 18 February 1955, 4; MRC, MSS.2D3D/79/138, Letter from the December the Sixth Group (undated).

dated 10 April 1973 confirmed that ‘the circular refers to... building their support on those who want to continue to work on an active political level... matters... partially or wholly political should not be dealt with by trades councils’ and the matter was left on the table.⁹⁹⁰

Although the trades council rejected libertarian socialism, Browning acknowledged the growing movement in the 1970s for leftist politics when responding to the proposed Industrial Relations Bill (IRB) musing that, ‘if Mr. Heath is afraid of the communists and left-wing unionist under his bed I am sorry to inform him that he is driving more there.’⁹⁹¹ The IRB was introduced by the government in 1970 in a ‘quiet revolution’ of reforms formulated in response to the country’s economic problems and reforming trade unions rather than controlling wages in the process.⁹⁹² The IRB would move trade unions away from collective bargaining; however their leaders were not consulted, so a campaign of resistance was arranged.⁹⁹³ On 1 November 1970, PTUC carried a motion, without dissent, denouncing the IRB as a major attack on the trade union movement and the rights of working people. In the motion delegates resolved to do all in their power, ‘to prevent these proposals from reaching the statute book,’ and called them ‘shameful.’⁹⁹⁴ PTUC also agreed to start a local propaganda campaign

⁹⁹⁰ MSS.2D3D/79/138, Letter from the Organisation Department, 10 April 1973.

⁹⁹¹ Tom Browning Manuscript, 46, in the possession of the Author.

⁹⁹² Tara Martin Lopez and Sheila Rowbotham, *The Winter of Discontent: Myth, Memory, and History* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2014), 39.

⁹⁹³ Sam Warner, ‘Why did the Industrial Relations Act 1971 fail? Depoliticization and the Importance of Resistance,’ accessed 1 December 2020, <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/politicsandpolicy/why-did-the-industrial-relations-act-1971-fail-depoliticisation-and-the-importance-of-resistance/>; Lopez, Rowbotham, *Winter of Discontent*, 39.

⁹⁹⁴ PAS, PAS/TC/1/8, Peterborough Trades Union Council Executive and Committee Minutes, 1 January 1970 - 31 December 1973, 1 November 1970.

informing trade union branches and the public of the disadvantages of the bill disseminating literature, arranging a half day school with the regional education office and the organisation of a mass meeting with speakers.⁹⁹⁵

Other trades councils took part in the resistance against the IRB too. For instance, 300 trade unionists attended a meeting organised by Chelmsford trades council on 12 January 1971 and 100 people attended a rally at London's Albert Hall on 21 January organised by the TUC. Two tickets per trades council were allocated for the London Rally.⁹⁹⁶ Browning and Vice-President, A. Clarke, attended on behalf of PTUC and also organised protests in Peterborough with a day school on 24 January and a rally at Peterborough Town Hall on 10 February. To prepare for the meeting the Union of Postal Workers delivered 15,000 leaflets to residents, resulting in an attendance of 243.⁹⁹⁷ Due to still only having union subscriptions as their major source of income as they had done when first established in 1899, all of the PTUC finances were spent on the IRB campaign causing the secretary to borrow £40 for expenses. Consequently, delegates complained when the TUC instructed trades councils to support one of twelve larger demonstrations against the IRB, while refusing to refund PTUC's costs for their own rally.⁹⁹⁸ With a different source of income, trades councils could have done much more to counter the IRB but it became an Act on 24 March 1971. The Act gave employees an equal right to belong to a union or not, a chance to counter discrimination over trade union activity in

⁹⁹⁵ Ibid. 22 November 1970.

⁹⁹⁶ Wallace, *Nothing to Lose*, 124.

⁹⁹⁷ PAS, PAS/TC/1/8, Peterborough Trades Union Council Executive and Committee Minutes, 1 January 1970 - 31 December 1973, 6 December 1971; 7 February 1971; SRC, JN1129PRT, 1971 Yearbook, 15.

⁹⁹⁸ PAS, PAS/TC/1/8, Peterborough Trades Union Council Executive and Committee Minutes, 1 January 1970 - 31 December 1973, 4 July 1971.

an industrial tribunal and a new National Industrial Relations Court was established. It caused Browning to state that the IRA would 'bring a slow and painful death to the trade unions,' at the 1972 AGM and Nottingham trades council 'vowed to continue fighting until the Act was removed from the statute book.'⁹⁹⁹ Although protests did not stop the Act from passing, the trade union movement made it difficult for the government to operate them.¹⁰⁰⁰ Consequently, the IRA was repealed with the introduction of the social contract, a package of reforms for workers introduced by the 1974 Labour government.¹⁰⁰¹

There was a dramatic rise in the number of women joining trade unions from the mid-1960s which added to the rebellious spirit of the age, enhanced by the liberation movement.¹⁰⁰² From 1960 to 1978 between two and five million women joined trade unions with the largest number joining NUPE. NUPE membership grew by 263 per cent to 457,500 between 1968 and 1978.¹⁰⁰³ The trend towards the growth of women trade unionists also had an effect on trades councils where delegates to PTUC included Mrs. Tipton from the Union of Shopworkers Distributive and Allied Workers who joined in February 1970 and E. Sayer who first attended a meeting on 1 October 1972.¹⁰⁰⁴ Other women delegates included sisters Watts, Eddington, Wright and Seritella, who also

⁹⁹⁹ Roger Lumley, *White-Collar Unionism in Britain: A Survey of the Present Position* (London: Methuen and Co., 1973), 64; SRC, JN1129PRT, *Men Who Matter (And a Lady of two as Well): Year Book 1971*, 6; *Nottingham and District Trades Union Council 1889-1990* (Nottingham: Nottingham TUC, 1990), 132.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Barnsby, *A History of Wolverhampton*, 74.

¹⁰⁰¹ Davis, *Comrade or Brother?* 278-79.

¹⁰⁰² Lopez, Rowbotham, *Winter of Discontent*, 32; Lawrence Black, 'An Enlightening Decade? New Histories of 1970s Britain,' *International Labour and Working Class History* 82, 82 (2012): 180.

¹⁰⁰³ 'Part One', Nina Fishman, accessed 2 December 2020, http://www.unionhistory.info/timeline/1960_2000.php.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Lopez Rowbotham, *Winter of Discontent*, 29-31; PAS/TC/1/8, Peterborough Trades Union Council Executive and Committee Minutes, 1 January 1970 - 31 December 1973, 22 February 1970; 4 February 1973.

attended PTUC meetings.¹⁰⁰⁵ Men, however, still held sway over delegates and still often held the officer positions and led trades councils, because the trade union movement was still heavily dominated by them as illustrated in the report given by Avril Law, the National Union of Journalist's (NUJ) delegate to PTUC. Law stated that 'despite the preponderance of men, there were still women able to voice opinions on relevant matters,' when speaking of the TUC women's conference in 1972. Law attended the conference as a trade union delegate rather than on behalf of PTUC who were not prepared to send a representative due to the TUC's acceptance of trades council delegates only as observers.¹⁰⁰⁶ Consequently, PTUC delegates resolved to write to the TUC complaining that delegates had no voting rights at the women's conference.¹⁰⁰⁷ Law was one the most active of the women delegates, reporting back at PTUC meetings on matters such as equal pay, a campaign which took a step forward on 1 January 1976 when the Equal Pay Act and the Sex Discrimination Act were both added to the statute book along with the Employment Protection Act of 1975 which outlawed discrimination against pregnant women.¹⁰⁰⁸ This new package of protections heralded a new age for working women and was bound up in the social contract.¹⁰⁰⁹

Although there were still only a few women delegates, PTUC supported local women workers including nurses who were in dispute in 1974. In early March, trades council delegates attended a special meeting with NUPE to organise a march and rally

¹⁰⁰⁵ Ibid. 1 October 1972; 7 January 1973.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Ibid. 1 October 1972.

¹⁰⁰⁷ PAS/TC/1/9, Peterborough Trades Union Council Executive and Committee Minutes, 1 January 1974 - 31 December 1977, 27 January 1974.

¹⁰⁰⁸ PAS/TC/1/8, Peterborough Trades Union Council Executive and Committee Minutes, 1 January 1970 - 31 December 1973, 9 April 1972.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Boston, *Women Workers*, 307.

on the Embankment.¹⁰¹⁰ The NUPE campaign was part of a lobby for better wages and conditions for nurses and the implementation of the 8 per cent pay claim awarded in 1972 which was frozen by the government. The campaign was led by the Confederation of Health Service Employees and supported by the Royal College of Nursing, while a 55 per cent award was called for by NUPE, which was part of a new generation of trade unions which focussed heavily on women members.¹⁰¹¹ In Peterborough health workers were also concerned that Senior Nurses, important in their role training students, were being overlooked with regards to wages. Therefore, a Nurses Action Committee was created and the PTUC executive agreed to help organise the rally.¹⁰¹² The event took place on 15 June, the march taking the route of Cowgate, Bridge Street and Bishops Road before finishing at the Embankment.¹⁰¹³

The event was not a success with only a few hundred of Peterborough's 15,000 trade unionists attending.¹⁰¹⁴ It was recorded in the minutes that PTUC delegates were 'disgusted with the turn out,' which had left them with a £10 deficit. It illustrated once more that there was only so much that PTUC delegates could do within the confines of their funding structure. But there were also criticisms of the organisation of the rally and the distribution of leaflets. However, PTUC President Phil Ayres was publicly more upbeat about the event, adding that 'the trades council has not been given to public

¹⁰¹⁰ PAS/TC/1/8, Peterborough Trades Union Council Executive and Committee Minutes, 1 January 1970 - 31 December 1973, 7 March 1973.

¹⁰¹¹ Susan Scott Lewis, 'Nurses and Trade Unions in Britain,' *International Journal of Health Services* 6, 4 (1976): 642-43; Tara Martin, 'The Beginning of Labour's End? Britain's "Winter of Discontent" and Working-Class Women's Activism,' *International Labour and Working Class History* 75, 1 (2009): 55.

¹⁰¹² PAS, PAS/TC/1/9, Peterborough Trades Union Council Executive and Committee Minutes, 1 January 1974 - 31 December 1977, 2 June 1974.

¹⁰¹³ Ibid. 15 June 1974.

¹⁰¹⁴ MRC, MSS.292D/79/138, Annual Return for 1974, 3.

demonstration very much, but this last year we marched through Peterborough in support of the hospital workers, and it went well, although we could have done with more support.¹⁰¹⁵ As a result, there was a call for more 'sister' delegates to affiliate to PTUC. Additionally, in 1974, Ayres attended the national demonstration for International Women's Year stating that 'it was a pleasure to see how many people turned out and how well they behaved although our own delegation left a lot to be desired numbers wise.'¹⁰¹⁶ PTUC also supported women's campaigns in other parts of the country, including the strike of women in the AUEW at the TRICO windscreen wiper factory in Middlesex who campaigned for and won an equal pay claim after striking for 21 weeks.¹⁰¹⁷ The TRICO victory was acknowledged in the PTUC minutes as being 'the greatest victory for women since the Match Girls strike of ninety years ago,'¹⁰¹⁸ although despite a recent increase for women of 75 per cent of men's wages for women, the pay gap began to increase again in 1977.¹⁰¹⁹

The most high-profile industrial action taken by women at this time and supported by PTUC was the strike at Grunwick photograph processing plant in Willesden, London. The Grunwick strike lasted from 20 September 1977 to 14 July 1978 when workers were denied the right to unionise.¹⁰²⁰ The majority of Grunwick workers were South Asian women and they were initially supported by the TUC and the

¹⁰¹⁵ PAS, PAS/TC/1/9, Peterborough Trades Union Council Executive and Committee Minutes, 1 January 1974 - 31 December 1977, 7 July 1974.

¹⁰¹⁶ Tom Browning Manuscript, 56, in the possession of the Author.

¹⁰¹⁷ Sally Groves and Vernon Merritt, *Trico, A Victory to Remember: The 1976 Equal Pay Strike at Trico Folberth, Brentford* (London: Lawrence and Wishart Limited, 2018).

¹⁰¹⁸ PAS, PAS/TC/1/9, Peterborough Trades Union Council Executive and Committee Minutes, 1 January 1974 - 31 December 1977, dated 17 October 1976.

¹⁰¹⁹ Boston, *Women Workers*, 309.

¹⁰²⁰ Keith Laybourn, *British Trade Unionism c.1770-1990* (Stroud: Alan Sutton Publishing, 1991), 183.

Association of Professional, Executive, Clerical and Computer Staff and rank and file support for the strike was high. For instance, Brent Trades Council supported the strike and it was reported at a PTUC meeting on 7 November 1977 that 8,000 pickets were in attendance at the plant.¹⁰²¹ However, the union withdrew support believing that concessions could not be won and as a result, the strike was unsuccessful.¹⁰²² Yet, Grunwick was a constant source for discussion at PTUC and in support of the Grunwick strikers, delegates took part in fundraising activities, received regular strike updates and agreed to donate a copy of the Grunwick strike film, *Grunwick the Worker's Story*, to Peterborough library for members of the general public to borrow.¹⁰²³

The Grunwick dispute was just one of many during the 1970s, a decade which culminated in the biggest wave of industrial action since the 1926 General Strike in which women, especially activists in the public sector, played a major role.¹⁰²⁴ Industrial action took place over the cold winter of 1978-79, although, curiously, there was no mention of any trades council activity during the period in the Nottingham, Chelmsford,

¹⁰²¹ Ruth Pearson, Aundari Anitha and Linda McDowell, "The Political Economy of Work and Employment. Striking Issues: from labour process to industrial dispute at Grunwick and Gate Gourmet", *Industrial Relations Journal* 41, 5 (2010): 413; PAS/TC/1/8, Peterborough Trades Union Council Executive and Committee Minutes, 1 January 1974 - 31 December 1977, 10 November 1977.

¹⁰²² 'The Grunwick Dispute', Striking Women: Striking Out, accessed 9 February 2021, <https://www.striking-women.org/module/striking-out/grunwick-dispute#:~:text=add%20your%20name.-,Trade%20Union%20Response,They%20effectively%20withdrew%20their%20support>; Pearson, Anitha, McDowell, 'The Political Economy of Work and Employment. Striking Issues,' 409.

¹⁰²³ PAS, PAS/TC/1/9, Peterborough Trades Union Council Executive and Committee Minutes, 1 January 1974 - 31 December 1977, 18 September 1977; PAS, PAS/TC/1/10, Peterborough Trades Union Council Executive and Committee Minutes, 1 January 1978 - 31 December 1982, 14 June 1978; 17 December 1978.

¹⁰²⁴ Wrigley, *British Trade Unions Since 1933*, 72; Laurence Black, 'An Enlightening Decade?' 177.

or the Bilston and Wolverhampton District histories.¹⁰²⁵ Neither was there any mention in the PTUC minutes although in the annual report for 1978, Hackney, now trades council president noted that

at the time of writing, we do seem to have run into a little trouble over the 5 per cent but a matter such as this is not unsurpassable. What does concern me most is that in the past three years the legislation that the present government has bought in... is now showing some justice to trade union members.¹⁰²⁶

Hackney's speech referred to the maximum wage rise of 5 per cent first introduced by the government in August 1971 and reaffirmed in July 1978.¹⁰²⁷ This followed a series of financial and political crises internationally, set against an expectation of workers maintaining high living standards following a brief period of full employment during the 1960s, and the growing power of trade unions.¹⁰²⁸ However, unemployment increased from the late 1960s and in 1974 rocketed from 770,000 in January to 1.2 million in December. Additionally, in May, inflation reached 23 per cent resulting in a motion that was put to a PTUC meeting in March 1974 stating that

this meeting of PTUC, applauds the TUC General Council recall of conference and calls on the TUC to organise maximum industrial action in support of trade unions in dispute with the Government and the employing class and pledges its support and solidarity with all trade unions currently bearing the weight of the Government's reactionary policies.¹⁰²⁹

¹⁰²⁵ *Nottingham Trades Union Council*; Wallace, *Nothing to Lose, a World to Win*; George J. Barnsby, *A History of Wolverhampton, Bilston and District Trades Union Council, 1865-1990* (Wolverhampton: Wolverhampton, Bilston and District Trades Union Council, 1994).

¹⁰²⁶ MRC, 292D/79/183, PTUC 1979 Yearbook, 3.

¹⁰²⁷ Laurence C. Hunter, 'British Incomes Policy, 1972-1974,' *ILR Review* 29, 1 (1975): 67.

¹⁰²⁸ Reid, *United We Stand*, 384-85.

¹⁰²⁹ Barnsby, *A History of Wolverhampton*, 75.

On 13 November 1975, 2,073 workers were registered as unemployed in Peterborough or 3.4 Per cent of the working population and unemployment grew steadily to reach 5 per cent by the end of December 1978.¹⁰³⁰ National concern for the upward growth of unemployment led to a continuation of hunger marches seen in the 1920s and 1930s with the right to work marches, the first of which left Manchester for London in early 1976.¹⁰³¹ Consequently, a motion was presented to PTUC by the AUEW, condemning police violence on one of the marches which left 44 of the marchers arrested. The motion also demanded a public inquiry into the incident; however, the motion had no seconder and it was left on the table.¹⁰³² Additionally representatives of PTUC agreed to send a delegate to the National Assembly of Unemployment organised by the London Cooperative Society at Westminster Hall in March 1976.¹⁰³³ Delegates reported that 3,000 members had attended the assembly; however, there was not enough publicity resulting in a poor turn out and no decisions were made there.¹⁰³⁴

Despite this, PTUC were able to assist in tackling unemployment locally when the Mayor's Unemployment Committee, first established in 1921, was reconvened for a meeting in 1978. The meeting which took place on 19 December consisted of representatives from the Labour Councillor's group, the Peterborough and District Council of Churches and Mid-Anglia Engineering Employment Federation who agreed to

¹⁰³⁰ MRC, 292D/79/183, Statistics of Unemployment at November 13, 1975; PAS, PAS/TUC/1/10, Peterborough Trades Union Council Executive and Committee Minutes, 1 January 1978 - 31 December 1982, Meeting with Development Corporation dated 11 December 1978.

¹⁰³¹ Peter Joyce, *The Policing of Protest, Disorder and National Terrorism in the UK since 1945: Britain in Comparative Perspective Since 1945* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 20017), 56.

¹⁰³² PAS, PAS/TUC/1/9, Peterborough Trades Union Council Executive and Committee Minutes, 1 January 1974 - 31 December 1977, 27 March 1976.

¹⁰³³ Ibid. 27 March 1976.

¹⁰³⁴ Ibid. 4 April 1976.

contribute £1532.39 worth of funds to a local youth opportunities programme, suggested by the Labour group and PTUC, SCOPE and the Manpower Services Committee to provide training for young people.¹⁰³⁵ Being one of a variety of influential civic institutions on the Mayor's employment committee was another illustration of PTUC's ability to act as an influential body with power in local affairs, in this case with as much sway as local clergy and the Labour Party.

An increase in the strength of trade union power was a feature of the movement during the 1960s and 1970s. This was noted by Sir John Benstead who said that 'trades unions now occupy great power in the affairs of the nation' and was further illustrated in the growth of trade unions such as the National Association of Local Government Officer (NALGO).¹⁰³⁶ NALGO gained 1000 new members per week between 1964 and 1979, although instead of doing so to show solidarity with the working class, workers joined because of the economic crisis caused by the decline of old industries, high inflation and wage freezes.¹⁰³⁷ The TUC hoped that trade unions such as NALGO would stop campaigning for high wages for members upon the introduction of the social contract but the widespread industrial action of the winter of discontent eroded public trust in the policy and led to the Labour Party misjudging the mood of the nation.¹⁰³⁸ Consequently, in 1979 PTUC carried a motion asking for support for NUPE and other public sector workers who campaigned for better wages amounting to £6 million in total

¹⁰³⁵ PAS, PAS/TUC/1/10, Peterborough Trades Union Council Executive and Committee Minutes, 1 January 1974 - 31 December 1977, 19 December 1978.

¹⁰³⁶ MRC, 292D/79/138, PTUC Yearbook 1976, 11.

¹⁰³⁷ Sandbrook, *State of Emergency*, 96.

¹⁰³⁸ Kevin Hawkins, *The Management of Industrial Relations* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978) 73; Reid, *United We Stand*, 388.

and a 35 hour week during the winter of discontent. The motion came from the National Association of Teachers in Further Education and gained the full support of PTUC.¹⁰³⁹

Local strikes took place over the winter with 400 public sector workers in NUPE and included ambulance workers.¹⁰⁴⁰ Meanwhile, 12 refuse collectors occupied their depot, reception desk and switchboard and downed tools over wages.¹⁰⁴¹ Additionally, 25 gritter lorry drivers demanded a bonus for their work.¹⁰⁴² However there was no evidence among trades council documents to suggest that any of their delegates had been involved in strikes and indeed PTUC delegates continued to support the social contract therefore following the lead of the TUC in the process. However, PTUC delegates were aware as early as 1977 that the social contract was problematic, stating in the annual report that, 'again we start the year with tremendous problems because of the deterioration of our members standards of living owing to our support of the social contract... we still have no answer to high unemployment.'¹⁰⁴³ Hence by February 1979 unemployment was officially at 1.5 million with another half a million thought to be lost in the system, according to Arthur Scargill, President of the Yorkshire area of the National Union of Mineworkers who spoke at the PTUC AGM on 4 February 1979. Scargill blamed large profits and high inflation for unemployment, stating that 'only the housewife knows the true meaning of the economy.' Although well-meaning, Scargill's statement demonstrated a continuation of prejudicial stereotypes among white, male

¹⁰³⁹ PAS/TC/1/10, Peterborough Trades Union Council Executive and Committee Minutes, 1 January 1978 - 31 December 1982, 4 February 1979.

¹⁰⁴⁰ '11th Hour Bid to End Public Services Strike,' *Belfast Telegraph*, 19 February 1979, 4.

¹⁰⁴¹ 'Get-tough Wage Cut for Ambulancemen,' Ian Walker, *Birmingham Daily Post*, 12 February 1979, 13.

¹⁰⁴² 'Twenty-Five,' *The Daily Mirror*, 19 February 1979, 2.

¹⁰⁴³ Tom Browning Manuscript, 59, in the possession of the Author.

trade union leaders at the end of the period. However, Scargill also noted that high unemployment figures reflected badly on both the Labour Party and the trade union movement while Browning mused philosophically that 'trade unions should have the power they deserve, as long as they are prepared to shoulder the responsibility that goes with that power.'¹⁰⁴⁴ Consequently, as result of the misjudgements of the labour movement during the period under consideration, the Conservatives regained power under the leadership of Margaret Thatcher in the general election of May 1979.

Conclusion to Chapter Six

This chapter has shown that by the late 1970s the PTUC was an influential body and held a unique place in civic society in Peterborough. This influence was illustrated through the representation of delegates on both formal and informal committees. Committees included the mayor's unemployment committee, which gave trades council delegates a similar status to the local clergy and the local labour party representative; the PDC social facilities committee, in which delegates concerned themselves with the welfare of both adults and children; and the community relations committee, in which delegates had influence over integration in an ethnically diverse city. Despite achieving this civic position, it frustrated trades councils that they were unable to influence local industrial matters. However, the industrial role belonged to the individual trade union

¹⁰⁴⁴ PAS, PAS/TC/1/10, Peterborough Trades Union Council Executive and Committee Minutes, 1 January 1978 - 31 December 1982, 4 February 1979; Tom Browning Manuscript, 64, in the possession of the Author.

branches. Still, through work within the committees PTUC delegates were elevated to a position above the rank and file trade unionists.

The positioning of PTUC within the structure of the trade union movement was more clearly defined when looking at the attitudes between rank and file members and PTUC delegates with regards to racial discrimination and decolonisation. With the rank and file more interested in perceived threats to workplace conditions and the TUC with bureaucratic procedures, PTUC was positioned between the two. Because they worked primarily in communities, trades councils were in a unique place to witness social problems caused by immigration and they worked towards solving them using their preconceived ideologies of anti-imperialism and nationalisation which they could use to influence civic bodies such as race equality councils and the ANL.

Because they were positioned between the two sides of the movement, PTUC delegates bridged the gap between rank and file and trade union leaders not just through committee work, but through discussions and motions of solidarity. Motions supported trade unionists taking industrial action during the 1960s and 1970s such as the Grunwick strike and for construction workers on lump labour contracts. PTUC also showed support and solidarity by organising public events, specifically the march and rally during the 1974 nurses dispute and in opposition to the IRB. However, PTUC arranged physical events infrequently which was partly due to funding. As part of a group which was a leader of matters of equality within the trade union movement, PTUC encouraged more women delegates to join the trades council, such as Avril Law, and assisted BAME trade unionists such as Dhanji and also worked in less formal settings

with the ANL. This was despite the old-fashioned attitudes of the more conservative shop stewards who were more concerned with workplace matters than supporting newcomers in their communities. Therefore, in matters of equality, PTUC had a more modern outlook, influenced by the radical ideologies (although not as radical as December Sixth Group) of some delegates, than the rank and file, while not being as preoccupied as the bureaucratic TUC leaders. PTUC held a space between the two positions.

It was also illustrated in the chapter that trade union leaders hindered matters of equality as seen for instance, in their handling of the TUC women's conference which was dominated by men while the discussion around the December Sixth Group confirmed that trade union leaders were seen as part of the British establishment by radicals, while trades councils held a different position in the movement. However, the way in which PTUC handled the December Sixth Group correspondence after conferring with the TUC Organising Department suggested that delegates very much saw them as part of the trade union movement, not separate from it. Additionally, PTUC's support for the Labour Party's social contract, albeit with criticisms over the continuation of unemployment, followed the policy of the TUC conveying that by the time the winter of discontent took place, trades councils had abandoned those taking part in industrial action. However, the TUC and local trade unionists were still prone to frustrate trades councils, especially when it came to a lack of support for events and especially funding - as seen once again with the ANL, Nurses demonstration and in the activities against the IRB. Although PTUC was able to achieve much during this period, there were also

failures. The poor turn out for the nurse's demonstration and the problems identified with funding for it and the IRB campaign suggested that PTUC was unable to reach its full potential despite the great power wielded by the trade unions in the 1970s.

Conclusion

This thesis has shown that it is possible to trace the evolution of a trades council through analysing their functions and political, industrial, and civic roles throughout the twentieth century. Additionally, the thesis has added to the knowledge and understanding of these complex bodies. Criticisms of these forgotten organisations levelled by people without an intimate knowledge of them have been countered in the thesis. For instance, in *The Ragged Trousered Philanthropist*, early trades council delegates were referred to as ‘pot-house politicians’ and as ‘beer-soaked agitators.’¹⁰⁴⁵ However, while it is true that delegates were involved in electoral politics at the time and held meetings in public houses this thesis has also demonstrated that trades councils were highly organised bodies with semi-bureaucratic structures containing structures, rules, and hierarchies. Additionally, some people referred to trades councils as mere discussion groups because they saw much of their work as attending committees, discussing motions, and sending messages of solidarity to local unions in dispute, rather than physically organising picket lines; as argued in this thesis, organising industrial action was not the job of trades councils during the twentieth century. Furthermore, the research has shown that activities surrounding electoral politics, debates and committee work were important, but were only a small part of their functions. The role of a trades councils within the labour movement was therefore complex, especially as delegate’s visibility decreased after the Second World War.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Robert Tressell, *The Ragged Trousered Philanthropist* (Ware: Wordsworth Editions Limited, 2012), 364.

This thesis has also shown that trades councils were not 'anomalous' as described in Clinton's *The Trade Union Rank and File*.¹⁰⁴⁶ They had specific functions which focused their activities which changed throughout the twentieth century depending on the state of political and industrial relations in the period. Labour historians suggested that trades councils had three functions. This thesis argued that the first of these, political functions, were dealt within the first twenty years of PTUC's existence and were relinquished when the Labour Party was formed.¹⁰⁴⁷ Secondly, industrial functions, were the role of individual trade unions, not trades councils and as a body, PTUC did not get involved in collective bargaining, picketing, or organising strikes. But they could lobby the municipal council on behalf of workers such as when asking for fair wage clauses to be added into labourers contracts in 1899, and for the employment of direct labour to build council houses in the late 1940s. Evidence of little industrial involvement also explained why PTUC delegates were not active in the industrial action of the Great Unrest (1910-14), the Celta Mill strike (1928) or the Winter of Discontent (1978-79). The 1926 General Strike was a different matter though; coordination and organisation were strengths of trades councils and delegates were well placed to form the district strike committee.

This research has shown that trades councils played a larger civic role than labour historians have previously suggested. The description of their work from TUC officials showed them as more community and civic minded than industrial or political

¹⁰⁴⁶ Alan Clinton, *The Trade Union Rank and File: Trades Councils in Britain 1900-40* (Manchester: Manchester University, 1977), 1.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Alastair Reid, *United We Stand: A History of Britain's Trade Unions* (London: Allen Lane, 2004), 106; Clegg, H. A., Alan Fox, A. F. Thompson, *A History of British Trade Unions Since 1899*. (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1964), 288.

after 1919. A. B. Swales for instance described trades councils as organisers for political action and education offering support to cooperatives, young people and social organisations in 1925. Meanwhile, Vincent Tewson described them as recruiters for trade unions and as representatives of the movement on civic and local government bodies in 1949.¹⁰⁴⁸ Trades councils were therefore vital for linking unions with communities and local authorities. They did this through civic functions and by creating an arena for working-class politics; thus, providing an opportunity for people to get involved in campaigning against poverty and inequality, for better public health, educational and social facilities throughout the twentieth century. In the same way trades councils linked rank and file trade unionists with other parts of the trade union movement.

This research has also discovered that there were three pivotal moments in the development of PTUC during the twentieth century. The first was when local government first recognised the trades councils as an 'authoritative' body and requested delegates to provide representation on public committees in 1914. This enhanced the civic element of PTUC's activities. The next pivotal moment was in 1919, when after two decades of experimenting with various socialist bodies, PTUC delegates rescinded the body's electoral political function and passed it on to the newly formed Labour Party branch instead. The final evolutionary moment was during the post-war era. From 1945 PTUC's role as a civic body during Labour's reconstruction period gave

¹⁰⁴⁸ Emile Burns, *General Strike! Trades Councils in Action* (London: Wishart and Lawrence Ltd., 1975), 87; 'TUC Secretary at Trades Council Dinner: Time to Face up to Realities and Responsibilities,' *Peterborough Standard*, 14 October 1949, 8.

delegates the opportunity to get involved in economic, health and welfare bodies. It decreased their visibility in communities but gave delegates extra responsibility in behind the scenes administrative positions. The change in visibility was a subtle but significant evolutionary change.

But the changes in functions did not just apply to PTUC. By analysing other trades councils this thesis found that the same evolutionary changes occurred for trades councils throughout the country. It also found that these changes did not necessarily occur in the same place at the same time, because local industrial and geographical circumstances made each one unique. For instance, in Chelmsford where the main employer was the Marconi wireless communications factory, the Social Democratic Federation (SDF) was influential from 1902. But, in Peterborough, where the largest employer was the railway companies, the SDF was not very influential; this difference was probably due to Chelmsford's geographical proximity to London rather than industry.¹⁰⁴⁹ National politics also influenced changes to the functions and activities of trades councils. As mentioned in chapter six, Trades Councils in both Peterborough and Wolverhampton and Bilston sent representatives to local Race Equality Councils in the 1970s.¹⁰⁵⁰ Therefore trades councils had similar aims and objectives. Andrew Kirkby summed this situation up in *The History of Exeter Trades Council 1890-1990: In the Cause of Liberty*, describing the different bodies as holding 'varied but allied

¹⁰⁴⁹ Malcom Wallace, *Nothing to Lose... A World to Win: A History of Chelmsford and District Trades Union Council* (Chelmsford: Wallace, 1979), 49.

¹⁰⁵⁰ George J. Barnsby, *A History of Wolverhampton, Bilston and District Trades Union Council, 1865-1990* (Wolverhampton: Wolverhampton, Bilston and District TUC, 1994), 88.

concerns.¹⁰⁵¹ But the industrial, political, and geographical variables highlighted the difficulties of making sense of trades councils when writing about them as one coherent block. Instead, this thesis has highlighted the need to adopt a strategy of local history research and comparisons to best try and understand their unique position in both the labour movement and the civic sphere.

Additionally, several themes were identified in the research for this thesis which PTUC were active on throughout the twentieth century. These were: identities, conflict, women, and the working-class. The research discovered that Identities were important to PTUC delegates. Chapters one and two demonstrated that delegates followed organised bureaucratic hierarchies and structures, and delegates were volunteers, often male, influenced by many associations: religious, mainly non-conformist; political, liberal, labour, socialist, communist and anti-fascist; sports clubs and trade unions in the workplace; and working-class, Labour Aristocracy, public bodies associations in their communities. Key periods in forming delegates identities were therefore 1899-1914 and during the interwar period.

Identities informed the attitudes of trades council delegates and the research for this thesis showed them to be more modern in their thinking than most rank and file trade unionists. Their modern attitudes can be explained because trades councils contained the most active and radical of trade unionists who brought with them alternative ideas. Delegates had a different outlook to the rank and file, who were more conservative and were unlikely to be exposed to the radical ideas. This explanation fits

¹⁰⁵¹ Andrew Kirkby, *Exeter Trades Council 1890-1990: In the Cause of Liberty* (Exeter: Sparkler Books, 1990), 74.

with the Webb's idea of trades councils being a militant trade union army.¹⁰⁵² But a commitment to the cause through identifying first and foremost as trade unionists contributed to PTUC securing the longevity of trades councils and helped form its resilient nature.

Conflict was also a major theme as demonstrated throughout the thesis. Politics was identified as a major cause of conflict as seen in delegates relationships with the Liberal Party in chapter two, and communist factions in chapters one and five. The research showed that hostility could be public, played out in open meetings and through letters and articles published in the local newspapers or it could be internal to the movement as seen in the TUC's bureaucratic response to communism which turned into a power struggle. But the thesis also noted that trades councils including PTUC never saw themselves as subordinate to the TUC, as suggested by Clinton, and delegates attempted to retain their independence.¹⁰⁵³ Later they would challenge the TUC as seen in motions and correspondence. The research also showed that internally there was conflict over strategies and competition as seen in the arguments between railway union delegates; but there was also friction between the trades council and external bodies, such as the CND which manifested for the similar reasons, over campaign strategies.

Conflict was a feature of trade unionism in general as the movement was built on maintaining relationships between employer and employee which was often hostile.

¹⁰⁵² Sidney Webb and Beatrice Webb, *History of Trade Unionism* (London and New York: Longmans, Greens and Co., 1894), 476.

¹⁰⁵³ Clinton, *The Trade Union Rank and File*, 6.

But the thesis also illustrated that delegates had an emotional side which affected trades council's activities and attitudes which was key to identifying moments of conflict and cooperation. As 'emotional communities,' trades councils were shaped by a variety of feelings including solidarity and compassion, as well as hostility. Emotional reactions often came down to the personality of individual officials - whereas Percy Woodall could be seen as a unifier of the trade union movement in chapter one, conflict was more likely under Ernie Grunow's leadership in chapter five. But despite some ideological differences which sometimes caused tension between delegates, the evidence obtained in this research, suggested that PTUC was a cohesive collective body which generally worked well and remained a socialist body throughout the twentieth century.

The contribution of women has been featured throughout the thesis and is an important addition to the literature on the trade union movement, especially trades councils. This research found that key periods where women featured in PTUC were in the 1920s and 1940s, during and after periods of international military conflict. Women also featured in the late 1960s and 1970s after the marriage bar was lifted and they had more freedom to work, joined trade unionists and campaigned for recognition and equal pay. This research discovered many confident women in Peterborough, such as Kate Palmer, Gladys Benstead, Mary Hart, Nora Hart, Doreen Lutkin, Avril Law who were active and influential, as well as the Celta Mill strikers. But the research also identified that PTUC's male delegates did not discuss or did little to encourage women to join the trades council. This thesis argues that the reason for this attitude was because trades council delegates believed that women had their own issues to campaign on and should

do so themselves. But it gave the impression that PTUC was paternalistic and especially behind the times on the issue of women delegates compared to other trades councils such as Nottingham, who openly discussed a dislike of women delegates in the early 1900s and Salford and Manchester, who established a women's body in the late 1800s.¹⁰⁵⁴ But the reasons for PTUC's delegates attitudes are not clearly identified and require further research.

The final theme is the relationship between PTUC and the working-class. The limited nature of the archival records made it difficult to establish the relationship between PTUC and the working-class of Peterborough because although delegates belonged to that group, they were placed in the upper strata. Their social position was confirmed in the thesis as a result of individuals having jobs akin to the labour aristocracy, by being able to afford to pay union subscriptions, by having the time to volunteer campaigning, and from the influence of middle-class reformers. Therefore, PTUC's relationship with the working class was complex, but there were several key moments in the research worth highlighting in this conclusion, where PTUC tried to build the relationship. For instance, the thesis found that as the influence of the church declined during the Edwardian and into the interwar period allowing PTUC delegates to capitalise on new forms of working-class culture. Delegates organised sporting activities which gave working-class colleagues a sense of solidarity which could also be used to build the growing trade union movement. Then, from 1914 onwards PTUC was also able

¹⁰⁵⁴ *Nottingham and District Trades Union Council: 1890-1990 Centenary* (Nottingham: Nottingham TUC, 1990), 41.

to support the most vulnerable by taking part in unemployment and other welfare committees.

But during the interwar period the culture of the working class started to change. As standards of living improved, consumerism and council houses were more readily available, and the post-war Labour government's strategy on nationalisation, health and housing resulted in a change in the relationship of the working-class and PTUC as demonstrated in chapter four. But despite Clinton's assumptions that PTUC had lost significance from the 1940s, PTUC took the opportunity to build relationships with new working-class residents of Peterborough in the post-war era.¹⁰⁵⁵ This was highlighted in the thesis during the section on the 1960s and 1970s, when delegates took up positions on the social facilities and community cohesion committees.

Although much of this thesis shines a positive light on PTUC, it also highlighted problems within this complex trade union body. Delegates were influenced by middle-class activists in their early years and the fact that they took on roles in civic committees resulted in them becoming bodies connected with state institutions – for their relationship with the working-class it could have been problematic. PTUC also lacked the funds to do what they could have, operating on a shoe-string budget based on subscriptions from affiliated unions and donations. Lack of funding meant that they would never be able to reach their full potential as a trade union body and a sense of frustration comes through from the documents, especially in the later periods where PTUC campaigned against the Industrial Relations Act and attempted to organise a

¹⁰⁵⁵ Clinton, *The Trade Union Rank and File*, 182-83.

march and rally to improve pay for local nurses. Similarly, complex is the tendency for delegates to be quite modern in their attitudes over some issues, such as the new town development and migration, but slow to adapt to others, as seen in the question of women or in their dealings with the new left.

In conclusion, this research has added to academic understanding and knowledge of trades councils in the twentieth century. Trades councils were a paramount part of the trade union movement throughout the twentieth century. Peterborough trades council delegates have shown that they were instrumental in pushing labour politics to the forefront in the early 1900s, rudimentary in the equality campaigns to accept ethnic minority workers in the post-war period and were leaders when it came to working-class campaigns in health and housing. At the same time, they were slow to shake off the old paternalistic ways, sometimes in conflict and subject to hostility, side-lined when it came to industrial functions and were hampered by lack of funding. Despite these misgivings, trades councils were an integral part of local political, civic, and industrial landscapes throughout the twentieth century and crucial in providing an arena for working class politics.

Bibliography

1. Primary Sources

1a - Archives

National Archives

Cabinet Paper, 1951 Cabinet Memorandum on Ending Restrictions on Unions (CAB 129/46, CP (51) 221).

London Metropolitan University, Special Collections (SC)

Special Collections, TUC Local TUCs (SC, JN1129PET).

London Metropolitan University, TUC Library Collections (LC)

LC, 'Hungary – TUC Leaflet 1956,' 4 August 2021.

http://www.unionhistory.info/timeline/TI_Display.php?irn=100344&QueryPage=..%2FAdvSearch.php.

Peterborough Archives Service (PAS)

- Amalgamated Engineering Union, District Committee Meeting Minutes (PAS/AEU/1).
- Peterborough Trades Union Council, Executive Committee and Meeting Minutes (PAS, PAS/TUC/1).
- Peterborough Trades Union Council, Annual Meeting Books and Annual Reports (PAS, PAS/TUC/3).
- Programme of Peterborough Trade Union Week 1954 (PAS, PAS/TUC/8/3/).

University of Warwick, Modern Records Centre (MRC)

- Trades Council Report 1903 Maidstone to York (MRC, MSS.524/4/1/29).
- Trades Council Report 1904 Manchester to York (MRC, MSS.524/4/1/32).
- Trades Council Report 1905 Maidstone to York (MRC, MSS.524/4/1/35).
- Peterborough and District Trades Council, 1925-1960 (MRC, MSS.292/944/P/13).

- Correspondence, Minutes, Annual Returns Relating to Peterborough Trades Union Council, 1970-1984 (MRC, MSS.292D/79/138).
- Spanish Conflict: Funds Collection and Administration 1938-1940 (MRC, MSS.292/946/32/62).

In the Possession of the Author.

- PTUC Annual Report 1899.
- Peterborough Trades Union Council Annual Returns 1949-1990.
- Cambridge County Association of Trades Councils Minutes Book, 1978.
- The Tom Browning Manuscript.

Wellcome Library (WL)

- The Hundred and Twenty Fifth Annual Report of the Peterborough and District Memorial Hospital, for the Year Ending 31 December 1940 (WL, WX28/BES/P47).

1b - Email Correspondence

- Coburn, Andrew. 'Come Together: Trades Councils 1920-50,' January 2022.
- Davis, Alison. 'PREC 1074,' 11 February 2021.

1c - Films

'BFI Player, Peterborough: A City Fit to Live In.' Accessed 17 December 2020.
<https://player.bfi.org.uk/free/film/watch-peterborough-a-city-fit-to-live-in-1971-online>.

1d - Government Debates and Reports

- Beveridge, William. *Social and Allied Services: Report*. London: HMSO, 1942.
- *Annual Report of the Commission for Racial Equality: January to December 1979*. London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1980.
- 'Slum Clearance,' Hansard, HC Deb 25 January 1940 vol 356 cc760-1.
- 'Mrs Felton, Visit to Korea.' HC Deb 14 June 1951 vol cc2676-86.
- 'Industrial Disputes: New Order.' HC Deb 02 August 1951 vol 491 cc1624-30.
- 'Peterborough New Town.' HC Deb 27 November 1967 vol 755 cc171-97.
- 'Letter to Prime Minister from P F Jordan,' 6 October 1950, Cab 124, 1194.

1e - Statistics and Census Returns

John Mansfield. 1911 census, registration district number 170, sub-registration district Peterborough, ED institution or vessel 29, piece 8694. Accessed 20 July 2022.

https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/2352/images/rg14_08694_0735_03?treeid=&personid=&hintid=&queryId=2b165f09e3684e989e0e3f5d99446ab8&usePUB=true&phsrc=asW1634&phstart=successSource&usePUBJs=true&gl=1*sowbkw*ga*MTEwODkyMDgyMS4xNjI3Mzk3OTQ5*ga_4QT8FMEX30*MTY1ODMwOTE0OS4xMS4xLjE2NTgzMDk0NDMuMA..&ga=2.239163523.1291906981.1658309151-1108920821.1627397949&pId=52247091.

Gladys Mary Palmer. 1901 Census Peterborough, ED 43, Piece 1464, Folio 112, Household Schedule 168. Accessed 20 July 2022.

<https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/8449849:7814?tid=&pid=&queryId=738f3e5af073cb05b06e2fed040a8d15&phsrc=asW1639&phstart=successSource>.

Charles William Popp. 1911 census, registration district number 170, sub-registration district Peterborough, ED institution or vessel 30, piece 8695. Accessed 20 July 2022.

https://www.ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections/2352/images/rg14_08695_0085_03?treeid=&personid=&usePUB=true&phsrc=asW1630&phstart=successSource&pId=52247356.

A Vision of Britain Through Time. 'Soke of Peterborough, Administrative County.' Accessed 10 September 2020.

https://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10152914/cube/OCC_ORD1921.

A Vision of Britain Through Time. 'Persons of Working Age by Sex and 1911 Occupational Order.' Accessed 10 September 2020.

https://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10152914/cube/OCC_ORD1911_SEX.

1f - Contemporary Books and Pamphlets

Blachford, Robert. *Merrie England*. London: Clarion office, 1894.

Booth, Charles. *Life and Labour of the People in London: Volume 1*. 1892.

Booth, William. *In Darkest England and the Way Out*. London: The Salvation Army,

Burns, Emile. *General Strike! Trades Councils in Action*. London: Wishart and Lawrence Ltd., 1975.

Citrine, Walter. *A.B.C. of Chairmanship. All about Meetings*. London: Cooperative Printing Society, 1939.

'Don't Shoot: An Open Letter to British Soldiers.' *Sheldrake's Military Gazette* (Aldershot, 1912).

Figgis, J. N. *Churches in the Modern State*. London, 1913.

The First Labour Hospital. London: Co-operative Printing Society Limited, 1923.

Howard, Ebenezer. *Garden Cities of Tomorrow*. Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Ltd., 1902.

Howard, Ebenezer. *Tomorrow: A Peaceful Path to Social Reform*. London, Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Ltd., 1898.

Kelly's Directory of Bedfordshire, Huntingdonshire and Northamptonshire, 1898. London: Kelly's Directories, 1898.

Kent, John, W. Hackett, William, H. *Mr. Ben Jones, Who and What is He?* London: Co-operative Printing Society, 1901.

Kropotkin, P. *Fields, Factories and Workshops: Or Industry Combined with Agriculture and Brain Work with Manual Work*. 1891.

Mann, Tom. *Halfpenny Shortcuts*. 1890.

Morris, William. *News from Nowhere*. Boston: Robert Brothers, 1891.

Peterborough and District Trades Union Council: Diamond Jubilee. Peterborough: Peterborough Trades Union Council, 1959.

Peterborough Standard Directory 1912. Peterborough: Peterborough Standard, 1912.

Peterborough and District Directory and Year Book 1927. Peterborough: Peterborough Standard, 1927.

Peterborough Standard Directory of Peterborough and Fletton. Peterborough: Peterborough Standard, 1952.

Rowntree, Benjamin Seebohm. *Poverty: A Study of Town Life*. London: Macmillan, 1901.

Tolstoy, Leo. *Kingdom of God*. London: William Heinman, 1894.

Trades Union Congress, *Defend Democracy: Communist Activities Examined*. London: Trades Union Congress, 1948.

Trades Union Congress, *The Tactics of Disruption: Communist Methods Exposed*. London: Trades Union Congress, 1949.

Tressell, Robert. *The Ragged Trousered Philanthropist*. Ware: Wordsworth Editions Limited, 2012.

The Unofficial Reform Committee. *The Miners Next Step*. Tonypany: Robert Davies and Co., General Printers, 1912.

UK Parliament. '1942 Beveridge Report.' Accessed 5 October 2021.

<https://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/transformingsociety/livinglearning/coll-9-health1/coll-9-health/>.

Webb, Sidney. Webb, Beatrice. *History of Trade Unionism*. London and New York: Longmans, Greens and Co., 1894.

Webb, Sidney. Webb, Beatrice. *History of Trade Unionism*. London: Sidney and Beatrice Webb, 1920.

Wilshire, Gayford. *Syndicalism: What It Is*. London: Twentieth Century Press Ltd., 1912.

1g - Articles, Chapters and Journal Articles.

'The Raid on the Headquarters of the CPGB. H.O.144/6719/485074.' *Bulletin – Society for the Study of Labour History* 40 (1980).

Drage, Lovell. Lee, Robert. 'The Imperial Vaccination League,' *The British Medical Journal* 1, 2194 (1903).

Edwards, Clem. 'The Trades Union Congress of 1895.' *The Economic Journal* 5, 20 (1895).

Guthrie, Robin. 'Expanding a Town: Peterborough's Example.' *New Society* 24 (1970).

'H-Bomb Special.' *The Birmingham, Journal: Organ of the Birmingham Trades Council*. (September 1959).

Dr Kimber, W. T. J. 'Regional Hospital Boards – Their Functions and Possibilities.' *British Journal of Occupational Therapy* 12, 37 (1949).

Lewis, Susan Scott. 'Nurses and Trade Unions in Britain.' *International Journal of Health Services* 6, 4 (1976).

Mazzini, Giuseppe. 'Chapter Seventeen: On Public Opinion and England's International Leadership (1847).' In *A Cosmopolitan of Nations, Giuseppe Mazzini's Writings on Democracy, Nation Building, and International Relations*, edited by Stefano Recchia and Nadia Urbinati, 199-207. Woodstock, Princeton University Press, 2009.

Nemzer, Louis. 'The Soviet Friendship Societies.' *The Public Opinion Quarterly* 13, 2 (1949).

Peterborough Local History Society Magazine, 37-45 (2010-14).

'Prefabricated Bungalows.' *The Architectural Journal* 103, 2666 (1946).

'Railway Engine Drivers.' *Chamber's Journal of Popular Literature, Science and Arts* 8, 403 (1891).

Robertson, Howard. 'Industrial Hostels.' *The Architectural Review* 97, 579 (1954).

1h - Newspapers

Belfast Newsletter

Birmingham Daily Gazette

Birmingham Daily Post

The Boston Guardian

Cambridgeshire Live

The Clarion

Daily Herald

Derby Evening Telegraph

The Grantham Journal

The Guardian

Justice

The Labour Leader

The Lincolnshire Echo

The Manchester Guardian

Market Harborough Advertiser and Midland Mail

Nottingham Journal

Nottingham Post

Pall Mall Gazette

Peterborough Citizen and Advertiser

Peterborough Advertiser

Peterborough Express

Peterborough Standard
The Scotsman
Sheffield Independent
Western Times
Westminster Gazette
Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer

Secondary Sources

2a - Books and Pamphlets

Allaun, Frank. *The CND Story*. London: Allison and Busby Limited, 1983.

Anderson, Benedict R. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 2016.

The Angry Brigade 1967-1984 Documents and Chronology. London: BM Elephant, 1985.

Bain, G. Price, R. *Profiles of Union Growth*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980.

Barnsby, George J. *A History of Wolverhampton, Bilston and District Trades Union Council, 1865–1990*. Wolverhampton, Bilston and District TUC: Wolverhampton, 1994.

Barrow, Logie. Bullock, Ian. *Democratic Ideas and the British Labour Movement 1880-1914*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Beaumont, Caitriona. *Housewives and Citizens: Domesticity and the Women's Movement in England, 1928-64*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013.

Beckett, Francis. *Clem Attlee: Labour's Great Reformer*. Belgium: Hans Publishing, 2015.

Bendixson, Terence. *The Peterborough Effect: reshaping a City*. Peterborough: Peterborough Development Corporation, 1988.

Berman, Sheri. *The Primary of Politics: Social Democracy and Europe's Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Bevir, Mark. *The Making of British Socialism*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2011.

Black, Lawrence. *Redefining British Politics: Culture, Consumerism and Participation, 1954-70*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

Bolotten, Burnett. Payne, Stanley G. Essenwein, George. *The Spanish Civil War: Revolution and Counter Revolution*. North Carolina: The North Carolina Press, 2015.

Booth, Janine, *Minnie Lansbury: Suffragette, Socialist and Rebel Councillor*. Nottingham: Five Leaves, 2018.

- Boston, Sarah. *Women Workers and Trade Unions*. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 2015.
- Boughton, John. *Municipal Dreams: The Rise and Fall of Council Housing*. London: Verso, 2018.
- Boyer, George R. *The Winding Road to the Welfare State: Economic Insecurity and Social Welfare Policy in Britain*. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2019.
- Brown, Callum G. *The Death of Christian Britain: Understanding Secularism 1800-2000*. London: Routledge, 2009.
- Bruley, Sue. *The Men and Women of 1926: A Gender and Social History of the General Strike and Miners' Lock Out in South Wales*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2010.
- Carter, April Carter, *The CND Story*. London: Allison and Busby, 1983.
- Castlemilk People's History Group. *The Big Flit: Castlemilk's First Tenants*. Glasgow: The Workers Educational Association Castlemilk People's History Group, 1990.
- Chessman, Lorna. Dr. Agozion, Biko, *From Immigrants to Ethnic Minority: Making Black Community in Britain*. Oxfordshire: Taylor and Francis Group, 2000.
- Chick, Martin. *Industrial Policy in Britain 1945-1951: Economic, Planning, Nationalisation and the Labour Governments*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Clegg, H. A. *History of British Trade Unions Since 1889, Vol. II, 1911-1933*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985.
- Clegg, H. A. *History of British Trade Unions Since 1889, Vol. III, 1934-1951*. Oxford: Oxford University Press 1994.
- Clegg, H. A. Fox, Alan. Thompson, A. F. *A History of British Trade Unions Since 1899*. Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1964.
- Clinton, Alan. *The Trade Union Rank and File: Trade Councils in Britain 1900 – 40*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1977.
- Coates, Ken. Topham, Tony. *Trade Unions in Britain*. Nottingham: Spokesman, 1980.
- Collin, W. H. 'Katherine Clayton OBE: Peterborough's Second Freewoman.' In *People of Peterborough: Famous and Interesting People from the History of Peterborough*, edited by Peterborough U3A Shared Learning Members, 126-28. Peterborough: Peterborough Museum Publications.

- Connolly, Heather. Marino, Stefania. Lucio, Miguel Martinez. Hyman, Richard. *The Politics of Social Inclusion and Labour Representation: Immigrants and Trade Unions in the European Context*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2015.
- Cooper, John. *The British Welfare Revolution, 1906-14*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2017.
- Crick, Martin. *The History of the Social-Democratic Federation*. Keele: Ryburn Publishing, 1994.
- Currie, Robert. *Industrial Politics*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979.
- Davis, Mary. *Comrade or Brother? A History of the British Labour Movement*. London: Pluto Press, 1993.
- Dewey, Peter. *War and Progress: Britain 1914-1945*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2014.
- Dorey, Peter. Professor Aldcroft, Derek H. *British Conservatism and Trade Unionism, 1945-1964*. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2009.
- Dorfman, Gerald A. *British Trade Unionism Against the Trades Union Congress*. Basingstoke: The Macmillan Press Ltd, 1983.
- Donnelly, Mark. *Britain in the Second World War*. Abingdon: Routledge, 1999.
- Donnelly, Mark. *Sixties Britain: Culture, Society and Politics*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2005.
- Duffield, M. *Black Radicalism and Politics of De-Industrialisation: The Hidden History of Indian Foundry Workers*. Aldershot: Avebury, 1988.
- Dylan, Huw. *Defence Intelligence and the Cold War: Britain's Joint Intelligence Bureau 1945-1964*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Evans, Eric J. *The Forging of the Modern State: Early Industrial Britain, 1783-C. 1870*. London: Taylor Francis, 2018).
- Fallon, Bernadette. *Cathedrals of Britain: Central and East*. Barnsley: Pen and Sword, 2018.
- Field, Geoffrey G. *Blood, Sweat and Toil: Remaking the British Working Class, 1939-1945*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Florey, R. A. *The General Strike of 1926: The Economic, Political and Social Causes of that Class War*. London: John Calder Ltd., 1980.

Fox, Alan. *History and Heritage: The Social Origins of the British Industrial Relations System*. London: Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1985.

Fraser, Hamish. *A History of British Trade Unions 1700 – 1998*. Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1999.

Frow, R. Frow, E. Katanka, Michael. *Strikes: A Documentary History*. London: Charles Knight and Co. Ltd., 1971.

Gamble, A. *The Conservative Nation*. London: Routledge & Keegan Paul, 1974.

Gorman, John. *Banner Bright, an Illustrated History of Trade Union Banners*. Buckhurst: Scorpion Publishing Ltd., 1986.

Gray, David. *Peterborough at War 1914-1918*. Great Britain: 2014.

Gregory, Adam. *The Last Great War: British Society and the First World War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Greenwood, Sean. *Britain and the Cold War 1945-91*. Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 2000.

Griggs, Clive. *The TUC and Education Reform 1926-1970*. London: Frank Cass, 2002.

Grimes, Sharon Schildein. *The British National Health Service: State Intervention in the Medical Marketplace, 1911-1948*. London: Taylor Francis Group, 1991.

Groves, Sally. Merritt, Vernon. *Trico, A Victory to Remember: The 1976 Equal Pay Strike at Trico Folberth, Brentford*. London: Lawrence and Wishart Limited, 2018.

Hall, Peter. Ward, Colin. *Sociable Cities: The Legacy of Ebenezer Howard*. Chichester: John Wiley and Sons, 1998.

Hamilton, Scott. *The Crisis of Theory: E P Thompson, the New Left and Post-War British Politics*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011.

Hammerton, A. James. *Migrants of the British Diaspora from the 1960s: Stories from Modern Nomads*. Manchester: Manchester University, 2007.

Harris, Carol. *Women at War, 1939-1945: The Home Front*. Stroud: Sutton, 2000.

Hartmann, Christian. *Operation Barbarossa: Nazi Germany's War in the East 1941-1945*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Hawkins, Kevin. *The Management of Industrial Relations*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978.

Hempton, David. *Religion and Political Culture in Britain and Ireland: From the Glorious revolution to the Decline of Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Hillier, Richard. *Clay that Burns* (Peterborough: London Brick Company, 1982.

Hobsbawm, Eric, J. *Labouring Men: Studies in the History of Labour*. London: Weidenfield Goldbacks, 1971.

Holloway, Gerry. *Women and Work in Britain Since 1840*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2005.

Holton, Bob. *British Syndicalism 1900-1914*. London: Pluto Press, 1976.

Hughes, Celia. *Young Lives on the Left: Sixties Activism and the Liberation of the Sefl*. Manchester: Manchester University, 2015.

Hunt, Cathy. *The National Federation of Women Workers*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.

Hutton, Ronald. *Blood and Mistletoe: The Druids in Britain*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009.

Huxford, Grace. Summerfield, Penny. *The Korean War in Britain: Citizenship, Selfhood and Forgetting*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002.

Hyman, Richard. *The Workers Union*. London: Oxford University Press, 1971

Jeffreys, Kim. *The Attlee Governments 1945-1951*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2013.

Jones, Mervyn. *The CND Story*. London: Allison and Busby, 1983.

Joyce, Peter. *The Policing of Protest, Disorder and National Terrorism in the UK since 1945: Britain in Comparative Perspective Since 1945*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.

King, Peter. *Twentieth-Century British History Made Simple*. London: W, H. Allen and Company Ltd., 1980.

Kirkby, Andrew. *Exeter Trades Council 1890-1990: In the Cause of Liberty*. Exeter: Sparkler Books. 1990.

- Laybourn, Keith. *British Trade Unionism c. 1770-1990*. Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1991.
- Laybourn, Keith. *The General Strike of 1926: New Frontiers in History*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993.
- Lineham, Thomas. *Communism in Britain 1920-39: From the Cradle to the Grave*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007.
- Lloyd, Alan. *Hampshire Heroes: Volunteer Fighters in the Spanish Civil War*. London: The Clapton Press, 2022.
- Long, Vicky. *The Rise and Fall of the Healthy Factory: The Politics of Industrial Health, 1914-60*. Springer, 2010.
- Lopez, Tara Martin. Rowbotham, Sheila. *The Winter of Discontent: Myth, Memory, and History*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2014.
- Lumley, Roger. *White-Collar Unionism in Britain: A Survey of the Present Position*. London: Methuen and Co., 1973.
- Lund, Brian. *Housing Politics in the United Kingdom: Planning, Power and Protest*. Bristol: Policy Press, 2016.
- Maguire, Charlie. *Building a Community: Construction Workers in Stevenage 1950-1970*. London: University of Westminster, 2011.
- Martin, Roderick. *Communism and the British Trade Unions 1924-1933: A Study of the National Minority Movement*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969.
- Martin, Ross. *Communism and the British Trade Unions 1924-1933: A Study of the National Minority Movement*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969.
- Martin, Ross M. Martin. *TUC: Growth of a Pressure Group, 1868-1976*. Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1980.
- Matthews, Wade. *The New Left, National Identity and the Break Up of Britain*. Leiden: Brill, 2013.
- McCormack, Matthew. *Citizenship and Gender in Britain, 1688-1928*. London: Routledge, 2019.
- McDowell, Linda. *Working Lives: Gender, Migration and Employment in Britain, 1945-2007*. London: John Wiley and Sons, 2015.

McIvor, Arthur J. *A History of Work in Britain, 1880-1950*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001.

McKenzie, Rita. *Mayors of Peterborough 1874-1924: Volume 1, the First Fifty Years*. 1992: McKenzie, Peterborough.

McKenzie, Rita. *A Hundred Years of Baker Perkins at Westwood Works, 1903-2003*. Peterborough: Baker Perkins Historical Society, 2007.

McKenzie, Rita. Abbott, Gabrielle. *Through the Years: Baker Perkins People and Places*. Peterborough: Baker Perkins Historical Society, 2015.

McKibbin, Ross. *Classes and Cultures, England 1918-1951*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.

McLaine, I. *Ministry of Morale: Home Front and Morale and the Ministry of Information of Information in World War II*. London: Allen and Unwin, 1979.

McLeod, Hugh. *Religion and Society in England, 1850-1940*. Houndmills: MacMillan, 1996.

Moher, Dr Jim. *Walter Citrine: The Forgotten Statesman of the Trades Union Congress*. Plymouth: JGM Books, 2001.

Monger, David. *Patriotism and Propaganda in First World War Britain: The National War Aims Committee and Civilian Morale*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2014.

Moore, Sian. *New Trade Union Activism: Class Consciousness or Social Identity?* New York: Springer, 2010.

Moore, Tony. *Policing Notting Hill: 50 Years of Turbulence*. London: Waterside Press, 2013.

Morris, Margaret. *The General Strike*. Middlesex: Penguin Books Ltd., 1979.

Moss, Johnathon. *Women, Workplace Protest and Political Identity in England 1968-85*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2019.

Nehring, Holger. *Political of Security: British and West German Protest Movements and the Early Cold War 1945-70*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Nottingham and District Trades Union Council: 1890-1990 Centenary (Nottingham: Nottingham TUC, 1990).

- Panayi, Panikos. *An Immigration History of Britain: Multicultural Racism Since 1800*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2014.
- Paul, Kathleen. *Whitewashing Britain: Race and Citizenship in the Post-War Era*. New York: Cornell University Press, 1997.
- Pearce, Malcolm, Geoffrey Stewart, *British Political History: 1867-2001: Democracy and Decline*. Abingdon: Routledge, 1992.
- Pelling, Henry. *A History of British Trade Unionism*. 1992: MacMillan Press, London.
- Pennell, Catriona. *A Kingdom United: Popular Responses to the Outbreak of the First World War in Britain and Ireland*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Perry, Kenetta Hammond. *London is the Place for Me: Black Britain's and the Politics of Race*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.
- Perry, Matt. *'Red Ellen' Wilkinson: Her Ideas Movement and Words*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014.
- Peterborough U3A Shared Learning Members. *People of Peterborough: Famous, Infamous and Interesting People from the History of Peterborough*. Peterborough Museum Publications.
- Phillips, G. A. *The Rise of the Labour Party, 1893-1931*. London: Routledge, 1992.
- Potts, C. R. *The GWR and the General strike (1926): No. 194 (Locomotion Papers)*. Sidcup: Oakwood Press, 1996.
- Preston, Margaret. *Baker Perkins: Not Just a Place to Work*. Peterborough: Baker Perkins Historical Society, 2008.
- Preston, Paul. *The Spanish Holocaust: Inquisition and Extermination in Twentieth-Century Spain*. New York, Harper Press, 2013.
- Rallings, Colin. Thrasher, Michael. *British Electoral Facts 1832-1999*. London: Routledge, 2017.
- Raw, Louise. *Striking a Light: The Bryant and May Matchwomen and Their Place in History*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013.
- Reid, Alastair J. *United We stand: A History of Britain's Trade Unions*. London: Penguin Books Ltd, 2004.

Richards, Huw. *The Bloody Circus: "Daily Herald: and the Left*. London: Pluto Press, 1997.

Robertson, Nicole. *The Cooperative Movement and Communities in Britain 1914-1960: Minding Their Own Business*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2010.

Rocton, Thomas R. *Mobilising for Peace: The Antinuclear Movement in Western Europe*. Princeton: The Princeton University Press, 1988.

Roodhouse, Mark. *Black Market Britain: 1935-1955*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Rosenwein, Barbara H. Cristiani, Riccardo. *What is the History of Emotions?* Cambridge: Polity Press, 2018.

Rowbotham, Sheila. *Hidden from History, 300 Years of Women's Oppression and the Fight Against it*. London: Pluto Press, 1974.

Russell, Dave. *Popular Music in England 1840-1914: A Social History*. Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1987.

Sabry, Mohamed Ismail. *The Development of Socialism, Social Democracy and Communism: Historical, Political and Socioeconomic Perspectives*. Bingley: Emerald Publishing Limited, 2017.

Saltzman, Rachelle Hope. *A Lark for the Sake of Their Country: The 1926 General Strike Volunteers in Folklore and Memory*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012.

Sandbrook, Dominic. *State of Emergency, The Way we Were: Britain 1970-1974*. London: Allen Lane, 2010.

Searle, Patrick. McConville, Maureen. *French Revolution 1968*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd., 1968.

Sheppard, John. *Crisis What Crisis: The Callaghan Government and the Winter of Discontent*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015.

Sivanadan, Ambalavaner. *A Different Hunger: Writer's on Black Resistance*. London: Pluto Press, 2015.

Smith, Evan. *British Communism and the Politics of Race*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2017.

Spencer, Ian R. G. *British Immigration Policy since 1939: The Making of Multi-Racial Britain*. Abingdon: Taylor Francis Group 2015.

- Stevenson, John. Cook, Chris. *The Slump: Britain in the Great Depression*. Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2010.
- Stewart, Jill. Lynch, Zena. *Environmental Health and Housing: Issues for Public Health*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2018.
- Sugg, Deborah. *Ideal Homes 1918-39: Domestic Design and Suburban Modernism*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018.
- Taylor, Matthew. *The Association Game: A History of British football*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2013.
- Tebbs, Herbert F. *Peterborough*. Cambridge: The Oleander Press, 1979.
- Thomas, Symonds, Nicklaus. *Attlee: A Life in Politics*. London: I. B. Taurus, 2010.
- Thompson, Andrew S. *The Empire Strikes Back? The Impact of Imperialism on Britain from the Mid-Nineteenth Century*. Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2005.
- Thomson, Paul. *Edwardians: The Remaking of British Society*. Abingdon: Taylor and Francis, Group, 2004.
- Thurlow, Richard C. *Fascism in Britain: From Oswald Mosley's Blackshirts to the National Front*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1998.
- Vincent, J. R. *The Formation of the British Liberal Party 1857-1868*. Brighton: The Harvester Press, 1976.
- Ward, Colin. *The Child in the City*. London: Bedford Square Press, 1990.
- Ward, Paul. *Britishness Since 1870*. London: Routledge, 2004.
- Weiler, Peter. *British Labour and the Cold War*. California: Stanford University Press, 1988.
- White, Nicholas. *Decolonisation: The British Experience Since 1945*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2014.
- Williams, Francis. *Magnificent Journey: The Rise and of the Trade Unions*. London: Oldhams Press Limited, 1954.
- Worley, Matthew. *Class Against Class: The Communist Party Between the Wars*. London: I. B. Tauris, 2001.

Wrigley, Chris. *British Trade Unions Since 1933*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

2b - Articles, Chapters and Journal Articles

Ackers, Peter. 'Protestant Sectarianism in Twentieth Century British Labour History: From Free and Labour Churches to Pentacostalism and the Churches of Christ.' *International Review of Social History* 64, 1 (2009).

Alexander, Claire. Byrne, Bridget. 'Introduction.' In *Ethnicity, Race and Inequality in the UK: State of the Nation*, edited by Byrne, Alexander, Khan, Nazroo and Shankley, William, 1-14. Bristol: Policy Press, 2020.

The Anarchist Library. 'Leaflet for which Tom Mann was Jailed.' Accessed 3 July 2020. <https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/wildcat-inside-story-leaflet-for-which-tom-mann-was-jailed-in-1912>.

Anderson, Will. Gillam, Steve. 'The Elusive NHS Consumer: 1938 to the NHS Plan.' *Economic Affairs* 21, 4 (2001).

Ansari, Sarah. 'Subjects or Citizens? India, Pakistan and the 1948 British Nationality Act.' *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 41, 2 (2013).

Aqui, Lindsay. Kenny, Michael. Pearce, Nick. 'The Empire of England: Enoch Powell, Sovereignty and the Constitution of Nation.' *Twentieth Century British History* 32, 2 (2021).

Bacon, Nicolas. Blyton, Paul. 'Militant and Moderate Trade Union Orientations: What are the Effects on Workplace Trade Unionism, Union-Management Relations and Employee Gains.' *International Journal of Human Resource Management* 13, 2 (2002).

Baker Perkins History. 'Sports and Pastimes.' Accessed 17 July 2020. <http://www.westwoodworks.net/SportsAndPastimes/>.

Baker Perkins at Westwood Works. 'Manor House Hospital.' Accessed 25 September 2021. <http://www.westwoodworks.net/howitwas/manorhousehospital/index.htm>.

Baker Perkins at Westwood Works. 'The Prefabs.' Accessed 10 June 2021. <http://www.westwoodworks.net/HowItWas/Housing/index.htm>.

Bayliss, John. 'American Bases in Britain: The Truman-Attlee Understanding.' *The World Today* 42, 8/9 (1986).

Beliard, Yann. 'Contested Coordinator: The Hull Trades Council, 1872-1914.' In *Labour United and Divided from the 1830s to Present*, edited by Avril Emmanuel and Yann Beliard, 66-82. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018.

Benkwitz, Adam. Molnar, Gyozo. 'The Emergence and Development of Association Football: Influential Sociocultural Factors in Victorian Birmingham.' *Soccer and Society* 18, 7 (2017).

Bentley, Michael. 'The Liberal Party 1900-1939: Summit and Descent,' in *A Companion to the Early Twentieth Century*, edited by Chris Wrigley, 23-37. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2003.

Black, Lawrence. 'An Enlightening Decade? New Histories of 1970s Britain.' *International Labour and Working Class History* 82, 82 (2012).

Blackledge, Paul. 'The New Left: Stalinism and Social Democracy?' In *Against the Grain: The British Far Left from 1956*, edited by Evan Smith and Matthew Worley, 45-61. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014.

Bonnett, Alastair. 'Radical Nostalgia.' *History Today* 57, 2 (2007).

Britain at Work. 'Race and the Trade Unions.' Accessed 23 November 2020. <http://www.unionhistory.info/britainatwork/themes/raceandtradeunions.php>.

Britain at Work. 'Statement on Recent Disturbances.' Accessed 16 February 2021. <http://www.unionhistory.info/britainatwork/emuweb/objects/nofdigi/tuc/imagedisplay.php?irn=1000134>.

Britannica. 'Vincent Tewson.' Accessed 20 October 2020. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Vincent-Tewson>.

Britannica Academia, 'International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU).' Accessed 11 March 2021. <https://academic-eb-com.proxy.library.dmu.ac.uk/levels/collegiate/article/International-Confederation-of-Free-Trade-Unions/42580>

Britannica Academic. 'Operation Barbarossa.' Accessed 4 January 2021. <https://academic-eb-com.proxy.library.dmu.ac.uk/levels/collegiate/article/Operation-Barbarossa/545372>.

Britannica Academic. Sir Vincent Tewson.' Accessed 31 March 2022. <https://academic-eb-com.proxy.library.dmu.ac.uk/levels/collegiate/article/Sir-Vincent-Tewson/71876>.

Britannica Academic. 'Syndicalism.' Accessed 31 December 2021. <https://academic-eb-com.proxy.library.dmu.ac.uk/levels/collegiate/article/syndicalism/70746>.

Britannica Academia. 'World Federation of Trade Unions.' Accessed 11 March 2021. <https://academic-eb-com.proxy.library.dmu.ac.uk/levels/collegiate/article/World-Federation-of-Trade-Unions/77489>

British Newspaper Archive. 'Clarion.' Accessed 17 August 2022. <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/titles/clarion>.

British Newspaper Archive. 'Justice.' Accessed 17 August 2022. <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/titles/justice>.

British Newspaper Archive. 'Labour Leader.' Accessed 17 August 2022. <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/titles/labour-leader>.

British Newspaper Archive. 'Peterborough Express.' Accessed 26 September 2022. <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/titles/peterborough-express>.

Buchan, David. 'Yours for the Revolution.' *Community and Identity in the Western Clarion, English Studies in Canada* 41, 2, (2015).

Buchanan, Tom. 'Loyal Believers and Disloyal Sceptics: Propaganda and Dissent in Britain during the Korean War, 1950-1953.' *History* 101, 348 (2016).

Buchanan, Tom. 'Walter McLennan, First Baron Citrine.' Accessed 15 September 2021. <https://www-oxforddnb-com.proxy.library.dmu.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-30931;jsessionid=BAEBF3E03468229A727BE06782C8A2CD>.

Buckley, Sheryl Bernadette. 'Division British Communism? Televising the Decline of the Communist Party of Great Britain.' *British Politics* 9, 4 (2014): 494-503.

Burkett, Jodi. 'Redefining British Morality: Britishness and the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament 1958-68.' *Twentieth Century British History* 21, 2 (2010).

Burkett, Jodie. 'The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and Changing Attitudes Towards the Earth in the Nuclear Age.' *The British Journal for the History of Science* 45, 4 (2012).

Byrne, Eugene. 'Postwar Squatters: A Very British Uprising.' *BBC History Magazine* 12, 6 (2011).

Cairncross, Liz, Clapham, David. Goodlad, Robina. 'The Origins and Activities of Tenants Associations in Britain.' *Urban Studies* 29, 5 (1992).

Callaghan, John. 'The Cold War and the March of Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy.' *Contemporary British History* 15, 3 (2010).

Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. 'The History of CND.' Accessed 14 July 2021. <https://cnduk.org/who/the-history-of-cnd/>.

Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. 'Trade Unions and CND.' Accessed 18 August 2021. <https://cnduk.org/about/trade-unions/>.

Carew, Anthony. 'Conflict within the ICFTU: Anti-Communism and Anti-Colonialism in the 1950s.' *International Review of Social History* 14, 2 (1996).

Cellini, Amanda. 'The Resettlement of Hungarian Refugees in 1956.' *Forced Migration Review* 54 (2017).

Chamberlain, Chris. 'The Growth of Support for the Labour Party in Britain.' *The British Journal of Sociology* 24, 4 (1973).

Charman, Terry. 'How the Ministry of Food Managed Rationing in World War Two.' Accessed 15 June 2021. [How the Ministry of Food managed food rationing in World War Two – Museum Crush.](#)

Clapson, Mark. 'The Suburban Aspiration of England Since 1919.' *Contemporary British History* 14, 1 (2000).

Clapson, Mark. 'This Rise and Fall of Monica Felton, British Town Planner and Peace Activist 1930s to 1950s.' *Planning Perspectives* 30, 2 (2015).

Clarion Cycling Club. 'National Clarion Cycling Club History.' Clarion Cycling Club. Accessed 3 July 2020. <https://clarioncc.org/about-the-national-clarion/history/>.

Clark, Janet. 'Sincere or Reasonable Men? The Origins of the National Council for Civil Liberties.' *20th Century British History* 20, 4 (2009).

Clinton, Alan. 'Trades Councils During the First World War.' *International Review of Social History* 15, 2 (1970).

Clinton, Alan. 'The Histories of Trades Councils.' *Society for the Study of Labour History* 74, 29, (1974).

Cole, Margaret. Capern, Amanda. 'Horrabin, James Francis.' Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Accessed 1 August 2022. <https://www-oxforddnb->

com.proxy.library.dmu.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-33995;jsessionid=D2CBD666674A3D7049769EFDF9188AE4.

Constas, Helen. 'Max Weber's Two Conceptions of Bureaucracy.' *American Journal of Sociology* 63,4 (1958).

Coppa, Frank J. 'The Religious Basis of Giuseppe Mazzini's Political Thought.' *Journal of Church and State* 12, 2 (1970).

Crewe, Steven. 'What about the Workers? Works-Based Sport and Recreation in England c. 1918-1970.' *Sport in History* 34, 4 (2014).

Crines, Andrew. Heppell, Tim. Hill, Michael. 'Enoch Powell's "Rivers of Blood" Speech: A Rhetorical Political Analysis.' *British Politics* 11, 1 (2015).

Crook, Max. 'The Labour Governments 1974-1979: Social Democracy Abandoned?' *British Politics* 14, 1 (2018).

Darling, Elizabeth. 'What the Tenants Think of Kensal House: Experts Assumptions Versus Inhabitants Realities in the Modern Home.' *Journal of Architectural Education* 53, 3 (1984).

Darlington, Ralph. 'Strike Waves, Union Growth and the Rank and File / Bureaucracy Interplay: Britain 1889-1890, 1910-1913 and 1919-1920.' *Labor History* 55, 1 (2014).

Darlington, Ralph. Mustchin, Stephen. 'The Role of the TUC in Significant Industrial Disputes: An Historical Critical Overview,' *Labor History* 60, 6 (2019).

Darlington, Ralph. Upchurch, Martin. 'A Reappraisal of the Rank-and-File Verses Bureaucracy Debate.' *Capital and Class* 36, 1, (2012).

Davis, Angela. King, Laura. 'Gendered Perspectives on Men's Changing Familial Roles in Post-War England 1950-1990.' *Gender and History* 30, 1 (2018).

Davis, Madeline. 'New Left, Political Movement.' Accessed 14 July 2021.
<https://www.britannica.com/topic/New-Left>,

Davis, Mary. 'The Labour Movement and World War Two.' Accessed 16 June 2021.
http://www.unionhistory.info/timeline/1939_1945.php.

Davis, Mary. 'Nationalisation and Planning.' Accessed 15 September 2021.
http://www.unionhistory.info/timeline/1945_1960.php.

- Davis, Mary. 'New Unionism.' Accessed 28 December 2021.
http://www.unionhistory.info/timeline/1880_1914.php.
- Davis, Mary. 'The Third Labour Government 1945-1951.' Accessed 13 May 2021.
http://www.unionhistory.info/timeline/1945_1960.php.
- Davis, Mary. 'Timeline.' Accessed 17 September 2020.
http://www.unionhistory.info/timeline/1880_1914.php.
- Davis, Mary. '1918-1939: Strikes of 1919.' *The Union Makes Us Strong*. Accessed 19 April 2022, http://www.unionhistory.info/timeline/1918_1939.php.
- Davis, Mary. '1914-1918: Women Trade Unionists.' Accessed 12 May 2022.
http://www.unionhistory.info/timeline/1914_1918.php.
- Davis, Stephen M. 'Promoting Productivity in the National Health Service, 1950 to 1966.' *Contemporary British History* 31, 1 (2017).
- Dezinatz, Victor G. 'A Cold War Thaw in the International Working Class Movement? The World Federation of Trade Unions and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, 1967-77.' *Science and Society* 77, 3 (2013).
- Dieter-Steinert, Johannes. 'British Post-War Migration Policy and Displaced Persons in Europe.' In *The Disentanglement of Populations: Migration, Expulsion and Displacement in Post-War Europe 1944-9*, edited by Jessica Reinisch and Elizabeth White, 229-247. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.
- Dintenfass, Michael. 'Converging Accounts, Misleading Metaphors and Persistent Doubts.' In *The British Industrial Decline*, edited by Michael Dintenfass and Jean-Pierre Dormois, 7-26. London: Routledge, 1999.
- Dorey, Pete. 'The Conservative Party and the Trade Unions.' Accessed 5 August 2021.
<https://www.historyandpolicy.org/trade-union-forum/meeting/the-conservative-party-and-the-trade-unions>.
- Doyle, Barry M. 'Modernity or Morality? George White, Liberalism and the Nonconformist Conscience in Edwardian England.' *Historical Research* 71, 176 (1998).
- Economics Online. 'Nationalisation.' Accessed 22 September 2021.
https://www.economicsonline.co.uk/business_economics/nationalisation.html/.
- Elgar, Jane. Simpson, Robert Cecil. 'The TUCs Bridlington Principles and Interunion Conflict.' Accessed 31 July 2021.
<https://cep.lse.ac.uk/new/publications/abstract.asp?index=160>.

Ellis, Sylvia. 'Leadership Experience in the Cold War: Cuba, Khrushchev, and Quemoy-Matsu and the 1960 Presidential Election Campaign.' In *US Presidential Elections and Foreign Policy: Candidates, Campaigns and Global Politics from FDR to Bill Clinton*, edited by Andrew Johnstone, Andrew Priest, 128-53. Kentucky: University of Kentucky, 2017.

Encyclopaedia Britannica. 'Cold War: International Politics.' Accessed 11 September 2022. <https://www.britannica.com/event/Cold-War>.

Encyclopaedia Britannica. 'Sir Ebenezer Howard: British Urban Planner.' Accessed 17 December 2020. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Ebenezer-Howard>.

Encyclopaedia Britannica. 'J. Keir Hardie: British Labour Leader.' Accessed 7 July 2021. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/J-Keir-Hardie>.

Encyclopaedia Britannica. 'Tom Mann: British Labour Leader.' Accessed 07 July 2021. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Tom-Mann>.

Encyclopaedia Britannica. 'Sir Vincent Tewson.' Accessed 4 August 2021. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Vincent-Tewson>.

Etymology Online. 'Comrade.' Accessed 31 December 2021. <https://www.etymonline.com/word/comrade>.

Everett, Martyn. 'We Refuse to Starve in Silence.' *Saffron Walden Historical Journal*, Autumn (2016).

Fekete, Liz. 'Dockers Against Racism: An Interview with Micky Fenn,' *Race and Class* 58, 1 (2016).

Field, Clive D. 'The Faith Society? Quantifying Religious Belonging in Edwardian Britain, 1901-1914.' *Journal of Religious History* 37, 1 (2013).

Fishman, Nina. 'The Phoney Cold War in British Trade Unions.' *Contemporary British History* 15, 3 (2001).

Fishman, Nina. 'Part One.' Accessed 2 December 2020. http://www.unionhistory.info/timeline/1960_2000.php.

Fleissig, Adrian. 'The impact of World War Two and Rationing on UK Expenditure in the Short and Long Run.' *The Journal of European Economic History* 49, 3 (2020).

- Fletcher, Ian Christopher. 'Reframing the Edwardian Crisis: Contentious Citizenship in the British Empire Before the First World War.' *World History Bulletin* 29, 2 (2013).
- Foster, John. 'The Aristocracy of Labour and Working-class Consciousness Revisited.' *Labour History* 75, 3 (2010).
- Frank, Christopher. 'He Might Almost Be Without Trial: Trade Unions and the 1823 Master and Servant Act – The Warrington Cases, 1846-47.' *Historical Studies in Industrial Relations* 14 (2002).
- French, Ian Christopher. 'Reframing the Edwardian Crisis: Contentious Citizenship in the British Empire Before the First World War.' *World History Bulletin* 29, 2 (2013).
- Gamser, Howard G. 'Interunion Disputes in Great Britain and the United States.' *ILR Review* 9, 1 (1955).
- Gazeley, Ian. Newall, Andrew. 'Poverty in Edwardian Britain.' *The Economic History Review*, 64, 1 (2011).
- Geoghegan, Vincent. 'Socialism and Christianity in Edwardian Britain: A Utopian Perspective.' *Utopian Studies* 2, 10 (1999).
- Goldthorpe, John H. 'Class and Status in Interwar England: Current Issues in the Light of a Historical Case.' *The British Journal of Sociology* 72, 2 (2021).
- Gore, Van. 'Rank and File in Dissent.' In *A History of British Industrial Relations, 1875-1914*, edited by Chris Wrigley, 47-73. Brighton, Harvester Press, 1982.
- Graces Guide to British Industrial History. 'Peter Brotherhood,' Accessed 13 January 2022. https://www.gracesguide.co.uk/Peter_Brotherhood.
- Graces Guide to British Industrial History. 'Werner, Pfeleiderer and Perkins.' Accessed 13 January 2022. [https://www.gracesguide.co.uk/Werner, Pfeleiderer and Perkins](https://www.gracesguide.co.uk/Werner,_Pfleiderer_and_Perkins).
- Gurney, Peter J. 'Co-operation and New Consumerism in Interwar England.' *Business History* 54, 6 (2012).
- Gwinnett, Giselle. 'Attlee, Bevin and Political Warfare: Labour's Secret Anti-Communist Campaign in Europe, 1948-51.' *The International History Review* 39-3 (2017).
- Harrison, B., 2004. 'Rackham (nee Tabor).' Accessed 28 May 2020, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/48589>.
- Hassel, A. 'The Politics of Social Pacts.' *British Journal of Industrial Relations* 41, 4 (2003).

Hatchett, William. 'Christopher Addison: Health Visionary, Man of War, Parliamentarian and Practical Pioneer.' In *Pioneers in Public Health: Lessons from History*, edited by Jill Stewart, 96-105. Abingdon: Taylor and Francis Group, 2017.

Hawkins, Ashleigh. 'Temperance on the Rails, the Railway Mission Archive.' Accessed 15 July 2020. <https://blog.railwaymuseum.org.uk/temperance-on-the-rails/>.

Heery, Edmund. William, Steve. Abbott, Brian. 'Civil Society Organisations and Trade Unions: Cooperation, Conflict, Indifference.' *Work, Employment and Society* 26, 1 (2012).

Hellawell, Sarah. 'a Strong International Spirit: The Influence of Internationalism on the Women's Cooperative Guild.' *20th Century British History*, 32, 1 (2021).

Heys, Robert. 'Medical Classics: The Beveridge Report (Report of the Interdepartmental Committee on Social Insurance and Allied Services.' *British Medical Journal* 345, 7870 (2012).

Higgs, Michael. 'From the Street to the State: Making Anti-fascism and Anti-Racist in 1970s Britain.' *Race and Class* 58, 19 (2016).

Historic England. 'Post-war Council Housing Estates: The Planner's Dream of the Future.' Accessed 12 October 2021. <https://historicengland.org.uk/whats-new/in-your-area/midlands/post-war-council-housing-estates/#65961afb>.

Hodder, Andy. Edwards, Paul. 'The Essence of Trade Unions: Understanding Identity, Ideology and Purpose.' *Work, Employment and Society*, 29, 5 (2015).

Hollow, Matthew. 'Suburban Ideals on England's Interwar Council Estates,' *Garden History* 39, 2 (2011).

Hollow, Matthew. 'Utopian Urges: Visions for Reconstruction in Britain, 1940-1950.' *Planning Perspectives* 27, 4 (2012).

Honeyball, S. E. 'Individualism and the Bridlington Principles.' *Kingston Law Review* 14, 1 (1984).

Howe, M. D. 'John Whitsed: Soldier of Fortune.' In *Posh Folk: Some Notable Personalities (and a Donkey)*, edited by Mary Liquorice, 76-7. Cambridgeshire: Cambridgeshire Libraries Publications, 2011.

Howell, David. 'Benstead, John (Sir) (1897-1979).' In *Dictionary of Labour Biography, Volume 15*, edited by Keith Gildart and David Howell, 23-4. New York: Springer Publishing, 2016.

Hughes, Celia. 'Narratives of Radical Lives: The Roots of 1960s Activism and the Making of the British Left.' In *Against the Grain: The British Far Left from 1956*, edited by Evan Smith and Matthew Worley, 63-79. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014.

Hull History Centre. 'The Cooperative Women's Guild and the International Cooperative Women's Guild.' Accessed 18 August 2020.

<http://www.hullhistorycentre.org.uk/research/research-guides/cooperative-womens-guild.aspx>.

Hunt, Cathy. 'Sex Versus Class in Two British Trade Unions in the Early Twentieth Century.' *Journal of Women's History* 24, 1 (2012).

Hunter, Laurence C. 'British Incomes Policy, 1972-1974.' *ILR Review* 29, 1 (1975).

Hyland, Bernadette. 'Our Transcription Project: Minutes of the Manchester and Salford and District Women's Trades Council 1895-1919.' Accessed 24 September 2020.

<https://maryquaileclub.wordpress.com/minutes-of-the-manchester-and-salford-womens-trades-council-1895-to-1919/>.

Hyman, Richard. 'The Politics of Workplace Trade Unionism: Recent Tendencies and Some Problems in Theory.' *Capital and Class*, 3, 2 (1979).

Hyman, Richard. 'Tom Mann: The Road to Syndicalism and Beyond.' *Historical Studies in Industrial Relations* 33, 1 (2012).

Independent Labour Publications. 'ILP History: An Introduction to the History of the ILP.' Accessed 14 December 2021. <https://www.independentlabour.org.uk/history/>.

Jeffreys, Steve. Ouali, Nouria. 'Trade Unions and Racism in London, Brussels and Paris Public Transport.' *Industrial Relations Journal* 38, 5 (2017).

Johnson, Graham. 'Social Democracy and Labour Politics in Britain.' *History* 85, 277 (2000).

Kalis, Peter J. 'The Effectiveness of Utility of the Disputes Committee of the Trade Union Congress.' *British Journal of Industrial Relations* 16, 1 (1978).

Kay, Diana. Miles, Robert. 'Refugees or Migrant Workers? The Case of the European Volunteer Workers in Britain (1946-51).' *Journal of Refugee Studies* 1, 3-4, (1988).

Kay, Joyce. 'Maintaining the Traditions of British Sport? The Private Sporting Club in the Twentieth Century.' *International Journal of Sport History* 30, 14 (2003).

Kennedy, Peter. Kennedy, David. 'DIY Football: The Cultural Politics of Community Based Football Clubs – Introduction.' *Sport in Society* 18, 4 (2015).

Kerswell, Timothy. 'A Conceptual History of the Labour Aristocracy: A Critical Review.' *Socialism and Democracy* 33, 1 (2019).

Labour Research Department. 'Labour Research Department: Our First 100 Years.' Accessed 7 July 2021. <https://www.lrd.org.uk/index.php?pagid=60>.

Laybourn, Keith. 'The Failure of Socialist Unity in Britain, c. 1893-1914.' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 6, 4 (1994).

Liberty. 'Liberty's History: How We've Been Making the UK a Fairer Place Since 1934.' Accessed 11 February 2021. <https://www.libertyhumanrights.org.uk/about-us/libertys-history/>.

Lister, John. 'The National Health Service Act 1946.' *British Medical Journal* 343. 7826 (2011).

'Lost Hospitals of London: Manor House Hospital,' Lost Hospitals of London, accessed 29 September 2021, <https://ezitis.myzen.co.uk/manorhouse.html>.

Maguire, Charlie. Clarke, Linda. Wall, Christine. 'Through Trade Unionism you felt a belonging – you Belonged: Collectivism and the Self-Representation of Building Workers in Stevenage New Town.' *Labour History Review* 81, 3 (2016).

Maguire, Charlie. Clarke, Linda. Wall, Christine. 'Battles on the Barbican: the Struggle for Trade Unionism in the British Building Industry, 1965-67.' *History Workshop Journal* 75 (2013).

Maguire, Thomas J. 'Counter-Subversion in Early Cold-War Britain: The Official Committee on Communism (Home), the Information Research Department and 'State-Private' Networks.' *Intelligence and National Security* 30, 5 (2015).

Mahoney, Joan. 'Civil Liberties During the Cold War: The Role of the Central Government.' *The American Journal of Legal History* 33, 1 (1989).

Malpass, Peter. 'The Wobbly Pillar? Housing and the British Postwar Welfare State.' *Journal of Social Policy* 32, 4 (2003).

Mansour, Claire. 'The Cross-National Diffusion of the American Civil Rights Movement: The Example of the Bristol Bus Boycott of 1963.' *Miranda: Revue Pluridisciplinaire du Monde Anglophone* 10, 10 (2015).

Martin, Tara. 'The Beginning of Labour's End? Britain's "Winter of Discontent" and Working-Class Women's Activism.' *International Labour and Working Class History* 75, 1 (2009).

Martin-Moruno, Dolores. 'Fearful Female Bodies.' In *Emotional Bodies: The Historical Performativity of Emotions*, edited by Dolores Martin-Moruno and Beatriz Pichel, 141-54. Chicago: University of Illinois, 2019.

Martin-Moruno, Dolores. Pichel, Beatriz. 'Introduction.' In *Emotional Bodies: The Historical Performativity of Emotions*, edited by Dolores Martin-Moruno and Beatriz Pichel, 9-18. Chicago: University of Illinois, 2019.

Martin-Moruno, Dolores. Pichel, Beatriz. 'Part IV. Humanitarian Bodies in Action.' In *Emotional Bodies: The Historical Performativity of Emotions*, edited by Dolores Martin-Moruno and Beatriz Pichel, 155-56. Chicago: University of Illinois, 2019.

Masood, Raja Tahir. 'My Hero, My Role Model and My Late Father.' Accessed 12 February 2021. <http://www.british-pakistani.co.uk/my-hero-role-model.html>.

McAllister, Annemarie. 'Giant Alcohol – A Worthy Opponent to the Band of Hope.' *Drugs Education, Prevention and Policy* 22, 2 (2015).

McCarthy, Helen. 'Parties, Voluntary Associations and Democratic Politics in Interwar Britain.' *The Historical Journal* 50, 4 (2007).

McClymont, Gregg. 'The Cultural Politics of Tory Socialism: The Clarion in the Labour Movement During the 1890s.' In *Classes, Culture and Politics: Essays on British History for Ross McKibbin*, edited by Clare V. J. Griffiths, James J. Nott and William Whyte. Oxford Scholarship Online, 2015.

McGowan, Jack. 'Dispute, Battle, Siege, Farce? Grunwick, 30 Years On.' *British Contemporary History* 22, 3 (2008).

Merriam-Webster. 'Interunion.' Accessed 18 August 2021. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/inter-union>.

Miles, Andy. 'Workers Education: The Communist Party and the Plebs League in the 1920s.' *History Workshop* 18, 1 (1984).

Millward, Robert. 'The 1940s Nationalisations in Britain: Means to an End, or the Means of Production?' *Economic History Review* 50, 2 (1997).

Moher, James. 'Walter Citrine: A Union Pioneer of Industrial Cooperation.' In *Alternatives to State Socialism in Britain: Other Worlds of Labour in the Twentieth Century*, edited by Peter Ackers and Alastair J. Reid, 179-210. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.

Morgan, Kevin. 'The Communist Party and the Trade Unions.' Accessed 15 August 2021. <https://www.historyandpolicy.org/trade-union-forum/meeting/the-communist-party-and-the-trade-unions>.

The Musicians Union. 'The Musicians Union: A History (1893-2013).' Accessed 28 December 2021. <https://www.muhistory.com/contact-us/1900-1909/>.

Mutch, Deborah. 'The Merrie England Triptych: Robert Blatchford, Edward Fay and the Didactic Use of Clarion Fiction.' *Victorian Periodicals* 38, 1 (2005).

Namdram, Sharda S. Klandermans, Bert. 'Stress Experienced by Active Members of Trade Unions.' *Journal of Organisational Behaviour* 14, 5 (1993).

The National Archives. 'Events of 1901.' Accessed 30 December 2021. <https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/pathways/census/events/polecon3.htm>.

The National Archives. 'Ministry of Food: Food Control Committees Selected Minutes.' Accessed 15 June 2021. <https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C10468>.

The National Council of Women. 'Our History: 1895.' National Council of Women. Accessed 26 April 2022. <https://ncwgb.org/history/>.

Nicolson, Edda. "'Manifestations of Warmth": Emotions in Trade Unions.' Accessed 17 August 2022. https://socialhistory.org.uk/shs_exchange/manifestations-of-warmth-emotions-in-trade-unions/.

Nijhuis, Dennie Oude. 'The TUC and Failure of Labour's Post-war Social Agenda.' *International Labor and Working Class History* 89 (2016).

The Official Shrewsbury 24 Campaign. '1972 Building Workers Strike.' Accessed 27 February 1971. <https://www.shrewsbury24campaign.org.uk/history/the-1972-strike/>.

Olsen, John P. 'Maybe it is Time to Rediscover Bureaucracy.' *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 16, 1 (2006). select

Our Journey Peterborough. 'Alfred Caleb Taylor and the First X-ray Machine outside of London.' Accessed 14 July 2020. <https://ourjourneypeterborough.org/story/alfred-caleb-taylor-and-the-first-x-ray-machine-outside-london>.

Our Migration Story. 'Building Italian Communities: Caterers, Industrial Recruits and Professionals.' Accessed 13 January 2022. <https://www.ourmigrationstory.org.uk/oms/building-italian-communities-catering-war-service-industrial-recruitment>.

'The Origins of the Hospital Saturday Fund: The Contribution of the Hospital Saturday Fund to Nursing History: Evaluation of a Primary Source.' *Nursing History* 7, 1 (2002).

Oxford Reference. 'Imagined Communities.' Accessed 12 May 2022. <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803095958187>.

Oxford Reference. 'Robert Blatchford (1851-1943): Journalist and Author.' Accessed 7 July 2021. <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803095511547>.

Panayi, Panikos. 'Immigration, Multiculturalism and Racism.' In *20th Century Britain: Economic, Cultural and Social Change*, edited by Francesca Carnival and Julie Marie Strange, 247-261. London: Routledge, 2014.

Parrott, Catriona M. 'Little Means or Time: Working-Class Women and Leisure in Late Victorian and Edwardian Britain.' *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 15, 2 (1998).

Patel, Sucheen. 'Accounting for Policy Change Through Multi-Level Analysis: The Reform of the Bank of England in the Post-war Era.' *Policy Studies* 30, 3 (2009).

Pearl, David S. 'Legal Problems of Immigrants: A Case Study in Peterborough UK.' *Journal of the Indian Law Institute* 22, 1 (1980).

Pearson, Ruth. Anitha, Aundari. McDowell, Linda. 'The Political Economy of Work and Employment. Striking Issues: from labour process to industrial dispute at Grunwick and Gate Gourmet.' *Industrial Relations Journal* 41, 5 (2010).

Pelling, Henry. 'The Early History of the Communist Party of Great Britain, 1920-9.' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 8 (1958).

Pero, Geoffrey. 'Tewson, Sir (Harold) Vincent.' Accessed 29 May 2021. <https://doi-org.proxy.library.dmu.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/31751>.

Pero, Mario del. 'Incompatible Universalisms: The United, States, the Soviet Union and the Beginnings of Cold War.' In *The Routledge Handbook of the Cold War*, 3-16. Abingdon: Routledge, 2014.

Perry, Hazel. 'Peterborough's Conscientious Objector: Percy Woodall.' Accessed 15 April 2022. <https://perrytwinkle.wordpress.com/2020/11/08/peterboroughs-conscientious-objector-percy-woodall/>.

Peterborough Civic Society. 'Peterborough Development Corporation 50 years ago.' Accessed 17 December 2020. <https://www.peterboroughcivicsociety.org.uk/neneliving3.php>.

Phythian, Mark. 'CND's Cold War.' *Contemporary British History* 15, 3 (2010).

Reeves, Rachel. McIvor, Martin. 'Clement Attlee and the Foundations of the British Welfare State.' *Renewal: A Journal of Social Democracy* 22, 3/4 (2014).

Reiss, Matthias. 'Circulars, Surveys and Support: Trades Councils and the Marches of 1936.' *Labour History Review* 73, 1 (2008).

Renshaw, Patrick, 'Bramley Fred.' Accessed 30 October 2020. <https://www-oxforddnb-com.proxy.library.dmu.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-4732>.

Renton, David. 'Not Just Economics but Political as Well: Trade Unions, Labour Movement Activists and Anti-Fascist Protests, 1945-51.' *Labour History Review* 65, 2 (2000).

Roberts, Geoffrey. 'Moscow and the Marshall Plan: Politics, Ideology and the Onset of Cold War, 1947.' *Europe-Asia Study* 46, 8 (1993).

Roderick, Martin. 'The National Minority Movement.' *Bulletin – Society for the Study of Labour History* 17 (1968).

Rogers, Chris. 'From Social Contract to "Social Conrick": Depoliticisation of Economic Policy-Making Under Harold Wilson, 1974-75.' *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 11, 4 (2009).

Rose, Steve. 'Sterile or Stirring? Britain's Love Hate Relationship with New Towns.' Accessed 25 February 2021. <https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2019/may/15/sterile-or-stirring-britains-love-hate-relationship-with-new-towns>.

Rubin, G. R. 'The Origins of Industrial Tribunals: Munitions Tribunals During the First World War.' *Industrial Law Journal* 6, 1 (1977).

Sarkar, Abhijit. 'Fed by Famine: The Hindu Mahasabha's Politics of Religion, Caster, and Relief in response to the Great Bengal Famine 1943-1944.' *Modern Asian Studies* 54, 6 (2020).

Scott, Peter. Newton, Lucy Ann. 'Advertising, Promotion and the and the Rise of a National Building Society Movement in Interwar Britain.' *Business History* 54, 3 (2012).

Shapely, Phillip. 'Social Housing and Tenant Participation.' Accessed 12 October 2021. <https://www.historyandpolicy.org/policy-papers/papers/social-housing-and-tenant-participation>.

Shefftz, Melvin. 'Ernest Bevin British Politician.' In *Great Lives from History: The Twentieth Century, 1901-2000, Volume 1*, edited by Robert F Gorman, 356-359. California: Salem Press, 2008.

Sibley, Tom. 'Fighting Anti-Communism 1945-51: The Case of the Fire Brigades Union.' *Historical Studies in Industrial Relations* 27-28 (2009).

Simkin, John. 'The Daily Herald.' Accessed 17 August 2022. <https://spartacus-educational.com/Jherald.htm>.

Simkin, John. 'Maurice Dobb.' Accessed 30 November 2021. https://spartacus-educational.com/Maurice_Dobb.htm.

Simkin, John. 'Socialist Medical Association.' Accessed 9 March 2021. <https://spartacus-educational.com/SPsma.htm>.

Simpson, Bob. 'The TUC's Bridlington Principles and the Law.' *The Modern Law Review* 46, 5 (1983).

Simpson, Julian M. Esmail, Aneez. Kalra, Virinder S. Snow, Stephanie J. 'Writing Migrants Back into NHS History: Addressing a "collective amnesia" and its Policy Implications.' *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine* 103, 10 (2010).

Singleton, John. 'Labour, Conservatives and Nationalisation.' In *The Political Economy of Nationalisation in Britain 1920-1950*, edited by Robert Millward and John Singleton, 13-36. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Smith, Dai. 'Bevan, Aneurin (Nye).' Accessed 05 October 2021. <https://doi-org.proxy.library.dmu.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/30740>.

Smith, M. J. Thompson, K. Hermens, E. 'Breaking Down Banners: Analytical Approaches to Determining the Materials of Painted Banners.' *Heritage Science* 4, 1, (2016).

Smith, Paul. 'Employment Law.' Accessed 25 January 2021.
<http://www.unionhistory.info/britainatwork/themes/employmentlaw.php>.

Smith, Roger. Whysall, Paul. 'The Addison Act and the Local Authority Response: Housing Policy Formulation and Implementation in Nottingham 1917-1922.' *The Town Planning Review* 61, 2 (1990).

Spiro, Margherito. 'Italian Post-War Migration to Britain: Cinema and the Second Generation.' *The Handbook of Diasporas, Media and Culture* edited by Jessica Retis and Roza Tsagarousianou 429-443. Hoboken: John Wiley and Sons Inc., 2019.

Stevens, Richard. 'Containing Radicalism: The Trades Union Organising Department and Trades Councils, 1928-1953.' *Labour History Review* 62, 1 (1997).

Striking Women: Striking out. 'The Grunwick Dispute.' Accessed 9 February 2021.
<https://www.striking-women.org/module/striking-out/grunwick-dispute#:~:text=add%20your%20name,-,Trade%20Union%20Response,They%20effectively%20withdrew%20their%20support.>

Suge, Ikke. 'The Nature of Decision Making in the Post War New Towns Policy: The Case of Basildon, c. 1945-70.' *Twentieth Century British History* 16, 2 (2005).

Sykes, Alan. 'Radical Conservatism and the Working Classes in Victorian England.' *The English Historical Review* 113, 454 (1998).

Tanner, Duncan. 'The Development of British Socialism, 1900-1918.' *Parliamentary History* 16, 1 (1997).

Tarling, Roger. Wilkinson, Frank. 'The Social Contract: Post-War Incomes Policies and Their Inflationary Impact.' *Cambridge Journal Economics* 1, 4 (1977).

Taylor, Andrew. 'The Conservative Trade Union Movement 1952-1961,' *Labour History Review* 57, 1 (1992).

Taylor, Becky. 'Their Only Words of English Were "Thank You": Rights, Gratitude and "Deserving" Hungarian Refugees to Britain in 1956.' *Journal of British Studies* 55, 1 (2016).

Taylor, Becky. 'Good Citizens? Ugandan Asians, Volunteers and Race Relations in 1970s Britain.' *History Workshop Journal* 85 (2018).

Taylor, Becky. 'Everyone Here Wants to Help You.' Accessed 3 February 2021.
<https://www.historyworkshop.org.uk/everyone-here-wants-to-help-you-international-co-operation-refugee-rights-and-the-1956-hungarian-refugee-crisis/>.

Taylor, Greig. 'Intra-union Conflict and the 1970 Dock Strike in Britain.' *Labor History* 61, 2 (2020).

Taylor, Harry. 'Rivers of Blood and Britain's Far Right.' *The Political Quarterly* 89, 3 (2018).

Taylor, J. D. 'The Party's Over? The Angry Brigade, the Counter-Culture and the British New Left, 1967-1972.' *The Historical Journal*, 58, 3 (2015).

Taylor, J. D. 'Not that Serious: The Investigation and Trial of the Angry Brigade, 1967-72.' In *Waiting for the Revolution: The British Far Left from 1956*, edited by Evan Smith and Matthew Worley, 30-47. Manchester: Manchester University, 2017.

Taylor, Matthew. 'Trade Unionism in British Sport, 1920-1964.' *Labor History* 55, 5 (2014).

Thompson, Willie. 'British Communism in the Cold War , 1947-52.' *Contemporary British History* 13, 3 (2001).

Thorpe, Keir. 'Rendering the Strike Innocuous: The British Government's Response to Industrial Disputes in Essential Industries, 1953-55.' *Journal of Contemporary History* 35, 4 (2000).

Tranmer, Jeremy. 'The Radical Left and Popular Music in the 1960s.' In *Preserving the Sixties: Britain and the Decade of Protest*, edited by Trevor Harris and Monica O'Brien Castro, 90-106. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.

TUC 150, 'Ernest Bevin.' Accessed 3 November 2020.
<https://tuc150.tuc.org.uk/stories/ernest-bevin/>.

TUC 150. 'The Great Penryn Quarry Strike.' Accessed 14 September 2020.
<https://tuc150.tuc.org.uk/stories/the-great-penrhyn-quarry-strike/>.

The TUC. 'Section – The General Council Replaces the Parliamentary Committee.' Accessed 9 November 2020. <https://www.tuc.org.uk/research-analysis/reports/section-general-council-replaces-parliamentary-committee>.

The TUC. 'Trades Councils: Who we are and what we do.' Accessed 13 January 2022.
<https://www.tuc.org.uk/trades-councils-who-we-are-and-what-we>

[do#:~:text=Trades%20union%20councils%20are%20often,the%20wider%20working%20class%20community..](#)

Turner, H. A. 'Trade Union Organisations.' *The Political Quarterly*, 27, 1 (1956).

Tyler, Peter. Evanhuis, Emil. Martin, Ron. 'Structural Transformation, Adaptability and City Economic Evolutions: An ESRC-Funded Project Under the ESRC Urban Transformations Initiative, Working Paper 10, Case Study Peterborough.' 2018, 77. [180717-Working-Paper-10-Peterborough-Case-Study-Report-July-2018.pdf](#) ([cityevolutions.org.uk](#)).

UK Parliament. 'Conscription: The Second World War.' Accessed 30 November 2021. <https://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/transformingsociety/private-lives/yourcountry/overview/conscriptionww2/>.

Undy, Roger. 'Trade Union Organisation.' Accessed 16 September 2021. <http://www.unionhistory.info/britainatwork/narrativedisplay.php?type=tradeunionorganisation>.

The Union Makes Us Strong. 'A. B. Swales 1926.' Accessed 29 October 2020. <http://www.unionhistory.info/equalpay/display.php?irn=5001516&QueryPage=advsearch.php>.

The Union Makes Us Strong. 'Letter – Peterborough and District Trades and Labour Council (Page 1): 7 May 1926.' Accessed 22 February 2023. <http://www.unionhistory.info/britainatwork/emuweb/objects/nofdigi/tuc/imagedisplay.php?irn=5001374>.

The Union Makes Us Strong. 'Letter – Peterborough and District Trades and Labour Council (Page 2): 7 May 1926.' Accessed 22 February 2023. <http://www.unionhistory.info/britainatwork/emuweb/objects/nofdigi/tuc/imagedisplay.php?irn=5001373>.

Unite the Union. 'The History of the T&G.' Accessed 28 December 2021. <https://www.unitetheunion.org/who-we-are/history/the-history-of-the-tg/>.

Vaughan, Matthew. 'Accepting the 'D' Word: Discrimination in 1960s UK Academic Discourse.' *Race and Class* 61, 2 (2019).

Virdee, Satnam. 'Anti-Racism and the Socialist Left, 1968-79.' In *Against the Grain: The British Far Left from 1956*, edited by Evan Smith and Matthew Worley, 209-228. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017.

Ward, Marianne. Devereux, John. 'Measuring British Decline: Direct Versus Long-Span Income Measures.' *The Journal of Economic History* 63, 3 (2003).

Warner, Sam. 'Why did the Industrial Relations Act 1971 fail? Depoliticization and the Importance of Resistance.' Accessed 1 December 2020.
<https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/politicsandpolicy/why-did-the-industrial-relations-act-1971-fail-depoliticisation-and-the-importance-of-resistance/>.

Webb, Paul David. 'The Labour Party.' Accessed 3 November 2020.
<https://www.britannica.com/topic/Labour-Party-political-party>.

Whiting, Richard. 'Trade Unions: Voluntary Associations and Individual Rights.' In *Alternatives to State Socialism: Other Worlds of Labour in the Twentieth Century*, edited by Peter Ackers and Alastair Reid, 31-56. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.

Whitson, Kevin. 'The Ideologies of Practical Men: Trade Unions and the Politics of Public Ownership.' *Contemporary British History* 29, 1 (2015).

Williamson, Adrian. 'The Trades Dispute and Trade Unions Act 1927 Reconsidered.' *Historical Studies in Industrial Relations* 37, 1 (2016).

Wilson, Dolly Smith. 'Fighting the Damnable triumph of feminism: Battles Between Teachers Unions in Interwar Britain.' *Gender and Education* 19, 6, (2007).

Workers Educational Association. 'Who Are We?' Accessed 22 September 2020.
<https://www.wea.org.uk/about-us/who-we-are>.

The Workers' War: Home Front Recalled 'War Workers Hostels.' Accessed 8 June 2021.
<http://www.unionhistory.info/workerswar/display.php?irn=206&QueryPage=index.php>.

Working Class Movement Library. 'Itinerary of the 1934 Hunger March.' Accessed 6 November 2020. <https://www.wcml.org.uk/our-collections/protest-politics-and-campaigning-for-change/unemployment/itinerary-of-the-1934-hunger-march/>.

Working Class Movement Library. 'Margaret Bondfield.' Accessed 26 May 2020.
<https://www.wcml.org.uk/>

Working Class Movement Library. 'Formation of the Plebs League.' Working Class Library. Accessed 22 August 2022. <https://www.wcml.org.uk/about-us/timeline/formation-of-the-plebs-league/>.

Worley, Matthew. 'The Communist International, The Communist Party of Great Britain and the "Third Period", 1928-1932.' *European History Quarterly* 30, 2 (2000).

Wrigley, Chris. 'At the Cross Road: The Labour Party, the Trade Unions and the Choices of Direction for the Democratic Left.' In *Labour, British Radicalism and the First World*

War, edited by Lucy Bland and Richard Carr, 35-55. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018.

Zahn, Rebecca. 'Hans Gottfurcht: How the TUC Helped Keep European Unionism Alive During WWII.' Accessed 25 November 2021. <https://tuc150.tuc.org.uk/stories/hans-gottfurcht/>.

Zeitlin, Jonathan. "'Rank and Filism" In British Labour History: A Critique.' *International Review of Social History* 34, 1 (1989)

2c - Unpublished Thesis and Dissertations

Clinton, Alan. 'Trades Councils from the Beginning of the Twentieth Century to the Second World War.' University of London: PhD thesis, 1973.

Stevens, Richard. 'Trades Councils in the East Midlands, 1929-1951: Trade Unionism and Politics in a Traditionally Moderate Area.' University of Nottingham: PhD Thesis, 1995.

Smale, Robert George. 'Trade Union Identities and the Role of Niche Unionism: Exploring United Kingdom Trade Unions.' Portsmouth University: PhD Thesis, 2017.

Perry, Hazel. 'Peterborough Trade Union in the 1926 General Strike. The Open University: MA Dissertation, 2014.

Reeves, Hannah Jane. 'An Exploration of the 'Railway Family': 1900-1948. Keele University: PhD Thesis, 2018.