

**Dhananjayrao Gadgil Library**



**GIPE-PUNE-003852**

THE HISTORY OF TRADE  
UNIONISM: BY SIDNEY  
AND BEATRICE WEBB  
(REVISED EDITION, EX-  
TENDED TO 1920).

LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.  
39 PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON  
FOURTH AVENUE & 80TH STREET, NEW YORK  
BOMBAY, CALCUTTA, AND MADRAS

1920

X: 96-1-N2

Fc

3852

## INTRODUCTION TO THE EDITION OF 1920

THE thirty years that have elapsed since 1890, down to which date we brought the first edition of this book, have been momentous in the history of British Trade Unionism. The Trade Union Movement, which then included scarcely 20 per cent of the adult male manual-working wage-earners, now includes over 60 per cent. Its legal and constitutional status, which was then indefinite and precarious, has now been explicitly defined and embodied in precise and absolutely expressed statutes. Its internal organisation has been, in many cases, officially adopted as part of the machinery of public administration. Most important of all, it has equipped itself with an entirely new political organisation, extending throughout the whole of Great Britain, inspired by large ideas embodied in a comprehensive programme of Social Reconstruction, which has already achieved the position of "His Majesty's Opposition," and now makes a bid for that of "His Majesty's Government." So great an advance within a single generation makes the historical account of Trade Union development down to 1920 equivalent to a new book.

We have taken the opportunity to revise, and at some points to amplify, our description of the origin and early struggles of Trade Unionism in this country. We have naturally examined the new material that has been made accessible during the past quarter of a century, in order to

incorporate in our work whatever has thus been added to public knowledge. But we have not found it necessary to make any but trifling changes in our original interpretation of the historical development. The Home Office papers are now available in the Public Record Office for the troubled period at the beginning of the nineteenth century; and these, together with the researches of Professor George Unwin, Mr. and Mrs. Hammond, Professor Graham Wallas, Mr. Mark Hovell, and Mr. M. Beer, have enabled us both to verify and to amplify our statements at certain points. For the recent history of Trade Unionism we have found most useful the collections and knowledge of the Labour Research Department, established in 1913; and we gratefully acknowledge the assistance in facts, suggestions, and criticisms that we have had from Mr. G. D. H. Cole and Mr. R. Page Arnot. We owe thanks, also, to Miss Ivy Schmidt for unwearied assistance in research.

The reader must not expect to find, in this historical volume, either an analysis of Trade Union organisation, policy, and methods, or any judgement upon the validity of its assumptions, its economic achievements, or its limitations. On these things we have written at great length, and very explicitly, in our *Industrial Democracy*, and in other books described in the pages at the end of this volume, to which we must refer those desirous of knowing whether the Trade Unionism of which we now write merely the story is a good or a bad element in industry and in the State.

SIDNEY AND BEATRICE WEBB.

41 GROSVENOR ROAD,  
WESTMINSTER,  
*January 1920.*

## PREFACE TO THE ORIGINAL EDITION OF 1894

It is not our intention to delay the reader here by a conventional preface. As every one knows, the preface is never written until the story is finished ; and this story will not be finished in our time, or for many generations after us. A word or two as to our method of work and its results is all that we need say before getting to our main business.

Though we undertook the study of the Trade Union movement, not to prove any proposition of our own, but to discover what problems it had to present to us, our minds were not so blank on the subject that we had no preconception of the character of these problems. We thought they would almost certainly be economic, pointing a common economic moral ; and that expectation still seems to us so natural, that if it had been fulfilled we should have accepted its fulfilment without comment. But it was not so. Our researches were no sooner fairly in hand than we began to discover that the effects of Trade Unionism upon the conditions of labour, and upon industrial organisation and progress, are so governed by the infinite technical variety of our productive processes, that they vary from industry to industry and even from trade to trade ; and the economic moral varies with them. Where we expected to find an economic thread for a treatise, we found a spider's web ; and from that moment we recognised that what

we had first to write was not a treatise, but a history. And we saw that even a history would be impossible to follow unless we separated the general history of the whole movement from the particular histories of thousands of trade societies, some of which have maintained a continuous existence from the last century, whilst others have cropped up, run their brief course, and disappeared. Thus, when we had finished our labour of investigating the records of practically every important trade society from one end of the kingdom to the other, and accumulated piles of extracts, classified under endless trades and subdivisions of trades, we found that we must exclude from the first volume all but a small selection from those documents which appeared to us most significant with regard to the development of the general movement. Many famous strikes and lock-outs, many interesting trade disputes, many sensational prosecutions, and some furious outbursts of riot and crime, together with many drier matters relating to particular trades, have had either to be altogether omitted from our narrative, or else accorded a strictly subordinate reference in their relation to the history of Trade Unionism as a whole. All analysis of the economic effects of Trade Union action we reserve for a subsequent volume on the Problems of Trade Unionism, for which we shall draw more fully from the annals of the separate unions. And in that volume the most exacting seeker for economic morals will be more than satisfied; for there will be almost as many economic morals drawn as societies described.

That history of the general movement, to which we have confined ourselves here, will be found to be part of the political history of England. In spite of all the pleas of modern historians for less history of the actions of governments, and more descriptions of the manners and customs of the governed, it remains true that history, however it may relieve and enliven itself with descriptions of the manners and morals of the people, must, if it is to be history at all, follow the course of continuous organisations. The

history of a perfectly democratic State would be at once the history of a government and of a people. The history of Trade Unionism is the history of a State within our State, and one so jealously democratic that to know it well is to know the English working man as no reader of middle-class histories can know him. From the early years of the eighteenth century down to the present day, Democracy, Freedom of Association, *Laissez-faire*, Regulation of the Hours and Wages of Labour, Co-operative Production, Free Trade, Protection, and many other distinct and often contradictory political ideals, have from time to time seized the imagination of the organised wage-earners and made their mark on the course of the Trade Union movement. And, since 1867 at least, wherever the ideals have left their mark on Trade Unionism, Trade Unionism has left its mark on politics. We shall be able to show that some of those overthrows of our party governments which have caused most surprise in the middle and upper classes, and for which the most far-fetched reasons have been given by them and their journalists and historians after the event, carry their explanation on the surface for any one who knows what the Trade Unionists of the period were thinking. Such demonstrations, however, will be purely incidental, as we have written throughout of Trade Unionism for its own sake, and not for that of the innumerable sidelights which it throws on party politics.

In our concluding chapter, which we should perhaps offer as an appendix rather than as part of the regular plan of the volume, we have attempted to give a bird's-eye view of the Trade Union world of to-day, with its unequal distribution, its strong sectional organisation and defective political machinery, its new governing class of trade officials—above all, its present state of transition in methods, aims, and policy, in the face of the multitude of unsettled constitutional, economic, and political problems with which it stands confronted.

A few words upon the work of collecting materials for



our work may prove useful to those who may hereafter come to reap in the same field. In the absence of any exhaustive treatment of any period of Trade Union history we have to rely mainly upon our own investigations. But every student of the subject must acknowledge the value of Dr. Brentano's fertile researches into English working-class history, and of Mr. George Howell's thoroughly practical exposition of the Trade Unionism of his own school and his own time. Perhaps the most important published material on the subject is the *Report on Trade Societies and Strikes* issued by the Social Science Association in 1860, a compact storehouse of carefully sifted facts which compares favourably with the enormous bulk of scrappy and unverified information collected by the five historic official inquiries into Trade Unionism between 1824 and 1894. We have, moreover, found a great many miscellaneous facts about Trade Unions in periodical literature and ephemeral pamphlets in the various public libraries all over the country. To facilitate the work of future students we append to this volume a complete list of such published materials as we have been able to discover. For the early history of combinations we have had to rely upon the public records, old newspapers, and miscellaneous contemporary pamphlets. Thus, our first two chapters are principally based upon the journals of the House of Commons, the minutes of the Privy Council, the publications of the Record Office, and the innumerable broadsheet petitions to Parliament and old tracts relating to Trade which have been preserved in the British Museum, the Guildhall Library, and the invaluable collection of economic literature made by Professor H. S. Foxwell, St. John's College, Cambridge.<sup>1</sup> Most important of all, for the period prior to 1835, are the many volumes of manuscript commentaries, newspaper cuttings, rules, reports, pamphlets, etc., left by Francis Place, and now in the British Museum. This unique collection, formed by the busiest politician of his time, is indispensable, not

<sup>1</sup> Now in the Goldsmiths' Library at the University of London.

only to the student of working-class movements, but also to any historian of English political or social life during the first forty years of the century.<sup>1</sup>

But the greater part of our material, especially that relating to the present century, has come from the Trade Unionists themselves. The offices of the older unions contain interesting archives, sometimes reaching back to the eighteenth century—minute-books in which generations of diligent, if unlettered, secretaries, the true historians of a great movement, have struggled to record the doings of their committees, and files of Trade Union periodicals, ignored even by the British Museum, through which the plans and aspirations of ardent working-class politicians and administrators have been expounded month by month to the scattered branches of their organisations. We were assured at the outset of our investigation that no outsider would be allowed access to the inner history of some of the old-fashioned societies. But we have found this prevalent impression as to the jealous secrecy of the Trade Unions without justification. The secretaries of old branches or ancient local societies have rummaged for us their archaic chests with three locks, dating from the eighteenth century. The surviving leaders of a bygone Trade Unionism have ransacked their drawers to find for our use the rules and minutes of their long-forgotten societies. In many a working man's home in London and Liverpool, Newcastle and Dublin—above all, in Glasgow and Manchester—the descendants of the old skilled handicraftsmen have unearthed "grandfather's indentures," or "father's old card," or a tattered set of rules, to help forward the investigation of a stranger whom they dimly recognised as striving to record the annals of their class. The whole of the docu-

<sup>1</sup> Place's *Letter Books*, together with an unpublished autobiography, preserved by his family, are now in the custody of Mr. Graham Wallas who is preparing a critical biography of this great reformer, which will throw much new light on all the social and political events of English history between 1798 and 1840 [published, 1st edition, 1898; 2nd edition, 1918].

ments in the offices of the great National and County Unions have been most generously placed at our disposal, from the printed reports and sets of rules to the private cash accounts and executive minute-books. In only one case has a General Secretary refused us access to the old books of his society, and then simply on the ground that he was himself proposing to write its history, and regarded us as rivals in the literary field.

Nor has this generous confidence been confined to the musty records of the past. In the long sojourns at the various industrial centres which this examination of local archives has necessitated, every facility has been afforded to us for studying the actual working of the Trade Union organisation of to-day. We have attended the sittings of the Trades Councils in most of the large towns; we have sat through numerous branch and members' meetings all over the country; and one of us has even enjoyed the exceptional privilege of being present at the private deliberations of the Executive Committees of various national societies, as well as at the special delegate meetings summoned by the great federal Unions of Cotton-spinners, Cotton-weavers, and Coalminers for the settlement of momentous issues of trade policy, and at the six weeks' sessions in 1892 in which sixty chosen delegates of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers overhauled the trade policy and internal administration of that world-wide organisation.

We have naturally not confined ourselves to the workmen's side of the case. In almost every industrial centre we have sought out representative employers in the different industries. From them we have received many useful hints and criticisms. But, as might have been expected, the great captains of industry are, for the most part, absorbed in the commercial side of their business, and are seldom accurately acquainted with the details of the past, or even of the present, organisation of their workmen. Of more assistance in our task have been the secretaries of the

various employers' associations. Especially in the ship-building ports have these gentlemen placed at our disposal their experience in collective negotiation with the different sections of labour, and the private statistics compiled by their associations. But of all the employing class we have found the working managers and foremen, who have themselves often been workmen, the best informed and most suggestive critics of Trade Union organisation and methods. We have often regretted that precisely this class is the most difficult of access to the investigator of industrial problems, and the least often called as witnesses before Royal Commissions.

The difficulty of welding into narrative form the innumerable details of the thousands of distinct organisations, and of constructing out of their separate chronicles anything like a history of the general movement, has, we need hardly say, been very great. We are painfully aware of the shortcomings of our work, both from a literary and from a historical point of view. We have been encouraged in our task by the conviction—strengthened as our investigation proceeded—that the Trade Union records contain material of the utmost value to the future historian of industrial and political organisation, and that these records are fast disappearing. Many of the older archives are in the possession of individual workmen, who are insensible of their historical value. Among the larger societies it is not uncommon to find only one complete set of rules, reports, circulars, etc., in existence. A fire, a removal to new premises, or the death of an old secretary frequently results in the disappearance of everything not actually in daily office use. The keen investigator or collector will appreciate the extremity of the vexation with which we have learnt on arriving at an ancient Trade Union centre that the "old rubbish" of the office had been "cleared out" six months before. The local public libraries, and even the British Museum, seldom contain any of the internal Trade Union records new or old. We have therefore not only

collected every Trade Union document that we could acquire, but we have made lengthy extracts from, and abstracts of, the piles of minute-books, reports, rules, circulars, pamphlets, working-class newspapers, etc., which have been lent to us.

This collection of material, and, indeed, the wide scope of the investigation itself, would have been impossible if we had not had the good fortune to secure the help of a colleague exceptionally well qualified for the work. In Mr. F. W. Galton we have found a devoted assistant, to whose unwearied labours we owe the extensive range of our material and our statistics. Himself a skilled handicraftsman, and for some time secretary to his Trade Union, he has brought to the task not only keen intelligence and unremitting industry, but also a personal acquaintance with the details of Trade Union life and organisation which has rendered his co-operation of inestimable value. We have incorporated in our last chapter a graphic sketch from his pen of the inner life of a Trade Union.

We have, moreover, received the most cordial assistance from all quarters. If we were to acknowledge by name all those to whom our thanks are due, we should set forth a list of nearly all the Trade Union officials in the kingdom. Individual acknowledgement is in their case the less necessary, in that many of them are our valued personal friends. Only second to this is our indebtedness to many of the great "captains of industry," notably to Mr. Hugh Bell, of Middlesboro', and Colonel Dyer, of Elswick, and the secretaries of employers' associations, whose time has been freely placed at our disposal. To Professor H. S. Foxwell, Mr. Frederic Harrison, Professor E. S. Beesly, Mr. Robert Applegarth, and Mr. John Burns, M.P., we are especially indebted for the loan of many scarce pamphlets and working-class journals, whilst Mr. John Burnett and Mr. Henry Crompton have been good enough to go through one or more of our chapters in proof, and to improve them by numerous suggestions. And there are two dear comrades

*Preface*

xv

and friends to whose repeated revision of every line of our manuscript the volume owes whatever approach to literary merit it may possess.

The bibliography has been prepared from our material by Mr. R. A. Peddie, to whom, as well as to Miss Appleyard for the laborious task of verifying nearly all the quotations, our thanks are due.

SIDNEY AND BEATRICE WEBB.

41 GROSVENOR ROAD,  
WESTMINSTER,  
*April 1894.*

The Summons to the First Trade Union Congress—  
Distribution of Trade Unionists in the United Kingdom—The Progress in Membership of particular Trade Unions—Publications on Trade Unions and Combinations of Workmen—The Relationship of Trade Unionism to the Government of Industry . . . . .

INDEX . . . . .

## APPENDICES



## APPENDIX I

### ON THE ASSUMED CONNECTION BETWEEN THE TRADE UNIONS AND THE GILDS IN DUBLIN

IN Dublin the Trade Union descent from the Gilds is embodied in the printed documents of the Unions themselves, and is commonly assumed to be confirmed by their possession of the Gild charters. The Trade Union banners not only, in many cases, bear the same arms as the old Gilds, but often also the date of their incorporation. Thus, the old society of "regular" carpenters (now a branch of the Amalgamated) claims to date from 1490; the "Regular Operative House-painters' Trade Union" connects itself with the Guild of St. Luke, 1670; and the local unions of bricklayers and plasterers assume the date of the incorporation of the Bricklayers' and Plasterers' Company by Charles II. (1670). The box of the Dublin Bricklayers' Society does, in fact, contain a parchment which purports to be the original charter of the latter Company. How this document, given to the exclusively Protestant incorporation of working masters, which was abolished by statute in 1840, came into the possession of what has always been a mainly Roman Catholic body of wage-earners, dating certainly from 1830, is not clear. The parchment, which is bereft of its seal and bears on the back, in the handwriting of a lawyer's clerk, the words "Bricklayers, 28th June, 1843," was probably thrown aside as worthless after the dissolution of the Company.

A search among contemporary pamphlets brought to light an interesting episode in the history of the Dublin building trades. It appears that, after the dissolution of the Company, Benjamin Pemberton, who had been Master, and who was evidently a man of energy and ability, attempted to form an

alliance between the then powerful journeymen bricklayers' and plasterers' societies and the master bricklayers and plasterers, in order to resist the common enemy, the "foreign contractor." This had long been a favourite project of Pemberton's. Already in 1812 he had urged the rapidly decaying Company to resist the uprising of "builders," and to admit Roman Catholic craftsmen. But the Company, which then included scarcely a dozen practising master bricklayers or plasterers, took no action. In 1832 Pemberton turned to the men, and vainly proposed to the "Trades Political Union," a kind of Trades Council, that they should take common action against "the contract system." At last, in 1846, six years after the abolition of the Company, he seems to have succeeded in forming some kind of alliance. The journeymen bricklayers and plasterers were induced to accept, from himself and his associates, formal certificates of proficiency. Several of these certificates, signed by Pemberton and other employers, are in the possession of the older workmen, but no one could explain to us their use. The alliance probably rested on some promise of preference for employment on the one part, and refusal to work for a contractor on the other. This close connection between a leading member of the Company and the Trade Unionists may perhaps account for the old charter, then become waste paper, finding its way into the Trade Union chest.

Particulars of Pemberton's action will be found in the pamphlet entitled *An Address of the Bricklayers and Plasterers to the Tradesmen of the City of Dublin on the necessity of their co-operating for the attainment of their corporate rights and privileges*, by Benjamin Pemberton (Dublin, 1833, 36 pages), preserved in Vol. 1567 of the *Haliday Tracts* in the Royal Irish Academy. In no other case, either in Dublin or elsewhere, have we found a Trade Union in possession of any Gild documents or relics.

The absolute impossibility of any passage of the Dublin Companies into the local Trade Unions will be apparent when we remember that the bulk of the wage-earning population of the city are, and have always been, Roman Catholics. The Dublin Companies were, to the last, rigidly confined to Episcopalian Protestants. Even after the barriers had been nominally removed by the Catholic Emancipation in 1829, the Companies, then shrunk up into little cliques of middle-class capitalists, with little or no connection with the trades, steadfastly refused to admit any Roman Catholics to membership. A few well-to-do Roman Catholics forced themselves in between 1829 and 1838

by mandamus. But when inquiry was made in 1838 by the Commissioners appointed under the Municipal Corporations Act, only half a dozen Roman Catholics were members, and the Companies were found to be composed, in the main, of capitalists and professional men. There is no evidence that even one wage-earner was in their ranks. Long before this time the Trade Unions of Dublin had obtained an unenviable notoriety. Already, in 1824, the Chief Constable of Dublin testified to the complete organisation of the operatives in illegal associations. In 1838 O'Connell made his celebrated attack upon them in the House of Commons, which led to a Select Committee. In short, whilst the Dublin Companies were, until their abolition by the Act of 1840, in much the same condition as those of London, with the added fact of religious exclusiveness, the Dublin Trade Unions were long before that date at the height of their power.

The adoption by the Dublin Trade Unions of the arms, mottoes, saints, and dates of origin of the old Dublin Guilds is more interesting as a trait of Irish character than as any proof of historic continuity. Thus, in their rules of 1883, the bricklayers content themselves with repeating the original preface common to the Trade Societies which were formed in the beginning of this century, to the effect that "the journeyman bricklayers of the City of Dublin have imposed on themselves the adoption of the following laudable scheme of raising a Fund for friendly society purposes." A card of membership, dated 1830, bears no reference to the Guild or Company of Bricklayers and Plasterers from whom descent is now claimed. The rules of 1883 are entitled those of the "incorporated" brick or stone layers' association, and in the edition of 1888 this had developed into the "Ancient Guild of Saint Bartholomew." Finally, the coat of arms of the old company with the date of its incorporation ("A.D. 1670") appear on the new banner of the society. Similarly, the old local society of "Regular Carpenters," which was well known as a Trade Union in 1824, and was engaged in a strike in 1833 (seven years before the abolition of the "Company of Carpenters, Millers, Masons, and Tylers, or Guild of the fraternity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, of the house of St. Thomas the Martyr," established by Henry VIII. in 1532), adopted for the first time, in its rules of 1881, the coat of arms and motto of the Guild, but retained its own title of "The United Brothers of St. Joseph." The card of membership, printed in 1887, boldly gives the date of establishment as 1458, whilst other printed matter places it at 1490. The Dublin painters

now inscribe 1670 on their new banner, but the earliest traditions of their members date only from 1820. In short, the Irish Trade Unionist, with his genuine love for the picturesque, and his reverence for historical association, has steadily "annexed" antiquity, and has embraced every opportunity for transferring the origin of his society a few generations further back.

## APPENDIX II

RULES AND REGULATIONS OF THE GRAND NATIONAL CONSOLIDATED TRADES UNION OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, INSTITUTED FOR THE PURPOSE OF THE MORE EFFECTUALLY ENABLING THE WORKING CLASSES TO SECURE, PROTECT, AND ESTABLISH THE RIGHTS OF INDUSTRY (1834). (Goldsmiths' Library, University of London.)

I. Each Trade in this Consolidated Union shall have its Grand Lodge in that town or city most eligible for it; such Grand Lodge to be governed internally by a Grand Master, Deputy Grand Master, and Grand Secretary, and a Committee of Management.

II. Each Grand Lodge shall have its District Lodges, in any number, to be designated or named after the town or city in which the District Lodge is founded.

III. Each Grand Lodge shall be considered the head of its own particular trade, and to have certain exclusive powers accordingly; but in all other respects the Grand Lodges are to answer the same ends as the District Lodges.

IV. Each District Lodge shall embrace within itself all operatives of the same trade, living in smaller towns or villages adjacent to it; and shall be governed internally by a President, Vice-President, Secretary, and a Committee of Management.

V. Each District Lodge shall have (if necessary) its Branch Lodge or Lodges, numbered in rotation; such Branch Lodges to be under the control of the District Lodge from which they sprung.

VI. An unlimited number of the above-described Lodges shall form and constitute the Grand National Consolidated Trades Union of Great Britain and Ireland.

VII. Each District shall have its Central Committee, composed of a Deputy, or Deputies, from every District Lodge of the different trades in the district ; such Central Committee shall meet once in every week to superintend and watch over the interests of the Consolidated Union in that District, transmitting a report of the same, monthly, to the Executive Council in London, together with any suggestions of improvements they may think proper.

VIII. The General government of the G.N.C.T.U. shall be vested in a Grand Council of Delegates from each of the Central Committees of all the Districts in the C.U., to be holden every six months, at such places as shall be decided upon at the preceding Council ; the next Meeting of the Grand Council of the C.U. to be held on the first day of September 1834, and to continue its sitting so long as may be requisite.

IX. During the recess of the Grand Council of Delegates, the Government of the C.U. shall be vested in an Executive Council of Five ; which Executive will in future be chosen at the Grand Delegate Council aforesaid.

X. All dispensations or grants for the formation of new Lodges shall come from the Grand Lodge of each particular trade, or from the Executive Council. Applications for dispensations to come through the Central Committee of the District or by memorial, signed by at least 20 Operatives of the place where such new Lodge is proposed to be founded.

XI. The Executive Council shall act as trustees for all Funds provided by the C.U., for the adjustment of strikes, the purchasing or renting of land, establishing provision stores, workshops, etc. ; or for any other purposes connected with the general benefit of the whole of the Union.

XII. All sums for the above purposes to be transmitted from the Lodges to the Executive Council through some safe and accredited medium.

XIII. District and Grand Lodges shall have the control of their own funds, subject to the levies imposed upon them by the Executive Council.

XIV. The ordinary weekly subscriptions of members be threepence each member.

XV. No strike or turn out for an *advance* of wages shall be made by the members of any Lodge in the Consolidated Union without the consent of the Executive Council; but in all cases of a *reduction* of wages the Central Committee of the District shall have the power of deciding whether a strike shall or shall not take place; and should such Central Committee be necessitated to order a levy in support of such strike brought on by such reduction of wages, such order shall be made on all the Lodges; in the first instance, in the District in which such reduction hath taken place; and on advice being forwarded to the Executive they shall consider the case, and order accordingly.

XVI. No higher sum than 10s. per week each shall be paid to members during a strike or turn out.

XVII. All Lodges shall be divided into local sections of 20 men each, or as near that number as may be.

*Miscellaneous and Auxiliary Lodges*

XVIII. In all cases where the number of operatives in a particular Trade, in any District, is too limited to allow of such Trade forming a Lodge of itself, the members of such Trade shall be permitted to become Unionists by joining the Lodge of any other Trade in the District. Should there be several Trades in a District thus limited with respect to the number of their Operatives, they shall be allowed to form together a District Miscellaneous Lodge, with permission, in order to extend the sphere of the brotherhood, to hold out the hand of fellowship to all really useful Labourers employed productively.

XIX. And, in order that all acknowledged Friends to the Productive Classes may attach themselves to the C.U., an Auxiliary Lodge may be established in every City or Town in the Kingdom. The members of each Lodge shall conform to all the Rules and Regulations herein contained, and be bound in the same manner, and subject to all the Laws of the G.U.C.T.U.; and shall not, in any manner, or at any time or place, speak or write *anything* in opposition to these Laws or the interests of the Union aforesaid. The Auxiliary Lodge shall be liable to be dissolved according to Article XXII.

XX. Lodges of Industrious Females shall be instituted in every District where it may be practicable; such Lodges to be considered, in every respect, as part of, and belonging to, the G.N.C.T.U.

*Employment of Turn Outs*

XXI. In all cases of strikes or turn outs, where it is practicable to employ Members in the making or producing of such commodities or articles as are in demand among their brother Unionists, or any other operatives willing to purchase the same, each Lodge shall provide a work-room or shop in which such commodities and articles may be manufactured on account of that Lodge, which shall make proper arrangements for the supply of the necessary materials; over which arrangements the Central Committee of the District shall have the control, subject to the scrutiny of the Grand Lodge Committee of the Trade on strike.

XXII. The Grand Lodge of each Trade to have the power of dissolving any District Lodge, in that Trade, for any violation of these Laws, any outrage upon the Public Peace, or for gross neglect of Duty. All Branch, Miscellaneous, or Auxiliary Lodges to be subject to the same control.

XXIII. The internal management and general concerns of each Grand or District Lodge are vested in a Committee of Management, composed of at least Seven, and not more than 25 Members, each to be chosen by Ballot, and elected by having not less than three-fourths of the Votes of the Members present, at the time of his election, in his favour. The whole of this Committee to go out of office Quarterly, eligible, however, to re-election. The Grand Master, or President, and the Secretary, or Grand Secretary of a Grand or a District Lodge, to be considered Members of its Committee of Management by virtue of their Offices.

XXIV. Each Grand Lodge, in this C.U., to be considered the centre of information regarding the general affairs of its particular Trade; each District Lodge to communicate with its Grand Lodge at the end of each month, and to give an account to it of the number of people Members in the District Lodge—the gross number of hours of labour performed by them in that district—the state of its funds—and any local or general intelligence that may be considered of interest to the Grand Lodge.

XXV. The Committee of Management in each Lodge shall sit at least on one evening in every week for the despatch of business—and oftener if necessary.



XXVI. Each Grand or District Lodge to hold its meetings on *one evening* in every month; at which meeting a Report of the Proceedings of the Committee, during the past month, shall be laid before the Members, together with an Abstract of the state of the Funds, an account of the prospects of the Society, and any propositions or By-Laws which the Committee may have to suggest for adoption, and any other information or correspondence of interest to the Members. All nominations of fresh Officers to be made at Lodge meetings, and all complaints of Members to be considered and discussed therein.

XXVII. The Grand Master or Deputy Grand Master, President, or Vice-President, or both, shall preside at all meetings of Grand or District Lodges, to keep order, state and put questions according to the sense and intention of the Members, give effect to the resolutions, and cause them to be put in force; and they shall be addressed by Members, during Lodge hours, by their proper titles.

XXVIII. No subject which does not immediately concern the interests of the Trade shall be discussed at any meetings of Committees or Lodges; and no proposition shall be adopted in either without the consent of at least three-fourths of the members present at its proposal—the question to be decided by ballot if any Member demand it. Not less than five Members of Committee of Management to constitute a Quorum, provided the rest have all been duly summoned; no Grand or District Lodge to be considered open unless at least 30 members be present.

XXIX. Each Grand or District Lodge shall have the power to appoint Sub-Committees to enquire into or manage any affair touching their interests, of which Committees the head officers of the Lodge are always to be considered Members.

#### *Of Secretaries*

XXX. The duties of a secretary to a Grand or District Lodge are :—To attend Lodge and Committee meetings and take minutes of the proceedings, entering the same in a book to be kept for that purpose.

To conduct all the correspondence of the Society. To take down the names and addresses of parties desirous of being initiated into the Order; and upon receiving the initiation fee from each, and entering the amount into a book, he will give each

party a card, by which they may be admitted into the place appointed for the ceremony.

To receive the subscriptions of members, entering the same into a small account book, numbering the Subscribers from No. 1, and following up the sequence in regulation order, giving to each Subscriber a card, on which his contribution or payment shall be noted.

To enter all additional weekly payments, and all levies, into separate small books; all subscriptions and payments to be afterwards copied into a ledger, ruled expressly for the purpose.

The Secretary to be paid an adequate weekly salary; and to be allowed an Assistant if the amount of business require it.

The Secretary of each Grand or District Lodge shall balance his books once every fortnight, and the Managing Committee shall audit them, going over each item of receipt and expenditure with strict attention, checking the same with scrupulous care; and if found correct, three of the Committee shall verify the same by affixing their signatures to the page on which the balance is struck.

#### *Initiation*

XXXI. Any of the Officers or Members of a Lodge may be appointed by the Committee of Management to perform the Initiation Service; and to have charge of the Robes, etc., for that purpose; for which the Committee may allow him a reasonable remuneration.

Any party applying to be initiated must bring forward two witnesses as to character and the identity of his trade or occupation.

#### *Of Branch Lodges*

XXXII. Branch Lodge Meetings shall be held on one evening in every week, in the respective localities; at which Lodges any motion, proposed by law, etc., may be discussed and considered by the Members previous to its being finally submitted to the Grand or District Lodge Committee.

XXXIII. The Members of each Branch may elect a President to preside at the Branch Lodge, and a Secretary to collect subscriptions or levies for their Grand or District Lodge; who shall also attend meetings of the Committee of Management for instructions and information, and to submit suggestions, complaints, etc., from his Branch Lodge. No salaries or fees

to be allowed to officers of Branch Lodges, unless by the unanimous consent of their Members.

*Wardens, Etc.*

XXXIV. In addition to the Officers before mentioned in these regulations, there shall be, in each Grand and District Lodge a Warden, an Inside Tyler, an Outside Tyler, and a Conductor, whose principal duties are to attend Initiations, and see that no improper persons be admitted into the meetings. These officers to be elected in the same manner, and at the same periods, as other officers.

*Miscellaneous Articles*

XXXV. Any Member shall be liable to expulsion from the Lodges for any improper conduct therein ; and shall be excluded from the benefits of the Society if his subscriptions be more than six months in arrear, unless the Committee of Management shall see cause to decide otherwise.

XXXVI. The *G.U.C.T.U. Gazette* to be considered the official organ of the Executive Council, and the general medium of intelligence on the affairs of the Union.

XXXVII. Each Lodge shall, as soon as possible, make arrangements for furnishing the means of instituting Libraries or Reading-Rooms, or any other arrangements, affording them every facility for meeting together for friendly conversation, mutual instruction, and rational amusement or recreation.

XXXVIII. In all cases, where it be practicable, each Lodge shall establish within its locality one or more Depots for provisions and articles in general domestic use, in order that its Members may be supplied with the best of such commodities at little above wholesale prices.

XXXIX. Each District and Grand Lodge shall endeavour to institute a Fund for the support of sick and aged Members, and for defraying the funeral expenses of deceased Members, on a similar principle to that of Benefit Societies ; such fund to be kept up by small monthly contributions from those Unionists who are willing to subscribe towards it.

XL. Each Grand or District Lodge to have the power of

making its own By-Laws for purposes not comprised in these Regulations; but such By-Laws or Laws must not be in opposition to, or in counteraction of, any of the Articles herein specified.

**XLI.** No Member can enter Lodge Meetings without giving the proper signs, and producing his card to prove his membership, and that he is not in arrears of subscription for more than one month, unless lenity has been granted by order of Committee.

**XLII.** That a separate Treasurer be appointed for every £20 of the funds collected; and that such Treasurers shall not suffer any money to be withdrawn from their hands without a written order, signed by at least three of the Managing Committee and presented by the Secretary, or one of the other officers of the Society

**XLIII.** All sums under £30 shall be left in the hands of the Secretary for current expenses; but no outlay shall be made by him without an express order from the Managing Committee, signed by at least three of its Members.

**XLIV.** That every Member of this Union do use his best endeavours, by fair and open argument, and the force of good example, and not by intimidation or violence, to induce his fellows to join the brotherhood, in order that no workmen may remain out of the Union to undersell them in the market of labour; as, while that is done, employers will be enabled to resist the demands of the Unionists, whereas, if no operatives remain out of union, employers will be compelled to keep up the price of Labour.

**XLV.** That each Member of the C.U. pay a Registration Fee of 3d. to defray the general expenses; which fee is to be transmitted to the Executive once in every month.

**XLVI.** That although the design of the Union is, in the first instance, to raise the wages of the workmen, or prevent any further reduction therein, and to diminish the hours of labour, the great and ultimate object of it must be to establish the paramount rights of Industry and Humanity, by instituting such measures as shall effectually prevent the ignorant, idle, and useless part of Society from having that undue control over the fruits of our toil, which, through the agency of a vicious money system, they at present possess; and that, consequently, the Unionists should lose no opportunity of mutually encouraging

and assisting each other in bringing about A DIFFERENT ORDER OF THINGS, in which the really useful and intelligent part of society only shall have the direction of its affairs, and in which well-directed industry and virtue shall meet their just distinction and reward, and vicious idleness its merited contempt and destitution.

XLVII. All the Rules and Regulations herein contained be subject to the revision, alteration, or abrogation of the Grand Delegate Council.

## APPENDIX III

### SLIDING SCALES

THE Sliding Scale, an arrangement by which it is agreed in advance that wages shall vary in a definite relation to changes in the market price of the product, appears to have been familiar to the iron trade for a couple of generations. "About fifty years ago Mr. G. B. Thorneycroft, of Wolverhampton, head of a well-known firm of iron-masters, suggested to certain other houses that wages should fluctuate with the price of 'marked bars'—these words indicating a quality of iron that then enjoyed a high reputation. The suggestion was adopted to this extent, that when a demand was made by the men for an advance in wages, any advance that was given was proportionate to the selling price of 'marked bars.' The puddlers received, as a rule, 1s. for each pound of the selling price; but on exceptional occasions, a special temporary advance or 'premium' was conceded. The terms of this arrangement do not seem to have been reduced to writing, though they remained in force for many years, and were well known as the Thorneycroft scale."<sup>1</sup>

At the time of the great strike of Staffordshire puddlers, in 1865, a local understanding of a similar nature appears to have been in existence. The joint committee of iron-masters and puddlers, which was established at Darlington in 1869 as the "North of England Manufactured Iron Board," soon worked out a formal sliding scale for its own guidance. This scale, as well as that adopted by the Midland Iron Trade Board, has been repeatedly revised, abandoned, and again re-established; but its working has, on the whole, commended itself to the repre-

<sup>1</sup> Statement furnished to Professor Munro by Mr. Daniel Jones, of the Midland Iron and Steel Wages Board, quoted in *Sliding Scales in the Coal and Iron Industries* (p. 141).

sentatives of the ironworkers, and has, so far as the principle is concerned, produced no important dissensions among them. "We believe," said Mr. Trow, the men's secretary, to the Labour Commission in 1892, "it would be most satisfactory if this principle were generally adopted. . . . In all our experience of the past we have had less trouble in the periods in which sliding scales have obtained." The cause of the exceptional satisfaction of the ironworkers with their Wages Boards and Sliding Scales is obscure, but it may be interesting to the student to note that the members of the Ironworkers Association are largely sub-contractors, themselves employing workmen who are usually outside the Union, and have no direct representation on the Board. For a careful statement of the facts as to these Wage Boards and Sliding Scales in the iron industry, see *The Adjustment of Wages* (by Sir W. J. Ashley, 1903), pp. 142-151, and specimen rules, reports, and scales, pp. 208-307. At present (1920) separate Sliding Scales of this nature are in force for the Cleveland and the North Lincolnshire Blast-furnacemen; the Scottish Iron and the Consett Millmen; Brown Bayley's No. 1 Mill; the Scottish Enginemen and Steel Millmen; the Staffordshire Sheet Trade; the Midlands Puddling Mills and Forges; and the South Wales and Monmouthshire Iron and Steel Trade.

Widely different has been the result of the Sliding Scale among the coal miners. Its introduction into this trade dates from 1874, though it was not until 1879 that its adoption became common. Since then it has been abandoned in all districts, and it is energetically repudiated by the Miners' Federation. The following table includes all the Sliding Scales in the coal industry known to us. Between 1879 and 1886 there were a number of informal Sliding Scales in force for particular collieries, which were mostly superseded by the more general scales, or otherwise came to an end. It is believed that no Sliding Scale is now in force in any coal district.

July 24,	1874	South Staffordshire I.	Revised 1877.
May 28,	1875	South Wales I.	" 1880.
April 13,	1876	Somerset.	Ended 1889.
February 6,	1877	Cannock Chase I.	Revised 1879.
March 14,	1877	Durham I.	" 1879.
November 1,	1877	South Staffordshire II.	" 1882.
April 14,	1879	Cannock Chase II.	" 1882.
October 11,	1879	Durham II.	" 1887.
October 31,	1879	Cumberland I.	Ended 1881.

November 3, 1879	Ferndale Colliery I. (S. Wales).	Revised 1881.
November 10, 1879	Bedworth Colliery I. (Warwick).	" 1880.
November 15, 1879	Northumberland I.	" 1883.
December 19, 1879	Ocean Colliery I. (S. Wales).	" 1882.
January 17, 1880	South Wales II.	" 1882.
January 20, 1880	West Yorkshire.	Ended ?
January 26, 1880	North Wales.	" 1881.
February 14, 1880	Bedworth Colliery II.	" ?
January 1, 1881	Ashton and Oldham I.	Revised 1882.
December 31, 1881	Ferndale Colliery II.	? ?
January 1, 1882	South Staffordshire III.	Ended 1884.
April 29, 1882	Durham III.	Revised 1884.
June 6, 1882	South Wales III.	" 1889.
June 22, 1882	Cannock Chase, &c. III.	Ended 1883.
July 18, 1882	Ashton & Oldham II.	" 1883.
August 24, 1882	South Wales (Anthracite).	? ?
September 29, 1882	Cumberland II.	Revised 1884.
March 9, 1883	Northumberland II.	Ended 1886.
June 12, 1884	Durham IV.	" 1889.
November 28, 1884	Cumberland III.	Revised 1886.
March 12, 1886	Forest of Dean.	Ended 1888 ?
April 14, 1886	Altham Colliery (Northd.).	" ?
February 25, 1887	Cumberland IV.	Ended 1889 ?
May 24, 1887	Northumberland III.	" 1887.
June, 1887	Lanarkshire.	" 1889.
October, 1888	South Staffordshire IV.	" ?
January 18, 1890	South Wales IV.	" ?
September, 1893	Forest of Dean.	" ?

An exposition of the construction and working of Sliding Scales is contained in *Industrial Peace*, by L. L. Price. Details of numerous Scales are given in the report made by a Committee to the British Association, entitled *Sliding Scales in the Coal Industry*, which was prepared by Professor J. E. C. Munro (Manchester, 1885), and in the *Particulars of Sliding Scales, Past, Present, and Proposed*, printed by the Lancashire Miners' Federation in 1886 (Openshaw, 1886, 20 pp.). Supplementary information is given in Professor Munro's papers before the Manchester Statistical Society, entitled, "Sliding Scales in the Iron Industry" (Manchester, 1885), and "Sliding Scales in the Coal and Iron Industries from 1835 to 1889" (Manchester, 1889). The whole question is discussed in *The Adjustment of Wages* (by



Sir William Ashley, 1903), pp. 45-71 ; and in our own *Industrial Democracy*, 1897.

The proceedings in the numerous arbitrations in the coal and iron trade in the North of England, as well as several others which are printed, furnish abundant information on the subject of their working. A table of the variations of wages under sliding scales was prepared by Professor J. E. C. Munro for the Royal Commission on Mining Royalties, and published as Appendix V. to the First Report, 1890 (C 6195).

## APPENDIX IV

### THE SUMMONS TO THE FIRST TRADE UNION CONGRESS

No copy of the invitation to the first Trade Union Congress has been preserved, either in the archives of the Congress, the Manchester Trades Council, or any other organisation known to us. Fortunately, it was printed in the *Ironworkers' Journal* for May 1868. But of this only one file now exists, and as the summons is of some historical interest we reprint it for convenience of reference.

"MANCHESTER, April 16, 1868.

"SIR—You are requested to lay the following before your Society. The vital *interests* involved, it is conceived, will justify the officials in convening a special meeting for the consideration thereof.

"The Manchester and Salford Trades Council having recently taken into their serious consideration the present aspect of Trades Unions, and the profound ignorance which prevails in the public mind with reference to their operations and principles, together with the probability of an attempt being made by the Legislature, during the present Session of Parliament, to introduce a measure which might prove *détrimental* to the interests of such Societies *unless some prompt and decisive action be taken by the working classes themselves*, beg most respectfully to intimate that it has been decided to hold in Manchester, as the main centre of industry in the provinces, a Congress of the representatives of Trades Councils, Federations of Trades, and Trade Societies in general.

"The Congress will assume the character of the Annual Meetings of the Social Science Association, in the transactions of which Society the artisan class is almost excluded; and papers

previously carefully prepared by such Societies as elect to do so, will be laid before the Congress on the various subjects which at the present time affect the Trade Societies, each paper to be followed by discussion on the points advanced, with a view of the merits and demerits of each question being thoroughly ventilated through the medium of the public press. It is further decided that the subjects treated upon shall include the following :

- " 1. Trade Unions an absolute necessity.
- " 2. Trade Unions and Political Economy.
- " 3. The effect of Trade Unions on foreign competition.
- " 4. Regulation of the hours of labour.
- " 5. Limitation of apprentices.
- " 6. Technical Education.
- " 7. Courts of Arbitration and Conciliation.
- " 8. Co-operation.
- " 9. The present inequality of the law in regard to conspiracy, intimidation, picketing, coercion, etc.
- " 10. Factory Acts Extension Bill, 1867: the necessity of compulsory inspection and its application to all places where women and children are employed.
- " 11. The present Royal Commission on Trades Unions—how far worthy of the confidence of the Trade Union interests.
- " 12. Legalization of Trade Societies.
- " 13. The necessity of an Annual Congress of Trade Representatives from the various centres of industry.

" All Trades Councils, Federations of Trades, and Trade Societies generally are respectfully solicited to intimate their adhesion to this project on or before the 12th of May next, together with a notification of the subject of the paper that each body will undertake to prepare, and the number of delegates by whom they will be respectively represented; after which date all information as to the place of meeting, etc., will be supplied.

" It is not imperative that all Societies should prepare papers, it being anticipated that the subjects will be taken up by those most capable of expounding the principles sought to be maintained. Several have already adhered to the project, and have signified their intention of taking up the subjects Nos. 1, 4, 6, and 7.

" The Congress will be held on Whit-Tuesday, the 2nd of June next, its duration not to exceed five days; and all expenses in connection therewith, which will be very small,

and as economical as possible, will be equalized amongst those Societies sending delegates, and will not extend beyond their sittings.

" Communications to be addressed to Mr. W. H. Wood, Typographical Institute, 29 Water Street, Manchester.

" By order of the Manchester & Salford Trades Council.

" S. C. NICHOLSON, President.

" W. H. WOOD, Secretary."

## APPENDIX V

### DISTRIBUTION OF TRADE UNIONISTS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

We endeavoured in 1893-94 to analyse the membership of all the Trade Unions of which we could obtain particulars, in such a way as to show the number and percentage to population in each part of the United Kingdom. The following table gives the local distribution of 1,507,020 Trade Unionists in 1892. The distribution was, in most cases, made by branches, special estimates being prepared for us in a few instances by the officers of the Unions concerned. With regard to a few Unions having about 4000 members no local distribution could be arrived at.

*Table showing the distribution of Trade Union membership in 1892 in each part of the United Kingdom, with the percentage to population in each case.*

County.	Population in 1891.	Ascertained Trade Unionists in 1892.	Number of Trade Unionists per 100 of population.
Bedfordshire . . . . .	165,999	553	0.33
Berkshire . . . . .	268,357	975	0.36
Buckinghamshire . . . . .	164,442	720	0.44
Cambridgeshire . . . . .	100,269	2,855	1.45
Cheshire . . . . .	707,978	32,000	4.52
Cornwall . . . . .	318,583	630	0.20
Cumberland . . . . .	206,549	10,280	3.86
Derbyshire . . . . .	432,414	20,510	6.82
Devonshire . . . . .	636,225	6,030	0.95
Dorsetshire . . . . .	188,995	305	0.16

County.	Population in 1891.	Ascertained Trade Unionists in 1892.	Number of Trade Unionists per 100 of population.
Durham . . . . .	1,024,369	114,810	11.21
Essex . . . . . (without West Ham, included in London).	396,057	3,370	0.85
Gloucestershire . . . . .	548,886	26,030	4.74
Hampshire . . . . . (without Isle of Wight, treated separately).	587,578	5,665	0.96
Herefordshire . . . . .	113,346	385	0.34
Hertfordshire . . . . .	215,179	1,125	0.52
Huntingdonshire . . . . .	50,289	20	0.04
Isle of Wight . . . . .	78,672	205	0.37
Kent . . . . . (without Bromley, included in London).	737,044	12,445	1.69
Lancashire . . . . .	3,957,906	331,535	8.63
Leicestershire . . . . .	379,286	27,845	7.34
Lincoln . . . . .	467,281	9,480	2.03
London . . . . . (including Bromley, Croydon, Kingston, Richmond, West Ham and Middlesex).	5,517,583	194,083	3.52
Norfolk . . . . .	460,362	4,880	1.06
Northamptonshire . . . . .	308,072	12,210	3.96
Northumberland . . . . .	506,030	56,815	11.23
Nottinghamshire . . . . .	505,311	31,050	6.14
Oxford . . . . .	188,220	1,815	0.96
Rutland . . . . .	22,123	0	0.00
Shropshire . . . . .	254,765	3,225	1.26
Somerset . . . . .	510,076	6,595	1.29
Staffordshire . . . . .	1,103,452	49,545	4.49
Suffolk . . . . .	353,758	14,885	4.21
Surrey . . . . . (without Croydon, Kingston, and Richmond, included in London).	275,638	710	0.26
Sussex . . . . .	554,542	2,810	0.51
Warwickshire . . . . .	801,738	33,600	4.19
Westmoreland . . . . .	66,215	530	0.80

County.	Population in 1891.	Ascertained Trade Unionists in 1892.	Number of Trade Unionists per 100 of population.
Wiltshire . . . . .	255,119	3,680	1·44
Worcestershire . . . . .	422,530	7,840	1·86
Yorkshire, East Riding . . . . .	318,570	23,630	7·42
Yorkshire, North Riding . . . . . (with York City).	435,897	15,215	3·49
Yorkshire, West Riding . . . . .	2,464,415	141,140	5·73
Total, England	27,226,120	1,221,141	4·49
North Wales . . . . .	451,090	8,820	1·96
South Wales and Monmouth . . . . .	1,325,315	88,810	6·70
Total, Wales and Monmouth	1,776,405	97,630	5·50
Total, England and Wales	29,002,525	1,318,771	4·55
Scotland . . . . .	4,033,103	146,925	3·64
Ireland . . . . .	4,706,162	40,045	0·85
Isle of Man . . . . .	55,598	75	0·13
Guernsey . . . . .	35,339	1,170	3·31
Jersey . . . . .	54,518	40	0·07
Alderney and Sark . . . . .	2,415	0	0·00
Total, United Kingdom	37,889,660	1,507,026	3·98

## APPENDIX

### THE STATISTICAL PROGRESS

It is unfortunately impossible to present any complete statistics appointment, in 1886, of John Burnett as Labour Correspondent statistics of the movement; and the old Unions seldom possess of Ironfounders, it is true, has exact figures since its establish-

The following tables may be useful as placing on record such

1. Amalgamated Society of Engineers.
2. Friendly Society of Ironfounders.
3. Steam Engine Makers' Society.
4. Associated Ironmoulders of Scotland.
5. United Society of Boilermakers and Iron Shipwrights.
6. Operative Stonemasons' Friendly Society.
7. Operative Bricklayers' Society.
8. General Union of Operative Carpenters and Joiners.
9. Typographical Association.
10. London Society of Compositors.
11. Bookbinders' and Machine Rulers' Consolidated Union.
12. United Kingdom Society of Coachmakers.
13. Flint Glass Makers' Friendly Society.
14. Amicable and Brotherly Society of Machine Printers.
15. Machine, Engine, and Iron Grinders' Society.
16. Associated Blacksmiths' Society.
17. Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners.
18. Associated Carpenters and Joiners.
19. National Association of Operative Plasterers.
20. Northumberland Miners' Mutual Confident Association.
21. United Journeymen Brassfounders' Association of Great Britain and Ireland.
22. United Operative Plumbers' Association.
23. Alliance Cabinet Makers' Association.



## VI

### OF TRADE UNION MEMBERSHIP

of Trade Union membership at different periods. Until the to the Board of Trade, no attempt was made to collect any a complete series of their own archives. The Friendly Society ment in 1809. No total figures can be given with any confidence. comparative figures as we have been able to collect :

24. United Operative Bricklayers' Trade, Accident, Sick, and Burial Society.
25. Amalgamated Society of Tailors.
26. Amalgamated Association of Operative Cotton Spinners.
27. Glass Bottle Makers of Yorkshire United Trade Protection Society.
28. Durham Miners' Association.
29. National Society of Amalgamated Brassworkers.
30. United Pattern Makers' Association.
31. National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives.
32. Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants.
33. Yorkshire Miners' Association.
34. United Machine Workers' Association.
35. National Amalgamated Furnishing Trades Association.
36. Railway Clerks' Association.
37. Amalgamated Tramway and Vehicle Workers.
38. National Union of Dock Labourers.
39. British Steel Smelters.
40. National Amalgamated Union of Shop Assistants.
41. Amalgamated Union of Co-operative Employees.
42. National Union of Clerks.
43. Workers' Union.
44. Amalgamated Musicians' Union.
45. National Amalgamated Union of Labour.
46. Postmen's Federation.
47. Post Office Engineering Stores.

## APPENDIX

### THE STATISTICAL PROGRESS

It is unfortunately impossible to present any complete statistics appointment, in 1886, of John Burnett as Labour Correspondent statistics of the movement ; and the old Unions seldom possess of Ironfounders, it is true, has exact figures since its establish-

The following tables may be useful as placing on record such

1. Amalgamated Society of Engineers.
2. Friendly Society of Ironfounders.
3. Steam Engine Makers' Society.
4. Associated Ironmoulders of Scotland.
5. United Society of Boilermakers and Iron Shipwrights.
6. Operative Stonemasons' Friendly Society.
7. Operative Bricklayers' Society.
8. General Union of Operative Carpenters and Joiners.
9. Typographical Association.
10. London Society of Compositors.
11. Bookbinders' and Machine Rulers' Consolidated Union.
12. United Kingdom Society of Coachmakers.
13. Flint Glass Makers' Friendly Society.
14. Amicable and Brotherly Society of Machine Printers.
15. Machine, Engine, and Iron Grinders' Society.
16. Associated Blacksmiths' Society.
17. Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners.
18. Associated Carpenters and Joiners.
19. National Association of Operative Plasterers.
20. Northumberland Miners' Mutual Confident Association.
21. United Journeymen Brassfounders' Association of Great Britain and Ireland.
22. United Operative Plumbers' Association.
23. Alliance Cabinet Makers' Association.

## VI

### OF TRADE UNION MEMBERSHIP

of Trade Union membership at different periods. Until the to the Board of Trade, no attempt was made to collect any a complete series of their own archives. The Friendly Society ment in 1809. No total figures can be given with any confidence. comparative figures as we have been able to collect :

24. United Operative Bricklayers' Trade, Accident, Sick, and Burial Society.
25. Amalgamated Society of Tailors.
26. Amalgamated Association of Operative Cotton Spinners.
27. Glass Bottle Makers of Yorkshire United Trade Protection Society.
28. Durham Miners' Association.
29. National Society of Amalgamated Brassworkers.
30. United Pattern Makers' Association.
31. National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives.
32. Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants.
33. Yorkshire Miners' Association.
34. United Machine Workers' Association.
35. National Amalgamated Furnishing Trades Association.
36. Railway Clerks' Association.
37. Amalgamated Tramway and Vehicle Workers.
38. National Union of Dock Labourers.
39. British Steel Smelters.
40. National Amalgamated Union of Shop Assistants.
41. Amalgamated Union of Co-operative Employees.
42. National Union of Clerks.
43. Workers' Union.
44. Amalgamated Musicians' Union.
45. National Amalgamated Union of Labour.
46. Postmen's Federation.
47. Post Office Engineering Stores.

Table showing the Membership of certain Trade Unions at

Number of Society.	Year of Establishment.	1850.	1855.	1860.	1865.	1870.
1.	1851 *	5,000	12,553	20,935	30,084	34,711
2.	1809	4,073	5,685	7,973	10,604	8,994
3.	1824	2,068	1,662	2,050	2,521	2,819
4.	1831	814	1,381	2,084	3,046	2,766
5.	1832	1,771	3,500	4,146	8,621	7,261
6.	1832	4,671	8,093	9,125	15,483	13,965
7.	1848	340	924	1,641	4,320	1,441
8.	1827	535	1,180	2,228	6,986	8,008
9.	1849	603	1,288	1,473	1,992	2,430
10.	1848	1,800	2,300	2,650	2,800	3,350
11.	1835	420	340	500	748	915
12.	1834	1,567	3,040	4,086	4,599	5,801
13.	1849	500	897	1,355	1,606	1,776
14.	1841	375	452	508	530	570
15.	1844	200	110	330	449	280
		24,737	43,405	61,084	95,289	95,087
16.	1857	—	—	856	1,815	1,590
17.	1860	—	—	618	5,670	10,178
18.	1861	—	—	—	4,453	3,585
19.	1862	—	—	—	4,441	2,461
20.	1863	—	—	—	4,250	5,328
21.	1866	—	—	—	—	1,457
22.	1832	?	?	?	?	1,537
23.	1865	—	—	—	?	242
24.	1832	?	—	?	?	3,850
25.	1866	—	—	—	—	4,006
26.	1853	—	?	?	?	10,518
27.	1860	—	—	?	?	792
28.	1869	—	—	—	—	1,899
						142,530

\* Established January 10, 1851. The membership given for 1850 is

† Merged in the National Union of Bookbinders and Machine Makers,

‡ In 1902 joined with the Operative Cabinet and Chair Makers Association.

Successive Periods, from 1850 to 1918 inclusive.

1875.	1880.	1885.	1890.	1900.	1910.	1918.
44,032	44,692	51,089	67,928	87,672	110,733	208,732
12,330	11,580	12,376	14,821	18,357	17,990	28,586
3,871	4,134	5,062	5,822	8,566	14,401	27,206
4,346	4,664	5,611	6,198	7,504	7,880	7,961
16,191	17,688	28,212	32,926	47,670	49,393	95,761
24,543	12,610	11,285	12,538	19,419	7,055	4,929
4,832	5,700	6,412	12,740	38,830	23,284	34,441
10,885	4,420	1,734	2,485	7,727	5,653	12,000
3,600	5,350	6,551	9,016	16,179	21,436	11,602
4,200	5,100	6,435	8,910	11,287	12,230	12,940
1,670	1,501	1,788	2,910	4,064	5,027	— †
7,251	4,989	4,560	5,367	6,536	6,854	15,118
2,005	1,963	1,985	2,123	2,409	916	775
650	690	740	860	963	983	228
390	258	277	304	433	703	746
140,802	125,339	144,717	184,948	277,610	284,538	551,075
2,113	2,002	2,335	2,300	2,933	2,953	17,238
14,917	17,764	25,781	31,495	65,012	55,785	} 124,841
6,642	4,673	4,535	4,742	9,808	3,964	
3,742	3,211	2,110	4,236	11,009	6,522	4,110
17,561	10,707	13,128	16,961	23,950	37,361	40,000
1,821	1,890	2,344	2,162	—	5,241	7,500
1,679	2,232	2,666	5,350	11,186	10,907	13,000
1,965	1,346	1,246	4,298	5,270	—	— †
7,350	3,282	1,975	1,725	3,428	1,655	2,950
14,352	12,583	13,969	16,629	13,439	12,143	29,422
14,257	11,834	16,579	18,145	18,384	22,992	24,806
1,120	1,061	1,522	1,899	2,840	2,450	2,800
38,000	30,000	35,000	49,000	80,260	121,805	126,250
260,321	227,924	267,907	343,890	546,135	559,316	944,992

that with which the amalgamation started.

1911.

of Scotland to form the National Amalgamated Furnishing Trades

Number of Society.	Year of Establishment.	1850.	1855.	1860.	1865.	1870.
29.	1872	—	—	—	—	—
30.	1872	—	—	—	—	—
31.	1874	—	—	—	—	—
32.	1872	—	—	—	—	—
33.	1858	—	—	?	?	?
34.	1844	?	?	?	?	?
35.	1902	—	—	—	—	—
36.	1897	—	—	—	—	—
37.	1889	—	—	—	—	—
38.	1889	—	—	—	—	—
39.	1886	—	—	—	—	—
40.	1891	—	—	—	—	—
41.	1891	—	—	—	—	—
42.	1891	—	—	—	—	—
43.	1898	—	—	—	—	—
44.	1893	—	—	—	—	—
45.	1889	—	—	—	—	—
46.	1891	—	—	—	—	—
47.	1896	—	—	—	—	—

\* Amalgamated in 1913 with the United Pointsmen and Signalmen Railwaymen.

† In 1917 the members of the British Steel Smelters were merged in

We have suggested that it is doubtful whether, in 1842, there a quarter of a century later George Howell and others could number was reached until the years of good trade that followed whether the aggregate of a million was again reached until the end of the century were two millions attained—a number increased by over fifty per cent.

1875.	1880.	1885.	1890.	1900.	1910.	1918.
5,271	4,633	3,582	7,958	8,675	7,373	25,000
418	824	1,241	2,205	4,604	7,214	10,290
4,311	6,404	10,464	23,459	27,960	30,197	83,017
13,018	8,589	9,052	26,360	62,023	75,153	— (*)
8,000	2,800	8,000	50,000	54,475	88,271	100,400
276	279	455	2,501	3,769	4,843	23,374
297,615	251,453	300,701	456,373	707,641	772,367	1,187,073
—	—	—	—	6,248 (1902)	6,685	47,220
—	—	—	—	1,550	9,476	66,130
—	—	—	?	9,214	17,076	40,564
—	—	—	?	13,388	14,253	45,000
—	—	—	?	10,467	17,491	40,000(?)†
—	—	—	—	7,551	22,426	83,000 (1919)
—	—	—	—	6,733	29,886	87,134
—	—	—	—	82	3,166	35,000
—	—	—	?	2,879	5,016	230,000
—	—	—	—	3,286	6,182	14,649
—	—	—	?	21,111	16,017	143,931
—	—	—	—	23,180	37,892	65,078
—	—	—	—	940	3,500	14,000
				106,629	189,046	911,706
				814,270	961,413	2,098,779

and the General Railway Workers' Union to form the National Union of the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation.

were as many as 100,000 enrolled and contributing members. talk vaguely of a million members, but we doubt whether this 1871. In 1878-80 there was a great falling off, and we doubt 1885. In 1892 we recorded a million and a half. Not until doubled by 1915, and in the last four or five years again

Table showing the aggregate Trade Union Membership in groups of Industries at the end of each of the years 1892-1917 inclusive.<sup>1</sup>

Year.	Building.	Mining and Quarrying.	Metal, Engineering, and Shipbuilding.	Textile.	Clothing.	Transport.	Other Trades.			Total, all Unions.
							Printing, Paper, etc.	Wood-working.	Other Trades.	
1892	157,971	315,272	279,534	204,022	83,299	154,947	307,313			1,502,358
1893	172,870	318,112	266,813	205,546	80,768	142,084	293,224			1,479,417
1894	178,721	307,276	263,572	214,331	81,786	123,896	266,718			1,436,300
1895	179,283	280,065	269,169	218,805	78,560	120,475	261,479			1,407,836
1896	193,341	279,977	303,518	217,950	76,997	134,877	287,805			1,494,465
1897	215,603	283,054	319,745	218,619	75,852	183,994	317,131			1,613,998
1898	232,040	366,731	312,444	240,895	69,954	147,957	54,436	—	264,074	1,688,531
1899	249,988	445,706	335,746	245,301	66,777	163,685	56,727	—	284,640	1,848,570
1900	253,412	524,150	342,079	245,438	67,183	171,599	57,228	—	294,615	1,955,704
1901	248,967	539,953	338,468	243,474	65,660	169,199	58,274	—	311,766	1,966,761
1902	245,141	532,082	337,064	246,829	64,094	158,714	59,062	—	310,321	1,953,307
1903	238,141	529,028	337,122	244,081	61,713	159,051	60,138	—	301,769	1,931,043
1904	225,149	501,764	334,822	246,473	58,598	159,788	62,428	—	306,087	1,895,109
1905	205,179	496,828	340,364	266,416	60,394	167,017	62,368	—	321,807	1,920,373
1906	196,492	571,336	361,453	302,968	59,806	100,155	64,451	—	367,145	2,113,806
1907	193,190	703,344	376,805	354,427	68,810	238,813	68,221	—	403,136	2,406,746
1908	177,718	719,384	365,134	362,540	65,637	230,642	72,970	41,797	353,505	2,388,727
1909	162,278	722,639	359,838	366,445	65,882	224,037	71,531	39,240	357,177	2,369,067
1910	156,985	731,305	370,055	379,644	67,158	245,223	74,275	38,881	382,816	2,446,342
1911	173,182	752,419	415,176	436,927	74,423	513,538	77,252	45,474	530,512	3,018,903
1912	203,773	757,147	479,471	478,097	91,855	514,724	76,807	50,853	635,107	3,287,884
1913	248,647	915,734	538,541	515,684	105,929	699,952	84,414	64,442	813,772	3,987,115
1914	235,828	870,198	557,769	497,494	102,538	705,501	92,283	64,296	796,902	3,918,809
1915	228,475	857,183	633,502	507,731	114,055	737,004	97,290	65,210	836,313	4,126,793
1916	229,272	877,694	695,347	530,411	121,656	803,872	97,669	69,403	1,012,623	4,437,947
1917	257,286	941,120	847,202	627,919	149,756	903,109	109,586	83,369	1,360,165	5,287,522

<sup>1</sup> [From Labour Department's Reports on Trade Unions for 1900, 1905-7 and 1912, Cmd. 773, 4651 and 6109, and *Labour Gazette*.]



## APPENDIX VII

### PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO TRADE UNIONS

IN the first edition of this book we gave a list, 45 pages long, of books, pamphlets, reports, and other documents bearing on the workmen's combinations. In *Industrial Democracy*, 1897, we gave a supplementary list, 23 pages long. We do not reproduce these lists, to which the student can always refer; nor have we attempted to bring them down to date. The really useful material for Trade Union study is to be found in the publications of the Trade Unions themselves—the innumerable editions of rules, the thousands of annual and monthly reports, the voluminous lists of piece-work prices, the intricate working agreements, the verbatim reports of conferences, delegate meetings and proceedings before Conciliation and Arbitration Boards—which are ignored by the British Museum, and are practically never preserved in local public libraries. We made an extensive collection in 1891-97, which we have deposited in the British Library of Political Science, attached to the London School of Economics and Political Science, where it has been, to some extent, kept up to date, and where it is accessible to any serious student. Some old pamphlets and reports of interest are in the Goldsmiths' Library at the University of London. Of Trade Union publications since 1913 the most extensive collection is that of the Labour Research Department, attached to the Labour Party, 34 Eccleston Square, London.

## APPENDIX VIII

### THE RELATIONSHIP OF TRADE UNIONISM TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDUSTRY

IN our work on *Industrial Democracy*, published in 1897, we formulated the following tentative conclusions with regard to the participation of the workmen's organisations in industrial management, and the relation of Trade Unionism to political Democracy :

" This survey of the changes required in Trade Union policy leads us straight to a conclusion as to the part which Trade Unionism will be expected to play in the management of the industry of a democratic state. The interminable series of decisions, which together make up industrial administration, fall into three main classes. There is, first, the decision as to what shall be produced—that is to say, the exact commodity or service to be supplied to the consumers. There is, secondly, the judgement as to the manner in which the production shall take place, the adoption of material, the choice of processes, and the selection of human agents. Finally, there is the altogether different question of the conditions under which these human agents shall be employed—the temperature, atmosphere, and sanitary arrangements amid which they shall work, the intensity and duration of their toil, and the wages given as its reward.

" To obtain for the community the maximum satisfaction it is essential that the needs and desires of the consumers should be the main factor in determining the commodities and services to be produced. Whether these needs and desires can best be ascertained and satisfied by the private enterprise of capitalist profit-makers, keenly interested in securing custom, or by the public service of salaried officials, intent on pleasing associations of consumers (as in the British Co-operative Movement), or

associations of citizens (the Municipality or the State), is at present the crucial problem of Democracy. But whichever way this issue may be decided, one thing is certain, namely, that the several sections of manual workers, enrolled in their Trade Unions, will have, under private enterprise or Collectivism, no more to do with the determination of what is to be produced than any other citizens or consumers. As manual workers and wage-earners, they bring to the problem no specialised knowledge; and as persons fitted for the performance of particular services, they are even biassed against the inevitable changes in demand which characterise progressive community. This is even more the case with regard to the second department of industrial administration—the adoption of material, the choice of processes, and the selection of human agents. Here, the Trade Unions concerned are specially disqualified, not only by their ignorance of the possible alternatives, but also by their overwhelming bias in favour of a particular material, a particular process, or a particular grade of workers, irrespective of whether these are or are not the best adapted for the gratification of the consumers' desires. On the other hand, the directors of industry, whether thrown up by the competitive struggle or deliberately appointed by the consumers or citizens, have been specially picked out and trained to discover the best means of satisfying the consumers' desires. Moreover, the bias of their self-interest coincides with the object of their customers or employers—that is to say, the best and cheapest production. Thus, if we leave out of account the disturbing influence of monopoly in private enterprise, and corruption in public administration, it would at first sight seem as if we might safely leave the organisation of production and distribution under the one system as under the other to the expert knowledge of the directors of industry. But this is subject to one all-important qualification. The permanent bias of the profit-maker, and even of the salaried official of the Co-operative Society, the Municipality, or the Government Department, is to lower the expense of production. So far as immediate results are concerned, it seems equally advantageous whether this reduction of cost is secured by a better choice of materials, processes, or men, or by some lowering of wages or other worsening of the conditions upon which the human agents are employed. But the democratic state is, as we have seen, vitally interested in upholding the highest possible Standard of Life of all its citizens, and especially of the manual workers who form four-

fifths of the whole. Hence the bias of the directors of industry in favor of cheapness has, in the interests of the community, to be perpetually controlled and guided by a determination to maintain, and progressively to raise, the conditions of employment.

“ This leads us to the third branch of industrial administration—the settlement of the conditions under which the human beings are to be employed. The adoption of one material rather than another, the choice between alternative processes or alternative ways of organising the factory, the selection of particular grades of workers, or even of a particular foreman, may affect, for the worse, the Standard of Life of the operatives concerned. This indirect influence on the conditions of employment passes imperceptibly into the direct determination of the wages, hours, and other terms of the wage contract. On all these matters the consumers, on the one hand, and the directors of industry on the other, are permanently disqualified from acting as arbiters. In our chapter on ‘ The Higgling of the Market ’ we described how, in the elaborate division of labour which characterises the modern industrial system, thousands of workers co-operate in the bringing to market of a single commodity; and no consumer, even if he desired it, could possibly ascertain or judge of the conditions of employment in all these varied trades. Thus, the consumers of all classes are not only biassed in favour of low prices; they are compelled to accept this apparent or genuine cheapness as the only practicable test of efficiency of production. And though the immediate employer of each section of workpeople knows the hours that they work and the wages that they receive, he is precluded by the stream of competitive pressure, transmitted through the retail shopkeeper and the wholesale trader, from effectively resisting the promptings of his own self-interest towards a constant cheapening of labour. Moreover, though he may be statistically aware of the conditions of employment his lack of personal experience of those conditions deprives him of any real knowledge of their effects. To the brain-working captain of industry, maintaining himself and his family on thousands a year, the manual-working wage-earner seems to belong to another species, having mental faculties and bodily needs altogether different from his own. Men and women of the upper or middle classes are totally unable to realise what state of body and mind, what level of character and conduct, result from a life spent, from childhood to old age, amid the dirt,

the smell, the noise, the ugliness, and the vitiated atmosphere of the workshop; under constant subjection to the peremptory, or it may be brutal, orders of the foreman; kept continuously at the laborious manual toil for sixty or seventy hours in every week of the year; and maintained by the food, clothing, house-accommodation, recreation, and family life which are implied by a precarious income of between ten shillings and two pounds a week. If the democratic state is to attain its fullest and finest development, it is essential that the actual needs and desires of the human agents concerned should be the main considerations in determining the conditions of employment. Here then we find the special function of the Trade Union in the administration of industry. The simplest member of the working-class organisation knows at any rate where the shoe pinches. The Trade Union official is specially selected by his fellow-workmen for his capacity to express the grievances from which they suffer, and is trained by his calling in devising remedies for them. But in expressing the desires of their members, and in insisting on the necessary reforms, the Trade Unions act within the constant friction-brake supplied by the need of securing employment. It is always the consumers and the consumers alone, whether they act through profit-making *entrepreneurs* or through their own salaried officials, who determine how many of each particular grade of workers they care to employ on the conditions demanded. . . . Thus we find no neat formula for defining the rights and duties of the individual in society. In the democratic state every individual is both master and servant. In the work that he does for the community in return for his subsistence he is, and must remain, a servant, subject to the instructions and directions of those whose desires he is helping to satisfy. As a Citizen-Elector jointly with his fellows, and as a Consumer to the extent of his demand, he is a master, determining, free from any superior, what shall be done. Hence, it is the supreme paradox of democracy that every man is a servant in respect of the matters of which he possesses the most expert proficiency, namely, the professional craft to which he devotes his working hours; and he is a master over that on which he knows no more than anybody else, namely, the general interests of the community as a whole. In this paradox, we suggest, lies at once the justification and the strength of democracy. It is not, as is commonly asserted by the superficial, that Ignorance rules over Knowledge, and Mediocrity over Capacity. In the administration of society Knowledge and Capacity can make

no real and durable progress except by acting on and through the minds of the common human material which it is desired to improve. It is only by carrying along with him the 'average sensual man,' that even the wisest and most philanthropic reformer, however autocratic his power, can genuinely change the face of things. Moreover, not even the wisest of men can be trusted with that supreme authority which comes from the union of knowledge, capacity, and opportunity with the power of untrammelled and ultimate decision. Democracy is an expedient—perhaps the only practicable expedient—for preventing the concentration in any single individual or in any single class of what inevitably becomes, when so concentrated, a terrible engine of oppression. The autocratic emperor, served by a trained bureaucracy, seems to the Anglo-Saxon a perilously near approach to such a concentration. If democracy meant, as early observers imagined, a similar concentration of Knowledge and Power in the hands of the numerical majority for the time being, it might easily become as injurious a tyranny as any autocracy. An actual study of the spontaneous democracies of Anglo-Saxon workmen, or, as we suggest, of any other democratic institutions, reveals the splitting up of this dangerous authority into two parts. Whether in political or in industrial democracy, though it is the Citizen who, as Elector or Consumer, ultimately gives the order, it is the Professional Expert who advises what the order shall be.

"It is another aspect of this paradox that, in the democratic state, no man minds his own business. In the economic sphere this is a necessary consequence of division of labour; Robinson Crusoe, producing solely for his own consumption, being the last man who minded nothing but his own business. The extreme complication brought about by universal production for exchange in itself implies that every one works with a view to fulfilling the desires of other people. The crowding together of dense populations, and especially the co-operative enterprises which then arise, extend in every direction this spontaneous delegation to professional experts of what the isolated individual once deemed 'his own business.' Thus, the citizen in a modern municipality no longer produces his own food or makes his own clothes; no longer protects his own life or property; no longer fetches his own water; no longer makes his own thoroughfares, or cleans or lights them when made; no longer removes his own refuse or even disinfects his own dwelling. He no longer educates his own children, or doctors and nurses his own

invalids. Trade Unionism adds to the long list of functions thus delegated to professional experts the settlement of the conditions on which the citizen will agree to co-operate in the national service. In the fully-developed democratic state the Citizen will be always minding other people's business. In his professional occupation he will, whether as brain-worker or manual labourer, be continually striving to fulfil the desires of those whom he serves; whilst as an Elector, in his parish or his co-operative society, his Trade Union or his political association, he will be perpetually passing judgment on issues in which his personal interest is no greater than that of his fellows.

"If, then, we are asked whether democracy, as shown by an analysis of Trade Unionism, is consistent with Individual Liberty, we are compelled to answer by asking, What is Liberty? If Liberty means every man being his own master, and following his own impulses, then it is clearly inconsistent, not so much with democracy or any other particular form of government, as with the crowding together of population in dense masses, division of labour, and, as we think, civilisation itself. What particular individuals, sections, or classes usually mean by 'freedom of contract,' 'freedom of association,' or 'freedom of enterprise' is freedom of opportunity to use the power that they happen to possess—that is to say, to compel other less powerful people to accept their terms. This sort of personal freedom in a community composed of unequal units is not distinguishable from compulsion. It is, therefore, necessary to define Liberty before talking about it; a definition which every man will frame according to his own view of what is socially desirable. We ourselves understand by the words 'Liberty' or 'Freedom,' not any quantum of natural or inalienable rights, but such conditions of existence in the community as do, in practice, result in the utmost possible development of faculty in the individual human being. Now, in this sense democracy is not only consistent with Liberty, but is, as it seems to us, the only way of securing the largest amount of it. It is open to argument whether other forms of government may not achieve a fuller development of the faculties of particular individuals or classes. To an autocrat, untrammelled rule over a whole kingdom may mean an exercise of his individual faculties, and a development of his individual personality, such as no other situation in life would afford. An aristocracy or government by one class in the interests of one class, may

conceivably enable that class to develop a perfection in physical grace or intellectual charm attainable by no other system of society. Similarly, it might be argued that, where the ownership of the means of production and the administration of industry are unreservedly left to the capitalist class, this 'freedom of enterprise' would result in a development of faculty among the captains of industry which could not otherwise be reached. We dissent from all these propositions, if only on the ground that the fullest development of personal character requires the pressure of discipline as well as the stimulus of opportunity. But however untrammelled power may affect the character of those who possess it, autocracy, aristocracy, and plutocracy have all, from the point of view of the lover of liberty, one fatal defect—they necessarily involve a restriction in the opportunity for development of faculty among the great mass of the population. It is only when the resources of the nation are deliberately organised and dealt with for the benefit, not of particular individuals or classes, but of the entire community; when the administration of industry, as of every other branch of human affairs, becomes the function of specialised experts, working through deliberately adjusted Common Rules; and when the ultimate decision on policy rests in no other hands than those of the citizens themselves, that the maximum aggregate development of individual intellect and individual character in the community as a whole can be attained.

"For our analysis helps us to disentangle from the complex influences on individual development those caused by democracy itself. The universal specialisation and delegation which, as we suggest, democratic institutions involve, necessarily imply a great increase in capacity and efficiency, if only because specialisation in service means expertness, and delegation compels selection. This deepening and narrowing of professional skill may be expected, in the fully-developed democratic state, to be accompanied by a growth in culture of which our present imperfect organisation gives us no adequate idea. So long as life is one long scramble for personal gain—still more, when it is one long struggle against destitution—there is no free time or strength for much development of the sympathetic, intellectual, artistic, or religious faculties. When the conditions of employment are deliberately regulated so as to secure adequate food, education, and leisure to every capable citizen, the great mass of the population will, for the first time, have any real chance of



expanding in friendship and family affection, and of satisfying the instinct for knowledge or beauty. It is an even more unique attribute of democracy that it is always taking the mind of the individual off his own narrow interests and immediate concerns, and forcing him to give his thoughts and leisure, not to satisfying his own desires, but to considering the needs and desires of his fellows. As an Elector—still more as a chosen Representative—in his parish, in his professional association, in his co-operative society, or in the wider political institutions of his state, the 'average sensual man' is perpetually impelled to appreciate and to decide issues of public policy. The working of democratic institutions means, therefore, one long training in enlightened altruism, one continual weighing, not of the advantage of the particular act to the particular individual, at the particular moment, but of those 'larger expediencies' on which all successful conduct of social life depends.

"If now, at the end of this long analysis, we try to formulate our dominant impression, it is a sense of the vastness and complexity of democracy itself. Modern civilised states are driven to this complication by the dense massing of their populations, and the course of industrial development. The very desire to secure mobility in the crowd compels the adoption of one regulation after another, which limit the right of every man to use the air, the water, the land, and even the artificially produced instruments of production, in the way that he may think best. The very discovery of improved industrial methods, by leading to specialisation, makes manual labourer and brain-worker alike dependent on the rest of the community for the means of subsistence, and subordinates them, even in their own crafts, to the action of others. In the world of civilisation and progress, no man can be his own master. But the very fact that, in modern society, the individual thus necessarily loses control over his own life, makes him desire to regain collectively what has become individually impossible. Hence the irresistible tendency to popular government, in spite of all its difficulties and dangers. But democracy is still the Great Unknown. Of its full scope and import we can yet catch only glimpses. As one department of social life after another becomes the subject of careful examination we shall gradually attain to a more complete vision. Our own tentative conclusions, derived from the study of one manifestation of the democratic spirit, may, we hope, not only suggest hypotheses for future verification, but also stimulate other students to carry out original investiga-

## *Appendix VIII*

tions into the larger and perhaps more significant types of democratic organisation."

In 1920, after nearly a quarter of a century of further experience and consideration, we should, in some respects, put this differently. The growth, among all classes, and especially among the manual workers and the technicians, of what we may call corporate self-consciousness and public spirit, and the diffusion of education—coupled with further discoveries in the technique of democratic institutions—would lead us today to include, and even to put in the forefront, certain additional suggestions, which we can here only summarise briefly.

There is, in the first place, a genuine need for, and a real social advantage in giving recognition to, the contemporary transformation in the status of the manual working wage-earners, on the one hand, and of the technicians on the other, as compared with that of the manager or mere "captain of industry." This change of status, which is, perhaps, the most important feature of the industrial history of the past quarter of a century, will be most easily accorded its legitimate recognition in those industries and services in which the profit-making capitalist proprietor is dispensed with in favour of public ownership, whether national, municipal, or co-operative. This is, incidentally, an important reason for what is called "nationalisation." It is a real social gain that the General Secretary of the Swiss Railwaymen's Trade Union should sit as one of the five members of the supreme governing board of the Swiss railway administration. We ourselves look for the admission of nominees of the manual workers, as well as of the technicians, upon the executive boards and committees, on terms of complete equality with the other members, in all publicly owned industries and services; not merely, or even mainly, for the sake of the advantages of the counsel and criticism that the newcomers may bring from new standpoints, but principally for the sake of both inspiring and satisfying the increasing sense of corporate self-consciousness and public spirit among all those employed in these enterprises.

In the second place we should lay stress on the change that is taking place in the nature (and in the conception) of authority itself. In our analysis of 1897 we confined ourselves unduly to a separation of spheres of authority. Whilst still regarding that analytic separation of "management" into three classes of judgements or decisions as fundamentally valid, we should

nowadays attach even more importance to the ways in which authority itself, in industry as well as in the rest of government, is being rapidly transformed, alike in substance and in methods of expression. The need for final decisions will remain, not merely in emergencies, but also as to policy ; and it is of high importance to vest the responsibility for decision, according to the nature of the case, in the right hands. But we suggest that a great deal of the old autocracy in industry and services, once deemed to be indispensable, is ceasing to be necessary to efficiency, and will accordingly, as Democracy becomes more genuinely accepted, gradually be dispensed with. A steadily increasing sphere will, except in matters of emergency, be found for consultation among all grades and sections concerned, out of which will emerge judgements and decisions arrived at, very largely, by common consent. This will, we believe, produce actually a higher standard of industrial efficiency than mere autocracy could ever hope for. Where knowledge is a common possession the facts themselves will often decide ; and though decisions may be short, sharp, and necessarily formulated by the appropriate person, they will not inevitably bear the impress of (or be resented as) the dictates of irresponsible autocracy. We may instance two large classes of considerations which will, we think, with great social advantage, come to be matters for mutual consultation in those committees and councils which already characterise the administration of all industry on a large scale, whether under private or public ownership, and which will, in the future, be increasingly representative of all grades of workers by hand or by brain. To such committees and councils there will come, as a matter of course, a stream of reports from the disinterested outside costing experts, which will carry with them no coercive authority, but which will graphically reveal the efficiency results, so far as regards cost and output, of each part of the enterprise, in comparison both with its own past, and with the corresponding results of other analogous enterprises. Similarly, there will come a stream of financial and merely statistical reports from equally disinterested outside auditors and statisticians, making graphic revelations as to the progress of the enterprise, in comparison with its own previous experience and with the progress of like enterprises elsewhere. Further, there will be a stream of what we may call scientific reports, also from disinterested outside experts, not only describing new inventions and discoveries in the technique of the particular enterprise, but suggesting, in the light of recent surveys of the

work, how they could be practically applied to its peculiar circumstances. These three classes of reports, all of them by disinterested experts, engaged in keeping under review all analogous enterprises at home or abroad, and having neither interest in, nor authority over, any of them, will, we suggest, be discussed by the members of the committees and councils on terms of equality; the decisions being taken, according to the nature of the case, by those in whom the responsibility for decision may be vested.

But there will be a second extensive class of reports of a different character, conveying not statements of fact but views of policy. There will, we must assume, be reports from those responsible, not merely or mainly for satisfying the existing generation of consumers, producers, or citizens, but for safeguarding the interests of the community as a whole, in the future as well as in the present. There will be the reports from the organs of the consumers or users of the particular commodity or service (such as the District Committees representing telephone users set up by the Postmaster-General as organs of criticism and suggestion for his telephone administration). Finally there will be reports conveying criticisms and suggestions from committees or councils representing other enterprises, or other sections of producers (whether technicians or manual workers), which may have something to communicate that they deem important. These reports will, none of them, come with coercive authority, but merely as conveying information, to be considered in the consultations out of which the necessary decisions will emerge.

Opinions may differ as to the competence to take part in such consultations of the selected representatives of the manual workers and the technicians respectively. We are ourselves of opinion that, taking the business as a whole, such representatives will be found to compare, in competence, quite favourably with the average member of a Board of Directors. But whether or not the counsels and decisions of great industrial enterprises are likely to be much improved by such consultations—and we confidently expect that they will be—we suggest that it is predominantly in this form that the principles of Democracy may, in practice, be applied to industrial administration; and that it will be for the Professional Associations of the technicians and the Trade Unions of the manual workers to prove themselves equal to the transformation in their status that this or any other application of Democracy involves.

But here we must pause. In a future work on the achievements, policy, and immediate controversies of the British Labour and Socialist Movement we shall give the historical and the psychological analysis, in the light of the experience of the past few decades, upon which we base our present conclusions.

## INDEX

- Aberdare**, 514  
**Aberdare, Lord**, 276-7, 285  
**Aberdeen, cotton-weavers of**, 82;  
     tailors of, 79  
**Abnormal place**, 513-16  
**Abraham, William**, 596  
**Acetylene Welders**, 495  
**Acland, Sir A. H. Dyke**, 308  
**Actions for damages**, 597-634  
**Actors' Association**, 597  
**Actuarial position of T.U.**, 267-8  
**Adamson, W.**, 699  
**Admiralty Constructive Engineers**,  
     507  
**Agricultural Labourers**, 136, 144-6,  
     328-34, 405, 416, 439-40, 488-9,  
     624, 648  
**Agriculture. Royal Commission on**,  
     648  
**Albert Hall**, 666, 669  
**Alson, Sir Archibald**, 170, 173  
     " All Grades Movement," 525-6  
**Allan, Wm.**, 210-14, 232, 234 (life),  
     233-40, 243, 248, 350, 362, 419  
**Alliance Cabinet Makers' Associa-  
     tion. See Cabinet Makers**  
**Almshouses, provided by the Liver-  
     pool Shipwrights**, 39  
**Althorpe, Lord**, 132  
**Amalgamated Association of Boot  
     and Shoe Makers**, 436  
**Amalgamated Association of Miners**,  
     306, 349, 511  
**Amalgamated Engineering Union**,  
     488, 551  
**Amalgamated Metal Wire and Tube  
     Makers' Society**, 359  
**Amalgamated Society of. See Car-  
     penters, Engineers, Cotton-spin-  
     news, Cotton-weavers, Boot and  
     Shoemakers, Builders' Labourers,  
     Card and Blowing Room Opera-  
     tives, Metal Planers, Railway  
     Servants, Tailors, Watermen and  
     Lightermen**  
**Amalgamated Tramway and Vehicle  
     Workers**, 744  
**Amalgamations and Federations**,  
     546-554  
**American Federation of Labour**,  
     135, 556  
**Amicable and Brotherly Society of  
     Machine Printers (Cotton and  
     Calico)**, 70, 75  
**Amicable Society of Woolstaplers**,  
     83  
**Anderson, W. C.**, 699  
**Anti-corn Law League**, 174, 176  
**Applegarth, Robert**, 232, 233-40,  
     236-7 (life), 248, 350, 362, 391,  
     419, 680  
**Appleton, W. A.**, 556  
**Apprentices**, 27, 29, 38, 45, 47, 83,  
     267  
**Apprentices, Statute of**, 47, 59, 66,  
     250-51  
**Arbitration**, 29, 71, 226-7, 337,  
     643  
**Arch, Joseph**, 329, 334, 680, 682  
**Armstrong, Lord**, 315  
**Arnot, R. Page**, 489, 511, 524,  
     532, 633, 662  
**Ashley, Sir W. J.**, 4, 5, 13, 15, 29,  
     511, 735-7  
**Ashton, murder of**, 122  
**Ashton, Thomas**, 311, 356  
**Ashton-under-Lyne, strikes at**, 119,  
     122

- Ashworth, 169  
 Asquith, H. H., 528-9, 636, 645, 692  
 Assinder, G. F., 599  
 Associated. *See* Blacksmiths, Carpenters, Engineers, Iron-forgers, Railwaymen, and Shipwrights  
 Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, 439, 505, 527, 530, 535, 539, 545. *See also* Railwaymen  
 Associations of Consumers, 706-18  
 Associations of Producers, 653-63, 704-18, 752-62  
 Atchison's Haven, 10  
 Austin, Michael, 596  
 Ayrshire Miners, 681
- Bachelor Companies, 4, 5, 6, 7  
 Baernreither, Dr., 220, 300  
 Baker, C., 634  
 Bakers, 369, 438, 559  
 Bamford, Samuel, 96, 164  
 Bank Officers' Guild, 505  
 Barker, Ernest, 414  
 Barnes, Geo. N., 490, 692-3, 695, 698  
 Barnsley, first working-man Town Councillor elected in, 305  
 Basketmakers, 14, 45, 438, 552  
 Bass, Michael, 523  
 Bass-dressers, 336  
 Beale, C. G., 530  
 Beamers, 477  
*Beehive*, the, 36, 254-5, 298  
 Beer, M., 131, 157, 162, 175, 414, 680  
 Beesly, Professor E. S., 222, 231-2, 236, 238, 246, 250, 263-4, 269, 275, 288, 293, 298, 312, 341, 362, 415, 510. *See* Positivists  
 Belfast, 123, 136, 523  
 Belfast and Dublin Locomotive Engine-drivers' and Firemen's Trade Union, 523  
 Bell, Sir Hugh, xiv  
 Bell Inn, Old Bailey, 205, 243, 245  
 Bell, Richard, 526-7, 601, 684  
 Bell, Robert, 58  
 Benbow, William, 163-4  
 Bennett, T. R., 246  
 Bentham, Jeremy, 96, 178  
 Bernstein, Eduard, 652  
 Besant, Mrs. Annie, 396, 399, 402
- Bevan, G. Phillips, 347  
 Bibliography, 751  
 Birmingham, building trades of, 129; "Builders' Parliament" at, 130; tailors of, 32; Trade Unionism in, 358-9; Trades Council of, 280, 329-30, 399; trades procession at, 177  
 Birtwistle, Thomas, 309  
 Bit and Spur Makers, 92  
 Blackburn, 307, 697; riots at, 344  
 Blackburn List, the, 226  
 "Black-coated proletariat," 503-9  
 Blacklisting, 284, 598  
 Blacksmiths, Associated Society of Scotland. *See* Smiths  
 Blastfurnacemen. *See* Ironworkers  
 Bleachers, 478, 480  
 Block Printers, Glasgow, 552  
 Blok, P. J., 24  
 Boa, Andrew, 290  
 "Board of Green Cloth" at Dublin, 104  
 Boilermakers, 174, 205, 230, 247, 259, 261-2, 314, 321-2, 348, 353, 365, 378, 428-31, 490-91, 559, 744  
 Bolton, calico-printers at, 79; cotton operatives of, 81, 92, 307; engineers of, 207-8  
 Bondfield, Miss Margaret, 496  
 Bookbinders, 23, 77, 79, 91, 176, 188, 190-7, 201, 244-5, 437-8, 744  
 Boot and Shoe Operatives, 57, 68, 77, 79-80, 143, 150, 192, 228, 236, 336, 407, 436-7, 493-4, 744. *See also* Shoemakers  
 Booth, Charles, 375, 380-81  
 Bowerman, C. W., 362  
 "Box Club," 36-7  
 Boy labour, 202  
 Brace, W., 692  
 Bradford, woollen strike of 1825, 111  
 Bradlaugh, Charles, 289, 370-71  
 Bradninch, woolcombers in, 34  
 Brainworkers, inclusion of, 697; organisations of, 503-9  
 Bramwell, Lord, 279, 363  
 Branch meeting, description of, 446-8  
 Brassey, Lord, 269  
 Brassfounders. *See* Brassworkers

- Brass-workers, 323, 353, 353-9, 430-31, 486-8, 744  
 Braziers, 80, 91  
 Breches Makers' Benefit Society, 24  
 Brentano, Dr. Luigi, 9, 12, 13, 15, 16, 25, 39, 47, 52, 209, 212, 339, 677  
 Brett, Lord Justice, 285  
 Bricklayers, 125, 169, 223, 226-32, 241, 245, 275, 282, 354, 365, 407, 428-9, 431-3, 559, 744  
 Bricklayers' and Plasterers' Company, Dublin, 721-4  
 Brickmakers, 241, 267-9; Hebrew in Egypt, 2  
 Brief Institution, 40, 67  
 Bright, John, 35-6, 178, 247, 293, 382  
 Brighton Trades Council, 558  
 Bristol, 14, 33, 35, 53, 133, 243, 252, 350  
 British and Foreign Consolidated Association of Industry, Humanity, and Knowledge, 167  
 British Association of Steel Smelters. *See* Steel Smelters  
 Broadhead, W., 268-9  
 Broadhurst, Henry, 240, 285, 289, 295, 311-12, 325, 353, 362-3, 365, 370, 372, 395, 401, 408, 635, 680  
 Brontë, Charlotte, 89  
 Brooklands Agreement, 476  
 Brooks, J. G., 655  
 Brougham, Lord, 156, 178  
 Brushmakers, 14, 45, 75, 84, 91, 438  
 Buchez, 225  
 Builders' Labourers, 125, 483  
 "Builders' Parliament" of 1833, 130; of 1918-19, 483, 649  
 Building Trades, early combinations, 8-11; lock-out in 1833, 150; in 1860, 228-32; in 1912, 690; nine hours movement in, 312-17; statistics of, 407, 428-9, 431-3, 481-3  
 Bull & Co., 343  
 Bullinger, 4  
 Burdett, Sir Francis, 69, 109  
 Burgess, Joseph, 412  
 Burnett, John, 19, 36, 211, 314-15 (life), 316, 325, 347, 368, 423, 530  
 Burns, John, 298, 375, 383, 385 (life), 387-8, 396, 400, 402-3, 407-13, 419, 490, 636, 682  
 Burrows, Herbert, 402  
 Burt, Thomas, 181, 289-90, 296, 307, 340, 342, 362, 510-11, 625, 635, 680  
 Burton, hatters of, 53  
 Bussy, J. F. Moir, 524  
 Buxton, Lord, 404  
 Buxton, Sir T. Fowell, 264  
 Byron, Lord, 89  
 Cab-fare regulations, 9  
 Cabinetmakers, 76-8, 83-4, 136, 243, 248, 290, 389, 432-3, 481, 744-5  
 Cabmen, 369  
 "Ca' Canny," 487  
 Cairns, Earl, 275  
 Calender-men, Glasgow, 110  
 Calhoun, J. C., 167  
 Calico Engravers of Manchester, 80  
 Calico-printers, 45, 56-7, 70, 75, 79, 90, 121, 193, 436  
 Callender, W. R., 272  
 Cambridge, tailors of, 68  
 Campbell, Alexander, 30, 240, 243, 249-53  
 Campbell, G. L., 366  
 Campbell-Bannerman, Sir Henry, 635  
 Candidatures, independent, 287-9  
 Canning, 60  
 Capitalist, elimination of, 673-6  
 Card and Blowing Room Operatives, Amalgamated Association of, 435, 475-80. *See also* Cotton Operatives and Textiles  
 Carlisle, cotton-weavers of, 82  
 Carmarthenshire, coal-miners of, 44  
 Carmen, 439-40  
 Carpenters, 18, 75, 110, 125, 169, 192, 202, 224, 228-32, 245, 254, 259, 265-7, 313, 319, 323-4, 343, 346, 354-5, 391, 415, 432-3, 431, 744; Company of London, 18; of Dublin, 721-4  
 Carpet-weavers, 112, 224, 435-6  
 Cartwright, 36  
 Census of Trade Unionists, 741-750  
 Central Institute, 593  
 Chalmers, G., 62  
 Chamberlain, Joseph, 370, 373



- Champertors, 67  
 Champion, H. H., 387, 400  
 Chandler, F., 354  
 Channel Isles, etc., T.U. in, 743  
 Chapel, 27, 74, 489  
 Character Note, 29, 284  
 Chartism, 164, 174-8, 649, 653  
 Checkweigher, 302, 304-6, 400, 489  
 Chester, hatters of, 53  
 Chimney-sweepers, 136  
 Chinese Labour, 691  
 Chippers and Drillers, 548  
 Chipping Norton case, 332  
 Christian Socialists, the, 215, 225, 246, 263-4, 707. *See also* Hughes, Ludlow and Neale  
 Churchill, Winston, 494, 501  
 Cigarmakers, T.U. among, 438  
 "Citizen Guard," 544  
 City of Glasgow Bank failure, 345  
 Civil Service, 507-8; Arbitration Tribunal, 508-9  
 Clark, W. S., 601, 607, 634  
 Clayden, A. W., 329  
 Clerical Workers' Union of Ireland, 473  
 Clerks, 440, 473, 504-5, 744  
 Clode, 3, 6  
 Clothiers, 33-6, 40, 67-8, 151<sup>f</sup>  
 Clothiers' Community, the, 40  
 Clothing Trades, statistics of, 428-429, 436-7  
 Clothworkers' Company, 5, 33-4  
 Clyde, depression on, 346; engineers on, 690; ferment on, 656, 659; shipyard workers of, 256; shorter day on, 316; strike on, in 1877, 343; "Weekly Pays" on the, 552  
 Clyde Workers' Committee, 488, 640, 659  
 Clynes, J. R., 497, 692  
 Coachmakers, 46, 80, 230, 423, 438, 744  
 Coal Industry Commission, 511, 518-22, 648, 662-3  
 Coal-miners. *See* Miners  
 Coal-porters, 18, 439, 500-501  
 Cobbett, Wm., 94, 96, 132, 154 5; the younger, 253  
 Cobden, Richard, 178, 382  
 Cohen, H., 599, 601  
 Cokemen, 434, 512, 549  
 Cole, G. D. H., 485, 524, 532, 553, 633, 637, 660  
 Cole, Percy, 491  
 Colliery Clerks, 513, 549; Engineers, 434, 512, 549; Mechanics, 434  
 Combe, Delafield & Co., 150  
 Combination Acts, 64, 251  
 "Committee Liquor," 203  
 Common employment, 304-6  
 Common Rules, 758  
 Composite Branches, 483  
 Compositors, 27, 57-8, 77-8, 109, 176, 181, 196, 198-9, 201, 205, 361, 389, 398-9, 415, 437-8, 492-3, 606, 666, 671, 744. *See also* Typographical  
 Conditions of Employment, 754  
 Confédération Générale de Travail, 655  
 Conference of Amalgamated Trades, 263-83  
 Confiscation of funds proposed, 140  
 Congress, Trades Union, origin of, 280-81; description of, 561-0; summons to, 738-40  
 Congreve, Richard, 269  
 Connolly, T., 248, 273; James, 472-3, 655-7  
 Conscription, 639-40, 666-7  
 Consolidated Society of Bookbinders, London. *See* Bookbinders  
 Conspiracy, law of, 67, 367, 598; to injure, 598  
 Constitution of Labour Party, 697; of Trade Unions, 716  
 Consumers, organisation of, 762  
 Contagious Diseases Acts, 237  
 Contracting Out, 366  
 Cook, A. G., 309  
 Co-operative Employees, 504, 559, 744; Movement, 225, 647, 675, 752-62; production, 168, 194, 225-6, 335-6, 650-51, 659, 707-8; Society of Smiths. *See* Smiths; Union, the, 545, 691; Wholesale Society, 541; workshops, 194  
 Coopers, 74-5, 104, 230, 350, 423, 438, 548, 685  
 Co-partnership, 553  
 Copper-miners, absence of T.U. among, 434

- Cordwainers. *See* Boot and Shoe Operatives  
 Corn Production Act, 475, 498  
 Costing experts, 761  
 Cotton-spinners, 7, 41, 56, 81, 92, 116-24, 127, 151-2, 170-71, 176, 181, 191, 226, 250, 307-13, 415-16, 423, 435, 475-80, 744  
 Cotton-weavers, 56-9, 81-2, 86, 109, 307-13, 344, 435, 475-80  
 Coulson, Edward, 233-40, 248, 252, 255, 282, 362  
 Coventry, 95  
 Cowen, Joseph, 316  
 Cox, Harold, 391, 393  
 Craft Gilds, 4-21; labourers excluded from, 43  
 Cranmer, Archbishop, 4  
 Crawford, William, 296, 303-4, 391  
 Crayford, calico-printers of, 193  
 Cremer, Sir W. R., 248, 289, 682  
 Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1871, 282-3, 290-91, 364  
 Crompton, Henry, 265, 278, 282, 284, 286, 298, 338, 362, 374. *See* Positivists  
 Cromwell, combinations reported to, 3  
 Crooks, W., 685  
 Cross, Viscount, 291, 312, 618, 624  
 Cruikshank, James, 20  
 Cubitt's, Messrs., strike at, 150  
 Cunningham, Dr. William, 9, 15, 16, 49, 52, 55, 62, 308  
 Curriers, 37, 45, 46, 59, 90, 92, 181, 236  
 Customs officers, 507  
 Cutlers, 73, 80, 92, 108, 241  
 Cutlers' Company, 39  
  
*Daily Citizen*, 689  
*Daily Herald*, 502, 542, 689  
 Dale, David, 328, 339  
 Danter, 255, 318  
 Dartmouth, 34  
 Davenport, W., 30  
 Davis, J. E., 251  
 Davis, R. J., 503  
 Davis, W. J., 281, 324, 356, 358-9 (life), 368, 391, 395, 401, 554, 601, 680  
 Davitt, Michael, 473  
 Defoe, Daniel, 35  
 Delahaye, Victor, 385  
 De Leon, Daniel, 656  
 Demarcation disputes, 247, 353  
 Democracy, nature of, 704-18; analysis of, 752-62  
 Deportation of Clyde workers, 640  
 Deputies, 513, 549  
 Derby, hatters of, 53; potters of, 133; "turn-outs" of, 137-8  
 Devon, clothiers of, 33-5, 68  
 Devonport, Lord, 501-2  
 Dilke, Sir Charles, 238, 494, 617  
 Dilution, 637-43  
 Direct action, 663-73, 712  
 Directory of Trade Unions, 244-5  
 District Committee, 221-2, 449; Councils, 547  
 District Delegate, 322, 462-3  
 Dock Foremen and Clerks, London Society of, 440  
 Dockers, 401-5, 416, 420, 439, 497-502, 744  
 Document, the, 130, 150-51, 164, 193, 215-16, 244, 255  
 Doherty, John, 107, 117-18, 122, 124  
 Dolléans, E., 175  
 Dorchester labourers, 138, 144-8  
 Dowlais iron workers, 224  
 Drake, Barbara, 637  
 Dronfield, William, 240, 252, 257-8  
 Druitt, 278-9  
 Drummond, C. J., 398  
 Drummond, Henry, 277  
 Drury, John, 184, 186  
 Dublin, 14, 37, 53, 76, 104, 172, 243, 551, 721-4  
 Dugdale, 6  
 Duncombe, Thomas Slingsby, 185-7, 193-5, 277  
 Dundee, 136  
 Dunning, T. J., 23, 188, 228, 240, 243, 245, 252, 321  
 Dunsford, Martin, 34  
 Durham, coal-miners of, 44, 181-2, 186, 304, 342, 349, 386, 391-2, 511-12, 517  
 Dyer, Colonel, xiv  
 Dyers, 100, 243, 436, 478, 480, 552  
 Eastern Counties Labour Federa-

- tion, 405. *See also* Agricultural Labourers
- Edinburgh, compositors of, 58; trade clubs of, 177; Trades Council of, 242, 252; Upholsterers' Sewers' Union at, 336
- Educational Institute of Scotland, 473
- Eight Hours Bill, textile agitation for, in 1867-75, 309; general, 387, 390-92, 408, 648
- Eight hours day, 402-3; demanded in 1834, 151; on the railways, 535
- Elcho, Lord. *See* Wemyss, Earl of Eldon, Lord, 105
- Election expenses, 368
- Electioneering by Trade Unions, 274-5
- Electrical Trades Union, 488, 551
- Elizabeth, Act of, 47-9
- Ellenborough, Lord, 59-60, 144
- Ellicott, Dr., Bishop of Gloucester, 332
- Ellis, Sir T. Ratcliffe, 530
- Ely, Bishop of, 3
- Emblem, 450
- Emigration, 201-2, 328
- Employer and Workman Act, 291, 625
- Employers' Associations, service of, 479; as combinations, 73
- Employers' liability, 364-6, 370, 373
- Employers of Labour, National Federation of Associated, 326-7
- Employment Exchanges, 646
- Engels, Friedrich, 186
- Engineering and Shipbuilding Federation, 552-3
- Engineers, 174, 176, 178, 196-7, 201, 204-24, 230, 232-4, 245, 255, 259, 261, 313-17, 346, 348, 353, 355, 384-5, 408, 415-16, 420-21, 551, 555, 559, 636, 643, 692, 744; statistics of, 407, 428-31, 484-490; strike of 1836, 206; strike of 1852, 214-16; strike of 1897, 484-5
- Enginemen, 440
- Equalisation of funds, 220
- Erie, Sir William, 195, 264, 279
- Evans, D., 511
- Evans, Frederick, 523
- Eversley, Lord, 228
- Excess Profits Duty, 641
- Excise officers, 507-8
- Exeter, 34-5, 136
- Fabian Research Department. *See* Labour Research Department
- Fabian Society, 375, 399, 414, 561, 642, 662, 680-82, 684
- Factory Acts, 679
- Factory Acts Reform Association, 310-13
- Factory inspectors, 371-2
- Fagniez, 3, 7, 8
- Fairbairn, Sir W., 84, 205
- Fair Trade League, 394-5
- "Fair Wages" agitation, 398-9, 558
- Farr, Dr. William, 228
- Farriers, 46
- Farrington, prosecution of labourers at, 332
- Farwell, Lord Justice, 627
- Faulkner, H. V., 175
- Fawcett Association, 508
- Fawcett, Henry, 228, 238, 312
- Federal Council of Secondary School Associations, 506
- Federation of British Industries, 545
- Federation of the Engineering and Shipbuilding Trades, 355, 421, 552-3
- Federation of Organised Trade Societies, 356
- Felkin, W., 38, 52, 169
- Feltmakers' Company, 28, 30, 52-3
- Female Umbrella Makers, 337
- Fenwick, Charles, 362
- Fernehough, Thomas, 260
- Ferrand, M.P., 186
- Fielden, J., 132, 151, 158
- Fielding, Sir John, 54
- Figgis, J. N., 611
- Filesmiths of Sheffield, 80
- Findlay, Sir George, 525
- Finlaison, 268
- Flannel-weavers of Rochdale, 127
- Flax Roughers, 473; workers, 133, 435-6

- Flint Glass Makers, 181, 183-4, 197, 199-202, 228, 230, 379-80, 423, 744  
 Forbes, Archibald, 329  
 Foreign policy of Labour Party, 695-6  
 Foremen, 440, 506  
 Forest of Dean Miners' Association, 434. *See also* Miners  
 Forster, W. E., 228  
 Foster, Thomas, 118-20; (another) 648  
 Foxwell, Professor H. S., 58, 155, 157, 162, 308  
 Framework-knitters, 14, 38-9, 51, 51-2, 62, 75, 88-9, 94, 121  
 Franchise, 368, 372, 624, 672  
 Franklin, Benjamin, 27  
 Free Colliers of Scotland, 20  
 Freemasons, 19  
 French Polishers, 432-3  
 Friendly Benefits, 222, 445, 620-21  
 Friendly Societies, 19, 24; Act for, 261  
 Friendly Society of Oddfellows, 19  
 Friendly Society of Operative Stonemasons. *See* Stonemasons  
 Friendly Union of Mechanics, 208  
 Friendly United Smiths of Great Britain and Ireland, 207. *See also* Smiths  
 Friziers, 91  
 Frost, Williams, and Jones, Newport-Chartists, 177  
 Froude, J. A., 48  
 Furnishing Trades, 481  
 Fynes, Richard, 90, 124, 181, 186  
  
 Gaevernitz, von Schulze, 339, 414  
 Galloway, 61, 205  
 Galton, F. W., 23, 97, 150  
 Gammage, R. G., 175  
 Garibaldi, 247  
 Garment Workers. *See* Tailors  
 Garton Foundation, 648  
 Gascoyne, Colonel, 71  
 Gas-stokers, London (1872), 284-5; strike of (1834), 138, (1888) 395. *See* Gas-workers  
 Gast, John, 84-5, 107, 111, 115  
 Gas-workers, 402, 406, 420, 439, 497, 499  
 Gateshead Trades Council, 561  
 Geddes, Sir Auckland, 530-7  
 Geddes, Sir Eric, 536-8  
 Geldart, W. M., 609, 634  
 General Federation of Trade Unions 554-7, 603-4, 700  
 General Labourers' National Council, 499  
 General Railway Workers' Union, 405-6, 524, 530. *See also* Railwaymen  
 General staff, need for, 546  
 General Union of Carpenters. *See* Carpenters  
 General Union of Sheet Metal Workers. *See* Sheet Metal Workers  
 General Union of Textile Workers, 480  
 General Workers, 497-502  
 George, D. Lloyd, 509, 518, 522, 527, 537-9, 541, 543-4, 645, 692, 694-5  
 George, Henry, 375-6, 389  
 Gierke, O., 611-12  
 Giffen, Sir Robert, 424  
 Gig-mill, 48  
 Guild of St. George, Coventry, 6  
 Girdlestone, Canon, 329  
 Gladstone, W. E., 248, 262, 284-6, 302, 365  
 Glasgow, calico-printers of, 75; cotton operatives of, 56, 58-9, 89, 170-71; guilds of, 14; labourers' society in, 417; stonemasons of, 347; Trades Council of, 240, 242-3, 252-3, 258, 280; violent Trade Unionism of, 165  
 Glass-bottle Makers, 259, 423, 441, 744  
 Glass-workers. *See* Flint Glass Makers and Glass-bottle Makers  
 Glaziers of London, 66  
 Gloucestershire, clothiers of, 33-5; weavers of, 50; woollen-workers of, 33-4, 50  
 Glovers, 43, 437  
 Goderich, Lord. *See* Ripon, Marquis of  
 Gold, Silver, and Kindred Trades Society, 551  
 Goldasti, 20

- Goldbeaters, 37, 91  
 Gompers, Samuel, 556  
 Gorgon, the, 99  
 Government of Industry, 752-62  
 Government officials, 507-8  
 Graham, Sir James, 60, 185  
 Graham, R. B. Cunninghame, 386, 682  
 Grain-porters, 501  
 Grand National Consolidated Trades Union, 125, 417; rules of, 725-733  
 Grey, Sir George, 185  
 Grinders, 80, 260  
 Gross, Dr., 15  
 Grote, George, 178  
 Guild Socialism, 548, 660-1  
 Guilds. *See* Craft Guilds  
 Guile, Daniel, 233-40, 238 (life of), 252, 291, 362  
 Gurney, J. and W. B., 89  
 Gurney, Russell, 275
- Haddleton, 197  
 Halévy, Élie, 648  
 Halifax, woollen-workers of, 35  
 Hall, Rev. Robert, 94  
 Halliday, Sir Leonard, 4  
 Halliday, Thomas, 289  
 Hallsworth, Joseph, 503  
 Halsbury, Lord, 610, 614  
 Hamilton, A. H. A., 33  
 Hammond, J. L. and B., 70-71, 82, 86, 89, 100, 105, 112, 115, 144  
 Hanley Trades Council, 558  
 Hansom, 130  
 Hardie, J. Keir, 396, 681-4, 688  
 Harford, E., 399  
 Harrel, Sir David, 530  
 Harrison, Frederic, 246, 262, 263, 265, 267, 270-71, 273-4, 275, 279, 284, 286, 295-7, 298, 362, 374, 610. *See also* Positivists  
 Harvey, George, 511  
 Hasbach, Dr. W., 329, 405  
 Hatters, 28, 30, 45, 52-3, 68, 90, 437. *See also* Feltmakers' Company  
 Headlam, Rev. S. D., 399  
 Heath, F. G., 329  
 Henderson, Arthur, 400, 529-30, 666, 669, 680, 685, 692, 694-5, 699
- Henson, Gravener, 38, 77, 81, 80, 94, 100, 105  
 Hepburn, Tommy, 124  
*Herald of the Rights of Industry, The*, 158  
 Herbert, Hon. Auberon, 329  
 Hewins, W. A. S., 49  
 Hexham, batters of, 53  
 Hibbert and Platt, 214  
 Hill, Frank, 14, 228  
 Hill, Frederic, 257, 272  
 Hilles, Richard, 4  
 Hobhouse, Benjamin, 69, 70  
 Hobhouse, John Cam, 122  
 Hobson, S. G., 660  
 Hodge, John, 491, 692, 695  
 Hodges, Frank, 517, 673-5, 715  
 Hodgskin, T., 162  
 Holders-up. *See* Boilermakers  
 Holland, John, 124  
 Holland, Lord, 70  
 Holyoake, G. J., 302  
 Holytown, miners of, 193  
 Hornby v. Close, 262  
 Hosiery-workers, 435-6. *See also* Framework-knitters  
 Hour, payment by the, 245-6  
 House of Call, 69, 77, 445  
 Hovell, Mark, vi, 158, 164, 170, 175  
 Howell, George, 12-13, 17, 27, 30, 40-41, 65, 71, 100, 105, 139, 144, 170, 173, 188, 195, 228, 240, 245, 248, 255, 275, 281, 285-6, 289, 291-2, 295, 298, 325, 329-30, 352, 361, 370, 372, 391, 395, 416, 599, 601, 616-17, 623, 665, 682, 748  
 Howick, Lord, 146  
 Hoxie, R. F., 717  
 Hozier, J. H. C., 393  
 Huddersfield, 125  
 Hughes, Judge Thomas, Q.C., 216, 228, 244, 246, 265, 270, 274-5, 282, 290, 263-4, 341. *See also* Christian Socialists  
 Hughson, David, 32, 34  
 Hull, ropemakers of, 91; Trade Unionism at, 136  
 Hume, James Deacon, 158  
 Hume, Joseph, M.P., 72, 81, 99-108, 142, 186, 251, 277, 415

- Humphrey, A. W., 237, 275, 239, 604, 680  
 Humphries, E., 195  
 Hunt, D. K. C., 599  
 Hunt, Henry, 95, 164  
 Hunter, Thomas, 170  
 Huskisson, W., M.P., 60, 105-6  
 Hutchinson, Alexander, 153, 207-8  
 Hutton, R. H., 228, 246  
 Hutton, W., 177  
 Huysmans, Camille, 666, 669, 670  
 Hyde, spinners' strike at, 117  
 Hyett, W. H., 111  
 Hyndman, H. M., 376-7, 387, 400, 409-11  
 "Illegal men," 59  
 Incorporation of Trade Unions, 596  
 Independent Labour Party, 384, 652, 680-84, 692  
 Independent Order of Engineers and Machinists. *See* Engineers  
 Index numbers, 339  
 Industrial Conspicuous, 639-40  
 Industrial Courts Act, 1919, 643  
 Industrial Remuneration Conference, 380  
 Industrial Unionism, 656-9  
 Industrial Unions, 548-50  
 Industrial Workers of the World, 655  
 Industries, difficulty of delimiting, 714  
 Ingram, Dr. J. K., 26  
 Initiation Parts, 149  
 Injunctions, 599, 600, 688  
 Inspectors, 504-5  
 Insurance Agents, 440, 507  
 Inter-Allied Conferences, 693-6  
 Interlocutor, 581  
 International Association of Working-men, 235-6, 248, 297, 316, 379, 396-7, 421, 666, 693-6  
 International Federations of Trade Unions, 555-6  
 Intimidation, 597  
 Ireland, laws in, 68-9; Trade Unionism in, 472-3  
 Irish Bank Officials' Association, 505  
 Irish Clerical Workers' Union, 505  
 Irish Labour Party, 473  
 Irish Railway Workers' Trade Union, 524  
 Irish Teachers' Society, 473  
 Irish Textile Workers' Federation, 473  
 Irish Trades Union Congress, 473  
 Iron and Steel Trades Confederation, 492, 552, 749  
 Iron and Steelworkers, Associated Society of. *See* Ironworkers  
 Iron Forgers, Associated Fraternity of, or Old Smiths, 205  
 Ironfounders, 78, 121, 174, 176, 198-9, 200-203, 205, 213, 226, 233, 245, 261, 319-20, 348-9, 353, 391, 415, 429-30, 488, 685, 692, 744  
 Irongrinders, 744  
 Ironmoulders. *See* Ironfounders  
 Iron shipbuilders. *See* Boiler makers  
 Iron Trade—Midland Wages Board, 734-5; North of England Wages Board, 734-5  
 Ironworkers, 240, 259, 273, 324, 329, 349, 430-31, 491-2, 734-5; of Dowlais, 224; of Staffordshire, 256; sliding scales of, 734-5  
 Jackson and Graham, 290  
 Jackson, Col. Raynford, 344  
 James, 37  
 James of Hereford, Lord, 206, 493, 610, 615-16, 618, 626  
 Jeffrey, Lord, 72  
 Jevons, H. Stanley (the younger), 186, 511, 510  
 Jewish Unions, 478  
 Joiners. *See* Carpenters  
 Joint Board, 700  
 Joint Committees. *See* Arbitration, Whitley Councils  
 Jones, Benjamin, 225, 708  
 Jones, Daniel, 734  
 Jones, Lloyd, 243, 298, 329, 340-41 (life), 510  
 Jones, W. C., 341  
 Journalists, 493, 507  
 Journeyman Fraternities, 4-9  
 Journeymen Steam Engine and Machine Makers and Millwrights Friendly Society, 204-20. *See also* Engineers  
 Jude, Martin, 182, 297  
 Junta, the, 233-98

- Jupp, 18  
 Jury service, 367-8, 372  
 Justices of the Peace, 372, 594
- Kane, John, 240 (life of), 273, 286, 289, 299, 324, 339  
 Karslake, Sir John, 275  
 Kay-Shuttleworth, Sir James, 228  
 Keeling, F., 500  
 Keelmen, 44  
 Kenney, Rowland, 524, 527  
 Kettel, F. E., 329  
 Kettle, Sir Rupert, 338-9  
 Kidderminster, 112; carpet-weavers of, 224  
 Kitchen-range, etc., Fitters' Union, 323  
 Knight, Charles, 141, 178  
 Knight, Robert, 322, 324, 351, 355, 378, 421, 554  
 Knights of Labour, 135
- Laboratory workers, 506  
 Labour and the New Social Order, 679, 697  
 Labour Commission, 595-6, 602, 650, 735  
 Labour Department, 596  
*Labour Elector, The*, 387  
 Labour Electoral Committee, 680  
 Labour League, London and Counties, 417, 439  
 Labour members, characteristics of, 701-2  
 Labour Party, 604  
 Labour Representation League, 287-9, 680  
 Labour Research Department, 225, 542, 561, 751  
*Labour Standard, The*, 298  
 Labour Time, 162-3  
 Labourers, no early organisation among, 43; statistics of, 428-9, 438-40; increase of, 497-502  
 Lacemakers, 435-6, 441, 559  
 Ladies' Shoemakers' Society, 238  
*Laissez-faire*, 56  
 Lanarkshire, cotton-weavers of, 58, 170  
 Lancashire Federation of Protection Societies, 478
- Lancashire Miners, 182, 433, 511  
 Land Nationalisation, 389, 390, 395  
 Langford, 32  
 Lansbury, George, 689  
 Larkin, James, 472-3  
 Lathom, R. M., 680  
 Laundresses, T.U., 336  
 Law, Bonar, 668  
 Law reforms, 367-8  
 Lawrence, F. Pethick, 681  
 Lawrence, Miss Susan, 494, 496  
 Laws, Mr., 287  
 Layton, W. T., 527  
 Lead miners, absence of T.U. among, 434  
 Leathergrounders, 92  
 Leatherworkers, 437, 552  
 Lee, H. W., 501  
 Leech, H. J., 293  
 Leeds, 35; clothing trade of, 35, 40, 127; Clothiers' Union, 133, 147  
 Leeds, Huddersfield, and Bradford District Union, 147  
 Legal assaults, 597-634  
 Legal Minimum Wage, under Trade Boards Act, 494-5; under Corn Production Act, 498; under Mines Act, 514-16  
 Leicester, 94, 125, 137; hosiery workers of, 335; Trades Council, 558; woolcombers of, 36  
 Levi, Leone, 424  
 Levine, Louis, 655  
 Lewis, Sir G. C., 247  
 Liberty, analysis of, 757  
 Lichfield, Earl of, 254  
 Life Assurance Agents. *See* Insurance Agents  
 Linen Weavers, 436  
*Link, The*, 402  
 Liquor, 448; allowance, 203-4  
 Litchfield, R. B., 246  
 Liverpool, building trades of, 125-130; dockers of, 405; hatters of, 53; ropemakers of, 91; shipwrights of, 551; Trades Council, 242-3, 252, 354-5  
 Liverpool, Lord, 105  
 Liverpool Sailmakers' Friendly Association of Shipwrights. *See* Shipwrights

- Liverpool, Trades Guardian Association of, 243
- Lloyd, C. M., 160
- Local Government elections, 305, 399, 413; employees, 508; successes, 703-4
- Local *versus* Central Administration, 714
- Lock-out, the, 255-6; of agricultural labourers, 332, 334
- London and Counties Labour League, 417, 439
- London Carpenters' Company, 18; city companies of, 14; coal-porters of, 18; early combinations in the City of, 2, 3; framework knitters of, 14, 38, 51-2; joiners' company of, 18; shipwrights' company of, 18; Trades Council, 231, 236, 238, 285, 333, 558-60; woodworkers of, 18
- London Consolidated Society of Bookbinders, 188, 196
- London Society of Compositors, 181, 399, 415, 437-8, 492
- London Working Men's Association, 298, 680
- Londonderry, Lord, 90, 166, 186
- Louge, F. D., 228
- Looms, renting of, forbidden, 48
- Loveless, George, John, and James, 144-6, 148
- Lovett, Samuel, 96
- Lovett, William, 84, 114, 145, 156, 157, 172, 174
- Lowe, Robert. *See* Sherbrooke, Lord, 285
- Lucraft, Benjamin, 235, 289
- Luddites, the, 87-9
- Ludlow, J. M., 14, 26, 216, 228, 246, 204, 341. *See* Christian Socialists
- Lushington, Sir Godfrey, 228, 246, 264
- Lushington, Vernon, 264
- Macarthur, Miss Mary, 494, 496
- Macclesfield, hatters of, 300
- M'Connell and Co., 308
- M'Culloch, J. R., 23, 99, 197
- Macdonald, Alexander, 240, 249, 252, 277, 286, 289, 290, 299, 300 (life of), 301-7, 338, 342, 362, 393, 510, 680
- MacDonald, J. Ramsay, 23, 337, 529, 666, 669, 684-5, 688, 699
- M'Gowan, Patrick, 118, 120
- Machine, Engine, and Iron Grinders' Society, 744-7
- Machine Printers, 744. *See also* Compositors
- Machine Workers. *See* Engineers
- Machinery, export of, 100, 103
- M'Hugh, Edward, 582
- MacManus, A., 619
- Madox, T., 612
- Maitland, F. W., 611-12
- Maitland, General, 88
- Man, The*, 134
- Management, analysis of, 752
- Manchester—Association of T.U. Officials, Manchester and District, 324; brickmakers of, 268; building trades of, 130-31, (strike of 1846) 193; carpenters of, 343; cotton-spinners of, 81; lengthening of hours at, 348; painters of, 275; Trades Council, 243, 280, 558-60, 738-40
- Mandamus, 600
- Manley, Thomas, 22
- Mann, Tom, 383-4 (life), 396, 402, 406-7, 409, 412-14, 419, 490, 595-6, 651-2, 657-8
- Manners, Lord John, 186
- Manning, Cardinal, 332, 404
- Marcroft family, the, 152
- Marine Engineers' Union. *See* Engineers
- Marlborough, Duke of, 332
- Marshall, James, 170
- Martineau, Harriet, 141
- Marx, Karl, 162, 235, 297, 367, 376, 389
- Masons. *See* Stonemasons
- Master and Servant, law in 1844, 185-6; Act of 1867, 249-53
- Match girls, London strike of, 402
- Maudsley, 61
- Maurice, Rev. F. D., 228
- Mavor, James, 524
- Mawdsley, James, 379, 479, 596
- Mawdsley, Thomas, 311
- Maxwell, William, 598



- May, John, 33  
 Mayhew, 11  
 Mechanics' Friendly Union Institution, 208  
*Mechanics' Magazine*, the, 197  
 Medico-Political Union, 506-7  
 Melbourne, Lord, 138-48  
*Memorandum on War Aims*, 605  
 Memorial of Freedom and Peace, 593  
 Menger, Anton, 155, 157, 162  
 Mercantile Marine Offices, Superintendents of, 507  
 Merchant Shipping Acts, 607  
 Merchant Taylors' Company, 3, 6  
 Mersey Quay and Railway Carters' Union. *See* Carmen  
 Merton College buildings, 10, 11  
 Mess, H. A., 500  
 Middleton, J. S., 691  
 Midland Iron Trade Board, 734  
 Miles, Wm., 185  
 Military Service Acts, 639-40  
 Mill, James, 96, 157  
 Mill, John Stuart, 287, 617  
 Millers, 59, 438; of Kent, 59-60  
 Millmen. *See* Ironworkers  
 Millwrights, 45, 69, 83-4, 92, 204-6  
 Miners, 415, 510-22, 624, 690; Amalgamated Association of, 289; Co-operative Production and Association of, G. B. and I., 181, 182, 186, 299, 517-18; Eight Hours Act, 686; Federation, 393-4, 408, 433-4, 510-22, 538, 549-50, 553, 555, 648, 661, 662-3, 665, 668, 673-5, 685, 715; Minimum Wage Act, 687; of Ayrshire, 681; of Carmarthenshire, 44; of Durham, 44, 124, 166, 182-3, 296, 304, 335, 338, 342, 349, 386, 391, 392, 434, 511-12, 517, 744; of Holytown, 193; of Lancashire, 111-12, 123, 143, 182-183, 188, 392-3, 433, 511; of Lothian, 434; of Midlands, 349, 393, 511; of Monmouthshire, 89; of Northumberland, 124, 127, 182, 296, 335, 338, 340, 342, 347, 349, 386, 391-2, 433, 511-12; of Nottingham, 258; of Scotland, 192, 393, 434, 511; of Somerset, 44; of Staffordshire, 124, 511; of South Wales, 89, 343, 340, 434, 511, 640, 690; of Yorkshire, 124, 182, 228, 230, 256, 301-2, 304-5, 335, 338, 349, 379, 392-3, 433, 510-11, 522, 744; reorganisation of, in 1858, 300-7; statistics of, 407, 428-9, 433-4; strike of 1810, 90. *See also* Iron-miners, Lead-miners, Copper-miners  
 Miners' Attorney-General, the, 183  
*Miners' Next Step*, the, 657  
 Minimum to Sliding Scale, 310-42  
 Minimum Wage Commission, 648  
 Mining Association of Great Britain, 553  
 Ministry of Reconstruction, 647-8  
 Mogul Case, 598  
 Molestation, 597  
 Moncrieff, Lord, 343  
 Moore, Peter, 251  
 Morley, Samuel, 310, 332  
 Morris, William, 377  
 Morrison, James, 131  
 Mottershead, 289  
 Mulineaux, Thomas, 30  
 Mundella, A. J., 264-5, 274-5, 282, 288, 290, 310, 338-9, 362  
 Municipal Employees' Association, 508  
 Munitions, Levy, 641; Ministry of, 637-43; Munitions of War Acts, 637, 643; Tribunals, 639, 645, 646  
 Munro, Prof. J. E. Crawford, 308, 734-7  
 Murphy, J. T., 490, 659  
 Musical Instrument Makers, 92  
 Musicians, 744  
 Mutual Association of Coopers. *See* Coopers  
 Mutuality, 487  
 Nash, Vaughan, 404  
 National Amalgamated Furnishing Trades Association, 551, 744. *See also* Furnishing, French Polishers, Cabinetmakers, Upholsterers  
 National Amalgamated Sailors' and Firemen's Union. *See* Sailors  
 National Association for the Protection of Labour, 120-24

- National Association of Miners, 290-300
- National Association of Operative Plasterers. *See* Plasterers
- National Association of United Trades for the Protection of Labour, 186-95
- National Association of United Trades, 277
- National Companies, 100
- National Coldwainers' Society, 192
- National Council of Colliery Workers, 550
- National Federation of Building Trade Operatives, 482-3; of Colliery Enginemn, 550; of Colliery Mechanics, 550; of Deputies, 550; of General Workers, 469-500; of Mine Managers, 550; of Professional Workers, 506-7; of Women Workers, 495
- National Guilds, 600-61
- National Industrial Conference, 648
- National Insurance Act, 475, 495, 498, 503, 555, 636, 689
- National Society of Amalgamated Brassworkers. *See* Brassworkers
- National Transport Workers' Federation, 500-502, 538, 543
- National Typographical Association, 181, 191
- National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives. *See* Boot and Shoe Operatives
- National Union of Clerks, 505; of Dock Labourers. *See* Dockers; of General Workers, 612. *See also* Gas-workers; of Miners, 300-307, 511-12; of Railway Clerks, 524; of Railwaymen, 530-46. *See also* Railwaymen; of Teachers, 440, 473, 506; of the Working Classes, 156
- National United Trades' Association for the Employment of Labour, 192
- Nationalisation, 651; of the coal supply, 517-22; of Mines Bill, 602-3; of railways, 534
- Navvies, 439. *See also* Labourers
- Neale, E. Vansittart, 216, 341  
*See* Christian Socialists
- Neale, Professor, 204
- New Age, the, 600
- New Forum, Cordwainers at, 57
- "New Unionism," the, of 1833-34, 153-67; of 1845-52, 195-204; of 1880-90, 414-21
- Newcastle, potters of, 133; ropemakers of, 91; Trades Council, 252
- Newcastle-on-Tyne — engineers' strike at, 315-16; guilds of, 14; shoemakers at, 24
- Newton, George, 258
- Newton, William, 206-24, 234, 243, 680
- Newton-le-Willows, trial of engineers of, 200-10
- Nine Hours' Bill, 311-12, 625
- Nine Hours' Day, 245, 391, 397; attack on, 347, 355; in building trades, 228-32; movement in engineering and building, 313-17
- Nixon, J., 340
- Non-Unionists, 441, 443; refusal to work with, 295-6
- Normal Day, the, 246
- Normansell, John, 305
- North of England Manufactured Iron Board, 734-5
- Northern Counties' Amalgamated Association of Weavers, 423, 478
- Northern Star, The*, 166, 174-7, 181-2, 186, 216
- Northumberland Miners, 181-2, 304, 340, 342, 347, 349, 386, 391-2, 511-12, 625, 744
- Notes and Queries*, 34
- Nottingham, 52; framework knitters of, 52; Hosiery Board, 338; stockings of, 62; Trades Council, 252, 558
- O'Brien, J. Bronterre, 178
- Obstruction, 597
- O'Connell, Daniel, 148, 171, 173
- O'Connor, Fergus, M.P., 174-5, 177-8, 182, 188. *See* *Northern Star*
- Odger, George, 233-98, 258 (note), 243, 245, 247-8, 361-2, 680

- O'Grady, J., 683  
 Oldham, cotton operatives of, 307;  
 strike of, in 1834, 151-2; cotton  
 spinners of, 41, 559; strike of, in  
 1871, 310; engineers of, 214  
 "One Big Union," 114  
 Onslow, Serjeant, 61-2  
 Operative Society of Bricklayers.  
*See* Bricklayers  
*Operative, The*, 213  
 Orage, A. R., 660  
 Osborne Judgement, 608-34, 686  
 Osborne, W. V., 608-9, 628  
 Ouseburn Engine works, 335  
 Outrages, Glasgow, 165, 170-71;  
 Manchester, 268; Sheffield, 259-  
 260, 268  
 Overlap. *See* Demarcation  
 Overlookers, 477  
 Overmen, 434, 513, 549  
 Over-steaming, 679  
 Overtime, 317; in Government  
 Departments, 390-91; prevalence  
 of, 348  
 Owen, Robert, 130, 132, 134-5,  
 154-64, 167-8, 177, 251, 341,  
 409-10, 418-19  
 Owenism, 653, 707  
 Oxford, Cordwainers at, 5  
  
 Pacifists, the, 691-6  
 Packing-case Makers, 432  
 Painters, 125, 275, 432-3, 481, 548;  
 of Dublin, 721-4; of Liverpool,  
 128; of London, 66  
 Paisley, operatives at, 23; weavers  
 of, 23  
 Papermakers, 68, 77, 90, 92, 438, 493  
 Paris, Comte de, 272  
 Parker, James, 692, 698  
 Parliamentary Committee of Trades  
 Union Congress, 361, 554-6, 700;  
 cotton officials demur to alliance  
 with, 310; origin of, 281, 283  
 Parnell, Sir Henry, 172-3  
 Particulars Clause, 679  
 Patent laws, 368-9  
 Paterson, Mrs., 336-7 (life)  
 Patrimony in apprenticeship, 83  
 Patternmakers, 205, 353, 430, 488,  
 551; society formed, 322;  
 statistics of, 745, 749  
  
 Payment by Results, 643; in  
 engineering, 485-7  
 Payment of members, 368, 374, 631  
 Peasant proprietorship, 368, 389-  
 390, 395  
 Pease, E. R., 414, 680  
 Peel, Sir Robert (the elder), 57, 60;  
 (the younger), 139  
 Pemberton, Benjamin, 721-2  
 Pension Committee, 594, 646  
 Penty, A. J., 660  
 Percy, M., 511  
 Perthshire, 136  
 "Philanthropic Hercules," 114  
 Pianoforte Makers, 230  
 Picketing, 278, 598, 607; legalisa-  
 tion of, 291  
 Picton, Sir J. A., 40  
 Piecers, 435; associations of, 7  
 Piecework Lists in cotton industry,  
 307-9  
 Pilots, 440  
 Pinmakers, Corporation of, 42  
 Pioneer, or Trades Union Magazine,  
*The*, 131  
 Pipemakers, 91  
 Pit Committee, 521  
 Pitt, William, 69, 71  
 Place, Francis, 32, 61, 73, 84-5, 89,  
 94, 96-110, 114, 117, 156, 159,  
 175, 251, 415, 416  
 Plasterers, 125, 354, 432-3, 744; of  
 Dublin, 172, 721-4,  
 Platers' Helpers, 353-4, 360  
 Plimsoll, S., 354, 370  
 Ploughmen's Union, Perthshire, 136  
 Plumbers, 125, 169, 316, 348, 429,  
 432-3, 481, 744  
 Podmore, Frank, 130, 160  
 Police Union, 509  
 Political expenditure, 632  
 Pollock, Sir F., 597  
 Poor Man's Advocate, *The*, 117,  
 120  
 Poor Man's Guardian, *The*, 114, 134,  
 136, 142-3, 155  
 Porters, 442  
 Positivists, 246, 262-4. *See* Beesly,  
 Crompton, and Harrison  
 Post Office annuities, 248, 296-7;  
 employees, 507-8, 539; Savings  
 Bank, 262

- Post Office workers, 440, 744;  
union of, 508, 661
- Postal and Telegraph Clerks' Association, 507-8, 662
- Postmen's Federation, 507-8
- Potter, Edmund, 274
- Potter, George, 231
- Potter, George, 248, 252, 254-5, 272-3, 289, 298, 361, 680
- Potters, 133, 147, 168-9, 181, 185, 192, 201, 438, 552; and co-operative production, 336; of Staffordshire, 123; of Wolverhampton, 143; Union, 181, 197
- Potters' Examiner, The*, 197, 202
- Precious metals, workers in, 431, 551
- Premium Bonus System, 643
- Pressmen, 27; prosecution of, 78.  
*See* Compositors
- Preston, carpenters of, 75; cotton-spinners' strike of 1836, 169; guilds of, 14
- Price, Rev. H., 112
- Price, L. L., 338, 736
- Printers. *See* Compositors, Pressmen, and Typographical
- Printing Trades, statistics of, 428, 437-8, 744-9
- Prior, J. D., 240, 324, 362-3, 372
- Prison Officers' Federation, 507
- Production for use, 709
- Professional Association, 711-12
- Profiteering Act, 675
- Profit-sharing, 403
- Publicity, use of, 222-3
- Puddlers. *See* Iron-workers
- Pugh, Arthur, 491
- Purcell, A., 560
- Quarrymen, 433-4
- Quittance Paper, 208.
- Radstock Miners' Association. *See* Miners, Somersetshire
- Rae, Sir William, 95
- Railway Clerks' Association, 504-5, 523, 534, 539, 545, 661, 744
- Railway Telegraph Clerks' Association, 523
- Railway Working Men's Benefit Society, 523
- Railwaymen, 365, 390, 407, 439, 442, 504-5, 522-46, 550, 559, 600-634, 661, 666, 684, 687, 690, 744; statistics of, 407, 744-9
- Railway Women's Guild, 497
- Ramsey, conference at, 117
- Rattening, 260
- Raynes, Francis, 89
- Razor-grinders, 184, 343
- Reade, Charles, 257
- "Red Van" Campaign, 405
- Reform Act of 1832, 155-6, 177; of 1867, 248; of 1918, 698
- Registrar of Friendly Societies, Chief, 261, 423, 619
- Renals, E., 339
- Rennie, 84
- Representative actions, 602
- Restoration of Trade Union conditions, 642-3
- Restraint of trade, 67, 262, 617
- Revolution in Thought, 649-76
- Rhondda, 514
- Ribbon-weavers, Coventry, 95
- Ricardo, David, 178
- Richmond the spy, 89
- Rick-burning, 144
- Riley's *Memorials*, 3, 6
- Ripon, Marquis of, 215, 244.
- Rites of admission, 127
- Roberts, G. H., 666, 692, 698
- Roberts, W. P., 182-5, 210, 510
- Rochdale, flannel-weavers of, 127; Pioneers, 177, 225
- Roebuck, J. A., 148
- Rogers, J. E. Thorold, 10, 49, 56
- Rollit, Sir Albert, 501
- Roman Catholic Unions, 478
- Ropemakers, 91, 438
- Rose, George, 61, 70
- Rosebery, Lord, 374
- Rosenblatt, F. F., 175
- Rosslyn, Lord, 108
- Rotherhithe Watermen, 11
- Rowlands, J., 682
- Rowlinson, John, 208
- Ruegg, A. H., 599
- Rules, Trade Union, 651
- Rutland, Duke of, 332
- Ryan, W. P., 473
- Saddlers, 92; of London, 3
- Sadler, Michael, 123

- Sailmakers, 46, 120, 430  
 Sailors, 405-6, 438, 440, 500-501, 607, 665; on North-East Coast, 104, 106, 108  
 St. Leonards, Lord, 230  
 Salisbury, bootmakers of, 57  
 Samuel, Herbert, 508  
 Sankey, Mr. Justice, 518-22, 668  
 Saturday half-holiday, 229; Oldham Spinners' strike for, 310  
 Saw-grinders, 260  
 Sawyers, 433  
 Scale Beam-makers, 92  
 Scalemakers, 92  
 Schoenlank, Dr. Bruno, 25  
 Scissorsmiths, 39, 80  
 Scott, W., 124  
 Scottish Farm Servants' Union, 498-9  
 Scottish National Operative Tailors' Society. *See* Tailors  
 Scottish Society of Railway Servants, 524-5  
 Scottish Typographical Association, 181, 423, 437, 482. *See also* Compositors  
 Scottish United Operative Masons, 196  
 Seagoing Engineers' Union. *See* Engineers  
 Seaham, 166  
 Secondary School Teachers, 506  
 Secular Education, 628  
 Self-governing Workshops, 225  
 Selley, Ernest, 329, 405  
 Selsby, 209-10, 234  
 Senior, Nassau, 103, 139-41, 173  
 Serfdom of miners, 89  
 Sewing-machine, introduction of, 228  
 Shackleton, Sir D., 685  
 Shaen, Roscoe & Co., 275  
 Shaftesbury, Lord, 293, 434  
 Shale Oil-workers, 434  
 Shaw, Lord, 626  
 Shearmen of Dundee, 136; of Wiltshire, 144  
 Sheet Metal-workers, 431  
 Sheffield, 94; carpenters of, 232, 236; conference at, 257; cutlery made, 39; guilds of, 14; Mercantile and Manufacturing Union, 73, 80; outrages at, 159-61, 263, 268-9; prosecution at, 184-5; Trades Council, 242-3, 252, 280, 299; United Trades of, 184, 187  
 Shepton Mallet, woollen-workers of, 51  
 Sherbrooke, Lord, 285  
 Sheridan, R. B., 57, 71  
 Ship Constructors' and Shipwrights' Association, 551. *See also* Shipwrights  
 Sipton, George, 240, 290, 298, 325, 331, 362, 395, 406, 408  
 Shipwrights, 45, 77, 247, 353, 429-30, 490-91, 551; of Deptford, 85; of Liverpool, 39-40, 71; of London, 104, 110; of Newcastle, 106; of the Clyde, 256  
 Shirland Colliery, 335  
 Shirt and Collar-makers, Women's Society of, 336  
 Shoemakers' wages in London in 1669, 21; of Wisbech, early combination of, 3  
 Sholl, S., 37, 55  
 Shop Assistants, 440, 593-4, 744; of Sheffield, 109; organisation among, 136-7; statistics of, 745-749  
 Shop Stewards, 488-90, 659, 690  
 Shopmen, Railway, 531  
 Shorrocks, Peter, 278-9  
 Short Time Committees, 194  
 Show Stewards, 716  
 Sidgwick, Henry, 308  
 Sigismund, the Emperor, 20  
 Silk-weavers, 37, 54-5, 66, 68, 98, 112, 121, 435-6; at Coventry, 95; at Spitalfields, 37; at Dublin, 37  
 Silversmiths, 80, 91, 551  
 Simpson, Mrs., 141  
 Six Acts, the, 95  
 Six Hours' Day, 517-22  
 Skelton, O. D., 414  
 Slaters, 432  
 Slessor, H. H., 601, 607, 634  
 Sliding Scales, 33<sup>a</sup>-42, 391, 510, 734-7  
 Slosson, P. W., 175  
 Smart, W., 511

- Smillie, R., 513  
 Smith, Adam, 23, 49, 55, 73, 162  
 Smith, Adolphe, 379  
 Smith, Frank, 681  
 Smith, Sidney, 216, 287, 347  
 Smith, Sir H. Llewellyn, 404  
 Smith, Toulmin, 8  
 Smiths, 46, 121, 205, 207-8, 213, 323, 430-31, 487-8, 491, 744; early clubs of, 46. *See* Blacksmiths and Engineers  
 Snowden, Philip, 688, 699  
 Social Contract, 674, 715  
 Social Democratic Federation, 376-377, 384-5, 387-9, 400, 409-14, 652, 685  
 Social Science Association Report, 14, 23, 227-8  
 Socialism, revival of, 374-414  
 Socialist Labour Party, 659  
 Socialist League, 388  
 Society for National Regeneration, 132  
 Society for obtaining Parliamentary Relief, 62  
 Somers, Robert, 272  
 Somerset, clothiers of, 33-5; coal-miners of, 44; weavers of, 49, 51, 65; woollen-workers of, 33-4, 49, 51  
 South Metropolitan Gas Company, 493  
 South Wales, depression in, 343; miners of, 511, 514, 640, 690, 692; ferment among, 657, 659  
 Sparkes, Malcolm, 483, 648  
 Spitalfields, 37, 54-5, 61, 66, 98, 112  
 Spyers, T. G., 596  
 Stabilisation of Wages, 643  
 Staffordshire, iron-workers of, 256  
 Stalybridge, cotton-spinners of, 2  
 Standard of Life, the, 303, 369  
 "Standardisation" on the railways, 535-6  
 Stationers' Company, 27  
 Stationmasters, 504-5  
 Statistics, 422-44, 741-50  
 Status, rise in, 634-6  
 Statute of Apprentices, 47-9; repeal of, 57-61. *See* Apprentices  
 Statute of Labourers, 250  
 Steadman, W. C., 362, 684  
 Steam-engine makers, 203, 205.  
*See* Engineers  
 Steel-smelters, 430, 491-2, 552, 559, 692, 744  
 Steffen, Gustav, 86  
 Stephen, J. Fitzjames, 70, 279  
 Stephens, Rev. J. R., 302, 309  
 Stevedores, 403  
 Stockholm, 604  
 Stocking Makers' Association, 52  
 Stockingers. *See* Framework-knitters  
 Stockport, cotton-spinners of, 41  
 Stone, Gilbert, 511  
 Stonemasons, 125, 127, 149, 151, 166, 172, 176, 184, 191, 196, 199, 200, 202, 213, 223, 226-32, 241, 243, 248, 274, 277, 313, 316, 319-20, 343, 347, 348-9, 354, 358, 408, 429, 432-3, 744; early combinations among, 8; Friendly Society of Operative, 8; of Scotland, 174; of Sheffield, 80  
 Stonemasons' Fortnightly Circular, *The*, 185, 196, 202  
 Strike, first use of the word, 46; "in Detail," 199-200; origin of the term, 46; the General, 163-4, 658, 671-3; the right to, 664  
 Strikes of 1876-89, 347; in 1891-99, 603; in 1900-1910, 603-4; of miners (1912), 513; of police, 509; of railwaymen, (1912) 508-530, (1919) 535-46  
 Stroud, woollen-workers of, 50  
 Sturgeon, Charles, 277  
 Summons to the first T.U. Congress, 738-40  
 Supply and Demand, 201  
 Surface workers, 513  
 Sutherland, Sir William, 541  
 Sweating, 371, 380-81  
 Swinton, Archibald, 170  
 Swinton, potters of, 133  
 Swiss Railway Management, 760  
 Symes, Inspector, 509  
 Symons, J. G., 170  
 Syndicalism, 654-9, 690  
 Taff Vale Strike and Case, 526, 600-608

- Tailoresses, 136  
 Tailors, 44, 77, 97, 192, 259, 319, 360, 369, 371, 478, 551, 555, 744; early combination of, in London, 3; First Grand Lodge of Operative, 149; of Cambridge, 68; of London, 67-8; of Nottingham, 75; of Sheffield, 80; statistics of, 436-7; strike of, in London, 1833, 149; strike of, in 1867, 278  
 Tankard-bearers, 42  
 Tanners, Bermondsey, prosecution of, 143  
 Tape Sizers, 477  
 Tarleton, General, 71  
 Taunton, 35  
 Taylor, Henry, 331  
 Taylor, Sir Herbert, 138, 141  
 Taylor, W. C., 48  
 Taylor, William, 23  
 Teachers, 505-6  
 Teachers, National Union of, 691  
 Tea-workers' and General Labourers' Union, 403-4  
 Technical Engineers, Society of, 506  
 Telegraph clerks, 440  
 Terra-cotta, 354  
 Tester, John, 127  
 Textile Factory Workers, United Association of, 435, 478, 623  
 Textile operatives. *See* Cotton-spinners, Cotton-weavers, Woollen-workers, etc.  
 Textile Trades, statistics of, 428-9, 434-6, 475-80, 744-9  
 Thomas, J. H., 524, 526, 543-4, 680  
 Thompson, James, 36  
 Thompson, J. B., 181  
 Thompson, Colonel Perronet, 148  
 Thompson, William, 116, 162  
 Thorne, Will, 402, 497, 684  
 Thorneycroft, G. B., 734  
 Thornton, W. T., 272  
 Ticket-collectors, 504  
 Tildsley, John, 175  
 Tillet, B., 402-3, 406, 414, 501  
 Times, prosecution by the, 78-9  
 Tinplate Workers, 92, 431, 492; Co-operative Production and, 336; of Wolverhampton, 243; strike of, 194-5  
 Tiverton, 33-5, 93; woollen-workers of, 34, 35  
 Tolpuddle, 145  
 Tomlinson, 139  
 "Tommy Shops," 89  
 Trade Boards, 647; Acts, 475, 494-495, 686  
 Trade Disputes Act, 606-8, 686  
 Trade Disputes Commission, 605-6  
 Trade Union Act of 1913, 631-4, 687  
 Trade Union conditions, 637-43  
 Trade Union, definition of, 1; and the wage-system, 1; legal definition of, 617; life, 444-71; origin of term, 113  
*Trades Advocates and Herald of Progress, The*, 211  
 Trades Councils, 242-9, 354-5, 453-7, 557-61, 685; exclusion from Congress, 557; federations of, 557; in Labour Party, 557; meetings in Municipal Buildings, 558  
*Trades Journal, The*, 171, 208  
*Trades' Newspaper and Mechanics' Weekly Journal, The*, 111  
 Trades Union Congress, 350, 358-375, 700, 738-40  
 Trafalgar Square, 386-8  
 Tramping, 451-2  
 Transport and General Workers' Union, 472-3, 499, 656  
 Transport workers, 438-40; in Ireland, 472-3  
 Trant, William, 3  
 Treasury Agreement, 637-8, 642  
 "Triple Alliance," the, 516, 517  
 Trollope & Sons, 229, 328  
 Trow, Edward, 735  
 Truck, 50, 89, 371  
 Trusts, 675  
 Tucker, 268  
 Tuckwell, Miss Gertrude, 494  
 Tufnell, E. Carlton, 141  
 Turner, Ben, 480  
 Turner, William H., 5  
 Tyneside and National Labour Union, 439  
 Typographical Association, 181, 423, 437, 482. *See also* Compositors  
 Typographical Society, 692. *See also* Compositors

- Unemployed agitation, 385, 387-8  
 Unemployment benefit, 644, 646  
 Unemployment, failure to prevent, 644; prevention of, 696  
*Union Pilot and Co-operative Intelligence*, *The*, 124  
 Union of Post Office Workers, 508, 551. *See also* Post Office Employees  
 United Garment Workers' Trade Union, 551. *See also* Tailors  
 United Kingdom Alliance of Organised Trades, 258-9  
 United Signalmen and Pointsmen, 524, 531  
 United Textile Factory Operatives' Association, 478  
 United Textile Factory Workers' Association, 435, 478, 623  
 United Trades Association, 207  
*United Trades' Co-operative Journal*, *The*, 121  
 United. *See* Boilermakers, Brassworkers, Bricklayers, Coachmakers, Curriers, Machineworkers, Patternmakers, Pilots, Plumbers, Stonemasons, etc.  
 Unskilled Labourers. *See* General Workers  
 Unwin, George, vi, 5, 12, 18, 29, 30, 34  
 Upholsterers, 432-433; Sewers' Society (first women's union), 336  
 Vehicular workers, 442  
 Verinder, F., 329  
 Villiers, Rt. Hon. C. P., 186  
 Vincent, Charles Bassett, 523  
 Vincent, J. E. Matthew, 329  
 Vogel, P., 684  
*Voice of the People*, *The*, 117, 122-4  
 Wade, Rev. A. S., 147  
 Wage, a legal minimum in Gloucestershire, 50  
 Wage-System, relation of Trade Unions to the, 1  
 Wages in London in 1669, 21  
 Waiters' Union, 684  
 Wakefield, cloth trade of, 35  
 Wakefield, E. G., 35, 61  
 Wakley, Thomas, 148, 171, 173, 186  
 Wallace, 106  
 Wallas, Professor Graham, vi, 32, 62, 89, 97, 175  
 Walton, A. A., 289  
 Wapping Society of Watermen, 11  
 War Cabinet Committee on Women in Industry, 642  
 War Emergency Workers' National Committee, 691  
 War Office and strike-breaking, 247, 332-3  
 War, Trade Unions during the, 636-649  
 Warde, Mark, 128  
 Wardle, G. T., 689, 695  
 Warehousemen, 442, 503-4  
 Wardressers, 477  
 Waterguard Federation, 507  
 Watermen, London, 11, 14, 21  
 Watermen's Protective Society, 11  
 Watson, Aaron, 181, 296, 511, 625  
 Watson, R. Spence, 339  
 Watts, Dr. John, 211  
 Weavers, an Act touching, 48, 50; Paisley, 23 *See also* Cottonweavers  
 Webb, J. J., 37  
 Weeks, Joseph D., 338  
 Weiler, Adam, 389-90  
 Wellington, Duke of, 145  
 Wemyss, Earl of, 253  
 West Bromwich Miners, 434  
 Whewell, 617  
 Whitbread, W., 68, 69  
 White, George, 40, 57, 61, 76, 77, 81, 89, 94, 100, 105, 251  
 Whitley Councils, 400, 646-8, 718  
 Widnes election, 699  
 Wilkinson, Rev. J. Frome, 128  
 Williams, John, 146  
 Williams, J., 387, 400  
 Williams, J. E., 526  
 Williams, R., 497, 500  
 Williamson, S., 393  
 Wilson, J., 511  
 Wilson, J. Havelock, 406, 665-6, 669-70, 632  
 Wilson, John, 680  
 Wiltshire, shearmen of, 144; weavers of, 49; woollen-weavers of, 65; woollen-workers of, 49  
 Winters, Thomas, 195



- Wisbech, shoemakers of, 3  
 Witanagemot, 20  
 Wolverhampton, 228, 259; Building Trades Joint Committee, 308; tinplate workers of, 243; (strike), 194-5; Trades Council, 399  
 Women Clerks and Secretaries, Association of, 505  
 Women in Engineering, 638, 642-3  
 Women in Trade Unionism, 335-6, 424, 426-7, 474, 494-7  
 Women's Co-operative Guild, 497  
 Women's Labour League, 497  
 Women's Protective and Provident League, 336  
 Women's Wages, 424, 642  
 Wood, G. H., 86, 303  
 Woods, Samuel, 302, 684  
 Woodsawyers, 18  
 Woolcombers, 36-7, 44-5, 90, 127, 436, 430  
 Woollen Cloth Weavers, Act of 1756, 50-51  
 Woollen Cloth Weavers, Fraternity of, 66  
 Woollen Workers, 40-41, 435-6; of Yorkshire, 123, 125; statistics of, 480  
 Woolstaplers, 37, 45, 83, 90, 178, 203; London Society of, 203; Old Amicable Society of, 37  
 Woolwich, 697  
 Worcester, Guild Ordinances of, 8; Trades Council, 558  
 Workers' Union, 498-9, 744  
 Working Men's Association, 255, 298, 680  
 Working Rules, 223  
 Workmen's Compensation Act, 364-6  
 Works Committee, 499, 647, 707, 716  
 Worsted manufacture, 36-7  
 Wright, Justice R. S., 68, 279, 362  
 Yearly bond, 44, 89, 169  
 Yeomen, 4, 5, 6  
 Yorkshire, clothiers of, 35-6, 67; miners, 182, 301, 304-5, 349, 370, 433, 510-11, 522, 744  
 Young, Ralph, 340, 342  
 Young, Robert, 490

THE END

OTHER WORKS BY  
**SIDNEY AND BEATRICE WEBB.**

THOSE who read the *History of Trade Unionism* will want to know how far the Trade Union, as an industrial device, is an economic success—how its operations affect the National Being—whether it is a cause of loss to the employers—what effect it has on prices.

These questions, and many more, are explicitly answered in

**INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY**

12s. net

which *The Times* described as

“A permanent and invaluable contribution to the sum of human knowledge. . . . We commend to the public a book which is a monument of research and full of candour. . . . Indispensable to every publicist and politician.”

See also

**PROBLEMS OF MODERN INDUSTRY.**

7s. 6d. net.

Eleven short studies by the same Authors.

**THE WORKS MANAGER TO-DAY.**

5s. net.

A series of Addresses to Works Managers by SIDNEY WEBB on such problems as Reducing Costs, Systems of Payment by Results, How to Prevent “Ca’ Canny,” Fatigue and Accidents, the Changing Status of Employers and Wage-Earners, etc.

LONGMANS, GREEN & CO.

OTHER WORKS BY SIDNEY AND BEATRICE WEBB.

**THE PUBLIC ORGANISATION OF THE  
LABOUR MARKET.**

By SIDNEY AND BEATRICE WEBB.

5s. net.

A description and an attempted solution of the Problem of Unemployment and the Unemployed.

**THE BREAK-UP OF THE POOR LAW.**

By SIDNEY AND BEATRICE WEBB.

7s. 6d. net.

The Minority Report of the Poor Law Commission. A description of the policy now adopted by the Government in the Bill being prepared by the Minister of Health for the Abolition of the Poor Law, and the Supersession of the Boards of Guardians by the Local Health, Education, Lunacy, Pension, and Unemployment Authorities.

**THE PREVENTION OF DESTITUTION.**

By SIDNEY AND BEATRICE WEBB.

10s. net.

A comprehensive and practical programme of how it can be done.

**ENGLISH POOR LAW POLICY.**

By SIDNEY AND BEATRICE WEBB.

7s. 6d. net.

The "Missing Link" in histories of the Poor Law—an analysis of the successive transformations of the policy of the Government and the Guardians since the "Principles of 1834."

LONGMANS, GREEN & CO.

OTHER WORKS BY SIDNEY AND BEATRICE WEBB.

**GRANTS IN AID: A CRITICISM AND  
A PROPOSAL.**

By SIDNEY WEBB.

6s. net.

The only book on this important subject, affecting every Local Government Official and Councillor, and every Ratepayer.

**THE PARISH AND THE COUNTY.**

By SIDNEY AND BEATRICE WEBB.

16s. net.

A new picture of English Country Life since 1689, drawn from original records.

**THE MANOR AND THE BOROUGH.**

By SIDNEY AND BEATRICE WEBB.

2 vols. 25s. net.

How the Municipal Boroughs and London Government grew into their present forms.

**THE STORY OF THE KING'S HIGHWAY.**

By SIDNEY AND BEATRICE WEBB.

6s. net.

How the English Roads became as they are—from the chariot of Boadicea to the motor omnibus.

**THE HISTORY OF LIQUOR LICENSING  
IN ENGLAND.**

By SIDNEY AND BEATRICE WEBB.

2s. 6d. net.

A record of experiments in policy with regard to the public-house, from Henry VIII.

LONGMANS, GREEN & CO.

OTHER WORKS BY SIDNEY AND BEATRICE WEBB.

PUBLISHED BY  
GEORGE ALLEN & UNWIN, LIMITED.

**THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN  
GREAT BRITAIN.**

2s. 6d. net.

By BEATRICE POTTER (Mrs. SIDNEY WEBB).

"Without doubt the ablest and most philosophical analysis of the Co-operative Movement."—*The Speaker*.

**SOCIALISM IN ENGLAND.**

By SIDNEY WEBB.

2s. 6d. net.

"The best general view of the subject from the moderate Socialist side."—*The Athenaeum*.

---

PUBLISHED BY THE FABIAN BOOKSHOP (25 TOTHILL STREET, WESTMINSTER), AND GEORGE ALLEN & UNWIN, LIMITED.

**HOW TO PAY FOR THE WAR.**

Edited by SIDNEY WEBB.

6s. net.

Containing The Development of the Post Office, A Public Service of Railway and Canal Transport, The Nationalisation of the Coal Supply, A State Insurance Department, and a Revolution in the Income Tax.

**OTHER WORKS BY SIDNEY AND BEATRICE WEBB.**

PUBLISHED BY THE FABIAN BOOKSHOP (25 TOTHILL STREET, WESTMINSTER), AND GEORGE ALLEN & UNWIN, LIMITED.

**FABIAN ESSAYS IN SOCIALISM.**

**2s. net**

The New Edition (50th thousand), with Introduction  
by SIDNEY WEBB.

**TOWARD SOCIAL DEMOCRACY?**

By SIDNEY WEBB.

**1s. net.**

A survey of Modern Social and Industrial History since  
1840, with a description of tendencies.

**MEN'S AND WOMEN'S WAGES: SHOULD  
THEY BE EQUAL?**

By Mrs. SIDNEY WEBB.

With Portrait. **1s. net.**

A suggested solution of a difficult problem.

**GREAT BRITAIN AFTER THE WAR.**

By SIDNEY WEBB AND ARNOLD FREEMAN.

**1s. net.**

A guide to study of "After-War Problems."

**OTHER WORKS BY SIDNEY AND BEATRICE WEBB.**

**PUBLISHED BY NISBET & CO., LIMITED.**

**THE RESTORATION OF TRADE UNION  
CONDITIONS.**

**By SIDNEY WEBB.**

**1s. net.**

A description of the problem and a suggestion for its  
lasting solution.

---

**PUBLISHED AT THE FABIAN BOOKSHOP  
(25 TOTHILL STREET, WESTMINSTER).**

**REPORT ON THE WORKING OF THE  
NATIONAL INSURANCE ACT.**

**1s. net.**

**REPORT ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF STATE  
AND MUNICIPAL ENTERPRISE ALL OVER  
THE WORLD.**

**1s. net.**

**SOCIALISM AND INDIVIDUALISM.**

**1s. net.**

**THE BASIS AND POLICY OF SOCIALISM.**

**1s. net.**

**SOCIALISM AND NATIONAL MINIMUM.**

**1s. net.**