

Index

- Aberdeen
 ASW Branch, 309
 Cabinet and Chairmakers' Branch, 309
 Trades Council, 93, 118, 239–40, 309
 Woodworkers No. 1 Branch, 134
 adult suffrage, 15, 17, 18, 20
 Blatchford on, 44
 in DF/SDF programmes, 12, 166
 Fabian Society and, 31
 Hyndman on in 1881, 13
 ILP programme and, 76–7, 78
 Labour Party and, 156–60, 190–2
 NDJ and, 141, 144, 146, 297
 SDF demonstrations supporting, 77
 in *Socialism Made Plain*, 13
 versus 'women's suffrage', 153–61,
 187–92, 216, 284
 Adult Suffrage League/Adult Suffrage
 Society, 157, 158
Against the Referendum, 174
 AIMS, 98, 105, 129
 Allemane, Jean, 50–1
 alternative vote, 276–7, 279–80
 Amalgamated Nut and Bolt Makers, 69
 Amalgamated Society of Engineers, *see*
 ASE
 Amalgamated Society of House
 Decorators and Painters, 229
 Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants,
see ASRS
 Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers,
 309
 Amalgamated Union of Cabinetmakers,
 225, 238, 308
 anarchism
 influence in early Fabian Society, 30–1
 influence in Socialist League, 20–2,
 24
 Social-Democrat fears of, 252–5
 Anderson, W. C., 206–7, 210
 annual parliaments, 13, 17, 19, 31, 35–6;
see also triennial parliaments
Anti-Statist Communist Manifesto (1887),
 21
 'aristocracy of labour', 11–12
 ASC&J, 116, 126, 221, 230, 232, 307
 ASE, 58, 91, 95–108, 120, 241, 244, 305
 Associated Carpenters and Joiners of
 Scotland, 309
 Associated Iron and Steel Workers of
 Great Britain, 117, 307
 Associated Ironmoulders of Scotland, *see*
 AIMS
 Ashton, Thomas, 220, 234–5
 ASRS
 decline in support for *Clarion* federation,
 127, 221, 222, 223, 231, 234, 242
 the engineering crisis and, 98–9
 opposes TUC 'Official Scheme', 117
 support for *Clarion* federation, 109, 117,
 120–3, 305
 Thomas R. Steels and, 92, 231
 Attlee, Clement, 281
 Australian Social-Democratic Federation,
 39
 Austrian Social-Democrats, 33
 Aveling, Edward, 76, 259
 Bagwell, P., 311
 Baker, H. Jennie, 156–7
 Baker, J., 152
 Barker, Bernard, 164
 Barker, Rodney, 147
 Barnes, J. N.
 as Chairman of Parliamentary Labour
 group, 193, 213
 Engineering lockout and, 95, 107, 108,
 229
 opposes 'Bradford policy', 216
 reactions to Parliament, 197
 statement of independence of Labour
 from Liberals, 213
 on trades federation, 233
 Barnsley Trades Council, 124

- Barton, Alf, 168, 260
 Batchelor, 238
 Battersea, Park Gates meeting (1889), 63
 Bax, Ernest Belfort
 anti-feminist views, 43, 153
 attacks Fabians and bureaucrats, 42–3, 295
 on ‘council of three’, 45, 258
 on democracy, 174
 on early suspicions of Hyndman, 14–15
 on ‘revisionism’ and LRC, 182
 on ‘world federation’, 23
 Beaver, James, 48, 80
 Begg, Ferdinand Faithful, 154
 Belcher, J. H., 211
 Belfast
 engineering dispute 1895–6, 88
 Trades Council, 190
 Belgian socialism, example of, 33, 148, 279
 Belgium, King’s arrival from, 61, 62
 Bell, Richard, 124, 127, 180
 Bellamy, Edward, 22
 Belloc, Hilaire, 172, 260–4, 296
 Belvedere ASE Branch, 119, 308
 Benbow, William, 59
 Bensham ASRS Branch, 133
 Benson, T. D., 163
 Bernstein, Eduard, 42, 294, 303
 Besant, Annie, 26
 Beswick, Harry, 183
 Bevir, Mark, 1n, 11
 Billington, Teresa (Billington-Grieg), 157, 189
 ‘Black Monday’ (1886), 25
 Blackwall ASE 2nd Branch, 308
 Blackwell, James, 25, 26
 Blaenavon ‘federation’ meeting, 310
 Blanquism
 and SDF and Socialist League, 26
 of the Bolsheviks, 253
 Blatchford, Montagu, 44, 151
 Blatchford, Robert, 32, 37
 attacks on Hardie, 45, 140
 Bradford parliamentary candidature, 43–4
 on ‘delegation’, 32, 40–50, 52–3
 early career and founding of *Clarion*, 43–4
 Irish Home Rule and, 287
 ILP and, 79–80
 on ‘leaders’, 45–50, 293–4
 on referendum and initiative, 50–3
 on Shaw’s idea of democracy, 32
 socialist unity and, 83
 trades federation and, 70–1, 110–11
 on the ‘Trade Union Sedan’, 108
 Blewett, Neal, 298
 ‘Bloody Sunday’ (1887), 25, 63
 Board of Trade, 96, 107
 Boards of Guardians, 169, 218, 264
 Boilermakers, 90, 94–5, 98, 102, 103, 244
 Bolshevism, 3, 253, 300–3
 Bolton Operative Spindle and Flyer Makers’ Friendly Society, 131
 Bolton Trades Council, 101
 Bondfield, Margaret, 117, 118, 157
 Bowman, Guy, 247, 253, 254
 boycott tactic (trade union), 66
Bradford Labour Echo, 59, 133
 Bradford Labour Union, 43
 ‘Bradford’ policy/‘Bradford Resolution’, 207–17, 265, 271–4, 277–83, 293
 Brailsford, H. N., 208–9
 Brighton Trades Council, 310
 Bristol Socialist Society, 33
 British Socialist Party, *see* BSP
 British Steel Smelters Amalgamated Association of, 307
 Brocklehurst, Fred, 147, 151
 Brockway, A. Fenner, 213, 249, 264, 267–8, 281–2, 302
 Brownlie, J. T., 308
 Bryant and May, *see* Matchgirls’ strike
 BSP, 66, 216–17, 249–55, 265, 270, 283
 BSSAA, 126, 129, 310
 Burgess, Joseph
 on divisions in trade union movement, 90, 248
 on ILP support for parliamentary Labour, 209
 on King, 62, 129
 stands for ILP chairmanship, 282
 supports ‘Bradford policy’, 215
 Workman’s Times and, 44
 Burnley Weavers, 155
 Burns, John, 25, 63, 244, 257
 Burrows, Herbert, 33, 158, 169
 Burt, Thomas, 244
 Cabinet, critique of, 196–202, 262, 272
 Cabinet, ‘the Unconstitutional’, 17, 196, 262
 Calvert, W., 307
 Canning Town Boilermakers’ meeting (1897), 94, 103
 Carpenter, Edward, 36, 45, 49
 Cartmel-Robinson, J., 173–4, 176–7
Case Against the Referendum, The (1911), 174–6

316 Index

- Central Democratic Committee, 26
 Central Ironmoulders' Association of Scotland (VIAS), 134–5, 309
 Chambers, Tom, 142
 Champion, H. H., 28, 63
 Charter 88, 2
 Chartism
 'Chartist and Workers' Party', 77
 'Chartist Jubilee' (1898), 84
 NDL and, 141–6
 'Sacred Month', 59
 SDF and, 4, 9–17, 24–9, 84, 152, 160, 289
 Socialist League and, 4, 17–29
 Chemical Workers' Union, 62–3, 70
 Chesterton, Cecil, 261
 Chesterton, G. K., 265–6
 Chew, Ada Nield, 156–7, 160
 Chew, George, 82
 Citizen Army, 167–9, 216; *see also* National Citizen Force
 Citizen's Charter, 2
Clarion, character of/conduct of, 44, 70–1, 75, 147, 154, 157, 294–5
Clarion Cycling Club, 52
Clarion Federation, 5, 58, 64, 68, 70–1, 88, 91, 93, 99, 109–35, 218–45, 247, 305–13; *see also* NIGFTLU and Federal Labour Parliament
Clarion Referendum, 85–6
 Clayton, Joseph, 300
 Cloots, Anarcharsis, 21
 Clydeside dispute, 95–6
 Clynes, J. R., 132, 183, 201, 207, 234
 Cockermouth by-election (1906), 189
 Cockerton Judgement, 147
 Cole, G. D. H., 108, 266, 268, 270, 291, 313
 Collins, Henry, 10–11, 61–2, 311
 Colne Valley by-election (1907), 194–5, 249
 committee system (to replace ministers in national government), 15, 197–202, 214–15, 272–4
Common Cause, 160
Common People, The (1938), 313
Commonweal, character of/editing of, 17, 24
 commune, 22–7; *see also* Paris Commune
Commune for London (1887), 26
 compulsory resignation (of MPs), 13
 Conservative support for referendum, 52, 172–4
 Considérant, Victor, 21
 constitution, 2
 Co-operation, 66–7
Co-operative Commonwealth, The (1884), 259
 corrupt practices, outlawing of in DF programme, 12
 Cotton, Leonard, 145
 'Cotton Spinners' Parliament (exemplar of Webbian democracy), 34
 Crane, Walter, 173
Crisis of Liberalism, 174
 Crooks, Will, 146, 180, 201
 Cudworth ASRS Branch, 133
 Cumberland Iron Ore Miners' Association, 307
 Cummings, D. C., 181
 Cunningham, Graham, 25
 Curran, Pete, 70, 76, 132, 145, 181, 185, 201
Daily Chronicle, 99–100
Daily Herald/Daily Herald League, 250
 Darlston, 69
 Darlington Trades Council, 116
 Dartford ASE Branch, 119
 Davitt, Michael, 63, 69, 285, 287
 Dawson, Julia, 157, 158
 Dean, Herbert, 194
 delegation (and/or representation)
 Blatchford and, 45–50
 Fabians and, 34–8, 41, 46, 53, 165
 Hardie and, 81
 international socialism and, 216
 SDF and, 15–16, 18, 28
 Webbian representative and the, 34–8, 41, 46, 53
 De Leonism, 145, 252, 301
 democracy, priority of (over socialism), 19–20, 212, 298
 Democratic Federation, 10, 11, 12, 14, 18
 Denmark, trade union links with, 237
 Deptford Liberal and Radical Club, 26
 Derby
 FSI District, 308
 Trades Council, 105
 Despard, Charlotte, 160
 Devonport ILP, 233
 devolution, *see* Home Rule
 'dictatorship of the proletariat', 253
Difficulty Solved, The, 21
 'direct action', 251
 direct legislation, *see* referendum and initiative
 Direct Legislation League (USA), 171
 'directness' (of democratic control), 2, 18–19, 31, 146–7

Cambridge University Press

0521024145 - Democratic ideas and the British Labour movement, 1880-1914

Logie Barrow and Ian Bullock

Index

[More information](#)

Index

317

- 'direct sovereignty', 20–1
 Dobson, Thomas, 229, 231, 243
 Dockers' Union, 236
 'Don't Shoot' leaflet, 253, 254–5
 Douthwaite, G. T., 211
 Doherty, John, 59
 Duncan, Charles, 182–3
 Dundee Trades Council, 310
 Dyer, Colonel, 100, 101, 103, 108, 238
- East London Federation of Suffragettes, 284
 Edwards, Clem, 58
 Edinburgh
 Bookbinders, 134, 245, 309
 Sheet Metal Workers and Coppersmiths, 133
 Trades Council, 111, 121, 123, 309
 Education Act, 1902, 146–53, 161
Education and the Labour Movement (1965), 146
 Education Bill, 1896, 147
Education Muddle and the Way Out, The (1901), 147–8, 150
 EFEA, 96–101, 106, 107
 'effective majority', 24
 elected, accountability of, 28, 31, 32–5; *see also* delegation
 election of officers and administrators, 18, 32–5
 election pledges, enforcement of, 13
 Ellam, J. W., 260
 'employers' counter offensive', 4, 94–108
 Employers' Federation of Engineering Associations, *see* EFEA
 Employers' Parliamentary Committee, 106–7
 Emy, H. V., 296
 Enfield Lock ASE Branch, 119
 Engels, Friedrich, 11
England for All (1881), 12–15
 Ensor, R. C. K., 33, 206, 215–16
 equal electorate districts
 in DF programme, 12
 England for All (1881), 13, 17
 Erith ASE Branch, 119, 308
Evolution of Revolution (1920), 254
 Eyre, John, 118–19, 130, 220
- Fabian Society
 Education Act of 1902 and, 147–53, 170
 Fabian 'constitutionalism' and, 31–2
 'Fabian Democracy' and, 30–43, 165–6, 292
 'Fabian Democracy' resolution 1896, 32–3
 Fabian Essays and (1889), 31
 'Fabianistic Caesarism' in, 38–43
 Fabian Parliamentary League and, 31
 Fabian Tracts and, 30–1
 foundation of, 10
 Manifesto (1884), 30
 'permeation' and, 140, 147–53, 295
 Report on Fabian Policy 1896, 32–3, 165
 'self-governing workshop' and, 255–60
 Special Committee Report, 1906, 165
 as 'special movement of the Government official', 43
 working class democracy and, 65
 Fay, Edward, 44
 Federal Labour Parliament (FLP), 67–8, 91, 109, 112, 120–6, 222–3, 229, 235, 238–9, 306–7; *see also* *Clarion*
 Federation and NIGFTLU
 Federation of Engineering and Shipbuilding Trades, *see* FEST
 Fenwick, 26
 FEST, 103, 114, 244
 Flynn, J., 307
 force, *see* violence
 Ford, Isabella, 155, 190
Fortnightly Review, 39
 Free Labour Protection Association, 99
 French Revolution (of 1789), 10, 25, 53
 Friendly Society of Ironfounders, 118, 220–1, 305
 Furniture lockout (Scotland), 99
 Fyrth, J. R., 311
- Gadney School Board, 41
 Garner, Les, 159
 Garratt, E. F., 194
 Gash, Norman, 13
 Gast, John, 59
 Gasworkers' Union, 63, 70, 132, 229, 232, 307
 Gateshead ASRS Branch, 133
 Gawthorpe, Mary, 189
 General Federation of Trade Unions, *see* GFTU
 General Railway Workers' Union, *see* GRWU
 general strike tactic, 58–60, 66
 General Union of Associated Power Loom Overlookers, 118
 George, W., 124
 Germany, influence of socialism on, 9, 28, 33

318 Index

- GFTU, 115–16, 131–4, 224–5, 229–30, 235–9, 311–12
- Glasgow
 Brassmoulders, 308
 Printing and Kindred Trades, 309
 Trades Council, 239–40, 308
 Women's Labour Party of, 78
- Glasier, Katherine Bruce, 121
- Glasier, Robert Bruce
 common ownership motion at 1907 Labour Party conference and, 188–9
 common ownership motion at 1901 LRC conference and, 181
 as editor of *Labour Leader*, 188–9, 203, 207, 208
 'Quartette' and, 184, 202, 205–6
 resigns as editor of *Labour Leader*, 208
 Russell Smart and, 203, 207
- Glyde, Councillor, 213
- GNCTU, 59, 60, 68
- Grand National Consolidated Trade Union, *see* GNCTU
- Grayson, Victor
 on Belloc's *Servile State*, 262
 Colne Valley by-election and, 194–5, 249
 'Grayson affair' at the 1909 ILP conference, 205–7
Industrial Syndicalist and, 254
 reviews Clifford Sharp's *Case Against the Referendum*, 176
 supports Jowett's criticisms of Parliament, 201
- 'Grand National Holiday', 59
- Great Council, 14–15
- 'Green Manifesto, The', 211, 212, 214
- Greenock Trades Council, 310
- Gronlund, Laurence, 259
- GRWU, 63, 114
- Guild Socialism, 206, 264–9
- Guisborough
 Miners and Quarrymen, 307
 Trades Council, 307
- Hail Referendum!* (1895), 51
- Hales, John, 60
- 'Halifax affair' (1894), 80
- Halifax Labour Union, 48
- Hall, Leonard
 argues against secession from ILP in 1909, 203
 Blatchford and, 45, 47, 80
 boycott tactic and, 68
 'Green Manifesto' and, 211–14
- Navvies' Union and, 65–6
 protests against Hardie's 'herd instinct' notion of democracy, 163
 on 'Quartette's' resignation, 207, 212
 resigns as President of Manchester and Salford ILP, 80
 resigns from ILP in 1911, 216
 syndicalism and, 70, 254
 USA and, 100
- Hammersmith Socialist Society, 39, 293
- Hardie, James Keir
 Blatchford's attacks on, 45, 140
 chairman of parliamentary party, 193
 defends John Lister, 48
 on 'herd instinct', 163
 on ILP constitutional amendments, 82
 ILP presidency and, 80–1
 'Labour alliance' and, 54, 211
 Labour parliamentary strategy and, 188–9
 Liberal alliance and, 282
 opposes scholarships at 1896 Socialist International, 33
 on 'political issues', 78, 298
 'Quartette' and, 184, 203–4, 205–6
 resigns from ILP's NAC (1909), 205–6
 reviews *Industrial Democracy*, 38
 on school boards, 152–3
 on second ballot, 77
 socialist unity and, 84
 threatens resignation from parliamentary party (1907), 190–1
 on women's suffrage, 77, 78, 155, 159, 190
- Harrap, C., 124, 125
- Hartley, Edward, 140, 175–6, 186, 191
- Hay, W. F., 255
- Headlam, Stewart, 26, 148
- Henderson, Arthur, 180, 191–2, 193, 280, 281
- Henderson, Fred, 267
- 'hero worship' (dangers of), 27, 80
- Higenbottam, 312
- Hobshouse, L. T., 296
- Hobson, J. A., 165, 174, 296
- Hobson, S. G., 264–5, 268
- Hodge, John, 124
- Holton, Bob, 248
- Holton, Sandra Stanley, 159
- Home Rule
 'all round', 2, 14
 crisis of 1914, 285–9
 in DF programme, 12
 and ILP, 76
 and NDL, 142

- Horrocks, Thomas, 92, 113, 117, 128, 130, 224–5
- Horwich
 ASE No. 2 Branch, 306
 Trades Council, 306
- House of Lords
 abolition of in DF programme, 12
 abolition of in *England for All*, 14
 abolition of in 'Our Republic', 15
 abolition of and ILP, 78
 abolition of and NDL, 142
 Conservative control of, 288
 Jowett accused of ducking the issue of, 212
 Labouchère's support for abolition of praised by SDF, 26
 replacement of by referendum, 39, 40, 51, 284
- Huddersfield
 ILP Branch, 203
 Trades and Labour Council, 118, 306
- Hughes, Fred, 276–7
- Hull Dock strike 1893, 88
- Hull Trades Council, 182
- Humphreys, John, 275, 276–7, 278–9
- Hunt, Karen, 153, 159
- Hunt, T. H., 290
- Hutton, Will, 3
- Hyndman, H. M.
 cautious on democracy during South African War, 143–4
 censured by SDF, 15–16, 20, 26, 27, 28
 criticised by Blatchford, 45
 defends use of term 'Social-Democratic' against 'Socialist', 11
 on De Leonist 'Impossibilists', 252
 'dominance' of, 12, 17, 19, 28
 early suspicion of his democratic sentiments, 14
 foundation of Democratic Federation and, 10
 Irish Home Rule and, 285–7
 Labour Party affiliation and, 250
 in Marylebone election, 13
 opposes bureaucracy, 169
 radicalisation of views on democracy, 12–15
 refuses to share platform with Hardie, 205
 on Social-Democracy, 11, 162
 on syndicalism, 254
 supports Jowett on Cabinet government, 262
- ILP
 Blatchford and, 44–5
 conferences
 1893 Bradford (founding), 75–7
 1895, 81
 1896, 81
 1897, 81
 1898, 82
 1902, 154–5
 1906, 184
 1909, 205–6
 1910, 210–11
 1911, 214–17
 1912, 271–2
 1913, 276–7
 1914, 281–2
 'Fabian' view of democracy, and, 30
 internal democracy, *see* internal democracy
 programme of, 76–9
 recent work on, 1
 'subsoil' of, 65
 Independent Labour Party, *see* ILP
Industrial Democracy (1897), 34–8, 46, 53–4
Industrial Syndicalist, The, 219, 253–5
 Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), 252
 internal democracy
 of ILP, 76, 79–87, 184, 202–8, 210–14, 281–2
 of SDF, 19, 27–9
 of Socialist League, 27–9
 International Socialist Bureau, 250
 International Working Men's Association, *see* IWMA
 International Federation of Ship, Dock, and Riverside Workers, 236–9
 initiative, *see* referendum and initiative
 Irish Nationalism, 62, 63
 Irish TUC, 93, 94, 121, 230–1
 Irving, Dan, 180, 250, 283
 IWMA, 59, 60
- Jephson, A. W., 150
- Jowett, Fred
 'Bradford resolution' and critique of Cabinet government and, 196–202, 217, 262, 265, 271–4, 276–7, 292–3, 302
 chairman of ILP (1914), 282
 Irish Home Rule, 287–8
 on Labour party leadership, 183–4
 MP for West Bradford, 127–8

320 Index

- Jowett, Fred (*cont.*)
 'Parliamentary Notes' migrate to *Labour Leader*, 250
 proportional representation and, 281
 women's suffrage and, 154
- Juggins, Richard, 69
- Justice*, character of/conduct of, 9, 19–20, 25, 28, 146–7, 153, 270
- Kautsky, K., 302
- Keir Hardie, *see* Hardie, James Keir
- Kendall, Walter, 41
- King, P. J.
 attacks landlords at FLP, 67
 and Chemical Workers, 62–3
 and *Clarion*, 71, 88, 110–11
 origins of, 61–2
 and trades federation, 110–35, 218–45, 247, 305–13
 TUC delegate, 70
- Kitz, Frank, 18, 20, 21
- Knee, Fred, 169, 186, 270, 298
- Knight, Robert, 90, 94–5, 103, 104, 107, 126–7, 244
- Knights of Labor, 67–70
- Kropotkin, Peter, 23
- Labouchère, Henry, 26
 'Labour alliance', 54, 75, 178, 211, 212
Labour and the Empire (1907), 163
Labour Annual, 61, (1896), 82
 Labour Campaign for Electoral Reform, 2
Labour Elector, 63
 Labour Exchanges, 169–70
Labour Leader, character of/conduct of, 38, 75, 81, 147, 153, 157, 208, 267
- Labour Party
 accountability of Labour MPs, 178, 184–95, 204–5, 279, 282–3
 BSP seek affiliation to, 283
 conferences (LRC/Labour Party)
 1900 (founding), 180
 1901, 139, 179, 180–2
 1902, 151–3, 179
 1903, 145
 1904, 155–6, 182
 1905, 179, 182
 1906, 183–4
 1907, 188–9, 190–3
 1911, 213–14
 1913, 276, 279
 1914, 279, 280
 foundation (as LRC), 54
 governmental structure and, 178
 leadership, 183–4, 193–4, 273–4
 programme of, 179–95
 SDF withdrawal from, 145
- Labour representation
 Steels promotes, 92
 strategy of, 4–5, 226
 Thompson on, 56
 trades federation and, 232, 245, 311
- Labour Tribune*, 67
- Labour Union, 77
- Labour World*, 63, 64–5, 69
- Lafargue, Paul, 24, 258
- Lancashire and Cheshire Miners Federation, 234
- Lancashire Chemical and Copper Workers' Union, *see* Chemical Workers' Union
- land nationalisation/reform, 10, 152
 in background to trades federation, 65, 67
 in DF programme, 12, 15
- Lane, Joseph, 21
- Lansbury, George, 207, 215, 250, 264
- 'Lansdowne Resolution', the, 173
- Lawrence, Jon, 1
- 'Leadermania', 290
- Ledru-Rollin, 21
- Lee, H. W., 269, 270, 289
- Leeds
 Cabinetmakers, 306
 Trades Council, 306
- Leicester Upholsters, 308
- Lenin, V. I., 302–3
- Lessner, Frederick, 144
- Let Us Reform the Labour Party*, *see* 'Green Manifesto'
- Levin, Elia, 253
- 'Lib-Labs', 69, 102, 180–2, 232, 235
- Liddington, Jill, 155
- Linnell, Alfred, 25
- Lister, John, 47, 48–9, 80
- list system (of proportional representation), 277–8
- Liverpool
 Dockers, 61
 IWMA Branch, 62
- Local government, 14–15, 22–7; *see also*
 Boards of Guardians, School
 Boards and commune
- Local Government Act, 1888, 27
- London District ILP, 77–8
- London Dock Strike (1889), 63
- London engineering dispute, 96–8
- London School Board, 26, 147, 148, 150
- London Society of Compositors, 104, 111, 117, 120, 131–2, 222–3, 311

Cambridge University Press

0521024145 - Democratic ideas and the British Labour movement, 1880-1914

Logie Barrow and Ian Bullock

Index

[More information](#)

Index

321

- London Trades Council, 93, 97, 104–5, 118, 123, 130, 182, 185, 188, 237
Looking Backward (1888), 22–3
 Lowe, David, 85
- MacArthur, Mary, 207
 Macdonald, James, 123
 MacDonald, James Ramsay,
 attacked as undemocratic by Belfort Bax
 in 1896, 42
 attacked at undemocratic by *Justice* in
 1895, 40
 attacks adult suffragists, 157
 ‘Bradford resolution’ and, 213–15, 282–3
 debates with Belloc, 262
 on Labour’s parliamentary strategy,
 192–3, 213, 215, 270–1, 292–3
 leadership of Labour and, 273–4
 Liberal alliance and, 281–2
 parliamentary machinery and, 198
 proportional representation and, 274–81
 on referendum, 174–5, 278
 ‘Quartette’ and, 184, 202, 205–6
 second ballot and, 77, 160
 women’s suffrage and, 299
 writings of, 162–3, 292–3, 301
- Macfarlane, Sandy, 37, 80
 McKenzie, Robert, 193
 McLachlan, J. M., 211, 215
 McMillan, Margaret, 48, 151
 ‘Machinery of Democracy, The’ (1896),
 33, 41
- Mahon, J. L., 77
 Maidstone Trades Council, 310
 ‘making socialists’, 22, 44
 Mallon, J. J., 216
Man and Superman, 176
 Manchester Cabinetmakers, 130
 Manchester Central ILP Branch, 180
 Manchester Exchange Branch of ASRS,
 123
 Manchester and Salford ILP, 44, 76, 79,
 80, 180
 Manchester and Salford Trades Council,
 220
 ‘Manchester Fourth Clause’, 44, 76, 86
Manchester Guardian, 177, 302
 Manchester Unity of Operative Bricklayers
 Society, *see* MUOBS
- Mann, Tom
 international kindred-trades federation
 and, 236–8
 in ND, 141–6
 syndicalism and, 219, 248, 253–4
- Marquand, David, 281–2
- Marson, Charles T., 174
 Marx, Karl, 10, 11
 tendency to ‘deify’, 27
 and IWMA, 61
 Marx-Aveling, Eleanor, 28
 ‘Marxian’, 82, 141, 153, 154
 mass meetings, 22–3, 34
 Master Builders’ Association, 99
 matchgirls’ strike, 1888, 10
 Mawdsley, James, 128, 131
 Maxwell, Shaw, 76
 Mellor, W., 133
Memoirs of a Labour Leader (1910), 194
Merrie England (1894), 44, 110
 Metropolitan Radical Federation, 26
 Mexborough Trades Council, 306
 MFGB, 90, 102, 234–5
 Mill, John Stuart, 16
 Miners’ Federation of Great Britain, *see*
 MFGB
Miners’ Next Step, The, 246–8, 291
 Minority Report (on the Poor Laws), 169,
 170–1, 264
 Mitchell, Isaac, 114, 116, 132, 134, 233,
 243–4
Modern Socialism (1910), 215–16
 Moir, Dr John, 64–5
 monarchy, abolition of, 15, 78, 166
 monarchy, undesirable influence of, 199,
 288
- Montefiore, Dora, 149, 153
 Morley, Robert, 190–1
 Morris, Dylan, 1
 Morris, William, 17–24, 27, 39, 45, 257
 Morrison, James, 59
 ‘Morrow of the Revolution, The’, 24
 Moss, A., 124
 Mosses, W., 103–4, 107
 ‘Motes’, 22
 MUOBS, 99
 Murray, Charles, 9n, 11
 Murray, James, 9, 11
*My Confession of Faith in the Labour
 Alliance* (1909), 78, 163, 211
 Myddleton-Worral, Mrs D. J., *see* Dawson,
 Julia
- Nairn, William, 37
 NAOT, 60
 National Amalgamated Operative
 Plasterers, 99
 National Amalgamated Society of
 Enginemen, Cranemen, Boilermen
 and Firemen, 23, 24, 31, 229, 306,
 307

Cambridge University Press

0521024145 - Democratic ideas and the British Labour movement, 1880-1914

Logie Barrow and Ian Bullock

Index

[More information](#)

322 Index

- National Association of House and Ship Painters and Decorators, 307
- National Association of Operative Plasterers, 239
- National Association for the Organisation of Trades, *see* NAOT
- National Association of United Trades for the Protection of Labour, *see* NAUTPL
- National and International General Federation of Trade and Labour Unions, *see* NIGFTLU
- National Citizen Force, 18; *see also* Citizen Army
- National Convention, 15, 16, 20, 289
- National Democratic League, 141–6, 296, 297
- nationalisation, *see* socialisation
- National Minority Movement, 301
- National Service League, 167
- National Steel Association Labour League, 306
- National Transport Workers' Federation, 291
- National Union of Gasworkers and General Labourers, *see* Gasworkers' Union
- National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, *see* NUWSS
- NAUTPL (1830–1), 59 (*c.* 1845), 60
- Navvies' and Labourers' Guide*, 65
- Navvies', Building Labourers' and General Labour Union*, 63, 65–6, 145
- New Age, The*, 206, 264, 265, 268
- Newcastle Central ASRS Branch, 133
- New Cross ASRS Branch, 124
- 'New Liberalism', 65
- New Reform Bill, The*, 31, 36
- News from Nowhere* (1897), 22–3
- New Statesman*, 2
- New Unionism, 66–7, 88–90
- NIGFTLU
- Co-operation and, 60, 67, 91
- foundation of, 60, 68, 91
- referendum and, 64, 112, 124–5, 299
- rise and fall of, 109–35, 292
- significance of, 58, 291, 292
- syndicalism and, 218–45
- Noble, T. E., 267
- Norris, Jill, 155
- North of England Socialist Federation, 77
- North Wales Quarrymen, 98
- Nottingham Trades Council, 308
- NUDL, 235–6
- NUWSS, 160
- O'Brien, Bronterre, 11–12, 146
- OBS, 97, 222, 238
- O'Connor, John, 63–5, 69, 70
- officers and administrators, *see* election of officers and administrators
- 'Official Scheme' (of trades federation), *see* TUC 'Official Scheme'
- O'Grady, James, 130, 197, 312
- Old and New Unionism, The* (1895), 66
- One Hand Tied Behind Us* (1978), 155
- 'On Leaders', 45–50
- Only Way to Democracy, The* (1900), 54–6
- 'Our Republic' (1884), 14–15
- Openshaw ASE Branch, 125–6
- Operative Bricklayers' Society, *see* OBS
- Orage, A. R., 206, 264
- Orchard, Harry, 123
- Ormskirk ASRS Branch, 133
- Owen, Robert, 68
- Page Arnot, R., 310
- 'palliatives', *see* 'stepping stones'
- Pankhurst, Christabel, 154, 155, 156, 189, 284
- Pankhurst, Emmeline, 154, 158
- Pankhurst, Sylvia, 160, 284
- 'parliamentary dictatorship', 17
- Paris Commune of 1871, 10, 23, 50, 253, 259
- Parsons, Frank, 171
- Party System, The* (1911), 261
- Patricroft ASRS Branch, 133
- Patternmakers, 103–4, 107
- payment of MPs and election expenses, 17, 20, 141
- demanded by Blatchford, 44
- in DF programme, 12
- and Fabians, 31, 35–6
- and ILP, 78
- in *Socialism Made Plain*, 13
- Thompson on, 56
- Pelling, Henry, 68, 115, 193
- Penrhyn dispute, 98
- People's Charter, 13
- permanent officials, lack of accountability of, 42–3
- Phelps-Brown, E. H., 115
- Phillips, Dr Marion, 276
- 'physical force', *see* violence
- Pickard, Ben, 90, 102, 235
- Pierson, Stanley, 44
- Pilgrim to the Left* (1938), 264–5, 268
- Plant Report, 2
- Plymouth Trades Council, 128

- police, demand for democratic control of, 26–7
- Pomeroy, Eltweed, 171–2
- Postgate, R., 312
- Premises of Socialism*, 302
- Price, Richard, 89, 106, 144
- ‘primitive democracy’, 10, 30, 34–5, 40, 241, 269
- ‘Principles of Justice’ (1884), 17
- Principles of Social Democracy* (1879), 9, 20
- Proctor, Tom, 128, 233, 238–9, 241
- proportional representation, 9, 17, 18, 19, 148, 166–7, 216, 274–81; *see also* list system *and* single transferable vote
- public ownership, *see* socialisation
- Quarterly Review* (of LSC), 111
- ‘Quartette, the’ (in ILP leadership), 184, 202–3, 205–6
- Quelch, Harry
 advocates ‘vote Tory’ strategy, 84
 ‘Armed Nation’ and, 167
 on ‘ballot or bullet’, 251
 death of, 270
 editor of *Justice*, 25
 illness of, 28
 at Labour Party conference of 1907, 188
 on leadership, 29
- Radicals
 Bax on, 42
 Chartist legacy and, 84
 Democratic Federation and, 10, 25, 285
 ILP and, 76–7, 141
Justice prepared to praise, 296
 ‘Marxian’ on, 141
 MPs (Cunningham Graham), 26, (Robert Wallace), 65
 referendum and, 173
 SDF and ‘Extreme Left’ of, 144
 Shaw on, 151
- Railway Review*, 98, 99–100, 105, 107, 117, 123, 125, 224, 238, 243
- Reade, Harry, 85
- recall, right of by electors, 13
- referendum and initiative
 Blatchford and, 50, 52–3, 84–5
 Carpenter and, 49
Clarion and, 37, 49, 50–6, 84–6, 142
Clarion Referendum and, 86
 Clifford Sharp on, 174–6
 Conservatives propose (in 1910), 173–4
 Fabians and, 32–3, 35, 38–42, 160–5, 300
- Hardie and, 82
- House of Lords and, 39, 40, 51, 284
- ILP and, 76, 78, 82, 84–5
- international socialism and, 167, 216
- Jowett on, 200
- MacDonald on, 278
- NDL and, 142–3
- NIGFTLU and, 240–1, 299
- Pomeroy on, 171–2
- possibilities of in 1914, 271
- SDF and, 14–15, 17, 18–19, 38–42, 143, 160–7
- Shaw on, 176–7
- Sketchley on, 20–1
- Thompson on, 50–6, 86, 142
- trades federation and, 64, 112, 124–5
- Referendum and Initiative in Practice, The* (1899), 34
- Reform Act 1832, 13, 59
- Reform Act 1884, 13, 16
- Renard, Georges, 53
- Report on Fabian Policy* (1896), 32–3, 165
- representatives, *see* delegation
- republicanism/republics, 9, 14–15, 65
- resignations, signed in advance, 49–50
- Revolution of 1848, 10, 21
- Revue Socialiste*, 53
- Reynolds’s News*, 84, 141, 146, 252
- Richards, T. Fred, 197–8
- Riley, Ben, 306
- Rimmer, Nathan, 232
- Rittinghausen, Moritz, 21
- Roberts, G. H., 279
- Robespierre, Maximilien, 21, 253
- Rochdale and District Trades Federation, 120
- Roper, Esther, 155
- Rose, Arthur, 263
- Rosen, Andrew, 155, 157, 284
- Rothstein, Theodore, 161
- Roxby, Albert, 227–8, 228n
- Royal Commission on the Poor Laws, 146, 169, 264
- Rousseau, Jean Jacques, 20–1
- Sachse, J., 277
- ‘Sacred Month’, 59
- Salter, Gilbert, 164
- Samuel, George A. H., *see* ‘Marxian’
- St Helens
 Central ASRS Branch, 133
 Glassworkers, 63
- Scheu, Andreas, 28
- School Boards, 26, 41, 146–53, 169, 170, 218, 300

324 Index

- 'scientific socialism', 47
 Scott, Rachel, 157
 Scottish Land Restoration League, 67
 Scottish TUC, 93, 120-1, 123, 228, 240, 309
 Scottish Typographical Association, 133-4, 222, 241
 Scottish Workers' Parliamentary Committee, 145
 SDF
 attacks 'Fabianistic Caesarism', 38-43
 becomes SDP in 1907, 169
 NDL and, 146
 programme and principles, 9-17, 166-7, 169
 Socialist League and the, 24-9
 trade unionism and, 91
 'women's suffrage' and, 158
 second ballot, 44, 65, 76, 78, 141, 166, 216, 279
 Second Chamber, *see* House of Lords
Servile State, The (1912), 260-4, 270, 293, 296
 Sexton, James, 128, 145, 235-6
 Shackleton, David, 180
Shall the People Govern Themselves?, 20-1
 Sharp, Clifford D., 174-6, 300
 Sharland, John, 227n
 Shaw, George Bernard
 on democracy, 32, 176-7
 edits Gronlund, 259
 on Education Act, 152
 on Fabians, 31
 on referendum, 176-7
 on SDF, 10
 state and, 165
 'superman' and, 163, 176
 Sheffield
 ILP Branch, 49
 Trades Council, 101
 Sidebotham, 89, 118-19, 227
 Siemens, Alexander, 101
 Simon, Brian, 146
 Simpson, George, 260
 single transferable vote (STV), 277
 Sketchley, John, 9, 20-1
 Smart, H. Russell, 78-9, 192-3, 196-7, 202-7, 272
 Smillie, Robert, 121, 124, 189, 232, 310-11
 Smith, Frank, 64, 84
 Smith, Frank (of Cabinetmakers), 238
 Smith, J. E., 59
 Snowden, Philip
 distances himself from MacDonald, 279-80, 282-3, 293
 'Quartette' and, 184, 202, 205-6
 reveals Liberal approach for alliance, 282-3
 seconds Fabian Education amendment at 1902 LRC conference, 151
 supports proportional representation, 276-7, 279-80
 women's suffrage and, 156, 158n
 'social-Drawinism', 163-4
The Social-Democrat, 11
 Social-Democratic Federation, *see* SDF
 Social-Democracy
 forms of, 12-17
 meaning of, 11-12, 162
 origins of, 11-12
 socialisation (of production)
 Guild socialism and, 264-9
 Hall and, 66-7
 ILP and, 76
 Labour Party and, 182
 Pomeroy on, 171
 SDF and, 9, 11, 14-15, 18-19
 'Servile State' and, 246-69
 Shaw on, 152
 Socialist League and, 22-3
Socialism (1907), 163
Socialism and Government (1909), 163, 174-5, 282
Socialism and Society (1905), 162-3
Socialism Made Plain (1883), 12-14
 Socialist International
 International Socialist Bureau promotes 'socialist unity', 250
 1893 Congress (Zurich), 39, 77
 1896 Congress (London), 32-3
 seeks constitutional reforms in 1900, 167
 Socialist League, 17-24
 and the SDF, 24-9
Socialist Movement, The (1911), 163
 'socialist unity' campaigns
 in 1880s, 39
 in 1890s, 75, 83, 85
 in 1900s, 140
 see also BSP, International Socialist Bureau, 'Unity Conference' 1911
Social Unrest, The (1913), 163
 South African War
 Blatchford and, 43
 effects on attitudes to democracy, 41-2
 Southport ASRS Branch, 133
 South Wales Miners' Federation, 247
 Spence, Thomas, 58-9, 252

Cambridge University Press

0521024145 - Democratic ideas and the British Labour movement, 1880-1914

Logie Barrow and Ian Bullock

Index

[More information](#)

Index

325

- 'split, the' (SDF and Socialist League, 1884–5), 17–20, 30
- Stacy, Enid, 47
- Stairfoot, Wombell and Royston ASRS Branch, 133
- Standing, J. E., 276, 278
- State and Revolution, The* (1917), 302
- Statement of Principles* (of the Socialist League, 1889), 22–3
- Steam Engine Makers, 225
- Steel Smelters' Association, 124
- Steels, Thomas R., 92, 223
- 'stepping stones' (of the SDF), 22
- Stockton Trades Council, 307
- Stoddart, Jane T., 174
- Stoke on Trent
ASRS Branch, 133
ILP Branch, 80
- suffragettes, *see* WSPU
- Sugden, Larner, 85
- Sunderland Trades Council, 68, 307
- Suthers, R. B., 151, 170
- Swanson, George C., 170, 270
- Swinton and Pendlebury ILP, 76
- Switzerland, 39, 40, 51, 148
- Sylvester, F. B., 252
- syndicalism
forerunners of, 58–60, 67, 70
influence of, 195, 246–69
NIGFTLU and, 218–45, 291, 305–13
Syndicalism: a Critical Examination (1912), 163
- Taff Vale, 106, 179
- Tanner, Duncan, 1
- Taylor, G. R. S., 265, 274
- Taylor, Helen, 16, 25
- Taylor, Jonathan, 17
- Tevenan, P. J., 94, 121
- Thompson, Alex, 37, 44, 47
'Bradford Resolution', and, 282
castigates withdrawal of Tory offer of referendum, 174
Clarion referendum and, 86
on limitations of 'direct democracy', 173–4
promotes 'direct democracy' in the *Clarion*, 50–6, 293
on NDL, 142
and trades federation, 70–1
- Thompson, E. P., 9
- Thompson, George, 189
- Thompson, W. M., 84, 141, 252
- Thorne, Will, 90, 132, 167–8, 188, 223, 232
- Tillett, Ben, 131, 188–9
- Tomkins, E. F., 257
- Toothill, Robert, 101
- 'Tory gold' (1885), 17, 38
- Tours Programme (of French Socialists), 33
- 'To Your Tents, Oh Israel!' (1893), 39
- Toyn, Joseph, 124, 235
- trades federation, *see* *Clarion* federation, GFTU, NIGFTLU, TUC 'Official Scheme'
- Trade Union Congress, *see* TUC
- 'Trade Union Sedan', 104–8
- Trevor, John, 48
- triennial parliaments
in DF/SDF programmes, 12, 166
in *England for All*, 13
and Fabians, 31
and ILP, 76, 78
and NDL, 141
- True Radical Programme, The* (1887), 31
- Tsuzuki, Chushichi, 285
- TUC
Congresses
1889, 69
1890, 70
1893, 70
1895, 92
1897, 113–14
1898, 91, 126
January 1899, 110, 126–30
engineering crisis and, 97, 101, 104, 105
flimsy organisation of, 89
foundation of, 60, 61
'moral influence' of, 79
'Official Scheme' for trades federation, 109, 113–17, 222–5
proportional representation and, 280
- Tuckwell, Gertrude, 156
- Turner, Ben, 70, 124, 125, 181, 311–12
- Tyrone by-election, 1881, 285
- UKAOT, 60–1
- 'unattached socialists', 83
- United Kingdom Alliance of Organised Trades, *see* UKAOT
- United Society of Brushmakers, 307
- United States, influence of, 67–70, 91, 101, 102, 171–2
- 'Unity Conference', 1911, 249
- universal suffrage, *see* adult suffrage
- Verity, A. C., 124
- violence, 24–6, 31, 251

Cambridge University Press

0521024145 - Democratic ideas and the British Labour movement, 1880-1914

Logie Barrow and Ian Bullock

Index

[More information](#)

326 Index

- Wake, Egerton, 276
Wallace, Robert, 51
Wallas, Graham, 150
Wallhead, R. C., 216, 282
Walling, W. E., 165
Walls, Pete, 307
war and peace (demand for referendum on), 18–19, 33, 42, 54–5, 173–4
Ward, John, 63, 145, 181
Watts, A. A., 166–7
Webb, Beatrice
 challenged by younger Fabians, 270
 on Guild Socialism, 269
 Industrial Democracy and, 34–8
 Lenin and, 302–3
 on ‘primitive democracy’, 10, 299, 302–3
 on Socialist International of 1896, 33
Webb, Sidney
 challenged by younger Fabians, 270
 Education Act and, 147, 150, 151
 Industrial Democracy and, 34–8
 Lenin and, 302–3
 ‘Machinery of Democracy’, lectures, 33–4, 41
 on ‘primitive democracy’, 10, 299, 302–3
 on referendum, 85
 on ‘self-governing workshop’, 256
 on state, 165
Weekly Times and Echo, 40, 92
Welford, R. D., 228
Wellington Trades Council, 230
Wells, H. G., 163
Wendon, J., 260
Wemyss, Lord, 99
West Bromwich Miners, 68, 308
West Ham Trades Council, 181, 182
Wharton Hall Lodge, 91, 239
What is the Use of Parliament? (1909), 200–1
What is to be Done? (1902), 302, 303
What Socialism Is (1886), 30–1
Whitman, Walt, 45, 49
Why I Joined the National Democratic League (1901), 141
Widnes, 63
Wigan ASRS Branch, 122, 305
Wilkinson (of Burnley Weavers), 155
Williams, Jack, 25
Williams, J. B., 244
Wilshire, Gaylord, 263
Wilson, Charlotte, 30–1
Wilson, J. Havelock, 114
Wilson, John, 194
Wilson, T., 124
Wilson, W. T., 201
Women’s Labour Party of Glasgow, 78
women’s suffrage, 77, 78, 153–61, 185, 189–92, 284, 299
Woods, Sam, 70, 89, 97, 104, 116–17, 235, 237
Woolwich
 ASE Branch, 119, 135
 Trades Federation Scheme, 119, 130
Women’s Co-operative Guild, 160
Women’s Social and Political Union, *see* WSPU
Workington Trades Council, 306–7
Workers’ Cry, 64–6
Workman’s Times, 44
Workers’ Political Programme, The (1890), 31
World of Labour, The (1913), 266
world federation of communes, 23
Wrexham Ironfounders, 101
WSPU, 155, 157–8, 189–91, 251–2, 254, 284