

Aspects of the History of the Labour Movement in Liverpool
in relation to Education, c. 1870-1920

by



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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores aspects of the role and contribution of the early Liverpool labour movement in relation both to the evolution of formal education for the working class, and to the educational component of the movement itself. Efforts at educating in the principles of trade unionism, or Socialism, sought to equip the movement for effective participation in working-class politics, ultimately to secure control of policy (social, economic and educational).

Labour concern with areas of formal education under the several official agencies was a function of the drive for independent labour politics from the late 1880's, but could also be integral to the formulation of an alternative morality and consciousness, as reflected in the distinctive emphasis and milieu of Socialist enthusiasm. In the complex years of the infant Liverpool Labour Party, several educating components in the widening spectrum of organised labour bore witness to a variety of political persuasions, which threatened the unity of the movement. If the local municipal "Labour Group" could do little else than seek social justice in terms of adequate legislation, or "equality of opportunity in education", its political aspirations were not entirely divorced from the ethical base of Socialism inherited from the 1890's.

ABREGE

Cette thèse est une étude exploratrice de plusieurs aspects du rôle et de la contribution du mouvement ouvrier de Liverpool de sa première époque par rapport et à l'évolution de l'instruction formelle fournie à la classe ouvrière, et au caractère éducatif du mouvement lui-même. La tentative entreprise par le mouvement en éducation des ouvriers dans les principes du syndicalisme ou du socialisme, envisageait la formation d'un mouvement bien disposé à la participation efficace en politique ouvrière, en vue finalement de commander la politique tant socio-économique qu'en éducation.

L'intérêt pris par le mouvement travailliste aux domaines de l'instruction formelle était une fonction de la tentative entreprenante en politique indépendante travailliste à partir des années 1880. Mais cet intérêt faisait aussi partie intégrante du processus formatif d'une moralité et d'une prise de conscience alternatives, que démontraient l'orientation et le milieu distinctives de l'enthousiasme socialiste. Aux années complexes du Parti Travailliste de Liverpool à ses débuts, les plusieurs éléments éducatifs dans l'ensemble élargissant du travail organisé témoignaient d'une diversité de convictions politiques qui menaçaient l'unité du mouvement. Si le "Groupe Travailliste" local municipal ne pouvait réaliser grand'chose d'autre que la poursuite de la justice sociale en termes de législation suffisante ou de "l'inégalité des chances en éducation", ses aspirations politiques n'étaient pas entièrement dissociées de la base morale du socialisme qu'il héritait des années 1890.

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PREFACE

To the best of my knowledge, a study of the Liverpool labour movement in relation to education has not hitherto been undertaken; in fact, a complete picture of the development of the local labour movement as a whole has still to be drawn. The originality of the present contribution lies primarily in its investigation of education and the labour movement--as expounded on a national level by Brian Simon in particular--in the local setting: that is, in a "case study" of the early labour movement in Liverpool with reference to education. At the same time, the study attempts to contribute towards an understanding of the growth of organised labour in the city, some important features of which have recently been explored in published studies, for example, of pre-1914 syndicalism, New Unionism, or of the dockers and seamen. Thus, on the one hand, the thesis investigates a crucial and prominent area of urban working-class politics, centred on a struggle for access to or eventual control of formal education, which also in part reflected the concern of the labour movement to educate for successful working-class politics, or for a reconstruction of society. On the other hand, it approaches aspects of the history of "education and the working class" with respect to organised labour in the local context: the School Board, Technical Instruction and Education Committees were key areas of labour interest which, at least as far as Liverpool is concerned, have not previously been portrayed as such. Attempts at securing labour representation on these kinds of bodies--attempts which also bore witness to the growth of a relatively well-organised and militant working-class movement by the mid-1890's--are seen in the light of the peculiarly

difficult setting of a city characterised by what contemporaries frequently acknowledged as a "backward" politico-religious climate, and which was to some extent illustrative of the particular economic and demographic development of the seaport in the 18th and 19th centuries.

For the most part, discussion of the labour movement and education has occurred at the level of national politics and policy-making: of, for example, the Trades Union Congress, the London Fabian Society, the Independent Labour Party, or the central Social Democratic Federation and parliamentary Labour Party; or of the Education Department and the Board of Education, and the major political pressure groups. In this respect, the educational activities of the Liverpool Fabian Society, the local ILP, or the syndicalist movement of the early 20th century, and the work of the Trades Council, Labour Representation Committee, local Labour Party, or war-time Vigilance Committee, are a part of the evolution of the wider "movement" from which the parliamentary Labour Party emerged and forged its own identity. In this thesis, labour attitudes towards the generally popular school boards, or to the development of technical education, and labour concern for legislative child welfare measures, or for securing a real equality of educational opportunity--for which, in both of the latter, local campaigns were often crucial--are examined in the context of this wider movement, of which Liverpool was a component part.

Clearly, a thesis of this sort draws on the research fields of both educational and labour historians. For instance, chapters four and five make reference to several local studies of technical and science education

in the city, while chapter six makes use of the excellent account of pre-war syndicalism on Merseyside by Bob Holton. However, only the study by Ruth Frow--her M. Ed. thesis on "independent working-class education" in south-west Lancashire in the early 20th century--sets itself the task of addressing an aspect of the local, or regional, labour movement specifically in relation to education. In this case, in so far as it encompasses Liverpool, the author is primarily concerned with the Labour College in the city in the 1920's, which was associated in particular with John Hamilton. This will be further discussed in chapter six below.

Research work on the thesis has benefited from the willing assistance of a number of librarians and archivists. I would especially like to mention the senior archivist and her staff at the Liverpool Records Office in the Liverpool Central Libraries, Mr. A. R. Allan of the Liverpool University Archives, Mr. J. E. Vaughan of the library of the University of Liverpool School of Education, the Librarian of the Labour Party at Transport House, the archival assistants at the British Library of Political and Economic Science, at the London School of Economics, and Ruth and Eddie Frow for generously making available their collection on the National Council of Labour Colleges, as well as material on John Hamilton, in their "working-class movement library"--literally their home--in Manchester.

The published work of Brian Simon has been a constant guide, source of reference and inspiration. Several scholars have made useful comments or suggestions: among these are Ron Bean, Bill Marsden and Dr. Bland of the University of Liverpool, Eric Taplin of the Liverpool Polytechnic,

Professors Royden Harrison and Harold Silver, and, above all, my colleague, Harold Entwistle. I would also like to acknowledge the helpful comments of the editorial board of the International Review of Social History on a proposed article (shortly to be published) on the work of Joseph and Eleanor Edwards, and a useful correspondence with Dr. Joyce Bellamy, co-editor with John Saville of the Dictionary of Labour Biography, in connection with a biography of John Edwards, to be published in the forthcoming volume of the Dictionary. An article based on the material used in chapters four and five has appeared in History of Education, journal of the British History of Education Society.

Work on the thesis was originally begun under the late Professor Howard Weinroth, whose great enthusiasm for the Lancashire labour movement, as well as his work on labour during the 1914-18 War, was a tremendous source of initial encouragement. Although the scope of the thesis has subsequently altered (concentrating solely on Liverpool), it continues to include a focus on the growth of the labour movement per se, and not merely on its involvement, in isolation, in the politics of formal educational policy-making.

I would especially like to thank Professor Martin Petter for his helpful suggestions during the writing of the thesis; his keen interest in the study, from the moment he assumed the responsibility for its direction, has been of invaluable assistance.

Finally, it is a great pleasure to record thanks to my sister and brother: to my sister for her informed interest in labour movements, to my brother for many discussions based on his own first-hand experience of continued, evening-school education beyond the age of 15, and of work

on the Liverpool waterfront.

Geoffrey C. Fidler

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CHAPTER ONE

Education and the Labour Movement in Liverpool: An Introduction

This chapter will give a brief introduction, first to the theme of "education and the labour movement" with particular reference to Liverpool, and in terms of its historiography; second, to elements of the socio-political background of Liverpool's development which are of direct significance for an understanding of the framework in which the labour movement engaged both in the politics of education for the working class, and in independent working-class politics itself. Further introductory sections will be included in successive chapters, each of which considers an aspect of education and the labour movement in Liverpool which could form the basis of a theme in its own right. At least, this is true if it is accepted that any "definitive" account of the labour movement in relation to, say, the School Board, the welfare of children, or technical instruction, would have also to draw on the broader relationships between each of these and the working class as a whole. Such a perspective does not yet exist as far as Liverpool, and most localities, is concerned; the focus of the present study has therefore been the more modest one of examining the specific role of the labour movement in relation to education, without nevertheless isolating it from the wider theme of education for the working class. While in this sense a more modest study, it does, however, explore a field which, in Liverpool at least, has hitherto been unexplored.

On a national, and general, level, the relationship between the labour movement and education in Britain has been admirably surveyed in the relatively recent work, for example, of Brian Simon, Philip McCann, Rodney Barker, Edward Brennan and, in part, A.M. McBriar, covering the

period of the late 19th and early 20th centuries.¹ Following some of the emphases of the pioneering work of Albert Mansbridge, A.E. Dobbs and a number of writers who were themselves active in the workers' adult education movement of the early 20th century, these surveys have specifically centred on working-class movements, rather than on the wider--though not unrelated--field of the provision of education for the working class, a field in which there is much interest at the present time.² They have also reflected the tendency, apparent in the field of British labour history since the last war, towards a study of labour and "the people", in contrast to the more "institutional" tendency of the pre-war years.³ Thus, the emphasis placed--most notably in the work of Edward Thompson--on a general "social and cultural formation" has not left the study of the history of education unaffected; in addition to the work of Simon or McCann, this is true also of such studies as those by Thomas Kelly and J.F.C. Harrison on the adult education movement.⁴ An emphasis of this order has perhaps been less characteristic of regional or local studies of education in the period, although there are notable exceptions in Harrison's survey of adult working-class education in the West Riding or Yorkshire, in Ruth Frow's account of "Independent Working-Class Education" in South Lancashire, or (though somewhat before our period) E. Royle's "revision" of the Lancashire and Yorkshire mechanics' institute movement in the years not covered by Mabel Tylecote's work.⁵ Simon's work itself draws on the fruits of local research (either in labour history tout simple, or in more traditional educational fields), and on local "information" (as from the Bradford Trades Council, for example) to present the kind of synthesis necessary in a national study. But, as Harold Silver has suggested, in any further "synthesising

work", in the history of education and the labour movement, along with the contributions of sociologists and political scientists (and, perhaps, it might be added, of social geographers), "more substantial local studies will have an important part to play".⁶ Indeed, there are examples of areas of activity in relation to the educational policy of the national labour movement, which operated essentially at the local level; this is true, for example, of the work of local "Labour Groups" on city councils in the early years of the LRC and national Labour Party, seeking social justice in terms of adequate legislation and "fair" treatment. Whatever was true of the Labour M.P.'s or the national LRC, the Liverpool "Labour Party" (in fact, the local movement as a whole) attempted to keep alive some notion of the "class war" while also vigorously campaigning for the adoption of permissive child welfare legislation. In this way, the ethical character of Socialism inherited from the 1890's, which was pronounced among a number of prominent Liverpool Socialists, and which had been instrumental in establishing a focus on broad welfare issues, was by no means divorced from the political aspirations of the Labour Group, seeking a "Co-operative Commonwealth of the future".⁷

Local labour histories have been a more fruitful field of writing on aspects of education and the labour movement, as with J.E. Williams' Derbyshire Miners, Sidney Pollard's History of Labour in Sheffield, or K.D. Buckley's Trade Unionism in Aberdeen 1879-1900, and Raymond Brown's thesis on the labour movement in Hull during the 1870-1900 period. In particular, a number of histories of trades councils has shown how local labour movements--and, there, this has largely meant trade unionism--

took an active interest in the business of labour politics in relation not only to unemployment or working conditions, but also to education, under school board, technical instruction committee or local authority.⁸ In general, the work of local Socialist organisations has been relatively neglected (often for want of adequate surviving records), although the various trades councils invariably included Socialist representatives, who could form distinct groups with particular educational policies, reflecting the emphasis of Socialist attempts at educating the labour movement itself.⁹ In this respect, Socialists in the labour movement played a distinctive role in relation to education. In a context in which "educational exclusion has played quite as large a part in the affairs of men as educational expansion", the labour movement was mainly preoccupied with access to schooling or educational facilities which it had long been denied; but, through the Socialists in particular, it also expressed the ideal of ultimate control, of "coming to power", even though the precise educational, or pedagogical, implications of this were not clear.¹⁰ This was quite apparent among early Liverpool Socialists, as among other Socialist "enthusiasts" of the late 19th century. However, looking back over a long struggle for "equality of opportunity" in education, the Liverpool Labour Party later emphasised the question of access, recalling how

The Socialist pioneers often lacked the opportunity for a sound education. George Tomlinson our late Minister of Education left school at 12 years of age to go to work. He knew by bitter experience what it meant to make up lost ground later on. That is the reason he had a passion for education, along with colleagues like Ernest Bevin.¹¹

Histories of the labour movement in Liverpool have relatively little to say on its links with formal education, or on the importance of the educational work intrinsic to the movement itself. The earliest study, a B.A. thesis written in 1940, and covering the 1911-1926 period, makes no mention of the struggle for child welfare on the part of the municipal Labour Group, for instance. This is perhaps surprising, given that its author was able to draw on first-hand information from such Labour city councillors as Frederick Richardson and Herbert Rose, and from the LRC leader, Fred Hoey. On the other hand, it was scarcely meant to be a fully-fledged scholarly study, and its examination of the organisation of the early Liverpool Labour Party--still the only one with such scope--remains useful.¹² In 1948, William Hamling's pamphlet commemorating the centenary of the Liverpool Trades Council, was based on research undertaken with a much larger study in mind; this never materialised, and his Short History remained a highly informative, but unscholarly account.¹³ Hamling was very active in the Liverpool Labour Party during the 1940's and 50's (standing as a candidate in Wavertree and Childwall); he was a WEA and university extra-mural tutor, and might therefore have been inclined to devote attention to educational movements. His Short History certainly mentions the Trades Council's wider interest in social questions, from the mid-1880's, pointing to its link with the University Extension movement, and to its interest in evening lectures and classes. In particular, Hamling's study is indispensable for the early period of the Trades Council (and, indeed, the earliest phase of trade unionism in the city), highlighting the work of the early Socialist enthusiasts. While his accounts of the latter are limited, based almost exclusively on the Labour Chronicle, whose portraits he reproduces, they underline the existence of a definite

epoch of Liverpool Socialism, which was itself educational, and indicative, above all, of the strength of Liverpool Fabianism:

The Socialist movement flourished in Liverpool between 1894 and 1900 with more vigour and enthusiasm than seems possible even today The Fabians were everywhere; they debated against all comers, they held enquiries into social problems and held lectures, discussions and classes¹⁴

Had the Fabians published an account of Liverpool, or Merseyside, in the early 20th century, it would certainly have stood in sharp contrast to W.T. Pike's panegyric of 1911, which, full of the "opulence of Liverpool", could find "no evidence of either degeneracy or stagnation . . . neither in the appearance of the city . . . nor yet among the men and women who form the vast population of the "Queen of the Mersey".¹⁵

The Fabian-dominated Liverpool Housing Association of those years, collecting the statistics of over-crowding in the various wards, pointed to an average children's death-rate of 114.253 per 1000 (in 1900), as against 58.825 for all of England, while impressionistic accounts bring out the salient features of a geography quite alien to Pike's Merseyside, and characterised by "that acme of all British slums, the internationally famous Scotland Road".¹⁶ It was against this kind of background that Liverpool Socialists set their School Board programmes, or their municipal policies on child welfare, and, in conjunction with the experience of the movement itself, it was the main source of Socialist education at that time; as Bessie Braddock later declared, recalling her mother's stint at the Clarion van: "that was my education, the shocking sights of the Liverpool streets, strike meetings, propaganda, organisation" ¹⁷

If Hamling gives some indication of this aspect of the "practical struggle" (informed, as it was, by largely Fabian versions of the "theoretical struggle"), it is only with Sidney Maddock's M.A. thesis of 1959 that the field of formal education is clearly associated with it. Although devoid of any broad analysis, Maddock's thesis, which examines the Trades Council's political involvement during the 1878-1918 period, devotes some space to the concern for "extra-mural activities" (such as evening continuation classes), and for formal educational policy under both the School Board and, more especially, the Technical Instruction Committee.¹⁸ Maddock usefully links this to the over-all political activities of the Trades Council in the period, thus underlining its "widening" sphere of involvement. But there is no working out of labour commitment to educational issues in terms of their place in labour politics, nor is there any assessment of possible links between such commitment and the organisation (which, for some Socialists, was an important end of labour educating) of the labour movement, in Liverpool and nationally. In a study covering some forty years of Liverpool labour politics, it is understandable, of course, that no one sphere of activity could preoccupy the author to any great degree, and Maddock provided a thorough--if occasionally inaccurate--account of Trades Council politics in relation, for example, to "new" (mass, unskilled) trade unionism, the rise of Socialism, unemployment, or the Liverpool Labour Party in its infancy. While adding substantially to our knowledge of the Trades Council, his debt to Hamling was considerable, especially in relation to the Socialists, Maddock referring to the 1895 volume of the Liverpool Labour Chronicle,

for instance, as "the only surviving relic of the paper".¹⁹ Both Maddock and Hamling relied heavily on the records of the Trades Council itself (some of which were no longer available when subsequently deposited in the Liverpool Record Office), and had access to a then little-developed body of secondary research. On the other hand, there is much of relevance to Liverpool labour in the national labour press (Clarion, Justice, Labour Leader, etc.), while non-labour sources are immense, and often of direct relevance to the "working out" of working-class policies, as in the records of the Education Committee, the City Council or the Technical Instruction Committee. Similarly, the minutes of parliamentary and local investigations, in relation to such issues as poverty, unemployment or schooling, are particularly helpful for the study of organised labour in Liverpool. A number of studies using this sort of material, but not dealing with the labour movement, have certainly increased our understanding of the context of Trades Council, trade union, or Socialist developments. In particular, White's monograph on the Liverpool Corporation, and Simey's study of organised charity--both written in 1951--offer analysis of the political background of areas of formal activity on the part of either the City Council or of individuals and pressure groups, with respect to poverty, public health, education or finance. A more recent study provides a detailed examination of Liverpool politics in relation to the Liverpool Irish and the Irish question.²⁰ Reference to these will be made below.

For Liverpool labour historians, however, a major problem remains: beyond the Trades Council collection (which, at least, is relatively full,

including the LRC minutes, and much miscellaneous material), and a limited labour press, there is little substantial primary material in terms of single "collections". None of the prominent personalities has left a body of papers: this is especially unfortunate in the case of James Sexton, who was involved in labour politics at the national level also, and of Sam Reeves and John Edwards, each active over a long span of Liverpool politics.²¹ Exceptions to this are the papers of John Braddock--but these have nothing on the pre-1920's period--and a limited set of papers relating to the work of Joseph Edwards, in Liverpool during 1891-1901.²² Otherwise, details of the work of the major labour personalities must be sought in the press, the Trades Council collection, and scattered collections in the LSE, Transport House, the TUC Archives, and such private collections as that of Ruth and Edward Frow in Manchester.²³ Although a start has been made in establishing a Liverpool labour biography, the emphasis of labour historians has not surprisingly been on specialised studies of particular aspects of the labour movement in Liverpool, which have been able to draw upon materials pertinent to, but not the exclusive property of, labour history. This is especially the case of recent work by Ronald Bean on "new" unionism, the tramwaymen, the Knights of Labor on Merseyside, and, most notably, employers' organisations on the waterfront; by Eric Taplin on the dockers and seamen, as well as the tramwaymen; and by Bob Holton on the early phase of Liverpool syndicalism.²⁴

In this vein, the present study attempts to examine the labour movement in Liverpool in relation to education. Education is understood,

first, in the sense of formal instruction, as dispensed to the working class by the School Board, Technical Instruction Committee or Local Education Authority, and thus a part of the over-all social policy of Liberals and Conservatives on the various pertinent committees or boards. Such instruction in relation to the working class has been examined in some detail on a national level, but local studies are few, and Liverpool has yet to be subjected to the kind of detailed investigation of working-class educational provision that William Marsden has undertaken for the more limited (but geographically connected) area of Bootle.²⁵ In the present study, the focal point is the organised labour movement--rather than the working class per se--and the relationship between this and formal education in Liverpool is, indeed, almost a virgin territory. References to School Board elections or to an interest in technical education have hitherto been made largely at the level of passing information. Moreover, for Maddock, the early activity of the Labour Group in the City Council in the pre-1918 years (which particularly addressed educational questions) was "outside the scope of this paper", so that this area of working-class politics remained largely unwritten.²⁶ But education is also understood as an intrinsic part of the largely political struggle by which the English working class was "made": the "educating" component of the labour movement was one which, in a variety of forms, sought to educate the movement itself, towards trade union consciousness or working-class solidarity, or, indeed, to "make" Socialists. With the Socialists in particular, it also aimed to secure a more general understanding of the interests of the labour movement--of

the "cause"--which might involve the influencing, or the permeation, of middle-class institutions or audiences. While "educating the labour movement" was quite distinct from "getting people to represent the labour point of view" on boards or committees of education, the practical concern with formal policy and politics (as in school board elections before 1902) could also be a function, for example, of Socialist consciousness and Socialist efforts at educating an entire movement. This was notably the case, in Liverpool, with Sam Reeves, an indefatigable Socialist school board campaigner; this will be discussed in both chapters two and three. Indeed, in the interests of working-class unity, such an educating and consciousness were crucial during the infancy of the Labour Party. It was with this in mind that, on a visit to Liverpool in 1892, before the formation of the ILP or Fabian Society in the city, Tom Mann insisted that trade unionists should endeavour to "find out the causes of labour difficulties" through "mental education--education in industrial economics--the education which is not picked up by the masses, either at school, in the workshop or anywhere else".²⁷ "Working-class education", as opposed to the "education of the working class" (in the board schools, for example) was thus a concept which embodied a notion that working people "should be educated to meet the conditions of working-class life as they themselves saw it", as against the perceptions of those "from above".²⁸ While this did not exclude the services of "traditional", middle-class, intellectuals--like John Edwards in Liverpool--devoted to the cause of labour, it did underline the importance of educating the masses along the lines suggested by Tom Mann. Working-class education involved both a theoretical and a

practical component, "education in industrial economics" being allied to the myriad activities of an increasingly defined working-class movement: the socio-political milieu of Owenite and Chartist meetings, friendly and co-operative societies of the early 19th century giving way, or being added, to trade union affairs, lectures, clubs, bands and branch business later in the century. Working-class education also had a direct political expression in the struggle for an independent labour in the period covered by this study; a part of the arena for this struggle was the field of access to, or potential control of, areas of formal education on the part of the working class. Thus, Socialist efforts at educating in the context of a labour movement independent of Liberal, or "Democratic Tory", ideologies, as outlined in chapters two and, in a somewhat different context, six, are set against the day-to-day business--which was far from being the preserve of only Socialists in the labour movement--of securing a measure of representation on the School Board or Technical Instruction Committee, or of influencing the educational policy of the Education Committee (from 1905 in particular) via labour members of the City Council. This is examined in chapters three to five, and seven to eight.

Although it is not the place in the framework of this study to undertake a thorough investigation of distinctions between what constitutes education and what is essentially propaganda, or even "indoctrination", it is worth indicating that the "educating" chapters below work on the assumption that education can perhaps fairly be taken to include propagandist texts, and notions of "inculcating" or "instilling" certain ideas or beliefs. On the other hand, propaganda as "an attempt to bring others to one's own point of view" might not conceivably include what G.D.H.

Cole described as the "effort to equip people with the means of making up their own minds", by and large the approach adopted by the Workers' Education Association (WEA).²⁹ The WEA was critical of the frankly propagandist approach of the Plebs League and Labour College movement for "Independent Working-Class Education" of the early 20th century. In effect, in the tradition of earlier Socialist "enthusiasts", this approach tended to stress the "independent" aspect of working-class education (that is, independence from middle-class agencies or assistance, with which the WEA came to be associated), and, in this way, saw education as propaganda for either direct "industrial" or "political" action, or for electioneering.³⁰ In terms of strictly "educational" work, the curricular and pedagogical emphases of the labour colleges were not unlike, nor unrelated to, those of the WEA (as represented, in particular, by Cole), and attempts at some form of amalgamation, centred on the question of labour education and involving the trade unions, were made.³¹ The movement for "Independent Working-Class Education" was, for some time, as well represented in Liverpool as the WEA, with a Labour College for the north-west region. An examination of its syllabi and study programmes suggests the existence, virtually, of a working-class curriculum common in content to both the Labour College and WEA tutorial classes in the city, but there were certainly differences in political commitment between the two "labour schools". It is in the context of education and political commitment, in relation to the nascent Liverpool Labour Party, and to the extra-parliamentary stance of syndicalists or leftward Socialists, that the several strands of working-class educating will be considered in Liverpool in the early 20th century.³² Socialists were often accused of

merely indoctrinating; but most of their educating concerned adults (there was much disagreement on the question of Socialist educating of children), and was above all centred on the importance of "understanding" the cause. Fabian Tracts or Essays, or works like John Edwards' Socialism and the Art of Living, based on his lecturing, must be set against the election pamphlet or the street-corner speech. And Socialists--in fact, many in the labour movement--were united in their perception of much education from above as itself constituting a form of indoctrination; a term especially apt in view of its religious connotation, for many school boards and education committees, and Liverpool's in particular, were dominated by religious denominationalists. In wishing to distinguish secular from atheistic education, the Socialists were expressly seeking a non-indoctrinating instruction.³³

(ii)

The real industrial development of Lancashire, from around the mid-1700's, followed the growth of Liverpool as the foremost cotton port of the time; rapid industrial growth inevitably caused a considerable drift of population to the region from other parts of the country and from Ireland. Between 1801 and 1911, the population of the county increased seven-fold, from 670,000 to 4,760,000, some 13% of the national population.³⁴ During the same period, the population of Liverpool increased from 77,653 to 700,000; from 1871 to 1921, the respective figures were 493,405 and 750,000. This included boundary changes of 1835, incorporating Kirkdale, Everton and parts of Toxteth and West Derby; of 1895, incorporating

Walton, Wavertree and Toxteth; 1902, Garston; 1905, Fazakerley, and 1913, Woolton.³⁵ Out of a total population for the Liverpool Registration District of 258, 236, in 1851, 53.2% were born outside of Lancashire, and a large immigration into the district continued until the end of the century. Although Wales, Cheshire and Staffordshire were important sources of such immigration, the single biggest source was Ireland until about the turn of the century.³⁶ In contrast to short-range immigration (which included Cheshire and Lancashire), the long-range elements, mostly from rural Ireland after 1846-7, tended to occupy the inner districts of the city, from whence the well-to-do had increasingly migrated to sub-urban areas, after the 1830s. The growth of the railways, from the 1840's, accelerated this tendency, providing an easy communication, for example, between offices in the Exchange or Castle Street districts and more salubrious residences in Crosby, with its established endowed grammar school, Merchant Taylors'.³⁷ Even at the end of the century, working-class occupants of such inner districts as Everton and Kirkdale walked to their work places, mostly on the docks (some half-hour's walk).³⁸ Other than communications by rail--largely a monopoly of the London and North Western Railway Company--or by sea, away from the port, communications in the city (by road) were poor even as late as 1918; to some extent this checked the flow of population to the outer wards, affording little relief to the excessive density of the central wards.³⁹ Allied to the fact that a sizeable proportion of this inner population was Catholic Irish, the implications for schooling were manifold. The relatively few elementary schools provided by either School Board or (after 1902) Education Committee in these areas tended to be overcrowded, if educationally more efficient, while Catholics and Church

supporters--equally zealous in their voluntarist persuasions--insisted on having their own schools, even if many of these were barely of an educationally efficient character.⁴⁰

The attraction of Liverpool to Irish immigrants was largely a function of the city's economic structure: the kind of labour force it attracted, and already contained, directly influenced the nature of the organised labour movement, from the 1870's in particular. In contrast to near-by Manchester, Liverpool was not primarily a manufacturing centre, although--like the East End of London--it was the seat of numerous small manufactures, including oil-mills, soap works, rope-works, cooperage, sugar refining, tobacco, and sheet-metal work. Many of these provided an alternative seasonal source of employment for casual dock labourers, though the traditional craft trades were exclusive in outlook, and, as in the case of bookbinding, undergoing considerable decline.⁴¹ The docks, of course, provided a large range of skilled-work, while marine engineering was a major industrial concern of the port, along with chemical industries. Nevertheless, the docks were mainly a source of unskilled or semi-skilled labour, essentially localised, and characterised by its casuality and its oversupply.⁴² The Liverpool Irish tended to be a single-class community, occupying unskilled labouring jobs on the docks, and gathered in the areas immediately behind the docks, which was their point of entry into the country.⁴³ If there was a general lack of cohesion among port workers, the Irish element provided a certain stability on the waterfront, particularly among dockers in the south-end.⁴⁴

Both Liberals and Tories played on the fears of the Irish majority of being the object of anti-Catholic and anti-Irish sentiment; Irish workers generally voted Liberal, or Irish Nationalist, and the religious question isolated them from the political labour movement.⁴⁵ Religion caused Irish Catholics to vote for Conservative denominationalists, however, rather than Liberal Nonconformists, or labour "secularists", at certain school board elections; even as late as 1910, the Manchester Guardian highlighted the "religious politics" of a Liverpool which "except geographically, . . . belongs rather to Belfast".⁴⁶ Liverpool Conservatism-- which dominated the political scene for virtually the entire period covered by this study--especially thrived on the Irish presence: much Protestant indignation, in the ranks of the working or lower-middle classes, was aimed at Irish Catholics, seen as a threat to their superior economic position. Orangemen, mostly evangelical Anglicans led by Canon McNeile or, at the turn of the century, by George Wise (both Ulstermen), rallied to the Workingmen's Conservative Association, which was active in winning over the newly-enfranchised working man from as early as 1875. Indeed, Gladstone's defeat in South West Lancashire (of which Liverpool was the focal point), in 1868, has been partly attributed to the vigour of Conservative workingmen's clubs, and of Orange lodges, in the constituency, in exploiting anti-Catholic prejudice.⁴⁷ The leader of the Liverpool Tories in the later 19th century, Arthur Forwood, himself attributed Tory electoral successes in the city to the Irish presence: "We get in Liverpool what our party received in no other town in the kingdom--a large proportion of the non-conformist vote".⁴⁸

Conservative strength in Liverpool partly reflected Liberal weakness, especially in relation to the working-class vote. Most Liverpool merchants who supported the Liberal Party, including such notable families as the Brocklebanks, the Gambles, the Gaskells and the Browns, tended to be representative of a conservative rather than a radical force in politics.⁴⁹ They had been members of the 18th century ruling class, deriving their wealth from commerce (including the Slave Trade) and the land, and were generally not great employers of labour, or in contact with the labouring classes. Following a brief Liberal City Council in 1836-1842, there was a secure Tory majority in the Council until the late 1870's, when the Liberals grew relatively stronger and sought to woo an awakening trade unionism in the city. Even then, however, the Liberal attitude of condescension towards other classes was but a modification of the "indifference tempered with philanthropy" that had characterised Liverpool Liberalism in the earlier 19th century.⁵⁰ In the late 80's and early 90's, attempts to harness Liberal organisation for a serious bid to win working-class votes were not altogether successful; Liberal victories in 1892, while partly dependent on a trade union awakening, also profited from an outward spread of the population. Among the poor who remained in the centre were many Irish Catholics who then usually voted Liberal, whereas many of the voters who moved away from the centre were Tories who found they had moved out of the city boundaries altogether--a situation which the Liberals themselves rectified in 1895. After the return of a Tory majority in the Council in 1895, the Conservatives (under Arthur Forwood) made a special appeal to urban tradesmen, while the attempts at revitalising Liberalism proved abortive:

Liberalism in Liverpool is Liberal only in name . . .
 Liberalism means progressive reform, yet in Liverpool the
 spurious imitation of it is retrograde and reactionary
 In Liverpool, what stands for a party is a large number of
 disconnected atoms.⁵¹

The nearest representative of Liberal Radicalism of the London or Birmingham sort was probably James Samuelson (an employer in seed crushing, also having a shipping interest), but he was exceptional, and his championing of mass trade unionism, from the 1870's, divorced him somewhat from the local Liberal Party.⁵² More typical of an increasingly "advanced" Liberalism in Liverpool by the later 1870's were the Rathbones, prominent shipowners and philanthropists, Samuel Smith, and George Melly, both Liberal M.P.'s for the city. Except for Smith, however, even these were grouped with other Liverpool Liberal leaders (including Thomas Hornby and John Pemberton Heywood) as "our snob Liberals . . . our genteel, Whiggish, feebly respectful nondescripts" by the somewhat radical Liberal editor of Porcupine in the late 1860's.⁵³ It was hardly difficult for Tories like Arthur Forwood to appeal as "democrats", winning working-class votes over such issues as artisans' dwellings, especially from the 1880's.⁵⁴

While Samuelson was chairing meetings of the unskilled, and associated with an early widespread labour activity "among the classes forming the base of the social pedestal", from the beginning of the 1870's,⁵⁵ more representative "advanced" Liberals like William Rathbone were cautiously starting to seek respectable trade union support. By the 1870's, there was an increasingly assertive trade unionism in the city, primarily

associated with the traditional crafts and trades, but also in the context of the mid-century skilled amalgamations, the "new model" unionism. At this time, the Liverpool Trades Council (founded in 1848 as the Liverpool Trades' Guardian Association, and the first trades council in the country) was composed entirely of skilled artisans, mostly of the traditional crafts, but including representatives of the powerful amalgamations such as the Amalgamated Society of Engineers (ASE) and the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners (ASCJ). The Trades' Guardian Association, which had largely comprised such trades as the masons, bricklayers, plasterers, house and ship joiners, glassworkers and ropemakers, became the Liverpool United Trades' Protection Association in 1861, and was most strongly represented by the shipwrights and the building trades. It changed its name to the Liverpool and Vicinity United Trades Council around 1868, and in 1882 it also incorporated the Building Trades' Federation; a separate Shipping Trades' Council continued a parallel but separate existence for some time, despite attempts at amalgamation⁵⁶ It was in the context of a growing trade union consciousness, which deplored strikes as "misunderstandings" and favoured arbitration, that a number of positivist radicals, and others identified with the Beehive "party" in the period "before the socialists", sought to "counsel" and "assist"--i.e. to educate--trade unionists towards what was perceived as political mis-education from above. Liverpool had an active Positivist circle, centred on a number of radical coffee houses, and several subsequent Socialist leaders were nurtured in this educative atmosphere; this will be referred to in the chapter following.⁵⁷ A number of trades disputes during the 1850's, notably involving the building

trade societies, strengthened a trade union consciousness in Liverpool which was perhaps best represented, in the 70's and 80's, by the plasterer, Charles Williams, who was secretary of the Trades Council and an early member of the TUC Parliamentary Committee.⁵⁸ But, although the Trades Council was beginning to recognise that issues such as the European treaties of commerce might lie within the province of a trades council, there was considerable disagreement over the question of political involvement.⁵⁹ Trades Council political activity, such as it was at this stage, was to occur in conjunction with sympathetic Liberals like Rathbone, Smith or Melly, as in the Working Men's Reform Association, established in April 1876.⁶⁰ From as early as the 1850's, Melly, in particular, had preached the gospel of self-help, invoking the familiar virtues of temperance (a marked feature of later coffee house radicalism), thrift and co-operation, as well as the diffusion of "sounder principles",⁶¹ and striking the note of mutual interest between capital and labour.⁶² Where there was conflict with Liberal sympathisers, it generally concerned the standing, the "public image" of the Trades Council, or trade unions, in the face of alleged mis-understanding of the role of trade unionism. However, this also came to involve a fundamental distinction between "those who undertake to instruct workingmen" and the self-instruction of workers, a process informed by "the plainest facts of their daily experience".⁶³ Positivists were active in urging trade unionists to make such a distinction. In his regular notes for the Industrial Review (began in March 1876, when the paper was still the Beehive), the "Liverpool Correspondent" expressed his hopes that the Liverpool Trades Council would follow the example set by its brother council in Birkenhead, in December 1877, which had decided to include a number of non-union representative honorary members into its ranks, for

"In these days of conflict between capital and labour, working men want counsel and assistance from the more thoughtful of their class who may not come within the direct category of 'representatives'".⁶⁴ An early demonstration of the tendency to make the kind of distinction suggested by the "Liverpool Correspondent" came in the trade unionist reaction to a speech by William Rathbone at the opening of the new Liverpool Trades Hall at the beginning of 1877. It appears that Rathbone hardly spoke in aid of the movement for a central trades hall, but, rather, read a "homily on thrift, and strongly censuring the working classes for not making use of what he called extraordinarily high wages and short hours of labour".⁶⁵ Both the Trades Council and the Shipping Trades Council produced aggressive resolutions condemning Rathbone's original speech, and its circularised publication in pamphlet form; these were essentially critical of interested parties allegedly taking advantage of Rathbone's prominent position to attack trade unionism.⁶⁶ The Industrial Review--relying on its important Liverpool Positivist supporters--went further, using the Rathbone issue as an illustration of the need for Liverpool trade unionists to support trades councils, but, above all, the need to educate trade unionists so that they could appreciate the true purpose of Rathbone's pamphlet: viz. an attack on the growing power of trade unionism.⁶⁷ In particular, Lloyd Jones took up the issue, visiting Liverpool and siding with its trade unionists in their defence of respectable unionism, which at that time adhered to a Lib-Lab position. However, working-class "indignation", as manifested in the combined resolutions of the trades councils, was not sufficient. It was of much less value and force, according to Jones, than a reasoned response,

employing the same weapon as the adversary: that is, an up-to-date political economy, hitherto denied to respectable working-class denizens of mechanics' institutes, workingmen's clubs and the like. Rathbone was seen to be behind the times in his knowledge of "Political Economy", and the support afforded his speech by the Times was, in effect, a direct mis-education. In "teaching", in undertaking to "instruct" the working classes, the Times was seen to adopt an unwarranted sense of superiority (coupled with "all usual solemnity of assertion") which failed to recognise that workers also could understand political economy.⁶⁸ It was also guilty of misleading, through failure to understand both the principles and the broad scope of trade unionism, which, for the most part, actually sought to narrow the breach between capital and labour.⁶⁹

Other than an early interest in the question of technical education for artisans, however, there was no involvement of this increasingly assertive trade unionism in areas outside the immediate sphere of trade matters in the period before the later 1880's. The engineer George Parkin, who was an active participant in Edmund Jones' coffee house on Christian Street (along with shipwrights, shoemakers and moulders) was typical of the "old" unionism of the Trades Council in the 1870's and 80's; he refused to consider the Council's interest in the School Board election of 1888 as a political one, for instance. It was only with the rise of unskilled trade unionism in 1889-90 that the Trades Council entered--albeit tentatively--a new era of political activity, which included a concern for labour representation on bodies responsible for the education of the working class. This development was facilitated, not only by the "counsel and assistance", from within and without the trade union movement, of emergent Socialist

organisations, but also by the relative strength of the Council, in terms of numbers and financial resources, in comparison with preceding years. Although much of the initial increase in affiliated societies resulting from the "new unionist" upsurge of 1889-90 was short-lived, in that year membership figures leapt from 8,500 to 10,000, and to 46,168 by 1891. It was with great optimism that the Trades Council's annual report for 1890-91 declared that "'Trades Councils' have now become 'Trades and Labour Councils', in order to accommodate this new link in the grand chain of Unionism i.e. between "Old" and "New" unionism . . . forming an harmonious Republic of Labour".⁷⁰ It is to a particular conception of the nature of such a "Republic of Labour" that the following chapter will turn.

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

1. See B. Simon, Studies in the History of Education: Education and the Labour Movement 1870-1920 (London, 1965); W.P. McCann, "Trade Unionist, Co-operative and Socialist Organisations in Relation to Popular Education 1870-1902" (Manchester University, PhD thesis, 1960); R. Barker, Education and Politics 1900-1951: a Study of the Labour Party (Oxford, 1972); E.J.T. Brennan, "The Influence of Sidney and Beatrice Webb on English Education 1892-1903" (Sheffield University, M.A. thesis, 1959), and Education for National Efficiency: the Contribution of Sidney and Beatrice Webb (London, 1975); A.M. McBriar, Fabian Socialism and English Politics, 1884-1918 (Cambridge, 1962), esp. chs. VII and VIII.
2. See H. Silver, "Education and the Labour Movement: A Critical Review of the Literature", History of Education, II (1973), p. 173; cf. P. McCann (ed.), Popular education and socialisation in the nineteenth century (London, 1977), esp. chs. 8 and 9; A.E. Dobbs, "Historical Survey", in R. St John Parry, Cambridge Essays in Adult Education (Cambridge, 1920); A. Mansbridge, "Working Men and Continuation Schools", in M.E. Sadler (ed.), Continuation Schools in England and Elsewhere (Manchester, 1907); W.H. Draper, University Extension: a survey of fifty years 1873-1923 (Cambridge, 1923). See also J. Hurt, "Education and the Working Classes", Bulletin of the Society for the Study of Labour History (Spring and Autumn, 1975).
3. B. Simon, "The History of Education", in J.W. Tibble (ed.), The Study of Education (London, 1966), pp. 122-3, and cf. his Studies in the History of Education: Education and the Two Nations 1780-1870 (London, 1960), as a good illustration of this.
4. J.F.C. Harrison, Learning and Living 1790-1960: a study in the history of the English adult education movement (Leeds, 1961); T. Kelly, A History of Adult Education in Great Britain (Liverpool, 1962).
5. Harrison, op. cit.; R. Frow, "Independent Working Class Education with Particular Reference to South Lancashire, 1909-1930" (Manchester University,

- M.Ed. thesis, 1968); E. Royle, "Mechanics' Institutes and the Working Class 1840-1860", Historical Review, 14 (1971).
6. "Education and the Labour Movement", p. 187.
 7. See Liverpool Labour Representation Committee, Annual Report (1907), and e.g. Newscuttings, handbills, etc., on the municipal elections, 1911, and 1924, in Trades Council Collection, 331 TRA 10/3, 14/1, in Liverpool Record Office (hereafter LRO).
 8. K.D. Buckley, Trade Unionism in Aberdeen 1878 to 1900 (Edinburgh, 1955); S. Pollard, A History of Labour in Sheffield (Liverpool, 1959); J.E. Williams, The Derbyshire Miners: a study in industrial and social history (1962); for trades councils, see L. Bather, "A History of Manchester and Salford Trades Council" (Manchester University, PhD thesis, 1956); R. Brown, "The Labour Movement in Hull 1870-1900, with special reference to new unionism" (Hull University, M.Sc. thesis, 1966); I. MacDougall (ed.), The Minutes of the Edinburgh Trades Council 1859-1873 (Edinburgh, 1968); for an over-all account, A. Clinton, The Trade Union Rank and File: Trades Councils in Britain, 1900-1940 (Manchester U.P., 1977).
 9. See ch. 2 below; cf. Bather, chs. VI and IX, and G.C. Fidler, "The Liverpool Trades Council and Technical Education in the era of the Technical Instruction Committee", History of Education, VI (1977), based on chs. 4 and 5 below.
 10. Cf. M. Hodgen, Workers' Education in England and the United States (London, 1925), p. 258.
 11. Liverpool Trades Council and Labour Party, Labour's Plan for Liverpool (1953), p. 27, advocating comprehensive schools.
 12. T.L. Drinkwater, "A History of the Trade Unions and Labour Party in Liverpool, 1911 to the Great Strike" (Liverpool University, B.A. thesis, 1940). In his preface, Drinkwater acknowledges assistance from Richardson, Rose, Hoey and Barton.
 13. W. Hamling, A Short History of the Liverpool Trades Council 1848-1948 (1948); see also Hamling's MSS and miscellaneous material in LRO, MD 274.192.

14. Hamling, pp. 32-33.
15. W.T. Pike (ed.), Liverpool and Birkenhead in the 20th Century. Contemporary Biographies (Brighton, 1911), p. 69.
16. Cf. Pat O'Mara, The Autobiography of a Liverpool Irish Slummy (1934), p. 4; also, J. Sexton, Sir James Sexton, Agitator (1936), F. Bower, Rolling Stonemason (1936); for the Fabian statistics, see Liverpool Review, 3 Nov. 1900; cf. for example, Report of the Medical Officer of Health to the Education Authority for 1908, pp. 6ff., in Education Committee, Proceedings (1908-9), for a useful summary.
17. Millie Toole, Mrs. Bessie Braddock M.P. (London, 1957), p. 20.
18. S. Maddock, "The Liverpool Trades Council and Politics, 1878-1918" (Liverpool University, M.A. thesis, 1959), esp. Introduction, pt. II and ch. 2, pt. II. Maddock occupied an administrative post in the university extra-mural department.
19. Maddock, Appendix III. Hamling had clearly consulted other volumes of the Labour Chronicle (presumably in the LSE collection).
20. For example, L.W. Brady, "T.P. O'Connor and Liverpool Politics, 1880-1929" (Liverpool University, PhD thesis, 1968); M. Simey, Charitable Effort in Liverpool in the 19th Century (Liverpool, 1951); B.D. White, A History of the Corporation of Liverpool (Liverpool, 1951); in a more limited context, see also A.M. Black, "The Background and Development of Industrial Schools for Roman Catholic Children in Liverpool during the 19th Century" (Liverpool University M.Ed. thesis, 1975); and R. Lawton and C.G. Pooley, "David Brindley's Liverpool: An Aspect of Urban Society in the 1880's", Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire (THSLC), CXXV (1974) (based on Brindley's diary for 1882-1891, in Liverpool).
21. I gather from Eric Taplin, of Liverpool Polytechnic, that Sexton deliberately destroyed his papers; for the Trades Council Collection, see Liverpool City Libraries, List of Liverpool Trades Council's Records (1973).
22. Both of these are in the LRO (unlisted MSS).

23. The British Library of Political and Economic Science (BLPES, at the LSE) is especially useful for the early Liverpool Fabian Society (see Coll. Misc. 375-6), and original copies of the Labour Chronicle, but there is much--in scattered locations--on local government, trade unions, the Charity Organisation Society; Transport House and the TUC Archives have isolated references (e.g. to Joseph Goodman of the SDF, and somewhat more to Sexton); the Frows' library contains papers of John Hamilton on the Liverpool Labour College. The British Library's Newspaper Library at Colindale is invaluable, with files of the Liverpool Forward, The Liver, Porcupine, and the full range of dailies and weeklies.
24. R. Bean, biographical sketch of Sam Reeves in J. Bellamy and J. Saville (eds.), Dictionary of Labour Biography, I (1972), and of William Newcomb in ibid., III (1974); "Working Conditions, Labour Agitation and the Origins of Unionism on the Liverpool Tramways", Transport History, V no. 2 (1972); "A Note on the Knights of Labor in Liverpool", Labor History, XIII (1972); "The Liverpool Dock Strike of 1890", International Review of Social History (IRSH), XVIII (1973), and "Employers' Associations in the Port of Liverpool, 1890-1914", ibid., XXI (1976); "Aspects of 'New' Unionism in Liverpool, 1889-1891", in H.R. Hikins (ed.), Building the Union: Studies on the growth of the workers' movement: Merseyside 1756-1967 (Liverpool, 1973). E. Taplin, sketch of James Samuelson and William Simpson in Dictionary, op. cit., II (1973); "The Liverpool Tramwaymen's agitation of 1889", in Building the Union, op. cit.; Liverpool Dockers and Seamen, 1870-90 (University of Hull, Occasional Papers in Economic and Social History, no. 6, 1974). Bob Holton, "Syndicalism and Labour on Merseyside, 1906-14", in Building the Union.
25. W.E. Marsden, "Social environment, school attendance and educational achievement in a Merseyside town 1870-1900", in McCann (ed.), Popular Education, ch. 8.
26. Maddock, p. 181.
27. Liverpool Review, 20 Feb. 1892.

28. M. Hodgen, Workers' Education, op. cit., p. 262: she emphasised the appropriate education of workers for effective participation in trade union affairs; cf. H. Silver, The Concept of Popular Education (London, 1964), ch. V. For a recent discussion of the concept of working-class education, see H. Entwistle, Class, Culture and Education (London, 1978), chs. 3-4.
29. Hodgen, p. 270, citing Cole; cf. Cole's The World of Labour (London, 1913) pp. 16-17, 422. Drawing on others, Hodgen suggests that propaganda pertains to an "educational" enterprise which fails to train workers to become "efficient directing and serving members of the old or new order"; education, however, involves "subject matter which educates men and women in the actual problems, character, relationships, and functions of industry". Ibid., p. 270.
30. See Simon, Labour Movement, pp. 330-331; Frow, "Independent Working Class Education", p. 66, and Liverpool and District Labour College Report (1923-4), in Hamilton Collection.
31. Cf. Plebs, Oct. 1913 and Nov. 1916; Simon, pp. 330ff.
32. See chapter six.
33. Liverpool Courier, 19 Nov. 1891; Liverpool Daily Post, 20 Nov. 1894.
34. Lancashire and Merseyside, Lancashire and Merseyside Industrial Development Association (Industrial Report No. 8, July 1952), p. 3.
35. Education Act, 1918. Memorandum by the Director of Education, "Private and Confidential" (Liverpool Education Committee, Jan. 1919), Appendix, tables, plans, etc.; Census of England and Wales, 1851-1921.
36. R. Lawton, "The Population of Liverpool in the mid-19th Century", THSLC, CVII (1955), pp. 99ff.; for demographic developments, see also W. Smith, A Scientific Survey of Merseyside (1953), and D. Caradog Jones (ed.), The Social Survey of Merseyside, I (Liverpool, 1934); cf. A. Redford, Labour Migration in England, 1800-1850 (London, 1926), 2nd edn., rev. W.H. Chaloner (1964), ch. IX.

37. See J.R. Kellett, The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities (London, 1969), pp. 356-7; "Report of F.E. Kitchener", to the Bryce Commission, Bryce Report, in Parliamentary Papers (P.P.), XLVII (1895), V, pp. 134-5. "Great Crosby, like other places on the coast, has become a residence for Liverpool men of business, and their children attend the Merchant Taylors' Schools" (ibid., p. 142).
38. Kellett, op. cit., p. 346; cf. "David Brindley's Liverpool", op. cit., for the "action space" of a working-class railway employee; all of Brindley's changes of residence were within Everton-Kirkdale, and walking distance of work (p. 154).
39. Scheme of the Liverpool Education Committee under the Education Act, 1918, Introduction, p. 4, in Education Committee, Proceedings (1919-20). Central wards such as Everton and Netherfield had a population density of 172 and 246 persons per acre respectively (the city average being 38), while outer ones such as West Derby or Allerton only 15 and $\frac{1}{2}$. For a map showing the various wards, see appendix 6D below.
40. Ibid., p. 5; cf. remarks of the Clerk to the School Board in an interview with Sidney Webb, in Webbs' Local Government Collection, v. 148 (Liverpool), 1899, BLPES.
41. Scheme of the Liverpool Education Committee, op. cit., p. 7; cf. Alfred Holt (ed.), Merseyside: A Handbook . . . on the occasion of the Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, Sept. 1923 (Liverpool, 1923), p. 122.
42. E.F. Rathbone, Report of an Inquiry into the Condition of Dock Labour at the Liverpool Docks (Liverpool, 1904), p. 16; cf. also Taplin, Liverpool Dockers and Seamen, op. cit., p. 5, and J.C. Lovell, Stevedores and Dockers: Trade Unionism in the Port of London 1870-1914 (London, 1969), pp. 34, 59-9.
43. Lawton, "The Population of Liverpool", p. 104.
44. Sexton, Sir James Sexton, Agitator, p. 110; cf. Rathbone, Report, pp. 8-9.

45. Brady, "T.P. O'Connor", p. 33.
46. Manchester Guardian, 6 Dec. 1910, cited in Brady, p. 409.
47. See P. Searby, "Gladstone in West Derby Hundred: the Liberal Campaign in S.W. Lancashire in 1868", THSLC, CXI (1959), esp. pp. 160-163. Liberals made no attempt to form a workingmen's association at this time; in part, this reflected the fears of the Liverpool leaders for losing the Whig vote to Conservatives. For details of the Workingmen's Conservative Association, which became especially powerful from the late 1880's, largely under the leadership of Archibald Salvidge, see S. Salvidge, Salvidge of Liverpool 1890-1928 (London, 1934); P. Clarke, Lancashire and the New Liberalism (London, 1971), pp. 45ff.
48. Liverpool Review, 1 Oct. 1898.
49. See Brady, p. 286; White, ch. 1; cf. H. Perkin, "Land Reform and Class Conflict in Victorian Britain", in J. Butt and I.F. Clarke (eds.), The Victorians and Social Protest (1973), p. 181.
50. White, pp. 4, 101. Cf. Liberal Review, 5 Jan. 1878, which condemned the practice of having workingmen representatives in parliament; support was given to Thomas Burt, however, because he was "a sterling Liberal".
51. Liverpool Review, 9 Jan. 1897; this was one of a series of columns devoted to the Liberal organisation in Liverpool.
52. Bean, "Aspects of 'New' Unionism", p. 102; cf. Taplin, Dictionary of Labour Biography, op. cit. (Samuelson).
53. Porcupine, 18 April 1868. See also ibid., 5 Dec., and Searby, "Gladstone in West Derby Hundred", p. 157.
54. White, p. 113.
55. Bean, op. cit., p. 113.
56. See Hamling, pp. 15-18 for details of the early Trades Council; cf. Industrial Review, 28 April 1878.
57. See also R. Harrison, Before the Socialists. Studies in Labour and Politics 1861-1881 (London, 1964), ch. VI.
58. Hamling, p. 17; R.W. Postgate, The Builders' History (London, 1923), pp. 227-31, 313-16.

59. See Liverpool Trades Council (hereafter TC), Minutes, 4 April 1878, when a motion to support the Workmen's Peace Association was defeated as a "Political Matter". The TC annual report for 1876 had nevertheless stressed the need for trades councils to go beyond the work of trades societies to consider social and--"at times"--political questions. See Beehive, 29 April 1876.
60. Ibid., 15 April. The need for Liberal workingmen's clubs and associations was (from a Liberal viewpoint) the lesson of Gladstone's defeat in Lancashire in 1868. Hugh Shimmin, the humble-born editor of Porcupine (Liberal) made much of the issue in his columns, attributing failure, in part, to the Liberal leaders, especially Melly. See Searby, *op. cit.*, pp. 157 ff.
61. G. Melly, "The Working Classes: their duty to themselves", Stray Leaves, 1856-1894 (7 vols., Liverpool, 1895), v. I, p. 18; see also his "Self-Help: the future of the working classes", in ibid., v. II.
62. "The Working Classes", pp. 1-2. The appeal was especially to "the aristocrats of their denomination" who were to influence the mass of the working class. It seems that the Liverpool TC concurred with the views held by the Glasgow Master and Workmen's Acts Amendment Executive Committee, as expressed in its address to Lord Elcho. Its secretary, John Proudfoot, wrote to the TC several times, condemning the "impertinent political busy bodies" associated with the London and Glasgow Workingmen's Associations. The TC accepted the view that "as Education progresses and the jus personae is better understood the disinterested services of such men as Lord Elcho will be better appreciated". J. Pritchard to Charles Williams (TC), 4 May 1868, in TC Correspondence, 2/66; see also 2/64, 2/67, and (for the address "To Lord Elcho M.P.") 2/68.
63. Industrial Review, 20 Jan. 1877, and also 27 Jan. and 17 Feb. It was pointed out that there was only one workingman in the Junior Liberal Association.
64. Ibid., 21 Dec. 1877.
65. Ibid., 13 Jan. 1877. Cf. Harrison, Before the Socialists, p. 170, on Rathbone.

66. See Industrial Review, 27 Jan. and 3 Feb. 1877 for the resolutions of the TC and the Shipping TC respectively. Both maintained that Rathbone had been misinformed by others, who were "no friends to the working classes".
67. Ibid., 20 and 27 Jan. 1877: "when we say that both Mr. Rathbone and our employers are freely and gratuitously distributing copies among the working classes, its bearing is not hard to guess by those who have not seen one".
68. The Times, 18 Jan. 1877. Lloyd Jones, Positivist contributor to the Beehive (Industrial Review), began something of a debate on economic theory into which members of the Liverpool TC entered, inviting Jones to give a visiting lecture on "High Wages, Short Hours and Foreign Competition" on 7 April 1877: see Review, 27 Jan. and 3 Feb. On the Rathbone issue, it was the question of tone and manner that was uppermost: cf. a TC meeting of May 1877, where "Some of the local press sneer at what they call 'a working man on his dignity' but they say nothing of the tone and manner . . . which roused the 'dignity' of the working man". Ibid., 12 May 1877.
69. TC Minutes, 2 Jan. 1879. A resolution was passed condemning a speech by Robert Gladstone as "not only calculated to mislead the ignorant and increase class prejudice" but also showing "a most lamentable ignorance of the constitution and provident arrangements of Trade unions"; cf. ibid., 6 March 1879, which condemned strike action by the master engineers as "calculated to embitter class feeling thus widening the breach between capital and labour which it is the interest of both to close up".
70. TC Annual Report (1890-91), p. 4. Cf. Hamling, p. 18.

CHAPTER TWO

Educating for Socialism: the early phase of Liverpool
Socialism, and the work of three Liverpool Enthusiasts

In its educational work, the Liverpool Fabian Society constantly attempted to "situate" Liberalism in relation to Socialism: while past reforms had done much, contemporary Liberal aims were far too "wishy-washy" and diverse: "it is not benevolence, not charity, not a temporary dividing-up, that the world requires, but the transformation of industrial society from a system of profit into a system of co-operative production for use". Liverpool Fabians thus saw that a focus on the entire existing system, an attack on both root and branch, was essential to the distinction between Radicalism and Socialism.¹ It is primarily in the context of education towards an understanding of this kind of distinction, which involved both a process of educating, generally, in the interests of the working class, and, more specifically, an educating of the labour movement itself, that this chapter will examine the early phase of Liverpool Socialism, from the late 1880's to around 1901. In particular, the work of three Fabian Socialists, John Edwards, Joseph Edwards and Eleanor Keeling will be considered.*

* There is no biography of John Edwards, the intellectual leader of Liverpool Socialism in the period from the early 1890's till before the 1914-1918 War, and, although Joseph Edwards' Labour Annual has long been used, and recognised, as an invaluable source of political and social history for the late Victorian and early Edwardian years, there is no biographical account of its editor, nor of his first wife (née Keeling), an early contributor to the Clarion. The Harvester Press reprint of the Labour Annual and Reformers' Year Book (1895-1909) as part of the Labour Year Book 1895-1948, in the series British Political Sources: Political Party Year Books (Brighton, 1971), ed. by J. Spiers, contains an introduction by David Marquand, but with only a brief, and inaccurate, note on Joseph and his wife (p. xxiii n.).

If the early Socialists were no more than a fringe and not always the most influential section of the labour movement, they were alone in engaging in an educational campaign of their own which sought not merely to criticise, and offer alternatives to, existing educational policy, but also to effect, ultimately, changes in society which would favour the implementation of a different educational emphasis. Thus, "the education of the people must precede and be the means of effecting their emancipation".² The kind of education to which Morris and his Commonweal referred was that educative process which, since the early 19th century, had become a fundamental aspect of the growth of working-class consciousness, and integral part of "the making of the English working class". As E.P. Thompson has argued, this "making" is to be found primarily in the response of the working class to economic exploitation, to the political economy of the middle class. A clear distinction between the working and middle classes (allowing for the complexity of precise model categories) in the early 19th century, like the movement of Labour away from Liberalism later, required in part an educational movement which was itself a component of the political struggle. Earlier radical preoccupation with working class access to areas of middle-class privilege--as in the celebrated campaigns for the franchise, the Unstamped press, and for formal education--can thus be seen as a development and expression of a working-class consciousness (political and cultural).³ A similar equation characterised the making of Socialists in the later 19th century, and a number of studies have explored and emphasised the close links between the spirit of this earlier radicalism and later Socialism, as well as the pronounced attachment of English Socialists to the peculiar development

of a labour movement not predominantly composed of workers with views or inclinations as radical as their own. In this respect, the early Socialist movement, much influenced by Morris, set itself the educational task proclaimed by Commonweal, with a view to educating the labour movement away from its traditional association with the trade unions and co-operative societies towards a conception of a singularly Socialist movement, as in the root and branch outlook of Liverpool Fabianism.⁴

Thus the day-to-day concern with educational policy and politics, as in school board elections or the formulation of schemes of technical instruction for the working class, could be a function of Socialist consciousness and Socialist efforts at educating an entire movement. In Liverpool--described as a "somewhat difficult city"--this was crucial: in a Tory stronghold characterised by the bitterness of its religious politics well into the 20th century, the Liberal Radical tradition was relatively weak, and the "new" unionist upsurge of 1889-90, which marked the rise of mass, unskilled trade unionism in the city, was mainly led by non-Socialists. Although this did effect the infiltration of a hitherto skilled, traditionally artisanal, or "aristocratic", Trades Council by an "advanced group" of Socialists (including the dockers' leader, James Sexton), the trade unions collectively represented in the Trades Council were wary of co-operation with the Independent Labour Party or Fabians. Thus, in the interests of a unified movement, which was vital for successful labour politics, the educating activity of such "advanced groups" was indispensable.⁵

In keeping with the 19th century radical tradition of the autodidact, this continued to involve an education at the adult stage, although the

spread of formal elementary education in the post-1870 era directed the attention of the labour movement towards the education of children. The focus on formal elementary schooling, as on schemes of technical instruction, was largely situated in the national context of a drive for independent working-class politics, but, for many Socialists, such a focus was aimed not merely at securing working-class access to varieties of formal education, but also at working-class control of education, thus envisaging a move towards "coming to power" in the fullest sense. Precisely what kinds of pedagogical changes this might have wrought cannot be known with certainty, and, in practice, it was a question of securing the election of a number of bona-fide labour candidates to school boards or city council committees in the hope of influencing official policy-making in such key areas as child welfare, housing conditions, or unemployment. Trade unionist school board candidates (like Henry Pearson or Charles Rouse in Liverpool), while certainly representative of the labour viewpoint, were not the products of Socialist educating.⁶ There were nevertheless examples of Socialist emphases in curricular or pedagogical matters, as in the Socialist Sunday Schools, reflecting the tone of Socialist education in its broadest conception, in a concern, for instance, for "the whole man" or for worthwhile citizenship.⁷ Some Socialists, like Joseph Edwards, looked to the elementary school itself as a prelude to the task of producing future Socialists, thus including it in the over-all work of educating the labour movement.⁸

Although not the only labour educators, locally or nationally, the Fabian Socialists were outstanding in this role, producing, and insisting upon, more than outright propaganda; and, by their tracts, lectures,

and scholarly investigations, placing the struggle for labour representation in the broad perspective of a national movement.⁹ Reference to the Fabians is generally evocative of the London Fabian Society, primarily a London group, and relatively little is known of provincial Fabianism, especially as the majority of local societies were absorbed by the rapid and successful growth of the ILP in the north. However, the Liverpool Fabian Society was something of an exception to this, and stood alone among provincial societies in its remarkably continuous and active existence through to 1918.¹⁰ Partly stemming from its close association with the ILP (and to a lesser degree, the Social Democratic Federation), partly from its predominantly working-class composition, it devoted itself more to "educating the masses" than to higher-level scientific investigations in the style of the Webbs.¹¹ If Liverpool Fabianism appears to have been a notably working-class phenomenon, it was nevertheless alone, among the Socialist bodies in the city, in displaying a well-defined nucleus of traditionally-educated members: middle-class figures such as John Edwards, a successful iron master, Mrs. Jeannie Mole, pioneer organiser of women's trade unionism and wife of a wealthy employer, and school teachers like Lawrence Small B.Sc. and Eleanor Keeling. A description of a Fabian/SDF debate in Porcupine, if doing less than justice to the full range of Fabian activities, was accurate in its observation of both middle and working-class adherents: there were "mild-looking Fabians of both sexes . . . whilst occupying the chairs against the walls were a number of sons of toil, intelligent looking and remarkably earnest in demeanor".¹² This admixture was invaluable to the kind of educational work the Fabian Society undertook among its own members (weekly study of the Webbs'

History of Trade Unionism, for example), with a view to perfecting the education of its own potential educators. While trade unionist, including the Trades Council, and other Socialist bodies were simultaneously active in educational work in the 1890's, the Fabians appear to have been predominant, and to have provided the early stimulus to organisation and educational activity on the part of the ILP. In denouncing the Socialists, as late as 1897, one press account associated them all with the Fabian Society.¹³

The Enthusiasts

It was with the Fabian Society that John and Joseph Edwards and Eleanor Keeling (whom Joseph married in 1895) were most closely identified during the 1890's. None of them was ever a great figure in the national labour movement, though publication of some of John Edwards' addresses and lectures (notably Politics and the ILP, and Socialism and the Art of Living), and Joseph's editorial and publishing activity in connection with his Labour Annual and Reformers' Year Book from 1895 till 1908, secured the Edwardses a measure of national recognition. Joseph was later remembered as "a notable Socialist pamphleteer", while it was once suggested that Eleanor be considered along with Enid Stacy, Katharine Conway, Margaret McMillan and Caroline Martyn as a possible woman member of the National Administrative Council of the ILP.¹⁴ Biographical details of these Liverpool "enthusiasts"--unlike the full life-histories of the well-known "Enthusiasts", John and Katharine (Conway) Bruce Glasier¹⁵--are few, and little is known of their "conversions" to Socialism, or of their pre-



JOHN EDWARDS
(Labour Chronicle, May, 1898)



JOSEPH EDWARDS
(Shafts, 15 Dec., 1893)

Socialist days. This is especially true of Eleanor Keeling and John Edwards, Joseph having left at least a small body of papers.

John Edwards (1861-1922) became the recognised intellectual leader of Liverpool Socialism in the period up until the 1914-18 War, after which he had "almost ceased to exist". John was born and educated in Liverpool, and seems to have come from a middle-class, Nonconformist background. Having initially occupied a minor position in the Shaw's Brow Iron Company, he was able to secure a partnership in the firm, and, despite the unpopular reputation of Socialism at the time, conducted a successful business life through the firm of Higin's, Edwards and Company, occupying offices in the financial centre of the city, near Dale Street.¹⁶ He was an active Unitarian, later becoming Secretary of Hope Street Church and working closely with its minister, H.D. Roberts, a fervent parliamentary Labour supporter; unlike Joseph and Eleanor, his interest in the Labour Church does not seem to have precluded a firm attachment to "respectable" Dissent. He became active as a Socialist from 1882, having (like many other early Socialists) been influenced by Henry George's reading of Progress and Poverty, and he was one of the early group of Liverpool Socialists--including Sam Reeves and Jeannie Mole--active in the Liverpool Socialist Society of the late 1880's, a precursor of the Fabian Society.

Rather more is known of Joseph Edwards' path to Socialism. Unlike most Liverpool Socialists, including his future wife, Joseph (1864-1946) was new to Liverpool in 1891, although he was by then well acquainted with both Socialism and its peculiar setting in a great seaport. He was born of

"village people of the labouring class" in Burton-on-Trent, and, following a five-year apprenticeship as a pupil-teacher in his home town, he began to develop a keen interest in local affairs, and in securing a wider experience of life. A position in H.M. Customs and Excise first took him to the Gravesend Boarding Station, where excessively long shifts and a severely disciplined regime led him to ask the "whys and wherefors", and to devote what time he could find to a study of the labour question.¹⁷ As with John (and, for some time, Eleanor), his work for the labour movement, subsequently, was a spare time activity, for he continued to work as a Customs official during his Liverpool years and, quite probably, beyond. In this way, the route he took to Socialism, and his Socialist career, were familiar to many would-be Socialists, and Socialists, of his generation: a practical experience of the conditions of industrial labour, and self-education in the theoretical framework of Socialism. Familiar also, was the great influence of Henry George's theories of economic, especially land-reform on Joseph's chosen career, an influence which continued to manifest itself in his later writings, including his editing of the Land Reformers' Year Book in 1909. Joseph himself refers to the great impact of George on his career, and, like John Edwards, it seems he had met and heard the American reformer; Liverpool Fabianism itself showed something of the Georgian emphasis. However, it is worth noting that this attachment would seem to confirm the view that George's influence on Fabianism--albeit, here, of the provincial sort--was more in his capacity as effective agitator and propagandist than in the realm of social and economic theory, the Georgian version of which Joseph, and John Edwards, went considerably beyond.¹⁸ Joseph certainly took

every opportunity to recommend Poverty and Progress and Social Problems to his Socialist reading unions, and many of the topics included in his Labour Annual suggest that it was indeed Henry George who provided him with "the bridge between Radicalism and Socialism".¹⁹ His experience of the conditions of dockside labour in London, and then briefly in Londonderry, brought him especially to understand and sympathise with the casual dock worker, a disposition well suited to a Liverpool Socialist. It was with details of the London Dock Strike of 1889, and of his discussions with J. Havelock Wilson in Londonderry, freshly in his mind that Joseph was transferred to the Liverpool Custom House in 1891 at a time of widespread unemployment and discontent on the waterfront, and of active Socialist educating on the part of the Liverpool Socialist Society.²⁰

It was probably through the Fabian Society, which quickly absorbed the Socialist Society, that Joseph met Eleanor Keeling, sometime in 1893. Little is known of Eleanor's life, other than her work as one of the most active Liverpool Fabians of the 1890's. She was one of the young "new women" of the period, well-educated and bringing a great sense of purpose and leadership to the many facets of early Socialism; her enthusiasm, of a pronounced ethical sort, well matched Joseph's.²¹ She appears to have come from a middle or lower-middle-class background (originally residing in a "comfortable" part of Wavertree near Greenbank Park), and, following studies in science, became an elementary school teacher. In her spare time, she worked for the Fabian Society, first being involved in the formation of the Liverpool Cinderella Club, for the provision of periodical "Suppers and Entertainments to children of the slums"; this was "run by

Socialists" and subsequently included "Fabian" in its title.²² At the same time, she was attached to the Society for Forming Women's Trade Unions (under Jeannie Mole), which was absorbed by a branch of the Women's Industrial Council in February 1895, with Eleanor as secretary. Eleanor's task, here, was the basic and difficult one of educating largely ignorant, and for the most part intimidated, girls towards an appreciation of the benefits of trade union organisation; an appreciation of the principles of Socialism might be the object of subsequent efforts.²³ The progression to lecturing and related educational activities, from 1894, was therefore probably a logical one. After inaugurating the woman's column in the Clarion during the early part of 1895--a column devoted to the informal education of potential "new women", and continued by Julia Dawson-- Eleanor worked full-time for the labour movement, from January 1896. She lectured on such topics as "The New Faith", "The Heathen at Home", or "A New Scheme of Education", at Fabian, ILP or Labour Church groups on Merseyside as well as in other districts of Lancashire and Cheshire. Although detailed accounts of her lectures are scarce, it seems she was an effective speaker ("most successful" according to the Birkenhead News), and might have had an appeal to working-class audiences akin to that of Katharine Conway or Caroline Martyn.²⁴ In 1897, she began a family, but soon resumed her lecturing activities; she also assisted her husband in the preparation of the Labour Annual.

In fact, Joseph and Eleanor worked as a couple for most of the 1890's, and beyond, sharing with John Edwards a common enthusiasm for ethical Socialism. This was well seen both in their zest for the early women's movement, and in their pioneer work for the Labour Church (Joseph and

Eleanor being early contributors to Trevor's Labour Prophet), to which both had progressed from Nonconformist backgrounds.²⁵ The 1890's phase of their work covers three main areas: active participation in a number of Socialist organisations, with a conscious effort at fostering a spirit of harmony and co-operation; the propagation of Socialist principles by means of lecturing, writing, and the "permeation" of established organisations or institutions (notably the radical Nonconformist chapels and churches); and, with Eleanor particularly, the education of women and children. Much of this work had a bearing also on the national movement. John's address to the national ILP in 1897 drew on the experience of Liverpool Socialists with an early "Labour Representation Committee", the Women's Industrial Council was nationally organised, while Joseph's Labour Annual was deliberately designed as a work of education of universal scope.

Fabian Socialism in Liverpool

When Joseph and Eleanor first entered Liverpool Socialist circles, there already existed a tradition of radical educational activity in the city, mainly deriving from the Owenite and Co-operative ventures of John Finch (1784-1857), and continued, from the 1860's, in a number of radical and temperance coffee houses. As indicated, one of these, managed by the old Chartist, Edmund Wallace Jones, became an established meeting-place for Liverpool Positivists in the 1870's, one of whom was the Liverpool correspondent for the Beehive, later the Industrial Review, from March 1876. It was in the coffee house meetings, with their social gatherings, vocal and instrumental music, recitations and speeches, and in an admixture of

Temperance, Radicalism, Positivism and early Anarchism, that Socialism crept into Liverpool radical circles. It appears that it was Sam Reeves (1862-1930)* who "introduced" Socialism to the "Drum", a successor to Edmund Jones' establishment, and initially "a sort of H.Q. for temperance and philosophical societies". Reeves soon had a following of a "considerable number of men wearing red ties . . . at the Sunday meetings", cultivating a new language of class, aggressive and uncompromising:

They introduced many new words and phrases, and we heard how under the present system, the profit-monger plundered the proletariat, leaving him without any economic basis, so that his environment was hopeless.²⁶

It was Reeves and his entourage who brought lively political debate (as well, later, as a number of London visitors such as Harry Quelch) to the clubs, and who fashioned the markedly democratic form of organisation which remained a characteristic of Liverpool Socialism, whether with Fabians or the SDF. At the "Drum", "the mechanic and the dock labourer was as much respected as the well-to-do tradesman or professional man".²⁷

In the 1880's, there was a great variety of Socialist clubs and organisations,

* Reeves, with John Edwards, was perhaps the leading Liverpool Socialist in the period. He was Trades Council delegate for the Coremakers Society, and active in the local assembly of the Knights of Labor. Largely self-educated, he was active in virtually every local Socialist sect, but was especially identified with the Fabian Society and, later, the LRC and infant Liverpool Labour Party. He was the outstanding labour School Board candidate. See R. Bean, in Dictionary of Labour Biography, I (1972), pp. 282-5, and ch. 3 below.

including the Workers' Brotherhood, much influenced by Jeannie Mole,* and branches of the Democratic Federation (SDF from 1884) and Socialist League, in both of which Reeves was active, all reflecting the pronounced ethical, almost visionary, outlook of the older Liverpool Ruskin Society. The Workers' Brotherhood was instituted to "spread the desire for social righteousness", while, according to one Liverpool Socialist of the 1880's, many members of the Ruskin Society had "advanced to our position . . . hesitating to join us only because they wish to make certain that our League is one of righteous men resolved to win by righteous methods".²⁸ There was also the influence of visits from "educational" Socialists like Morris, Carpenter and Blatchford ("Nunquam" of the Clarion), who spoke well of their Liverpool audiences, and brought a stimulus, in particular, to the matter of educating the working class, and to the practical means of securing Socialistic ends through its independent political organisation.²⁹ Some Socialists left the established clubs altogether, and joined a variety of quite ephemeral organisations; J.C. Kenworthy, for example, who was "well-educated and read", left the "Drum" for one of the Socialist branches, and eventually left Liverpool to found an anarchist

* Jeannie Mole (d. 1912), came to Liverpool in 1879, having lived in New York and London (where, after reading Carlyle and Ruskin, she became a Socialist). In the 1880's, she organised working-class meetings, secured visits from Morris and Carpenter, and was instrumental in establishing the Workers' Brotherhood. She was a prominent Fabian, and also joined the local SDF. Her main contribution was in the organisation of women's trade unionism. A wealthy woman, her second marriage was to a successful employer, Keartland Mole; their home in the Wirral was "a recognised abode of itinerant Socialist lecturers". Over-work and weak health led to her death, possibly before the age of 60, in April 1912. John Edwards paid Fabian homage to a "brave and faithful comrade". See Daily Post and Mercury, 23 April 1912; Labour Annual (1895), p. 180; Labour Chronicle, January 1896, for an article by Joseph Edwards, with a portrait (reproduced in Hamling, op. cit., p. 24.).

colony in the south of England.³⁰ But Reeves, Mole, John Edwards and other converts, including Robert Manson and Scot Anderson, sustained what had become an education of the educators: educating the masses had now to assume prominence.

Although it is not certain whether Joseph Edwards joined the Liverpool Socialist Society on his arrival in the city, he was one of the members of the first Executive Committee of the local Fabian Society (founded in June 1892, at the same time as the first local ILP), which absorbed all the members and possessions of the Socialist Society.³¹ Presided over by John Edwards, the Fabian Society continued the work of earlier organisations in the educational sphere--lectures, debates, pamphlet literature--and, while there seems to have been a similarly active SDF branch in the city, the Edwardses were drawn more to the ethical Socialism of the Fabian Society and ILP than to the Marxist body. The Edwardses' work was soon associated with a "flourishing", a "very active" Fabian Society, its aggressive stance eliciting praise from Edward Pease of the London Society, whose opinion of provincial Fabianism was scarcely a flattering one: in a letter to Joseph, he could record that Liverpool

is rapidly removing the disgrace which it had so long of being the largest town in which there was the least Socialist agitation of any in England Congratulations on your energetic propaganda.³²

At the end of 1893, Joseph presented a paper to the Fabian Society, published shortly after in a series of articles in The Liver (edited by a Socialist convert from coffee house days, Scot Anderson), which sought to foster a comprehensive and organised view of the work of local Socialism,

and a wide understanding of the mechanisms of local government and politics.³³ To facilitate effective action, his "Fabian Opportunities" outlined the work of a number of Fabian sub-committees, responsible for the press, parliamentary affairs, the Board of Guardians and School Board, trade unions and churches, as well as for the entertainment and social life of members. Above all, it addressed itself to the major educational task of Fabians: the need to cultivate an appreciation of the virtue of unity among workers, in relation to independent labour politics. For, as a member of the Trades Council remarked, just after the formation of the Fabian Society, "Liverpool is a cosmopolite city, and united action on the part of the working classes is not easily secured".³⁴ Joseph praised the close co-operation of Fabians with the ILP and the SDF, a co-operation which appears to have characterised this phase of Liverpool Socialism, although relations with the SDF were not always easy, with disagreement on the class war and other issues.³⁵ It was with the ILP that Fabians were most closely associated, and, indeed, Joseph and other Fabians (including John Edwards, James Sexton, John Morrissey and Bob Manson) were themselves instrumental in forming the first ILP in the city in June 1892.³⁶ In this respect, an overlapping of personalities must be taken into account in any explanation of the relative success, among provincial societies, of the Liverpool Fabian Society, as also, in part, its subsequent disapproval of London policy.³⁷ The career of John Edwards was itself a fine illustration of Fabian efforts at securing a unity of Socialist and labour bodies, through active co-operation at the local level. This was assisted by the outstanding qualities of a number of Liverpool Fabians, Joseph's

"Fabian Opportunities" suggesting the existence of some first-class minds in the local society, not least, if un-named, the President himself; in this respect, Pease's bias towards "university men" among provincial Fabians was perhaps unfair.³⁸ Active in virtually every local Socialist campaign, John Edwards was soon described in the Clarion as "a whole team ... the moving spirit in every thing relating to the cause here in Liverpool".³⁹ Adept at establishing a natural camaraderie among the different Socialist sects, this mild-tempered, "plausible person in eye-glasses" was insistent on the notion that to sever all labour links with Liberalism required an educational movement which, for example, emphasised the collective rather than the Smilesian version of self-help, self-help being envisaged as the "combination and united effort of the workers of all classes". Unity of action was John's theme in his address to the ILP Annual Conference in 1897 in London. Such a unity required a "winning over" of the rank and file, especially of trade unionists, and not so much of the trade union leaders like Sam Woods. John was undoubtedly drawing on Liverpool experience in advocating an annual labour conference of Socialists and trade unionists, Liverpool Socialists and trade unionists (represented by the Trades Council) having established a Labour Representation Committee in 1894. Moreover, the local Fabian-inspired Labour Chronicle made deliberate attempts--notably through John Edwards--to secure trade union interest and involvement. Along with Joseph Edwards, John sought an approach to "the one Socialist party" which would include the SDF, trade unions and Co-operative societies, however long such a seemingly impossible and ideal partnership might take to evolve.⁴⁰ Though both the Edwardses

shared a common Nonconformist-Liberal background, their Socialism was quite distinct from social Liberalism, seeking a complete "transformation of industrial society".⁴¹

The plan of attack outlined in "Fabian Opportunities" elaborated on the work of numerous sub-committees which had already been traced in the Fabian Society's first Circular, advocating the "careful watching and criticizing of all local governing bodies", but Joseph's concern was to invigorate a somewhat routine Fabian task by a sense of purpose and devotion. Thus, Socialists must "turn their back upon the feast" and make agitation their "raison d'etre".⁴² Despite its practical note, the tone of Joseph's paper was unmistakably idealistic, as the Liver noted: "the paper was exceedingly well written, and read like a prose poem or a grand dream . . . but the dream of an enthusiast." It was an emphasis commonly encountered among Socialists of the Labour Church, or "new women" leaders like Caroline Martyn (frequently active in Liverpool), or Eleanor Keeling herself.⁴³ Equally important to the effective organisation of Socialist agitation, was the stimulus given to the spread of a whole range of social and recreative activities, which came to embrace much of the Clarion emphasis: clarionettes, Clarion Cycling Club, and regular rambles, concerts and other entertainments. In conjunction with the business of electioneering, such activities formed the basis of a distinctive Socialist educational milieu, resting on interests fundamentally different from those of other informal educational milieux. This milieu was an integral part of what Stephen Yeo has characterised and distinguished as a clear phase or epoch of



Socialism, "the religion of Socialism".⁴⁴ "Integral parts of Socialist life" (Merrie England, News from Nowhere, or, indeed, the Liverpool Labour Chronicle) were also representative of an alternative kind of morality, a direct criticism of the morality of the capitalist educational system, as it was perceived by certain Socialists.

In the Liverpool milieu, the writings and activities of Bob Manson* (the "Lone Scout", or "Manzona" of the Labour Chronicle) provide a good illustration of this. Highly impressionistic, as the title suggests, his Wayward Fancies, for instance, was a simple, appealing criticism of capitalism (with overtones of Merrie England), holding up an ideal morality which Socialism, implicitly through a "purified" Socialist-inspired education, would bring:

And what hope is there that this class of man [a variety of Blatchford's John Smith] will become extinct? But little we think, while the present system of educating our children shall obtain . . . The inducement held out to the young is: that by attending to their lessons they shall become rich . . . The boy who commences at the sweeping of the office and ends by becoming the head of the firm is the boy whom all are instructed to emulate . . . True, they are taught certain lessons of morality by means of Dogmatism and are made to pay lip-service

*Robert F. Manson (b. 1856, Dublin) was an almost exact contemporary of Reeves and John Edwards, and was active in the 1880's phase of Socialism, in the "Drum" and elsewhere. Something of a poet, and an eccentric, he was a regular contributor to the Labour Chronicle, and organiser of the first "Socialist Soup Van" to relieve Liverpool's unemployed during the winter of 1895. He founded a semi-serious "Pezzers' [pessimists'] Club", managed the Clarion Café in Williamson Square, and was an intimate friend of Fred Bower (the "rolling stonemason"), and well acquainted with Ramsay MacDonald. See Labour Annual (1897), p. 232, and Hamling, p. 31, drawing on the Labour Chronicle.

to certain high principles and noble morals; but the inculcations are of the shallowest description, and any effort on the part of the pupil to follow in actual life the dictates of the Ideal Conscience would be ridiculed, even by the teacher . . .⁴⁵

The Liverpool Labour Chronicle, a Fabian creation and initially edited by John Edwards, gave regular notice of recreative-cum-educational events, along with accounts of "conversions" and the activities of the notable "educators", like Kate Conway, or the much-loved Caroline Martyn, a vivid description of whom was drawn by Manson.⁴⁶ The frequent rambles and cycling tours were occasions also for the important Socialist work of disseminating pamphlets, Fabian Tracts, copies of Merrie England, and other literature across the Conservative Wirral Peninsula, where extensive private land ownership doubtless did much to inspire the local Fabian Tract, "Rights and Ways". By 1893, the Fabian Society had established itself as the major educating agent in the Liverpool labour movement, although, from 1894, the ILP became equally active in the field. In denouncing the Socialists in 1897, however, Porcupine associated them all with "John Edwards and his Fabian host".⁴⁷

Fabian Educating and the ILP

The educating component of Liverpool Fabianism was equally characteristic of the local ILP: to be expected, perhaps, since John Edwards did much to direct it, along with James Sexton and John Morrissey. In his pamphlet based on the 1897 ILP Conference address, John maintained that ILP strategy must involve "the education of the community in the principles of Socialism".⁴⁸ The growth of the ILP led, by 1894, to the formation of a Federal Council, co-ordinating the activities of the seven branches in

the city. The Lecture Secretary of the Federal Council, Sam Hales, was a thoroughly active educator, constantly advising on the organisation of the several branches. Little is known of his career, but he appears to have been a successful speaker, responsible for a number of notable conversions, as in the case of two Tories at a St. George's Hall meeting in 1895:

. . . these two sound fellows made their declaration of faith by rising in the meeting and telling of their conversion, brought about by Sam Hales. We have several instances of a similar character, but never publicly professed as these were.⁴⁹

Prior to 1894, Hales was in London, and it was probably on the basis of his experience of the struggle for Socialism there that his advice in Liverpool gravitated towards the belief that "at present, we work for the Educational process of Socialism". Hales immediately launched an "elocution class", devoted, like Fabian study groups, to a study of "Political Economy, Socialistic facts, etc.", as well as Shakespeare's Plays--a common enough diversity in the early phase of Socialism. The Labour Chronicle heralded the classes as "a rare opportunity for the Socialist M.P.'s of the future", and Hales certainly emphasised the importance of good debate and argument, while referring to selections from Carpenter, Hyndman and others. Activities in the ILP Labour Club in Phythian Street were frequently a joint ILP-Fabian undertaking, the Fabian or ILP titles being virtually interchangeable: "Lectures, debates, Educational, conversational and recreative attractions. Fabian economic class every

Sunday . . . Reading Room and Library . . .".⁵⁰ In fact, there was a good comradeship among Liverpool Socialists "of all schools", and if the local Fabians were to disagree with London over election tactics (on the question of co-operation with other Socialist organisations), then there is evidence that the local ILP was critical of the NAC position respecting fusion with the SDF.⁵¹ Following Joseph Edwards' Fabian lessons of 1893, Sam Hales dwelt on the practical struggle which was an expression of the theoretical training. Thus, for instance, it was necessary to organise registered and non-registered voters by means of a "good band of tract distributors": a "plan", moreover, which "John Edwards is coming to tell you all about". In this way, the joint editors of the Labour Chronicle (from early 1895), John Edwards and Sam Hales, co-operated in an educational venture which sought Socialist successes in local government through the election of independent working-class candidates. Unlike the London variety, Liverpool Progressivism was never the Fabian ideal, in the whole range of urban social reform, including School Board policy in the 90's, and housing schemes for the working class in the early 20th century.⁵² And although Socialists like John or Joseph Edwards remained enamoured of much of Henry George's earlier pre-occupation with the land question (Joseph later edited the Land Reformers' Handbook), and of his straight-forward presentation of Socialism, it is clear that they had moved beyond the appeal to the common interest of capital and labour that George had preached in his Liverpool visit of November 1888.⁵³ Along with other Fabians, John and Joseph Edwards in particular were anxious to court sympathetic Liberal Radical opinion, not for direct political purposes, but to give a general respectability to

Socialist ideas--which was difficult to achieve at the street corner alone. If, among the London Fabians, Webb, Pease and Headlam were trying to keep the "wilder" Socialists quiet, and preparing George for a stormy reception in 1889, it was scarcely the sentiment of Liverpool Fabians subsequently, as it continued to be for Webb and Pease, that "it would be fatal to arouse the antagonism between the Radical and Socialist parties".⁵⁴ In fact, at the First General Conference of the ILP in Bradford in 1893, the two Liverpool representatives were both Fabians (Sexton and Utley, although Sexton represented the Liverpool ILP) who were opposed to the London Fabian Society's attitude towards federation with the ILP. "As a Fabian", Sexton expressed great surprise at Shaw's statement rejecting any Fabian-ILP association, while W.H. Utley (representing the Liverpool Fabian Society) proposed, as a direct negative to Shaw's opposition and as an alternative to the famous "Manchester Fourth Clause", the formation of a "national federation of Labour organisations", in the hope of equalising Tories and Liberals in the Commons.⁵⁵ At the Second Annual Conference, at Manchester in 1894, a letter was read out from the Liverpool Trades Council, wishing the Conference success in forming "a party of the people outside of the two great political parties, who, from the elements constituting them, must of necessity be inimical to the interests of the working community".⁵⁶ By this time, Joseph Edwards' "Fabian Opportunities" could catch the mood, and the increasing reality, of a Socialist upsurge; Socialist infiltration of the Trades Council, largely by Fabians and ILP-ers (although there was Joseph Goodman of the SDF), reinforced the movement

away from Lib-Lab politics.⁵⁷ In its train, this Socialist infiltration also had a direct influence on labour discussion of elements of formal educational policy, the Socialists being especially vocal in debates on technical instruction for the working class, or on the free education of all children. This will be discussed in the chapters following.

The Education of Women and Children

Joseph's interest in the education of children, and in the "Woman Question", was much influenced by, and possibly largely derived from, his relationship with Eleanor Keeling, whose Socialist work and emphasis occurred mainly in this context. Educating children for Socialism, and a focus on the interests of women, were outside the mainstream emphases of the labour movement in the period, even among Socialists. On the first of these, there was much disagreement, and, in keeping with Marxist teaching, the priority was with adult education; Marx himself had opposed the teaching of political economy in elementary schools, this being a matter about which "instruction should be given in the lecture hall, not in the school".⁵⁸ Although, in the period, there were attempts to provide alternative forms of education for children, as in the experimental "Escuela Moderna" movement of Francisco Ferrer (which had disciples in Liverpool during the pre-1914 years), this was a fringe development, and most child and youth educational ventures were essentially envisaged as supplementary to the basic instruction of the elementary school, and, with this, preparatory to the all-important work of adult education in the service of the labour movement.⁵⁹ This seems to have been true of Eleanor's

work with women and children; but, in conjunction with lectures and writings, it was nevertheless an indication of the kind of pedagogical or curricular emphasis that Socialists like Eleanor or Joseph might have displayed on "coming to power".

Activities in connection with the Women's Industrial Council were, above all, a source of informal education (involving "recreation, instruction, and social intercourse"), and, associated with the Council, was a Women's Social Guild, with Eleanor as Secretary. This would meet weekly in the early evening, when a "hostess" was "at home" to receive women workers. Its programme of instruction and amusement ("singing, reading, talking, dancing, games, gymnastics, etc.") ought to be seen in relation to Eleanor's view of the household and the "new woman's" place in it as wife and mother. Thus, making the home happy and comfortable was unquestionably a "worthy object", but the "new woman"--"the great SHE that is coming"--would obtain this object with less worry, strain or anxiety, and, in the process, look also to her own independent personal development. To such an end Eleanor recommended schemes for collective cooking, and a widening of women's interests outside the home.⁶⁰ The Guild was not a Socialist venture, but Eleanor exerted considerable influence over it, seeking to relieve working women and girls of much of the drudgery involved in keeping home. This was an indispensable pre-requisite for the education of working women along Socialist lines, in the same way as the shorter working day for the education of labour generally. Eleanor also believed that the fruits of the combined mental and physical recreative activity of the Guild would be reaped, in some cases, by children: a corrective to the

dullness, in this respect, of board school education. Indeed, Eleanor was much implicated in the education of young Socialists, and began a recreative Socialist youth club in the ILP Club room, pervaded by the kind of social-ethical ambiance that filled the pages of Clarion or Merrie England, and characterised the Socialist Sunday Schools.⁶¹ Drawing perhaps on their experience of elementary school teaching, both Joseph and Eleanor attached considerable importance to the potential of the elementary school, when under Socialist direction, for laying "the foundations of the principles of Socialism", thereby lessening Socialist dependence on post-school informal education derived from participation in the labour movement, or on self-education (at least in so far as the principles of Socialism were concerned).⁶² In fact, Eleanor made this one of the few "salient points" in a lecture on education, an outline of which appeared in the Labour Annual for 1898. Her "suitable lessons" in economics and social science were aimed at bringing children to recognise "the evils underlying our present industrial and social systems": in effect, a notion which entertained a direct transposition to the regular day school of what was put into practice in the first Liverpool Socialist Sunday School, under the auspices of the ILP. Here, teaching was to result in a child's being able "to realise the incompatibility of competition with brotherhood", and this was facilitated by a division of the children--nearly one hundred of them by April 1896--into small groups for reading and discussion of stories "of a Socialistic nature". While Labour Church Socialists like Eleanor were active in the school, it was led by an ILP-er (Robert Weare) and was not a Labour Church school; like other Socialist Sunday Schools of this sort, it clearly focused on action, on the education of youth for

OUTLINE ADDRESSES FOR CHILDREN.

BY ELEANOR KEELING.

- I. *Bees*.—One bee gathers a little honey. Many gather much, and store it. As winter approaches the workers kill the drones. Will not support those who do no work. *All workers share honey.*
- II. *Ants*.—One ant finds ear of wheat. Many ants help him to carry it. *All share the spoil.*
- III. Laden fruit tree (apples). Two boys. Neither can reach. One climbs on other's back. Gathers apples. *Equal share.*
- I. Ship sailing on sea. No one stops it. Sea free.
- II. Men fishing on sea. May have all they catch.
- III. Flowers growing in the sun. Sunshine and rain are free to all.
- IV. Birds flying in air. Air free to all.
- V. Children walking in the fields. *Trespassing!* Ground not free to all.
- VI. Shells, &c., out of sea may be had for the getting.
- VII. Coal, salt, &c., out of land should be similarly free to all.
- I. Cattle grazing. Enough for all. Each takes what it wants and leaves the rest for others.
- II. Pigs feeding. Enough for all. But greedy pigs take more than their share. Others must, therefore, go short.
- III. Plenty of food in the world for everybody. Some have too much, others too little.
 - I. Bird wants to build nest. Where may he go? Any tree not being used by other birds.
 - II. Sparrow builds nest. Cuckoo turns him out. *Might not Right.*
 - III. Spider spins web anywhere he likes. Takes what room he needs, and *no more.*
 - IV. Lion lives in a cave. Leaves other caves for other animals.
 - V. Man wants to build house. Cannot because no land. Other men take more than they can use. *Not fair.*

the practice of Socialism.⁶³ Eleanor made some curricular suggestions, for use in Sunday Schools generally, with model lessons, using themes suitable for children of various age-groups, and related to Socialist principles; for example, "bees: all workers share honey"; "birds in the air: air free to all"; or more sophisticated concepts, like competition or the division of labour.⁶⁴ Although Eleanor and the Sunday School shared an interest in Froebelian, child-centred education (which was reflected in the emphasis on effective communication, and, to some extent, on the notion of play as work), there was a definite commitment to formal teaching, which clearly had to draw on the basic skills acquired in the ordinary elementary school. There was also a hint of the puritan's zeal for "industry": one address to the Socialist Sunday School, for instance, lauded the wisdom of ants in their "political economy matters", intolerant of "idleness".⁶⁵ Similarly, the teaching of Merrie England:

It seems, then, that even the children of educated, honest, and virtuous parents need to be carefully trained and guarded to prevent them falling into idleness and vice. For if children would grow up good without watchfulness and cultivation, it would be mere folly and waste of time [. . .] to trouble about teaching them. [. . .] in our colleges, in our Sunday Schools, in our home lessons [. . .] we find an acknowledgement of the fact that a child is what he is taught to be.⁶⁶

An emphasis of this order also in part informs the Liverpool Fabian School Board Tract of 1897, which spoke (somewhat cautiously, perhaps, in view of the forthcoming November elections) of "courses in the rights and duties of citizenship" which Socialists would provide.⁶⁷ Joseph actually felt that these, coupled with adequate welfare measures, would go

so far as to embody a preparation for "the 'Merrie England' that is going to be", though he displayed a practical, and careful, detail with respect to present-day "permeative" tactics, including the influencing of school teachers by their Fabian colleagues, who should "endeavour to teach the teachers".⁶⁸ Realistically, he sought to concentrate Fabian effort on securing some representation on the School Board, with a view to effecting a reform of what were seen as the negative elements of current educational practice and theory: in Liverpool, overcrowding, insufficient board school accommodation in working-class districts, school fees, and the teaching of religion, for example. For this, he urged a common effort among trade unionists, ILP-ers and "labour men" at School Board elections.⁶⁹ Ideally, the education of children--or of would-be "new women"--for Socialism should begin in the schools; small-scale youth work, or the Women's Social Guild, were in the nature of necessary palliatives. Eleanor's position, in particular, is illustrative of the persistent contemporary Socialist demand that education, in the schools and elsewhere must go beyond mere "mental instruction" and seek to provide for the total well-being of children and youth. On the one hand, this included the health and welfare of children that so preoccupied the Fabian Cinderella Club; on the other, it proclaimed a sensitive and reverent approach to the development of "all the faculties of the children" which, with Eleanor, extended to "simple, straightforward teaching on the physiology of sex".⁷⁰ The high personal ideal with which her educational thinking was imbued, displays the similar aura of spirituality surrounding the subject with other women Socialists, many of whom could also claim a direct experience of elementary school teaching.⁷¹ However, Joseph Edwards saw the initiative to lie chiefly with the workers, the rank and

file, the most important task being "to educate them up to a due appreciation of the duties and responsibilities of their position": in essence, the "rights and duties" of the Fabian School Board Tract. It was for this reason that the work of the Fabian Society "must be mainly educational", and directed at the "education of the masses".⁷² There was a clear assumption that, if much working-class education in the conditions of the 90's had to function at the adult stage, and often remain quite basic, it had also to be life-long ("one must continue to extend and broaden one's education"), and an integral part of Socialism. Such was the rationale behind Joseph's open library of Socialism at his co-operative "Reform Cottage" in Wallasey, his Fabian reading unions and study groups--as "schools" for future Fabians--and, essentially, his Labour Annual, which will be discussed below.

Socialists and the Radical Liverpool Pulpit

One of the most successful educational campaigns of the Liverpool Fabian Society in the 1890's was the invasion of a number of influential chapels and churches. This was a variety of "permeation" which could readily exploit Fabian links with Nonconformity, and which paralleled Socialist "infiltration" of the Trades Council.

The close links and the borrowings between early British Socialism and Nonconformity have been well established and documented, particularly with reference to Methodism and the ILP.⁷³ One important ingredient of this degree of fusion was the broadly educational tradition of Nonconformity, ultimately deriving from 16th and 17th century puritanism, in which

religious questions, in practice, often resolved themselves into questions of government and "discipline", sermons and ceremonies, manners and morals, much in the style of Foxe's Book of Martyrs. The emphasis on lecturing and preaching has been especially associated with the old sects, those closest to early puritanism, notably the Unitarians, Quakers and Presbyterians, but the Methodists also displayed a keen democratic tradition, with great emphasis on preaching. However, Nonconformist sects closer to the Established religion, such as the Wesleyans and Baptists, as well as broad Church Anglicanism itself (whence Christian Socialism derived), all shared a common puritan heritage, and were intimately, and of necessity, involved in the education of the masses. As aspects of Methodist organisation and preaching provided models for the earlier Chartists, so later in the century the renewed tradition of socially-tuned sermons and congregational activity could ally itself quite readily with the "enthusiasm" of Socialists, even if the general tendency was for Nonconformists to lose touch with their working-class congregations.⁷⁴ By the middle of the 19th century Liverpool Nonconformity covered a wide range of Dissent, including Unitarians, Baptists, Independents, Burghers (or Seceders), Quakers, Reformed Presbyterians, and Methodists (especially of Welsh origin).⁷⁵ There was also a vigorous broad Church ministry, whose awareness of the dimension of Roman Catholicism in the city tended to associate it more closely than usual with the more "respectable" Dissent. Indeed, it was Unitarian and Baptist ministers, in alliance with representatives of socially-aware Anglicanism, who together constituted Liverpool's Radical Pulpit in the 1890's. The more radical, and strictly

Nonconformist, element of this alliance traced its roots back to the Ancient Chapel of Toxteth Park, which, in the early 17th century, had its own school, run by the famous puritan, Richard Mather, prior to his departure for America; it inherited a strong tradition of outspokenness, and education of character.⁷⁶ Rev. Charles F. Aked, Baptist minister of Pembroke Chapel, Rev. Richard A. Armstrong, Unitarian minister of Hope Street Church, and Rev. Charles W. Stubbs, rector of Wavertree, all effectively Christian Socialists, founded the Liverpool Pulpit early in 1892, as the organ of Liverpool Nonconformity, aimed at giving "local force and focus to the sentiment of spiritual unity amid intellectual diversity".⁷⁷ Their sermons, extracts of which regularly appeared in the Pulpit, immediately set out to pronounce the attitude of the New Christianity to the Labour Question. Thus Aked, speaking to members of several congregations late in 1892, lamented that "You do not know what you miss by failing to encourage them [your preachers] to speak their minds quite freely upon the great problems of theology, of religion, and of Sociology . . .", while Stubbs, in a whole series on "lessons from the history of Labour", insisted "That high civilisation is not the destined lot of the few, while the destined lot of the many is to support the few by unremitting joyless toil."⁷⁸ Other sermons reinforced the new teaching, closely identifying it with "the Economics of Christ in the Light of the Sermon on the Mount", or, simply, with "Capitalism and Christianity". The latter, a sermon by Armstrong, effectively highlighted Socialist interest in the Pulpit:

I rejoice that they [a "band of earnest men"] recognise in the Christian pulpit an engine for the education of public thought and the arousing of public conscience.⁷⁹

That there was at all a promotion of the Social Gospel, enabled Socialists to use its influence, as well as its organ, to further their own campaign; that Liverpool Socialists chose to do so, undoubtedly made the Pulpit and its supporters such a radical influence. In this Socialist campaign, Joseph and John Edwards were key figures, exploiting their own links with Nonconformity.

It was Joseph Edwards, as Secretary of the Fabian Church Committee, who initiated the campaign, issuing a circular letter to various ministers in and around Liverpool, in April 1893, requesting them to preach Labour Sermons on the first Sunday in May. Originally, this brought replies from twenty-seven ministers, "several of them revealing a quite unexpected amount of sympathy with the Fabian basis and program"--a successful initiative which was praised by Edward Pease, who held up the example--and it became a regular activity, with labour sermons reproduced in the Pulpit.⁸⁰ Although at this time Joseph and Eleanor had moved into Trevor's Labour Church, they clearly welcomed the demonstration of a possible rift between the interests of capital and labour, as suggested by Armstrong's "Capital and Christianity".⁸¹ On the other hand, John Edwards remained closely associated with the Liverpool Unitarians, and was early identified with the Liverpool Christian Socialist Society, presiding over a meeting of the Christian Socialist League at Pembroke Chapel in October 1894.⁸² The Fabian campaign, and its success, emanated in a large measure from the common ethical base of both the "religion of Socialism" and radical Nonconformity; whether it was a question of Christianising Socialism or of "Socialising Christianity", the crucial element was that:

when sanitation, and education, and science, and political reform, and socialistic legislation, and the organisation of labour, have all done their best and failed, as they all undoubtedly will fail unless something more is also added, then I trust that we shall all of us . . . begin to find out what that something more is.⁸³

What this meant--and it was a key point of contact between Socialism and religion--was that "the rescue of political economy made possible the rescue of religion", as outlined by Henry George.⁸⁴ Joseph Edwards' "Gospel of Labour", which appeared in the Pulpit, might well have been substituted for Armstrong's "Capital and Christianity":

The Gospel of the new conscience must be preached by a Church which will know what its members believe only by what they do-- a Church which will insist that every question between men is a religious question, one of moral economy before it becomes one of social or political economy.⁸⁵

And it is the glory of Ruskin [. . .] that he had sounded the note of this higher and wider political economy, and raised its subject-matter from bullion-statistics [. . .] to the whole problem of the welfare of man [. . .] When we rise to this wider outlook, we perceive [. . .] that a political economy which ignores Christianity is in a plight still worse than a Christianity which ignores political economy.⁸⁶

This was the aim of "true education": not readily distinguishable from Carpenter's "ideal of Honest Life", which was underlined, as the end of education, in John Edwards' Socialism and the Art of Living (published for the Liverpool Fabian Society).⁸⁷ A reference to Carpenter is, indeed

useful in examining the contribution of the most notable educator among the Christian Socialist ministers, Charles Aked.

Having come to Pembroke Chapel late in 1891, Aked soon acquired a reputation as a talented "Preacher, Moralizer, Politician", and for securing large congregations. His sermons were markedly ethical, seeking to arrest the manifest decline in chapel and church attendance, especially in their clear commitment to the working man.⁸⁸ It was under Aked that Pembroke Chapel began an almost uninterrupted period of involvement with Socialists, that earned it a reputation as "the hot-bed of Merrie Englanders" in the mid-90's, and as the "storm centre of the city" in the early 1920's, when it became a virtual headquarters for the Communist-influenced Unemployed Committee and its supporters.⁸⁹ It was a desire to communicate with working people that brought Aked to Christian Socialism, in the same way as it brought most of the prominent lecturers into the early (1870's-1890's) phase of the University Extension Movement. Aked confined his educating to the pulpit and press, but shared the view, held by F.D. Maurice, Carpenter and other lecturers, that education was a spiritual force capable of transforming society, and thus urged Socialists and labour leaders "to educate and evangelize the enslaved masses of the people", rather than attack "gentlemen with commercial instincts". But, unlike Carpenter and other Socialists, who ceased to be Christian, and devoted themselves to the religion of Socialism, Aked ceased to be a Socialist by the late 90's, when he drove out the clarionettes from Pembroke and engaged in an anti-Blatchford (as well as an anti-Hyndman) campaign.⁹⁰ Aked's response to the Fabian Labour Sermon tactic, however, was initially

very encouraging, and he certainly appears to have had pronounced Fabian leanings. His Labour Sunday sermon of May 1893 made the clear statement that "there is nothing in the nature of a divine decree, absolute or unalterable, in the system which compels the many to remain poor only so that the few may become rich": the system was to be reformed by "slow and gradual processes . . . municipalisation and nationalisation".⁹¹

While Aked's view of education at this stage probably had much in common with that of Liverpool Fabians, envisaging a positive "reconstruction of Society on the basis of brotherhood", through the elimination of ignorance and political indifference, his later view tended to suggest an attitude of condescension, or of well-intentioned Progressive "humanising".

Thus, in quoting from Ruskin on education, Aked later subscribed to the notion that educating for Socialism was more than mere economics and political economy: it was an entire code of morality, so that a sense of common aspirations based on common experiences might bolster the sense of unity. But the underlying morality was based on Liberal Progressivism, on capitalism:

Educate or govern, they are one and the same word. Education does not mean teaching people to know what they do not know. It means teaching them to behave as they do not behave . . . above all, by example.⁹²

It seems clear that by the turn of the century, Aked's workingman who will "rule wisely" is not a Socialist: at least, not a Socialist of the Blatchford or Hyndman type. And, if Aked favoured a meeting of all social classes, he did not endorse the removal of the objective reasons for class divisions in the absolute way that Socialists did.⁹³ His position was closer to that of Radicals like Samuel Smith, who advocated "Christian

charity carried into the realm of politics as well as practised by the individual", and it is worth noting that the "Radical Pulpit" more or less coincided with the inception of a revived Liberalism into the Tory majority of the City Council during 1892-1895. Aked's association with Liberals, especially during the municipal election campaign of 1893, brought considerable criticism from Socialists, distrustful of his advocacy of the "Purity Party" principles. Reeves issued an open warning: "Your present good reputation can only continue on condition that you come out from among them; by the company you keep shall you be known".⁹⁴

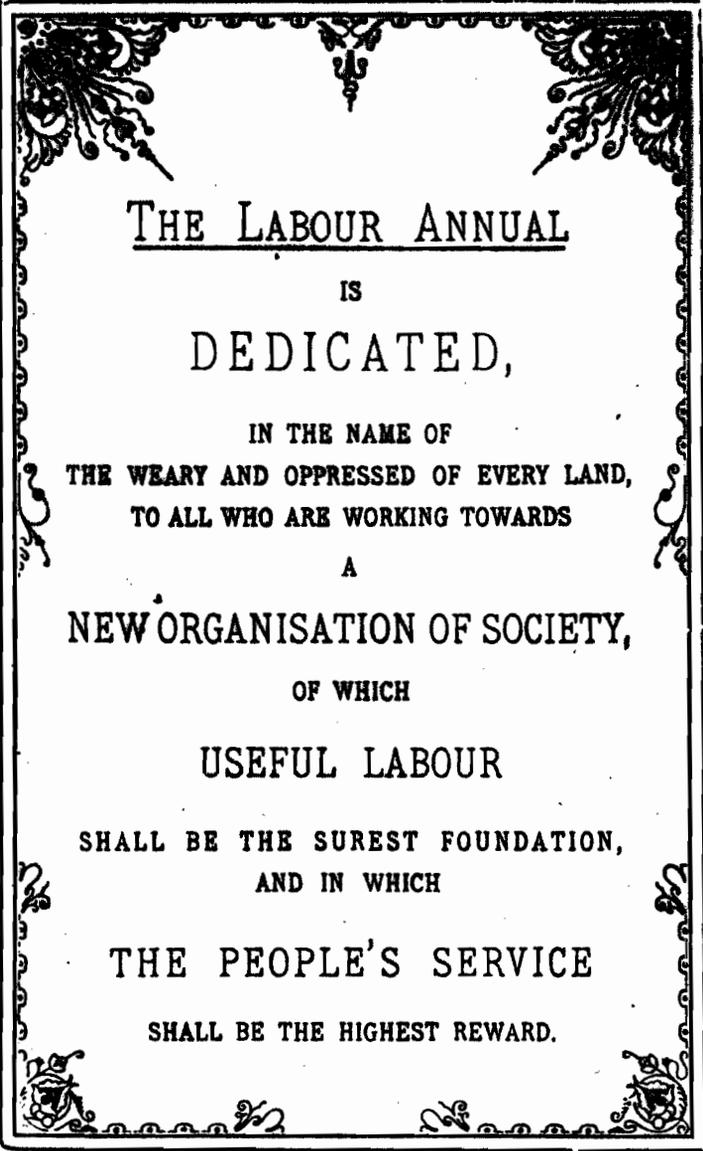
If Liberal Radicals, like James Samuelson or Prof. Oliver Lodge, expressed views in the Pulpit, Socialists also seized an opportunity to educate an influential audience. In fact, Sexton started a debate on the merits of competition, after suggesting the impossibility of practising Christian principles in the conduct of capitalist business, a theme which Aked--the "political parson"--could hardly resist.⁹⁵ It was the response to issues such as unemployment or poverty which enabled Socialists to preach in their turn; Joseph's "Gospel of Labour" sought to "realise the ethical principles underlying the protest of the labour movement", while John Edwards heralded the "angel of Association" over the "Devil of Competition", and there were contributions also from Sam Reeves, Jeannie Mole, Joseph Goodman, and James Sexton. Above all, the aim was to seek an understanding of the cause, and to the extent that this was facilitated by an educational campaign in press and pulpit, as well as by Socialist participation in debate and discussion, as at Pembroke and other "nurseries of advanced thought", it was a successful Fabian campaign. Its

main weakness was that it was of necessity limited. It could scarcely hope to convert more than a handful of middle-class or professional onlookers, while working-class congregationers, or readers, were but a small minority of the masses, among whom, moreover, was a sizeable Roman Catholic (largely Irish) population which was quite outside the Protestant sphere of influence. It was with such considerations in mind, perhaps, that Sexton--who was himself a Catholic--generalised the work of education:

It is the duty of every just, God-fearing man "who desires the welfare of the working classes" to educate the ignorant and expose the exploiter to a full sense of his duty to his kind.⁹⁶

Joseph Edwards' Labour Annual, and the work of propaganda

Few Liverpool Socialists of the pre-1914 era were of sufficient national importance for their work to be remembered at a later period, with the exception of James Sexton and, to a far lesser degree, John Edwards. If Joseph Edwards' work as a Liverpool Fabian of the 1890's remains largely unknown, such is not the case with his Labour Annual, a work which seems to have arisen from his Fabian activities during 1893. Its very scope--it was to be a "Labour Whitaker of Facts, Figures, Parties, Papers, Societies, etc., with special articles on every phase of the Social Question"--bore witness to the multiplicity of Liverpool Fabian campaigns. Joseph first presented the idea publicly in his "Fabian Opportunities" paper, having previously discussed it with John Edwards, who thought it "a grand idea . . . I think much could be made of it".⁹⁷ Apart from his wife's assistance, Joseph himself undertook the entire production of the Annual from 1895 till 1903 (in 1901, it became



THE LABOUR ANNUAL

IS

DEDICATED,

IN THE NAME OF

THE WEARY AND OPPRESSED OF EVERY LAND,
TO ALL WHO ARE WORKING TOWARDS

A

NEW ORGANISATION OF SOCIETY,

OF WHICH

USEFUL LABOUR

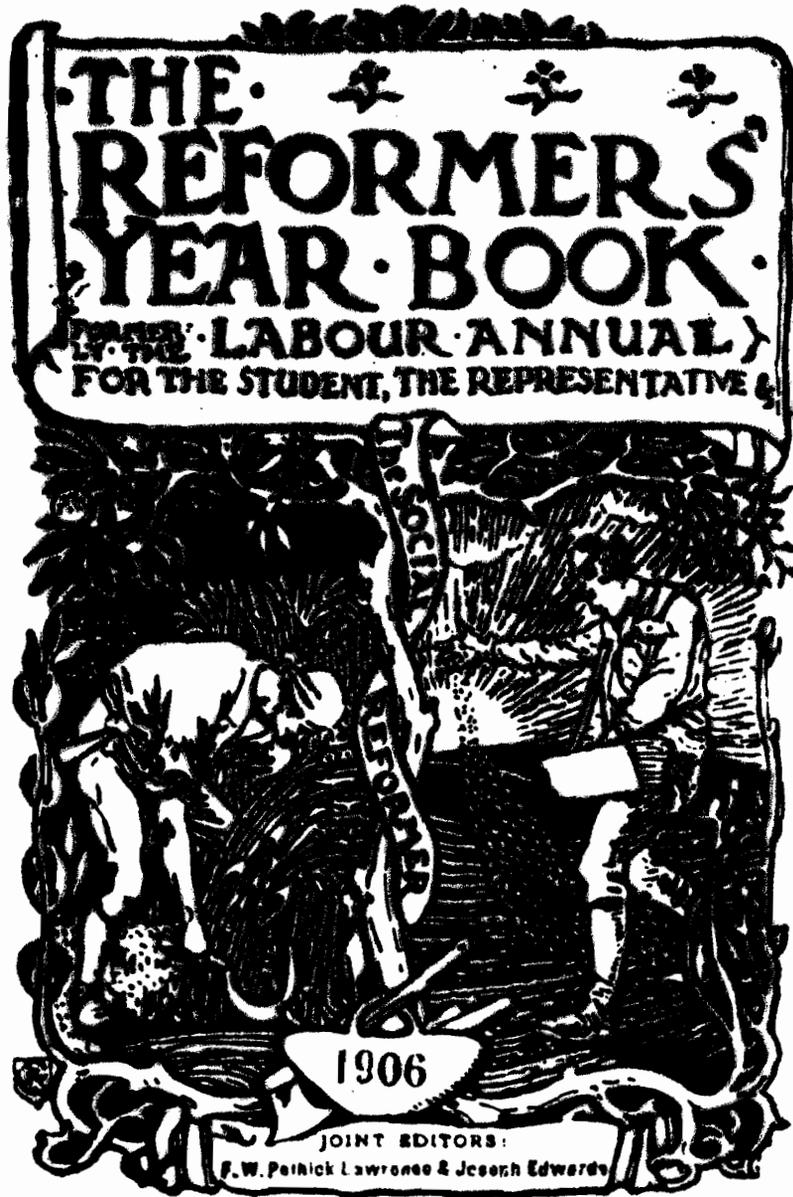
SHALL BE THE SUREST FOUNDATION,
AND IN WHICH

THE PEOPLE'S SERVICE

SHALL BE THE HIGHEST REWARD.

the Reformers' Year Book), from which time suitable joint-editors were found, first in Percy Alden, and then F.W. Pethwick-Lawrence, who largely directed the work until it ceased publication in 1909. Apart from "earning a living for himself and family" in H.M. Customs, Joseph combined the duties of "correspondent, canvasser, reporter and reviewer . . . of editor, printer, publisher and bookseller", and it is not surprising that this occasioned frequent "overwork and illness" and a considerable personal sacrifice.⁹⁸ The Annual was issued by the Manchester Labour Press ("Co-operative Printers, Publishers, and Bookbinders") and the London Clarion Company, and financed with great difficulty by Edwards himself, by advertising, donations and subscriptions. Joseph later associated his fourteen years' work on the Annuals with "much labour and with heavy monetary loss", but it was a "Labour of Love".⁹⁹ Financial uncertainty led him to seek support from "friends of reform movements", such as George Cadbury, and thus to widen the scope of the Annual still further; this would seem to lie behind the change of title in 1901, embracing the entire spectrum of Reform.¹⁰⁰

Joseph initially envisaged the Labour Annual as, potentially, "a tremendous weapon in the hands of the workers", and his own conception of it extended beyond a simple "Labor Whitaker". Others shared this conception, despite some Socialist criticism of the all-inclusive coverage of Reform movements. Predictably, perhaps, the Free Labour Press even spoke of its incitement of "revolutionary" thinking.¹⁰¹ The motto with which the Annual was inscribed ("Each aiding each the higher truths to find") suggests the kind of conception Joseph had of the work. Taken from a poem



in Woman Free, issued by the Women's Emancipation Union in 1893, this embodied the kind of "educational" process which, as an ingredient of ethical Socialism, was central to all human relationships. It thus encompassed the relationship of man to man, or man to community, as well as the "sweeter and diviner relations of 'man intelligent and woman free'" which were the immediate concern of the poem. Elsewhere, Joseph made this more explicit by quoting directly from Social Problems to place the Annual in the context of the "work of education . . . the propagation of ideas", which was also integral to the practical struggle: "The great need of the majority of the people now is real education. Given enlightened ideas, a better appreciation of objects and unity of aims, and the battle is already half-won."¹⁰²

The Annual was clearly a "work of education", which sought to engender a union of the scattered Socialist bodies into what Joseph called a "National Federation", a chief object of both the Annual, and, in the local setting, of Liverpool Fabians. The latter's Labour Chronicle (begun in 1894, and outstanding among local labour papers of the time) attempted to foster a similar spirit of co-operation, carrying regular notes on the many facets of the movement. Like the Chronicle, however, the Labour Annual tended somewhat to under-estimate the importance of the trade unions in the movement, whose real power was underlined, in the case of the Chronicle, when they assumed control of the paper in 1900, through the Trades Council; the Reformers' Year Book similarly redressed the balance from around 1903, through Pethwick-Lawrence.¹⁰³ In the quest for unity, Joseph shared a Socialist vision of the "One Socialist Party",

which was to be the result of an educational process, and which, itself, would greatly assist "by the educational effect of its organisation, all those whose greatest desire is for unity."¹⁰⁴ It was a theme that Joseph had developed from as early, at least, as 1892, when he had spoken of "an evolution . . . through organisation and education". Then, in May 1893, William Morris had addressed him in connection with the labour sermon campaign:

My dear Mr. Edwards, - I can only say that I wish you all success. If there ever was a time for pushing the cause of Socialism it is the present. There is much to encourage us in the state of things. The working classes are awakening to a sense of their position, and are preparing to use the political power which the last few years have given them. The governing classes are showing signs of yielding to the necessities of the time, and giving something at least to the demands of the people. These, on the other hand, need education; they want to be shown what to demand, and how to do so. This is the task of us Socialists, and if we carry it out diligently and faithfully, we shall no doubt see in our own time something like the beginning of the end of the muddle of tyranny and incapacity which is called civilised society, and which must yield at last to a society of equality, a true society, that is, in which we shall be wealthy because we have no longer either rich or poor amongst us. - Yours fraternally,
William Morris.¹⁰⁵

Quite possibly, this was the germ of "Fabian Opportunities". However, the quest for Socialist or labour unity was perhaps weakened by the vast array of issues and movements documented in the Annals (which was itself a tribute to the Edwardses' own informed interests, from mainstream Socialist bodies to Theosophy, Vegetarianism, and foreign labour

movements). Although Joseph gave prominence to Socialist interests, he was obliged to "solicit the help" of Reformers, for financial reasons; moreover, he was not a professional editor, and had to learn through the experience of producing successive volumes. But a major criticism was persistently made: the immense sweep of topics invariably included a number of irrelevancies, even some contradictions, as far as education in the "true" interests of the labour movement was concerned (as in an advertisement for the Free Labour Press). In as much as these true interests were seen to lie with Socialism, as Morris urged, and as Liverpool Fabians taught, the united labour party could only be Socialist.¹⁰⁶

Paradoxically, therefore, while seeking to establish a fundamental unity in the Socialist spectrum, the Labour Annual could also nurture the belief that such a union was not only to encompass avowedly Socialist organisations. It might be that this paradox was only "apparent", in the sense that most Socialists were themselves fashioned out of the Liberalism of their own mid- or late-Victorian society in which the appeal of Socialism was characterised, above all, by its catholicity.¹⁰⁷ But it is clear, on

the other hand, that the Socialism of Joseph Edwards, like that of John Edwards and other Liverpool Fabians, was distinct from "social" Liberalism, seeking a "final solution" of the labour problem through a "Party of the People" which would know neither Liberal nor Radical.¹⁰⁸

Somewhat benignly, Edward Pease suggested that "the editor is . . . too industrious and copious", but criticism of non-Socialist elements continued, and the SDF was slow to forward information to the "persistent" editor.¹⁰⁹ The range of topics (which also included detailed lists of

lecturers, Socialist literature, and valuable biographical portraits) was more happily accommodated under the revised title of the Annual, but the Reformers' Year Book had much less of Joseph Edwards in its than of Pethwick-Lawrence, who largely wrote the editorials after 1903. Given the circumstances in which it was undertaken, it is surprising that the Annual was produced at all, let alone for over a decade, and it was a more detailed work than later Labour Party Yearbooks, for which it was the prototype. Whatever its shortcomings, it was deliberately produced as an educational tool in the interests of a united Socialist labour movement. Moreover, in the compilation and distribution of the volumes, Joseph exploited his links with various Socialist organisations (including the London Fabian Society, of which he and Eleanor were also members) placing local Socialist endeavour in a more national perspective. In this, he met one of Morris' most urgent desires: "Locally, I believe, there is much mutual work going on between the different bodies; but in order to gain considerable success, it ought to be more than local, it ought to be universal."¹¹⁰

In part a by-product of this publishing and editorial activity, in part the natural outcome of Fabian educational effort, the Edwardses' home, "Reform Cottage" (from 1896, in Wallasey, near Liverpool) became an extensive reference library of Socialism and social reform. Joseph also made it a lending library, a "Labour Clearing House", so that it might reach workers at large, in much the same way as he constantly recommended Progress and Poverty, a work well suited to the ordinary worker, who was no "scientific thinker". As a "centre around which the most

prominent workers are found to cluster", the Liverpool Fabian Society produced simple, straight-forward literature of its own; but the choice of Oliver Lodge's "Competition versus Co-operation" as a local Fabian Tract, for example, was especially apt in view of the component persuasions of Liverpool Socialism: "Dr. Lodge is as simple as "Nunquam", as convincing as Lassalle, as practical as Gronlund, as sound as Marx".¹¹¹ Joseph also engaged in the more scholarly investigatory work typical of London Fabianism, beginning research into the history of Liverpool's municipal institutions, and subsequently turning to a study of economic and land-reform. By then, however, he and Eleanor had left Liverpool, Joseph having transferred to Clydeside in June 1901; from early 1906, they had settled in London, where Joseph appears to have devoted himself to writing.¹¹² John Edwards also carried out detailed research on aspects of municipal policy-making. From the turn of the century, he was active investigating the development of working-class housing, and his later exposure of corruption in the management of the Corporate Estate was used with considerable success in the 1911 municipal election campaign.¹¹³ A link between the "enthusiast" epoch of Liverpool Socialism and the period of the early "Labour Party" in the city, therefore, was provided by Fabians such as John Edwards, Sam Reeves or George Nelson.

If a limitation on the work of the Edwardses was imposed by its necessarily "spare-time" nature, there was also the fact of a peculiarly difficult socio-political climate in Liverpool, where the sphere of working-class politics was dominated, and complicated, by the presence not only of a largely conservative variety of Liberalism, but especially

of a powerful Workingmen's Conservative Association (of mainly Protestant Orangemen), and also of Catholic Irish Nationalists.¹¹⁴ In the face of such rivals, the labour movement could not hope to succeed without presenting a unified front. It was above all to secure the unity of a Socialist labour movement that the work of the Edwardses was devoted to education for Socialism. Their activities afford some insight into the close inter-relatedness of many early Socialist spheres of agitation at the local level. Irrespective of any overlapping of personalities from one sect to another--a common feature of the nineteenth century labour movement--, these could form a basis for effective co-operation among independent Socialist organisations, as in the common concern of Liverpool Fabians and ILP-ers, sometimes working with the SDF, with unemployment or with school board elections.¹¹⁵ There were never any notable successes during the pre-1905 years, in terms of labour representation (even on the School Board, where Socialists elsewhere knew a considerable success), and, were it not for his Labour Annual, Joseph's Socialist work might easily have been forgotten, along with that of his wife and local colleagues. The work of Socialist educating undertaken by the Edwardses was accompanied by an intense optimism and enthusiasm, identifying them with the spirit of early Fabian Socialism in general, and the ethical persuasion of early Liverpool Fabianism in particular. Moreover, despite a close association with the ILP, Liverpool Fabians like Joseph and John Edwards continued to be active as Fabians as much as their London counterparts.¹¹⁶ Above all, they grasped the significance of Morris' "new understanding of the dual role of practical and theoretical struggle":

This education by political and corporate action must
[. . .] be supplemented by instilling into the minds of the
people a knowledge of the aims of socialism, and a longing to
bring about the complete change which will supplant civilization
by communism.¹¹⁷

But although Socialists were able to influence discussion and policy, as
in the Trades Council, and thus form an important strain in the voice of
labour, the practical struggle did not only involve the Socialists in
the labour movement. In this respect, much of the theory of Socialism,
and of the idealism of Socialist enthusiasts, was not absorbed by the
British labour movement as a whole.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

1. Cf. John Edwards, Liberalism and Socialism: A Reply to Recent Speeches (Liverpool Fabian Society, 1906), p. 8; R. Harrison, Review of W. Wolfe, From Radicalism to Socialism: Men and Ideas in the Formation of Fabian Socialist Doctrines, 1881-1889 (London, 1975), in English Historical Review, XCII, no. 362 (1977), p. 159.
2. Commonweal, 4 May 1889; cf. Report of the Third Annual Conference of the Socialist League (London), 1887, p. 6: "the fight for education must be made part of the great struggle for a revolutionary change in the social conditions of life and the abolition of class distinctions" (Morris).
3. See E.P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class (Penguin Books edn., 1968), ch. 16; Simon, Education and the Two Nations, chs. IV-V; cf. P. Hollis, The Pauper Press (Oxford, 1970), p. 10, where the campaign for the unstamped press is seen as "an educational struggle with consequences for the political structure".
4. See e.g. E.P. Thompson, William Morris: Romantic to Revolutionary (London, 1977 edn.), chs. IV and VII. For the educational implications of the rise of Socialism in Britain, see Simon, Education and the Labour Movement, ch. I, and cf. R. Harrison, Before the Socialists. Studies in Labour and Politics (London, 1965), ch. VI, and Wolfe, From Radicalism to Socialism, op. cit.
5. Labour Leader, 21 April 1894; R. Bean, "Aspects of 'New' Unionism", pp. 99-121; Maddock, "Liverpool Trades Council and politics", ch. II.
6. See Liverpool Daily Post, 15 Nov. 1888, and Liverpool Review, 21 Nov. 1891; cf. Simon, Labour Movement, pp. 121-2.
7. Cf. R. Barker, "The Labour Party and Education for Socialism", International Review of Social History, XIV (1967), p. 24.
8. The Liver, 13 Jan. 1894. For a view of the traditional elementary school curriculum as a desirable, perhaps necessary, component of subsequent

- radical education, see e.g. H. Entwistle, Antonio Gramsci: Conservative Schooling for Radical Politics (London, 1979), to be published; cf. E.P. Thompson, "Education and Experience", Annual Mansbridge Lecture No. 5 (Leeds University Press, 1968), pp. 18, 20.
9. A.M. McBriar, Fabian Socialism and English Politics, 1884-1918, op. cit., ch. VII; for a distinction between propaganda and education, see Hodgen, Workers' Education, op. cit., p. 270, and cf. G.D.H. Cole, The World of Labour (London, 1913), pp. 16-17, 422.
 10. E.R. Pease, The History of the Fabian Society (2nd, edn. London, 1925), pp. 102-3; cf. McBriar, p. 167.
 11. See Shafts, 15 December 1894; Labour Leader, 13 Oct. 1894; Porcupine, 11 Dec. 1897. Also Liverpool Fabian Society (hereafter LFS), Annual Report (1892-3), British Library of Political and Economic Science (BLPES), Coll. Misc. 375-6.
 12. Porcupine, 11 Dec. 1897. The self-educated workingman Socialist was also a familiar figure: Sam Reeves and John Callow were well versed in Mill, Carlyle, Ruskin and Marx as well as the Greek classics. See Labour Chronicle, Nov. 1895 and Oct. 1900; for the SDF, see The Liver, 9 Dec. 1893: "the S.D.F. in this city is a very active organisation".
 13. See Porcupine, 17 April 1897.
 14. Fred Greasley (ILP) to E. Keeling, 7 April 1895, in the Joseph Edwards Papers, LRO, Acc. 2427. For Joseph, see the obituary notice in the Labour Party Annual Conference Report (1947), p. 31; for John's writings, Socialism and the Art of Living (LFS, 1913), and Politics and the ILP (Caroline E.D. Martyn Library, No. 1, Manchester, 1897).
 15. See L. Thompson, The Enthusiasts: A Biography of John and Katharine Bruce Glasier (London, 1971); cf. S. Pierson, Marxism and the Origins of British Socialism (Ithica, 1973), ch. VI.
 16. See the obituary in Liverpool Daily Post and Mercury, 15 Feb. 1922; and also Labour Chronicle, May 1898 (with portrait, reproduced in Hamling, p. 33), Labour Annual (1895), p. 169; Gore's Directory of Liverpool (1898), pp. 187, 799.

17. Shafts, 15 Dec. 1893.
18. See Joseph Edwards, Economics of Freedom: adjustments necessary to secure to the Belgian people equitable social conditions (London, 1917), and Land and Real Tariff Reform, being the Land Reformers' Handbook for 1909 (London, 1909); cf. John Edwards, Socialism and the Art of Living, op. cit., and McBriar, Fabian Socialism, p. 29; also Shafts, 15 Dec. 1893.
19. See E.J. Hobsbawm, "The Fabians Re-considered", in Labouring Men: Studies in the History of Labour (2nd edn., London, 1968), p. 253.
20. Shafts, op. cit.; Hamling, p. 27. For the Socialist Society, of which Reeves was secretary, see Porcupine, 12 Dec. 1891, and Fabian News, Dec. 1891; LFS First Annual Report (1892-3), BLPES.
21. Cf. H. Pelling, The Origins of the Labour Party (2nd edn., Oxford, 1965), p. 155, and S. Pierson, Marxism and the Origins of British Socialism, ch. 6. Her address to the Fabian Society in Jan. 1894 (given also to the Birkenhead Fabian Society the following month) presented Socialism from "an ideal and ethical standpoint": see Birkenhead News, 24 Feb. 1894, and LFS Circular No. 10, Jan. 1894, BLPES.
22. The first mention of Eleanor appears to be one in connection with the Fabian Cinderella Club, in LFS Circular No. 8, Nov. 1893; see also the handbill outlining the objects of the club (n.d. 1894?), BLPES, referred to in appendix 2 below; and, for a reference to her school teaching, e.g. Mollie [Keeling?] to Eleanor, 23 Dec. 1895, Joseph Edwards Papers.
23. E. Keeling to workers in Lodge Lane Rope [works] , 18 March 1896, Edwards Papers. For her work in the Women's Industrial Council, see Labour Chronicle, Jan. 1896; Porcupine, Feb. 1893 and Sept. 1894; The Women's Industrial News, April 1896. The scope of Eleanor's activities does not appear to have suited her health, "her enthusiasm . . . being not always unlimited by the claims of her own health": Labour Prophet, April 1896.
24. It was remarked that "there is a wonderful sweetness in your presence": Mollie (?) to Eleanor Keeling, 5 Nov. 1895, Edwards Papers. See also Birkenhead News, 24 Feb. 1894; Labour Chronicle, Sept. 1897 and Nov. 1898. Her column in the Clarion ran from 9 Feb. to 20 April 1895.

25. Their interest in women's emancipation was noted with great satisfaction by the editor of Shafts (Margaret Shurmer Sibthorpe), "though Socialists have not yet grasped the full bearings of this question": Shafts (a paper for "women and the working classes"), Feb. 1896. For the Labour Church commitment, see Labour Leader, 21 April and 21 July 1894, and Labour Prophet, May 1894 and July 1892.
26. See "Joff", Coffee House Babble, op. cit., p. 26; for earlier Owenite activity, see R.B. Rose, "John Finch, 1784-1857; a Liverpool Disciple of Robert Owen", in Building the Union, op. cit., pp. 31-52, and, for Jones, Harrison, Before the Socialists, pp. 320-21.
27. Coffee House Babble, p. 32.
28. Pierson, Marxism, p. 36, citing Socialist League Correspondence and Papers No. 3251/2, International Institute of Social History; also Labour Chronicle, Jan. 1896, and Liverpool Review, 23 Feb. 1891.
29. Blatchford thought "the cause of Socialism is progressing in Liverpool": Porcupine, 12 Dec. 1891; cf. Commonweal, April 1896 (Morris).
30. Coffee House Babble, p. 28; also Labour Annual (1895), p. 177, and W.H.G. Armytage, Heavens Below: Utopian Experiments in England (Toronto, 1961), p. 302. Kenworthy was attached to the Liverpool Ruskin Society before moving to Tolstoyism.
31. With Joseph, were John Edwards, Reeves, Mole, Edward Kaney, George Nelson and Joseph Goodman (of the SDF); Sexton and Manson had joined by 1893. See LFS Circular No. 1, Dec. 1892, and First Annual Report, op. cit.
32. Pease to Joseph Edwards, 28 February 1893, Joseph Edwards Papers; cf. The Liver, 9 Dec. 1893.
33. "Fabian Opportunities", The Liver, 2 Dec. 1893--20 Jan. 1894.
34. Porcupine, 24 Sept. 1892.
35. Justice, 19 July 1902, but cf. ibid., 8 Jan. 1898, where the Fabian president praised the "uncalculating devotion to principle of the S.D.F."
36. J. Sexton, Sir James Sexton, Agitator (London, 1936), p. 150; Labour

- Leader, 21 July 1894. In the Daily Post, 30 Dec. 1930, Morrissey recalled that he and Sexton had joined an ILP before the formation of the national body, and which advocated "independence and the full Socialist Programme".
37. See e.g. the publication of a statement on "Fabian Election Tactics", for the 1896 International Socialist Congress, which favoured co-operation with the SDF and ILP, in opposition to London Fabians, in Report on Fabian Policy, 1896, BLPES. Cf. P. Poirier, The Advent of the British Labour Party (New York, 1958), p. 35n.
 38. The Liver, 9 Dec. 1893; cf. Pease, History, op. cit., p. 103.
 39. Clarion, 2 Feb. 1895 (probably by Sexton, then contributing local information as "Citizen").
 40. See Labour Leader, 24 April 1897, for John's ILP Conference address ("Recent Parliamentary Elections and the Proposed Union of Progressive Forces"); its successful reception led to a motion in favour of its publication in pamphlet form (Politics and the ILP). Cf. John's address (to the local SDF) on "The Fabian View of the One Socialist Party", Labour Chronicle, Sept. 1895, and also Liverpool Review, 17 Sept. 1892 and 29 July 1893.
 41. See John Edwards, Liberalism and Socialism, op. cit., p. 8; for Joseph, see e.g. Labour Prophet, May 1896.
 42. The Liver, 9 Dec. 1893; LFS Circular No. 1, op. cit.
 43. The Liver, 2 Dec. 1893; Labour Chronicle, August 1895.
 44. S. Yeo, "A New Life: The Religion of Socialism in Britain 1883-1896", History Workshop Journal, No. 4 (1977), p. 30.
 45. R.T. Manson, Wayward Fancies (Liverpool, 1906), pp. 26, 28. See extract in appendix 1 below.
 46. "Shadow and Sun", Labour Chronicle, June 1896: ". . . from a dais-like heath-clad rock, around which the choristers had stood, arose our Carrie Martyn. Truly no Diana of old was ever more godlike than she, as she stood before the background of waving green . . . and . . . spoke from her noble heart words of burning fervour and truth". See also Lena Wallis,

Life and Letters of Caroline Martyn (London, 1898), p. 68, cited in Yeo, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

47. Porcupine, 17 April 1897.
48. Politics and the ILP, p. 12; Sir James Sexton Agitator, p. 128.
49. Clarion, 23 March 1895, cited in Yeo, "Religion of Socialism", p. 11.
50. Labour Chronicle, Oct. 1894, and Jan.-Feb. 1895.
51. Minutes of the National Administrative Council of the ILP, 12 Nov. 1898 ("Reports from Head Office"), m890/1/4, BLPES. The Everton Branch ILP wanted a re-opening of negotiations with the SDF. See also Labour Leader, 9 Feb. 1895.
52. From 1901, John Edwards was president of the very active and Socialist-influenced Liverpool Housing Association: see e.g. Fabian News, Dec. 1901. Cf. London Fabian influence on the ILP, McBriar, p. 280.
53. Under the auspices of the Liverpool Financial Reform Association, which presented George's speech as a lesson to the working class on the expediency of Liberal Radical commitment. See Henry George in London and Liverpool, Dec. 1888 (London, 1889?), pp. 29, 31.
54. Sidney Webb to Henry George, 8 March 1889 (Webb's emphasis), microfilm of correspondence with English followers, from Henry George Collection, New York Public Library, in BLPES. See Wolfe, From Radicalism to Socialism, pp. 86ff. for George as an orthodox economist whose writings led later English readers on to a serious criticism of the economic system, Progress and Poverty having "equivalents or analogies of several key doctrines of Marxian economics".
55. ILP Annual Conference Report (1893), pp. 6-7, 14; cf. Sexton, p. 129.
56. Ibid. (1894), p. 8.
57. The Trades Council was only open to working-class Socialists as delegates of their various trades; Sexton and Reeves represented trade unionist, Fabian and ILP views. Eleanor Keeling on at least one occasion (possibly others) spoke as a representative of women's trade unions; John Edwards was an honorary member of the National Union of Gas Workers and General Labourers. See TC Minutes, 25 March 1896; Labour Annual (1895), p. 169.

58. Karl Kautsky, The Labor Revolution, trans. by H. Stemming (New York, n.d.), p. 221, cited in M.J. Shore, Soviet Education (New York, 1947), p. 84.
59. Cf. Freedom, May 1909, where the syndicalist Fred Bower failed "to understand why some of our comrades disagree with us in this method of propaganda". See also ch. 6 below.
60. See Labour Chronicle, Feb. 1896; Clarion, 9 Feb. 2 and 30 March 1895.
61. Eleanor advertised her "Liverpool Young Merrie Englanders' Club" in Labour Chronicle, August 1895, and Labour Prophet, Sept. 1895; an account of the Women's Industrial Council appeared in the Reformers' Year Book (1904), p. 101: "the organisation of women's and girls' clubs for social and educational purposes" included a study of economics and legislation affecting women's trades.
62. The Liver, 13 Jan. 1894.
63. Labour Prophet, Jan. 1896; cf. F. Reid, "Socialist Sunday Schools in Britain, 1892-1931", International Review of Social History, XI (1966), p. 20. For Eleanor's educational views, see "A New Scheme of Education", in the Labour Annual (1895), pp. 145-6; for the Sunday School, Labour Chronicle, Feb. 1896 and Jan. 1897.
64. Prophet, Oct. 1894, "Outline Addresses for Children", facing p. 60. Eleanor also made suggestions for the use of lantern illustrations.
65. Ibid., May 1896.
66. Robert Blatchford, Merrie England (London, 1895), p. 160 (my emphasis).
67. LFS Tract No. 8, "Practical School Board Reform" (1897).
68. The Liver, op. cit.
69. Ibid.; for labour criticism of the School Board, see ch. 3 below.
70. Labour Annual (1895), p. 146: in preparation for what she saw as a reverent and prudent exercise of "the most important faculty of procreation".
71. Ibid., p. 145: "mere externals should be used only to promote the higher

life"; cf. Clarion, 23 March 1895, and Katharine Conway in The Workman's Times, 22 July 1893, Caroline Martyn in Labour Chronicle, April 1895 (education "should help children to be beautiful men and women").

72. LFS Annual Report (1893-4), BLPEs; Prophet, July 1892; Shafts, 15 Dec. 1893.
73. R. Wearmouth, Methodism and the Working Class Movement, 1850-1900 (London, 1937) and The Social and Political Influence of Methodism in the Twentieth Century (London, 1957); E.J. Hobsbawm, Primitive Rebels (New York, 1965 edn.), ch. VIII; Pelling, Origins of the Labour Party, op. cit., ch. VII; and R. Moore, Pit-men, Preachers and Politics: The Effects of Methodism in a Durham Mining Community (London, 1974).
74. "Church Going in Liverpool", Daily Post, 24 Oct. 1891: much of the Nonconformist decline in church attendance was influenced by the considerable population drift to the outskirts (i.e. to predominantly middle-class areas); cf. Pelling, p. 130. On the puritan tradition, there is a considerable literature, but see C. Hill, Society and Puritanism in pre-Revolutionary England (London, 1964), and C.H. George, "Puritanism as History and Historiography", Past and Present, 41 (1968), pp. 77-104, further discussed by W.M. Lamont in ibid., 44 (1969), pp. 133-46.
75. See Rev. A. Hume, Condition of Liverpool, Religious and Social (Liverpool, 1858), p. 13; H.D. Roberts, Hope Street Church and the Allied Nonconformity (Liverpool, 1909), and I. Sellers, The Methodist Chapels and Preaching Places of Liverpool and District, 1750-1971 (typescript, LRO, 1971), in general; and The Liverpool Unitarian Annual (1892), pp. 9, 102, 109ff.
76. See e.g. L. Hall "The Ancient Chapel of Toxteth Park and Toxteth School", THSLC, 87 (1936); Roberts, op. cit., p. 265, reproduces a letter from an early 19th century Unitarian parson to his daughter: "Young persons educated as you have been in principles of religion and virtue would indeed choose rather to be classed amongst the vulgar than gain a character for politeness and grace by violating truth and sincerity".
77. Liverpool Pulpit, Feb. 1892; cf. I. Sellers, Salute to Pembroke (typescript, LRO, 1960), ch. IV.

78. Pulpit, Dec. 1892, and Feb. 1893.
79. Ibid., May 1893.
80. Ibid.; Fabian News, March, May and August 1893. It was still a regular feature in 1900, when the Fabian Society had some 80 active members: see Labour Chronicle and Trade Union Reporter, May 1900 (reporting the 8th annual meeting of the LFS).
81. E.g. "I am quite at a loss to understand why the majority who are not rich should be proud of the minority who are . . . we talk of masters and of men; though God makes no man the master of his brother": Pulpit, May 1893. For the work of Joseph and Eleanor in the Labour Church, see Labour Prophet, July and Sept. 1892, July 1893. Eleanor was appointed Pioneer Secretary in 1894; cf. Labour Leader, 21 July 1894.
82. Cf. P. Jones, The Christian Socialist Revival, 1877-1914 (Princeton, 1968), p. 332.
83. C.W. Stubbs, "The Workers' Comrade King", sermon of 7 May 1893, Pulpit, May 1893 (Stubbs' emphasis).
84. Yeo, "A New Life", p. 19; cf. S. Pierson, "John Trevor and the Labour Church Movement in England, 1891-1900", Church History, XXX (1960), p. 465.
85. J. Edwards, "The Gospel of Labour", Pulpit, June 1893.
86. R.A. Armstrong, "Capitalism and Christianity", sermon of 7 May, Pulpit, June 1893.
87. Socialism and the Art of Living, op. cit., p. 38.
88. He was seen to take "a formidable stand on the broad social platform": see Liverpool Review, 14 Nov. 1891, and, for a selection of early sermons at Pembroke, his Changing Creeds and Social Struggles (London, 1893).
89. Clarion, 5 Oct. 1895, and cf., Sellers, Salute to Pembroke, p. 32. For the 1920's Pembroke, see e.g. Justice for All, 15 Oct. 1921.
90. Sellers, op. cit., pp. 18, 25, and "Nonconformist Attitudes in Later Nineteenth Century Liverpool", THSLC, CXIV (1962), p. 221. Cf. S. Rowbotham, "The Call to University Extension Teaching, 1873-1900", University of Birmingham Historical Journal, XII (1969), p. 57.

91. "Gurth the Son of Beowulph", Changing Creeds, op. cit., pp. 184, 192.
92. C.F. Aked, "The Fable and the Bramble-King", in The Courage of the Coward and Other Sermons preached in Liverpool (London, n.d., 1897?); cf. "Gurth the Son of Beowulph", p. 188.
93. Cf. "The Gospel for the Day", Changing Creeds, p. 10; Rowbotham, p. 63.
94. See The Liver, 21 Oct. 1893; and Porcupine, 17 Dec. 1892. Although Sellers describes Aked as "an eager Fabian", it would seem that his Fabian leanings were not to the anti-"Progressive" Liverpool variety. Cf. Sellers, "Nonconformist Attitudes", p. 221, and see also S. Smith, My Lifework (1902), p. 145, where education in Christian charity was seen as the "true disinfectant" for the "malaria" of Socialism.
95. Pulpit, Sept. 1894, for correspondence between Sexton and "A Liverpool Merchant".
96. Ibid., March 1893, which also contains the other Socialist contributions. Apart from Pembroke, established debating centres attended by Socialists included the Cambridge, Rathbone, City, St. John's and Kensington Literary or Debating Societies, as well as the YMCA and the Common Hall, Hackin's Hey. See the regular monthly entries in the Labour Chronicle for 1895.
97. John Edwards to Joseph Edwards, 12 Dec. 1893, Joseph Edwards papers; The Liver, 6 Jan. 1894, where Joseph suggested the idea in relation to his advice on propagandist activities, including the "permeation of the press": he was evidently optimistic about the future of Liverpool Fabianism, even jesting that "a branch of the Liverpool Fabian Society has been started in London!".
98. See Labour Annual (1898), editorial preface; Reformers' Year Book (1901), p. 76.
99. Land Reformers' Handbook (1909), op. cit., p. 32; Labour Annual (1898), editorial preface.
100. By 1897, Joseph had to assume responsibility for £120 on the issues, which led to several appeals for help; see Annual (1897), p. 7, Porcupine, 9 Oct. and 6 Nov. 1897, and Labour Chronicle, Feb. 1900 and May 1901.

101. The Free Labour Press, Feb. 1896, also declared that the Annual "assumes that a Labour Movement can only be associated with Socialism"; ibid., June 1896. For Joseph's conception, see his editorial prefaces to the 1895 and 1896 Annuals, and The Liver, 18 Nov. 1893.
102. Labour Prophet, August 1894; Fabian News, August 1902. The sentiment of the Annual's motto was reinforced by a quotation from Tennyson: "ring out the nobler modes of life; With sweeter manners, purer laws", in Labour Annual (1895), editorial preface. The cover of the Reformers' Year Book, from 1901, was designed by the Liverpool-born Socialist artist, Walter Crane.
103. D. Marquand, introduction to The Labour Year Book 1895-1948, Harvester Press, op. cit., pp. xii-xiii. The editor of the Chronicle was well aware of this tendency, wishing "to get more Trade Unionism in": see John Edwards to John Shannon (TC), 20 Dec. 1896, TC Correspondence, 331 TRA 2/72-/130. See also Labour Annual (1895), p. 33 for Joseph's reference to a "National Federation" of Socialist bodies.
104. Labour Prophet, May 1896, "One Socialist Party"; other contributors included Keir Hardie and Tom Mann.
105. William Morris to J. Edwards, 5 May 1893, in Prophet, July 1893, partially quoted in Thompson, William Morris, p. 610. The "J. Edwards" referred to in Thompson's note was in fact Joseph, who read out Morris' letter at a Labour Church service on Labour Day. Cf. Joseph's "The Knights of Labor", in Prophet, July 1892.
106. Cf. Thompson, op. cit., pp. 610-11. For criticism, see e.g. Labour Chronicle, Jan. 1896, and I.L.P. News, June 1901.
107. Cf. Marquand, introduction, op. cit., pp. xiv-xv; Marquand's interpretation of the Annual is also briefly criticised by R. Harrison in a review of the Harvester Press reprints in Bulletin of the Society for the Study of Labour History, no. 25 (1973), pp. 113-14.
108. "The Knights of Labour", op. cit.; cf. John Edwards, Liberalism and Socialism, p. 8, and The Liver, 6 Jan. 1894: "Socialism: what it is and what it is not" (by Sam Reeves).

109. Fabian News, Jan. 1897 and Feb. 1900.
110. Prophet, Jan. 1894, "What is Our Present Business as Socialists?". For correspondence with Edward Pease, and notes of a trip to London on Annual business in 1898, see Joseph Edwards Papers; Joseph also established contacts abroad, sending copies of the Liverpool Fabian Tract No. 3 to the United States. See Labour Chronicle, Sept. 1895.
111. Labour Leader, 13 Oct. 1894; LFS Tract No. 3, "Competition versus Co-operation" (1894); cf. Porcupine, 31 Dec. 1892.
112. See Economics of Freedom, op. cit., and The Land Reformers' Handbook (of which there appears only to have been the 1909 issue). According to a notice in Justice, 13 Jan. 1906, Joseph was involved in collecting radical election literature.
113. See ch. 6 below, and Labour Chronicle, June 1900 (on the housing problem).
114. See e.g. Liverpool Review, 9 Jan. 1897; White, esp. pp. 101ff.; Salvidge of Liverpool, for the Workingmen's Conservative Association, and Brady, "T.P. O'Connor", op. cit., chs. IV-V.
115. See Labour Chronicle, July 1896, and ibid., Nov. 1894 and Oct. 1900 for co-operation at School Board elections.
116. Cf. Margaret Cole, The Story of Fabian Socialism (London, 1961), p. 32, and McBriar, Fabian Socialism, p. 166. For John Edwards' later work see ch. 6, and for Nelson, ch. 7, below.
117. Thompson, William Morris, p. 614, citing Morris' lecture to the London Fabian Society in 1893 on Communism.

CHAPTER THREE

The Liverpool Labour Movement and the School Board

But it's hard to understand
The greatness of the land
That routed the Armada and
 kept the French at bay;
The primers will not tell,
Though you study ne'er so well,
Why her tiny sons and daughters
 scantly find one meal a day;
Why they needs must sit up straight
And think of Henry Eight
When drowsiness of hunger is
 weighing on their eyes . . .

(From: "The Child in the City", anon.,
The Sphinx, vol. 3, Nov. 1895, the Liverpool
University College Students' Magazine)

Forster's Education Act of 1870 marked the real beginning of an assumption by the state of the responsibility for educating all children. While education was not made compulsory until 1880, and free until 1891, areas with an insufficient provision of elementary schooling were obliged to establish school boards on the basis of popular election by the ratepayers. The Act effected a compromise situation in that Church ("voluntary") schools were given an increased Treasury grant, while board schools were intended merely to "fill the gaps" in voluntary provision; this stimulated the voluntary agencies, largely the Church of England, into securing increased efficiency, and created a firmly-entrenched dual system. Rate aid enabled the school boards--especially the large urban ones--to tap considerable local financial resources, and their potential for progressive reforms, coupled with a democratic elective principle, made them attractive to the labour movement as a whole.¹

Although the Liverpool labour movement took an active interest in education under the School Board, and, on the part of Socialists in particular, enthusiastically embraced the question of educating for successful labour politics, it never secured representation on the major public body responsible for the "people's schools". This probably says more, however, of the peculiarly complex politico-religious climate of School Board activity in the city than of the "indifference" of organised labour in relation to formal educational issues. A history of failure undoubtedly led to growing disillusionment with School Board politics--rather more, perhaps, than with the school board elective

principle per se--and predisposed some Socialists (even with a Marxist SDF background) quite favourably towards the City Council as a unit of educational administration. This tendency was strengthened by the relative trade unionist success in the field of technical education, albeit primarily through co-option rather than direct popular election,² Liverpool experience, like that of Manchester, was therefore not part of the more general identification of the school boards as "citadels of radicalism".³ If, for example, a very early manifestation of working-class radicalism in Nelson was illustrated by an outstanding Socialist success in a school board election, a growing militancy in the ranks of Liverpool labour, by the mid-1890's, could produce nothing of the kind. Indeed,

Surely no institution was ever in such evil case as the Board Schools. I speak especially of Liverpool, but my remarks would probably apply more or less all over the country. What other institution was ever delivered over, bound hand and foot, to be governed by its declared enemies?⁴

The role of labour movements in relation to the provision of education under the school boards was but one of a number of strands in the entire fabric of "education and the working class". It is beyond the scope of this chapter to attempt the kind of social history, or social geography, of such provision as undertaken by Rubinstein for London, or, in a more restricted area, by Marsden for Bootle;⁵ moreover, despite an abundance of available records, no comprehensive account of the Liverpool School Board--comparable to those of Sheffield, Nottingham, Glasgow or London⁶--can be drawn upon. The present concern is with

those aspects of School Board policy which drew labour criticism, and involved the labour movement in the politics of working-class education. Primarily, these centred on the struggle for working-class representation (in part, a practical component of the "theoretical struggle" in which the Socialists were engaged from the late 1880's), and on a network of interrelated issues, such as welfare, adequate school provision in working-class districts, overcrowding, and the payment of fees, which was well illustrated in Liverpool by the Free Education controversy. Although dating from the mid-80's, the role of organised labour, in relation to the School Board, is better understood in the light of the earlier shaping of Board policy, from 1870. Representative criticism in this earlier period came largely from Liberals, channelled through the press (notably Porcupine, edited by a Liberal Anglican, Hugh Shimmin, and the Liberal--later Liverpool--Review), the Conservative-led Liverpool Land and House Owners' Association, a ratepayers' association, and individual Nonconformist ministers. It was illustrative of the political and religious context in which subsequent efforts were made by labour groups to speak independently on many of the issues involved.⁷

The early years of the School Board

In relation to its first School Board, Liverpool made an electoral "compromise" of its own in seeking to establish a "fair representation of all the various religious bodies". Profound religious conflict--in a city which counted both Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants--was thus to be hidden behind the "social problem" of education:

their only object was to obtain an efficient School Board, who would rescue the town from the disgrace of having its streets filled with children who were as devoid of secular and religious instruction as the heathens to whom we sent the Scriptures.

However, it was soon found that "differences of opinion of necessity sprung up at the Board",⁸ Advanced Liberals, and Porcupine, followed the course taken by James A. Picton (a Nonconformist) in his initial candidacy for an election in 1872, and urged a secular policy aimed at meeting perceived social needs. This was seen as a "commonsense policy" and identified with the only two School Board members deemed "workingmen representatives";⁹ in effect, it foreshadowed an increasing Liberal interest in the working-class vote, and became associated with the growing trade union consciousness of the 1880's. It attacked the Church and Catholic parties (who predominated, in an almost equal ratio, for the entire period of the School Board) because they were seen to frustrate "the object of the 1870 Act" by furthering denominational ends at the expense of the great need of the city, whose "streets and line of docks teem as ever with the young pariahs of Liverpool society".¹⁰ This came to represent the Progressive, strictly "educational", programme, though Liberal Progressives like Samuel Rathbone, Anne Davies or William Oulton nevertheless saw the 1870 Act as one for "filling the gaps": even in 1892, when the Liverpool Liberal Federal Council was advocating "free, unsectarian" schools, there was "no desire to upset the compromise of 1870", and a consolidation of the voluntary system was seen to be simultaneous with an increase in Board activity designed to

tackle social questions.¹¹ The policy was not markedly different from that of "Democratic" Tories, under Sir Arthur Forwood, who, though careful to see the social importance of school boards in large urban areas, nevertheless urged that they should work "in harmony with the voluntary system . . . [which] could save a most gigantic expenditure in the future", and placed a clear emphasis on religious education, pointing to the Birmingham School Board which, under the Radicals, had "excluded the Bible",¹² The equation of school board parties with political parties can, indeed, be misleading. For instance, Liberal Churchmen--like Hugh Shimmin--while politically opposed to Conservatism, aligned themselves with the Board's Church party; and strong anti-Romanish sentiment could lead Conservatives to the "Liberal" side of the Board, for Tory Churchmen were seen to cater to the Catholic interest in their endorsement of Board payment of denominational fees.¹³ If it stressed the permissive nature of the 1870 Act ("a good thing, since School Districts can act according to their various populations and circumstances"), the Liverpool School Board did, however, develop a sense of educational purpose. From a total "recognised efficient" public elementary school provision of 61,972 places (with an average attendance of 37,389) during August-October 1871, when there were no Board schools, there was a provision of 116,517 places in 1897 (with 39 Board schools, 114,428 on the rolls, and an average attendance of 99,285). However, 77,847 of these places were in voluntary schools, of which there were 107; following further boundary extensions at the end of the century, there were only 44,000 Board school places out of a total public elementary school provision of 126,000 by 1900.¹⁴ Thus

the voluntary schools--with 66 Church, 37 Roman Catholic, 7 Wesleyan and 3 British and Undenominational by the end of the century--were well entrenched in Liverpool. With eleven or twelve of the fifteen Board members permanently "denominationalist", moreover, it is not surprising that the 1870 compromise was rigidly adhered to, nor that there was always a deficiency of school places.¹⁵ Many Progressives were themselves "denominationalists", and the most persistent concern of both enlightened Liberals and of those denominationalists who readily identified themselves as the "party of economy" was to save the rates.¹⁶ Porcupine and the Liberal Review advocated "Fair-play for the voluntary schools and efficiency, coupled with economy" for those of the School Board, while the Land and House Owners' Association opposed the erection of additional schools in the interests of "strict economy" (and "down with extravagance").¹⁷ In this way, an early demand for economy accompanied an apparently paradoxical concern with the social welfare aspects of schooling, which produced a constant rhetoric centred on the degradation, crime and immorality inherent in the unschooled population. A similar demand for economy continued to characterise the period of the Education Committee, when social welfare came to focus increasingly on the health and well-being of children in the schools.¹⁸

Initially, the School Board sought to avoid having to meet with too large a deficiency in school accommodation, and engaged in a complex statistical warfare with the Education Department.¹⁸ Although it made a serious attempt to meet something of the deficiency from 1874-5, when schools were opened in Queen's Road (the first), Chatsworth, Roscommon,

Ashfield, Beaufort and Butler Streets, the Board exercised the "greatest caution" in meeting increased demands, for "provision which may today appear to be urgently needed may . . . be rendered at a comparatively early period wholly unnecessary".²⁰ In particular, the Liberal press accused both the rigid sectarians and the zealous "brick-and-mortar members" of neglecting the "lowest and labouring classes".²¹ While apparently upholding the interests of the working class, this view in fact lent support to the ratepayers' memorials to the Board, and to the party of economy and efficiency, for it in no way concealed its distrust of school boards: the Liverpool Board was seen to suffer from "a mania for perfection--perfection which will reflect and magnify its own excellence and self-importance". The main purpose of Board schools was to be a "refuge for the destitute", to bring in the "street arab" population:

To pay for education in order to prevent crime, or to pay for the support of criminals educated in the free and popular school of the streets, that is the choice before the ratepayers.²²

In contrast to its early critics, however, the Board did openly recognise fundamental factors making for prevalent crime irrespective of a dearth of school places, such as "the migratory nature of the population and the precarious nature of employment", crucial in a city economically dominated by its waterfront.²³ Thus, disparities in educational opportunity were seen to arise from the socio-economic structure peculiar to the city, which (along with such factors as religion, transportation or suburban growth) accounted for the residential segregation

common to late-Victorian cities, as well as the later educational segregation of "fee" and "free" schools practised by the School Board.²⁴

In this way also, earlier criticism of School Board policy partly anticipated later labour views: social inequalities were reinforced by elements of Board policy. Although not couched in these terms, Porcupine's major complaint, as expressed primarily through its working-man contributor (the "Liverpool Shipwright"), was that Board schools, far from providing a "refuge for the destitute", had become "an educational home for parents who find it both convenient and profitable to shirk their responsibilities", the result of a policy which began work at the top of the social strata, not at the bottom.²⁵ The "Shipwright" was not representative of organised labour, but appears to have been a workingman Liberal (with something of a Whig outlook), exceptionally well-read and literate; his denunciation of the Trades Council identifies him with the Workingmen's Conservative Association in its attack on "so-called representatives". However, his School Board criticism resembles that of trade unionists, of the "old" sort, who came to associate a working-class interest in the Board with a strictly "educational" policy, as opposed to any political or religious design. While prejudiced towards a system of Anglican schools, and, from his position as a "labour aristocrat", addressing the problem of "the poor", he advocated a "cheap and comprehensive system", schools "in the lowest and most densely populated areas", and a recourse to a means other than the police courts for cases of non-attendance.²⁶ His system of common schools for the common people, which was to be "free, simple and secular", with "higher" education in clerical hands, shared Porcupine's own "Improved Education

for the Working Classes" in its focus on the poor and their "elevation":

An education should be provided which will enable such of them as are fitted to rise to obtain that elevation, and to enable those who are to remain in their original humble position to fill happily to themselves, and usefully to others, the duties of their station.²⁷

But it was also an indictment of School Board "neglect": Chatsworth Street School, for example, was "filled with children, many of whom lived outside the boundaries of the borough, and whose social condition [in comparison with these waifs] was startling in the extreme".²⁸ Both the "Shipwright" and advanced Liverpool Liberal M.P.'s like George Melly or Samuel Smith proclaimed a close relationship between a minimum education and "poverty and crime". As a local magistrate, Melly asserted in the Commons that "from 25,000 to 30,000 children in the streets of Liverpool . . . are learning nothing, if they be not learning habits of vagrancy, mendicancy and crime", while his advocacy of the secular Birmingham League position was defended on the basis of a statistical correlation between increased crime and a decrease in education. Smith's solution to the street arab population was one of enforced state emigration, a position which found considerable national support.²⁹ The suspicion of state "interference" and a tendency towards "ostentation" which the "Shipwright" associated with the School Board, however, led him to dismiss its potential for improving local conditions with respect to child life and labour.³⁰

It was under the heading "Poverty and Crime" that the "Liverpool Correspondent" for the Industrial Review (formerly the Beehive) also

considered the School Board. While welcoming an efficient and secular system of Board schools, he was far from convinced that radical social change would result merely from schooling the poor: "We do not mean to say how much of this [expenditure on police] might be saved by a properly administered education rate". He therefore urged trade unionists--"working men in their trade societies"-- to secure "effective legislation" in such matters as housing as well as education, an emphasis continued and extended by Liverpool Fabians from 1892.³¹ When the Liverpool Trades Council first contested a School Board election, in 1888, it could nevertheless echo one of the chief sentiments voiced earlier by the "Shipwright":

We workmen are amazed that educated men, who aim at being looked up to as leaders in the religious and political worlds, seem so completely ignorant of the alphabet of their duties as educationalists.³²

Labour and the School Board

It was as enthusiastic "educationalists" that labour representatives came forward as School Board candidates, for as Charles Rouse of the Trades Council remarked in 1892, "It seems rather an anomaly that the School Board should be engineered by eleven gentlemen opposed to Board school education".³³ Although there was common ground between them and Progressives, particularly in the attack on clericalism, co-operation at elections was rare, and the advanced Liberal press grew increasingly hostile towards bona-fide labour or Socialist candidates in the 1890's.³⁴

From around the late 80's, the local labour movement was educating itself anew to the notion that an extension of popular education was "an essential aspect of political and economic emancipation", and was thus eager to challenge traditional control "from above": the School Board was dominated not only by a clerical, but also a legal and commercial interest.³⁵

A labour candidate (William Newcomb), had stood as a "Free educationalist" in 1885 but it was only in November 1888 that representatives of a distinct working-class movement came forward. While subsequently referring to this venture as a beginning to its work in "Education and Politics", the Trades Council was nevertheless divided in its decision to associate formal education with "broader political work". Thus the President of the Council, George Parkin, did not consider it a political move, since he saw neither the School Board nor the Trades Council as political bodies.³⁶ This phase of "trade union consciousness" which brought forward Henry Pearson and William Newcomb as the respective candidates of the Trades Council and Labour Electoral Association (LEA), was well received by advanced Liberals:

The working-men candidates have special claims upon the class to whom they appeal. The advantage of having on the School Board men who are in touch with the section of the community most largely affected by the action of the School Board is obvious.³⁷

At this time, Liverpool Liberals were making a belated, but serious bid to win over trade unionists; in 1889, a Liberal Federal Council was

established to co-ordinate the nine Liverpool parliamentary divisions, while such Radicals as Edward Evans of the Reform Club and John Lovell, editor and leading proprietor of the Liverpool Mercury, were intent on "purifying the air of obsolete Whiggism and effete local administration". Lovell's Halfpenny Weekly began a section--"The Voice of Labour"--in connection with the LEA, whose Liverpool leader and representative was William Matkin of the Trades Council.³⁸ Matkin had been one of the first members of the London Workingmen's Association as well as the Birmingham Education League, and it is not surprising that Newcomb, his nominee, should also advocate the "Birmingham programme of Free or State Paid Education, non-sectarian and compulsory", a programme which Pearson adopted.³⁹ Although much preoccupied with the forthcoming Technical Instruction Act, both candidates could broaden their perspective, on the basis of a clear commitment to labour representation, and of an involvement in School Board evening classes on the part of the Trades Council. In particular, Newcomb spoke of "a fair and equal chance" for all children, and his interest in cheap dinners, overcrowding, and School Board summonses, foreshadowed subsequent Socialist emphases, as did his implicit reference to a variety of common schooling.⁴⁰ Neither candidate was successful, however; the election was won solidly by the Catholic and Church parties, and Newcomb's poll, if considerably larger than Pearson's, was still far below that of the lowest successful candidate. While blaming the Nonconformists, Newcomb realistically surmised that "The working men seemed to have concluded that they were best represented by the middle classes and the Orange section of the community", a pattern familiar for most of the Liverpool School Board era. But, as

Pearson noted, "[Labour] hadn't the means and organisation . . . of the Catholic and Church parties--who could use their schools and other buildings in forwarding the interest of their candidates".⁴¹

If Newcomb blamed the Nonconformists, the Nonconformists and the Liberal press came to blame the labour men. Although the Trades Council insisted on presenting independent labour candidates, Liberals continued to seek its support, yet advised labour to keep to Liberal politicians, especially following the 1890 Trades Union Congress in Liverpool, when even Matkin was identified with the "New", mass trade unionist position, and which heralded the spectre of Socialist infiltration of the Trades Council.⁴² Thus, in the 1891 election, for instance, the Liverpool Review argued in favour of "experienced men of the Board" rather than the two Trades Council nominees (Rouse and Potter), and the relative Nonconformist success, on this occasion, was the "lesson" for all future elections: "the men best fitted to administer the Education Acts are those who have had educational advantages which equip them for the important work".⁴³ In effect, it was to bolster Liberal overtures to the working class, for to stand as independent candidates was to play into the hands of "Forwood and Company", that is, of the Conservatives.⁴⁴

From a Socialist point of view, playing into the hands of either Conservative or Liberal was equally unacceptable. A Socialist candidate first appeared at the 1891 election, as an "Independent"; thereafter, Sam Reeves stood at every election, increasing his poll quite remarkably, but never successfully. From 1891, there was always an independent "labour party", as opposed to a Church or Progressive party, at School

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Board elections, though, despite a common core programme among labour and Socialist groups, there was seldom an entirely unified front. In part, this accounts for labour's permanent "Minor(ity)" position in relation to the School Board.⁴⁵ Trade unionists and Socialist elements were acutely aware of this by 1892, and the Liverpool LEA sought Trades Council participation in a conference, along with the Fabian Society and the "Independent Labour Society", expressly "for the purpose of trying to arrange a uniformity of Action to bring about the much needed reforms which all classes of Labour consider to be so essential for our future welfare."⁴⁶ It has already been noted that "uniformity of action" was the keynote of local Fabian activity from 1892. A close association with the ILP, and even the SDF--which Reeves had first organised in the city--, combined with an absence of Progressivism on the London model, did not lead Liverpool Fabians into the relatively fruitful co-operation between Socialists and Progressives that marked the history of the London School Board.⁴⁷ During the later 1880's and the early 1890's, Liverpool Socialists were active in stimulating a practical struggle to secure Socialistic ends through the independent political organisation of the working class. With the mainstream Socialist bodies of the 90's, this embraced the full spectrum of local elective bodies, including the School Board. In his address on "Fabian Opportunities", Joseph Edwards underlined the importance of the school boards for labour:

By means of the Trade Unions, ILP's and labour-men, it should be one of the easiest things possible to place your own man or men on this board. The power of plumping gives you a much increased power, when organised . . .⁴⁸

Edwards recommended a close surveillance of the School Board, its personnel, biases, and policies, and an active campaign to combat its unpopular free education policy after 1891. He also urged Fabians to observe the street arab population by night, and sounded a note characteristic of Socialist school board programmes in general:

Not only should you work towards freeing education entirely--you should go for providing at least one good free meal every day to those children who apply for it. You all know that every day 1000 poor half-starving children have to be crammed with "knowledge" and "learning" (God help us!) without having tasted a mouthful of breakfast.⁴⁹

Like SDF candidates elsewhere, Joseph Goodman's School Board programme of 1894 (when, as the SDF candidate, he was the only "Socialist") included "Free meals in board schools" and a plea for the development of a "sturdier and more robust manhood and womanhood in our nation's life". But the programmes of the Fabian Society, as well as the Trades Council and Labour Representation Committee (founded in 1894), similarly advocated the provision of free, or cheap, meals by the School Board.⁵⁰ As noted, the Fabian Society provided an active palliative in its Cinderella Club, established to furnish periodical "Suppers and Entertainments to children of the slums". Largely "run by Socialists"--notably Eleanor Keeling--this nevertheless co-operated with the Liverpool Food Association, a voluntary agency organised from May 1893 by H. Lee Jones, a Christian philanthropist of "independent means".⁵¹ The active struggle for child welfare legislation undertaken by the municipal Labour Group from 1905, and especially from 1911, was therefore a continuation

of a policy adopted from at least as early as 1892. In Liverpool, it was a protracted struggle, for even by 1912, the Education Committee was relying almost exclusively on the work of voluntary agencies. The over-all "voluntary" persuasion of the School Board was thus extended to the sphere of social welfare, in which the boards had inevitably come to involve themselves, and expressed in what was seen as an outmoded attitude towards poverty, as portrayed by its free education policy.⁵² This will be discussed below.

Socialists and "labour-men" were concerned with a wide range of School Board matters. A series of articles by a "Socialist School-master" in the Fabian-inspired Labour Chronicle criticised the use of pupil-teachers in large classes, "cramming" for examinations, time spent on religious instruction, and other pedagogical issues.⁵³ Fabian and SDF programmes included a focus on higher grade schools, a leaving age of 16, a limitation of class size, and a range of scientific and technical education available to all. The Fabians spoke of higher education "free to all", and the SDF of "Equality of Opportunity", but, although the School Board was urged to develop higher grade work, and an explicit legal sanction was sought for the creation of Board "secondary" schools, there was as yet no clear notion of a common schooling, in a common school, beyond Standard VI.*⁵⁴ Some Socialists, like Joseph Edwards,

*i.e. beyond the age of 13-14; the 1880 Education Act made schooling compulsory to the age of 10, and this was extended to 12 (normally Standard V) in 1899. The work of the upper Standards (VI-VII) therefore constituted a quasi-secondary education for the working-class child. See Simon, p. 290, and F. Keeling, Child Labour in the United Kingdom (1914), pp. vii-xxxii.

ideally envisaged the elementary school as a preparatory stage in the education of future Socialists, though this was outside the major practical focus of the local labour movement, which sought increased access to the best potential facilities of an emergent, if still infant, state system; this should extend to all, from kindergarten to university.

It was probably the question of secular education that caused the labour movement the most embarrassment in relation to the School Board, in a city as notoriously sensitive to religious division as Liverpool. Even into the 20th century, Catholics such as John Shannon of the Trades Council were unable to accept this as part of the Labour Group's Municipal Programme, while James Sexton's opposition, expressed also at the national level, is better known.⁵⁵ According to the 1870 Act, Board schools were forbidden to give any form of denominational teaching, while parents could withdraw their children from religious instruction on the basis of a timetable conscience clause (the well-known Cowper-Temple Clause). It seems that the Liverpool Board did not stress the conscience clause, and, in effect, offered a variety of "denominational" instruction in its use of the Authorised version of the Bible (but not the Douai version for Roman Catholic children). The great variety of religious persuasions among members of successive Boards gave rise to complex divisions over the form and content of religious instruction periods. In 1872, the Nonconformist Dr. White had made an abortive attempt to force the Board to provide lists of books, images, altars, external aids and symbols--the "appliances of religion"--in use during hours allotted for religious instruction. Towards the end of the school board era, in 1899, the orthodoxy of a certain catechism, which it was

sought to introduce into the Board's teaching, was challenged by Anglican ritualists, who secured both Catholic and Nonconformist support.⁵⁶ Catholic and Church parties alike were able to exploit a general aversion to "Godless" instruction in the style of Birmingham Radicals, as well as the association of Socialists like Sam Reeves with the Liverpool Secular Society. Both the non-compromising stance of Roman Catholics, and the marked Orangeist persuasion of the powerful Workingmen's Conservative Association, evinced a clear commitment to denominational schooling, and thus to a clerically-dominated School Board.⁵⁷ Although difficult to document with any precision, it seems that priests "nominated" the suitable School Board candidate, and it was in this context, following a massive denominationalist victory in 1894, that Reeves dispelled the delusion

[that] because a man is a Trades' Unionist he will of necessity vote for our candidates. They must be both Trades' Unionists and Socialists before they become a reliable factor in electioneering, and that time, in Liverpool at all events is not yet.⁵⁸

The Nonconformist-Progressives posed as a strictly "educational" party in seeking to eradicate sectarian interests, and sought to incorporate the position of labour candidates. However, realising that Nonconformists themselves continued to think in terms of "sects", Porcupine proposed a genuinely "Progressive" party which would include labour, the School Teachers' Association and the Nonconformists.⁵⁹ But Socialists, in particular, were critical not merely of clerical control and the support for religious instruction that this entailed, for this was only one item

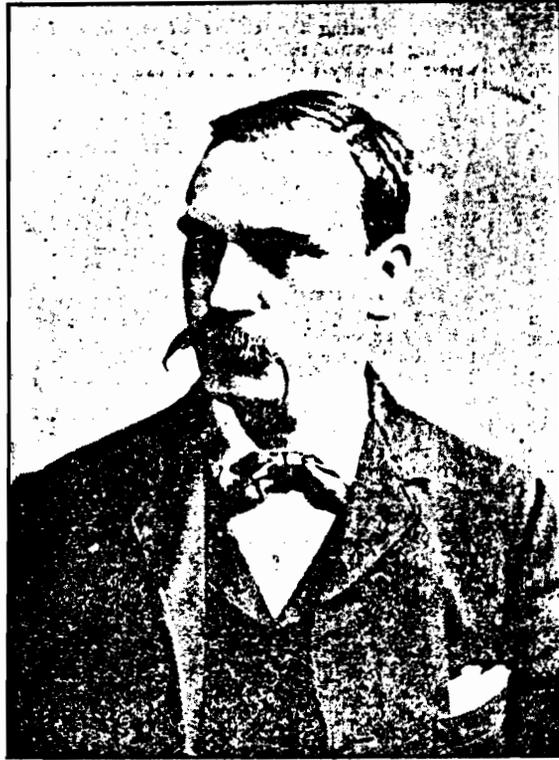
in their programme:

It will be remembered that the Anglicans, Catholics, Wesleyans, Baptists . . . disputed for the possession of the soul of that unfortunate child . . . we may be proud that our own candidate, Sam Reeves, was the only one who remembered that the children have bodies as well as souls.⁶⁰

Clearly somewhat discouraged by the continued sectarian squabble at the time of the 1900 election, Porcupine could acknowledge that only Reeves, among all the candidates, was singularly devoted to the pressing question of "Practical School Board Reform":

Mr. Reeves has been emphasizing the importance of such pressing questions as the provision of food for hungry school children, home lessons, the addition of baths, libraries etc it is encouraging to note that year by year the vote of the Socialist candidate is increasing.⁶¹

Labour candidates appear to have grown increasingly cautious over the secular education issue. Newcomb and Pearson, advocating the Birmingham programme, and Goodman, committed to "Secular, Scientific" education, fared badly. However, Reeves' programmes--those of the Trades Council/LRC, Fabian Society/ILP, and Workers' Municipal Committee (a joint Socialist organisation)--tended to de-emphasise the religious question, referring simply to "non-sectarian", or to publicly-controlled education. Reeves claimed he harboured no "theological or anti-theological prejudices", and, while acknowledging the yeoman service of the Secular Society and the SDF, in the 1897 election, he confined himself to an explanation that school boards were not meant to foster sectarian animosities at the



SAM REEVES
(Labour Chronicle, Sept., 1897)

public expense. In the light of some disquiet among ILP-ers, the Labour Chronicle included editorials on "Secular Education", firmly dissociating it from "Atheistic" education. At the time of the 1900 election, for example, the Chronicle carefully explained its option for secular education, which was not one for atheistic teaching:

It is with a view [to] giving equal justice to all, while preventing any dominant religious party from imposing their views on the working-man's children, who have often no choice but the Board Schools, that the Municipal Workers' Committee have adopted Secular Education as a plank in their platform, believing that definite religious instruction should be in the hands of the parents and may be catered for in the Sunday Schools connected with every denomination, but that Secular instruction alone is the business to which the State supported Schools should be devoted.⁶²

Reeves' position seems to have borne fruit: from 11, 190 votes in 1894, his poll leapt to 23,270 in 1897. Nevertheless, this also reflected an increase in both the Nonconformist-Progressive and the Church polls, following a wave of anti-ritualism which ranged Orange, and general anti-Romanish, sentiment on the side of Church or Dissent. Similarly, in the 1900 (and last) election, the Workingmen's Conservative Association rallied support for the fanatical Orange leader--an Ulsterman, George Wise--so that sectarian interests again predominated.⁶³

A link between the political focus of Socialist educational effort and labour's interest in the School Board, is well seen in the concern

of the labour movement for areas of School Board activity that were not directly educational. All the labour School Board programmes contained references to items of trade union or Socialist policy ("fair wages", working hours, taxation, etc.) as applicable to public bodies like the School Board. Of course, the Board, or those generally opposed to labour representation, could readily exploit such references as a firm indication of the fundamentally political motivation of organised labour, as opposed to an educational one for which "scholastic knowledge and enlarged experience" were deemed requisite. However, the Trades Council had certainly demonstrated its enthusiasm for the purely educational work of the Board. Its involvement in the management of evening recreation classes from 1886, moreover, underlined a key element in labour thinking with respect to the function of Board schools, which, "being the property of the people, should be used as extensively as possible for popular purposes".⁶⁴ The Trades Council first approached the Board, and other "elective public bodies", over the question of trade union wage rates (for contracts or orders) in 1889, following the acceptance of a "fair wage" clause by the London School Board. It was not until 1895, however, that it met with any willingness to consider the request, and even then the Board incorporated a safeguard in its resolution by the addition of "wherever practicable", and the resolution was further diluted in 1898. It was in this context, therefore, rather than the pedagogical, or more strictly educational one in which Eleanor Keeling or Bob Manson viewed the School Board, that the major labour body issued its condemnation: "they still retain the political popularity bestowed upon them by the very class whose aspirations they

despise, and whose political education they fear".⁶⁵ This paralleled an apparent disregard of the Trades Council by the Technical Instruction Committee at the end of the 1890's, a body which foreshadowed the Local Authority after 1902, superseding the work of the School Board.

It has been suggested that Reeves' increased vote in 1897 could be attributed to factors outside the growth of the labour movement; nonetheless, there was some basis to his optimism following the election:

The increase of the poll . . . bears witness to the steady growth of militant Socialism in this city, and demonstrates that, although success is slow in rewarding our efforts, it will nevertheless assuredly be achieved if we persist in our work.⁶⁶

Earlier labour candidates had been associated with Radicals and, in 1891, had stood independently of the Socialist candidate. By 1894, there was a definite Socialist platform, which, with Reeves as a "Labour" candidate incorporated both trade unionist and Socialist elements.⁶⁷ In 1897, and again in 1900, Reeves had the all-round, if sometimes uneasy, support of the several Socialist bodies, including the SDF, along with the Trades Council. In this way, he was never identified with the Progressive candidates, whom he saw as "so-called Progressives", motivated by sectarian interests and therefore offering little resistance to the clerical party. Indeed, "there is nothing less than a conspiracy in Liverpool . . . to deprive the poor of the benefits of all and every act that has been passed to promote education at the public expense

and under public control."⁶⁸

The Free Education Question

The reference to a "conspiracy" was especially evocative of the free education controversy, which, from a labour viewpoint, was intimately tied to the notion of education as a universal right, and which, with the exception of sectarian rivalry, occasioned the most vigorous controversy in Liverpool over School Board policy. In so far as the labour movement was one of a number of elements engaged in the agitation, much of it must more strictly concern the student of educational administration, legislation or geography. It mainly involved a group of Nonconformist and Liberal school managers, led by the anti-Socialist Congregational minister, Stanley Rogers, who began the agitation late in 1892.⁶⁹ If the labour movement gave its support, having long shared and extended Liberal advocacy of free elementary education, it was anxious to emphasise the working-class point of view and to relate the question to other aspects of School Board policy.

As Brian Simon has stressed, the Elementary Education Act of 1891 did not inaugurate universal free education, though school boards were no longer required to investigate cases of poverty, and, one year after the commencement of the Act (on 1 September 1892), could be forced to provide "sufficient public school accommodation, without payment of fees" in every school area for children between the ages of four and fourteen, inclusive.⁷⁰ Thus free education was closely linked to the provision of sufficient accommodation, and thereby magnified an already-existing basis

for complaint in Liverpool in relation to Board school provision: "If demand for free schools should arise in Liverpool, Liverpool and Birkenhead Church schools would be in a bad way".⁷¹ The agitation initially centred on a triangular exchange between the School Board and certain renegade school managers in the north end of the city (where Nonconformity was relatively well established), and between both of these and the Education Department. It was based on a combination of varied interpretation, misunderstanding, and simple ignorance of the Act, and of a School Board policy which was manifestly unpopular with a section of the population. The Board promptly submitted a provisional scheme to the Department, which planned to free four Board schools and retain fees, ranging from 1d. to 4d. (from above Standard II) in eighteen others, with a possible further addition of two or three free schools; it was a clear indication of the Board's subsequent policy of

Free schools for those who desire free education; fee charging schools for those who prefer schools of that character; and a generous and considerate sympathy for genuine cases of misfortune.⁷²

There was a distinction, then, between applications for free education (to be met by the Board, without inquiry into poverty) and applications for free places (i.e., for the remission of fees, at the discretion of the managers, and "not for free education as such"), which was one between kinds of schools. For free education "as such" was to be offered only in designated free schools, so that free place applicants in Granby Street School, for example, were faced either with sending their children (across a busy thoroughfare) to the free school in Earle Road, or with paying a relatively high fee, except in proven cases of poverty in accordance

with a special circular produced by the Board.⁷³ In attacking the Board's circular, the managers of Granton Road School (who, with those of Queen's Road, Walton Lane and Venice Street, were prominent agitators), spoke of "an elaboration of difficulties in the way of the benefits of the Act . . . contrary to its spirit and text", the notion of separate free schools, in particular, casting an "unjust stigma on free education".⁷⁴ In this way, the agitation was one for the principle of free education as a right, a position with which the Education Department sympathised:

No doubt some form of enquiry must be necessary to fill up these forms [free place applications] . . . if not contrary to the law . . . it is certainly out of harmony with the spirit of the Act of 1891.⁷⁵

Acland, in particular, was critical of the Board's "ill-advised" circular of August 1892, and he was clearly unconvinced by its defence of "segregated" fee-paying schools purely on the basis of limited applications:

. . . many parents will do a good deal rather than move children from the school and the teachers to which they are accustomed--they will prefer payment to moving . . . but whether they prefer payment to non-payment, it must be in many cases very difficult to say . . .⁷⁶

There appears to have been a definite insufficiency of Board school accommodation, especially in the Kensington and northern districts, the Board relying heavily on temporary premises as at Chadwick Mount (Kirkdale), Everton, and the Earle Road area. The demand for free education--heaviest in the north end, where the agitation was strongest--merely exacerbated an existing condition. An H.M.I.'s report maintained that all the free schools in Kirkdale were full, and that there was a

marked deficiency of accommodation, while the Board's own superintendent of Weekly Visitations, attributing poor attendance to a strict policy on payment of fees, thought there could be an improvement "if there were a little more ease as to school accommodation in some parts of the city".⁷⁷ The Department recognised a clear deficiency of free places in Clint Road, Steers and Butler Streets, while the managers of Queen's Road (in the same vicinity) recorded a "great demand for places" which could not be met with the existing accommodation. The Board was required to build a new school "immediately" on a site in Kensington Fields, while Robson, the London School Board architect, was sent to Liverpool--on a "special duty"--to report on the nine temporary buildings.⁷⁸ As in the aftermath of the 1870 Act, the Board again battled with statistics in an attempt to reduce the amount of additional accommodation required in non-voluntary schools. So industrious was it in seeking out "excuses", that it actually furnished the Education Department with further evidence of the need for more Board school accommodation: Braemar Street School, for instance, was best catered to by temporary buildings, it being "almost isolated by the network of railways in the extreme north end of the city",⁷⁹ while two free schools, Daisy Street and Granton Road, in the north end, were simply unable to accommodate additional "free scholars" from fee-paying schools.⁸⁰

At the start of the new school year in 1892, the Trades Council immediately condemned the tone of the School Board's free education circular and its action "in keeping back free education", and recommended parents to claim their right to free education. Through the Liverpool

East Branch Amalgamated Joiners, it also condemned the "overcrowded state of the Board schools in Kensington".⁸¹ The thrust of the labour attack, especially among Socialists, was to inform parents of their rights. The Board's policy undoubtedly caused considerable confusion among parents (which, in part, the Board then attributed to the activities of agitators), and the Queen's Road managers produced their own circular for precisely this reason.⁸² The need for information was underlined in the Trades Council's circular, as well as by articles and correspondence in the Labour Chronicle from 1894. As late as 1898, a Socialist visitor to Liverpool was amazed to see so much fee-paying, ignorance of the 1891 Act, indifference, and fear of the "charity child" stigma engendered by the Board's policy. In response, Sam Reeves was quick to stress that, while an accurate observation, this was "but a minor matter" compared with the fact

that there is no opportunity of education from 20 to 30 thousand of the children of Liverpool under any condition whatever, and that an equal number is being educated in schools that are not adapted to modern sanitary and educational requirements, and that this objection applies equally to Board and Church schools.⁸³

The free education question was therefore a beginning to the much broader debate on the provision of working-class education in general, and on its relation to the welfare of children, or to the social-class structure. On the latter, the Labour Chronicle was quite categorical: "You pay for your Board schools in your taxes, and you should not pay any further sum. To do so would only lead to class distinctions in the schools."⁸⁴ Reeves suggested that the Fabians should investigate cases

of fees paid under coercion, and collect evidence of insanitary premises or deficiency of accommodation, while the Fabian Society itself established a School Board sub-committee to "further the cause of free education", though this was immediately linked to the need to "advocate free meals" and to co-operate with Lee Jones and his Food Association.⁸⁵ Fees presented a permanent hardship to the mass of working-class families, particularly during the regular periods of unemployment on the waterfront. The labour movement especially attacked the penalty of imprisonment for accumulated arrears in the payment of school, and industrial school, fees, an issue which Sexton later took up successfully at the national level. In this respect, free education could be seen as a parallel, for example, to labour demands for nationalisation of the land in relation to the problem of unemployment. Given that on the Liverpool docks "at all times the supply [of labour] is more than equal to the demand", that "excessive irregularity" of work was the keynote, then distinctions between the "free" and the "fee" systems had a strong tendency to reflect the city's socio-economic structure.⁸⁶

The labour movement, through the Trades Council, also played a part in the Liberal-led agitation itself. Under the Liberal M.P.'s Thomas Snape and William Crosfield, and Stanley Rogers and his Free Education Vigilance Committee, the Trades Council formed part of a deputation sent to wait on the Vice-President of the Committee of Council (Acland). While Crosfield was to introduce it, and Rogers to present a petition drawn up by parents, William Matkin was to "demonstrate by proof cases the difficulties the working men have met with in their effort to secure what they believe to be their rights".⁸⁷ Matkin spoke at

some length, stressing the "great concern of the working classes" over the issue, as evidenced by the Trades Council's circularised resolution, and the fact that there were only 22 Board schools, providing for 25,000 children, in a city of some 500,000 inhabitants. Moreover, in some districts, there were no Board schools "so that children were forced to go to denominational schools, and the School Board seemed to encourage that system."⁸⁸ If the deputation occasioned a "strong remonstrance" from the Department to the Board, however, it seems to have brought little else, the Department preferring to "wait till the question dies out", and to urge the Board to find more permanent sites to replace the temporary premises.⁸⁹ An increase in the number of Board schools from 22 in 1892 to 33 in 1897 could be attributed in large measure to the acquisition of additional School Board areas, and a school population of some 134,000, following city boundary extensions after 1894, and even this hardly strained the potential resources of the Liverpool Board. With some exaggeration perhaps, Mrs. Kitchener remarked in her report for the Bryce Commission in 1895 that "the Liverpool School Board is probably the richest in England, as only 30,000 children are educated in its schools, while the whole of Liverpool pays the 6d. education rate."⁹⁰ The Liberal-led agitation petered out after 1893, but the labour movement kept the issue alive, in its School Board programmes and in the pages of the Labour Chronicle. Even in 1909, the Trades Council was complaining of the "old-fashioned principle of demanding School Pence in many of the [Education Committee's] schools", and, later still, the local ILP could denounce Liverpool as "the highest fee-charging LEA in Britain".⁹¹ For the Socialists, free education was not merely to be the preserve of the

elementary school; Reeves and Goodman, for example, spoke of "free maintenance at school or university", or free higher grade and technical education, while the Labour Chronicle boldly proclaimed that

As Socialists, our ground is that it is the full right and duty of the State to organise and regulate education, and to pay the whole of the cost, from the primary schools to the universities.⁹²

Quite apart from free access, Liverpool had scarcely developed, fees or no fees, that area (higher grade schools) which elsewhere was a powerful attraction of the school boards to the working class. F. E. Kitchener noted that in Liverpool these were mostly "pseudo ones", usually voluntary, keeping up a higher fee by the introduction of a few "specific subjects", such as French or Algebra, and enjoying a reputation for "social selectness".⁹³

In the light of his own experience of School Board politics, it is perhaps not surprising that Reeves did not share the disapproval, widely expressed in the national labour movement, of the Education Bill which became the 1902 Act, abolishing the school boards. Reeves adopted a position which appears to have attracted some support, nationally, from the ILP, along with most of the London Fabians. Thus, at a Conference of "Labour Elected Persons" held in Liverpool in April 1902, he supported amendments approving the principle of unification, which informed the Bill; his experience of school boards was "that they were entirely useless as far as popular representation was concerned."⁹⁴ How far this position was exceptional in the Liverpool labour movement is not clear, nor can it be

determined with any certainty to what extent Reeves was opposed to the notion that school boards were the democratic, elective institutions par excellence, rather than to their tendency, as well illustrated in Liverpool, to appeal to sectarian prejudices at the expense of "educational" issues. He was certainly of the opinion that educational issues were of no greater importance in School Board elections than in those for the City Council, which would henceforth be the unit of educational administration. He had earlier expressed a concern for the general indifference of the electorate towards educational questions, and, combined with bitter sectarian animosities in Liverpool, this did not favour an ideal working of the school board popular elective principle.⁹⁵ As a body, the Liverpool ILP condemned the Bill, sharing the Liberal-Nonconformist fear, a real one in the 1902 Act, that "vested interests could more easily take control", or that any gain for former Board schools was "not nearly so apparent as to the Voluntary schools".⁹⁶

It is interesting that Reeves' position was counter to the strong Liberal and Nonconformist protest over the Act in Liverpool. He had resisted Progressive (Liberal or Nonconformist) overtures throughout his career as a school board campaigner, and continued to distrust arguments which, for many in the labour movement, were powerfully convincing:

If working men will consider it, they will see that this principle of co-optation which is to be substituted for free representative election is thoroughly undemocratic and unsound, and if persisted will surely deprive them of any real control over the education of their own children.⁹⁷

Clearly, the school board elective principle in Liverpool had not enabled Reeves or other labour candidates to acquire any say in the "educ-

ation of their own children". Even if the new administrative arrangement permitted only one co-opted Trades Council member (as opposed to two or three from other bodies) on the Education Committee, this was merely a continuation of policy in relation to the Technical Instruction Committee, while municipal elections might eventually bring labour members on to the City Council. The Trades Council voted in favour of the initial City Council take-over of the Technical Instruction Committee in 1899, clearly anticipating a continuation of its co-optive role in the newly-formed Education Committee, an anticipation similarly envisaged elsewhere by trade unionists.⁹⁸ Although it eventually secured such co-optation, as early as 1903, its preliminary overtures to the Committee met with a cold reception, and it seems to have followed the TUC policy of condemning the Education Bill as a retrograde step.⁹⁹ Ironically, one Trades Council member--John Morrissey of the ILP--played a part in the final labour School Board campaign in clerically-dominated Birkenhead, where the Socialist candidate came top of the poll in what Justice lauded as "A Straight Fight and a Magnificent Victory".¹⁰⁰

If the labour movement in Liverpool was unable to play a part in the official formulation and discussion of educational policy in the school board era, it nevertheless persisted in proclaiming its own policies, which reflected emphases quite distinct from those of other "parties". Eventually, in the period of the Local Education Authority, it came to voice its views in the context of official municipal policy-making. While still very much a minority voice, it was to be a "parlous loude" one.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III

1. See e.g. Simon, Education and the Two Nations, pp. 365-6; Halevy, A History of the English People in the Nineteenth Century, IV (London, 1951), p. 447; E. E. Rich, The Education Act, 1870 (London, 1970); R. Shannon, The Crisis of Imperialism 1865-1915 (Paladin edn., 1976), pp. 90-91; N. Middleton and S. Weitzman, A Place For Everyone: A History of State Education from the end of the 18th Century to the 1970's (London, 1976), ch. III.
2. See chs. IV and V below, and G. C. Fidler, "The Liverpool Trades Council and Technical Education in the Era of the Technical Instruction Committee", History of Education, VI (1977), pp. 209-22.
3. See Simon, "The 1902 Education Act--A Wrong Turning", History of Education Society Bulletin, No. 19 (1977), p. 9, and Education and the Labour Movement, p. 123, and ch. 4 in general; D. R. Pugh, "The Destruction of the English School Boards", Paedagogica Historica, XII (1972), p. 97, but cf. p. 11, and "A Note on School Board Elections", History of Education, VI (1977), p. 115.
4. Labour Chronicle, Dec. 1897; for Nelson, see Justice, 6 May 1899, which records a simultaneous ILP and SDF victory. Cf. J. Lawson and H. Silver, A Social History of English Education (London, 1973), p. 319: if the 1870 Act created "the most democratic organs of local administration in the century", it also "left the boards' opponents in positions of strength".
5. See W. E. Marsden and D. Rubinstein (ed. P. McCann), Popular education and socialization in the nineteenth century (London, 1977), chs. 8 and 9; also D. Rubinstein, School Attendance in London, 1870-1904: A Social History (Hull, 1969).
6. See e.g. E. Midwinter, Old Liverpool (Liverpool, 1971), ch. 7; A. M. Black, "The Background and Development of Industrial Schools for Roman Catholic Children in Liverpool during the 19th Century" (Liverpool University, M.Ed. thesis, 1968); B. D. White, A History of the Corpor-

ation of Liverpool, op. cit., ch. XII. Cf. J. H. Bingham, The Period of the Sheffield School Board, 1870-1903 (1949); J. M. Roxburgh, The School Board of Glasgow, 1873-1919 (Edinburgh, 1971); Rubinstein, School Attendance, op. cit.; D. Wardle, Education and Society in 19th Century Nottingham (Cambridge, 1971), ch. 5.

7. For the wider political, administrative and religious background, see especially E. J. R. Eaglesham, From School Board to Local Authority (London, 1956); K. M. Hughes, "A Political Party and Education. Reflections on the Liberal Party's Educational Policy, 1867-1902", British Journal of Educational Studies (BJES), VIII (1959-60), pp. 112-26; J. Murphy, Church, State and Schools in Britain, 1800-1970 (London, 1971), ch. V; N. J. Richards, "Religious Controversy and the School Boards 1870-1902", BJES, XVIII (1970), pp. 180-96; G. Sutherland, Policy-Making in Elementary Education 1870-1895 (London, 1973); L.O. Ward, "An Investigation into the Educational Ideas and Contribution of the British Political Parties, 1870-1918" (University of London, Ph.D thesis, 1970).
8. J.A. Picton, Memorials of Liverpool, II, 2nd. edn. (Liverpool, 1907), pp. 536-7; for the compromise, Liverpool School Board (SB), Proceedings (1870-71), General Appendix, p. 12. Cf. M. Sturt, The Education of the People (London, 1967), p. 315; Rich, Education Act, chs. 3 and 4.
9. Both disappeared after the first School Board; the Liverpool Review of 1 Sept. 1888 recalled the existence of only one earlier workingman representative.
10. See Porcupine, 16 Aug. 1873: on the occasion of a proposed expenditure in excess of £120,000 by the Board, after three years' inaction. Liverpool Review, 13 July 1878, also maintained that the voluntary schools were "poverty-stricken".
11. Liverpool Liberal Federal Council, "The Liberal Programme in a Nutshell" (1892), p. 5. Cf. the London School Board, with a strong Radical representation; Rubinstein (ed. McCann), op. cit., pp. 241-2.
12. Liverpool Courier, 4 Aug. 1880, reporting a Conservative parliamentary election meeting.

13. For instance, this lay behind the support given by workingmen, with a high proportion of Orangemen, to the Nonconformist candidate in an election early in 1872; this was counter to the wishes of of the Conservative leadership, which was warned "against their alliance with Romanists". Liverpool Courier, 24 and 27 Jan. 1872, and cf. Picton, Memorials, p. 538. For Shimmin, originally a Wesleyan, see e.g. Porcupine, 23 Feb. and 2 March 1878, 18 Jan. 1879.
14. See SB Minutes, 27 March 1871; SB Proceedings (1871-3), "Summary of Educational Provision and Requirements", p. 162, and Appendix, tables I, II; SB Triennial Report (1894/7), pp. 2-8: with the city boundary extensions of November 1895, the Board acquired an additional school population from the Walton-on-the-Hill and Toxteth School Board areas, and the Attendance Committees of Wavertree and most of the West Derby Union. See also PRO Ed. 10/12 (memorials), Liverpool SB, 6 April 1897, where any final settlement must involve "rate aid to voluntary schools and an equal distribution of Imperial sources". In 1903, there were still 113 "non-provided" out of a total of 156 public elementary schools. City of Liverpool: Handbook Compiled for the Royal Institute of Public Health (Liverpool, 1903), pp. 242-3.
15. Cf. White, A History of the Corporation, p. 146; also W.E. Marsden, "Variation in Educational Provision in Lancashire During the School Board Period", Journal of Educational Administration and History, X (1978), p. 15. For the voluntary schools, see e.g. Education Committee Proceedings (1903-4), Appendices: Report on the Education Act, 1902, pp. 47ff., and PRO Ed. 10/12, 97/3298Y, Liverpool SB, 6 April 1897.
16. SB Minutes, 27 March 1871. The Board early pointed out that taking over denominational schools would increase the burden on ratepayers, "since voluntary contributions would be lost"; see also Porcupine, 22 April 1871. The leading Progressive, William Oulton (later leader of the northern Liberal Unionists, and Lord Mayor) was a staunch supporter of the Wesleyan schools.
17. Land and House Owners' Association, 14th Annual Report (Liverpool, 1874), pp. 21-22, and SB Minutes, 18 August 1873; also Porcupine, 18 Sept. and Liverpool Review, 2 Oct. 1897; cf. Liberal Review, 31 May 1879.

18. See e.g. Minutes of the Liverpool City Council, LRO, 20 Jan. 1909, which include a letter from the local Social Democratic Party, and a motion by James Sexton, urging the Education Committee to "put into immediate operation" the 1906 Act for the feeding of necessitous school children; also ch. VII below.
19. See especially SB Minutes, 13 Jan. 1873; SB Proceedings (1870-71), p. 162. The Board's calculations included schools which were in the process of removing objections raised by the Department (accounting for upwards of 10,000 places), schools which it intended to provide, as well as a 20% reduction for boys and girls, and 25% for infants, for non-attendance; there were also numerous non-inspected private adventure schools and make-shift premises. Cf. Midwinter, Old Liverpool, op. cit., pp. 117ff.
20. PRO Ed. 16/169, letter of 10 Dec. 1884; SB Minutes, 14 Feb. 1876: the Board acknowledged a need for further provision in three districts.
21. Porcupine, 22 Nov. 1873, 24 Feb. 1877; Liberal Review, 7 June 1879. Some form of criticism was, of course, inevitable, and it would be unfair to conclude that "Denominational members of Boards were universally indifferent to educational considerations"; Murphy, Church and State, op. cit., p. 66.
22. Porcupine, 16 Sept. 1876, and 16 Jan. 1878.
23. SB Minutes, 13 Jan. 1873; cf. Full Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Subject of the Unemployed in Liverpool (Liverpool, 1894), pp. 44-45.
24. Cf. W.E. Marsden (ed. D.A. Reeder), Urban Education in the Nineteenth Century (History of Education Society, 1977), p. 50.
25. Porcupine, 5 March 1881.
26. Ibid., 3, 10 and 24 Feb. 1877, 21 Sept. 1878; cf. TC Minutes, 14 Sept. 1888, for the "old" unionist position.
27. Porcupine, 18 Sept. 1875; cf. ibid., 20 April 1878.
28. Ibid., 23 Feb. and 5 Jan. 1878. In attacking Church opposition to expenditure on schools in the relatively comfortable area of Stanley

Road-Walton Lane (as urged by Oulton), the "Shipwright" argued that it was "not that the expenditure was not wanted, but that it was not necessary until the wants of the most neglected spots were first considered." Ibid., 24 April 1877. In part, the expenditure was attributed to fears that "the denominationalists should occupy them [i.e. the outskirts] before you": ibid., 17 Feb. 1877.

29. See G. Melly, "The Children of Liverpool and the Rival Schemes of National Education", Stray Leaves, 1856-1894 (7 vols., Liverpool, 1895), IV, p. 9, and ibid., appendix; S. Smith, Election Addresses and Speeches (Liverpool, 1882), pp. 4-5, in the collected Papers on Commercial and Political Questions by Samuel Smith M.P. Liverpool (vol. I, 1863-1884), and My Lifework (1902), ch. XVIII.
30. For a critique of the "education mania", see Porcupine, 22 Nov. 1873, 16 Jan. and 30 Nov. 1878. However, even Justice later commended the Liverpool Board's action in establishing byelaws to raise the Standard for total exemption from VI to VII, and, for half-time exemption, from III to IV (i.e. from 11 to 12 years of age): Justice, 1 April and 6 May 1899.
31. Industrial Review, 6 Jan. 1877, referring to a Kirkdale parson's letter which, through pointing to the need for education (and not a concern with "sectarian interests") attributed the increasing cost of crime in the borough to "the cramming together of nearly a quarter of a million of labouring class inhabitants in little houses. . . in wretched lanes, alleys and courts--averaging 600 persons per acre of such wretched dwellings".
32. Liberal Review, 31 May 1879; cf. Liverpool Review, 1 Sept. 1888.
33. "Labour Notes" (by Charles Doeg of the Trades Council), Porcupine, 22 Oct. 1892. Cf. W.P. McCann, "Trade Unionists, Artisans and the 1870 Education Act", BJES, XVIII (1970), pp. 135, 150.
34. E.g. Liverpool Review, 3 Nov. 1894; cf. Pugh, "School Board Elections", p. 117.
35. See e.g. SB Minutes, 3 Dec. 1891. There was always a representative of

the shipping interest (e.g. Rathbone), and the Clerk was himself a small employer; cf. Simon, Labour Movement, p. 121, and Marsden, "Variation in Educational Provision", pp. 25-6, for the Bootle School Board.

36. TC Minutes, 14 Sept. 1888; Souvenir of the T.U.C. (Liverpool, 1906), 23ff.; and cf. Industrial Review, 15 Dec. 1878.
37. Liverpool Review, 10 Nov. 1888; also Labour Chronicle, Oct. 1900, which reiterated the view at a time when advanced Liberals denounced labour candidates: "No one can understand the educational needs of a workingman's children better than an educated man [Sam Reeves] who is bringing up children of his own."
38. Liverpool Mercury, 26 April and 16 Nov. 1889; Nautical Gazette (New York), 11 Aug. 1886; Halfpenny Weekly, (6) May and 26 Oct. 1889. George Parkin was President, William Matkin Secretary, of the local Labour Electoral Association, which had over 10,000 members in July 1889. For details of Matkin (b. 1845), see Liverpool Review, 26 March 1887, 26 Aug. 1890; Fidler, "Liverpool Trades Council and Technical Education", pp. 212, 220; S. Maddock, "Liverpool Trades Council and Politics", thesis, op. cit., p. 57.
39. Liverpool Daily Post, 6 Sept. 1890; Liverpool Review, 1 Sept. 1888. Pearson and Newcomb advocated "the full Radical programme, which includes free education": see The Liverpool Programme ("Temperance and Social Reform"), 9 Nov. 1888, and cf. Liverpool Mercury, 26 Nov. 1885, for Liberal advocacy of free education.
40. Liverpool Review, op. cit.; cf. Thomas Smyth's evidence to the Cross Commission, in Simon, Labour Movement, pp. 122ff.
41. Daily Post, 15 Nov. 1888; for Newcomb, Liverpool Programme, 16 Nov. 6 Church, 6 Catholic, and 3 Nonconformist candidates (including Oulton and S.G. Rathbone) were elected; with 11,672 votes, Oulton's was the lowest successful poll, while Newcomb and Pearson polled 4,331 and 2,779 respectively.
42. See e.g. Daily Post, 6 and 13 Sept. 1890; J. Burns, The Liverpool

- Trades Union Congress (London, 1890). Matkin had formerly co-operated with Liberals.
43. "Bible and Spelling Book", Liverpool Review, 21 Nov. 1891; it was also suggested that independent candidates with extremely low polls be taxed with a proportion of their election expenses (a reference to the Socialist candidate, Sam Reeves, who received 994 votes). In this election, Rouse and Potter secured only 2,527 and 2,529 votes respectively, while the lowest successful poll was 21,703; Oulton came top of the poll, the relative Nonconformist success reflecting a wave of anti-ritualism in Church circles. Cf. ibid., 3 Nov. 1894, "School Board Fight", where "scholastic knowledge and enlarged experience are much more requisite in School Board work than in deciding how a particular street shall be paved, whether contracts are only to be given to those servants who receive the Trade Union rate of pay . . .".
 44. Liverpool Review, 17 Sept. 1892; cf. L. Bather, "A History of Manchester and Salford Trades Council", op. cit., p. 129, for a similar attempt by Manchester Liberals to win trade union support in the 1891 election. See also F. Bealey and H. Pelling, Labour and Politics, 1900-1906 (London, 1958), pp. 4-5, for a close association between the proportion of children in voluntary schools and the Conservative vote in the general elections of 1886 and 1895, especially in the large urban areas; cf. P.F. Clarke, "Electoral Sociology of Modern Britain", English Historical Review (Feb. 1972), p. 46.
 45. See "Labour A Minor(ity)", Liverpool Review, 28 Nov. 1891, facing p. 105.
 46. W. Nicholson (Secretary, LEA) to Joseph Goodman (Secretary, TC), 27 July 1892, TC Correspondence, 2/72-/130.
 47. See ch. 2 above; cf. Rubinstein (ed. McCann), op. cit., pp. 241-2. and McBriar, pp. 206ff. See also E.J.T. Brennan, "Educational Engineering with the Webbs", History of Education, I (1972), p. 174.
 48. The Liver, 13 January 1894.
 49. Ibid.; cf. Simon, Labour Movement, pp. 113ff.

50. For the Liverpool SDF programme, see "School Board Election 1894", S.D.F. Handbill (TUC Archives, photostat in LRO); Liverpool Fabian Society, Tract No. 8, "Practical School Board Reform" (1897); TC Minutes, 11 Sept. 1894 (programme based on that of the LRC). See appendix 2 below, for labour School Board programmes.
51. For Lee Jones (b. 1870, Runcorn), see Porcupine, 13 Jan. 1894, 25 Dec. 1897, and 19 Aug. 1899, and Clarion, 23 and 30 Dec. 1893 (for Sexton's remarks, as "Citizen"); cf. M.B. Simey, Charitable Effort in Liverpool in the 19th Century (Liverpool, 1951), pp. 119-22. He founded the Liverpool Food Association in 1893 and conducted operations well into the 20th century from his home in Limekiln Lane (off Scotland Road), in the midst of slumland, his knowledge of which was described as "encyclopedic". The Food Association was the forerunner of the still-existing League of Well-doers (whose headquarters remains in Limekiln Lane). For the Cinderellas, see Liverpool Cinderella Club, handbill (BLPES, n.d., 1894?), and Fabian Society, Circular No. 8, Nov. 1893. See appendix 2, op. cit.
52. See TC Annual Report (1907/8 and 1908/9) for the reports by George Nelson, a Socialist, on his work in the Education Committee; Liverpool Forward (ILP), 25 May 1912. See also ch. 7 below.
53. "Education in Our Schools", Labour Chronicle, August-Sept. 1897.
54. See labour School Board programmes referred to in note 50 above.
55. For Shannon, see Liverpool Labour Representation Committee Minutes, LRO, 20 March 1907, 5 Feb. 1908; for Sexton, Labour Party Annual Conference Report (1906), p. 59, and ibid. (1910), p. 85.
56. See Porcupine, 22 April 1899 on the "School Board Rumpus", and SB General Purposes Committee Minutes, 21 Oct. 1872 for Dr. White's earlier motion. See also ibid., 19 Oct. 1871 for religious teaching as a recognised "essential subject". Cf. Midwinter, op. cit., pp. 120-1, and, for a discussion of the relevant section of the Act, see e.g. Rich, Education Act, pp. 95-7.
57. See Labour Chronicle, Dec. 1897 and 1900. For the powerful Workingmen's

Conservative Association, under the leadership of Archibald Salvidge from 1892, see Liverpool Courier, 19 July 1897; Salvidge of Liverpool, op. cit., and White, pp. 197ff.

58. Labour Chronicle, Dec. 1894. On this occasion, however, Reeves increased his vote to 11,190; Goodman polled 2,906, and the lowest elected candidate, 18,232. See Liverpool Review, 24 Nov. 1894, and ibid., 21 Nov. 1891, where, following the election of that year, it was recalled how an Irish labourer, asked how he voted, replied: "'Och' . . . for a good Oirishman and a good Catholic, McArdle. I gave him 15 votes . . . where the divil they came from I don't know. What was the 'lection for, any how?'"!
59. Porcupine, 13 Oct. 1894; see also Liverpool Pulpit, Feb. 1894, which urged the formation of "the Education Six" rather than "the Nonconformist Four", but primarily envisaged a joining together of Nonconformists and low Churchmen (like Charles Stubbs, one of the editors of the radical Pulpit).
60. Labour Chronicle, Dec. 1897.
61. Porcupine, 17 Nov. 1900.
62. Labour Chronicle, Oct. 1900; also Sept. 1898 and 1900. Cf. Justice, 28 July 1894.
63. Labour Chronicle, Dec. 1900; Liverpool Courier, 20 Nov., 19 July 1898. See Porcupine, 22 April 1899, and White, op. cit., p. 190, for reference to Wise's campaigns.
64. Justice, 25 March 1893; for criticism of the labour position, see e.g. Liverpool Review, 3 Nov. 1894. For the Trades Council's interest in evening classes under the School Board, see TC Minutes, 1 Oct. 1885, 4 March 1886, 3 Aug. 1888, and 1 Nov. 1889, and also ch. IV below,
65. TC Annual Report (1895/6), p. 6. See ibid., (1898/9), p. 11, and TC Minutes, (?) June 1889, 30 Nov. 1898; SB Minutes, 11 June, 9 July 1895; Halfpenny Weekly, 1 June 1889. According to TC Annual

Report (1893/4), p. 6, the Painters' Society had requested public bodies to have more paving done in the winter to help relieve seasonal unemployment, but, alone among them, "the School Board refused to see their deputation".

66. Labour Chronicle, Dec. 1897.
67. Porcupine, 24 Nov. 1894. It was weakened, however, by the addition of a second Socialist candidate (Goodman of the SDF).
68. Labour Chronicle, Sept. 1898 (Reeves' emphasis); and see ibid., Dec. 1897, Oct. 1900. Reeves was the nominee of the Trades Council, Building Trades Federation, ILP, SDF, Fabian and Secular Societies; even the Conservative Liverpool Courier, 20 Nov. 1897, noted that his supporters "certainly have been most loyal to him."
69. Liverpool Review, 15 Oct. 1892. Rogers was an Independent Congregational minister at Westminster Road (in the north end), a manager of several schools in the area, and Chairman of the Walton and Kirkdale Technical Education Committee; unlike ministers identified with the radical Liverpool Pulpit, he was hostile towards the labour movement. See S. Rogers, After Forty Years (1918), ch. XVIII, and cf. I. Sellers, "Nonconformist Attitudes in Later Nineteenth Century Liverpool", THSLC, CXIV (1962), pp. 227-9. For full details of the free education agitation, see PRO Ed. 16/169 file on the "Liverpool Case" (hereafter PRO).
70. See Simon, p. 131. The Board's returns (relating to sufficient accommodation) included children from 3 to 13, and so the Department demanded supplementary information on the 14 basis of the 1891 Act. PRO, 92/17514, "Draft Instructions to the School Board".
71. PRO, "Liverpool Case", entry of 8 Sept. 1892. The Chairman of the Board was Canon Major Lester, spoken of as a resolute opponent of free education, and who had allegedly made a public statement that "they must take care of the voluntary schools".
72. SB Proceedings (1892-3), p. 42; PRO file, op. cit. In an interview

with Sidney Webb later, the Clerk to the Board (Edward Hance) pointed out that "the managers are preponderatingly Nonconformist, the Church people having preferred to put their zeal into Voluntary Schools": see Webbs' Local Government Collection, BLPES, R.Coll. (L-G), v. 148 (Liverpool), 1899.

73. PRO, letter from Granton Road School managers, 10 Oct. 1892. The Board's "'B' Schedule" granted remission of fees in the case of a) pupils belonging to a family where other children attended "by reason of poverty", b) "fresh cases of poverty"--which necessitated some form of inquiry into the "nature of the case". See PRO, E.M. Hance to Acland, 11 March 1893.
74. School Management sub-Committee Minutes, 26 Aug. 1892, and PRO, letter from Granton Road managers, 10 Oct. 1892. On reception of the Board's preliminary scheme, the Department noted that "some thousands of children may be paying fees in excess of what would be allowed under #2 of the Act--that excess varying from a small fraction of a penny to perhaps as much as 2d. (e.g. in Granby Street School)": PRO, response of George Kekewich to Hance's letter of 10 Aug. 1891.
75. PRO, response of the Department to Hance's letter of 11 March 1893, with reference to the "'B' Schedule".
76. PRO, "Draft Instructions", op. cit. (comment in margin). Replying to a question from Thomas Snape in the Commons, Acland much regretted "that the Liverpool School Board has not seen its way to make all its schools free, like many large School Boards, so that there might be no delay or any kind of inquiry", Hansard, IX, 7 March 1893, cols. 1232-3; also PRO, "Letters from Stanley Rogers", 10 Dec. and 2 Nov. 1892.
77. See District Education sub-Committee Minutes, 13 April 1892, "Memorandum on the Returns of Child Population and School Provision"; also ibid., 28 Sept. 1892.
78. PRO, "Draft Regulations", and 93/1342, 3 Feb. 1893, 93/1966, 7 March

- 1893, for Robson. If not damning, Robson's report emphasised the temporary nature of the premises. For insufficiency of Board school accommodation, see also District Education sub-Committee Minutes, 13 April and 28 Sept. 1892; Queen's Road (Everton) Managers' Minute Book (1882-1896), 12 May 1893, recording a "great demand for places" unable to be met by existing accommodation.
79. On which the Department's comment was: "Exactly so. Ought there to be further school facilities?" PRO, "Summary of Liverpool Case", comment on Board's letter of 21 July 1893.
80. School Management sub-Committee Minutes, 7 and 14 Oct. 1892.
81. TC Minutes, 26 Oct. 1892; also PRO, 92/16076, and SB Minutes, 6 Dec. 1892.
82. For "the parents had by no means made known their wishes as a whole". Queen's Road Managers' Minute Book, 12 Oct. 1892; and PRO, 93/1342, op. cit., School Board statement of 21 Dec. 1892, and 10 Jan. 1893 which spoke of "alleged reasons for signing forms" --including the question of Home Rule in Ireland!
83. Labour Chronicle, Sept. 1893.
84. Ibid., "Women's Causerie"; cf., later, TC Annual Report (1908/9), pp. 19-20.
85. Fabian Society, Circular No. 1, op. cit.; "Fabian Opportunities", The Liver, 13 Jan. 1894.
86. For working-class protest over imprisonment for fees, see e.g. Porcupine, 1 August 1896. See also Sexton's evidence to Commission of Inquiry on the Unemployed (1894), op. cit., p. 46, and cf. E. Rathbone, Report of an Inquiry into the Condition of Dock Labour at the Liverpool Docks (Liverpool, 1904), p. 16. School log books reflect something of seasonal fluctuations: e.g. Stanley Road Headmaster's General Log Book, entry of 19 Jan. 1885: "There is still a good deal of distress among the parents of some of the scholars, and we have great difficulty in getting all to attend who might except for paying the fees. One woman . . . could not pay her boy's fee as her husband has been without work nine weeks".
87. PRO, 92/16076, op. cit.

88. Liverpool Daily Post, 15 Nov. 1892. The District Education sub-Committee Minute Book (1891-3), appendix, has a table showing 108,734 children between 3 and 14 of the "Classes Requiring Elementary Education".
89. PRO, 93/7568.
90. "Report of Mrs. F.E. Kitchener", Report of the Bryce Commission (in P.P., XLVII, 1895), V, p. 384.
91. See Labour Chronicle, Sept. 1898; TC Annual Report (1908/9), p. 14; Liverpool Forward, 22 Aug. 1913. See also Hansard, CLXXXIX, 25 May 1908, cols. 708-10: in 12 Council schools, fees were still being charged under section 4 of the 1891 Act, as reported again in ibid., LXII, 21 April 1913, cols. 6-7.
92. Labour Chronicle, June 1896; ibid., Oct. 1900, for Reeves' last School Board programme in particular. Cf. Simon, p. 132.
93. "Report of F.E. Kitchener", in Bryce Commission, op. cit., p. 146. There was the exception, however, of Brae Street Higher Grade--in effect, "organised science"--School.
94. Daily Post, 2 April 1902. See Simon, p. 225, referring to W.P. McCann, "Trade Unionist, Co-operative and Socialist Organisations in Relation to Popular Education", thesis, op. cit., pp. 433ff. Reeves' interest in unification did not necessarily imply a rejection of "one authority, popularly elected and solely for educational work"; cf. Yorkshire Factory Times, 5 April 1901, and also Justice, 17 May 1902. The local press was almost exclusively taken up with the Liberal-Nonconformist struggle, while records of precise labour views at this time are few: the Trades Council Minutes for 1901-6 are lost, the Annual Reports say little, and the Labour Chronicle (then under trade union control) focuses mainly on the national opposition.
95. Labour Chronicle, Dec. 1894; Daily Post, op. cit. There was the feeling that a concern for "saving the rates"--to be expected, perhaps, of the City Council--was very much that of the School Board, whose anti-free education policy was described as "a subterfuge to save the

- rates". Labour Chronicle, Aug. 1898. Cf. Liverpool Review, 28 June 1902, and Justice, 11 Oct. 1902, cited in Simon, p. 228n (which, however, went on to oppose the abolition of the school board elective principle).
96. Liverpool Review, 21 June 1902; also Manchester Guardian, 13 June 1901.
97. Liverpool Mercury, 2 Feb. 1902, a speech by Herbert Watts, former Mayor, and Liberal Radical.
98. TC Minutes, 30 May 1900; cf. Lawson and Silver, op. cit., p. 370.
99. TC Annual Report (1901/2), pp. 8ff, and ibid. (1903/4), p. 4; Daily Post, 2 April 1902.
100. Justice, 17 May 1902. The candidate was F. Bower Alcock, supported by the local SDF and Socialist Society; Morrissey, one of the first Liverpool ILP-ers, was accompanied by another Liverpool "comrade". Liverpool Socialists had long been active in lecturing and other educational work "over the water". See e.g. Birkenhead News, 14 Jan. 1893.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Liverpool Labour Movement and Technical Education:
the period before the Technical Instruction Committee

Unlike the evolution of elementary education under the School Board, the development of technical education in Liverpool in the late 19th century involved the local labour movement in an official, if limited, capacity. Although this involvement--largely of the Trades Council--was not based on the work of popularly elected representatives, as under the school boards, it enabled the Trades Council to exploit its co-optive role to the full in the context of City Council policy-making in an area of education closely associated with the daily work-activities of trade unionists. As suggested, it possibly also accounted for the relative enthusiasm of Socialists like Sam Reeves for City Council control of elementary education, as well as for the immediate concern of the Trades Council to secure cooptation on the newly-formed Education Committee, the Local Authority, from 1903. How the Trades Council came to participate in the matter of technical education for the working class, and the outcome and implications of such participation, are the concern of this and the following chapter.

Studies of the development of technical education in the 19th century have not generally been concerned with its relation to the labour movement, nor specifically with those workers for whom increasing provision of technical education was made. Local and national studies of the movement have largely examined it in terms of the growth of particular institutions, the varieties of instruction offered, the motivations and expectations of individual promoters, or the work of key pressure groups, and the politicians.¹ Other studies have primarily contributed to a fuller

understanding of the considerable growth of educational administration in the period, particularly through the important work of the county and city council technical instruction committees in anticipating much of the scope of the local education authorities from 1902-3.² As an aspect of their several investigations, a number of histories of local or regional labour movements have attached some importance to the involvement of organised labour in the technical education movement, though much remains unknown of precise attitudes, within the widening spectrum of the labour movement from the late 1880's, towards the implementation of various schemes of technical education following the 1889 Technical Instruction Act. More especially, this is true of the relationship between the technical instruction committees (notably the larger, often most active ones in major towns) and local labour bodies, commonly brought together in a trades council.³ From such studies as these, it is clear that trade unionism began to involve itself in educational movements at much the same time that the technical education movement itself was increasingly seen as one of national importance. As Albert Mansbridge remarked, writing in the early years of the 20th century, but referring to a trend evident from the mid-1880's, "owing to the influence of trades councils, and the advanced position of many of their leaders, they are now associating themselves with educational movements." This stood in contrast to the isolation of trade unionism from educational movements during most of the 19th century.⁴ S.F. Cotgrove's study of technical education in the 19th century was seminal in its attempt to examine the development of technical education nationally, against a fundamental background of social change. In particular, its focus on the views of "men for whom the instruction

was largely intended", as expressed primarily in evidence to the several pertinent Royal Commissions, was novel in associating the technical education movement with the social class structure.⁵ Similarly, the work of Musgrave and Ward has incorporated, within a socio-political framework, the principal functions of the movement (identified with the economy, social mobility, and the interests of social discipline), and its main stimuli (notably the "menace" of foreign competition, and individuals, predominantly Liberals, forming pressure groups), the promotion of technical education being particularly "the scheme of Liberal Britain".⁶ The present concern is to explore certain of the preoccupations of this approach to the history of an "educational movement" in its local expression, with respect to those "for whom the instruction was largely intended". In this way, the history of the educational movement is an aspect also of the growth of the labour movement: the introduction and development of technical education, if met frequently with as much apathy by workers as by many employers, was undoubtedly seen to be closely tied to the future, in particular, of skilled trade unionism.

Liverpool provides a good illustration of this. Evidence from the city featured prominently in both the 1884 Royal Commission on Technical Education (Samuelson) and the Cross Commission Enquiring into Elementary Education of 1888, since it could already boast a relatively well established provision of scientific and technical instruction. By then, this extended from the upper Standards of the elementary schools, and evening science classes, under the Department of Science and Art, to the School of Science, School of Art, catering mostly to artisans in mechanical

drawing, and the newly-created university college; there was also a long tradition of semi-professional learned societies, as in the Mechanics' Institute.⁷ The development of evening continuation classes and the work of the Technical Instruction Committee, in the 80's and 90's, were paralleled by the rapid growth of Liverpool trade unionism and organised labour. Thus, as control of technical education policy passed from a considerable variety of institutions largely into the hands of the Technical Instruction Committee from 1891--a function of the widening administrative role of the Committee--, so the voice of Liverpool labour developed, from an almost entirely artisanal Trades Council of the 1880's into a much broader spectrum, encompassing a Trades Council increasingly permeated by Socialists, and a range of independent Socialist bodies. It is in this context that developments in technical education will be seen. The concern with technical education, on the part of organised labour, partly reflected the wider concern with labour representation and independent labour politics, as with the School Board. Thus, while a variety of labour and Socialist views was expressed concerning technical instruction per se, and the threats that it might impose (the kinds of sentiments voiced, for example, in working-class evidence to Royal Commissions)⁸, the major preoccupation of the Liverpool labour movement was to secure a measure of control over policy by means of working-class representation. It is worth noting, however, that, in contrast to School Board education, where labour's emphasis was overwhelmingly on organisation and administration (including welfare), with technical education there was also a manifest interest in the nature of the instruction itself, i.e. in the curriculum, seen to be intimately related to the question of control.

It has been shown how the "scheme of Liberal Britain" was particularly identified with technical education; but, since demands for technical and secondary education in the period were largely undistinguishable, secondary education was equally part of the scheme.⁹ In fact, the Royal Commissions were primarily concerned to establish a widespread systematic provision of secondary education, accessible to some few elementary scholars; it was hoped this would also increasingly reflect the Progressive emphasis on "modern" studies. Such studies were mainly associated with the natural sciences, or, outside of the secondary schools, with the theoretical component of certain trades or industries. The latter conception was reinforced both by the majority of manufacturers and the traditional craft trade unionists, who considered daily workshop labour the proper training for a trade.¹⁰ Thus, while attempts at defining technical education generally related it to "the career that a person is pursuing or is about to pursue", it was also felt that "the broader a definition is the better",¹¹ and, in this way, the 1889 Act adopted a wide interpretation of "technical".¹² The Liverpool Technical Instruction Committee was therefore later able to justify its generous support of secondary education by underlining the commercial and distributing role of the city, as compared to the predominantly manufacturing role of Manchester or Leeds, the secondary schools thus constituting "the chief training ground for many youths who would in their turn take prominent positions in public life".¹³ At the level of formal elementary education, the introduction of "manual training", from the 1880's, was essentially as a supplement to the general education already imparted; it was of a "disciplinary" and moral nature, stressing broad principles. Such a conception, moreover, was more likely to find favour

with educators, in a climate which tended to frown upon expensive "luxuries" in elementary education: one Liverpool Headmaster--referring to technical instruction as "instruction in the use of tools"--thought "we could hardly find room for it".¹⁴ And, as Edward Hance remarked, while himself in favour of the Cross Commission's suggestions on the teaching of handicrafts, "In seeking to promote the higher education of the few, there is a great danger that the general education of the mass would be deteriorated".¹⁵ Thus his fear, expressed in the context of the development of higher-grade elementary schooling, was that a focus on higher, technical education would obscure the main purpose of elementary education: a solid grounding in the "three R's" and the inculcation of sound moral principles, a position which found favour with some artisans. Liverpool evidence to that same Commission sounded another familiar note of principle. Responding to Cardinal Manning's leading question on the value of early exposure to the labour market, Canon McNeile (Chairman of the Liverpool School Managers' Conference and early leader of the Workingmen's Conservative Association) maintained that "it ought to be taught that labour is more dignified than it is generally felt to be ... manual labour ... is a very respectable education". Above all, it was a respect of this sort that the Liverpool Association for the Promotion of Technical Education (APTE) sought to encourage in the scheme of manual training it inaugurated in the elementary schools of the School Board.¹⁶

In this context, it has been suggested that, with funds applied liberally to "secondary" education, "the development of more specifically vocational instruction was hindered by lack of funds for such classes".¹⁷

And yet, it seems that the mainstream labour movement from the 1880's, in Liverpool as elsewhere, exhibited a tendency to look to technical and vocational education rather than the wider liberal education of the earlier 19th century, and as manifested in the 1860's and 1870's, for instance, in the London Trades Guild of Learning.¹⁸ It is true that technical education attracted considerable support from more advanced employers, so that this tendency was not entirely a working-class affair, and must therefore be seen in the context, as in Liverpool, of a largely Lib-Lab Trades Council interested in both the increased efficiency and the protection of individual skilled workers. On the other hand, the social tensions wrought by technical and industrial change (including a reappraisal of the traditional apprenticeship system, and the growth of numerous semi-skilled groups, especially on the waterfront) produced various attitudes among artisans that might lead them to the Left in politics, and involve a more sympathetic outlook towards the unskilled.¹⁹ Matkin and Newcomb are representative of such a tendency in Liverpool: both were non-Socialist artisans. It was the influence of this stratum within the labour movement, spurred on by the efforts of a Socialist fringe--if often for different reasons--that brought "views of men for whom the instruction was largely intended" to the fore. In Liverpool, moreover, this partly lay behind the development of technical education centres specifically aimed at workers, and potentially providing a "secondary" education intimately related to a pertinent range of practical interests. Some clarification of the range of views expressed in the Trades Council can now be attempted, as a prelude to a consideration of their influence on policy from above.

The Trades Council and Technical Education

As suggested, although the Trades Council confined itself to trade matters in the period before the late 1880's, there were nevertheless instances of a concern for broader social questions, even if the political implications of this were not readily acknowledged. One event in particular bears witness to an early association of the growing interest in technical education or technological advance, on the part of the Trades Council, with the emerging issue of trade union representation. In co-operation with large employers, the Council was keen to send "practical working men" to the Paris Exhibition of 1878, with a view to comparative study of trades and industries; this was essentially a "trades" interest, and the Council's suggested delegates included printers, cabinet-makers, gilders, upholsterers, boot-makers and sugar-refiners.²⁰ Following a delegates' meeting with the Lord Mayor, however, the issue was no longer the formation of a simple trades delegation. It appears, in fact, that, along with the Chamber of Commerce and other related (but non-elected) bodies, the Council sought a more permanent representation, with respect to developments in technical education, at the Town Hall, in order to report on general matters "irrespective of any particular trade". The Mayor's reply that he could only recognise "individual citizens" and not the Trades Council per se, was taken as a "gross insult" to the trade unions of the city. After considerable debate and argument in the Trades Council, it led to a forthright resolution which--illustrative of the enhanced self-image of the Council in the industrial climate of the late 1870's--was also a portent of relations between the Trades Council and

the City Council in the technical instruction era.²¹ Advanced Liberal appeal to the working class over the question of technical education was partly based on a recognition of the representative responsibility of organised trade unionism of the "respectable" kind.

As in the concern for School Board representation, the Trades Council's initial involvement in the movement for technical education was closely associated with the activities of prominent Liberals, those who in 1888 formed the Liverpool APTE. This was a branch of the national Association, one of whose members--Henry Roscoe--was a former student of the Liverpool Institute.²² Among the members of this pressure group was one of the main Liverpool promoters of the movement, Sir James Poole, a shipowner who at the Town Hall meeting of November 1887 had moved the formation of the Liverpool branch of the Association. Other prominent members included Philip Rathbone, of a Liberal family which played one of the most active roles in Progressive educational reform in the city; James Samuelson, who had been active in the formation of the Liverpool School of Science in the 1860's, and was a respected champion of "new model" trade unionism and Lib-Lab politics; the advanced Liberal M.P., Samuel Smith, cotton-broker and philanthropist, and a staunch advocate of state-regulated industrial training; the leading university engineer, Professor Hele-Shaw of the Victoria University College; and a number of major employers, notably the Holts (most enthusiastic among Liverpool shipping magnates in the application of technical expertise to the shipping industry), the Lairds, Gamble, and Lever.²³ In his evidence to the Cross Commissioners, Edward Hance had offered his opinion that the

local manufacturers' interest in the relationship between work and industrial training (as a form of technical education) was, indeed, "very strong": a statement that was certainly borne out by their considerable financial support of the new chemical laboratories at the university college, opened in March 1886. Lyon Playfair, as the principal guest speaker at the opening ceremony, could already point to donations in excess of £12,000. Advanced Liverpool Liberals looked with great enthusiasm to the university college, as a symbol of the career open to talent, and of criticism of Tory predominance in Liverpool social circles; in this respect, it "was not established a day too soon".²⁴ This event also served to indicate the prime area of interest among Liverpool promoters of technical education: the higher levels of technical knowledge, bearing on the major industries of the region (engineering, marine, and chemical). Professor Hele-Shaw underlined this in an article he wrote some months prior to the formation of the Liverpool branch of the APTE. In its attempt at defining technical education, his "Liverpool and Technical Education" referred to "special training for an industrial pursuit, and distinguished from a general preparation for any calling hereafter to be chosen"; specifically, it envisaged the chemical, engineering and shipping industries as requiring "special technical education", such as , moreover, would be of some benefit to those in positions of responsibility. Thus, as in a report of the Technical Instruction Committee later, it approached the question of suitable preparation for the "prominent positions of public life" as a first priority. Of secondary importance, though ultimately essential to the latter, there was indeed a need for more general technical education

(from manual training to the apprenticeship system), and several employers were certainly to co-operate in encouraging apprentices to attend local technical classes.²⁵ Hence, a major object in the founding of Liverpool's university college was "to give such Technical Instruction as would be of immediate service in professional and commercial life".²⁶ This emphasis, which persisted subsequently in the work of the Technical Instruction Committee, was an early pointer to the shipping and commercial interests which shaped the promotion of technical education, especially by way of the City Council.

Other features in the drive for widespread technical education reflected those of the national movement: the need for safeguards against foreign industrial competition, for foremen in industries that had developed to the extent of engineering (in particular), and for a protection of the socio-political status quo by the provision, notably, of a theoretical degree of upward social mobility, and--integral to this--by a sharp distinction between the skilled and unskilled worker. Radical supporters of the movement were at one in stressing the social role of an increased provision of technical education, which would serve to reinforce the notion of an "aristocracy of labour" as a responsible and respectable class apart among workers.²⁷ Philip Rathbone could thus address himself quite comfortably to possible links between technical education and "strikes . . . lock-outs and such like", links which the Liberal Liverpool Review clearly entertained. His response, at a time when Socialist educating of the local labour movement was becoming organised, was an explicit exposition of the theme of mutual interest between Reform and

Labour through the "special position" of the skilled artisan, for

There is a vast difference between the skilled artificer and the mere labourer. The latter must expect to be more and more displaced by improvements in machinery; the former need fear no such displacement.

However, skilled workers on the waterfront were numerically small when compared to the various gradations of semi- and unskilled: in this respect, the enthusiasm displayed by the Holts for the application of technical expertise to shipping and docking could not complement their enthusiasm for dockside harmony between employers and employees through regulated industrial relations.²⁸ If "displacement" was destined to be increasingly widespread, it had also to be controlled by a provision of what Samuel Smith called "labour education", incorporated within the elementary school as an integral addition to its "mental education". This, in fact, lay behind the almost universal Liberal Progressive plea that "the hands should be employed in education as well as the brain". In effect, it was an extension of the fundamental purpose of industrial school education (i.e. the moral and useful education of truants or delinquents) to the regular day school:

No relief is to be found in any remedy which does not aim at producing individual virtue and independence; the proletariat may strangle us unless we teach it the same virtues which have elevated the other classes of society.²⁹

Individual virtue and habits of independence were thus a remedy to, or the basis of a treatment for, displacement. For Smith, and others, this was in addition to the alternative remedy of state-aided emigration,

which would itself be rendered more efficacious by prior insistence on the production of useful--manually-trained--colonists.³⁰

Given that until the later 1880's the various member trades of the Trades Council were almost entirely artisanal, its over-riding concern was to protect these trades. For this reason, the forthcoming Technical Instruction Act was viewed with considerable anxiety, especially as the growth of semi- and unskilled groups, and a decline in the traditional apprenticeship system, were seen to threaten the exclusive position of craftsmen. Already, before 1888, railway servants were affiliated to the Council, and, in that year, seamen and firemen joined the familiar coopers, tailors, printers, engineers and bookbinders, prominent among affiliated trades.³¹ The School Board election of November 1888 provided a clear illustration of the prevailing attitude of artisans towards technical education: the Trades Council chose Henry Pearson as its candidate, "in view of the importance to the artisan classes of technical education, which will in future be under the control of the School Boards." The latter were primarily concerned with the "manual training" that Philip Magnus had described to the Cross Commissioners a year earlier, but Pearson was nevertheless apprehensive of the scheme of manual training, involving instruction in wood-cutting to boys in Standards VI and VII, to be introduced in Board schools under the auspices of the Liverpool APTE.³² He pointed out to the Trades Council that technical education at the elementary school level (which, he was well aware, meant manual training) would constitute a "threat to one of the main defences of trade unionists" by producing large numbers of ubiquitous "handymen".³³ If, in general, there was no wide or liberal

view of the nature of technical education, there was some indication by the mid-1880's that the narrow, sectional outlook of the Trades Council was diminishing. As an example of the Council's "widening" sphere of activities, Hamling refers to its interest in evening lectures organised by the university college; it also undertook to make the availability of workingmen's scholarships--for "working men only"--widely known among its affiliated trades.³⁴ A further, and perhaps more pointed, example was its willingness to co-operate with the Liverpool Labour Electoral Association and, in conjunction with it, to put forward a School Board candidate. There was no opposition to technical education in itself from either Pearson and the Trades Council as a body, or William Newcomb, candidate of the LEA. Indeed, the Trades Council had agreed to contribute an annual subsidy to the Liverpool APTE, and, on invitation, sent its representative "for the artisan class". But both wanted some say in the dispensation of a form of instruction widely involving the working class, which implied working-class membership on the public bodies concerned. Thus, it was strongly suggested from within the Council that it "appoint a number of representatives to watch the interests of skilled artisans" on any committee or body formed to organise technical education.³⁵ Despite this majority concern with skilled artisans and their protection, however, it was not clear exactly which groups in the working class should benefit from technical education, and there was to be some debate on the question around the time of the 1890 Trades Union Congress, held in Liverpool, and characterised, in particular, by its focus on the unskilled worker.

It has already been noted that the Trades Council had taken an educational initiative in establishing evening classes in conjunction with the School Board, thereby acquiring a familiarity with day-to-day educational problems. Its main work, in fact, was in the provision of "recreative" classes, directed at children who had recently left the elementary schools, and offering instruction in such areas as instrumental music and cookery, as well as the "three R's". It was on the basis of this experience, and its keen interest in evening continuation classes, that the Council sent a memorial to the Cross Commission. The vocational element in these kinds of classes was quite limited, and, clearly, no instruction impinging on future trades took place at this level; Sir George Baden-Powell, a Conservative city councillor and Executor of the Recreative Evening School Association, wrote to Henry Pearson approving the Trade Council's refusal to teach carpentry in the evening classes, and expressing his confidence that "trades are best learnt in workshops and by means of actual work".³⁶ Pearson and the majority in the Trades Council thus subscribed to the view, made explicit in working-class evidence to the Cross Commission, that (from the point of view of skilled trade unionism) technical instruction in elementary schools was unacceptable.³⁷ In fact, the view was representative of the extreme version of that trend within the trade union movement as a whole which opposed technical education at school level. This is underlined by the Council's rejection of a Circular sent out by the Birmingham Trades Council, advocating the need for children to benefit from technical instruction before leaving school--in order, effectively, to benefit at all.³⁸ However, there was certainly some enthusiasm for the technical

education of bona-fide artisans and apprentices, which met with the approval of employers such as James Poole, Chairman of the Liverpool APTE, Samuelson and others. The Trades Council's interest in technical education for artisans and apprentices was well evidenced by its organisation of an Industrial Polytechnic Exhibition for the summer of 1890, in order to raise a thousand pounds for workingmen's technical scholarships. This was supported by several members of the employing class, including well-known Merseyside figures such as the Lairds and Rathbones. Its chairman, George Parkin--like Pearson, as one of its honorary secretaries --stands as a very typical representative of the artisan, "old" unionist outlook of the Liverpool Trades Council prior to its infiltration by the "advanced" group of Fabians and ILP-ers in the early 1890's. Delegate of the ASE number five branch, Parkin was chairman of the Technical Scholarship Fund, and had represented the Trades Council in its earliest discussions on technical education, inaugurated by the Lord Mayor in 1887 and following the familiar line of argument that "it was only by means of technical education that they could meet the increasing foreign competition with British industries". He held in high esteem the system of apprenticeship (his own had been in engineering, in the locomotive works of the South Western Railway) as the means to an all-round knowledge of a trade. As he saw it, the advantages of additional technical education now available to apprentices and younger artisans lay not only in its ability to combat the acknowledged menace of foreign industrial and commercial competition, but also in its provision of an opportunity of "rising in the social scale".³⁹ Parkin made no secret of his admiration for those who had so risen, such as "Prof. Hele-Shaw, who

moved in the highest walks of his profession, who still felt a kindly sympathy with, and desire to help, those whose humble lot it was to labour with their hands".⁴⁰ Along with other "aristocratic" workers in the Trades Council, Parkin advocated technical training for those engaged in a particular trade in order to facilitate promotion to supervisory positions, to enable certain workers to become foremen, thereby working, in effect, on the part of management: education would thus contribute to a process under way, in such industries as engineering, from mid-century. The view was entirely in keeping, therefore, with the progressive notion, recently expressed by Philip Magnus, that "higher instruction [technical] would facilitate the selection of foremen from the mass of workmen".⁴¹ The tone was essentially that of Smilesian self-help, a perpetuation of middle-class attempts at educating artisans in sound political economy which have been seen to characterise early and mid-Victorian Britain.⁴² Indeed, Henry Pearson's own article on technical education, written at the time of the Industrial Exhibition, was prefaced by a quotation from Self-Help; it followed closely after his prize-essay--under the auspices of the Liberal social reform and temperance paper, the Liverpool Programme--on the relation of drink to trade unionism.⁴³ While willing an end to "sentiment and philanthropy" in technical education, and an instruction which would accomplish what it was believed the traditional system of apprenticeship had done, Pearson placed the accent on individual vertical mobility through individual self-help in education, in much the same vein as Parkin.⁴⁴ This, of course, stood in contrast to other views, beginning to find a voice in the trade union movement, and increasingly popularized by Socialists, that, for example, would have

technical education as part of a comprehensive or common state system, or self-help of the collective rather than the individual variety. And it also contrasted with the view, expressed in the Trades Council by William Matkin (as in working-class evidence to the 1884 Royal Commission), that too much attention was being attached to the question of technical education in so far as it enabled workers to find better employment opportunities, since in reality the advantages here were few.⁴⁵ It was a view subsequently sophisticated by Socialists, at a time when the place of organised unskilled workers in schemes of technical instruction complicated discussion of the topic. However, one can readily appreciate how the Trades Council, by the late 1880's, had acquired its reputation, from employers, for being "responsible".⁴⁶

It would be unfair to see the individualistic view of technical education, held by such artisans as Parkin and Pearson, purely in terms of its association with the national well-being, or the perpetuation of an existing social structure. There is also a pronounced sense of personal development through the right kind of preparation for work, even if this is not linked to some comprehensive scheme of education in which technical or manual instruction has its part. Many were enthusiastic enough about their various trades to acquire theoretical knowledge independently, and Matkin himself claimed to have secured this from "Cassell's Technical Educator"--in much the same way, one might claim, that dedicated Socialists like Sam Reeves and John Callow, both shortly in the Trades Council, sought their "vocational" education in the public library, devouring Ruskin, Marx and Carlyle. Artisans of

the old school praised the apprenticeship system for its cultivation of a fairly wide range of skills so that workers need not be tied to the "making of one thing, or part of one thing alone", and they wanted technical schools to continue or develop this. In effect, technical instruction would exist merely as an important adjunct to daily workshop labour, practical vocational education for skilled artisans being a more satisfactory alternative to apprenticeship. Even as late as 1904, the Trades Council's representative on the new Education Committee was anxious to eradicate the "mistaken notion", the "old prejudice" that "we are attempting to teach trades at the [Central Technical] school."⁴⁷

This emphasis on the work situation itself differs from the view of those above who, critical of narrow vocationalism, would have the education of the "rude mechanic" "touch his imagination and refine his ideals of life", thus enabling him to cope with the "cramping routine" of industry or commerce. It also contrasts with the position of those Socialists who, rejecting "education for work" within the existing capitalist state, looked either to an idealised version of the medieval craftsman, or to the Socialist "liberal education" of the rank and file.⁴⁸ It accepted the existing conditions of life and labour with respect to the skilled artisan, provided both his protection and his economic well-being were assured. A working-class teacher of mechanics and steam--himself a marine engineer and Whitworth scholar--believed that, on the whole, "the present system of evening instruction is as good as is practicable for the mass of artizans and apprentices".⁴⁹

Economic well-being and protection, however, were increasingly seen to be unassured, by the late 1880's, in the framework of Liberal labour politics. The growth of large semi-skilled and unskilled groups of workers, particularly in connection with the shipping industry, broadened the context of organised trade unionism in which the question of education was situated. With the beginning of the "new" unionist upsurge on Merseyside in 1889-90, there were delegates in the Trades Council whose attitudes were not those of craft trade unionists like George Parkin, who had no desire "to disturb the natural relationship of capital and labour".⁵⁰ While, in Liverpool, "new" unionists, or sympathisers with their cause, were not predominantly Socialists (most were Lib-Labs), a considerable range of political views was revealed in the Trades Council during the 1889-93 period. A consideration of the technical education issue not only coincided with the rise of new unionism and the dock strike of 1890, but also with the first Socialist infiltration of the Trades Council through such delegates as Reeves, Sexton, Goodman, Charles Doeg, George Nelson and Edward Kaney, an "advanced group" whose influence succeeded, albeit indecisively, in pushing the Council from its entrenched Lib-Lab position.⁵¹ As might be expected, this coloured the debate on the scope of technical education around the time of the 1890 TUC, and to some extent influenced the nature of the Trades Council's attitude towards the Technical Instruction Committee, effectively in existence early in the following year.

Already in the late 1880's, William Newcomb's view of technical

education, as distinct perhaps from other aspects of education, was not in tune with that of his fellow School Board candidate. Newcomb entered the Trades Council in August 1889, when the Liverpool Amalgamated Tramway and Hackney Carriage Employees' Association became affiliated; he was one of the most active organisers of new unionism, though not a Socialist.⁵² His expressed aim--as part of his 1888 School Board election programme--of fully equipping children "so far as practical education could equip them, for every walk in life" clearly envisaged commercial, technical and industrial training in Board schools. It was clear also that Newcomb made no distinctions between skilled and unskilled workers, for there would simply be what he considered the most appropriate education available, from low to high grades, for all children, including "the son of the peasant and the son of the peer".⁵³ This full-blooded and comprehensive vocationalism did not, however, exclude languages and other higher branches of learning associated with a liberal education, and Newcomb realistically campaigned for the widespread provision of evening continuation schools, permitting apprentices to further their formal general education in various fields. The campaign was one backed solidly by the labour movement as a whole, though more often as a check to premature industrial training, or (particularly among the early Socialists) to confirming the manual role of workers in a society which, it was felt, paid mere lip service to notions of the "dignity" of manual labour, as, for example, in Canon McNeile's evidence.⁵⁴ Such notions, as well as the emphasis on both the moralistic and the theoretical--or "principles"--aspects of

technical education would seem to lie behind the characteristic division, from above, between "the man who will be a hewer of wood and a drawer of water all his days" and the potential "captains of industry".⁵⁵

For this reason, Liverpool Socialists, and especially the Fabians, adopted a position fundamentally different from that of Newcomb, which was critical of technical education at the elementary stage because, for example, "it would mean so much time spent in theorizing which might be better utilized in other studies".⁵⁶ This more idealistic view, along the lines of Justice at that time, sought to broaden the field of access for the working class. While the majority of Trades Council artisans had rejected the Birmingham Circular because it was interpreted as a threat to the exclusive position of skilled unionists, Fabian Socialists rejected its appeal because it was seen to petition for access to a restricted, and class-dictated, field of study. In this way, in contrast to Newcomb's stand, both these groups effectively proclaimed a theoretical denial of a widening sphere of education available to the working class under the auspices of the Science and Art Department. Classes here--necessarily of a "higher" elementary standard--required suitable preliminary training of scholars if they were to benefit from them. The Report of the Royal Commission referred to them in terms of strong commendation, but in Liverpool, out of a population of some 75,000 young persons between 14 and 21 in 1891, only some 4,000 individuals were engaged in the entire range (day and evening) of Science and Art classes. More significantly, particulars showed that they were attended

by only a "small proportion of those for whose benefit they have been mainly founded".⁵⁷ Newcomb, however, broke away from the often narrow and sectional views of "old" unionists in the Trades Council. It is conceivable that he did not regard the apprenticeship system as sacrosanct, having experienced, in common with several Liverpool organisers of mass trade unionism, a frustrated craft training in his own youth. He envisaged the scope of technical education with greater breadth than, on the one hand, the "old" unionists, in so far as he was not bent primarily on the self-protection of any one trade or group of trades; and, on the other, those Liverpool Socialists who, in the context of a struggle for "workingmen's politics pure and simple" in 1889-91, saw the proposed extension of technical education with great distrust. Whatever the level, education was seen by Newcomb as "technical" in the sense that it promoted "fitness for life",⁵⁸ in the political, economic and moral life of industrial society. The Liverpool Review spoke well of Newcomb's "aggressive Radicalism", and, indeed, in contrast to that of the majority of the Trades Council, this position was akin to the "advanced Radical" Birmingham trade unionism on technical education, criticising social divisions in education, but essentially accepting the existing conditions under which it occurred--and, therefore, the need to profit from technical instruction at the pre-Standard VI stage.⁵⁹

While the prevailing view of technical education remained narrow, other views were voiced during the Trades Council's debates on the matter in 1890, both before and following the TUC meeting in August.

As elsewhere, the debate centred on the question of who should be allowed to benefit from the "teaching of trades". There was certainly a group which felt that no line of demarcation ought to be drawn between skilled and unskilled workers; this was possibly linked to the more general idea that the growth of unskilled unionism might well serve to protect the craft unions by restricting entry to the labour market.⁶⁰ However, groups cannot be neatly established. William Matkin, for instance, identified himself quite distinctly with the new unionist position in his presidential address to the 1890 TUC, but pointed out how carpenters and joiners (his own trade) had already suffered from a partial system of technical instruction.⁶¹ Elsewhere, as mentioned, he sounded a note of scepticism with regard to the material benefit of technical knowledge. His main concern would seem to have been similar to that of the Trades Council Secretary--then Joseph Goodman of the SDF--that technical instruction had to be in the hands of trade unionists, craft and general, to help reduce the risk of clashes between skilled and unskilled, unionists and non-unionists.⁶² In this respect, Matkin (an artisan, like Newcomb) had increasingly moved towards the Left in politics at this time, a source of some disappointment to the Liberals, whose anti-new unionism was loudly proclaimed in the Liverpool Review and the Daily Post.⁶³ The old unionists, with whom the Liberal press clearly sympathised, saw technical education as an integral part of the preparation of skilled workers, and therefore requiring an element of control on their part. Thus, they were prepared to seek representation on any committee in order to secure a control which would protect, and perhaps further,

their own interests. Richard Bloxham of the Bookbinders' union explicitly suggested, during one of the Trades Council's debates, that "non-unionists be excluded from classes"; at this time, the Bookbinders, established among old unions, were particularly threatened by the competition of machinery.⁶⁴

In these early discussions, "trade unionist" was not generally taken to include the unskilled, and for this reason, several who were sympathetic towards new unionism, such as Matkin, deliberately voiced their opinion that the unskilled should stand to benefit from the 1889 Act as much as the skilled.⁶⁵ Of the two Trades Council representatives accepted as delegates to the Mayor's Technical Education Committee in June of 1890, one (Edward Kaney of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers) was a Fabian Socialist, the other (William Winterburn, a tailor) a moderate trade unionist increasingly drawn to independent labour politics.⁶⁶ Kaney and Sam Reeves were, in fact, the most outspoken Fabian Socialists on the issue of technical instruction, and seem to have played on the fears and the confusion of the majority of skilled artisans at a time immediately preceding the 1890 TUC, which introduced formal discussion of the issue of skilled versus unskilled. They moved an outright rejection of the recent Technical Instruction Act, stressing the widely-held fear of increased competition among skilled and semi-skilled workers. Kaney seconded Reeves' motion that the Council "view with distrust" the 1889 Act; moreover, Reeves pointed--as an "object lesson"--to the recent use of boy labour by the builders of the Royal Infirmary, which was seen to be facilitated by some form of technical instruction.⁶⁷ Reeves and Kaney were essentially critical of a measure

which, as they saw it, seemed calculated to benefit above all the employer class, by isolating the higher stratum of workers. This extreme and minority view, echoing that of the early Justice group, while not entirely successful in alarming the Trades Council as a body, did effectively support the predominant old unionist stand on trades training, if for completely different reasons.⁶⁸ However, Goodman, as the only "permanent" SDF member of the Trades Council, did not support the motion: as he indicated, the Council had already petitioned the City Council to implement the 1889 Act, and so the most pressing need was, as he had motioned for inclusion in the petition, to ensure "that Trades Council and outside labour interests be represented on the working committees of that Act."⁶⁹ If "outside labour interests" were not always favourably regarded by the majority of the Council, the Trades Council nevertheless turned enthusiastically to this representative activity in educational policy throughout 1890-91 and beyond, influenced and spurred on by Socialist pressure for independent working-class politics.

According to Maddock, Goodman was not as dogmatic as the London Marxist democrats, and tended, as Trades Council Secretary, to keep his Socialism to himself; but it should also be remembered that he did not possess the mandate of his own society (Lithographic Printers) to support the motion of "Reeves and his disciples".⁷⁰ In this respect, there was much truth in the Daily Post's assertion that the resolution of "Reeves and his disciples" would never be carried "by the votes of such a hard-headed body of men as the Liverpool Trades Council".⁷¹ It would seem, however, that Goodman shared Reeves' distrust of the 1889

Act in so far as he doubted the extent of its real benefit to the working class. In August 1890, he was already declaring that the Act denied them all benefit since no fund was available, and, following the creation of a Technical Instruction Committee, it was he who first spoke in protest against its method of distributing the funds.⁷² His attitude towards the wider introduction of technical education resembles that of the Socialist, and new unionist, "unskilled labourer" in Justice: namely, that "it would break down those barriers which at present exist between different grades of workers, and create a solidarity which is at present wanting".⁷³ While he did not speak of the intrinsic value of technical or vocational education, it is clear that he attached considerable importance to it; he taught "classes in technology", and was exceptionally well-qualified to do so, and held two workingmen's scholarships at the university college in 1892 and 1895.⁷⁴ At the 1885 TUC, held in Southport, the Liverpool Lib-Lab, T.R. Threlfall, had clearly associated such an interest in technical education with a "more artistic spirit" on the part of the workman, who would thereby become "the controller of the mechanical forces".⁷⁵ From the point of view of the SDF, however, the intrinsic worth of technical education, which was associated with genuine craftsmanship and pride of work, could not be detached from extrinsic ends. Thus, one could not talk of the "dignity of labour"--the handmaiden of true craftsmanship--as long as people's lives "have been one long record of unceasing labour, a wearyful and monotonous penal servitude in perpetuity".⁷⁶ It was in such a context that, at the Liverpool TUC of 1890, concern for the legal eight-hour day was not so much to enable workers to benefit from an increasing range of trade

or evening schools (though this too would be facilitated), but in the "hope that the leisure thus obtained will enable the workers to devote themselves to study and discover the causes of their economic oppression".⁷⁷ This was the thrust of Socialist argument in Liverpool, especially on the part of Liverpool Fabianism. This will be further discussed in the next chapter.

At the time of the 1890 TUC, as well as in ensuing years, the Liverpool Trades Council was clearly internally divided on the question of technical education policy. It was divided on other, perhaps more pressing, matters, notably the tentative move towards co-operation with the Labour Electoral Association, and the need for an unambiguous stance vis-a-vis the unemployed. Indeed, from the time of the dock strike, the question of the unemployed in Liverpool lay behind the considerable Socialist distrust of the Trades Council in the 1890's, as well as Socialist rejection of an educational policy which appeared, in conjunction with a perceived displacement of hand-labour through the increased application of machinery on the docks, to emphasise and broaden the existing gap between labourer and superior artisan. Only a complete overthrow of the commercial system that Samuel Smith and his state-aided schemes for the unskilled poor represented, could satisfy Labour Chronicle Socialists by 1895.⁷⁸

However, if by early 1892 the seeds of "internal disintegration" were unmistakably apparent in the Trades Council, following Socialist infiltration, by this same time it had embarked on a policy in technical

education which sought as full a working-class representation on the pertinent committees as was reasonably possible: a degree of unity hardly achieved in other spheres of Trades Council activity at the time. On the basis of a variety of individual and group rationales, among Socialists or solid trade unionists like Winterburn, the policy was adhered to throughout the era of the Technical Instruction Committee.⁷⁹

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

1. See e.g. D.S. Cardwell, The Organisation of Science in England (London, 1957), chs. V-VI; G.W. Roderick and W.B. Stephens, Scientific and Technical Education in Nineteenth Century England (Liverpool, 1972); F. Foden, Sir Philip Magnus (London, 1971); L.O. Ward, "British Political Parties", thesis, op. cit.; N. Kemp, "Scientific and Technical Education in Liverpool, 1851-1902" (Manchester University, M.Ed. thesis, 1971).
2. See P.R. Sharp, "The Work of the Technical Instruction Committees, 1889-1902" (University of Leeds, M.Ed. thesis, 1969); P.H. Gosden, "Technical Instruction Committees", in Studies in the Government and Control of Education since 1860, History of Education Society (London, 1970); M. Seaborne, "Education in the Nineties: the Work of the Technical Education Committees", in B. Simon (ed.), Education in Leicestershire, op. cit.
3. E.g. L. Bather, "Manchester and Salford Trades Council", thesis, op. cit.; R. Brown, "The Labour Movement in Hull, 1870-1900" (Hull University, M.Sc. thesis, 1966); K.D. Buckley, Trade Unionism in Aberdeen, 1878-1900, op. cit.; S. Pollard, A History of Labour in Sheffield (Liverpool, 1959); W.P. McCann, "Trade Unionist, Co-operative and Socialist Organisations", thesis, op. cit.; for Liverpool, see the studies by Maddock and Hamling, op. cit.
4. A. Mansbridge, in M.E. Sadler (ed.), Continuation Schools in England and Elsewhere (Manchester, 1907), p. 373; see also A. Clinton, The Trade Union Rank and File: Trades Councils in Britain, 1900-1940 (Manchester, 1977), p. 4.
5. S.F. Cotgrove, Technical Education and Social Change (London, 1958), p. 40.
6. L.O. Ward, "Technical Education and the Politicians", BJES, XXXI, No. 1 (Feb., 1973), p. 38; P.W. Musgrave, "Constant Factors in the Demand for Technical Education, 1860-1960", ibid., XIV, No. 2 (May, 1966).

7. Report of the Royal Commission on Technical Instruction (Samuelson) (1884), V (Evidence), pp. 444ff., and Appendix 33, pp. 201ff.; Report of the Cross Commission (1887), op. cit. Second Report (Evidence), pp. 243-255, 603-703; Sadler, Report on Secondary Education in Liverpool (1904), ch. X; see also Roderick and Stephens, "Merseyside Scientific Societies during the Nineteenth Century: their Educational Role", History of Education Society, Bulletin No. 21 (Spring, 1978).
8. E.g. Royal Commission on Depression of Trade and Industry, Second Report (1886), mins. 7213ff.; Royal Commission (1884), op. cit. (Evidence), mins. 3789-3811.
9. Ward, p. 34.
10. Cotgrove, p. 34.
11. Evidence of Philip Magnus to Cross Commission, Second Report, op. cit., p. 470.
12. For the definition, see appendix 3A below.
13. W. Hewitt, "Secondary Education in Liverpool", The Record (organ of the National Association for the Promotion of Technical and Secondary Education), XI (1902), pp. 326-7.
14. Evidence of Edwin Horsfield, Cross Commission, op. cit., p. 244.
15. Evidence of Edward Hance, ibid., p. 612.
16. Evidence of Canon F.H. McNeile, ibid., p. 692; for the NAPT scheme, see The Lancashire Merchant and Ship Canal News, 29 Sept. 1888. In stressing the "value of technical in connection with mechanical skill", it underlined theory or principles; it was realised that "there are some who scarcely regard the movement with a friendly eye".
17. Cotgrove, p. 38.
18. See W.P. McCann, "The Trades Guild of Learning", The Vocational Aspect, XIX, 42 (1967); Pollard, op. cit., p. 115.
19. Cf. Buckley, op. cit., p. 67.

20. TC Minutes, 6 June 1878.
21. Ibid., 12 Sept. 1878, at a special meeting: the resolution regretted the Mayor's ignorance of the "locus standi" of the Trades Council, and since it was "the first and only body of working men to move in the matter, it was unanimously resolved that . . . the delegates . . . withdraw from the movement altogether unless they are received as delegates from this Council."
22. Manchester Guardian, 28 Nov. 1887. At an earlier meeting of the ULCI in Manchester, two Liverpool representatives had spoken on technical education, R.F. Finlay, advocating the need for NAPTE branches across the country, and F.W. Edwards, criticising government measures aimed at limiting technical instruction to post-Standard VI scholars; see ibid., 8 Nov. 1887. See also F.W. Edwards, "The Adoption of a more Perfect System of Technical Instruction by the Liverpool School Board", Proceedings of the Liverpool Literary and Philosophical Society, XLIV (1889-90).
23. For Poole, see Manchester Guardian, 28 Nov. 1887, and Kemp, thesis, op. cit., pp. 182-3; for Philip Rathbone, Liverpool Review, 9 Sept. 1893; Samuelson, ibid., 14 Feb. 1885, and Taplin in Dictionary of Labour Biography, op. cit., London Figaro, 19 Jan. 1884; Hele-Shaw, Liverpool Review, 16 Aug. 1890, and The Sphinx, III (Nov. 1885); for the Holts, Lairds, and other major shipowners, see the index to the multiple-reference volumes of collected newspaper extracts, Biographical Notices of Liverpool Worthies, in LRO; also F.E. Hyde, Liverpool and the Mersey. The Development of a Port, 1700-1970 (Liverpool, 1971).
24. Liverpool Review, 20 March 1889. Donations came from, inter alia, Henry Tate, Colonel Gamble and John Bibby; there were the familiar references to foreign industrial and commercial competition. See also Liverpool Mercury, 20 and 22 March 1886.
25. Liverpool Mercury, 20 March 1886; Sadler, Continuation Schools, op. cit., pp. 268, 284, 298, 302; cf. Simon, Labour Movement, p. 166.
26. Prof. Hele-Shaw, "Liverpool and Technical Education", University College Magazine, II (1887), p. 124; he felt that such instruction was facilitated by the great mercantile wealth of Liverpool--and

hence, perhaps, the source of the university college motto: "haec otia studia fovent".

27. See e.g. evidence of Philip Magnus, *op. cit.*
28. For Rathbone, see Liverpool Review, 9 Sept. 1893; cf. ibid., 14 Feb. 1885; Samuelson advocated expenditure on trade schools "to be devoted to the education of our artisans". For labour relations, see Taplin, Liverpool Dockers and Seamen, *op. cit.*; R. Bean, "The Liverpool Dock Strike of 1890", IRSH (1973), *op. cit.*, and "Employers' Associations in the Port of Liverpool, 1890-1914", ibid., XXI (1976), p. 359; E.J. Hobsbawm, "National Unions on the Waterside", in his Labouring Men, p. 219. For the application of technical expertise, see e.g. The Liverpool Labour Conference: Report of the Executive Committee with Recommendations for giving work to the Unemployed (Liverpool, 1893), pp. 16-18.
29. S. Smith, "The Industrial Training of Destitute Children", Contemporary Review, XLVII (Jan. 1885), p. 110; cf. W. Mather, Work and Workmen: an address delivered in the New Islington Hall (Manchester, 1888), p. 19.
30. Smith, "Industrial Training", p. 111. Interestingly, Smith saw the value of a more general application of manual training, "for Eton as well as Seven Dials", but "this is not within the scope of practical politics . . .": ibid., p. 112-113. Smith was active in securing trade union support for his Continuation Schools Bill (designed to facilitate entry into technical schools) of 1889, as a supplement to the Technical Education Bill; see his My Lifework, *op. cit.*, pp. 245-247; TC Minutes, 22 March 1889. For the prevailing emphasis of Radical thinking in this sphere, on the co-operation of capital and labour, see Mather, *op. cit.*, p. 13: widespread "practical" education of children, and "perfection of workmanship" would, in part, produce a situation in which "the increased intelligence of labour will inevitably lead to increasing co-partnership with capital".
31. TC Minute Book (1878-87), undated entry.

32. Lancashire Merchant and Ship Canal News, 29 Sept. 1888; TC Minutes, 2 Aug. 1888, cited in Maddock, p. 60.
33. Ibid., 14 Sept. 1888.
34. Ibid., 7 July 1887; Hamling, A Short History, p. 18; Liverpool Programme, 30 Aug. 1889.
35. TC Minutes, (?) June and 22 Nov. 1889; on the latter occasion, six representatives were appointed, including two Socialists--Goodman, and Kaney, of the Fabian Society.
36. G. Baden-Powell to H. Pearson, 26 Nov. 1889, TC Correspondence, 2/72 - /130; see also Samuel Smith's communication with the Council, in TC Minutes, 22 March 1889. Classes under the auspices of the Liverpool APTE were in manual instruction, involving fretwork and wood-carving, and carried on in 10 elementary schools, out of school hours, by 1890. See SB Proceedings (1890-91), Appendix, p. 5.
37. See e.g. Cross Commission, Third Report (1887), p. 397. Speaking for skilled unions, this bookbinder (then a visitor for the London School Board) thought technical training ought to be "left to the workshop".
38. TC Minutes, April 1888; for details of the Circular, see McCann, thesis, pp. 156-8. Unlike the Birmingham TC, of course, Liverpool's had no representatives on the School Board.
39. Liverpool Daily Post, 9 Aug. 1890; Liverpool Review, 12 March 1887; Weekly Post, 10 May 1890.
40. TC Minutes, 14 Sept. 1888. Hele-Shaw (who married into the Rathbone family in May 1890) was appointed to the Chair of Engineering at the university college in 1885, at the age of 31; a former Whitworth scholar, he was noted for his practicality and ability to interest working men in science and engineering. His working-class students--potential engineers--came from the higher grades of apprentices, for whom higher technical education was deemed necessary on economic grounds. See Liverpool Review, 16 Aug. 1890.

41. Cross Commission, Second Report, op. cit., evidence of Philip Magnus, p. 468. Here this was seen as the main purpose of technical education.
42. Cf. T.R. Tholfsen, "Transition to Democracy in Victorian England", op. cit., p. 229.
43. Liverpool Programme, 19 July 1889; H.W. Pearson, "Liverpool Workmen and Technical Education", University College Magazine, V (1890), pp. 97-100; cf. Kemp, p. 171.
44. Pearson, op. cit.
45. Liverpool Review, 26 March 1887; cf. Cotgrove, p. 50.
46. R. Bean, "Aspects of 'New' Unionism", in Building the Union, op. cit., p. 114.
47. TC Annual Report (1903/4); Transactions of the Liverpool Engineering Society, XII (March, 1891), p. 93.
48. M.E. Sadler, Report on Secondary Education in Birkenhead (1904), p. 67.
49. Royal Commission on Technical Instruction, V (1884), Appendix 33, p. 223. This automatically restricted provision of technical education to the relatively few apprentices who were able, and inclined, to attend after a long day's work.
50. Liverpool Review, 12 March 1887.
51. For details of this, see Maddock, ch. 2, parts I and V. Following the initial outburst of new unionism, there were 37 skilled and 15 unskilled unions affiliated to the TC at the end of 1891.
52. TC Minutes, 30 Aug. 1889; see also the biography of Newcomb by R. Bean in Dictionary of Labour Biography, III (1976).
53. Liverpool Review, 1 Sept. 1888.
54. Cross Commission, op. cit., evidence of F.H. McNeile, p. 692; Justice, 25 Jan. 1902.
55. See A. Denny, in Transactions of the Institute of Naval Architects,

- XLV (1903), p. 56, cited in D.L. Robertson, "Technical Education in the British Shipbuilding and Marine Engineering Industries, 1863-1914", Economic History Review, XXVII, No. 2 (1974), p. 226.
56. See Charles Doeg, in Liverpool Weekly Post, 9 Aug. 1890. Doeg, of the TC, became an ILP-er and, at one stage, a joint editor of the Labour Chronicle.
57. See SB Proceedings (1890-91), Appendix, pp. 3-4. The public elementary schools were the sole means of removing "hindrances to progress" by the implementation of a scheme of preliminary technical education, especially a system of manual and scientific instruction--i.e., of "theorizing"--in Standard V.
58. Cf. E.J.T. Brennan, Education for National Efficiency: the Contribution of Beatrice and Sidney Webb (London, 1975), p. 27.
59. Liverpool Review, 1 Sept. 1888; for the Birmingham position, see McCann, op. cit., p. 158; Simon, pp. 200-1.
60. Bean, Dictionary of Labour Biography, op. cit.; Maddock, p. 104, includes Parkin, Matkin, and Potter in the group.
61. See J. Burns, The Liverpool Trades Union Congress, op. cit.; TC Minutes, 18 Jan. 1890; Liverpool Review, 26 March 1887. Burns describes Matkin's opening address as "masterly", while Commonweal took him to be in favour of the "Social Democratic Programme": Commonweal, 6 Sept. 1890.
62. TC Minutes, 24 Jan. 1890.
63. Liverpool Review, 6 Sept. 1890; Daily Post, Aug. 1890. The Review spoke of Matkin's "tirade against capitalists", and thought that the "so-called representatives" of trade unionism were "quite prepared to burn down the nation's house in order to roast their own little bit of pork".
64. TC Minutes, 18 Jan. 1890; the following month, the Council voted in favour (14 votes to 6) of a resolution restricting technical education to "men of the trade". Cf. Hobsbawm, "The Labour

- Aristocracy in 19th Century Britain", in Labouring Men, p. 289.
65. TC Minutes, 24 Jan. 1890; ibid., 18 Jan.: the unskilled should "not be kept in a lowly position".
 66. Ibid., 6 June 1890.
 67. Ibid., 1 Aug. 1890; Daily Post, 3 Aug. 1890.
 68. Weekly Post, 9 Aug. 1890. It was reported that "The Trades Council apparently hesitate to be scared by the note of alarm which Mr. Reeves and some of his disciples have sounded."
 69. TC Minutes, 10 Jan. 1890; Halfpenny Weekly, 18 Jan. 1890.
 70. When, following the General Election of 1892, the Council finally accepted to send representatives, including Goodman, to the recent Fabian-ILP merger, Goodman's society withdrew him from the Council, "refusing to countenance this official association with socialists". See Maddock, p. 124.
 71. Daily Post, 5 Aug. 1890.
 72. Ibid., 3 Aug., and 4 Aug. 1891; Technical Instruction Committee (hereafter TIC) Minutes, 25 Nov. 1891.
 73. Justice, 18 Feb. 1888; cf. McCann, p. 166.
 74. Daily Post, 3 Aug. 1890; see also Joseph Goodman collection (hand-bills, etc.), in LRO.
 75. T.R. Threlfall, The Southport Trades Union Congress (1885), pp. 12-13, Webb Trade Union Collection, BLPES.
 76. Justice, 25 Jan. 1902.
 77. Ibid., 23 July 1892: this was also the view of Liverpool Fabians.
 78. See criticism of "the Liverpool Smith" in Commonweal, Sept. 1885; also Labour Chronicle, Jan. and April 1895.
 79. The Workman's Times, 12 March 1892, contrasted this internal disintegration of the Trades Council with "the inflated boastings

of its prestigious growth". The Socialists, however, were hostile on occasions, especially those seen to foster the co-operation of labour and capital.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Liverpool Labour Movement and Technical Education:
the period of the Technical Instruction Committee

Attitudes towards technical education became clearer with the establishment of an authority to implement a scheme of technical instruction in the city. The Technical Instruction Committee was originally a specially-appointed sub-Committee of the Library, Museum and Arts Committee, taking the "Technical Instruction" title late in 1893, which was to report on the sum of money to be allocated, and on all questions "incidental to the carrying of the Technical Instruction Act, 1889".¹ Initially, it included nine members, four of whom (William B. Forwood, Robert D. Holt, William B. Bowring, and Philip H. Rathbone) had direct and important interests in the shipping industry; seven members were Conservatives, including the Chairman, William E. Willink, and two were prominent Liberal Radicals (Holt and Rathbone).² The Technical Instruction Committee subsequently implemented its scheme in a way which led to considerable disagreement between itself and the Trades Council. To some extent, this reflected conflicting views on the nature of educational priorities, and, in this respect, the disagreement extended to members of the City Council also, including, most notably, Sir Arthur Forwood.

While several in the Committee (especially Holt and Rathbone) held political views sufficiently advanced to favour the promotion of co-operation between employers and "respectable" trade unionists, there was no sign of willingness to discuss plans with the Trades Council, despite a number of communications from that body requesting an interview.³ The Committee maintained that it needed to establish a more "general plan" which would deal with technical education as it involved the working class; in the meantime, it could only concern

itself with "existing agencies" for the purpose of purchasing equipment and appliances--indicative, according to the historian of the Liverpool Corporation, of "a desire to keep the responsibilities of the [City] Council as small as possible".⁴ It was certainly to be pointed out by the Lord Mayor that not all the money available under the Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act need be devoted to technical education.⁵ However, it was also an indication of the Committee's major areas of interest, involving the "existing agencies": the secondary schools, which in Liverpool were very poor in endowments, the university college, and the municipal institutions, of which the City Council was justly proud. The other area of interest was nautical education, which, in the absence of existing agencies--as investigations portrayed--necessitated the appointment of a special Nautical sub-Committee.⁶

A Report of the Special Library, Museum and Arts sub-Committee in the summer of 1891 provided a picture of "technical instruction" as it existed in various institutions in the city; this was based on replies received to a circular letter of the previous February requesting the "sums of money immediately required for purchasing requisite appliances."⁷ Quite clearly, in most existing institutions (and largely the secondary schools), particularly where a Department of Science and Art syllabus was followed, "technical instruction" primarily entailed the teaching of science (that is, e.g. physics, mathematics and chemistry), and where such subjects as joinery were taught, they were not prominent. A more strictly "technical" instruction--as generally perceived by Trades Council artisans--was found in such institutions

as the Training School of Cookery, the Technical College for Women (emphasising laundry, sewing and cookery), the Gordon Working Lads' Institute (joinery, machine-construction and drawing), the School of Sanitary Plumbing and Metal Working, and the Orphan Boys' Asylum on Myrtle Street, which put in a request for the "Enlargement of present Workshop, more Benches, Lathes and Tools".⁸ This kind of "technical" was not the work of either the commercial sections of the secondary schools (except in the case of girls and, significantly, the "secondary" work accomplished in Brae Street Higher Grade elementary school), or the university college.⁹ In this way, the "technical" label was attached by and large to institutions popularly associated with the working class, and those "Technical Science Scholarships" available to enable former elementary and evening school students to pursue higher technical studies appear to have favoured middle and lower-middle-class families, as suggested by the stipulation of a maximum parental income of £250.¹⁰ The university college did, however, offer some few scholarships for bona-fide working men, a policy which Hele-Shaw did much to encourage; but these envisaged the access of higher-level artisans, especially in engineering. Thus, Sir Andrew Walker's donation of £15,000 to the university on the occasion of the Queen's Jubilee had been specifically to build and equip the engineering laboratories, and to promote its policy of aiding "working mechanics": in 1893, half of the available workingmen's scholarships went to the engineering section of trades.¹¹ Clearly, the Liverpool Technical Instruction Committee saw its educational priority to lie in the provision of "modern" higher education: good commercial and scientific training in

the secondary schools, and the development of an expertise in those fields of knowledge appropriate to the growth of a great port (notably engineering and nautical education).¹²

In this sense, given the perceived needs peculiar to Liverpool, it could be maintained that the policy of the Technical Instruction Committee essentially followed that of the Lancashire County Council in enabling the student to acquire "knowledge and habits which shall be useful to him in the industry to which he belongs".¹³ Trades Council dissatisfaction came to centre on the narrow extent of the provision of such knowledge at a suitably elementary level, and on its insufficiently practical bias with respect to trades. Thus, the Trades Council's early expressed desire for representation on the Committee in general stemmed from its belief that such a scope and nature were implied in the spirit of the 1889 Act.¹⁴ The Committee itself regarded the Trades Council as a body with an interest in that level of technical instruction: when later preoccupied with administrative reorganisation--closely associated, as this was, with a wider middle-class provision of suitable secondary education--it turned its back on the Council. Yet, already in the 1890's, some members of the Trades Council were considering the provision of a Day Technical School as a potential extension of working-class "secondary" education, a venture which certainly contrasted with the Committee's instruction of "those employed in the many and various manual occupations . . . which . . . must be almost exclusively conducted by means of evening classes."¹⁵

As areas of "technical instruction", nautical education and

educational work conducted in municipal institutions virtually monopolised the Committee's attention within the first year of its existence. A number of observers--who themselves looked favourably on Technical Instruction expenditure not immediately related to the "various manual occupations"--were critical of "grants which can only be very indirectly connected with actual technical education".¹⁶ Kitchener, an Assistant Commissioner for the Bryce Commission, commended the Technical Instruction Committee's work in the field of secondary education, but shared Canon Rendall's view of the Liverpool Committee, which, as compared with other large centres like Manchester or Nottingham,

besides giving larger grants to the Library account than upon technical and commercial books, has in each of the last two years subtracted £5,000 from Technical Instruction funds for building a District Library . . .¹⁷

Rendall, who was the first Principal of the university college, spoke of "internecine jealousies" over the award of grants, as among various educational institutions (and especially the secondary schools themselves), with the result that many played the role of "ugly and malicious sisters to the Cinderella of the tale". Much more could be done, he felt, if the Liverpool City Council would cease using the Technical Instruction funds as the "milchcow for expenditure that properly belongs to city rates".¹⁸ However, the use of a good part of the first-year's income to bolster Library finances, as well as to cover certain building extensions, was quite in keeping with the Amending Technical Instruction Act of 1891, which permitted wide interpretations in accordance with particular circumstances. And, as the Committee

suggested, the erection of branch libraries, for example, would favour "the artisan class who reside chiefly towards the outskirts of the city". It appears, in fact, that these were used mostly by clerks, book-keepers, and "women without occupations", but, above all, they were illustrative of the attempt at furthering self-help in education, "which your sub-Committee think ought to be encouraged as much as possible"¹⁹--a policy which could derive support from artisans like Pearson. Rendall's own position was one that subscribed readily to the spirit of individual self-help, in its solid support for fee-paying secondary education, for example.²⁰ The working-class "Cinderella"--in the form of scholarships for ex-Standard education, and evening continuation schools--was but a partial transformation of traditional working-class inaccessibility to post-elementary formal studies.

In part, however, this was perhaps a function of an over-all political strategy resting on a belief in the expediency of controlled upward vertical mobility. Thus, the "social" argument in applying Technical Instruction funds to areas only indirectly associated with "technical instruction" was seen to be as pertinent as the similar argument for promoting the notion of an educational ladder, which, under the Liverpool Committee, became a reality. Sir William Forwood, in his dual capacity as member of the Technical Instruction and the Free Public Library Committees, emphasised the social good sense of devoting funds to the particular municipal institutions over which he presided at the time:

strikes, lock-outs, socialism and social unrest and discontent are in a large measure but the expression of

that want of confidence and intelligence (the result of education) which can alone enable people to grasp the industrial problems which arise every day.²¹

It was a language which portrayed Forwood's intimate association with Andrew Carnegie, and was strikingly similar to that employed by his colleague (though political rival), Philip Rathbone, in advocating the technical education of skilled artisans. Forwood was confident, in fact, that some two-thirds of those reaping the advantage of the technical education movement--in which he also situated the Library--were of "the artisan class".²²

The early concern for municipal institutions was allied to a simultaneous concern for nautical education. This was more especially true of Liberal city councillors, and an amendment with reference to a resolution on the Technical Instruction grant in 1891, "that no distribution would be satisfactory that did not provide for Nautical Instruction", was only just carried (by the Mayor's casting vote). Several members of the Technical Instruction Committee, including its Chairman, were opposed to the creation of a nautical college. However, that the Committee should involve itself in a scheme of nautical education, and thus step outside its self-appointed sphere of "existing agencies", suggests a reflection of the strong shipping interests influencing the Committee, especially through the City Council. In fact, the latter was instrumental in pressing the Committee to prepare a special report on the subject, which revealed an absence of suitable existing agencies to cater to the needs of nautical

instruction.²³ It can be argued that the concern for nautical education from 1891 was already late in appearing in "such a wealthy and expanding seaport" as Liverpool, and that the immediate work of the Technical Instruction Committee in the area contributed to its "impressive and creditable" first two years' administration.²⁴ In the light of expressed opposition to ventures which appeared to neglect the improvement of the working class, the Committee felt a need to justify its policy, and it pointed out the peculiar needs of Liverpool: "She is first and foremost a great seaport, and the adequate training of officers for the Mercantile Marine is to her a matter of the first importance".²⁵ This was in keeping with the 1889 Act; labour criticism of a neglect of "the real workers", however, must be seen in the broader context of the socio-economic climate of the port during the late 1880's to mid-1890's.

While, in absolute terms, the four or five decades prior to 1914 accounted for a general well-being in the port (with an increase in tonnages and volume of goods, heavy investment in docks, warehouses and port facilities)²⁶, the era of the Technical Instruction Committee was not so much characterised by boom and expansion in the shipping industry as by a considerable crisis in the face of growing competition both from abroad and from other British ports, particularly on the North Atlantic routes. This created an unfavourable climate with respect to labour relations. It entailed a concentration into larger, more efficient, business units, and interest in effecting improvements in vessels, crews, and docking facilities--while also to some degree underlining the need for superior technical expertise and its application

to the shipping industry.²⁷ At the same time, it entailed widespread unemployment on the waterfront, among the mass of semi-and unskilled manual workers in particular, which, following great distress in the winter of 1892, led to the formation of a special Labour Conference on the question. The distress also engendered a marked labour militancy which, from late 1892, was expressed in frequent demonstrations under the auspices of the Fabian Society or ILP, and especially the SDF. The general dismissal of the unemployed question by the press, and tactless remarks by responsible figures--most notably by the Liberal Mayor, W.H. Watts, in 1895--provided ammunition for the Socialists in their attack on technical instruction policies, and on Trades Council aloofness. It was a mood which influenced the Trades Council at the time through delegates from, or familiar with, the "new" unions representing the shipping sector, such as the seamen and firemen, and, in early 1893, the dockers, led by James Sexton.²⁸ Several members of the so-called "Mount Pleasant party" (the Socialist faction) of the Trades Council were representative employees at the Liverpool Labour Conference, under R.D. Holt and other prominent Liberals like W.H. Lever and James Samuelson. Evidence included in the 1893 Conference Report referred frequently to the threat of "modern appliances in machinery", the "displacement of hand-labour", as well as the "want of consideration on the part of employers".²⁹ Against this background, the Trades Council pressed from early in 1891 for a meeting with the Technical Instruction Committee, which appeared to be devoting its energies to a new venture in nautical education. By July, a printed draft plan emerged, leading eventually to the creation of a special Nautical Instruction sub-Committee.

with major representation from the Liverpool Shipowners' Association, and Steamship Owners' Association.³⁰

The deputation from the Trades Council which was finally received in August 1891 contained three members, out of eight, belonging to the "advanced group": Reeves, Kaney and Goodman.³¹ It affords some idea of the mixed anxieties and interests of the Trades Council, expressing, for example, a desire for specialist instruction suited to engineers, as well as fears for the protective system of apprenticeship. Nevertheless, it spoke with one voice--largely Goodman's--in adopting a tone of obvious complaint. Not surprisingly, the major complaint was that, within this first year of the Technical Instruction Committee, money was being spent outside the channels of the working class. As Goodman pointedly remarked, this was hardly calculated to enable the English worker to compete with his foreign counterpart. It was brought to the Committee's attention that the university college ("this middle-class school") had received £1350 from the Committee funds while also in receipt of £4000 from the Exchequer. And whereas total expenditure on the higher levels of technical instruction, and on municipal institutions, was in excess of £10,000 only £1,000 had been granted to the School of Science, which was seen to deal "entirely with the working-classes".³² The Committee felt it had dispelled the deputation's fears after an explanation of the general scheme of technical instruction that was to be effected. However, this was scarcely based on a thorough understanding, as disagreement persisted throughout the period of the Committee, a disagreement in part similar to that within the London Technical Education Board over the educational priority of expendi-

ture on ventures in higher education.³³ During the following year, by the end of which a nautical college was officially opened, the "strenuous efforts to secure the full advantages of the Act to the working classes" made by Matkin clearly suggest that the Trades Council felt it had seen few fruits of the Committee's intention, openly expressed at the start of its reign, of "helping those least able to help themselves".³⁴ Again, in the summer of 1893, the Trades Council was complaining of the inequitable distribution of funds, though with a particular disapproval of those city councillors who had voted against the proposed application of funds to a centre for higher technical instruction of artisans:

. . . seeing so little of the funds placed at the disposal of the City Council for the purpose of technical instruction has been granted to improve the real workers in any branch of industry, this Council claims, on their behalf, greater consideration than we have received . . .³⁵

The Trades Council spoke boldly, and unanimously, of better things and more classes for "the bona-fide working class", but, like Reeves after his School Board campaigns, decried the "indifference of the workers, who were not alive to their own interests".³⁶

The Scheme of the Technical Instruction Committee and its Critics

Clearly, there was disagreement over the nature of spending within the City Council and the Committee themselves, and the Technical Instruction Committee intended to turn to its "general plan" (apart from nautical education, which it saw as part of the plan) once it had full knowledge of the existing provision of technical education.³⁷ The pressure exerted

at this early stage by the Trades Council probably helped awaken the Committee to the need to give effect to its plan without delay; it brought William Matkin into the Committee, as the Trades Council representative, early in 1892.³⁸ As one of the important aspects of its general scheme, the Technical Instruction Committee created a real, if narrow, educational ladder, in the form of capitation grants to ex-Standard science work, and continuation classes, and, above all, scholarships to enable certain elementary school scholars to accede to secondary school studies, work it shared with the Liverpool Council of Education, which had anticipated some of the Committee's work in the 1880's.³⁹ There were also some few scholarships for the nautical college, where fees of thirty shillings per term were prohibitive, even at the most elementary level, to most working-class students. Undoubtedly these scholarships favoured scholars from "aristocratic" working-class, or lower middle-class families, who would thus rise to the commercial section, or lower school, of one of the established secondary schools in the city. The Council of Education, aware of this tendency, endeavoured at one stage to render the distribution of scholarships more equitable by relating it to the fees charged at the various elementary schools,⁴⁰ but this proved unsuccessful and the elementary schools which continued to predominate in the honours lists were those whose scholars were able, and encouraged, to continue in the upper Standards, that is, those already involved in near-secondary type education.⁴¹ These were the "studious and gifted scholars" that Willink proudly, and accurately, referred to in reviewing the efforts of the Committee to "press forward, in every

possible way, the technical instruction of the artisan class".⁴² The Birmingham Circular, in particular, had voiced the real fear that post-Standard VI technical education would favour the wealthier classes: as noted, many middle-class parents sent their children to good ("efficient and cheap") Board schools, and could afford to keep them there beyond the minimum leaving age.⁴³ Of those boys nominated for Technical Science Scholarship examinations in April 1893, with a view to higher technical studies, the respective parental occupations would seem to confirm this trend.⁴⁴ It is in the light of this that the widespread working-class demand for an expansion of the evening continuation school system must be seen. Secondary education (as noted, often "technical" in the period) if limited to regular day schools was seen to be socially restrictive; evening continuation classes were needed for working-class secondary or technical education. It was to this area that the "whiskey money" should go.⁴⁵ Newcomb advocated their wider provision in the School Board elections of 1885, 1888 and 1894, and others in the Trades Council, including the Socialist Kaney, and the later representative on the Technical Instruction Committee, William Winterburn, similarly stressed their importance to the working class.⁴⁶ The School Board's triennial report of 1897 could record a total enrollment in evening continuation classes of 5,526 (with an average attendance of 4,544) as compared to 2,241 (average attendance of 1,702) in the previous triennial report, and this largely involved boys and girls of "secondary" age, i.e. below 18 years of age.⁴⁷ By and large, the stress here was on general--often, of necessity, "remedial"--education rather than purely technical (as understood by the Trades Council), a stress much needed in

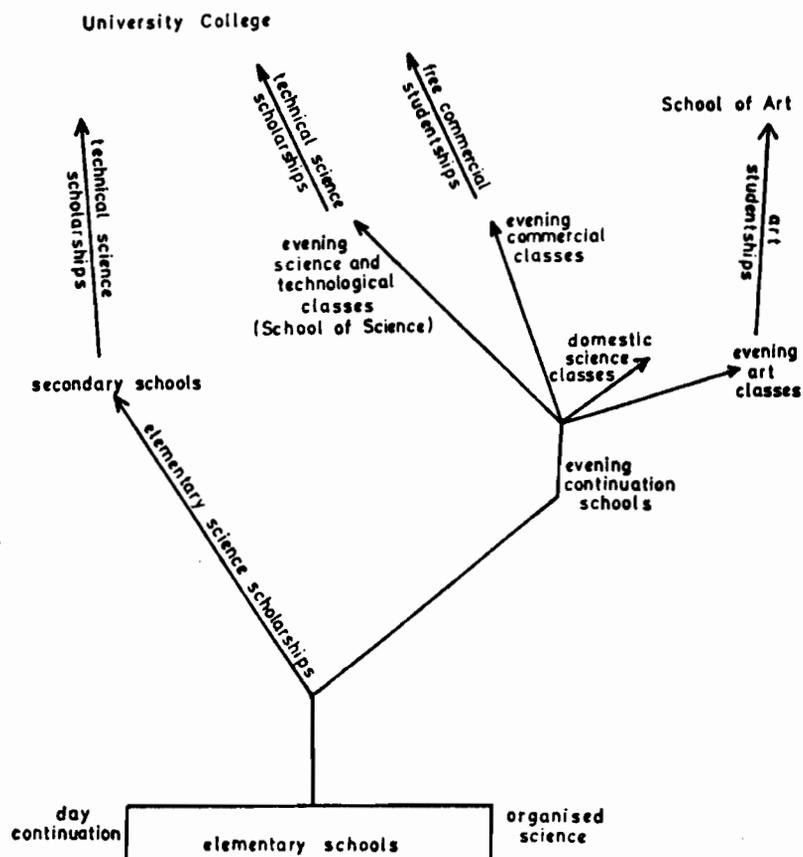


Diagram of the Technical Instruction Committee's general scheme of technical education: based on an insertion in the TIC Report for 1892

view of the nature of the system. Those few working-class students who obtained university places through Technical Scholarships, for example, while often excelling in practical subjects, were usually unable to proceed to a degree because ill-prepared in general education to pass the requisite matriculation examination.⁴⁸ The work of the Technical Instruction Committee in attempting to bring the secondary schools, as Hewitt suggested, "more in accordance with the needs of modern times", was itself mainly outside of most working-class experience. This explains the considerable pressure exerted by the main body of the Trades Council on the Committee in the early 1890's for the establishment of technical education centres catering specifically to workers in various parts of the city. Significantly, this area was not included in the Committee's diagram illustrating its scheme, inserted in the 1892 Annual Report.⁴⁹ It also lies behind much Socialist criticism of the period, which associated technical education with middle-class political economy. This will be discussed below.

The Trades Council was not alone in criticizing the nature of Technical Instruction expenditure. Several city councillors, some active at various times in the Committee, decried what they saw as a neglect of those areas of education aimed at the "improvement" of the working class. While it is difficult, and perhaps misguided, to interpret such criticism in terms of political alignments alone, it is nevertheless worth noting that the Liverpool City Council, staunchly Tory in the period, had a rare Liberal (though not Radical) majority from November 1892 until 1895,⁵⁰ the years in which technical instruction policy was consolidated.

Prominent Liberals were generally in favour of the promotion of technical instruction aimed at stimulating and protecting (as it was felt) the commercial progress of the port. Certain city councillors, including William Willink, might question the immediate priority of expenditure on a nautical college, but nonetheless promote the development of commercial interests through a wider, more systematic provision of secondary education (mostly academic, as appropriate for clerical occupations), or, from 1897, special commercial classes.⁵¹ There was a general subscription to Sadler's recommendation of a "system of secondary day schools on a high plane of intellectual efficiency", with provision of scholarships based on merit; and the relative impoverishment of Liverpool secondary education in terms of foundations and endowments, as underlined in Kitchener's report to the Bryce Commission, no doubt contributed to a neglect of working-class education. This emphasis was increasingly apparent after 1895, and Liverpool discussions of technical education tended to focus on secondary education, now that the city had its university college and its technical classes. By the turn of the century, William Forwood was speaking of an established feeling when he referred to the "deep desire on the part of the middle classes for better means of educating their sons and daughters."⁵² However, there were also Tories--of the "democratic" sort, under the leadership of Arthur Forwood--who, well aware of the electoral importance of the urban working man in the post-1884 years, focused on the interests of the working class, firmly associating Forwood with the rise of the Workingmen's Conservative Association.⁵³ Thus, if the

Liverpool Review was disappointed by the Liberal City Council's "present hostility to Labour representation on the City Council"-- since it might engender the formation of a "Third" or "Labour" party in municipal politics--then in another, but related, context, Forwood could accuse the Technical Instruction Committee of "frittering away sums available for technical education" of the working class.⁵⁴

As Financial Secretary to the Admiralty and M.P. for Seaforth, Forwood was a source of considerable influence on policy-making, which could also command the powerful support of the working-class Conservatives. On technical education, his view was an extension of traditional philanthropic attitudes (of the kind expressed at the time by William Grisewood of the Liverpool Central Relief and C.O.S.)⁵⁵, dwelling solidly on the elementary school, where "improvement of hand and eye in art and labour", or manual training, would help recapture the sense of pride and discipline in work generally associated with pre-industrial society.⁵⁶ In this, Forwood was far from attacking the expansion of secondary education. Actually, his policy would have reinforced and hardened the line of demarcation between elementary and secondary education by cutting off the small, but expanding, "technical education" ladder which was an essential by-product of the preoccupation (of the Technical Instruction Committee) with secondary education. However paradoxically, Forwood's view especially reinforced the Trades Council's attack on Committee policy, which was seen to be embodied in a speech by its chairman in 1897: "that the people to educate were not those who manipulated the cold iron or steel, but those who guided them and ordered how these things should be done."⁵⁷ While based on an

entirely different rationale, the view thus lent support to that of the Socialists, bent also on a kind of social reform through state action, but especially through widespread working-class education of the "right" kind.⁵⁸

The Liverpool Left was increasingly sceptical of technical education offered for the improvement of the working class in a context in which the latter had little or no effective control, in which it had not "come to power". Socialists would have agreed with William Forwood that a variety of educational reform might contain solutions to "lock-outs" and the kind of social unrest associated with the industrial problems of the port. But they advocated an education which sought the overthrow of what was perceived as the very source of that unrest: the capitalism that had produced Forwood and the mercantile wealth of the city, along with the overcrowding that, according to the Medical Officer of Health in 1893, placed Liverpool first among the ten most crowded cities, with a correspondingly high death-rate.⁵⁹ Thus a lecture on "Capital" by James Blackhouse of the Daily Post, which praised the efforts to promote technical education of the kind made by the several conferences uniting capital and labour, elicited a severe criticism from the Fabians of the notion that an increase in artistic skill would remove the fear, among labourers, of being taken over by machinery. In pointing out "how impossible it is to save the labourer by a wider diffusion of technical knowledge"⁶⁰, the Fabians subscribed to the more radical Socialist views as expounded by the SDF (for example), rather than to those of London Fabians like Webb, centred on the concept of the

educational ladder. The Fabian School Board Tract of 1897 spoke of free technical education in every branch available to all who desired it--"open to all according to taste", as Justice had earlier expressed it--but it must not come as "a generous and humane gift from the dominant class".⁶¹

Echoing the sentiments underlying Blackhouse's speech, several Trades Council artisans mentioned instances of employers who afforded facilities to their apprentices whereby they might profit from opportunities for technical instruction. On the other hand, it was pointed out by Socialists that when employers took apprentices they virtually undertook to instruct them in their trades, and it did not require much self-sacrifice on their part when they consented "to the community relieving them of a great portion of their self-imposed duty". It was on this occasion that William Matkin made what the Labour Chronicle considered a very able reply: "the increased intelligence of the workers who benefited by technical education classes would be a powerful factor in their ultimate emancipation".⁶² What precisely Matkin meant by this "emancipation" is not clear; he was not a Socialist, and might simply have envisaged the personal satisfaction experienced through wider knowledge of one's trade. Conceivably, he was emphasising technical education as a sphere in which workers, generally apathetic towards the matter, could hope to secure a measure of control, and Matkin was himself the Technical Instruction representative. "Increased intelligence of the workers" was certainly the aim of Liverpool Fabians: unfortunately, from their point of view, "the much-talked-of Technical Education aims merely at producing better workers, swifter and surer machines . . .". In this respect, social

and political education of the workers was the prime concern of Fabian-ILP effort, with an elementary curriculum ideally designed to prepare the way for "nobler men and women, 'rich in all the virtues of the heart, head and hand'".⁶³

Some of the Fabian views were given the influential support of Professor Oliver Lodge, who was one of the contributors to the March 1893 issue of the radical Liverpool Pulpit, devoted to the problem of unemployment. His contribution dealt with the worker as a machine:

Among manufacturers, the dependence of the hand worker is, I believe, deliberately fostered, and as far as possible, he is only allowed to know and do one class of thing, because he is thereby rendered more dependent and submissive . . . The remedy for this latter state of things is education and wide-spread general intelligence, so that men may be no longer mere machines . . .⁶⁴

Lodge's "remedy" was not very specific, and could cover the argument of artisans like Parkin and Pearson--both critical of the "making of one thing, and one thing alone"--, the "ultimate emancipation" (though this, too, was vague) of Matkin, or the political education line followed by members of the Liverpool Fabian Society. However, in a speech delivered some months later, as his inaugural address to the newly-constituted School of Science, Technology and Art, it would appear that the "remedy" had in fact entailed a broad conception (as distinct from the traditionally-accepted one) of a liberal education: that is, the liberal education of the working class that, in encompassing technical training for trades, was at the same time "vocational". In this way,

liberal education was also technical education. Lodge's speech identified him quite closely with the London, particularly Webb's and Shaw's, kind of Fabianism, rather than the more "working-class" Liverpool variety. Clearly, Lodge rejected any narrow, materialistic or purely utilitarian conception of technical education⁶⁵, but equally clear was his acceptance of the conditions of the times, which led him, like Sidney Webb in his London Education, to advocate a realistic preparation for the kind of work which, of necessity, most youths would eventually perform:

Let me say once for all that I do not mean that you should seek to climb out of the occupation which belongs to you and for which you are fitted. It is a poor ambition which makes an artisan seek to become a clerk, it is an unwise ambition which makes everyone with a little education seek to become a teacher. I do not think that the artisan's position is looked down upon now, it gives everyone pleasure to see a really competent workman at work . . .⁶⁶

Somewhat more in tune with Liverpool Fabians like John or Joseph Edwards, Lodge went on to talk of "artisans of an altogether higher type" in the sense that they understood their potential power to affect society. A changed society--and here Lodge refers to Morris's News From Nowhere--would be the result, however, of gradual changes of attitude and outlook towards work (in particular) which might produce workingmen leaders. This follows from a policy of "indirection", which is the basis of education for leisure: "the thing I am most interested in is the eight hours' play, meaning by play doing what you like; leisure is one of the most valuable commodities of life if people only knew it". This recalls

the London Fabian emphasis on increased liberty, through leisure, by means of state-reduced working hours.⁶⁷ It is not clear in Lodge's thinking whether this liberty of leisure should facilitate the movement towards Socialism or simply be used "to the utmost in enlarging and enriching your life", that is, in the interest of individual improvement tout simple. Applied to the theme of technical education, the "advantages of indirection" were to be found in spreading oneself over a variety of subject areas, but Lodge's speech "On the Advantages of Indirection" did not confine itself to the matter of technical education per se. Its references to changes in society, utopias, progress and leadership, are informed by a clear principle which, while it placed technical education in the wider context of "education and the pursuit of leisure", also underlay, by implication, the conduct of politics:

. . . the best way of attaining a thing is not to fly too straightly and narrowly towards that thing, but often to march round, to circumnavigate it, to take steps not obviously leading to the desired result . . . Thus is a fortified place seldom taken by direct assault. Troy stood, till the Greeks constructed a wooden horse.⁶⁸

The moderate labour view of technical education, as expressed by the main body of the Trades Council, tended to see it as a means to a kind of personal satisfaction, through wider knowledge, in daily workshop labour. By the late 1890's, the Council was awake to the need for working-class participation and control in educational policy, and could also proclaim that "the more equalised the skill of the worker, the better for the Unions".⁶⁹ Thus, it was felt that technical education

centres would be conducive to that end by offering apprentices systematic training, in relation to trades, of a thoroughly practical kind, but which would also provide an opportunity for securing working-class representation on the ruling committees. This reflects more of a trades influence than a Socialist one; as might be expected, the eventual course of studies was devoid of general education⁷⁰, and Socialists were critical of a venture that was, in fact, based on the principle of co-operation between capital and labour. The Trades Council had readily co-operated in the conference of employers and employees in October 1892, as a preliminary stage in the venture. The Technical Instruction Committee was not only influenced by the Trades Council, however, since the conference was also attended by the "aristocratic" Engineering Society (whose President was Hele-Shaw), and the Master Builders' Association. The Trades Council's large deputation was dominated by such trades as joinery, printing, plumbing, tailoring and bricksetting, and so it is hardly surprising that the conference strongly supported the view that technical instruction classes should be strictly reserved for "bona-fide" workers and apprentices, and not available in elementary schools.⁷¹

There is no doubt that the conference was seen as an exercise in harmonious labour relations, and Liberals used it as a defence of Lib-Lab politics: "if these conferences were held a little more frequently, the strained relations often existing between capital and labour would be greatly minimized . . . I trust we have now heard the last of the I.L.P."⁷² As Chairman of the Technical Instruction Committee, William Willink also maintained, in reference to the assistance of representative workmen, that "our object and theirs are identical".⁷³ Liberals were

increasingly apprehensive of independent labour groups by late 1892-early 1893, when the Liverpool Fabian Society and ILP came into existence, and especially of their influence on a traditionally "responsible" Trades Council. In contrast to School Board candidates, for whom "scholastic knowledge and enlarged experience" were considered more important than first-hand acquaintance with the environment of Board school children, Trades Council representatives in the technical education debate were welcomed because, as artisans, their interests were seen to be those of progressive employers. But the rhetoric from above primarily envisaged the skilled artisan, and wrongly associated unemployment with the unskilled alone. Thus the Radical Lord Mayor, W.H. Watts, in relating technical education to the question of foreign competition and its effect on shipping in the port, voiced his opinion that the main body of the unemployed would never be educated to do highly technical work, and that, considering the vast body of unemployed, "there was nothing for it but to let them go to the devil"--an unfortunate remark, which sparked off a considerable disquiet.⁷⁴ Socialist criticism was aimed at what appeared as a political strategy to weaken the appeal of independent labour politics: "The Independent Labour League [sic] , Socialists, Fabians, and other societies formed to revolutionize society will now have to take a back seat".⁷⁵ The Socialist attitude towards technical education policy must be seen in this light, since it was clear that it harboured no dislike of the well-trained craftsman. The tactless remarks of Lord Mayor Watts merely exacerbated a situation which existed irrespective of the "terrible distress existing in the city at the present time among the skilled and

unskilled workers": the findings of both the 1893 Conference on the Unemployed and the Commission appointed in March 1894 bore this out. And, despite the Mayor's belief that "the industrious and steady workman, who will take the necessary pains to qualify himself, will find plenty of work", it was reiterated by a member of the Typographical Society that unemployment was not merely confined to the unskilled, for even at a busy period in the trade, there were some sixty men out of work in his society. It was simplistic and erroneous to suggest that a combination of industrious habits and appropriate technical instruction would enable workers to "find plenty of work".⁷⁶

It has been noted that early in the brief period of Liberal ascendancy from 1892-5, Socialists, and especially the Fabians, resisted attempts at thwarting the emergence of a "Third" or "Labour" party in municipal politics. Fabian and ILP educating envisaged "the one Socialist party", and depicted Liberals as worse than the Tories.⁷⁷ Along with a focus on the issue of the unemployed, this coincided with the conference of employers and employees on technical education centres for the working class. While sufficient pressure was brought to bear on the Trades Council to secure Council representation at the recent Fabian-ILP merger, as well as to carry a motion by Kaney (seconded by Reeves) in support of the unemployed and their demonstrations, these Socialist successes were short-lived. There were amendments rejecting support of "the Socialist Movement (and social revolution)", and Sexton continued to seek Council support of the ILP in 1893. In his evidence

to the Commission of Inquiry of 1894 (on the unemployed), Sexton was convinced of the impossibility of co-operation between employers and employees while employers were protecting themselves and using anti-union tactics.⁷⁸ With such an attitude, Sexton--as the "mouthpiece of the Mount Pleasant party"--endeavoured to hinder the development of the policy of co-operation espoused by the promoters of the conference of October 1892 on technical instruction centres. The original Trades Council meeting to select thirty delegates had been too poorly attended to enable a representative selection to be made; at a subsequent special meeting, just prior to the conference, Sexton protested against its being used to make the selection.⁷⁹ For the Liverpool Review, this was but one of several occasions on which the Mount Pleasant party attempted to thwart "things beneficial to their fellow workmen".⁸⁰

The Trades Council nevertheless participated enthusiastically in the conference, and continued to take an active interest in the question of technical education. When subsequently under Trades Council ownership, the Labour Chronicle produced an editorial devoted--in contrast to any under the Fabian-ILP ownership--specifically to "Trade Unions and Technical Education":

The artizan of today . . . is having the opportunity of recognizing the value of a scientific and theoretical knowledge and training, in addition to the practice acquired by apprenticeship.⁸¹

Artisans at the conference called for suitable technical instruction

centres which would speak to "their respective callings"; Goodman, as one of the delegates, seconded a motion to this effect, seeing that it would entail City Council expenditure on "those for whom the instruction was intended". He did, however, add the enlightened rider that payment of the instructors should not be based on examination results.⁸² The workingmen's requests for institutes for bona-fide workers and apprentices secured results. One of the leading suggestions arising from the conference, embodied in the ensuing Printed Report on the Special Centres, was the provision of preparatory courses in elementary technical instruction, with the co-operation of evening Science and Art classes. Moreover, the several centres were to be strategically located "so as to be within easy reach of the homes of the workmen."⁸³ The centres were not under working-class control, but that of a modified School of Science, which, in turn, accepted the "presence of workingmen representatives": the Trades Council thus secured some influence over the School (even, as noted, advocating a Day School) through its six members on the School committee, all devoted trade unionists, including Matkin, Parkin and Winterburn.⁸⁴

If the Trades Council came to participate in the matter of technical education for the working class, once the Technical Instruction Committee became increasingly preoccupied by administrative re-organisation, with its close connection to secondary education⁸⁵, the Council found itself left in the lurch. The purely "technical" aspect of the Committee's work was not to the fore, while the Trades Council had been regarded solely as a body with an interest in technical

instruction. In his report to the Trades Council on the work of the Committee, Winterburn declared that money intended for technical education was being diverted into "other channels". Voiced in 1898, this echoed Goodman's earlier complaint of 1892, but it was now allied to a more general subscription, on the part of the Trades Council, to radical demands for free technical education beginning in the Board schools, and a weekly half-day free for apprentices to attend classes.⁸⁶ What was expressed as a "fear" by the TUC Parliamentary Committee in 1900 (i.e. for a diversion of technical education money "to middle-class schools and universities"), was thus expressed earlier as a reality in Liverpool.⁸⁷ Expenditure in "other channels" was to a large extent the result of a considerable deficiency in secondary school provision in the city, and efforts in this area came increasingly to be considered crucial to the establishment of

a complete system of education where our young people can have a thorough Educational training beginning in our Schools and ending in our University, so that clever boys and girls may, at a moderate cost . . . obtain degrees in the Arts and Sciences.⁸⁸

The Technical Instruction Committee was generally in favour of wide-spread middle-class education, with scholarships for clever elementary school leavers, but more especially for youths with "parents of moderate means". Similarly, the Committee's scheme of commercial education, introduced early in 1897 in conjunction with the Chamber of Commerce, was designed partly to meet deficiencies in the kind of secondary education seen to be required of the second port in the

Empire: apart from a few elementary classes held in Board schools, the YMCA and the Balfour Institute, this focused on more advanced classes in "modern" secondary studies, such as geography, economics, modern languages, and "trade matters".⁸⁹

This sort of tendency in part explains why, following the creation of a modified Technical Instruction Committee in 1899, anticipating the LEA's of 1902-3, the Trades Council had no representatives until the major reorganisation consequent upon the 1902 Act.⁹⁰ The Committee itself suggested that the five "co-opted members" permitted under the new regulations be representative of the secondary schools and the university college, and as a blunt reply to the Trades Council's request for two seats declared that it was unable "to place representatives of the Trades Council upon the Committee".⁹¹ Occurring just prior to the opening of the Central Technical School, Byrom Street, this would seem to lie behind the Council's non-participation in the ceremonies to mark the occasion, early in 1901. The Council had expressed its desire to organise a trades procession, and it was not deterred from this merely because a "precise date was not named from above".⁹² In this way, on an openly symbolic occasion, the Trades Council--which had taken such an active interest in the development of technical education in the city--did not wholly identify itself with the "great movement, which is one of the glories of Liverpool's civic progress".⁹³ While the existing Technical Instruction Committee did not in general favour the proposal that, in the reorganised Committee, members proposed by the City Council and the School Board be also city councillors, the modified Committee of

November 1899 in fact had a majority (26 out of a total of 31 members) of city councillors. One of them (the Lord Mayor) was William Oulton, the former School Board Chairman who had expressed his disdain for independent candidates, seeking "the promotion of a fad, or the gratification of personal vanity".⁹⁴ It was through Oulton, as the Committee Chairman, that the Trades Council had to negotiate.. Though bitterly disappointed by its rejection at this stage, the Trades Council nonetheless voted in favour of the administrative reorganisation of 1899; it was prepared to struggle for labour representation in an area where, unlike School Board politics, it had known at least some success. It did in fact secure a seat on the new Education Committee at the start of its existence in 1903.⁹⁵

The newly-organised Technical Instruction Committee had no wish to see an administrative separation effected between technical and general education, with a diversion of funds merely to general secondary education, for a "successful scheme of technical education must be based upon and closely connected with a sound and liberal general education"⁹⁶--a statement borne out by the Committee's continued stress on the necessity for good general, prior to technical, education. In effect, the Committee was again justifying its policy of aiding the secondary schools, in the light of criticism "from the standpoint of a very narrow interpretation of the meaning of technical instruction". A "thoroughly good modern general education" was both a requirement for effective "technical instruction", and itself "the best preparation for commercial pursuits", which were the staple "industry" of Liverpool.⁹⁷

General or technical, the education promoted by the new Committee was secondary. Few, however, were those workers benefiting from technical education in some form who were also the recipients of liberal secondary education, while the traditional good "sound and liberal" education was itself divorced from the commercial section of the secondary schools (and found in the "upper", "higher", or "classical" sections).⁹⁸ A liberal education was "vocational", of course, in the sense that it embodied a preparation for the liberal professions, but it was scarcely seen as "technical". Against this background, reinforced in the era of the Local Authority, the Trades Council, with a strong Socialist contingent in prominence at the turn of the century, readily associated itself with the University Extension Movement and the WEA. This paralleled its earlier association with evening continuation classes, and, quite unambiguously, it was to "ensure that the claims of the working classes to a liberal education are considered equally with those of the upper and middle classes".⁹⁹ More significantly, perhaps, it lies behind the refusal of the Labour Party, later,

. . . to accept more [technical education] from either of the two historic parties, who, it seemed to them had, with varying degrees of enthusiasm, justified more technical education in purely instrumental, materialistic and nationalistic terms, and never in terms of its merit as part of a general scheme of education.¹⁰⁰

In Liverpool, the first--and trade unionist--labour member of the Education Committee continued to concentrate on the expanded provision of technical education; the subsequent Socialist members, in contrast,

devoted relatively little attention to it, except in so far as it involved questions of working-class representation or control.

NOTES TO CHAPTER V

1. W. Hewitt, The Technical Instruction Committee and its Work (London, 1927), p. 8. Hewitt was appointed, by the Committee, Director of Technical Education for the city. See TIC Minutes, 12 Feb. 1891; Kemp, pp. 204-23.
2. TIC Minutes, op. cit.; Gore's Directory of Liverpool and its Environs (Liverpool, 1891); see multiple entries in Biographical Notices of Liverpool Worthies, op. cit.
3. TC Minutes, 29 April and 22 July 1891; TIC Minutes, 13 May 1891.
4. White, History of the Corporation of Liverpool, p. 154; G. Barrell-Rodway (City Council) to H. Pearson (TC), 30 July 1891, TC Correspondence, op. cit. There was also the administrative reason that the Department of Science and Art had yet to sanction additional subjects under "Technical Instruction": TIC Minutes, 13 May 1891. And, as Hewitt indicates, it was uncertain whether the Exchequer grants would continue. In January 1890, the TC had decided to write to the Department, in response to a request from Miss F. Calder of the School of Cookery, urging the addition (for grant purposes) of cooking, laundry work, sewing, and other domestic subjects, as "fit subjects of technical instruction for girls"; TC Minutes, Jan. 1890.
5. Daily Post, 8 Feb. 1894.
6. TIC Minutes, 29 July 1891.
7. Report of the Special sub-Committee, in Liverpool City Council (hereafter CC) Proceedings (1891), pp. 1345ff.; the various replies to the Circular are appended to the Report. TIC Minutes, 17 June 1891; cf. Kemp, p. 206.
8. Report, op. cit.
9. See Report of the Bryce Commission (1895), op. cit., Appendix D,

- pp. 206ff. Brae Street was nevertheless "strongly science-oriented": cf. SB Minutes, (?) Oct. 1895.
10. TIC Minutes, 21 April 1893. On this occasion, parental occupations included an insurance agent, accountant, surgeon, mineral water manufacturer, licensed victualler, police sergeant, and painter; for free scholarships to the university, see ibid., 1 April 1892.
 11. Liverpool Weekly Post, 6 May 1893: i.e. two apprentice fitters, a fitter, an "electric instrument maker", and a tool-cutter; the remainder were joiners or bricklayers. Report of the Special sub-Committee, op. cit., pp. 1371-2, Appendix B: Walker's donation was referred to in a letter submitted to the Committee by Hele-Shaw.
 12. CC Proceedings (1891), pp. 1190-1.
 13. Report of the Director of Technical Education, Lancashire County Council TIC (1891-2), p. xxix.
 14. See e.g. TC Minutes, 18 Jan. 1890: there were repeated references to the "proper spirit of the Act" (i.e. the technical instruction of apprentices and bona-fide artisans); also Halfpenny Weekly, 19 Jan. 1890.
 15. CC Proceedings (1891), p. 1190; Liverpool School of Science, Executive Minute Book, 20 Jan. 1898: this was the first meeting of a "Day-Class sub-Committee".
 16. Bryce Report, op. cit., p. 145.
 17. G.H. Rendall, Education in Liverpool Past and Present: Address at the distribution of prizes in Shaw Street Schools, Liverpool College, 11 Dec. 1894 (Liverpool, 1895), p. 10. Rendall was Principal from 1891 till 1897, after which he was appointed Headmaster of Charterhouse. For TIC expenditure in 1891, see appendix 3B below.
 18. Ibid., pp. 10-11.

19. Forwood obtained a gift of £50,000 from Carnegie for this purpose: see W.B. Forwood, Incidents in the Public Life of Sir W.B. Forwood, 1840-1925 (Liverpool, 1925), p. 7. See also White, p. 154; CC Proceedings (1891), p. 1339; Annual Report of the Free Public Library, Museum and Art Gallery (Dec. 1891); cf. Kemp, p. 206.
20. Rendall, Education in Liverpool, p. 11.
21. Report of the Free Public Library, op. cit. (1893), p. 4.
22. "The rest are composed principally of clerks etc."; Porcupine, 17 June 1893. Though retired, W.B. Forwood was still active on directorates of Cunard, the Bank of Liverpool, and the newly-opened Overhead Railway (along the docks); he was described as "a splendid example of the scientific, up-to-date leader of commerce": see The Commercial World, 4 Feb. 1893.
23. CC Proceedings (1891), p. 1389.
24. See Kemp, pp. 249, 195-203.
25. CC Proceedings, op. cit., p. 1190. This was one of the tasks of the Nautical College.
26. Hyde, Liverpool and the Mersey, p. 100.
27. Ibid.; Bean, "Aspects of 'New' Unionism", pp. 104-6; Taplin, Liverpool Dockers and Seamen, 1870-90, p. 5. Alfred Holt was especially active in the field of technical innovation, being "essentially an inventor and a pioneer": W.B. Forwood, Reminiscences of a Liverpool Shipowner, 1850-1920 (Liverpool, 1920), p. 45.
28. The TC came in for a good deal of censure in this matter, especially from Joseph Goodman. See Liverpool Review, 4 Feb. 1893; cf. Workman's Times, 15 Oct. 1892.
29. The Liverpool Labour Conference: Report of the Executive Committee with Recommendations for giving work to the Unemployed (Liverpool, 1893), pp. 16-18. It recommended the formation of a permanent

"Labour Committee" which would comprise city councillors, magistrates and other officials, "(including a fair proportion of working men) . . . as they already exist in the Liverpool Library and Museum, and Technical Instruction Committees . . .". At the time, however, the latter had only one working-class representative, while the former had none. The "Mount Pleasant" representatives at the Conference were Sexton, Reeves and Kaney; Parkin and Rouse also represented the TC, and Jeannie Mole spoke for women workers.

30. TIC Minutes, 23 Sept. 1891.
31. Ibid., 6 Aug. 1891. Matkin and William Nicholson (Seamen and Firemen) were sympathetic to new unionism.
32. Daily Post, 4 Aug. 1891. Matkin represented the TC on the TIC from early 1892. The ordinary grant to the university was actually £1,250; see ibid., 17 June 1891. The School of Science did not cater "entirely" to the working class.
33. Brennan, op. cit., pp. 47-8; Daily Post, 4 Aug. 1891.
34. Rodway to Pearson, 30 July 1891, op. cit.; TIC Annual Report (1892-3), p. 6, cited also in McCann, thesis, p. 191. For Matkin's efforts, see e.g. TC Minutes, 26 July 1893.
35. Ibid.; the TC underlined its representation of "40,000 workmen connected with the various branches of industry in this city".
36. TC Annual Report (1892-3), p. 6.
37. TIC Annual Report (1891-2), in CC Proceedings (1893), p. 1223.
38. TIC Minutes, 5 Feb. 1892. Direct representatives also came from the university college, the Liverpool Institute, and the Elementary School Managers' Committee.
39. For a brief account of its work by a contemporary, See Hewitt's The Liverpool Council of Education: A Notable Educational Experiment (Liverpool, 1928). In 1893, the TIC provided eight "elementary science" scholarships via the Liverpool Council; at

- a higher level, it offered a small number of workingmen's studentships giving access to the university on the basis of performance in e.g. City and Guilds examinations. Sadler stressed the need for more secondary school scholarship places.
40. Hewitt, Council, pp. 29-30. The 91 elementary schools affiliated to the Council of Education were divided into categories A (22), B (51), and C (18--"special difficulty" schools); despite the attempt to favour groups C and B, no boys, though a few girls, were nominated in group C, and a relatively small number from the entire B group.
 41. Created in the early years of the 20th century, the Holt Secondary School, for instance, had formerly been one of "the most highly developed of the elementary schools". The Victoria History of the Counties of England, Lancashire, IV (Oxford, 1911), p. 55; see ch. 8 below, for the secondary schools in Liverpool.
 42. Porcupine, 7 Oct. 1893.
 43. Cf. McCann, p. 157; Yorkshire Factory Times, 18 Jan. 1901.
 44. TIC Minutes, 21 April 1893.
 45. See Report of the Bryce Commission, V (Workingmen's Memorial), in P.P. (1895), pp. 494ff.; this is discussed in Simon, Labour Movement, pp. 200-1. "Whiskey money" was the revenue from the Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act of 1890, used for the purpose of technical education.
 46. Bean, Dictionary of Labour Biography, op. cit.; Weekly Post, 30 Aug. 1890.
 47. SB Triennial Report (1894-7), pp. 22-3. Of those not still in attendance at day schools, 71.8% of males and 63% of females were under 18 years of age; for those over 21, the respective figures were 11.7% and 18.6%. The major occupational groups were related to office work, and apprenticeship in traditional skilled trades (metal, building, wood, printing), and, for females, domestic duties (especially at home), millinery and shop work.

48. Hewitt, Technical Instruction, pp. 39-40.
49. See the diagram, facing p. 191.
50. For the Liberal victories, see Liverpool Review, 5 Nov. 1892, which includes a vivid cartoon with the caption, "Down Went the Tory Sun".
51. See TIC Minutes, 22 May 1896, for Willink's defence of TIC expenditure on the basis of clause 8 of the 1889 Act (which he took to cover the areas of modern languages, commercial and agricultural education, and those pertinent to manufacturing industries). Liverpool seems to have borne out the view that, in the light of British imperialist expansion from the 1890's, there was a drive, by the end of the century, for sound commercial education (i.e. one resting on a traditional, academic, or "three 'R's" base), rather than for more strictly technical education of the kind sought by most artisans, or advocated by Radicals like Samuelson. Moreover, this dovetailed with the pronounced middle-class concern for the secondary schools. See Daily Post, 28 Oct. 1901; Simon, Labour Movement, pp. 168-9, and "The 1902 Act--A Wrong Turning", op. cit., p. 9. In the evening continuation schools, the most popular area in 1897 was commercial (almost one third of the total entry being clerks); this was true also of 1900. See TIC Annual Report (1898 and 1901).
52. On the occasion of the opening of the Central Technical School on Byrom Street: Daily Post, op. cit.; Report of F.E. Kitchener, Bryce Report, op. cit.; and Sadler, Report on Secondary Education in Liverpool, p. 140.
53. White, p. ii3.
54. Liverpool Review, 26 Nov. 1892; TIC Minutes, 22 May 1896.
55. W. Grisewood, The Poor of Liverpool: based on an Inquiry made by the Liverpool Central Relief and C.O.S. (Liverpool, 1897). Evening continuation and technical schools would prevent habits of "frequenting the lower class of theatres and music halls"; Grisewood also advocates the need for technical training for the

working class in preparation for the shipping industry.

56. Liverpool Courier, and Daily Post, 8 Feb. 1894; cf. M. Lazerson, Origins of the Urban School (Boston, Harvard U.P., 1971), chs. 3-4, for a discussion of such views with reference to technical education in Massachusetts in the same period.
57. TC Annual Report (1897-8), p. 10; cf. Maddock, p. 106.
58. See ch. 2 above. Cf. Simon, Labour Movement, p. 169.
59. Report of the Medical Officer of Health, in CC Proceedings (1893-4), p. 927; the top three were Liverpool London and Glasgow, with respective populations per acre of 97.9, 57.7, and 57.6, and death-rates of 27.3, 21.3, and 23.4. In his local government notes, Sidney Webb recorded this piece of information immediately following a reference to W.B. Forwood's plea for educational expenditure (on the Library) as a cure for "socialism and social unrest". See Webbs' Local Government Collection, vol. 146, p. 6, op. cit.
60. Labour Chronicle, April 1895.
61. Liverpool Fabian Society, Tract No. 8, op. cit.; cf. Justice, 21 July 1894, and the Workman's Times, 13 Jan. 1894: "that this knowledge [technical] should be given and used simply to enable the possessor of it to become more skilled servants than their fellows is at once unjust and dangerous".
62. Labour Chronicle, Jan. 1895; TC Annual Report (1895-6).
63. Which, if opposed to "technical education", does not, however, appear to have implied a rejection of the traditional curriculum in so far as it was a necessary preparation for participation in civic life (literacy, knowledge of literature and geography, for example); as it stood, technical education was seen to be too closely associated with a particular conception of the division of civic labour. See E. Keeling, "A New Scheme of Education", in Labour Annual, op. cit.; and "Socialism Made Plain", a series of

articles appearing in The Liver during Jan. 1894.

64. Liverpool Pulpit, March 1893. Oliver Lodge's sympathy towards Fabianism derived from his initial interest in the "social and economic writings of Mr. Ruskin"; he was a frequent guest of the Webbs in the early 1900's, and also corresponded with Keir Hardie. See W.P. Jolly, Sir Oliver Lodge: Psychical researcher and scientist (London, 1974), pp. 77-8, 98-100. Lodge was in Liverpool from 1881 till 1900, after which he moved to Birmingham.
65. Cf. Liverpool Pulpit, op. cit.: "Take your place unquestionably in the machinery, file your nut till you get too old to see, and Society will steadily value you at the rate of so many shillings a week, and will provide you with a workhouse in which to die . . .".
66. Ibid.
67. Ibid.; cf. McBriar, Fabian Socialism, pp. 161-2. Socialists of the Clarion sort did not, however, favour the traditional "improving" institutes; see Clarion, 8 Oct. 1892: "When a man has spent his ten or twelve hours hard at work in close confinement, I don't consider it either fair or wise to coop him up in an 'institute' for the purpose of improving his mind or maintaining his dignity."
68. Pulpit, op. cit.
69. Labour Chronicle and Trade Union Reporter, Sept. 1900; TC Annual Report (1897-8), p. 10.
70. Printed Report on the Special Centres, in TIC Minutes, 11 Nov. 1892: instruction was to be "as practical as possible", and, apart from preparatory elementary courses, to focus on engineering, carpentry and joinery, wood and iron shipwightry, building, typography, stowage of ships and stevedores' work; cf. Kemp, pp. 336-7.
71. TIC Minutes, 11 Nov. 1892; Annual Report (1892), in CC Proceedings (1892-3), p. 1243; Liverpool Review, 5 Nov. 1892. Representative employers were nominated by the Engineering Society and Master Builders' Association, and employees by the Trades Council.

72. "Working-class Notes", Liverpool Review, op. cit. Cf. ibid., 26 Nov. 1892: as an independent Labour candidate in the municipal election, Matkin fared badly, whereas, as a Lib-Lab, he had previously done relatively well.
73. Porcupine, 7 Oct. 1893.
74. Daily Post, 7 Jan. 1895. There was an open-air demonstration on the steps of St. George's Hall, where Sam Hales urged the unemployed to agitate; the ILP immediately condemned the Mayor's language, as did Charles Aked. See also Liverpool Courier, and Porcupine, 12 Jan. 1895.
75. Courier, 18 Jan. 1895.
76. Ibid., 15 Jan.; the Courier (Conservative) seized the opportunity to decry Liberal incompetence.
77. See Liverpool Fabian Society, Manifesto (Nov. 1893), op. cit.
78. See TC Minutes, 30 Nov. and (?) Dec. 1892; Liverpool Review, 29 Oct. 1892, and 4 March 1893. The Review severely attacked the ILP and congratulated the Labour Electoral Association "for washing its hands of the Independent Party". For Sexton, See Review, 4 March, and Full Report of the Inquiry on the Unemployed (1894), op. cit., p. 47. By 1894, there was an Industrial Union of Employers, whose Circular (Sept. 1894) spoke of an anti-strike "educational force"; see TC Correspondence, op. cit.
79. Liverpool Review, 4 March 1893; also TC Minutes, 26 Oct. 1892.
80. Review, op. cit.
81. Labour Chronicle and Trade Union Reporter, Sept. 1900.
82. TIC Minutes, 11 Nov. 1892. The conference was held on 29 Oct. The TC also recommended a census of the apprentices and journeymen in the various trades of the city, which was partially undertaken by Jan. 1893. See ibid., 25 Jan. 1893.
83. Report on the Special Centres, op. cit.; White, p. 155.

84. TIC Minutes, 14 and 21 April 1893.
85. This was apparent from the time of the Secondary Education Bill of 1893 (introduced by Hobhouse, Roscoe, Lubbock and Acland). Hewitt prepared a special memorandum on this, pointing out that "Technical and Secondary education are closely connected at the lower stage". TIC Minutes, 28 April and 2 June 1893.
86. Labour Chronicle, and TC Minutes, (?) March 1898.
87. Report of the TUC Parliamentary Committee for 1900.
88. "Memorandum as to the present position of Secondary Education in Liverpool", TIC (1902), in CC Proceedings (1901-2), pp. 1901-16; cf. Sadler's Report, op. cit.
89. TIC Minutes, 10 and 23 Dec. 1897.
90. For details of this, see TIC Minutes, April-Nov. 1899; also Kemp, pp. 336-7.
91. TC Minutes, 26 Sept. and 19 Nov. 1900; TIC Minutes, 26 Nov. 1900.
92. TC Annual Report (1901-2), pp. 8-9. The TC was disappointed by a negative response to its Petition to the Selection Committee of the City Council prior to the November elections.
93. Liverpool Review, 16 Feb. 1901; cf. Maddock, p. 106. The TC especially blamed the City Council rather than the TIC itself for the delay in fixing a date. Although it did finally send representatives, it was clearly upset at not being able to organise a trades procession. See TC Annual Report (1901-2), pp. 7-9.
94. See Daily Post, 14 Nov. 1891; TIC Minutes, 15 Oct. 1899.
95. TC Minutes, 30 May and 19 Dec. 1900; Daily Post, 2 April 1902; TC Annual Report (1902-3): when the Council congratulated itself "on its success, after many years struggle . . .".
96. TIC Minutes, 18 Oct. 1898.
97. Liverpool Mercury, 3 Feb. 1896.

98. See appendix 3C below, for Kitchener's figures on this.
99. See Maddock, p. 107; also TC Annual Reports for 1901-2 and 1902-3.
100. L.O. Ward, "Technical Education and the Politicians", op. cit., p. 38.

CHAPTER SIX

Education in the service of the Labour Movement, and the problem
of labour unity in the early 20th century

This chapter will examine labour and education in Liverpool in the early 20th century, both in terms of the largely organisational work of Socialists and "labour men" in the interests of achieving labour solidarity, and, more especially, of the formal educational endeavours of such labour agencies as the Workers' Education Association and the Labour College, which was associated with the movement for Independent Working Class Education. In this respect, the work of the formal agencies in Liverpool can be set against the "background" of developments in the local labour movement from the turn of the century which had a direct bearing on the unity of the movement. The achievement of a unified labour movement, local and national, had been the object of considerable educational effort on the part of Liverpool Socialists in the 1890's, and John Edwards, in particular, provides a useful link between this earlier pioneering era and the years which marked the rise of a local Labour Party.

The rise of the Liverpool Labour Party and the need
for a continued educational campaign

In the early years of the 20th century, the mainstream Liverpool labour organisations were in general committed to the parliamentary emphasis of the national labour movement, exemplified by the formation of the Labour Representation Committee in 1900, a body which, in spirit, was not unlike the earlier Liverpool LRC of 1894. In particular, this was true of both the Liverpool LRC--which was affiliated to the national Labour Party early in 1907--and the main body of the Trades Council,

organisations which differed little in composition, though the LRC had political representation from specific political bodies such as the ILP and the Fabian Society, as well as the trade unions. In this way, the Liverpool Labour Party--the title adopted by the LRC in July 1917, but which found its fullest expression in the LRC-Trades Council merger of April 1921--was primarily based on the trade unions, whose power in the local movement was especially apparent at the turn of the century.¹ If the Trades Council contained trade unionists anxious to keep the Labour Party free of "political influence" (that is, of Socialism), it nevertheless continued to include a committed Socialist section in its ranks, several representatives of which were also delegates to the LRC, whose leadership displayed a marked Socialist persuasion, mainly reflecting a moderate ILP influence. This Socialist wing essentially envisaged what G.D.H. Cole expressed as "a revolutionary party imbued, not with the spirit of blind revolt, but with a real consciousness of what the state must be made".² Like its national counterpart, the Liverpool ILP sought its political allies primarily in the LRC and Trades Council, and, unlike the SDF, was increasingly aware of the need to cultivate a respectable "party image"; but, at the same time, it upheld the emphasis of earlier Socialist "enthusiasts" on securing a genuinely Socialist Labour Party. Along with most of the LRC leadership, an increasingly militant section of the Trades Council (particularly in the aftermath of the famous transport strike of 1911), and the still-active Fabian Society, it proclaimed the indispensability of a continued educational movement to that end.³ In 1907--a year which could not mark any

electoral successes further to those of 1905, when two Socialists, Sexton and Morrissey, were the first labour candidates elected to the City Council--the LRC spoke of the "growing appreciation of the principles underlying the ideals and aspirations of the Labour Party". But this had to be vastly expanded if failures at municipal elections, as in Kirkdale and Low Hill during that year, were to be reversed:

While these results prove that the rank and file of even the Trade Unionists, among the workers, stick to old line politics, they indicate that a great deal of the future work of the Committee must be educational, and the best method of spreading the gospel of political self-help is one of the problems with which we have to deal. To educate effectually we must close up our ranks and concentrate our efforts.⁴

It is clear that the majority of the LRC Executive Committee, as well as the municipal Labour Group from November 1911, when there were seven city councillors from the labour movement, saw the "ideals and aspirations of the Labour Party" as Socialist, and quite distinct from Radical or "progressive" ones. Several, notably Fred Hoey (who quickly emerged as the LRC leader), James Murphy and William Sugar, openly criticised the parliamentary Labour Party for its failure to maintain "absolute independence". For the Liverpool LRC, there was to be "No bargaining or compromise . . . with Liberals", and it unanimously condemned the Party's lack of independence in the by-elections of 1913, which included Leicester, a particularly complicated contest from the point of view of the parliamentary Labour Party.⁵ At a trade union meeting in Liverpool that same year, a possible

solution to this was spelled out by Keir Hardie:

Some . . . grumbled because the Labour Party was not a Socialist body. It was a reflex of the opinions of the people who elected to have a Labour Party. Education alone could convert the electorate to the principles of public ownership, and the party might be definitely Socialist . . . ⁶

However, in the meantime it was crucial to keep to the trade union-Socialist alliance, the immediate priority being a unified labour movement: "Karl Marx said 'Workers of the World unite'. He didn't say be Socialists . . . Industrial action [i.e. trade union] must go hand in hand with political action . . . ".⁷ It was an enthusiastic meeting, and was seen to reflect "the new spirit animating the Labour ranks in the city"; the spirit of unity had certainly characterised the LRC in the first years of the century, when there had been a plea for "sinking all differences (religious and social)". Despite an exceptional demonstration of labour solidarity during the 1911 strike, religious politics remained a serious threat to the unity of Liverpool labour, particularly with the revival of Orange sectarianism in the early 20th century, under George Wise. James Larkin's address to the Liverpool Irish in 1913 on the "irrelevance" of accusations of "irreligious Socialist motivations" could not dispel the threat of a split in the trade union movement by the formation of Catholic trade unions.⁸ Although there were electoral "arrangements", and a few occasions of actual co-operation, between the "Labour Party" and Irish Nationalists (led by T.P. O'Connor), Nationalist alliances with the radical edge of the Liberal Party, or agreements with the

Conservatives, weakened the labour position. With the changed Irish voting situation following the Irish Settlement of 1921, the Labour Party rashly contested with the Nationalists (who were probably in an agreement with the Conservatives) in the municipal elections and saw its seats reduced from 14 to 5.⁹

Realistically, therefore, the educational emphasis of the mainstream labour organisations, up to and beyond the LRC-Trades Council merger, was on increasing labour's strength through its increased unity-- that is, on "closing up its ranks". Thus, presiding at the 1913 trade union meeting, a labour city councillor, W.A. Robinson, underlined the importance of the political action of trade unionists: the Liverpool Labour Group "couldn't do much till its numbers were increased".¹⁰ The formation of the Liverpool division of the national LRC, following a conference attended by Hardie and Pete Curran in April 1903, had been a direct response to the fact that "Liverpool is the only place [among large towns] that is in the unfortunate position of not having a DIRECT REPRESENTATIVE OF LABOUR either on the City Council, the Boards of Guardians, or in Parliament . . . "; and also to the need to "win over in favour of Labour" powerful bodies of workers, such as the Boiler Makers and Shipwrights, which were "mostly of the tory stamp".¹¹ Once it had striven to "get persons on the Municipal Council", the labour movement could potentially be made Socialist on the basis of a chosen educational effort:

You may depend on it, if you dont choose to establish Socialism, Socialism wont be established. And remember, Socialism is a very elastic thing; it . . . comes on gradually, and you can stop it whenever you like. Whenever

a little bit of Socialism is adopted, people cease to call it Socialism.¹²

So elastic were notions of Socialism in this period, however, that an increasingly vocal wing of the Liverpool labour movement rejected the state Socialism of the mainstream parliamentary movement, in favour of "direct action" towards the establishment of an alternative society based on an alternative social morality, much in the style of the earlier Socialist League. While this included the SDF (SDP from 1909) and more militant ILP-ers, it became especially associated with such leftward organisations as the Socialist Labour Party (SLP, formed in 1903), and the British Socialist Party (BSP of 1911), each with Liverpool branches and essentially offshoots of the SDF, and in varying forms devoted to De Leonist-Marxist versions of the class war, and the achievement of "pure" Socialism through direct industrial action--though the BSP subsequently returned to parliamentary action.¹³ During the 1906-14 period, it shared the committed educational emphasis of the small, but influential, group of Liverpool syndicalists, centred in the International Club, the Clarion Club, and the Marxian Socialist Society, on political education:

So now we are confronted with the work of systematic education on all questions relating to Industrial and Social advance . . . Many of our new members in the various Unions have had little or no chance of any real study of Industrial and Social questions as they affect the workers at large in this and other countries . . . the Educational side must be kept to the front. Union meetings should be held often enough that the members shall have an opportunity of a sound education in Industrial Economics and the

Methods of the Class-War.¹⁴

This was an important precursor to the post-war work of the Plebs League and Labour College Movement, several of its adherents in Liverpool having syndicalist backgrounds; the movement will be further discussed below.

There were many syndicalist-influenced delegates at the 1911 Socialist Unity Conference, an expression of the growing disillusionment with parliamentary-style labour politics. At least three of the four Liverpool representative organisations were syndicalist-influenced: the Clarion-Group, Marxist Socialist Society--whose delegate was W. Sugar of the local LRC--and BSP, accounting for five delegates. The Socialist Representation Committee, which accounted for the two remaining Liverpool delegates, was a recently-formed amalgamation of the SDF, ILP and Walton Socialist Society, aimed at securing the election of avowedly Socialist municipal candidates like Sam Reeves, who was successfully put up in the Elective Auditors election of March 1906.¹⁵ The disillusionment with a non-independent Labour was reinforced in the pre-war years, as again in the aftermath of the war, by a wave of strikes and distress--"the result of an accumulation of resentment that has been going on for a considerable number of years"--which, in August 1911, brought Tom Mann to Liverpool to lead the successful Strike Committee.¹⁶ Whatever, precisely, the role of syndicalist influence in the strike (the Strike Committee was mainly composed of moderate trade unionists like Sexton), it undoubtedly bolstered a growing labour militancy, following the dockers' strike of 1905, and underlined both the need for working-class solidarity and the notion of class conflict:

It was for them [the Transport Workers] to tell the working class that they could not hope ever to achieve their economic freedom unless they stood shoulder to shoulder together . . . ¹⁷

. . . we are now face to face with the keen CLASS STRUGGLE which has been so amply demonstrated, both during the great Strike and NOW at this election, and which will continue till the present system of inhuman society is replaced by a more intelligent and rational conception of the rights and duties of all men . . . ¹⁸

On the basis of a joint Trades Council-LRC conference, which also brought in the Transport Workers' Federation, ILP and SDF (then the SDP), thirteen candidates were put up in the November municipal elections, each pledged to act as "an instructed delegate from the combined forces of organised labour" and to emphasise the "class struggle".¹⁹ Six successful candidates joined Sexton (Morrissey having lost his seat in 1908) to form the City Council Labour Group, which, following the Police Strike of 1919, was increased to nineteen members in November of that year. Although the parliamentary-style Labour Group could do little else than concern itself with practical programmes--and especially the demand for social justice in relation to the welfare of children--, there is some evidence that, in conjunction with its trade union-ILP support, it did not divorce its references to a future "Co-operative Commonwealth", or to a form of reconstructed society, from its political teaching. There was certainly occasional friction between the LRC and the Labour Group, much of it a personal feud between Sexton and Hoey, which flared up

during the war years, when Sexton rejected the more militant stance of the LRC-Trades Council. But the official "Labour" paper, from 1912, was the ILP's Liverpool Forward, which could openly appreciate the good side of syndicalism in "reviving the militant spirit in Trade Unionism".²⁰ There was a considerable emphasis, from trade unionists, the LRC and the ILP, of the fact that the Labour Group was the "only bona-fide advocate of the working class in the City Council", and that there were no pacts with Liberals, who were "as much their [the LRC's] enemies as the Tories", who dominated the Liverpool political scene. John Edwards continued to propound the fundamental distinctions between liberalism and radicalism, at a time when he was closely associated with the ILP and acted as an advisor to the Labour Group; the Kensington Pioneer (run by the ILP, and later the Liverpool Pioneer), which was devoted to the work of the Labour city councillors, situated such distinctions in the context of class experience:

Assuming the governing class to be actuated by the sincerest possible motives, it is not in the nature of things that its members could see things from the workers' point of view . . . The education and training of the governing class is so different . . .²¹

The main body of the local labour movement, that is, the LRC, Trades Council, Fabian Society, and all but the extreme left wing of the ILP, continued to rely on its own educational initiatives, as in the 1890's. This included the theoretical classes and debates of the ILP branches, Fabian Society and Co-operative Union (whose

educational activities were much expanded from 1901), as well as the immediately practical classes organised by the LRC, as in its discussion class for the purpose of "improving the knowledge of canvassers . . . and bringing out by practise diffident speakers".²² But the movement also appreciated the need for the provision of more systematic "higher" education of workers, still largely unavailable in the regular school system. Thus, it took an active interest in both the Workers' Educational Association tutorial classes, organised in Liverpool from 1909, as well as the Liverpool Labour College movement in the early 1920's. The extreme Left, including syndicalists, the SLP and BSP branches, in the main rejected the services of such auxiliaries--to an increasingly bureaucratic Labour machine--as the Co-operative Union and the WEA. It was convinced either that "political action of the municipal or parliamentary variety will always tend to strangle the initiative of the people", or that "working-class education must be critical, and to be critical it must be free from capitalist [financial and controlling] influences".²³

The need for a unified movement

The work of John Edwards

A concern for the unity of the labour movement, local as well as national, had preoccupied a number of Liverpool Socialists from at least the early 1890's. In particular, the educational effort of John Edwards, through the Fabian Society and the ILP, had striven to bring about a working-class solidarity based on a fundamental alliance between the

Socialist organisations and the trade unions. In this respect, he had earlier defined the "political self-help" sought after by the LRC in 1907 as "the combination and united effort of the workers of all classes".²⁴ John had realised the importance of involving the trade unions in the Socialist-controlled Labour Chronicle, extending the degree of collaboration already achieved in the Liverpool "Labour Representation Committee" of 1894 (involving the ILP, Fabian Society, SDF and the Trades Council), and this local experience was probably the basis for his recommendations to the ILP Annual Conference of 1897, where he advocated an annual "labour representation conference", of trade unions, co-operative and Socialist societies, including the SDF, to secure "unity of action".²⁵ In 1899, at the time of the Liverpool Fabian Society's aggressive response to the exclusive electoral policy of the London Fabians, he made a clear statement of the local Fabian position, which was one based firmly on principle and the work of education:

The present policy of the [Liverpool] Fabian Society is one of general education . . . here, in the North, when a Socialist candidate is run by the party, that is, by the I.L.P., the S.D.F., and the Trades Councils, then we support him, whether he has a chance or not, simply as a matter of principle . . . A Party is the result of ideas, it grows round an idea, but ideas never grow round a Party.²⁶

It was therefore a logical progression when, in the era of the newly-formed, and more familiar, Labour Representation Committee, which was to become "the Party", John continued to support this electoral alliance while simultaneously engaged in an educational campaign for a unified

Socialist movement.

It was above all the question of organisation that was crucial in Liverpool. Thus, following the municipal elections of 1908, when Morrissey lost his seat, leaving Sexton as the only labour representative in the City Council, John reported the "local defects in organisation" to the central LRC:

There is no organisation worthy of the name. The L.R.C., I.L.P. and S.D.P. are all alike deficient in electioneering knowledge. They rely chiefly upon meetings. The canvass is never more than half done. What is done is done badly. The records are nil. Each election begins the work de novo. No registration work is done . . . ²⁷

Morrissey's defeat was partly attributed to an absence of labour solidarity, to some extent the result of a certain Socialist intransigence:

In Kensington ward, the retiring member was our Councillor Morrissey elected 3 years ago as an I.L.P. or Socialist candidate (not then L.R.C.). This year he was run under L.R.C. and was defeated. I.L.P. did not work solidly as there was a strong S.D.F.'y section in the branch who disapproved of an L.R.C. candidature and sulked. He got more votes but was 400 behind the Tory . . .

Morrissey himself recognised this opposition of the local ILP branches to his "Labour" candidature, and, although "a great deal of work was done by them unofficially in the spread of Socialist principles", there was a considerable waste of effort "as well as misunderstanding in the minds of the electors".²⁸ There was a similar disunity in November 1910, for instance, when the SDP (SDF) insisted on putting up a Socialist

candidate, since the LRC candidate, in Edge Hill ward, was a "Labour" man; it was only in the aftermath of the 1911 Strike, with its August "Bloody Sunday", that the LRC succeeded in establishing a Joint Committee of the LRC, Trades Council, Transport Workers' Federation, ILP and SDP, sponsoring thirteen candidates, seven of whom were elected to the City Council.²⁹ On the other hand, John Edwards neglected a consideration of the religious factor, which had been of significance in both the two preceding municipal (1906 and 1907), and the 1907 parliamentary, contests in Kirkdale ward. It was invariably tied up with the "Education question", as Morrissey indicated in reference to his 1908 municipal campaign:

Not sure how far Catholic vote went against us . . . I have some reason to suppose that a large portion of it went against me because of my answer not being satisfactory on the Education question. This despite the fact that I happen to be a Catholic myself.

In 1906, the education question had been the means of introducing "so-called religious elements" which had acted seriously to the detriment of the LRC candidate, and, in 1907, it led the Conservative opposition to label the LRC candidate a "Socialist", since atheism and immorality were seen as synonymous with it. In fact, the candidate was a solid trade unionist, from the Boilermakers' Society: the occasion was simply an illustration of a statement, made still later by Sam Reeves, that in politics "the only question in Liverpool was the question of religion--of orange and green--which was fostered by those people whose interests it was to see the workers permanently divided".³⁰

John Edwards' focus was not directly on such external threats to labour unity as the religious issue, but more on what he perceived as the real and potential damage, from within, to the growth of a respectable Socialist party image. In the 1908 municipal contest, the LRC position was seen to be "prejudiced" by a number of circumstances intrinsic to the movement; in particular, the ILP branches were not sufficiently careful to choose wise advocates, conscious of the delicacy of the LRC compromise position: "They ask S.D.F. people, who take delight in saying things which burnt our chances". A general prejudice against Socialism at that time, owing to the Grayson episode, was intensified at the local level both by "wild street speeches" and, on the day before the Liverpool municipal elections, by an unfortunate scene--a "hideous row"--at a meeting addressed by Pete Curran, when "the Graysonites howled him down and made the meeting a pandemonium", thereby frightening off those sympathisers who were not Socialists. In so far as Edwards was speaking to problems situated at the national as well as the local level, his position here was not dissimilar to that of MacDonald, whose cautious line in the half-dozen years or so before 1914 was not, according to one historian, consequent upon a rejection of an independent Labour Party, but upon an awareness that the "electoral barometer was rising" in favour of the Tories, and that the Party was ill-prepared to face a general election.³¹ In Liverpool, of course, the Tories had been favoured without interruption since 1895, and for a long time before then.

Although Edwards made clear and unqualified distinctions between the political positions of Liberalism and Socialism, he did not reject

the possibility, however slight, either of winning over dissatisfied Liberals, like William Bowring, a pro-Boer, or of securing a wider audience potentially receptive of non-alarmist Socialist principles. Thus, just prior to the Conference on the Unemployed and the Feeding of Schoolchildren which was to follow the LRC Annual Conference of 1905 in Liverpool, he suggested to MacDonald a number of prominent middle-class sympathisers, including Christian Socialist clergy like H.D. Roberts of Hope Street Church, and such Liberal city councillors as Philip Holt, who might suitably be invited. MacDonald had maintained that it was imperative that the Liverpool Conference should "demonstrate . . . the solid unity and massive strength of the Labour Party".³² Background events to the Conference, however, demonstrated little of this: they served, rather, to mirror at the national level the elements of disunity which plagued the local movement. Sexton alienated himself from the local LRC and Trades Council through his acceptance of an invitation from the Lord Mayor, the Liberal Unionist, John Lea, for delegates to attend a civic social function in connection with the Conference, but he was also somewhat aside from the central LRC position. The TUC Parliamentary Committee, of which Sexton was then President, had already been invited to a Conference on the Feeding of School Children under the auspices of the SDF and the London Trades Council, and, while this was not intended as a snub to the LRC, the bulk of the questions in the Liverpool agenda were seen as "distinctly questions for the Trades Congress and the P.C."³³ Like Will Thorne, Sexton nonetheless appreciated the threat to unity, and to the public image of the nascent Party, imposed by divisive elements, and it was important to reach an

understanding "in order to prevent mischief and friction consequent upon it". Will Thorne's blunt statement to MacDonald applied as much to the situation in London as on Merseyside:

It seems to me that there is a deal of jealousy existing between the different organisations, which is doing the Movement in general a deal of injury, and making all of us looking [sic] ridiculous in the eyes of the public.³⁴

While John Edwards became closely associated with the local LRC-Labour Group position, he never himself came forward as a municipal or parliamentary candidate. It was acknowledged that his qualities eminently fitted him for the duties of a city councillor, but, according to the writer of his obituary, his "refined nature was opposed to the rough-and-tumble fight of Labour politics".³⁵ He saw his role as an educational one, with lectures, debates, classes and investigations in the service of the movement. The annual reports of the local Fabian Society for the early years of the 20th century indicate that Edwards was a very active lecturer up until the end of the First World War, addressing himself to such topics as "Liberalism and Socialism", "Shaw's Plays and Fabianism", or "The Labour Party and the War". It was on a suggestion by Liverpool Fabians that a Conference of Northern Fabian Societies was held in Manchester in November 1908, at which Edwards spoke on "The Work of a Provincial Fabian Society"; Manchester, Sheffield, Burnley and other societies joined the large and active Liverpool Fabian Society for what was planned as an annual event. Nevertheless, John Edwards became

increasingly identified with the ILP in these years, and was involved in the running of a "students' Class", and in contributing to the ILP's Liverpool Forward.³⁶ His lectures and writings became preoccupied with the need to propagate a true understanding of Socialism, which would be readily comprehensible to workers at large. His series of articles in the Liverpool Forward of May 1912--"The Case for Socialism, A Plain Statement"--, while recognising the importance of a "deep ethical base" in Socialism, chose rather to dwell on the practical issues attendant upon a support of Socialist principles. Above all, Socialism would introduce an essential orderliness into the industrial and commercial departments of life, and bring an "immense relief" from the anxiety engendered by the existing industrial order. Like Kautsky's Socialism and the German Social Democratic Party (which John used elsewhere as a model), the Socialist movement was not to be seen as alarmist, nor was it to interfere with people's leisure time, or irreconcilable with "true Christianity". On the other hand, Socialism was not merely a revised version of other political beliefs; the "quintessence" of Socialism was

the transformation of private competing capital into public co-operating capital . . . It is the idea of the new form of property in capital which distinguishes Socialism from all other creeds or programmes.³⁷

John was emphatic in his enthusiasm for the obvious links between Socialism and "true" Christianity, but he wisely avoided rash statements on the many religious persuasions to be found in the city, and was eager to participate in debate with the Catholic priest, Father Day. In particular, he maintained that the new moral and spiritual

society would be founded on the "true education" of Socialist principles and teaching, which would make Christianity, in the style of the Early Church, more practicable than under Capitalism.³⁸ Given, for example, the November 1907 Tory campaign of "misrepresentation unequalled in the annals of political warfare", which had trusted to the general lack of information on the subject of Socialism, the pronounced caution and clarity characterising a debate with Father Day were readily explicable:

I desire to put before this audience a plain and straightforward statement of Socialism, making it as lucid as I can, in order that errors may be refuted, and a clear understanding of the subject come to . . .³⁹

John was highly active during the fränzied November 1911 elections, frequently presiding over electoral addresses, and acting as a veritable "think tank" for the Labour Group, which was faced with a powerful anti-labour campaign, able to draw on the presence of such "revolutionary Socialists" as Tom Mann and Joe Cotter (a syndicalist) as characteristic of the Labour Group as a whole. The labour candidate for Low Hill, George Nelson, a Fabian Socialist and well known for his work on the Education Committee in the interests of child welfare, was associated by his Conservative opponent with a policy of irreligion, immorality and "the negation of family"; yet he had been active in Church work for thirty years and had "made a name amongst workpeople".⁴⁰ A similar propaganda war characterised the election campaign of November 1919, which also followed a major strike, where a portrayal of the central issue as "Soviet or City Council? Democracy or Disorder?" clearly

underlined the need for labour to emphasise its practical municipal programmes, an emphasis which the LRC adopted from 1907.⁴¹

John Edwards made a major contribution here in engineering one of the most important items in the "Labour Party"'s 1911 programme, which exercised the City Council for a number of years to come: an exposure of the long-standing corruption in the management of the Corporate Estate. This was based on exhaustive and detailed investigations undertaken by Edwards--much in the style of the Webbs--probably from as early as the turn of the century, though the written reports and draft articles cover the years 1910-1913, and were used mainly to prime the 1911 election candidates (notably the ILP-er and Fabian, Arthur Bulley, for whom John was Election Agent). They were also the basis of "Liverpool's Gold Mine", a series of articles appearing in the Forward in May and July 1912.⁴² Although somewhat exaggerated, the point of departure for the investigation was that "Liverpool possesses a property in land and buildings the revenue from which ought now to be paying all the expenses of the city's administration"; the Labour Party was attacking the part of the administration controlled by the Estate Committee, including properties in Birkenhead, the south end, the business section, and the residential district around the site of the new cathedral. An investigation in the 1880's, through a Select Committee of the Commons on Town Holdings, had brought evidence (from Arthur Forwood in particular) that the scale of fines for the extension of leases, established in 1824, when the Council had more or less elected itself, was ridiculously low, and a Special Committee of 1887 advocated a change in the scale, thus resisting the pressures exerted

by powerful leaseholders on the City Council. However, nothing was done, and the web of secrecy surrounding the Estate department made access to information difficult for ordinary citizens, while leaseholders came forward with complex legal arguments in support of the renewal of their leases at very favourable rates.⁴³ Doubtless some of John's statistics were exaggerated, particularly with respect to the potential revenues of the Corporation, but the crucial point, made at a time when the City Council Education Committee was resisting expenditure on welfare measures, was that

When new demands are made for Education, for the feeding of necessitous children, for school clinics or for the better housing of the working people, the opposition always plays a trump card when it reminds the advocates of reform of the increase in the rates which is sure to follow. And all the time we have this Gold Mine of the Corporate Estate waiting to yield us all the money necessary for social reform . . .⁴⁴

John's points were argued persistently by the labour candidates, and the issue was kept alive by a number of the subsequent Labour city councillors, notably William Blair, until it was finally settled in the labour interest in 1914, with the removal of the "iniquitous" scale of renewal fines.⁴⁵ Along with demands for pressing social, and especially broadly-conceived educational reforms implicit in the investigation and its exposures, it provided the municipal Labour Group and its direct supporters--as well as the full spectrum of the labour movement, including, notably, the SDF-BSP branches--with a common ground in the theoretically diverse terrain of the class war.

The experience of the war years

Perhaps the most successful lesson in labour solidarity for the Liverpool, and, indeed, the national labour movement came from the experience of the war years. It was primarily the response to pressing practical problems, not least the need for a much-expanded system of child welfare, as well as the question of food supplies, that preoccupied the local movement, and mention of this will be made in a separate chapter. But it also made for a contribution to an increasing labour militancy and politicisation of workers⁴⁶, Liverpool taking the lead in establishing a highly active Industrial Workers' Vigilance Committee, based on the Trades Council, LRC, Transport Workers' Federation, Engineering and Shipbuilding Federation, and a militant anti-war ILP; this was formed in direct opposition to the constitution of the Lord Mayor's Citizens' Relief Committee, which was seen to be associated with "landlord tyranny".⁴⁷ Although the ILP refused to join the mainstream labour support of the war effort, and embraced pacifism, its practical programmes, as well as much of its propagandist effort (notably via the Kensington Pioneer), adhered to the LRC-Labour Group position, particularly in relation to food supplies and feeding. Thus, when Frederick Richardson delivered a "slashing attack" on the City Council opponents of the feeding of poor children--one of "the longest and most acrimonious discussions of the Council"--the ILP enthusiastically backed the "Labour Champions of the Children", quoting figures for other towns.⁴⁸ There was, indeed, a strong current of opinion in the LRC, and the Trades Council, sympathetic to the ILP view of the war,

and the LRC proclaimed a policy of "Men, Women and Children", allegedly in contrast to that of its political opponents, in favour of "Ships, Colonies and Commerce", and not unlike ILP propaganda in the pages of the Kensington Pioneer.⁴⁹

The ILP also appears to have been outstanding in its attempts to sustain an active educational programme of lectures, debates and social events.⁵⁰ The national Labour Party organiser, working in the interest of the War Emergency Workers' National Committee (WNC), was himself a Liverpool ILP-er, and formerly editor of the Liverpool Forward; along with W.A. Robinson, leader of the Labour Group following the LRC-Trades Council renunciation of Sexton in 1916, S. Higenbottam was a secretary of the local Vigilance Committee. He was immediately requested to persuade Manchester of the desirability of adopting the Liverpool model, for "the lessons we are learning in this national crisis will be of immense value to us when normal times return".⁵¹ Liverpool was much to the fore in exercising the "constant vigilance" urged by the central Committee, communicating details of the local situation, with respect to food, trade, employment, and the work of the labour organisations, to the national headquarters: an integral part of what MacDonald considered to be "the moment for quiet educational work among the select who are genuinely interested in politics".⁵² If there was an adherence to the national labour agreement to suspend contests at municipal elections, steps were nevertheless taken to secure the electoral status quo, as in the case of a disputed labour vacancy on the Board of Guardians.⁵³ Apart from the "Sexton Affair" in 1916, a source of considerable internal wrangling both in the LRC

and the Trades Council, there was a notable closing of labour ranks during the war years, at the end of which moves were made in the direction of a merger between these two bodies.⁵⁴ Although relations between the LRC leadership (especially Fred Hoey) and the ILP delegates were not entirely harmonious, a "Labour Party Programme" of September 1919, containing the most detailed policy on education and social welfare so far expressed, met with general approval.⁵⁵ After some two years' joint meetings between the Labour Party (i.e. the LRC) and the Trades Council, an amalgamation was effected at a conference in February 1921. The new Liverpool Trades Council and Labour Party, which was essentially a trade union organisation, counting 105 trade union branches, 5 divisional labour parties, and 6 other political organisations in 1922, paid homage to the work of John Edwards, who had died just one year after the formation of the unified Party; he had been "a tower of strength to the movement"--above all, the movement towards unity.⁵⁶ While there was Communist opposition to much of the Party's practical, reformist outlook, a unanimous devotion to "Political and Industrial action by the workers" gave considerable scope to the militant wing, which, in the climate of mass unemployment, bad trade, and stringent economy characteristic of the early 1920's, seems to have been influential. If there was an emphasis on equality of educational opportunity, and the "fullest local application" of the national Labour policy, there was also a condemnation of "our present commercial and industrial system of competition", and a "call for unity" in the face of attacks on the working-class movement by the "employing class".⁵⁷ The Party unanimously affiliated to the Liverpool Labour College, and

its first full-time secretary--W.H. Barton, who came to Liverpool in 1924--was an ILP-er and lecturer for the Plebs League.⁵⁸

The work of formal education for the labour movement

By the early 20th century the LRC-Labour Party had become mainly concerned with questions of organisation and tactics, leaving the more formal educational work to such agencies as the Co-operative Movement, or the ILP branches and Fabian Society; but it also took an interest in overtures from both the WEA and the movement for Independent Working Class Education, which was mainly associated with the labour colleges. This was true also of the Trades Council.⁵⁹ On the other hand, there were those to the Left in the movement, including industrial syndicalists and BSP members, who could not abstain from making a decision in favour of the openly partisan education of the Plebs League:

Do class interests affect education in social science-- e.g. sociology, history, economics? The CLC [Council of Labour Colleges] answers, Yes; Ruskin College answers, No. Between the answers the Labour and Socialist movement is asked to decide . . .

Unlike the approach of the WEA or, in the main, that of Socialist bodies like the Fabian Society or ILP, this position embraced avowedly Marxist teachings, as in the Liverpool Marxian Socialist Society or the first classes held under the auspices of the central Labour College from 1912.⁶⁰ However, for the majority in the political labour movement (that is, trade unionists), an important motivating force for

adult education was the limitation of formal education virtually to the elementary stage: if there was a recognition of the potential of WEA work for producing efficient trade unionists, there was also the notion, as expressed in the ILP's Liverpool Forward, of securing access to higher studies:

Workpeople are not asked to join classes [WEA] because they will become better ILP-ers, or better Liberals etc. . . . We want them to join so that they may care for education, so that they will become so thirsty in their search that those who attempt to represent them will be encouraged to go still further . . . ⁶¹

While this envisaged a service to the labour movement, it was essentially in the spirit of the liberal education of the worker, to which the Trades Council particularly sought access by the turn of the century. Moreover, although the question of fundamental aims was to characterise the debate on the suitability of WEA or Labour College association, there was common ground both in the struggle to secure working-class control of educational institutions, and in the increasing rejection of technical education as a means of cultivating the efficient workman. Thus, a view sympathetic to the Plebs League and the CLC referred to an education which would give workers a

scientific knowledge of economic and social evolution and of the various forces at work in modern society, so that they will be more competent to deal with the problem of raising the workers to the position of the controlling class in society . . . ⁶²

University Extension and the WEA in Liverpool

The Liverpool University Extension Committee of 1891 had originally been a local lectures committee of the Victoria University, set up in 1887-8, but apart from a diverse series of lectures through the Free Public Library, covering such topics as "Poets of the Empire", there was little unified activity until around the turn of the century. As indicated, much of the interest shown in the university college by the Trades Council was in the field of technical and science education. An impetus towards a wider-based University Extension Movement, via the Society for University Extension, came in the late 1890's from the several papers and addresses of a self-educated and erudite Post Office employee, John Lee. One address--"A Dream of a People's University for Liverpool"--, which appeared in the proceedings of the Literary and Philosophic Society, sounded a note characteristic of the work, subsequently, of the WEA, active in Liverpool from 1907. There was to be a complete system of University Extension in Liverpool's suburbs and neighbouring towns--as "an educational centre for everyone, all-inclusive"--which, while furthering an "already widely manifest desire for general culture on the part of the proletariat", would, however, recognise the necessity of an education which was also rooted in the socio-political context of "that class of men whose wits have been sharpened by contact with the rough surface of the world . . . ".⁶³ The main promoters of the Extension Movement in Liverpool, as elsewhere, were enlightened Liberals (the establishment of the Society for University Extension in 1899 was much

influenced by the Reform Club), including William Oulton, the first chairman, and Ramsay Muir, general secretary. Muir, Professor of Modern History in the university, was one of the most enthusiastic supporters, an active and gifted lecturer, who tended to emphasise the cultural-spiritual side of the movement, even if this had also to tackle social and political questions. Extension classes were to provide "a sane and lofty standpoint in the treatment of great questions, and some sense of the just and unbiassed way in which political or social questions should be regarded". Similarly, the WEA was to instruct the working classes "in those subjects by means of which life can be made richer, and the duties and privileges of citizenship brought home more fully".⁶⁴ Muir's prime concern, in common with other middle-class supporters, like Sydney Jones, J.W. Alsop or W.H. Lever, was with the potential of the secondary schools for broadening the scope of the university college. Thus, the "carrière ouverte aux talents" was seen as a prime argument in favour of the new, independent universities: "The ladder from the elementary school to the University must be completed before we can reap the full range of the work we have done in either range [i.e. elementary or university] of education". In this respect, Muir, like Sadler, stressed the importance of scholarships--as in the Scottish universities--which would especially "contribute to the strengthening of the secondary schools."⁶⁵

Before the beginnings of University Tutorial Classes, in conjunction with the WEA from 1910, Extension work mainly attracted middle-class support; most of the course of "popular lectures" in the session of 1900-1 followed in the tradition of the earlier

Mechanics' Institute, covering such topics as sculpture, painting, some science, and the rise of the Empire. In the 1907-8 session, there were to be courses at 17 centres ranging from music in 17th century England to the social teachings of Ruskin, in an attempt to stimulate the demand for "knowledge for its own sake"; a centre at the David Lewis Club, however, featured Professor Gonner on the "Eight Hours' Day", and a course on "Socialism".⁶⁶ It was notably Prof. Gonner and Norman Wyld (a biologist, who succeeded Muir as general secretary in 1902) who made realistic attempts to stimulate the interest of organised labour. Indeed, both were responsible for running courses for the Trades Council, at its request, in 1902 and 1903, on the "History of Trade Unionism" and "The Industrial Revolution". Wyld made a special appeal to the Trades Council at a time when, disappointed by its association with the Technical Instruction Committee, the Council was receptive of moves towards the liberal education of the working class. Wyld's "Proposed University of Liverpool and its Relations with the Working Class", which the Trades Council appended to its Annual Report for 1901-2, effectively linked Muir's focus on the educational ladder and scholarships to the need for working-class adults to be able to benefit from a liberal education. There were four ways, according to Wyld, in which the university could benefit the working class:

- i) "The working class, as the largest section of the community, has the largest interest in national efficiency". In effect, this developed arguments that had been used in favour of the technical education movement in the 1880's and 1890's.

- ii) "The more efficient and well equipped the University is by so much more will . . . teachers be made efficient in their work as teachers. The more efficient are the teachers the better will the children in the schools be taught. The better the children are taught the more chance they have of success in life".
- iii) The university would be a source of scholarships.
- iv) "It is a part of the duty of the University to provide instruction--especially in the non-technical subjects, literature, history, science--of very high character for all adult persons who may wish to take advantage of such instruction in their leisure hours".⁶⁷

However, although Prof. Gonner's course on the Industrial Revolution, much in the style of a WEA class, was enthusiastically attended by "the cream of the Trade Union movement in Liverpool", there is little evidence that the Society for University Extension had any wide appeal to the working class.⁶⁸ Above all, workers required the benefit of a form of intermediary "further" education before university-type studies could be of real use, a gap which Hewitt had noted in relation to the work of the Technical Instruction Committee, and which the WEA in part attempted to fill. But the main work of the Extension Society, in fact, was associated with "scholastic centres"--training colleges for pupil-teachers--effectively brought into existence under the 1902 Act and which, in conjunction with teaching practice, provided a quasi-secondary education. In this sense, in relation to the working class, there was something of a parallel to the earlier work of the Technical Instruction Committee. The pupil-teacher, or scholastic centres in Liverpool, at Clarence and Colquitt Streets, now held their

"extension" courses in the day time (not, as before, in the evenings), so that they were effectively a part of the systematic provision of secondary education to which the working class still had but a limited access.⁶⁹

The rise of the WEA branches in Liverpool in 1906-7 gave a greater appeal to the Extension classes, following the creation of a University Joint Committee on Tutorial Classes for Working People in March 1910, involving the WEA and the Society for University Extension (which became the University Extension Board from February 1911). The Joint Committee, appointed to "administer Tutorial Classes and other educational work in connection with the WEA", comprised seven university members, including Wyld, and the chairman, Prof. Gonner, and seven representatives of "workpeople's organisations". From the latter, there were two WEA officials, F.J. Norris of the Trades Council (who was vice-chairman of the Committee, and also a member of the central WEA), George Nelson (Typographical Society, Printing and Kindred Trades Federation), A.J. Williams (Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants), T.E. Wood of the Education Committee of the Co-operative Union, and a member of the Lancashire and Cheshire Federation of Trades Councils. It was considered an acceptable arrangement for workpeople, "since all important matters, including the choice of tutors and courses, are subject to its [the Committee's] approval".⁷⁰ Courses now centred on such subjects as Industrial History, Economics, English History, General Modern History, Literature and Natural History, intended "primarily for workpeople", and it was decided, initially, to collaborate

with the Co-operative Society in establishing a centre in the north end of the city, where the curriculum eventually included Industrial History and General Economics.⁷¹ Following the split at Ruskin College, Oxford, in 1909, which gave rise to the Labour College movement, it is clear that the Liverpool WEA was at pains to emphasise its endeavour to make the universities "the colleges of the whole people", eliminating the danger of "class bias" in University Extension by means of the Tutorial classes, and advocating the need for workers "to know their opponents' side as well as their own". This was very much the position taken by James Sexton, one of the two TUC Parliamentary Committee representatives at Ruskin, who, opposed to the hostility from syndicalists and the Miners' Federation, argued that the snobbery formerly associated with Ruskin had disappeared, that the curriculum now embraced socio-political elements suitable to trade unionists, and that it was "entirely in the hands of representatives of working-class organisations".⁷² Although the majority of its tutors were university men (four out of five in 1919), and it had the support of prominent employers like W.H. Lever or Hugh Rathbone, the WEA syllabi were sufficiently broad and socio-politically based to be of welcome service to ILP-ers, as well as the trade unionist-dominated labour movement as a whole. Like G.D.H. Cole, the Trades Council-LRC was happy to work with both the WEA and the Labour College.⁷³ It was primarily the question of aims, which were seen to be inseparable from working-class independence, that brought criticism from the militant wing of the movement; while acknowledging the importance of understanding capitalism, this had no time for any form of co-operation with capitalist representatives. Thus, in a lecture on Marxian Economics during the Liverpool Labour College

session of 1920-21, William Hay of the South Wales Miners' Federation could situate the education of the labour movement in the context of

A clear knowledge of the circumstances in which it has to struggle, and clear understanding of the forces to which it is opposed . . . It is this kind of knowledge, and, therefore, the type of education which provides it, which is imperatively necessary to the Trade Unionist and Labour student . . . [and] Labour . . . and those who would serve Labour, must understand capitalism.⁷⁴

But its aim had to be a "reconstruction of society. Education must assist in this". It was insufficient, and unacceptable, that the WEA venture should involve merely "a body of earnest seekers after knowledge for its own sake, and a band of erudite men willing, as in Liverpool, to bring within the reach of the toiler the thought of the best minds".⁷⁵ Conflict between the WEA and Labour College positions will be further discussed below.

Although there were serious divisions in the labour movement over the question of a commitment to WEA-type or to "independent working-class" education, these hardly affected more than a small minority of trade unionists--notably of the National Union of Railwaymen--in the local movement. Moreover, through its active involvement in questions of national educational policy, from the end of the war, the WEA found ready collaborators in the municipal Labour Party, especially in the struggle for working-class access to post elementary studies associated with the 1918 Education Bill (which became the Fisher Act). Thus, at a Trades Council meeting in October 1918, a delegate's report on a Conference on Independent

Working Class Education was well received: the report was convinced of the utility of the new movement, with its teaching "from the working-class standpoint free [from] the bias or Capitalistic taint", and the Council elected delegates to a further conference on the subject. But, at the same meeting, three delegates were unanimously elected to a WEA Conference that month to press "for the adoption locally of several important features of the new Bill".⁷⁶ A little later, the Council received both Mr. Osroyd of the Liverpool WEA, who introduced an address by R.H. Tawney, and John Hamilton of the local Labour College; of Tawney, "Questions were asked on the economic theory advocated by the WEA [and were] ably answered", while Hamilton's address--"a long evening"--was one of a number of overtures leading to Trades Council-Labour Party affiliation with the Labour College.⁷⁷

That the most successful WEA classes in Liverpool were in connection with the university was the cause of some friction between the labour movement and the University Extension Board. After the new Local Education Authority was established, and the university had obtained a subsidy from the rates, the Trades Council made every effort "to democratise the University": it arranged the course of lectures on the History of Trade Unionism, and secured the exceptional appointment of a representative on the University Court of Governors. There was to be a long-standing criticism on the part of the Trades Council and the Labour Group, however, of the annual sums of money received by the university from the City Council, over and above an annual £10,000 towards its upkeep, while the Education Committee persisted in pursuing a rigid policy of economy, seeking to increase the maximum class size in elementary schools from 55 to 60, and resisting pressures for the adoption of child welfare

legislation from 1906. Moreover, the University Extension department of the university was only accorded some £450 in the pre-war years, and this was reduced to £360 in November 1914.⁷⁸ There also appears to have been some feeling that the university sought to exercise a tight control over Tutorial Classes and was unwilling to recognise either the work of staff tutors for the labour movement outside of the university sphere, or the desire of external bona-fide labour organisations, involved in comparable educational work, to acquire representation on the Extension Board. This was illustrated by the position of the Merseyside Labour Education Council, an organisation mainly under trade unionist and Co-operative auspices, presided over by Frederick Richardson, a Labour city councillor. Initially, the issue was slight: would the university recognise the work of Mary Hickey, a staff tutor who was simultaneously active in women's Co-operative classes, outside the university? However, the Merseyside Council also wanted representation on the Extension Board, to which, in this instance, its educational work might entitle it. A deputation to the Vice-Chancellor led to a clash on the fundamental issue of labour representation in educational ventures aimed at the working class. Clearly, a considerable increase in the number of classes organised outside the university per se, by 1920, had raised the question of meeting "the new circumstances and needs of the Trade Unions and Co-operative Society".⁷⁹ Arguing on the administratively accurate basis of a distinction between the two different kinds of educational initiatives, the Extension Board would not alter its position, which, for the Labour Education Council "only emphasises the highly unsatisfactory and inefficient manner in which the Board has dealt with the business of the Trade Union and Co-operative

classes . . .".⁸⁰

In part, this was the context in which "labour and education" was being discussed at the time. Indeed, speaking at a Liverpool Conference on "Labour and Education" in June 1920, G.D.H. Cole denounced the Board of Education's position on adult education, which was considered to be "completely dominated" by capitalist interests: "The only kind of education that was going to give the workers what they wanted was education over which the workers had direct and complete control". As with labour's stance vis-a-vis the Liverpool University Extension Board, the prime issue was control, and not so much a specific "working-class" curriculum; if left-wing suspicion of "all proposals regarding working-class education" was much more in evidence, it had particular application to the predominance of university tutors.⁸¹ Irrespective of the Plebs League commitment to a "changed curriculum", the politics of adult educational policy in Liverpool immediately following the war were scarcely conducive to harmonious co-operative ventures between organised labour and capital. Both the Liberal and Conservative press were advocating, and themselves pursuing, an "energetic counter-propaganda to that of the Bolsheviks . . . that will instruct the workers in the facts of industry and in the economic laws on the observance of which high wages and national prosperity depend."⁸² The attack was not merely on Bolshevism (though it readily exploited Marx as the "German-Jew-Socialist"), but on the entire notion of an independent labour: "It would be a wise moral investment by our great firms if they provided [the] means of economic instruction".⁸³ This was also the context in which the Plebs League condemned the Liverpool WEA.

Education for Socialism, and the movement for Independent
Working Class Education in Liverpool

In terms of a clearly definable movement, Independent Working Class Education (IWCE), which was identified with the Plebs League and the labour colleges, took root in Liverpool towards the end of the First World War, much the result, initially and in its rapid development during the 1920's, of the work of John Hamilton in connection with the Building Workers' Industrial Union. Before the war, Hamilton had been associated with both the small but influential group of Liverpool syndicalists, including the stonemason Fred Bower, from 1906, and militant representatives of the political Socialist and labour movement like James Murphy and Joe Cotter. Members of the Trades Council, these were active in Tom Mann's Industrial Syndicalist Educational League, especially in the aftermath of the 1911 transport strike, when a group of "Revolutionary Industrialists" was founded in Liverpool.⁸⁴ With the syndicalists, an emphasis on "independent working-class education", much in the tradition of Morris's Socialist League, to which they initially alluded, was shared with other leftward Socialists, particularly in the local SDF or BSP branches, the Liverpool SDF containing a significant "impossibilist" wing. In fact, labour college classes appear first to have begun in Liverpool in close association with the active pre-war BSP branches.⁸⁵ Here, the educational appeal, while having the common denominator of "Marxian Economics", was broad enough to encompass the numerous component persuasions of the radical left:

The "Labour Unrest" must be given greater voice; additional intelligent inspiration; facts interpreted; fallacies overthrown; principles, not men, followed. For this work,

training is necessary . . . The official study is Marxian economics.

Tom Mann's industrial unionists similarly sought to educate themselves "in the principles of Trade Unionism . . . We must learn obedience, discipline, unselfishness; depend on intelligence rather than on brute force".⁸⁶ It has been suggested that syndicalism in pre-war Liverpool is best seen in terms of "a 'mood' close to syndicalism rather than formal syndicalist adherence", the movement embracing a variety of externally-derived revolutionary notions as well as the traditions of homespun political Socialist organisations like the SDF or ILP.⁸⁷ Although it was never more than a small body of opinion, and, strictly speaking, confined to a group of anarcho-syndicalists and local branches of the Daily Herald League, syndicalism was influential, if never predominant, in the mainstream labour movement in the 1911-1914 period. It gave an impetus to the movement towards industrial unionism, in which pro-syndicalist feeling among militant Socialists was considerable. James Murphy, who had tried to establish an SLP branch in Liverpool, brought his pro-syndicalist sympathies into the Trades Council and the LRC. His focus on the content of elementary education, like that of Bob Manson's Wayward Fancies, resembles the anarcho-syndicalist attachment to the pedagogy of Francisco Ferrer (the Spanish anarchist), pronounced in Liverpool during these years:

I am most bitterly opposed to the present system of elementary education as given in the schools today, the object of which is to train the children of the workers to a sense of servitude and restraint, makes no attempt at personal

development and instead of awakening their minds to all that is true and beautiful . . . demoralises their receptive brains with the exploits of Kings and Queens, the human sacrifice and bloodshed attendant on the "doings" of our Nelsons and Wellingtons; how Andrew Carnegie became a millionaire, and finally exhorts them to go out into the world and do likewise.⁸⁸

A group of anarcho-syndicalists, which included Bower, Charles Pearce of the International Club, Peter Larkin, Lorenzo Portet (a Spanish refugee), James Dick and Mat Kavanagh, was undoubtedly influenced-- and perhaps readily so in a great seaport like Liverpool--by the De Leonite Industrial Workers of the World, Bower having spent some time in the United States, East European Jewish settlement in the city, Irish revolutionaries like James Connolly and Jim Larkin, Spanish anarcho-syndicalism, and the anarcho-syndicalist infiltration of the French Confédération Générale du Travail.⁸⁹ Each of these influences derived from movements with pronounced educational components, aimed at winning support for new forms of proletarian action. This was reflected in Tom Mann's Industrial Syndicalist Education League (ISEL), whose first conference, in Manchester in November 1910, was attended by eight Liverpool delegates. Fred Bower, disillusioned by his municipal election attempts in 1911, grew "more and more convinced that education is the only hope for humanity . . . I prefer to play the role of a minor teacher".⁹⁰ Whereas a number of syndicalists, anarchist or industrial, like Bower or Joe Cotter, could also support local Socialist electoral endeavours, as in 1911, their tendency was mainly to oppose representative politics: reporting the Liverpool scene in The Voice of Labour, Tom Beavan was of the opinion that "the English

proletariat moves slowly, befogged as it is with the clap-trap of ILP and SDF nonsense . . . political action will always tend to strangle the initiative of the people". While the left wing of the contemporary labour movement, with its conflicting labour activities, could appreciate the potential development of "an uncompromising attitude of hostility to capital in the industrial field", as demonstrated at the Socialist Unity Conference, the anarcho-syndicalists were little interested merely in the adoption of Socialist policies by the Labour Party in Parliament.⁹¹

In the tradition of Socialist educating for an independent labour, the syndicalists looked mainly to adult education. In 1906, "the movement in Liverpool" included lectures and meetings (on the Chicago Martyrs, or Morris and the Socialist League, for instance), while "in the Clarion Café, several sympathisers with the principles of Communism are to be found . . . Especial attention is given to lectures".⁹² Though it denounced "political cant" and "Statism of all kinds", the work had much in common with the Marxist-based classes of the SDF and BSP, and there were several shared conferences with the SDF and ILP. Liverpool's SDP branches were amongst the earliest to adopt the BSP title--even before the Socialist Unity Conference--and the Socialist Unity movement had the enthusiastic support of the Liverpool Socialist Representation Committee. The BSP branches in Edge Hill (East Branch), Anfield, Litherland and Walton were especially active, each holding regular classes in Economics, Industrial History, Logic and Rhetoric; one of the speakers--the former Fabian, Lawrence Small B.Sc.--was an early contributor to Plebs.⁹³ Syndicalist efforts at securing a "purer" form of Socialism,

at combating religious fanaticism in the city (a ready parallel, for anarchists, with Ferrer's Spain), and at using effective means of propaganda--notably by means of a syndicalist printing press established in November 1914--were shared by the BSP and, essentially, by moderate ILP-ers:

Misrepresentation of Socialism and religious bigotry are the chief weapons in the Tory armery . . . Education, and education alone, will effect the change, and we must consider if we cannot devise a better system of propaganda. . . ⁹⁴

This uncompromising and committed stance was clearly discernible in syndicalist work with children and youth. Most conspicuous in the activities of Liverpool anarcho-syndicalism, was an enthusiasm for the education of children in a way that was more overtly, and perhaps narrowly, partisan than the established work of the Socialist Sunday Schools. In Liverpool, the work was unmistakably influenced by the educational initiatives of Francisco Ferrer, who visited the city in August 1907, and probably again in 1909; it also appears that Ferrer entrusted Lorenzo Portet, a Spaniard living in Liverpool, with the spread of his Escuela Moderna movement.⁹⁵ Along with James Dick, Mat Kavanagh, Fred Bower and others, Portet was instrumental in establishing and running a Communist Sunday School, a "modern School", from January 1909, which had fifty members by May of that year; Portet and Bower also taught evening continuation classes for the local Education-Committee. In November 1909, the Communist school became the "International Modern School" in commemoration of Ferrer.⁹⁶ Whereas there was a theoretical and emotional attachment to Ferrer, which bordered on idolisation,

and the School adhered to his "Ligue Internationale pour l'Education de l'Enfance", in practice the Communist School was not perhaps entirely faithful to Ferrer's original thinking. Ferrer's Origin and Ideals of the Modern School, which was deeply imbued with the spirit of genuinely child-centred educational theory, essentially embodied a plea for the forces of Rationalism to prevail over religious fanaticism and the superstition associated with Spanish Catholicism. In a marked anti-clerical vein, it saw the Modern School as an experiment in "imbuing the children of the future with the substantial truths of science"; a rational and scientific education would "preserve children from error, inspire men with a love of good conduct, and reorganise society in accordance with the demands of justice". It was naturally hoped that this would eventually direct children's energies "in the great work of the regeneration of society".⁹⁷ It is true that there was a belief, as Kropotkin maintained in reference to Ferrer's review, L'Ecole Rénovée, that "everything has to be begun again in the schools" to combat the "religious, narrowly individualistic, authoritarian principles which the school inculcates", but this did not necessarily imply a rejection of bodies of knowledge or thought (that is, of "authorities") seen from other than a "working-class point of view". It was certainly not intended that an alternative system of state-controlled schools, based on a working-class dominant ideology, should simply replace the existing educational system of "social control". Indeed, a former French intellectual colleague of Ferrer's remarked that Ferrer

voulait que l'enseignement restât dans une neutralité

absolue et qu'il n'eut pour objet que des questions de science. Faisons d'abord de nos enfants, disait-il, des jeunes gens instruits. Plus tard, quand ils seront devenus des hommes, nous nous efforcerons de leur inculquer les idées qui nous sont chères.

Ferrer himself spoke of a "systematic equality" by means of the education of rich and poor together, and Freedom saw his "true education" as disinterested, bringing up the child "for its own sake" (and was full of admiration for Montessori's system).⁹⁸ Education in the direct service of a leftward labour, or anarchist, movement was clearly the preserve of adult initiative. Bower and the Liverpool syndicalists thought somewhat differently, although they evidently considered the context of Liverpool's Church and Catholic-dominated schools--"a clerical-ridden city like ours"--as but little removed from Ferrer's Barcelona. While details of activities in the School are virtually limited to the anarchist paper, Freedom, in which James Dick ran a children's column from January 1910, there seems little doubt that they entailed a distinct ideological commitment. Dick's children's column was not for "fairy tales", but "things that big folks think about" ("Ferrer and his Work", "the treachery of government and gods"); Kavanagh taught that "to vote is similar to prayer . . . It humbles and degrades . . . We want men and women", while Bower, who frequently addressed the children in the School, delivered a long critique of the existing elementary school system, with particular reference to the content of the curriculum. Even moderate Socialists like Sexton were critical of blatant patriotism or militarism in school texts or activities, but Bower and his colleagues openly envisaged an instruction designed to produce militant internationalist activists:

I fail to understand why some of our comrades [Socialists] disagree with us in this method of propaganda . . . I would ask our comrades to remember that in 5 or 6 years these youngsters will be rubbing shoulders with the workers, and their ideas, whatever they may be, will be ventilated. The State and the Church capture the children, for they know that the children of today are the citizens of tomorrow . . . The Liverpool Communist Sunday School has been organised to break down prejudices which are set up in the weekday school [and is] against the "virtues" of humility, patience and submission.⁹⁹

The School suffered from poor finances, a constant changing of premises, and the premature death of two of its prominent teachers. In 1911, it was housed on SDP premises, but was without a permanent home in 1912, when James Dick removed to London; there was still a Communist Sunday School in 1914, and adult education continued at least until the outbreak of the war. Although aimed at children, the venture foreshadowed something of the emphasis on curriculum content characteristic of the post-war IWCE movement, which "changed the curriculum . . . to further the interests of working-class education as a partizan effort to improve the position of Labour in the present, and ultimately to assist in the abolition of wage slavery".¹⁰⁰ Like the Sunday, or "Juvenile", School of the BSP or, indeed, the ILP, the "atmosphere of comradeship and mutual aid [that] pervaded the place" bore witness to an attempt--however imperfect, limited, or misguided--to revitalise the education of young children, with a salutary accent on evading the "bare minimum philosophy" and on the importance of "fostering growth" as an attack on "mechanical obedience". In this respect, and after its own fashion, it

formed a left-wing parallel to Edmond Holmes' "Utopia" of 1911.¹⁰¹

Courses in connection with the Central Labour College existed in Preston and St. Helens in 1911, and in 1912 there were local tutorial classes ("lecture classes") in Liverpool, associated with the Merseyside District Branch of the Labour College. It was during the war years that the movement received its greatest stimulus. Early attempts were made by Bower and John Hamilton to secure an amalgamation of the Building Trade Unions in 1911; during the war, Hamilton was active promoting the Central Labour College, as against the WEA, in what had become the Building Workers' Industrial Union (BWIU). The Liverpool District Council of the National Union of Railwaymen (NUR) similarly became a staunch advocate of industrial unionism, and offered a course of six lectures, in 1915, on Elementary Economics.¹⁰² By 1917, following the 1915 deportation of militant Clydeside Shop Stewards, there was a Liverpool SLP branch and a Merseyside Workers' Committee; these included such militants as Tom Bell, James Morton and Arthur MacManus, and had close affinities, especially through MacManus, with the Plebs League. In conjunction with the CLC, the SLP branch sponsored social science classes from early 1917, MacManus then residing in Bootle, whence he contributed to Plebs. On the basis of his experience in Glasgow and Liverpool, he urged an active educational campaign as a continuation of the engineers' opposition to the Munitions of War Act:

I wonder if those on the Clyde and elsewhere who are at present being asked to vote on the question whether they will accept the principle or not, realise that it is thanks

to the vigilance and determination of the men in Sheffield, Liverpool, Manchester . . . that they are afforded an opportunity of expressing their opinion at all . . . The result of this general awakening is a keen desire to know and understand on the part of the rank and file. And right here is the point. Literature of any description dealing with questions of a social, political, or industrial nature is eagerly sought for and read; everywhere one sees clear signs of this thirst for information . . . Supply the literature, stimulate discussion, establish classes . . . ¹⁰³

By October 1917, a Liverpool correspondent in Plebs could speak of the nucleus of a Plebs League class, though tutorial classes were conducted essentially via the BSP and ILP branches.¹⁰⁴ Work began in earnest from March 1918, with classes through the NUR and BWIU organised by Hamilton, on topics such as "The Modern Working Class Movement". A highly successful conference in Liverpool in September 1918, at which James Murphy spoke on the general question of education, assembled delegates from forty-one organisations, including the Trades Council, Labour Party, NUR District Council, Women's Co-operative Guild, ILP Federation, BSP, Fabian Society and trade union branches. Liverpool became the centre of a Plebs League District, linking classes in Lancashire and Cheshire, and had its own Labour College. Hamilton was the principal organiser of the Liverpool Council for IWCE, Secretary of the Labour College, and national chairman of the National Council of Labour Colleges (NCLC).¹⁰⁵

IWCE in Liverpool was distinguished from the work of the WEA above all by its emphases, as well as its zealous independence, rather more than by the scope, or much of the content, of its syllabi. Subject matter

covered by the syllabi and courses--Industrial History, Economics, Social Psychology, Theory of Historical Development, the Modern Labour Movement, the Science of Understanding, Logic, and the Builders' History--was comparable in the main with that of the WEA. Thus a syllabus of six lectures on "The Modern British Working-Class Movement", for example, included topics which featured equally in Evan Hughes's courses on Industrial History for the WEA tutorial classes:

- 1) Wage workers brought into existence--how, differences. Industrial Revolution.
- 2) Rise of trade unions. Robert Owen.
- 3) The Chartist Movement. New policy of the trade unions.
- 4) Industrial unrest and industrial unionism. The rise of the Labour Party. Early Socialist agitation.
- 5) Forms of organisation. The War and its effects.
- 6) Unemployment. The Russian Revolution.¹⁰⁶

However, the explicit purpose of the syllabus of Social Science Lectures organised by the Liverpool and District Council for IWCE for the 1919-20 session was "To Assist in the establishment and maintenance of District Classes in Social Science for the purpose of equipping men and women on the Educational side for the industrial, political and social work of the Labour Movement from the purely working-class point of view".¹⁰⁷

Whereas the Labour College concentrated almost exclusively on "the study of present-day problems", WEA classes tended also to include "civilisation" topics such as art and architecture; Hamilton himself proposed a series on "The Evolution of Building", but treating the subject "from a social point of view . . . This is just to demonstrate that the Labour College can provide this side if necessary".¹⁰⁸ The IWCE emphasis was one which

reflected immediate political aims and aspirations, and although this did not preclude a "world view" of economics and history, it was inextricably tied to those aims and aspirations, which were quite specific:

- a) To give the student a view of the Social and industrial development of the environment in which he lives and works.
- b) To trace the Economic History of this Country and of the Modern World in connection with and as illustrated by the rise of industrial south Lancashire.
- c) To place Lancashire in relation to the industrial and political life of our own time and so to help the workers in this area, so to organise and to act as to make them fit help-mates of the Clyde and other advanced areas.¹⁰⁹

Thus, industrial consciousness, "union by industry", and the independence of working-class political organisation were integral parts of IWCE. Both University Extension (and, through it, the WEA), and to a lesser degree the Co-operative Movement were seen as a reflection of the needs of the existing social system, and therefore mainly pro-capitalist. For this reason, Hamilton was critical of the Co-operative Movement: it used capitalist supply sources, distributed capitalist-produced goods, and its employees shared the same status as capitalist employees. If the Movement had tremendous potentialities, and provided a reformist trend within the social system, its economics were "merely a variation of the Utility School . . . They do not advocate or teach the Labour Theory of Value. They lay emphasis on the predominant role of the Consumer, whereas the producer is the main factor in production".¹¹⁰

Long before there was a movement for strictly Independent Working

Class Education in Liverpool, the Plebs League had condemned appeals to trade unions and workers' clubs made through the Liverpool Daily Post by the local WEA and the Ruskin College movement. Correspondence between Ramsay Muir and the Secretary of Ruskin College confirmed Plebs' view that the WEA and Ruskin were "aspects of the same great movement", one in which

A systematic knowledge acquired by "Varsity Training" is as much use to the labour movement as the tools of a burglar would be to an honest man. For the latter to use them would involve ceasing to be honest . . .

The WEA was regarded as a kind of "Free Labourers' Union" in the field of education.¹¹¹ Hamilton vigorously opposed statements made by the Liverpool and District Organiser for the WEA (Mr. Garstang), to the effect that agreements had been reached at the national level between the WEA and the Labour College; above all, labour colleges were based on "an entire independence from capitalist finance and control".¹¹² In a general support of the latter, Plebs published a circular letter of March 1922 "sent to employers of labour in the Liverpool district", and signed by a number of prominent local employers and Liberal politicians, including Colonel J. Shute, ex-chairman of the Cotton Exchange, Hugh Rathbone and Sydney Jones. The letter, which embodied a plea for financial assistance, pointed out that

The W.E.A. . . . is the only means available to most men and women of obtaining any clear understanding of the economic and social significance of their daily work . . . the cost of organising classes, stimulating interest in the work, and maintaining that spirit of fellowship between different

classes which is no small part of the result aimed at by this effort to provide some experience of university life for working people, falls to the local branch of the W.E.A. . . . We, who sign this letter, have had intimate experience of the great educational and social value of the work.¹¹³

It is true that Hamilton was uncompromising in his attitude towards the usefulness of the WEA to labour; nonetheless, he was wary of the ultra-left wing, with its blatant revolutionary language and tactics: "one can express in quite moderate language revolutionary facts and factors". Clearly, he considered this indispensable if IWCE was to develop the broad-based appeal to labour more characteristic of the WEA. Moreover, while the teachings of the Labour College were unblushingly partisan, they followed the WEA in subscribing to no "party label":

The extension of our educational work will provide the leaven urging the mass to move in the right direction when the time for action definitely arises; for to repeat a much hackneyed saying, "Intelligent action can only come through knowledge".¹¹⁴

By this time (1923), there were signs that the influence of IWCE was spreading. Locally, the Liverpool Trades Council and Labour Party had officially affiliated to the Labour College, along with further unions and Co-operative branches, and joining representatives of the Engineering, Building, Railway and General Unions. The national Labour Party Conference of that year saw a resolution in support of labour college work in "educating the workers for their task of overthrowing Capitalism", and the Amalgamated Engineering Union had adopted a new educational rule whereby grants or scholarships were to aid colleges and institutions having

the object of independent working-class education. Hamilton could report that "The importance of our educational work to the industrial and political movements is slowly receiving recognition".¹¹⁵

Like Cole, the Trades Council and Labour Party appreciated the value of both WEA and Labour College, though, from a mainstream labour viewpoint, IWCE was perhaps "too intolerant of Labour men who, being on the same side, still do not share all its dogmas". Cole himself taught for both institutions; he shared Hamilton's position on adult working-class education, as well as a class-bias view of elementary and secondary education, but could accept the immediate value of WEA work:

. . . from a practical point of view, the W.E.A. is an organisation of which Labour can make exactly what it likes. The constitution gives to Labour the whole control of the W.E.A., if Labour chooses to exercise that control . . . I am convinced that, taken as a whole, W.E.A. and Tutorial Class education is filling a gap which cannot, for lack of funds, be filled in any other way at the present time.¹¹⁶

There is no doubt that in Liverpool, as elsewhere, both the WEA and the movement for IWCE helped to stir up an interest among trade unionists in educational questions. Following the war, in particular, the WEA became an important local and national focus for the discussion of major changes in the educational system as a whole. In conjunction with a heightened concern for adult working-class education (which the local Labour Party associated with factors determined by social class), this produced a climate in which education might operate directly as a major tool in the reconstruction of society along "proletarian" lines. It was also a climate

in which education stood to serve--indirectly or partially, perhaps --as an important determinant of labour militancy. Thus, a forthright resolution passed at a Trades Council meeting of July 1926, in connection with the forthcoming Labour Party Annual Conference, called for a number of radical educational reforms which, at the same time, envisaged a thorough reconstruction of society and reflected the growing strength of syndicalist influence in the local movement. Moved by a Communist representative of the Teachers' Labour League, H.A. Cooke, and seconded by John Hamilton--both experienced educationists in the movement--, the resolution was informed by a clear recognition that a "unified non-class system of Education" was impossible without democratic self-government and control; and that recent Labour Party and TUC publications had neither sufficiently acknowledged this nor gone far enough to prepare for "the reorganisation of Education in conformity with workers' control of all industry". It embodied a decision to establish a "competent workers' Committee of enquiry . . . to determine the part Education must play in abolishing the present, and creating a new order of society". Coupled with a similar communication from the Manchester Borough Labour Party, and with some slight re-wording, it formed the text of the 1926 Labour Party Conference resolution on education. Among other things, the workers' committee of enquiry was instructed

- a) To prepare a definite scheme of self-government with democratic control of administration.
- b) To explore the best methods of teaching and of management so that the whole life and work of the school may produce the best results from the workers' point of view.
- c) To report as to how far the present materials used in

schools . . . and the predominant methods of teaching and disciplining children, foster a spirit of imperialism and militarism; and as to how far, under a workers' administration, this might be counteracted and a working-class attitude and outlook on life might be cultivated.¹¹⁷

NOTES TO CHAPTER VI

1. When, e.g. in Jan. 1900, they took over the hitherto Socialist-controlled Labour Chronicle, as the Labour Chronicle and Trade Union Reporter; see Labour Chronicle, Jan. 1900. In 1906, there were 36 societies attached to the LRC (some 20,000 trade unionists); LRC Annual Report (1906), p. 4, and ibid. (1908), p. 4: there were representatives from the four ILP branches (notably William Blair from Kirkdale, a Co-operative Society leader), the Fabian Society (Sam Reeves), the League of the Blind, Kirkdale Labour Club, and the Trades Council. For the Trades Council-LRC merger, see Trades Council and Labour Party (TC and LP) Minutes, 1 April 1921; the LRC called itself the Liverpool Labour Party from July 1917. See LRC Minutes, 13 July 1917. Cf. Maddock, pp. 197, 207, and Drinkwater, "A History of the Trade Unions and Labour Party", *op. cit.*, p. 57.
2. G.D.H. Cole, The World of Labour, *op. cit.*, p. 427, which also stressed the part the trade unions should play in "educating workers up to this point". Cf. Maddock, p. 198. The early LRC leadership included such Socialists as John Morrissey and his wife, George Barker (ILP), W. Blair, Fred Hoey (of the Plumbers'), Reeves, George Nelson, James Stephenson and James Murphy, a pro-syndicalist. See e.g. LRC Minutes, 2 Dec. 1908.
3. With the Fabian Society, but not the SDF, the ILP continued to publish its own notes in the Labour Chronicle and Trade Union Reporter from July 1900; after the collapse of the paper in 1902, it was the ILP alone which brought out papers in the interest of the municipal Labour Group, notably the Liverpool Forward from May 1912, which preached the unity of a Socialist movement. The SDF generally remained aloof. See Labour Chronicle, March 1900. Cf. R. Barker, Education and Politics, *op. cit.*, ch. 1, on the national parliamentary group, which was rooted solely in the context of 1900's electoral politics; and also R. Challinor, The Origins of British Bolshevism (London, 1977), pp. 22, 49.
4. LRC Annual Report (1907), p. 7, and ibid., pp. 4-5: in the important

- parliamentary contest in Kirkdale (of considerable national significance), the Conservative opponents had vinictively "misrepresented Socialism", urging the electorate to "resist the chilling blast of Socialism . . . trusting to the general lack of information on the subject". For the 1905 successes, see TC Annual Report (1905-6); Morrissey had, however, been elected as an Elective Auditor in 1900. See also Labour Chronicle, March 1900; F. Bower, Rolling Stonemason, pp. 191-2, and cf. E. Larkin, James Larkin, Irish Labour Leader, 1876-1947 (London, 1965), p. 8.
5. LRC Minutes, 6 Aug. 1913, which included a "demand that a more independent and party fighting policy should be taken similar to that of 1906, as only by such action will the movement retain its vitality". See also ibid., 2 Sept. 1908, and 11 July 1913; and, for the 1913 by-elections, see especially R.I. McKibbin, "James Ramsay MacDonald and the Problem of the Independence of the Labour Party, 1910-1914", Journal of Modern History, 42 (June, 1970), pp. 227-8, and R.G. Gregory, The Miners and British Politics 1906-1914 (Oxford, 1968), ch. VII, and ch. VIII in general.
 6. LRC Minutes, (?) July 1913; Liverpool Forward, 11 July 1913. At the meeting, to discuss the new Trade Union Act, J.R. Clynes was present, and W.A. Robinson presided.
 7. Ibid.
 8. LRC Minutes, 21 May 1913. Catholics denounced the labour movement because of the Socialist element; Orangemen had decided to run municipal candidates in Garston. See ibid., 8 Oct. 1904, and cf. Freedom (anarchist), Sept. 1908, which referred to Liverpool as a home of reaction, with its "rampant Orangeism down to the Catholic anti-Socialist crusade". Also The Transport Worker, Aug. 1911; Liverpool Forward, 19 Sept. 1913, and Brady, "T.P. O'Connor", thesis, p. 448, for Larkin's visit.
 9. Drinkwater, pp. 60-61; Brady, pp. 347-8.
 10. LRC Minutes, July 1913; cf. Liverpool Forward, 13 July 1912, for

Trades Council criticism of the Labour city councillors (except Robinson) who voted for the freedom of the city for the Earl of Derby. As a Labour councillor, Robinson could well appreciate the position of the Labour M.P.'s.

11. J. Shannon (TC) to R. MacDonald, 5 May 1903, Transport House, LRC 8/233; with reference to the Liverpool Conference in the Alexandra Hall, Islington, see ibid., 7 March 1903, LRC 7/265, which also contains a handbill and printed notice.
12. "Socialist Politics", a lecture by Bernard Shaw to the Liverpool Fabian Society, 28 Oct. 1908, in B. Shaw, Practical Politics. 20th Century Views on Politics and Economics, ed. L.J. Hubenka (London, 1976), pp. 98, 90.
13. For the national background, see e.g. H. Pelling, The British Communist Party (London, 1958), pp. 3-5, 21; W. Kendall, The Revolutionary Movement in Britain 1900-1921 (London, 1969), ch. 1; Challinor, Origins of British Bolshevism, op. cit., esp. chs. 2-4; J. Quail, The Slow Burning Fuse: the Lost History of the British Anarchists (London, 1978), chs. 13-14.
14. Transport Worker, Sept. 1911. The Transport Workers' Federation, on which Mann relied following the transport strike, was led in Liverpool by James Stephenson, a successful labour candidate in the Nov. 1911 municipal elections. Fred Bower and John Hamilton (the later promoter of the labour college movement) were advocating a similar industrial action in the Building Trades' Unions; ibid., Dec. 1911. Cf. R. Holton, "Syndicalism and Labor on Merseyside, 1906-14", in Hikins (ed.), Building the Union, pp. 129, 135, and Challinor, p. 49.
15. Justice, 10 March 1906, and ibid., 11 Feb. 1911; Socialist Unity Conference (Official Report, 1911, in BLPES), p. 18. Cf. Kendall, pp. 38-9.
16. See e.g. H.R. Hikins, "The Liverpool General Transport Strike, 1911", THSLC, 113 (1961); Hansard, XXIX (1911), 16 Aug., col. 1953, for MacDonald's comment on the accumulated resentment. See also

- R. Kenney, "The Brains Behind the Labour Revolt", The English Review, 10 (March, 1912), pp. 686-8
17. Socialist Unity Conference, p. 18. The Liverpool delegate, W. Sugar, was referring to the Liverpool strike. See also TC Annual Report (1904-5, 1905-6), and Liverpool Courier, 29 June 1905.
 18. "To the Electors of West Derby Ward", Municipal Elections, Nov. 1911, handbill for James Murphy, in TC Collection, 331 TRA, 10/3.
 19. See Daily Post, Courier, 19 Oct. 1911; also Courier, 21 Oct., which includes labour replies to a Conservative attack on a "Labour Party Manifesto"--"To the Working Classes of Liverpool". This was written "by workmen who had been turned out of school at 14 to earn bread", and merely initiated the party-line vote of Liberals and Tories. Sexton did not sign it.
 20. Liverpool Forward, 13 Sept. 1912, attacking Sexton's scathing remarks on syndicalism at the recent Newport TUC. For details of the first City Council Labour Group, see LRC Annual Report (1911).
 21. Kensington Pioneer, April 1915; Minutes of the Liverpool Trade Union Conference, 9 May 1914, in LRC Minute Book, Nov. 1914; and Daily Citizen, 26 June 1914. For John Edwards, see e.g. Liverpool Forward, 11 May 1912.
 22. LRC Minutes, 5 June 1907. For notice of ILP and Fabian lectures, see e.g. Kensington Pioneer, Feb. 1915; the Co-operative Movement became closely identified with the Labour Group, having a direct link in William Blair (Secretary of the Co-operative Education Committee) and his wife. In the 1920's, it put up its own municipal candidates, in association with the TC. See H. Brown, A Century of Liverpool Co-operation (Liverpool, CWS, n.d., 1903?), pp. 84-5, 132ff.; TC election newscuttings, handbills, etc., 1924, in 331 TRA, 14/1.
 23. See the article by John Hamilton in Justice For All (ed. Rev. J. Vint Loughland of Pembroke Chapel, and J. Whittier, champions of the unemployed), 15 Oct. 1921; also The Voice of Labour, 20 July 1907.
 24. Liverpool Review, 29 July 1893, reporting an ILP meeting. Cf. LRC

- Annual Report (1907), p. 7.
25. Labour Leader, 24 April 1897; Politics and the ILP, p. 12. Cf. Pelling, Origins of the Labour Party, p. 202.
 26. Labour Chronicle, Feb. 1899.
 27. "Municipal Elections 1908, Liverpool", Report by John Edwards, 8 Nov. 1908, Transport House, LP/EL/08/1/102/103i.
 28. J.W.T. Morrissey to A. Peters, n.d., TH, LP/E2/108/105ii; Edwards to Peters, as in note 27.
 29. See LRC Minutes, 6 Sept. 1911, and Annual Report (1911), p. 1, recalling the year as the "most successful in the history of the LRC"; ibid. (1910), p. 3, for the Edge Hill contest of 1910.
 30. Liverpool Forward, 25 Oct. 1912; for Morrissey, see Morrissey to Peters, op. cit. See also LRC Annual Report (1907), p. 5, and LRC Minutes, 5 Feb. 1908, containing the Municipal Programme, in which the clause on Secular Education occasioned some dissention, notably from John Shannon and the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners (his own).
 31. See McKibbin, op. cit., pp. 228ff., and, for Edwards, "Municipal Elections 1908", op. cit. For Victor Grayson, whose Colne by-election victory and rise to fame formed "a personal embodiment of mass dissatisfaction with the policy of the Labour Party leaders", see Kendall, p. 36, and e.g. Challinor, p. 94, and R. Groves, The Strange Case of Victor Grayson (1975), p. 65. In fairness to Pete Curran, who had been the victor of the Jarrow by-election just prior to Colne Valley, he saw Grayson's victory as "all the more impressive" on account of the refusal of the Labour Party (because of "technical difficulties") to help at Colne Valley: see D. Marquand, Ramsay MacDonald (London, 1977), p. 107.
 32. See TH, LRC 16/215-ii, for a communication of 20 Aug. 1904 by MacDonald, outlining the Conference agenda; also J. Edwards to R. MacDonald, 27 Dec. 1904, 18/128. Among others, John recommended Thomas

Burke, an Irish Nationalist shortly to address the Fabian Society on Free Meals, and W.B. Bowring, who "would probably chuck Party [Liberal] if younger. Asked me to get Socialist to come and preach at his church (Unitarian). Got Snowdon and nearly converted the congregation".

33. J. Sexton to R. MacDonald, 12 Dec. 1904, TH, LRC 18/126. For the local squabbles, see TH correspondence between the Trades Council and both MacDonald and J.S. Middleton, and William Blair and MacDonald. The TC unanimously requested the LRC executive not to accept the Mayor's invitation. See TH, LRC 17/58, 17/19, 18/128.
34. W. Thorne to MacDonald, 27 Dec. 1904, LRC 19/260; for Sexton, J. Sexton to MacDonald, 18 Dec. 1904, and MacDonald to Sexton, 6 Dec. 1904 (18/27). Anxious not to be at cross purposes, Sexton saw the fault to lie with the Labour Leader, "taking the LRC under its wing and attacking the P.C.".
35. Daily Post and Mercury, 15 Feb. 1922, by "One Who Knew Him"--possibly Manson or Reeves; see also Labour Annual (1895), p. 169.
36. Liverpool Forward, 9 May 1913 and May 1912 in general; J. Edwards, Liberalism and Socialism (1906), op. cit.; Kensington Pioneer, Feb. 1915. For the Fabian Society and the northern Conference, see Liverpool Fabian Society, Annual Report (1908-9), BLPES.
37. "The Case for Socialism", Liverpool Forward, 11 April 1912 (Edwards's emphasis); also ibid., 18 and 25 April.
38. See esp. Socialism and the Art of Living, pp. 10, 35-6, 41-3; cf. Keir Hardie, From Serfdom to Socialism (London, 1907), esp. chs. I and IV, where Socialist principles were related to the teachings of the Early Christian Fathers (p. 39).
39. Socialism and the Catholic Church (Liverpool, Fabian Society, 1908), op. cit., p. 2.
40. Daily Post, 28 Oct. 1911, for the remarks of Watson Rutherford on behalf of the Low Hill Conservative candidate; cf. Courier, 31 Oct.

- and Liverpool Echo, 2 Nov. Nelson was successful and remained active in the Education Committee. For the Tory anti-Labour propaganda, see e.g. "Labour Men in Civic Politics", handbill, 22 Oct. 1911, in 331 TRA, 10/3; Edwards noted the "newly developed solidarity of the workers": see material relating to 1911 municipal elections, in ibid.
41. LRC Minutes, 20 March 1907, for discussion of the "municipal programme of the Liverpool Labour Party". Also Courier, 1 Nov. 1919, and cf. Justice For All (whose motto was: "There is no darkness but Ignorance"), 29 Oct. 1921: apart from "Down with the Communists!", the opposition had no programme, but the Labour Party was seen to present a definite one. See below, chs. 7 and 8.
 42. Liverpool Forward, 4 and 18 May 1912, and 10 July 1914 ("The Leasehold Scandal"). See Papers of the Liverpool Labour Party's Policy on Corporation Leaseholds, 1910-13, LR0; also Daily News, 10 Oct. 1911.
 43. Papers, op. cit. John consulted a mass of legal judgements, including one which rebutted the leaseholders' position; see City of Liverpool: Corporation Leaseholds, Case and opinion of Counsel, 30 July 1912 ["Private and Confidential"].
 44. Papers (unpaginated).
 45. Liverpool Forward, 2 Oct. 1914; see also "Reply of Labour Candidates to Chairman of Estate Committee", in Papers, op. cit. (probably written by J. Edwards). The Chairman of the Estate Committee was William Crosthwaite, a staunch opponent of increases in the Education Estimate in respect of children's meals.
 46. Cf. H. Weinroth, "Labour Unrest and the Food Question in Great Britain, 1914-1918", Europa (Inter-University Centre for European Studies, Montreal), I (1978), p. 125; also A. Marwick, The Deluge: British Society and the First World War (London, 1965), p. 69.
 47. See TH, War Emergency Workers' National Committee (hereafter WNC), Box 16/2/16; Liverpool Forward, 11 Sept. 1914. Cf. Weinroth, p. 126n., and R. Harrison, "The War Emergency Workers' National Committee, 1914-1920", in A. Briggs and J. Saville, Essays in Labour History, 2 (London,

- 1971), ch. 9.
48. Kensington Pioneer, May 1915; Liverpool Weekly Mercury, 6 Feb. 1915.
 49. Kensington Pioneer, March-April 1915; LRC Annual Report (1914), p. 9.
 50. Kensington Pioneer, Feb. 1915.
 51. WNC Box 16/2/72i-ii. Higenbottam, hitherto an ILP-er and editor of the Liverpool Forward, was the Labour Party organiser; see LRC Minutes, 27 March 1914.
 52. Daily Citizen, 11 Aug. 1914; also WNC Box 16/2/47: The War Emergency: Suggestions for Labour Members on Local Committees (Sept. 1914), p. 13.
 53. Daily Citizen, 26 Aug. 1914; WNC Box 16/3/10/1.
 54. Sexton and the Dockers withdrew from the Trades Council and the LRC following Sexton's public dissociation from a meeting--allegedly a pacifist meeting--in opposition to the City Council's appointment of a Military Tribunal (for compulsory conscription) over the heads of the LRC, which had elected its own representatives. See LRC Minutes, 15 and 20 Feb. 1916, including a handbill for the protest meeting; TC Minutes, 22 March and 7 May 1916.
 55. LRC Minutes, 3 Sept. 1919; cf. ibid., 13 Jan. and 5 March 1919.
 56. TC and LP Annual Report (1922), in ibid., Minutes, (?) April 1922. The growth of the local movement by 1921 was described as "the true education of the workers": ibid., 1 April 1921. Suffering from severe rheumatism and arthritis, John Edwards had almost "ceased to exist" by 1918, and he died at his home in Roby on 12 Feb. 1922; the funeral was well attended by Fabian and ILP representatives, including his old colleagues Sam Reeves and Bob Manson. His will, made on 2 Sept. 1920, left effects to the value of £6890 - 2s.- 8d.; Daily Post and Mercury, 15 Feb. 1922; Somerset House, for a legal copy of the will.
 57. See e.g. Kirkdale Election Special, 1924, in 331 TRA, 10/3, op. cit.; TC and LP Minutes, 1 April 1921.
 58. Ibid., 20 Sept. 1922 and 20 June 1923. See Courier, 31 March 1924,

- for W.H. Barton, who had previously been active in Leeds, and organising secretary of the N.E. Lancashire area of the CLC from 1912-14; cf. Hamling, p. 42.
59. See TC Minutes, 9 Oct. 1918, 6 Feb. 1920; LRC Minutes, 7 Jan. 1919 (on the Plebs League) and 7 Jan. 1920.
 60. "On Labour Colleges", by George Sims, Justice, 24 Feb. and 2 March 1912; cf. Simon, Labour Movement, pp. 302-3. For the Marxian Socialist Society, see the notice in Justice, 27 Sept. 1913.
 61. "Workers' Education", Liverpool Forward, 20 Sept. 1912. Cf. Edmond Holmes, What Is and What Might Be. A Study of Education in General and Elementary Education in Particular (London, 1911), pp. 230-1: "In fine [the good man] is a good specimen of his kind, well grown and well developed, efficient on all the planes of his being,--physical, mental, moral, spiritual"; also Barker, Education and Politics, pp. 121-3.
 62. Kenney, "The Brains Behind the Labour Revolt", p. 690.
 63. J. Lee, "A Dream of a People's University for Liverpool", Proceedings of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool, LIII (1898-9), pp. 113-5; cf. V. Williams, "The History of the Society for University Extension in Liverpool and District, 1899-1910" (University of Liverpool, Institute of Extension Studies Library, n.d., 1959), pp. 14-15; T. Kelly, Adult Education in Liverpool. A Narrative of Two Hundred Years (Liverpool, 1960), p. 35.
 64. R. Muir, The University of Liverpool: Its Present State (Liverpool, 1907), pp. 46-7, and cf. his The Plea for a Liverpool University (1901), pp. 87-8, where Extension work was to be in those subjects, like literature, "which are not of direct commercial value, but which can put undreamed-of pleasure into the life that is apt to be so insignificant and monotonous in these huge modern cities". Muir was Andrew Geddes and John Rankin Professor of Modern History and Dean of the Faculty of Arts.
 65. Ibid., p. 73.
 66. Prospectus of Popular Lectures, in Society for University Extension,

- Report Book (1899-1900), p. 5, Liverpool University Archives; Liverpool University College Calendar (1908), p. 401. See also Courier, 19 Oct. 1907, which, in reference to the courses by Gonner and Jones, pointed out that that it was "of course possible to treat these matters as Tulloch treated the Devil--i.e. historically".
67. Norman Wyld, "The Proposed University of Liverpool and its Relations with the Working Class", in TC Annual Report (1901-2), pp. 15-16.
68. Cf. Williams, "History of the Society for University Extension", p. 64; TC Annual Report (1902-3).
69. For the Society's work in connection with pupil-teachers, see Society for University Extension, Annual Report (1907-8, 1908-9), inserted in ibid., Report Book, op. cit.; cf. Williams, p. 66. For the new regulations, see Simon, pp. 244-5: previously, the pupil-teacher system had been an "important means by which working-class children could gain a secondary education"; also, A. Tropp, The School Teachers (London, 1957), pp. 185-9.
70. Joint Committee Prospectus (1910), in Joint Committee on Tutorial Classes for Workpeople, Report Book, I, p. 5; Joint Committee, Minute Book, I (1910-14), p. 2. The TC had been affiliated to the WEA branch since April 1907, and the LRC was affiliated from sometime before 1911. TC Minutes, 24 April 1907; LRC Minutes, 15 Nov. 1911.
71. Joint Committee, Report Book, op. cit., pp. 5, 7; ibid., Minute Book, I, p. 14.
72. TUC 46th Annual Conference Report (1913, Manchester), pp. 334-5; "Memorandum on the W.E.A. and its Critics", in Joint Committee, Report Book, op. cit., p. 19. For background to the Ruskin split, see e.g. Simon, pp. 318-26; M. Stocks, The W.E.A. The First Fifty Years (London, 1953), pp. 51ff.; H.P. Smith, Labour and Learning (1956).
73. E.g. TC and LP Minutes, 6 Feb. 1920; for Cole, cf. Stocks, op. cit., p. 86. For an example of a WEA syllabus of a course on "Economic

- and Social Development in England in the 19th Century", by Evan Hughes, one of the most active local tutors, see University Extension Board, Joint Committee, Report Book, III, p. 63, summarised in appendix 4A below.
74. Cf. W.F. Hay, Education and the Working Class (Liverpool District Council for IWCE, 1920), in National Council of Labour Colleges (NCLC) Collection, Working-Class Movement Library, Manchester.
 75. See Liverpool Football Echo, 1 June 1912, and also "Tutorial Classes for Working People", Liverpool Echo, 3 June 1913, which referred to a vigorous WEA branch. Cf. J.F. and W.H. Horrabin, What does "education" mean to the workers? A Plebs pamphlet (July, 1917), 3rd. edn. (1918) in BLPEs; and also their Working Class Education (Edinburgh, 1924), ch. III, "The Proletarians, 1908-24".
 76. Namely, free scholarships and more free places in secondary schools. See TC Minutes, 9 Oct. 1918, and ch. 8 below. The delegate to the Conference on Independent Working Class Education had formerly been a WEA member.
 77. TC Minutes, 9 July 1919 (for Tawney), and 20 Aug. (for Hamilton); see also TC and LP Minutes, 20 Sept. 1922, although the TC had initially decided against affiliation to the Liverpool League for IWCE (TC Minutes, 3 Dec. 1920).
 78. Joint Committee, Minute Book, II, p. 2; see also TC Annual Report (1908-9), p. 19, and Souvenir of the TUC, 1906, op. cit., pp. 32-3; Kensington Pioneer, Nov. 1915 for Education Committee policy.
 79. University Extension Board, Report Book, III, for the correspondence, in July 1920; see esp. F.T. Richardson to Dr. Veitch (Secretary of the Board), 16 June 1920. See also Joint Committee, Report Book, II, p. 20: Mary Hickey and Mrs. William Blair were recorded as giving courses in Working Women's Education (an admixture of home economics, politics and history).
 80. Extension Board, Report Book, op. cit., p. 17, reply of Merseyside

Council to the Board, 29 July 1920.

81. Daily Post and Mercury, 14 June 1920, and ibid., 16 June. The Conference was designed to consider a final report of the Adult Education Committee, but "some of the delegates of workers' organisations drew a long way from the terms of reference".
82. Courier, 15 Aug. 1919.
83. Daily Post and Mercury, 3 Dec. 1918, and cf. 27 Nov. on "British Bolshevism".
84. See esp. Holton, "Syndicalism and Labour", op. cit., pp. 126ff.; R. Frow, "Independent Working Class Education", thesis, chs. 3-4. See also Transport Worker, Dec. 1911, for Hamilton.
85. Justice, 2 March 1912, and Plebs, Jan. 1912; for the SDF, see Justice, 17 April 1909, cited in Holton, p. 134n. "The Movement in Liverpool", in Freedom, Dec. 1906, refers to a meeting on the Socialist League and William Morris; Tom Beavan, who addressed the anarcho-syndicalists on the Chicago Martyrs, was an active member of the SDP, contributing to Justice in Sept. 1911 on the recent strike.
86. Transport Worker, sept. 1911 (remarks of a delegate from the Liverpool Carters' Union); for the "Labour Unrest", Justice, 2 March 1912.
87. Holton, p. 125; cf. J. Quail, The Slow Burning Fuse, op. cit., pp. 237-8.
88. See "To the Electors of West Derby Ward", Municipal Elections 1911, op. cit. Cf. TC Minutes, 1 Dec. 1912, LRC Minutes, 2 Aug. 1911; also The Socialist, Jan. and April 1910, cited in Holton, p. 134, for Murphy and the SLP.
89. Freedom. Sept. 1906; Holton, pp. 126-7.
90. F. Bower, Rolling Stonemason, p. 198. The purpose of the ISEL was "to popularise the Syndicalist principles amongst Trade Unionists with a view to the realisation of the Industrial Commonwealth": The Syndicalist, Jan. 1912; four Liverpool figures, Pearce, Bower, Peter Larkin and S.H. Muston, were listed as willing speakers in the interest of Industrial Syndicalism: see The Industrial Syndicalist, Sept. 1910.

91. The Voice of Labour, 27 July 1907; see Socialist Unity Conference, p. 18, for Liverpool support of industrial unionism, and Holton, p. 141. Cf. Kenney, "Brains Behind the Labour Revolt", p. 695: if there could not be a Socialist Party in name, it was hoped for "the adoption by the Labour Party in Parliament of a definite Socialistic policy".
92. Freedom, Dec. 1906 and Sept., 1907.
93. "The Social Instinct in Man", Plebs, Jan. 1911; for the BSP branches, which were the first to form a District Council, see Justice, 29 July 1911, and Feb.-May 1912.
94. Ibid., 9 Nov. 1912; Voice of Labour, 22 May 1914.
95. See The Voice of Labour, 24 Aug. 1907, and Bower, pp. 184-5.
96. Ferrer had just been executed, allegedly in connection with the Barcelona uprising; see Freedom, Jan.-Feb., May and Nov. 1909. For a Ferrer protest meeting in Liverpool, at which Bower spoke and John Edwards presided, see Daily Post and Mercury, 18 Oct. 1909; there was considerable harassment by Catholics, who were offended by syndicalist allegations of "Jesuitical intrigue". See also Education Committee Proceedings (1903-4), Schedule with recommended appointments to Higher Evening Classes (1903), p. 6: Portet taught Spanish, and Bower economics and commercial geography.
97. F. Ferrer y Guardia, The Origin and Ideals of the Modern School (trans. J. McCabe, London, 1913), pp. 8, 12, 15; Freedom, Feb. 1909.
98. Ibid., March, Dec. 1912; also G. Normandy and E. Lesueur, Ferrer, L'Homme et Son Oeuvre (Paris, 1909), p. 51, and Origin and Ideals, ch. VI.
99. Freedom, May 1909, and Jan.-April 1910.
100. Plebs, May and July 1915; also Freedom, Dec. 1911, and Voice of Labour, 22 May 1914, which refers to a Liverpool Modern School.
101. Holmes, What Is and What Might Be, op. cit., p. 211; cf. Freedom, Nov. 1913.
102. Plebs, Aug. 1915; appended to this issue, is a Liverpool District NUR

- leaflet, "Mind Your Own Business": "the political is nothing but the particular industrial interests taken in their generality". See also ibid., March 1917 for Hamilton and the BWIU.
103. "Do it Yourself", ibid., Aug. 1917. Cf. Kendall, Revolutionary Movement, p. 154, for "a Liverpool group of Socialist shop stewards, whose contacts extended to Glasgow, London and, through the SLP, to other important centres where important strikes would later take place"; see also W. Gallacher, Revolt on the Clyde (1936), and T. Bell, Pioneering Days (1941), for general accounts by contemporaries.
104. Plebs, Oct.-Dec. 1917.
105. For details, see Frow, pp. 78, 98; Hamilton was active all over Merseyside and Cheshire, and later became a city councillor. See also Plebs, Oct. 1918: "Liverpool bids fair to be the centre of a big revival". By July 1920, the Liverpool District Council for IWCE had 43 affiliated societies, many classes catering for 350 students, and weekend schools; in October, Liverpool had 27 classes, in e.g. Economics, Industrial History, Public Speaking, and Grammar. Ibid., July, Oct. 1920.
106. Syllabus of Six Lectures on "The Modern British Working Class Movement", NCLC Division 8, in NCLC Collection, op. cit.; see appendix 4B below, for examples of other IWCE syllabi.
107. Syllabus of Social Science Lectures for 1919-20, Liverpool District Council for IWCE, p. 1, NCLC Collection (original emphasis). See also Minutes of the Inaugural Meeting of the No. 8 Divisional Council, NCLC, 27 Oct. 1923, in ibid., where Hamilton outlined the Labour College scheme; there were some 750 students.
108. J. Hamilton to L. Fawcett (Secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Building Trade Workers), 20 Jan. 1923, NCLC Coll.
109. "Purpose of the Course", in Lancashire and Cheshire League for IWCE, Syllabus of Lectures on Industrial History, n.d. NCLC Coll.; there is a separate entry for Liverpool, "The Politics of Liverpool" (my emphasis).
110. Hamilton to E. Faulkner (Secretary of the Hyde Class, NCLC), 5 Feb.

- 1925, NCLC Coll.; cf. Circular on the T.U.C. Educational Scheme (Plebs League, n.d.), in ibid.: "co-operation with capitalist-controlled universities and dependence on financial grants from non-working-class sources (as practised by the W.E.A.) are inconsistent with working-class independence". For details of the proposed TUC scheme to co-ordinate WEA and NCLC work, see Simon, pp. 339-40.
111. Plebs, Feb. and March 1911; the "average university teacher", as in Ruskin or the WEA, was considered "incapable of understanding the proletariat and of promoting the proletarian movement". Cf. Daily Post, 27 Jan. 1911.
 112. Justice For All, 15 Oct. 1921; see also Plebs, March 1920 for letters from Hamilton and George Sims on the Liverpool WEA.
 113. Plebs, July 1922 (original emphasis); no other copy of the letter appears to exist.
 114. Ibid., May 1923, Hamilton replying to an article by the ardent "independentist", J.T. Murphy, on whether labour colleges were carrying out their function as custodians of Marxian education in Britain.
 115. Liverpool and District Labour College, 6th. Annual Report (1922-3), NCLC Coll.; the Executive Committee included representatives of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, NUR, National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers, and Amalgamated Union of Building Trades Workers. During 1922-3, there was the local affiliation of the Liverpool TC and LP, Wallasey Industrial Council, the East and West Toxteth divisional Labour Parties, the Aigburth and Dingle Branch of the National Painters' Society, Kirkdale and Central Branches of the NUDAW, the Widnes Operative Plumbers' Association, the Edge Hill ILP, and a number of Co-operative societies. See also TC and LP Minutes, 19 Sept. 1923, when three delegates were appointed to the College.
 116. Cole, "What Labour Wants from Education", Plebs, Nov. 1916.
 117. TC and LP Minutes, 1 July 1926 (my emphasis). Cooke, who was on the TC Executive Committee, was forced to withdraw from the Council

shortly after because the Teachers' Labour League, as an "affiliated union", was subject to the Labour Party Constitution and principles and therefore unable to send "an admitted member of the Communist Party" as its delegate; see ibid., 30 July. See also Labour Party Annual Conference Report (1926), p. 264, cited in Barker, *op. cit.*, p. 149: There were four other items in the resolution on education, and these are referred to in ch. 8 below.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Labour and the Children: the welfare of school-children
under the Local Education Authority in the early 20th. century

It has already been noted, with reference to the School Board, that most Liverpool labour organisations, and especially the Socialist, displayed an enthusiastic concern for measures aimed at the physical and mental welfare of school children, such as feeding, medical inspection, school clinics, and open-air activities. From about 1904, the concern became increasingly apparent at the level of the national labour movement, especially through the TUC, and, after a more general fashion, the LRC-Labour Party, although the central SDF continued what had long been its own campaign. In terms of its overall propaganda work, the infant Labour Party began to look to "a conception of general reform" rather than "a series of disconnected measures each one good in itself", which, in dealing with the general problem of poverty, would incorporate palliative measures such as the extension of legislation for the feeding and medical treatment of school children. Such a tendency was true also of the nascent Liverpool Labour Party--based, that is, essentially on the LRC - Trades Council--after 1905, which similarly envisaged not only a programme of reforms but a "propaganda of ideas and principles, setting the various items in a conception of social necessity and human justice".¹ Thus a concern for the "principles underlying the ideals and aspirations of the Labour Party" accompanied the formulation of a local municipal programme, to be brought to the attention of the national Labour Party, which bound labour candidates to such reforms as the co-ordination of elementary, intermediate and higher education, as well as the feeding and medical inspection of school children. The Trades Council stood opposed to the continuance or mere re-constitution of the existing Poor Law system, urging a policy of complete reconstruction, with unemployment

handled by a national authority, children by the Education Committee, and the sick by the Health Committee; it participated in a local committee, along with the Clarion Club and other Socialist organisations, to further such a "movement".²

According to the London Fabian Society's annual report of 1904-5, one of the unforeseen results of the Education Acts of 1902 and 1903 had been "to bring within the sphere of practical politics the proposal to provide meals from public funds for underfed children in elementary schools". The unification of educational machinery, coinciding with a period of high unemployment, had led to a sudden interest in this particular proposal.³ In fact, the experience of the school board era was such that the scope of formal elementary education was increasingly extending beyond "instruction" to embrace a whole range of activities which eventually became integral aspects of the welfare state. From a labour viewpoint, the advice given by Sidney Webb in the Liverpool Forward, on the eve of the municipal elections of 1912, was somewhat superfluous for Liverpool labourites: with a batch of legislation culminating in the Children's Act of 1908, education committees were no longer the providers of mere instruction, and labour candidates should stand "for the fullest possible enforcement of all the Acts administered by the Education Committee", involving children's care committees, medical inspection, school doctors, nurses, clinics, and dinners, open-air schools for delicate children, and vacation schools.⁴ The local labour movement increasingly looked to local government, and sought as wide a participation in City Council committees as possible. The Trades Council co-opted member on the

Education Committee from 1907, the Socialist, George Nelson, was active in a full range of sub-committees--"with a view to having access to as much information as possible"--but especially in the area of child welfare. This was true also of James Sexton, a labour councillor from 1905, who was responsible for the initial formation of a Special Committee on the Feeding of School Children at the end of 1905.⁵ If an extension of the functions of educational sub-committees had evolved from the experience of the School Board, the policy of economy which characterised the early Education Committee of the City Council was likewise a feature inherited from the School Board era. As with members of the School Board, there was a continued resistance to central control and "interference" at the level of the local authority, though many Liberals, in particular, had come to appreciate the necessity for a wider role with respect to the functions of local government agencies, especially in education and public health, provided this could be "left alone" by Westminster. Economy, however, cut right across the area of educational welfare that the labour movement had demonstrably made its own. From an established, and controlling, point of view, this was an area essentially "experimental" in nature, and, while there was a growing appreciation of fundamental connections between compulsory attendance and free schooling, or between efficient schooling and well-fed, healthy children, this was not generally considered the proper domain of educational administration. The period of the School Board had itself demonstrated the inescapable tendency for educational administration to become more than the administration of schools, in relation to staff, equipment, buildings, codes of instruction and other pedagogical necessities, with much energy devoted to "police" work, some rudimentary home-visiting,

and haphazard attempts at co-ordinating voluntary efforts at school feeding. But even enlightened educationists like J.W. Alsop, Chairman of the Education Committee from 1903-4, who was well aware of the findings of respectable social investigations (that, for example, "The under-feeding of the children is but a part of a more important feature of the life in this [i.e. the docks] district"), felt that school meals and medical inspection were more the concern of the Board of Guardians or Health Committee than the Education Committee.⁶ From the turn of the century, educational codes undoubtedly added to the expense of educational provision, and criticism tended even more readily to be channelled towards the Board of Education than it had towards the Education Department. While referring to the Children Act of 1908 as a "well forged instrument", the Director of Education, James Legge, stressed the importance--"in the interests of economy"--of utilising voluntary agencies: there could be an excess of inspection, and conceivably "one half of the population will earn a livelihood out of rates and taxes by inspecting the other half".⁷ Already, for some acknowledged school board opponents, the earlier School Board days could seem a "golden age" of freedom in educational affairs.

The Work of the Local Authority

Out of 328 local education authorities in 1909, only 113 could report school canteen committees in operation, supported by rate-aid on the basis of the permissive 1906 Education (Provision of Meals) Act; and out of 48 county boroughs in 1908-9, Liverpool stood alone in defraying the cost of feeding solely from voluntary contributions, and in supplying no

details to the Board of Education. A mere 56 authorities, Liverpool not among them, had established school clinics by 1913, to facilitate the work of systematic medical inspection of school children under the various clauses of the Education (Administrative Provisions) Act of 1907. Even after Liverpool had reluctantly recognised the inadequacy of voluntary contributions alone, in 1909-10, its expenditure on the provision of meals only totalled £1098 in 1911, of which £478 derived from the rates and £620 from voluntary contributions, as compared with £3828 for Manchester, with £3819 from rate-aid, and £9056 for Bradford, almost entirely from rate-aid, and with a much smaller child population.⁸ In terms of the total number of children fed and the meals (breakfasts or dinners) provided, Liverpool's performance was much inferior to that of other major cities, and yet, in 1909-10, it had the highest average school attendance figures outside of London.⁹ The Liverpool Education Committee first considered the subject of school meals at the end of 1904, following, as it acknowledged, a communication from the Liverpool Committee of the Unemployed. It was initially left to the Board of Guardians, but, on account of practical difficulties in implementing the Relief (School Children) Order of 1905, the Guardians returned the matter to the Elementary Schools Management sub-Committee. Having then no legal power to vote money for the purpose--to which, in any case, the majority of the Committee was opposed--, the Committee looked to voluntary subscriptions to fund a scheme, hitherto independently organised by voluntary agencies such as Lee Jones' Food Association. But there was also much questioning of the advisability and the principle of rate-aided provision of meals, as outlined in the Bill for the feeding of necessitous school children introduced early in 1906

Form D.
Form of enquiry as to
home circumstances.

CITY OF LIVERPOOL.
EDUCATION COMMITTEE.

Particulars with regard to children under 14 years of age.

Name.	Age.	School Attending.	Department.

Address.....

Name of parent or guardians and every member of family above 14
years of age living at home.

Name.	Age.	Occupation.	Name and Address of Employer.	Aver. weekly earnings for past 4 weeks.		
				£	s.	d.

Relations or others dependent

Income from Lodgers, Clubs, Pensions, Guardians, &c.....

Total average weekly income	Income less Rent	Average Rentper head.....
--------------------------------------	---------------------------	------------------------------------

If parent or guardian unemployed
state period and cause

Character of parents or guardians

From whom was information obtained

General Remarks

Date Visitor

Date Re-visited.	Remarks.	Initials of Visitor.

Decision of Sub-Committee.

.....191....						
Allowed for						
.....weeks.						
Dissallowed						

by a new Labour M.P., W.T. Wilson.

There was recognition of an undoubted "efficiency" argument. According to headmasters' reports in February 1905, it was impossible to teach hungry children, and there was the expense of industrial, or truant, schools: "might it not be cheaper to provide the meal which will tend to keep them [the children] in regular attendance at the elementary schools?"¹⁰ The Education Committee delayed putting forward a scheme because of the Poor Law Order, as well as the existence (from March 1905) of a government "Interdepartmental Committee on Medical Inspection and Feeding of Children Attending Public Elementary Schools", which was then taking evidence, including Liverpool's. In keeping with the gist of recommendations made in a report issued by the government committee in November 1905, the Liverpool Education Committee decided to set up an Underfed Children's Committee, the "Destitute Children's Meals Committee", which would make serious attempts at co-ordinating the work of voluntary organisations, especially through the Central Relief and C.O.S., and at devising the "best machinery available for preventing abuse of the provision of free meals".¹¹ In fact, it devoted most of its energies to the latter, advocating careful investigation as an indispensable accompaniment to systematic voluntary provision, and clearly anxious to uphold the supremacy of parental responsibility. The Education Committee would merely provide the organisation and machinery for effective voluntary efforts; it was not too sympathetic towards the parliamentary Bill for rate-aid, confident that a revitalised system of voluntary effort would be adequate.¹² Although it genuinely sought a solution to the problem of impoverished, underfed school children, the Committee was much influenced in this period--

especially through general City Council opinion--by complaints of the relatively high education rates, compared, that is, to 1870. In making such a complaint in 1911, for example, a Conservative alderman, W. Roberts, attacked the excessive cost of elementary school buildings, to the accompaniment of supportive, but indignant, cries of "baths!".¹³

In addition to the Liverpool C.O.S., the major voluntary agencies involved in the work of child welfare were Lee Jones' organisation, renamed as the Food Betterment Association from September 1902, and based, as it had been in the 1890's, in the heart of slumland, the Victoria Women's Settlement, the Sisters of Charity, and a host of domestic, medical, police and reformatory charities and individual clergymen, school managers, teachers and headmasters. Recognising the magnitude of poverty-based problems by the beginning of the 20th century--poverty being categorized as a "single indivisible problem"--, the Liverpool charities were moving towards a centralised organisation, to form the Liverpool Council of Voluntary Aid in 1909, most of its committees having some involvement in child welfare. With the close co-operation of the C.O.S., this organisation sought to bring "scientific investigation" to bear on the effective treatment of a wide range of social problems, but its official position bolstered the intransigence of the Education Committee and City Council with respect to state welfare. In relation to the medical profession, in particular, it emphasised that "under no circumstances should parental responsibility be lessened".¹⁴ This stood in sharp contrast to the well-nigh unanimous Labour position, as implied in Wilson's Bill, on the principle of what Brian Simon has singled out as the "acceptance by the

community of responsibility for poverty", with the total rejection of charity. Following a considerable debate on the question in May 1912, involving Lee Jones, the editor of the Liverpool Forward effectively summarised the Socialist position in Liverpool, as elsewhere, since the 1890's:

Socialism cannot accept charity in the modern sense of the word, because, whether it is honest or dishonest, the general assumption is that charity, like poverty, is part of the eternal scheme of things.¹⁵

The local ILP followed the NAC position of supporting the parliamentary, and municipal, Labour policy of securing ameliorative reforms, for Socialism had "no greater enemy than physical and mental degeneracy". But, while Liberals or Tories were seen to offer such reforms as alternatives to Socialism, ILP-ers would support them merely as "an essential preliminary to Socialism".¹⁶ Evidence increasingly suggested that the voluntary agencies were unequal to the task of providing for necessitous children. The Report of the Select Committee on the 1906 Bill, reporting in July 1906, itself recognised major disadvantages in the old system, particularly in the context of large urban communities, with their mass unemployment cycles. Financial support was precarious and mainly concentrated in the winter months; the unofficial and defective system of outdoor relief gave no legal recognition of any duty on the part of local authorities to institute inquiries and arrangements for feeding, while there was no machinery for the recovery of the cost of meals from parents, thus encouraging "poor parental responsibilities". In conclusion, the present system was "by no means free from what, allegedly, the Act would

do".¹⁷ Locally, Miss Phelps' inquiry of 1906, based on a thickly-populated district close to the north-end docks, attributed much of the problem of underfed school children to the fact of widespread casual labour, with average wages of 4s. - 6d. a day for two or three days' work (as compared with 36s. per regular 53-hour week for Liverpool engineers, for example). An absolute lack of organisation in family life, a crushing out of all ambition, and a lightly undertaken parental responsibility were but the symptoms of a well-established disease, the genesis of which was clearly spelt out to the "Destitute Children's Meals Committee" by one of its own voluntary collaborators: "the danger of physical deterioration proceeds from other causes as well as under-feeding, such as over-crowding, late hours, dirt and injudicious feeding . . .".¹⁸

Although such evidence led the Education Committee to devise a means of improving voluntary effort, the Committee eventually admitted the need to consider adopting the 1906 Act, on account of widespread distress and unemployment in 1909, and a sub-committee was appointed for the purpose in March 1910, the Children's Meals sub-Committee from June of that year.¹⁹ The "Underfed Committee", with representatives of voluntary agencies, the Guardians and school teachers--which as the Destitute Children's Meals Committee had always insisted on the adequacy of a purely voluntary scheme--established two centres, in day industrial schools. These relied on the Food Betterment Association and the British Workmen's Public House Company (cocoa rooms), and used a coupon system to provide dinners, but not breakfasts.²⁰ The coupon system had serious weaknesses, as labour representatives were to point out. Often, there was simply an insufficient distribution, or an unawareness of its existence, as in one large school in a pronounced

casual labour district; sometimes, it was difficult to distinguish between under-feeding and improper feeding, or to cater to children who were not of legal school age. The underlying problem of permanent poverty through chronic unemployment was suggested in evidence from Female Sanitary Inspectors of cases where coupons were used to secure food for large families of seven or more children, and where the total earnings were some 15s. weekly.²¹ Similar evidence in the reports of the newly-established Medical Officer to the Education Authority was voluminous and detailed, and indicative of the wide range of social problems related to the school; schools in wards with the highest infant mortality rates were overwhelmingly those with poorly dressed and physically defective children. Drawing on twenty years' experience of certifying factory surgeons in the northern half of Liverpool, Dr. T.F. Young, in his evidence to the Physical Deterioration inquiry of 1904, was of the opinion that the lowest social and occupational groups (casual labour) were "very bad physically and very low socially", as borne out also in evidence from the schools.²² The Report of the Committee on Children's Meals of 1910 maintained that it wanted to "avoid the expense of setting up special centres [feeding] of its own [and to] continue to use arrangements with the Public House Company (cocoa rooms) and the League of Well-doers (Food Betterment Association)".²³ However, following reports of bad conditions and abuse, the Committee itself undertook to provide meals through its own centres from 1912--though it had experimented with this, for remoter districts, from 1909. While considered by labour critics as a "great step forward", this initiative was weakened by the continued use of private contractors to supply the centres, but after further investigations, including a deputation to Glasgow, the Education Committee voted, if not

unanimously, in favour of erecting its own cooking centre in Bond Street Industrial School, just a year or so before the outbreak of war. The project did not materialise at this stage, however, the decision being twice referred back to the Committee by the City Council.²⁴

Indeed, until war-time conditions and pressures temporarily made good national and social sense out of rate-aided welfare, the adoption of the 1906 Act and support for school clinics were kept to the barest minimum. Thus, on a proposal by W.A. Robinson for an increase of £1000 in the Education Committee estimates to provide for feeding of poor school children during the Easter holidays, the Mayor pointed out that this was not covered by the rates, but that there were "enough voluntary contributions to cover it ('hear hear')".²⁵ The labour attack on the overwhelming majority of the City Council in these years was a continuation of the earlier rejection of the creed of individual self-help, with its direct implications for labour relations. In opposing a decision by the City Council in 1911 to grant Andrew Carnegie the honorary freedom of the city, James Sexton attacked not only Carnegie's denunciation of trade unions and his conduct during the Pittsburgh massacres, but the association of this with one of "the most cruel and vindictive Trusts that ever existed", which was an embodiment of Smilesian self-help. If Sir William Forwood could defend Carnegie's Pittsburgh as "full of educational and welfare institutions", with excellent labour relations and much uplifting of the working classes, Carnegie himself "did not believe much could be done for the submerged 1/10th, but much could be done for the swimming 1/10th, who were willing, ready, and able to help themselves".²⁶ Having recognised "with great reluctance" the need to

adopt the 1906 Act, it was only in 1914 that the Education Committee, applying for £4,330 for the year ending March 1915, made a clear resolution that it was "satisfied there are children at elementary schools lacking food . . . and have ascertained that funds, other than public funds, are not available or insufficient . . ." ²⁷

The Labour Campaign for Legislative Measures

The enlightened social legislation enacted from 1906 under the Liberal Government was not all compulsory, and local campaigns were often required if it was to be acted upon. Although not matching the outstanding success achieved through labour pressure on the Bradford Education Committee, a more progressive authority, the agitation of the Liverpool labour movement was no less tenacious and intensive.²⁸ Its vigorous campaign to secure the adoption of clauses in the 1906 and 1907 Acts was conducted at the level both of the wider labour movement and the Labour Group in the City Council, backed closely by the LRC and the Trades Council. Since there was scarcely a Labour group before 1911, the campaign in the City Council was concentrated in the post-November 1911 period, though, prior to this, the Trades Council's co-opted membership on the Education Committee helped to bolster the early efforts of Sexton and Morrissey in the City Council.

The Trades Council initially commended the decision of the Elementary School Management sub-Committee to organise the provision of free meals in three schools in the poorer districts of the city early in 1905, but the scheme--which was "not by any means an ambitious one"--was seen as limited and still essentially charitable, some £429 being received.²⁹ It certainly

stood in sharp contrast to motions made in January 1905 at the Fifth Annual Conference of the LRC held in Liverpool. Here, a special Conference on Underfed School Children discussed a resolution moved by John Hodge of the Steel Smelters, for which, as events were to prove, Liverpool provided a fitting context:

That in the opinion of the Conference the time has come for the provision of meals for School Children at the public expense, and it asks the Labour Members to introduce a Bill next Session giving effect to the demand. It also calls upon Labour Town Councillors to urge their Councils to provide money for the work at once, pending a final settlement of the question by Parliament.³⁰

The resolution was carried, with only 30 votes for an amendment by Will Thorne, and was backed up by evidence from a variety of sources, most notably the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration of 1904, which gave the proportion of underfed school children in Manchester as 15-16% of the child population. Although evidence for this inquiry was largely drawn from London and Manchester, and based especially on the condition of would-be recruits for the Boer War, an appended Memorandum from Edward Hance, referring to the weight and height of boys admitted to the Truants' Industrial School at Hightown, made the two general conclusions (among others) that:

any inferiority in the children in this neighbourhood to the theoretical standard is due to imperfect nutrition and to defects in environment;
it rapidly disappears under healthy surroundings and adequate nourishment [i.e. in the truants' institution].³¹

Will Thorne's well-known amendment in favour of state maintenance for

all children involved a focus extending beyond the mere "necessitous", and its spirit could find supporters like Reeves and the LRC in Liverpool. However, it was lost, with MacDonald, Mrs. Pankhurst (ILP) and Sexton voting against it; for Sexton, as for MacDonald, it was first of all imperative to deal with the "pressing necessity of relieving the hardship felt among the poor".³² Sexton's emphasis on the free feeding of "needy children", as opposed to all school children, was not in line with that of many other Socialists in the local or national movements, and his reiteration of the policy at the 1906 LRC Conference in London--"The feeding of children free was a policy he could not endorse"--met with cries of "Shame".³³ After his election to the City Council in 1905, however, Sexton was as forceful as his comrade Morrissey in stirring the Education Committee to action. It was on a motion by Sexton in the City Council that a Special sub-Committee was appointed in 1908, parallel to the already-existing Underfed Children's Meals Committee, to report on the "desirability of putting into operation" the provisions of the 1906 Act. When both these committees persisted in declaring the voluntary system of finance adequate, there was vigorous opposition from Sexton and Morrissey, as well as George Nelson, the Trades Council's co-opted member on the Education Committee from 1907. Morrissey's motion, with reference to the Underfed Children's Meals Committee, was based on evidence of large numbers of children attending elementary schools "being insufficiently or improperly fed in consequence of the poverty of their parents", and Nelson loudly dissented from a resolution of the Education Committee not to put the Act into force. In relation to a Report by the Special Committee of the City Council in December 1908, Sexton unsuccessfully moved, as an amendment, that it be returned to committee, with

instructions to take a census in the city to ascertain the exact number of children suffering.³⁴ Clearly, a mere handful of labour representatives could do little alone. However, their efforts were accompanied and supplemented by a well-conducted public campaign, and a flurry of motions and resolutions, sent at strategically suitable moments, by the wider labour movement, which urged not merely the adoption of the 1906 Act but all the measures included in the 1907 Act.

George Nelson represented a Trades Council which was active in its own right in promoting the interests of school children. Thus, simultaneous with its campaign to secure legislative measures, it was engaged in a long (and largely unsuccessful) struggle, from 1907, to obtain half-fares from the municipal Tramways Committee for school children during the holidays, along with cheap fares for workmen and the blind, and an end to the exploitation of child labour. It was pointed out that the Tramways Committee

had already contributed to the comfort of the well-to-do class by the introduction of first class cars which were run at a loss. They might see their way to likewise contribute towards the health and comfort of the working-class child.³⁵

However, despite motions (receiving more than labour support) made in the City Council, and a Trades Council deputation to the Committee, the Tramways Committee refused to move on the issue: as a Trades Council delegate declared, the trams remained "childless".³⁶ If the Trades Council urged Morrissey and Sexton, "on behalf of the children", to use their influence in the City Council to obtain the adoption of welfare legislation, it also enthusiastically accepted an invitation from the ILP to participate in a joint demonstration in front of St. George's Hall in August 1908. It

participated in a further demonstration, at the Picton Hall, in February 1909--a particularly difficult winter, with high unemployment--involving the LRC, Fabian Society, Ethical Society and Pembroke Reform League, and which drew the open sympathy of such public figures as William Bowring, the Bishop of Liverpool and the Earl of Derby.³⁷ Like other labour bodies, the Trades Council also campaigned for the establishment and development of school clinics to improve the work of medical inspection, and, in contrast to the pre-1906 period, it devoted much of its time and attention to questions of social welfare, as its annual reports portray. Although 1907-8 had seen the beginnings of medical inspection following the 1907 Act, which legislated for compulsory medical inspection of school children on starting and finishing school, it was possible that the arrangement "might be upset entirely". As George Nelson urged in the Trades Council annual report for that year, there ought to be "medical inspection and plenty of it", but the Liverpool authority provided only the bare minimum, while its system of school nursing (begun as an experiment in 1895, and limited to infants' departments) was under the voluntary auspices of the Queen Victoria and District Nursing Association: "There are city councillors and aldermen on the Committee who are antagonistic to any and every form of municipal enterprise".³⁸ The Trades Council carried a resolution in 1910, which was to be communicated to the City Council, the TUC Parliamentary Committee, and the Minister of Education, that medical inspection of school children "should be followed by state medical aid, and treatment for all necessitous children attending state schools."³⁹

The agitation was backed simultaneously, and with much over-lapping of

personalities, by the local LRC, whose priority was with municipal reform; like the Trades Council, it devoted considerable time to discussion of the "Feeding Question". Faithful to Will Thorne's amendment of 1905, the LRC included a clause in the educational section of its revised 1907 Municipal Programme which was more radical than either the position of the Trades Council or of Sexton: "All children attending State Schools . . . to receive one free meal per day and periodical free Medical Inspection". Along with George Nelson, the LRC was critical of the Education Committee's limited coupon system--giving instances of several children sharing a meal obtained with a single penny coupon--and actively supported a Conference on School Clinics, electing seven delegates. On the basis of a report on the Conference, it urged upon the City Council "the desirability of making an experiment on the lines of the Deptford Clinic".⁴⁰ Only the militant James Murphy was opposed to the measure, "as it would only be the means of making more wage slaves"; his anti-palliatives stance was exceptional in the labour movement as a whole, though the rise of a militant and uncompromising leftward movement by 1913 appears to have brought some support. An amendment to negative an LRC resolution urging the government to encourage local authorities to establish Baby Clinics out of national funds found six supporters, and condemned the move as a preparation for "another batch of physical and efficient wage slaves under the present capitalist system". While in an entirely different spirit, an earlier resolution introduced in the LRC by Sam Reeves, "as a matter of urgency", bore witness to a growing impatience with the intransigence of the Education Committee; it was entirely unambiguous, and carried by a large majority:

. . . this meeting protests against the decision of the City Council to continue the voluntary method of feeding underfed school children, despite the overwhelming evidence of its failure and general undesirability and calls upon all well wishers of the hungry children to abstain from subscribing in future to the funds raised for such purpose, as any further support will mean the deferring of the adoption of the Act.⁴²

Reeves, who had been the earliest local labour "champion of the children", was one of the most prominent figures in the agitation, in his capacity both as Secretary of the Fabian Society and as LRC representative. During 1908-9, which marked the climax of the agitation for free meals, the local Fabian Society collaborated closely with the LRC over the issue, and also experienced its best ever financial position and largest increase in membership (from 90 to 144 members). It was Reeves who was responsible for organising the Conference on School Clinics, which, using official and respectable evidence from the reports of the Medical Officer of Health and children's care committees, presented what was probably the most influential resolution to the City Council, for the Conference had assembled not only labour organisations but representatives from other education committees, school teachers, and persons interested in the health of school children. Accompanied by an almost identical communication from the Liverpool and District ILP, the resolution

. . . in view of the appalling condition of the children in Liverpool Elementary Schools, as revealed in the Report of the Medical Officer to the Education Authority, and especially bearing in mind that a large number of the children needing medical treatment are not being treated, respectfully urges upon the Education Authority the desirability of immediately

establishing School Clinics as the necessary corollary of medical inspection, believing that only by this method are we likely to prevent chronic disease and deformity and promote the physical and mental well-being of our future citizens.⁴³

With the Fabian Society and the ILP, the local SDF had been one of the first organisations to send a resolution to the Education Committee, in January 1908, requesting a deputation to urge the adoption of the 1906 Act, but, despite efforts by Nelson to secure it a hearing, this was snubbed. As the SDP in 1909, it likewise pressed for adequate medical inspection, thus, like the LRC-Trades Council and other Socialist bodies, reinforcing the efforts made by Sexton.⁴⁴ While the local labour movement could do little to change policy through the machinery of the City Council, it was nevertheless instrumental in stirring up public interest (as with the Bishop of Liverpool) in the question of child welfare, and it increasingly obtained support from sympathetic Liberals like Hugh Rathbone or Sydney Jones. Its public demonstration of February 1909, just prior to the municipal adoption in principle of the 1906 Act, appears to have had a "considerable effect in moulding the opinion of those in authority".⁴⁵ Within the labour movement itself, the issue provided a unifying element scarcely obtained in other fields during the pre-war years, which was to some extent reflected in the successful municipal election campaign of November 1911. Thereafter, with seven city councillors, it vigorously continued to seek an extension to the minimal legislative measures adopted by the local authority, and, by the outbreak of war, had secured considerable Liberal support over this issue in a City Council dominated by Conservatives.

The municipal election campaign of 1911, following a major strike which had allegedly caused a tremendous increase in infant mortality through the strikers' "neglect of children", was much tied up with the issue of child welfare. The labour candidates all included references to feeding--especially a municipal milk supply--and school clinics as part of a municipal programme established since 1905-6, and which was the object of an on-going labour campaign. However, the issue became controversial and animated as a result of an indictment, a "Charge of Murder Against Liverpool Working Men", made by Dr. E. W. Hope, the city's awesomely respected Medical Officer of Health. Hope's annual report for 1911, the basis of an article written for a medical Journal in July 1912, and also of several newspaper accounts at the time of the strike, attributed an increased death-rate in the city during July-August, a particularly hot, dry summer, to an unusually high infant mortality rate as a result of labour interference with the supply of milk and food during the transport strike. This had exacerbated the existing prevalence of epidemic diarrhoea in Liverpool over the past years of exceptional heat and dryness in summer. Moreover, parents neglected their children because "engrossed with the strike".⁴⁶ Hope's "terrible indictment" served as a powerful item of propaganda in the anti-labour campaign of November, but --if the relative labour success is taken into account--there is evidence that it was not altogether convincing. One of its most outspoken and influential assailants was Ramsay MacDonald, who saw the indictment as "dishonest and contemptible", as there were epidemics of the sort in other big towns and over a number of years. Furthermore, as Tom Mann also insisted, the Strike Committee, while not denying the existence

of considerable inconvenience and some cases of distress, had deliberately guaranteed that milk should reach every institution and hospital. Locally, a source of convincing labour defence came from the Socialist doctor, Prof. Benjamin Moore, a notable advocate of school clinics who was engaged in research on epidemic diseases at the University. Along with Dr. C.R. Niven, Moore provided a statistical criticism of Hope's report, which appeared in the Daily Post. Of the 9,708 deaths from the epidemic diarrhoea during 1900-1910, 79.9% had occurred in July-September, and, as Hope himself admitted, there was a 300% increase in the death-rate in Liverpool between 20 July and the first week of August: that is, before the outbreak of labour unrest beginning in the second week of August. In addition, according to the returns of the Registrar General for the three months prior to the strike, Liverpool's death-rate of 18.1 (next to Middlesbrough's 19.4) was at the top of the black list of great cities: "In death rate, Liverpool is an easy first amongst cities of its own size, in spite of all the laudations of its sanitary progress which have recently appeared in the press".⁴⁷ Clearly, what the events of summer 1911 illustrated was the need to deal with poverty on a systematic and permanent basis, not simply through Hope's ad hoc "ameliorative measures" for the summer crisis period, or through meals provided on a precarious voluntary basis. It was quite irrelevant for the Conservative candidate, Dr. Utting, to proclaim that he "had yet to learn that the working classes of Liverpool were above the parental responsibility of feeding their own children";⁴⁸ though, from a Conservative viewpoint, it was a perfectly relevant comment on the City Council policy of non-municipal social welfare. In the context of the aftermath of a bitter labour struggle which had underlined the "class war", in which

the welfare of children was made a key issue by those opposed to labour, the remarks of an anonymous correspondent in the Courier drew a fair conclusion. There was a need for more City Council representation of the working class, and not merely the "legal, propertied and . . . merchant class" of the population, for

It is to the interest of the population of Liverpool that its children should be well cared for; but in spite of pressure from persons interested in their welfare, the Council have not yet set up school clinics to provide systematic medical treatment for those numerous children who, according to the report of the Medical Officer, stand in need of such treatment . . .⁴⁹

Most of the labour candidates, in their election campaign, urged the adoption of those measures which had been advocated by the local labour movement for the preceding six years or more. With the backing of Dr. Benjamin Moore, the successful labour candidate, William Blair, drew on the results of medical inspection to indicate some 13,000 children in need of simple treatment at Municipal Health Centres--"as at Bradford and Deptford"--while George Nelson, Sam Reeves, Arthur Bulley and William Robinson, for example, similarly used official findings and experience of the past years to support their position. The most telling evidence came from the reports of Dr. Hope himself: the events of summer 1911 were illustrative of the "great extent to which the poor in Liverpool are dependent on charity", in a city where poverty was already excessive "on account of labour excess supply".⁵⁰ The election campaign of November 1911 was set against the background of an increasingly parsimonious City Council, which was instrumental in urging a policy of economy on the Education Committee, especially in elementary education, and of peculiarly

difficult labour relations with respect to the Dock Board and the Tramways Committee, both of which were at the centre of the 1911 strike.⁵¹

The Labour Campaign through the City Council

From November 1911, the City Council contained seven labour representatives, and, from December, Frederick Richardson replaced Nelson (now a city councillor) as the Trades Council's co-opted member on the Education Committee.⁵² In view of the circumstances under which the Labour Group entered the City Council, it is scarcely surprising that its task there was a difficult one, in part a function of the over-all clash of ideologies which characterised debate, and in which the regular press came down heavily on Labour Group motions or amendments. Thus, in reference to labour criticism of City Council policy on first-class trams, the Daily Post and Mercury suggested that the correct policy was to oblige the working classes to pay 2d. or 3d. for this convenience "rather than attempting to make the middle classes pay 1d."⁵³ Well-defined distinctions between the established aldermanic ranks and the new labourites, whose "parlous loude" voice was a source of considerable annoyance to the former, were not missed by Porcupine, which contrasted "gentlemen who were satisfied with the manner in which the world wags" with "hard and rugged looking men who appear to have been through something".⁵⁴ From May 1912, the Labour Group, and the labour movement, had the benefit of a sympathetic and somewhat wider publicity of its views through the Liverpool Forward, which, in addition to carrying regular accounts of City Council proceedings, also featured a number of articles on matters of child welfare, and on educational issues in general. In one of its earliest issues,

it highlighted a protest by Bootle headteachers against the existing system of school feeding (frequently, as they alleged, in cloakrooms, cellars and classrooms) which "doesn't touch the fringe of the momentous question of malnutrition" and could not be satisfactorily dealt with unless there was a provision for feeding "hand in hand with medical inspection". The Bootle authority had voted against both the provision of a school clinic (in 1911) and a school nurse (in 1912).⁵⁵ In October 1912, an article advocating an open-air school along German lines urged the Labour Group to raise the matter, "endeavouring to bring Liverpool into line with more progressive education committees"; and, in the same issue, Benjamin Moore denounced the Education Committee's scheme for school clinics, which was "so meagre and paltry in its scope" that even the Board of Education was unable to sanction it. Writing on the municipal elections of 1912, Moore advised people to vote only for those pledged to work for the adequate provision of school clinics and open-air schools, and other articles condemned Liverpool's reactionary politics, described by Reeves as "early Victorian".⁵⁶ Richardson converted his report to the Trades Council into a series of articles on "Our Hungry School Children", reviewing the problem from the time of the 1906 Act to the recent referrals of the Education Committee's plans for a cooking centre. A clear enumeration of certain "facts to bear in mind" provided a concise outline of labour lines of argument, which, summarised, pointed out that:

- a) a ½d. rate produced around £8,000 in Liverpool
- b) total expenditure for feeding in 1911-12 was £1,735, and in 1912-13, £2,981 (compared with, for example, £3,828 for Manchester in 1911, or over £9,000 for Bradford)

- c) expenditure on feeding and the cost of a cooking centre would not absorb the available income
- d) the total cost would not be "as much as that recently spent on the Town Hall toilets"
- e) the meal provided compared unfavourably with that in Glasgow, and there was only one
- f) Liverpool was the highest fee-charging authority in the country
- g) the cooking scheme advocated by labour did not "conform to the ideas of political expediency held by certain gentlemen".⁵⁷

Richardson's exposure of the issue caused considerable commotion, and the Education Committee voted in favour of the Bond Street cooking centre, with three members opposed, in defence of the rates. However, the scheme was rejected (48 votes against 39) in the City Council in favour of the existing private-contractor based system, the occasion of a scathing attack by Sexton, which was to take on a new dimension during the war years, when the local authority boasted of its efforts for the children:

Education was a mockery for the underfed child who was compelled to go to school without breakfast . . . They clamoured for money for armies and navies. They wanted to spend money on rifle ranges. All this talk of national defence was idle if they commenced by starving the children.⁵⁸

In the Trades Council there was a unanimously-carried resolution, introduced by Richardson, embodying an "emphatic protest" against the City Council decision, and indignantly repudiating "aspersions upon working men and women made during the debate".⁵⁹

The labour campaign in the City Council was fought at every possible

opportunity, and fully bore out the prediction made earlier by the Post and Mercury that the policy of the Labour Group on education would be "drastic", with a clear focus on child welfare as a municipal undertaking. It was part of a broader effort to reverse a policy of economy, pursued by the Education Committee in the field of elementary education, which had given birth to a Special sub-Committee to investigate the financial administration of elementary schooling, from 1910. Although this did not report until 1915, its very existence, as well as some of its findings, was used by the party of economy to justify reductions in expenditure on the "costly extravagance" of special schools or cooking centres, and also to increase class size in elementary schools.⁶⁰ A motion by William Blair in March 1912, to establish an open-air school for consumptive children, and to provide school health centres or clinics, was heavily criticised on this basis. And although the Education Committee eventually approved a scheme of this sort, it was not acceptable to the Board of Education, which "put all kinds of extras on the Committee (requiring clinics for the whole city). . .".⁶¹ In this way, as under the School Board, the central state authority unwittingly lent support to the local labour campaign, and set a pace of progressivism that was scarcely matched at the local level. In a debate on proposed increases in the education precept* in April 1913, William Robinson could readily contrast Liverpool's efforts in the matter of feeding school children with those of Bradford and Nottingham, which were simply a "courageous" application of centrally-derived prescriptions. In the same debate, Conservatives like Alderman Crosthwaite, Dr. Moyles, F. Smith, of the Tramways Committee, and Russell-Taylor were sympathetic to a proposed

* The "precept" was the official estimate of educational expenditure for the financial year ahead

return to the voluntary system, while Dr. Moyles, a medical man, moved a successful amendment to a proposed £500 in the education precept to provide for "contingencies" (in this case, a dental clinic); this amount was to be halved. By way of retaliation, Robinson moved a reduction, to £50, of a proposed £250 for the "Cost of Summonses and Warrants" in order to call public attention to the "cruel treatment" of casual workers, many of whose children played truant as a result of hunger. William Blair pointed to the ample evidence in the reports of the Medical Officer--with which Drs. Moyles and Utting were well familiar--of the seriousness of diseases related to dental problems: there was only one experimental clinic, at Harrington Street, and this was started and maintained at the expense of some ILP members, who really required £4,000, or a ¼d. rate-aid.⁶² From the viewpoint of the labour movement, the issue was but a part, albeit the most pressing, of an over-all unfavourable "Treatment of the Workers' Child", which included elementary class sizes of sixty, as opposed to a maximum of thirty in secondary schools, overcrowding, the continued existence of fees in Liverpool, as well as a general indifference and apathy on the part of workers towards questions of health and hygiene. Labour efforts at the clinic in the poor neighbourhood of Harrington Street were an indication of one aspect of educating the "worker's child", and the worker himself: "not only were the children taught the value of caring for their teeth, but . . . the education was useful to the parents also".⁶³

The 1914-18 War and its Aftermath

It was the outbreak of war which, on a national (and often temporary)

basis, brought something of a change in the conditions of childhood, though it has been suggested that this reflected the high wartime wages and heavy demand for labour rather than the efforts of the Board of Education.⁶⁴ This would seem to have been true also in relation to the local authority in Liverpool, even if its work marked a singular departure from the pre-war record. An initial sharp increase in the numbers of necessitous school children, to the tune of 1,144 free meals per day, before the summer holidays, to 3,674 by late August 1914, combined with a new concern for the health of the nation's future citizens, led to the adoption of increased measures aimed at the welfare of children. In July 1914, just before war broke out, there was a National Conference on Infant Mortality held in Liverpool, attended by professionals like Dr. Hope, as well as local labour figures and one of the great labour champions of the children, Dan Irving. One of its resolutions called for a "general educational campaign"--the work of the labour movement since the 1890's--to help reduce infant mortality.⁶⁵ Early in the war, the long-standing labour motion to establish a municipal cooking centre was finally received, while a sum of £950 was granted, via the Health Committee, towards the maintenance of Infant Welfare Centres.⁶⁶ Decisions were far from unanimous, however, and if, as one school master could report, the war were to do "nothing else than teach us the value of childhood . . . it will not have been waged in vain", then it was the national "necessities imposed by the war" that brought about the combination of effort in providing meals for hungry school children in the city previously considered impossible.⁶⁷

Several important measures were introduced nationally as a result of impending war. In August 1914, the parliamentary Labour Party finally secured an amendment to the 1906 Act to enable local authorities to provide free meals during weekends and holidays, and to spend out of the rates for this purpose without a specific limitation, or application to the Board of Education, though the Act remained permissive. The Board of Education itself produced a special memorandum outlining changes in the administration of the provision of meals which, while reminding the localities of legislative extensions, maintained that feeding could also cover children not attending the elementary schools, at the discretion of the local relief committee.⁶⁸ Despite an initiative from the Board of Education, however, the Daily Citizen noted, in November 1914, that "the education authorities are slow to take action in a number of instances". A few months before, in Liverpool, William Blair had moved that the Education Committee extend provision of meals to three per day seven days a week, as in Hull, but there were continued attempts by the more reactionary members of the City Council, such as Drs. Utting and Moyles, to block extending measures. There were constant accusations of "indiscriminate" feeding, largely a reaction to the considerably increased expenditure, totalling some £14,000 in 1914, and attempts were made to include voluntary agencies in the work of medical inspection. Although these were generally unsuccessful at this stage, the Education Committee did secure approval of its plan to include private medical practitioners, using their own surgeries, in the scheme of medical treatment, an arrangement which was "reluctantly sanctioned" by the Board.⁶⁹ The Liverpool Property Owners' Association attacked the "extravagant proposals" of the Education Committee (especially

its co-opted members) in relation to "palatial" buildings and a "growing expenditure on necessitous children [which] struck at the nation's manhood and sapped all self-respect";⁷⁰ while a series of articles in the Courier, written by the deputy chairman of the Meals committee, expressed fears for an increased "Stateism" which would not end with the war. In fact, there was an attempt to resurrect voluntarism by relating its alleged moral worth to war-time nationalistic demands: "To save pence today is to show patriotism!".⁷¹ Whereas there were increased demands for labour, and higher wages, the war also brought increased food prices, especially in the larger towns (and after October 1916), and despite national and local labour attempts to obtain a complete state control, particularly of shipping, coal prices and supplies, and railways, government action was limited. Early in 1915, Robinson was reminding the City Council of the "almost prohibitive" cost of food and fuel, and he introduced a labour demand, following the national Workers' War Emergency Committee, for wide state control and vigilance--the policy of the local Vigilance Committee, of which he was a Secretary.⁷² The increased cost of living hit hard at the children of those poor families which were without their usual bread-winner. A petition from 750 mothers of such families drew the attention of the City Council to the "scarcity and high price of food" and sought the provision of public kitchens, while labour resolutions spoke to the matter of "dependant" status for unmarried mothers and their children, and the decision of the Education Department to exclude children under 5 years old from the schools.⁷³

The 1915 Report of the Special sub-Committee on financial Administration of elementary education, which included recommendations of major economies

in areas of increased municipal activity in relation to school welfare, effectively embodied an attempt to thwart the very growth of elementary education envisaged by the labour movement during, and after, the war. Following the London Fabian Society's suggestions, a Liverpool Fabian "Memorandum of Suggestions" appeared in the Liverpool Forward urging the expansion of elementary and secondary schooling, ideally with a maximum elementary school class size of 40, while the same issue contained a letter by Beatrice Webb in support of extended provision of school welfare.⁷⁴ The Report was sharply criticised by the Liberal Post and Mercury for its "retrograde proposals": its "eight hundred pages of muddle" would hardly effect a sufficient saving of public money "to pay the cost of the inquiry". Richardson, Nelson and Sexton bitterly opposed the recommendations to increase class size--"in the elementary school only"--and to economise on school feeding and the maintenance of blind and mentally-deficient children. The Report was nevertheless carried by a large majority, in the hope that "not one 6d. would be spent that was not absolutely necessary in the interest of the children".⁷⁵ In part, the local Workers' Industrial Vigilance Committee was set up to oppose the "voluntary" nature of the Mayor's Citizens' Relief Committee, which was dominated by "charitable figures" and employers; and, as Beatrice Webb underlined, the policy for labour representatives was one of "Prevention not Alleviation", wherever possible. The labour representative on the Prince of Wales Fund Committee reported the Fund's "mean and narrow" spirit to the LRC, citing cases of a "most objectionable system of charity organisation enquiries that were being inflicted upon the applicants". As in the aftermath of the Free Education Act of 1891, the labour movement was urging parents to use the

amended Feeding Act, put into practice by the Education Committee in October 1914.⁷⁶

A number of measures sought by the Education Committee during the war years did not meet with the approval either of the Board of Education or the local labour movement, with its pronounced anti-war element. From as early as 1909, the Liverpool Committee had given its enthusiastic support to the extra-curricular activities of a privately-financed Elementary Schools Rifle Ranges Committee, as a quasi-manual training "in hand and eye". In 1914, it requested the Board's recognition of such classes, as part of the regular curriculum, and its financial assistance, on the basis of the Committee's contribution to the war effort: this included the feeding of school children, educating "in the justice of our cause", and a fostering of increased military strength. When the Board refused this--along with a relaxation of attendance regulations to enable boys to assist in the work of National Registration--there was a spate of articles in the Courier and the Post attacking the Board and its "rigidity".⁷⁷ From a labour viewpoint, the incident merely confirmed the real priorities of the Education Committee. In effect, there was a manifest lack of concern for real education, and the local LRC passed a resolution, to be sent to the Board, viewing "with concern" the widely-voiced opinions playing down the importance of education. This effectively embraced such incidents as the use of some eight elementary (but no secondary) schools as military hospitals, the use of schoolgirls in sewing garments for soldiers, as opposed to the use of "the many unemployed seamstresses, women and girls", and speeches, like one by Colonel Sir James Barr, which were an indictment of

the expanding elementary curriculum: "it must be exclusively useful for after-school work".⁷⁸ Moreover, just as the decision to exclude the under-5's from the schools was seen to be "calamitous in the poverty-stricken areas",⁷⁹ so the question of accumulated industrial or reformatory school fees, through service at the front, hit heavily on the poor. As with other labour demands for school welfare, Sexton had campaigned for a reform of the industrial and reformatory school system, and especially the abolition of imprisonment for arrears of industrial school fees, since before the war. Along with amendments to the 1906 Act, this had been a major item, for example, in his January 1910 general election manifesto in the West Toxteth division.⁸⁰ Sexton based his attack on cases which had arisen after the Boer War in which men were imprisoned for arrears, "notwithstanding the fact that their wives had been receiving assistance during their absence from the 'Transvaal War Fund'". Sexton made a resolution, seconded by Richardson, in the Education Committee on 23 December 1914, and this was also endorsed by the local Vigilance Committee and forwarded to the central W.E.W.N.C. It was passed on to the Home Secretary, with a plea for similar arrangements in relation to affiliation orders, where men at the front might not be able to pay full maintenance orders out of army pay. A favourable reply was received from McKenna, the Home Secretary, in March 1915, which addressed Sexton's original motion; but Sexton remained critical of the continued principle, after the war, of imprisonment for non-payment of industrial school treatment. Speaking in the Commons in 1919, he likened the law to a "Sword of Damocles" over the head of the casual labourer, where children had to work before and after school hours and yet the combined family income did not exceed 30s. per week.⁸¹

Policies of economy in education were even more stringent once the war was over, and many of the increased war-time welfare measures proved to be temporary: the labour policy of pressing for educational expansion, and at least a maintenance of the status quo, had been a wise one. Even enlightened Liberal supporters of much of the labour programme--like H.R. Rathbone--came out in favour of proposals by the Geddes Committee (the "Geddes Axe") to reduce the cost of elementary education through increased class size, a reduction in the number of teachers, or of teacher salaries, and the compulsory exclusion of children under 6. A decrease of some £40,000 in the education precept for 1921 called a halt to any plans for the implementation of permissive clauses under the 1918 Education Act, including an expansion of elementary education through day continuation schools, and measures aimed at the increased welfare of school children, such as open-air schools, holiday camps, and adequate medical and dental treatment.⁸²

The national Labour Party, backed by the WEA, mounted a major campaign to resist economy measures and to secure the effective implementation of the 1918 Act, on the basis, largely, of a concern for "equality of opportunity". The local expression of this movement will be discussed in the chapter following. All the local labour election campaigns in the years following the war continued to press for welfare measures, which were now firmly linked to the policy of "every child an equal chance", in secondary as well as elementary education.⁸³ Following the police strike of 1919, there were 19 labour members in the City Council; the municipal election campaign had emphasised a full range of social and welfare facilities, including free mid-day meals for all school children, a municipally owned and managed

milk supply, playgrounds, nursery schools, the permissive clauses of the 1918 Act, and the important corollary of increased municipal housing programmes.⁸⁴ However, the Education Committee continued its policy of economy, and could record a decrease of £16,000 in the rates during 1921. It nevertheless sanctioned an increase in secondary education expenditure for the year ahead, to cover the building of three new schools, while the question of elementary school accommodation had remained in abeyance since 1914. Moreover, the Committee "ought not to let education be weighted with obligations which should legitimately be placed elsewhere".⁸⁵ Stringent economies were the object not only of labour criticism. Thus, Margaret Beavan of the Liverpool Child Welfare Association condemned the City Council agenda items, of Drs. Utting and Moyles, limiting school welfare to necessitous cases only, with no provision of milk beyond the age of 12. Attacks on the abuse of free milk distribution, and the extent of treatment in clinics, were ill-founded: in January 1922, a mere 36 children were supplied with free milk by Beavan's Association, though there were then approximately 40,000 unemployed in the city; the work of clinics, moreover, was essentially preventative, not curative.

It was against this background that a Liverpool Labour Party "Call for Unity" of summer 1922--a period of bad trade--condemned the employing class for "hitting at the working-class movement", through attacks on "Education, Housing and Infant Welfare".⁸⁷ These three areas had formed perhaps the most important, and certainly the most persistent, item of labour municipal reform programmes since the 1890's, which had generally opposed the Liverpool variety of "Progressivism". With a firm commitment

to palliative measures, as a prelude to the welfare state, or the "Cooperative Community", the local labour movement had tended, in fact, to place the health of the child and the healthiness of its surroundings above pressures for "equality of opportunity" in the more strictly academic sense. With the widening focus on extended and expanded elementary, and free secondary, education by the post-war years, however, the Liverpool Labour Party more readily associated the two: "Little children have a right to demand healthy surroundings, a good education, and a fair chance in life . . .".⁸⁸ But if the "child in the city" of the School Board era could now find increased support from the schools, the "slaughter of the innocents" was still a salient feature of the slums:

In our public art gallery we have a picture called "The Triumph of the Innocents" by Holman Hunt, for which £800 or £1,000 was paid; and yet right behind the very frame of that picture, the slaughter of the innocents is going on every day, in the fetid, foul slums owned by the members of the House of Lords, who sit in another place . . .⁸⁹

On the other hand, as Sexton knew well from experience, one of the greatest obstacles to the eradication of urban poverty was the attitude, the stubborn pride, of the working class itself. From the early 1890's, Sexton and the Fabian Society, "with the use of lantern slides", had sought to expose the poverty of the slums, but "The occupiers of these hovels rounded upon me for exposing their poverty--the very thing the Fabians and myself were doing our best to remedy".⁹⁰

NOTES TO CHAPTER VII

1. "The Infancy of the Labour Party", vol. 2, folio 1 (n.d., but late 1905 or Jan. 1906), p. 1, BLPES.
2. See TC Minutes, 14 July 1909; LRC Minutes, 20 March 1907, for the LRC municipal programme. Cf. LRC Annual Report (1907), p. 4. Justice, 10 March 1906, saw the movement through parliament as an illustration of Socialist work in the "education of public opinion".
3. London Fabian Society, Annual Report (1904-5), p. 2.
4. Liverpool Forward, 4 Oct. 1912, but cf. Socialist work, especially that of Sam Reeves, in the period of the School Board. In 1891, the editor of Help (W.T. Stead of the Review of Reviews) maintained that it was "only in the last half-dozen years that the necessity of feeding the children who are driven to school by the terrors of the law has received practical recognition". Help, Feb. 1891.
5. EC Minutes, 20 Dec. 1905, and *ibid.* Proceedings (1906-7), p. 132, for Sexton's motion on the re-formation of the same committee a year later. See also TC Annual Report (1908-9), pp. 22, 15-18.
6. Daily Post and Mercury, 3 April 1913; City Council (CC) Minutes, 23 Nov. 1909. Cf. C. Phelps, "An Enquiry in Connection with Underfed School Children in the Dock District of Liverpool", Transactions of the Liverpool Economic and Statistical Society (1906-7), p. 15. James Alsop (1846-1921) entered the City Council in 1899 as a Liberal Unionist; he worked with Sadler in 1904 and was most active in the field of secondary education. See C. Alsop (his wife), The Life of James W. Alsop (Liverpool, 1926); Courier, 20 May 1921.
7. Memorandum by the Director of Education on the Children Act, 1908 (March, 1909), p. 21, in EC Proceedings (1908-9).
8. Report on the Working of the Education (Provision of Meals) Act, 1906, to 31 March 1909, P.P., XXIII (1910), pp. 399, 418, 422; and *ibid.*, XVIII (1911), table II, p. 286. See also F. Brockway, Socialism Over

- Sixty Years: The Life of Jowett of Bradford (London, 1946), p. 89; Simon, Labour Movement, pp. 283ff.
9. P.P., XVIII (1911), table III, pp. 289-90, shown in appendix 5A below.
 10. Feeding of School Children: Memorandum for the Special sub-Committee (1905), p. 5, in EC Proceedings (1904-5), Appendices.
 11. Ibid., p. 10. The Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee, issued in Nov. 1905, essentially outlined plans for better co-operation between the LEA and the local charitable agencies, and "efforts should be made to get parents to pay something"; ibid., pp. 20-21, Appendix I.
 12. Ibid., esp. pp. 10-11. It advocated careful investigations by e.g. the Central Relief and Charity Organisation Society, with particular reference to the "character of parents"; the Food Betterment Association warned of the danger of "helping to relieve callous, careless, and negligent parents of their natural responsibilities" (p. 15).
 13. Liverpool Courier, Daily Post and Mercury, 6 April 1911. The cost of "ordinary" schools (i.e. voluntary, like St. Luke's) was only £8 to £10, but those formerly of the School Board were £20.
 14. Liverpool Council of Voluntary Aid, Ist. Annual Report (1910), p. 20, for the remark by Dr. Hope, the city's Medical Officer. See also ibid. (1911), p. 34, and (1916), p. 28, in which the Council's Chairman, in defence of voluntary initiatives, alluded to Germany and its "Kulturstaat": if carried too far, state involvement "is hostile to freedom and leads to what Mr. Bernard Bosanquet calls 'automatism' in the bulk of the people". For Lee Jones, see Liverpool Review, 12 July and 6 Sept. 1902.
 15. Liverpool Forward, 25 May 1912, and also 11 May, for criticism of a circular issued by Lee Jones's Association protesting against "the dangerous caprices of Labour", and signed by Jones and a Liberal councillor, Frank Joseph. Cf. Simon, p. 282.
 16. Cf. ILP Minutes of the National Administrative Council (1910-12), BLPES, Coll. Misc. 464 m890/1/6: NAC Manifesto, "To Members of the ILP", 18 Aug. 1910, p. 5.

17. Report from the Select Committee on the Education (Provision of Meals) Bill, 1906, in P.P., VIII (1906), pp. 76, and 74-80.
18. Feeding of School Children: Memorandum, op. cit., p. 21, enclosing a suggested scheme by the Victoria Women's Settlement. See also Phelps, "An Enquiry", op. cit., pp. 10-14. The Economic and Statistical Society included such members as Charles Booth junior, Eleanor and Hugh R. Rathbone, and R.D. Holt, all Liberals. For average wage rates in 1906, see e.g. British Labour Statistics, Historical Abstract 1886-1968 (London, HMSO, 1971), p. 28.
19. EC Minutes, 23 March 1910; see also Report of the Underfed Children's Meals Committee, for the half-year ending 1 July 1909, included in appendix 5B-C below: there was a very marked increase in the demand for meals, as compared with previous years, in the early (winter) months of 1909.
20. For details of feeding, see ibid., to 31 Dec. 1907, pp. 4-7.
21. Interim Report of the Special Committee of the City Council to Investigate Insufficient or Improper Feeding of School Children, esp. pp. 8-13, 21, in EC Proceedings (1907-8), Appendices. The Committee, which reported in Oct. 1908, was directed by the Medical Officer and included Sexton. Its findings supported those of Miss Phelps and Eleanor Rathbone in 1904: the staple diet of the casual labour class was bread and tea, schools reflected the social and occupational status of the area, ignorance of healthy dietary habits was common even in better class homes, and there was a need to focus also on children not of school age, where "education in the matter of feeding will save a great deal of . . . malnutrition" (p. 17). Cf., with reference to socio-economic groupings in Bootle, Marsden, "Social Environment, School Attendance and Educational Achievement", op. cit., pp. 202-3.
22. Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration (1904), vol. II (Evidence), p. 88, minute 2075; Young was President of the Association of Certifying Factory Surgeons. See also Report

- of the Medical Officer to the Education Authority, 1908 (1909), pp. 6-21, and ibid., 1909 (1910), pp. 6ff., which include statistics on infant mortality. The Reports by School Medical Officers (1908-9), in EC Proceedings (1908-9), pp. 23ff., are very detailed compilations of statistical evidence from schools in various socio-economic categories; see appendix 6A below, for brief extracts.
23. Minutes of the Children's Meals sub-Committee, 3 June 1910, in LRO, 352 MIN/EDU II, 8/5/1-2, p. 6; it pointed to the work in Bradford, Birmingham, Leeds, Manchester and Sheffield, all large towns, which had been on the rates for at least two years.
 24. Liverpool Forward, 15 Aug. 1913; CC Proceedings (1912-13), p. 648.
 25. Post and Mercury, 4 April 1912.
 26. Ibid., 3 Aug. 1911, in a speech to mark the opening of a fifth Carnegie Fund library in Aigburth; also 6 July 1911. The CC decision was carried by 102 votes to 1 (Sexton's): CC Minutes, 5 July 1911.
 27. EC Minutes, 23 March 1914; also Report of the Underfed Children's Meals Committee, for the five months ending 30 Nov. 1909, p. 8.
 28. For Bradford, which benefited from the pioneering work of the Socialist Margaret McMillan in the 1890's, see e.g. Simon, pp. 280ff., drawing on J.H. Palin, "The Feeding of School Children, Bradford's Experience", The Socialist Review, I (1908), pp. 207-19; and Clarion, 3 June, 8 July and 28 Oct. 1910, for a series of articles by E.R. Hartley on school doctors, open-air schools, and feeding. See also F.J. Adams et. al., Education in Bradford Since 1870 (Bradford, 1970).
 29. TC Annual Report (1906-7), for the report by William Winterburn, the first labour representative on the Education Committee.
 30. Report of the 5th. Annual Conference of the LRC (Liverpool, 1905), p. 70; cf. Simon, p. 281.
 31. Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee, op. cit., vol. III, Appendix IX-b, p. 21.
 32. 5th. LRC Conference Report, op. cit., p. 71.

33. Report of the 6th. Annual Conference of the LRC (London, 1906), p. 59.
34. EC Proceedings (1906-7), p. 132; this was supported by an Irish Nationalist. For Sexton's earlier motion, see CC Minutes, 6 and 20 Jan. 1909; for Morrissey, EC Proceedings (1907-8), p. 266.
35. TC Minutes, 21 April 1909; cf. ibid., 24 March.
36. Ibid., 8 June 1910: the deputation included George Nelson. For further references, see ibid., 30 Oct. and 18 Dec. 1910, 19 Feb. 1908; TC Annual Report (1907-8), p. 36.
37. LRC Minutes, 3 Feb. 1909; for the earlier demonstration, see TC Minutes, 12 Aug. 1908, and LRC Annual Report (1909), pp. 4-5.
38. TC Annual Report (1907-8), Nelson's report; cf., in a brief pamphlet, H.R. Rathbone, School Nursing (Liverpool, 1909).
39. TC Minutes, 13 April 1910.
40. LRC Minutes, 2 Aug. 1911, and cf. 7 June. For the LRC municipal programme, see ibid., 20 March 1907, and, for criticism of the coupon system, 2 Dec. 1908: Reeves and Mrs. Morrissey supported William Blair's assertion that a circular letter had been issued to headteachers urging them to "cut down the number of coupons". A resolution was carried unanimously to secure a ½d. rate "in order to provide for the greater needs that will be created by the winter months."
41. LRC Minutes, 1 Oct. 1913 (Murphy again); ibid., 2 Aug. 1911, for the earlier opposition.
42. Ibid., 2 Sept. 1908.
43. EC Proceedings (1910-11), p. 244; also Report of the Medical Officer . . . for 1910, Appendix D, in ibid. (1910-11), an extract appearing in appendix 6B below; see also appendix 6C and D. For Reeves's earlier letter to the CC, as honorary secretary and treasurer of the Fabian Society, see CC Minutes, 27 Oct. 1909: with reference to proposed rifle ranges for elementary schools, he denounced "this attempt to inculcate militarism as a project outside the duties of the Education Committee and [reminded] the Council that the feeding of hungry children would be a better method of physical improvement". For

the Fabian Society and its agitation over "Free Meals for School Children", see Liverpool Fabian Society, Annual Report (1908-9), BLPES.

44. EC Minutes, 25 Feb. 1908, for the SDF letter of 28 Jan.; TC Annual Report (1907-8), for NeIsn's report. For the SDP, see CC Minutes, 20 Jan. 1909, and EC Proceedings (1908-9), p. 108, referring to a letter of the same date from the SDF (presumably meaning the SDP).
45. LRC Annual Report (1909), p. 5.
46. See E.W. Hope, "The Strike and its Effects", Medico-Chirurgical Journal (July, 1912), pp. 231-7; also e.g. Daily Post and Mercury, 18 Oct. 1911, reprinted as "Strike's Death-roll. How the Children of the Poor Died". Hope was the city's M.O.H. from 1894 till 1924: see Courier, 25 Sept. 1924.
47. Daily Post, 23 Oct. 1911. Cf. Courier, 14 Oct., for Moore's defence of school clinics, the importance of special schools for tubercular children, and the need for better supervision of the city's milk supply (which should be entirely municipal); also his letters in The Lancet, 28 Oct. and 4 Nov. 1911, and his defence by another doctor in Courier, 16 Nov. For MacDonald, see ibid., 30 Oct. 1911, and cf. his forceful attack on police brutality during the strike in Hansard, XXIX (1911), col. 1951, referred to in D. Marquand, Ramsay MacDonald, op. cit., p. 144.
48. Courier, 31 Oct. 1911.
49. Ibid., 3 Oct.
50. Hope, "The Strike and its Effects", p. 231. For examples of Labour election manifestos and programmes, underlining the importance of child welfare and education, see appendix 7 below.
51. Cf. White, History of the Corporation, p. 193: there could be little working-class support on the basis of the "limited . . . social services of the Forwood policy. On the other hand, a practical policy which would have appealed to the working class would have had to be fought against the opposition of merchants and shipowners who controlled the economic life of the city." See also Bean, "Employers' Associations

in the Port of Liverpool", op. cit.

52. The six Labour representatives were Sexton (St. Anne's), joined by Nelson (Low Hill), Blair (Edge Hill), Robinson (Garston), J.H. Naylor (Everton), Thomas Hickling (Brunswick), and James Stephenson (St. Domingo); Sexton and Nelson were on the Education Committee. CC Minutes, 9 Nov. 1911. For Frederick Richardson, who joined the CC during the 1914-18 War, see TC Minutes, 13 Dec. 1911.
53. Post and Mercury, 4 Sept. 1913; see also Daily Citizen, 4 Sept. on the "hostile attitude" of the Liverpool CC towards any Labour Group proposals.
54. Liverpool Forward, 19 June 1914, quoting Porcupine.
55. Ibid., 25 May 1912.
56. Ibid., 22 Nov. and 25 Oct. 1912; also 18 Oct., for the other articles.
57. Ibid., 22 Aug. 1913.
58. Ibid., 3 Oct. 1913.
59. TC Minutes, 8 Oct. 1913, the occasion also of a unanimous upstanding vote of condolence to the family of Harry Quelch, late editor of Justice--which had done much to stir up interest in the feeding question from as early as the 1880's; also CC Minutes, 1 Oct., for the debate. Liberals such as Sydney Jones, the Rathbones and Max Muspratt sided on this occasion with the Labour Group.
60. See e.g. Courier, 6 April 1911; Post and Mercury, 22 Feb. and 4 April 1912, and cf. 8 Nov. 1911 for the prediction of Labour Group policy.
61. Ibid., 3 Oct. 1912. Blair also voiced his objection to the system whereby the proceedings of the EC were "shielded from criticism" by the CC (notice of a motion first being required of the EC, unlike other committees).
62. Ibid., 3 April 1913. This was a long debate, following a request by Alderman Alsop for an increased education precept on the basis of increased school population and medical inspection. Nelson was critical of the feeding centres as "not worthy of the city". Moyles'

amendment was carried by 60 to 34 votes, while Robinson's was lost by a large majority.

63. "Educate the Workers' Child" (by Richardson), Liverpool Forward, 27 March 1914; cf. ibid., 4 April 1913.
64. A Marwick, The Deluge, op. cit., p. 116.
65. Post and Mercury, 4 July 1914. Dr. Hope expressed a concern for thrift and questions of morality; cf. ibid., 25 Aug. for the increase in school meals.
66. Kensington Pioneer, Nov. 1915: "It is a good thing to find the Council, especially these days, alive to the importance of saving the child"; for the cooking centre, see CC Minutes, 3 Feb. 1915. The motion was only just passed, however (35 to 29 votes), as a result of Tory attempts to block the measure.
67. Courier, 7 Aug. 1915 (my emphasis); Post and Mercury, 1 Oct. 1914, for the school master. There was an increase in the provision of free meals from 7,780 for the week-ending 26 Sept. 1913, to 72,716 for the same period in 1914.
68. "Memorandum on Methods of Providing Meals For Children in Connection with Public Elementary Schools and on Dietaries Suitable For the Present Circumstances", Circular 856, 15 Aug. 1914 (Board of Education), pp. 1-7; and Education (Provision of Meals) Act, 1914, in WNC 16/1/1/2, included in appendix 8A below.
69. PRO, Ed. 19/143, EA 11735/14, which also includes Legge's letter to the Board, 11 Aug. 1914. For opposition in the CC, Post and Mercury, 24 Dec. 1914, and EC Minutes, 23 Dec.
70. Post and Mercury, 1 Feb. 1915.
71. Courier, 5 July 1915, and also 12 July; cf. Post and Mercury, 11 Nov. for a demand for "more economies".
72. Liverpool Weekly Mercury, 6 Feb. 1915: "We ask the Government to do for the working classes what they have done for the banks and the Cotton Exchange. They have guaranteed both of these against loss;

then, for God's sake, let them guarantee the working people against loss" (Robinson); also Courier, 5 Feb. Cf. Marwick, e.g. pp. 33-4, 125-6, 164-5; Weinroth, "Labour Unrest and the Food Question", op. cit., pp. 136-9.

73. TC Minutes, 22 March 1916, and CC Minutes, 2 Feb; ibid., 4 Nov. 1914 (on dependant status), and 2 May 1915 (for the mothers' petition).
74. Liverpool Forward, 28 Aug. 1914.
75. Post and Mercury, 21 Sept. 1915, for a remark by Alderman Burgess, who succeeded Alsop as Chairman of the EC; for criticism, see ibid., 11 Sept., and Courier 9 Sept. See also EC Proceedings (1915-16), p. 89, which approved the Report and recommended its carrying out "consistently with due Educational efficiency". Cf. Kensington Pioneer, Nov. 1915.
76. Liverpool Forward, 2 Oct., 11 Sept., and 28 Aug. 1914 (Webb's remarks); LRC Minutes, 2 Sept. 1914. Cf. Harrison, in Briggs and Saville, op. cit., p. 235n.: the Prince of Wales Fund was "frequently administered by charity-mongers".
77. During Dec. 1915 in particular. For details of this incident, see PRO Ed. 19/143 (Codes), minutes EA 13633, 7144, 7503/15, 360, which include correspondence between the Board and the EC, along with newspaper cuttings.
78. Post and Mercury, 18 Dec. 1915. Barr, who was speaking at a Liverpool College prize-giving, declared that "Boy Scouts are getting the best primary education in the country"; ibid., 25 Aug. 1914, for an attack on proposals by the Lady Mayoress. LRC Minutes, 6 Sept. 1916, for the "Labour Party resolution on Education", which also criticised the local Military Tribunal for dismissing bona-fide appeals for exemption by school teachers, and in penalising men for religious opinions "which do not enter into the curriculum of the school".
79. The Schoolmaster, 28 Sept. 1918; cf. Post and Mercury, 11 Nov. 1915. The decision remained in force after the war.

80. See the copy of this reproduced in appendix 8B below.
81. Hansard, CXIII (1919), 10 March, cols. 1017-18; for Sexton's resolution, see EC Minutes, 23 Dec. 1914, which spoke of an "injustice", and WNC Box 13/4/7/8, for McKenna's reply, a copy of which is included in appendix 8C below.
82. Post and Mercury, 24 March 1921. There was even a possibility of a reduction in "work hitherto done ('Shame') [Richardson] "; see also Courier, 16 and 18 Feb. 1922, for Rathbone. There had been no major work of elementary school building since before the war, though a number of new secondary schools had been built. Post and Mercury, 18 Oct. 1921. See ch. 8, following, for the growth of elementary and secondary education in the post-1902 period.
83. F. Richardson in the 1924 general election campaign. Kirkdale Election Special, in TC Collection, 331 14/1. Richardson had by then served for 12 years on the EC.
84. "The Liverpool Programme", in LRC Minutes, 3 Sept. 1919. The EC now counted five labour representatives.
85. Courier, 24 Jan. 1922.
86. Ibid., 3 Feb.
87. TC and LP Minutes, (?) June 1922 contain a copy of the printed handbill, "A Call for Unity" (n.d., July-Aug. 1922).
88. Liverpool Pioneer, Nov. 1919 (this was the official Liverpool LP organ, but only one issue appears to have survived).
89. Sexton on the second reading of the Housing (Financial Provisions) Bill, 1924: Hansard, CLXV (1924), cols. 137-8. Cf. also Courier, 24 June 1924 (reporting Sexton): "The irony of it is that in these narrow alleys and courts the MOH posts notices advising the parents of the children that they should have air and sunshine . . . Those children do not know what love of air and sunshine is, because private enterprise has shut out the possibility of their getting air and sunshine'".
90. Empire News, 3 Jan. 1926 (Sexton's emphasis), in LRO Newscuttings, "My Life-Story: by James Sexton M.P." (Hq. 920 Sex.).

CHAPTER EIGHT

The struggle for "equality of opportunity"
in education for every child

In the period following the 1902 Education Act, there was a considerable expansion, in the country as a whole, in the provision of secondary education, though this was less true of elementary education, some of the expanding initiatives of school boards being effectively curtailed.¹ Both secondary and elementary education continued to represent the separate and parallel sides of a dual system which largely reflected 19th century class-based divisions in society. Even by the end of the 1920's, in Liverpool, an association between housing conditions and success in gaining secondary-school scholarships, as reflected in the different Wards, suggested that the metaphor of an educational "ladder", while perhaps a fair description of the increased educational opportunities then available to children from poor homes, did not portray the reality of an unequal chance for "every child to climb the ladder".² The quest for a co-ordination between the two distinct modes of education--"elementary" officially designated a type, as opposed to a stage, of education until 1944--is what characterises the development of the educational system during the pre-1939 years of the 20th century. In this, the role of the national labour movement has received considerable attention, notably from such educational and social historians as Simon, Silver, Barker, and Douglas Bourn, and a brief debate recently occurred on the precise nature of this role, mainly in the context of national politics and education in the inter-war years.³ The enhanced position of local trades councils and LRC's, which owed much to the intense leadership role experienced during the war years, brought these characteristic representatives of

the wider "movement" to the fore in advocating broadly-based egalitarian reforms. In particular, the "Programme of Education" of the Bradford Trades Council of late 1916, the so-called "Bradford Charter", as the initial stimulus to the campaign for free "secondary education for all", throws light on the importance of the wider context of the movement itself rather than the political leadership in isolation, marked by its "reformist nature".⁴

The move "towards a unified system" has received little attention at the grass-roots level, where conditions peculiar to the locality--the particular context of the class struggle--determined the nature of the debate on equality of educational opportunity, which could be seen at the national level in terms of the scholarship-ladder emphasis, as held by London Fabianism in particular, or the more egalitarian approach of the trade union, or the Socialist, movement. At the level of local pressures for "a fair and equal chance" in Liverpool, the question of overcoming an educational policy of limited access for the working class (to secondary education) largely precluded any possible discussion of the precise nature of the schooling to which the working class would accede. If it was the expressed concern of the Liverpool Labour Party in 1924 to give "every child equality of opportunity in education", then free secondary education, as in theoretical decisions in Bradford, Manchester and near-by Wallasey, was envisaged "for all children capable of taking advantage of such education . . .".⁵

Much of the local labour struggle had to focus not only on securing free secondary education, or a vastly increased number of scholarships and free places, but also on an increased provision, and more accept-

able scope, of elementary education, over and above provision for adequate school welfare measures. Any consideration of a common secondary school for all, as perhaps implied in earlier local Socialist educational programmes (seeking compulsory schooling for all to the age of 16, as opposed to varieties of secondary education), was at best ambiguous in a context in which the major battle was one for the acceptance of the principle of "free education from the elementary school to the University".⁶

Developments in secondary and elementary education in
Liverpool following the 1902 Act

Under Balfour's Education Act of 1902, education became the responsibility of county and county borough councils, which largely took over the work hitherto performed by the school boards and technical instruction committees, as well as the maintenance of voluntary schools.⁷ The local education authority in Liverpool turned with great enthusiasm to the question of secondary education, provision of which was generally acknowledged as poor in the city. Both the Bryce Report of 1895 and Michael Sadler's special report on Liverpool in 1904 bemoaned the absence of rich foundations, with the exception of Merchant Taylors' school in Crosby, and Wallasey Grammar school (both 16th or 17th century foundations). For this reason, the Technical Instruction Committee had been much involved, especially from the mid-90's, in the promotion of a wider provision of secondary education through a limited system of

scholarships, "a rehearsal . . . of what it is desired to see universal".⁸ James Alsop, after whom a still-existing municipal secondary school is named, assisted Sadler in the preparation of his report, and was one of the prime movers in securing an expansion of municipal secondary schools under the new powers of the 1902 Act. In Liverpool, this involved both the creation of new schools (either new buildings, or an up-grading of the out-standing elementary schools) and the transfer of precariously financed proprietary schools, mainly in existence from the early 19th century:

. . . no one who has the best interests of Secondary Education at heart would have the hardihood to suggest that individual initiative and experiment should be discouraged. But the circumstances of Liverpool are peculiar, there are no endowed Secondary Schools, and the taking over of the College [the Liverpool Collegiate, -- a 19th century proprietary school] would still leave in the hands of the present Governing Body the Upper School in Lodge Lane, the Girls' School in Grove Street, and the two Preparatory Schools . . .⁹

At the time that the Education Committee requested Sadler to undertake his investigation, in 1903-4, there was a total of 2,157 students on the rolls of the secondary schools "of a public character", that is, mainly in the Institute, the Collegiate, St. Francis of Xavier, and Greenbank Road; and scholarships were held by 63 City Council and 45 Council of Education (voluntary) scholars in October 1904. At the level of elementary education, the 49 ex-Board schools alone had some 50, 208 on the rolls, while in conjunction with the 113 non-provided (former "voluntary") schools, the total number was 136,307 in 1904.¹⁰ Approxi-

mately 3 out of every 1000 elementary school leavers went on to the secondary schools in Liverpool in 1903; by 1930, this had increased to 110, though it was still less than for the country as a whole.¹¹ All new secondary schools in Liverpool after 1902, except for 2 Roman Catholic ones, were provided by the local authority, which also took over most of the established ones-- the Institute in 1903, and the Collegiate in 1907, for example. Following Sadler's report, the first proposed municipal secondary school building was one for 300 girls in "healthy and cheerful surroundings" on a beautiful site of 18,000 sq. yards in the suburb of Aigburth.¹² The Holt and Oulton schools, former elementary schools, were opened in 1907, Alsop High in 1919, Quarry Bank in 1922, along with 3 other girls' schools between 1910 and 1922.¹³ Fees ranged from somewhat over 1 guinea to 4 guineas per term in the local authority schools, though, from 1907, increased grants were made available to secondary schools willing to offer 25% of their places as "free places". In the municipal secondary schools in 1908-9, there were 154 free places for some 818 applicants (i.e. some 15% of the total secondary school enrollment under the Education Committee), but a further provision of scholarships and free places for 111 students was available in 6 secondary schools not controlled by the local authority.¹⁴

However, according to the authority's regulations for "Free Places in Recognised Secondary Schools", free admissions did not entail "any payment by the Committee in aid of the purchase of books or for travelling expenses", and the "educational ladder" appears, in fact, to have

been designed as a "boon to the families of skilled artisans, and of ratepayers occupying a middle station in life".¹⁵ It was only theoretically "true" that, as Alsop maintained in 1909, there was an educational ladder "so broad, it is believed, that no boy of marked ability need be prevented on the score of poverty from sharing the best education that the university can give".¹⁶ There was certainly little belief in the principle of traditionally-oriented secondary education for all-- that is, education in the style of the public and established grammar schools, which provided the model for newly-created secondary schools-- and the "secondary" education considered suitable for most working-class children was an extended variety of elementary schooling. This could perhaps be considered an enlightened and realistic belief, in the conditions of the early 20th century, and some elementary schools undoubtedly provided a first-rate academic and "emancipative" education.¹⁷ From the egalitarian viewpoint of an important element of the labour movement, as opposed, perhaps, to Sidney Webb's "Secondary Education" of 1908, statements on the educational ladder were often unacceptable, not so much because of the assumption of "various kinds of education best suited to certain people", but because choices of the particular "kind of education" were a function of inequalities in living and working conditions which provided the poor child with an unequal chance to climb the ladder.¹⁸ In this respect, to advocate a "careful ladder" as in Liverpool, was little removed from advocating none. It also reinforced the tone of condescension characteristic of mid-Victorian statements on popular education at a time when, in Liverpool, the labour

movement was especially sensitive to "aspersions on working men":

There are numbers of children every year, all over England, who are taken out of their natural element, artificially acclimatised in a new one, artificially and unnaturally made to score some 'success', and at the latter end unfitted for the greater things and spoiled for the humbler . . . Who does not know the cant of giving everyone a fair and like chance?¹⁹

Despite paper proposals to extend the provision of working-class "secondary" education in the 1918 Act, the educational ladder, if expanded, was "not so broad as is commonly supposed, nor is it easily climbed", even by the beginning of the 1930's. Although based on research in the late-20's/early 30's, Caradog Jones' Social Survey (an early contribution of the Liverpool University School of Social Science, and one of the best of the social surveys of the period) drew conclusions which were equally valid, given the absence of any marked expansion during the post-war decade, for earlier years. Even within the secondary school, there were defined distinctions among different categories of students, the record of success at examinations, for example, being closely tied to length of stay in the school, which was itself "determined by the class, or occupational grade, of the parent":

The occupational grade of the parent has . . . considerable weight in the determination of the occupational grade of the child. The division into different social classes on this account begins quite early in life, being decided by the kind of school the child first enters. This is further emphasised by an examination of the grade of occupation taken up by boys educated at schools of the type which receive

Government recognition but do not accept grants . . . But once entry has been gained to a secondary school, the exceptional child of poor parents has as fair a chance as the average child of parents in a better position to make a good start in after life.²⁰

The zeal with which the Education Committee set about improving the position of secondary education was not, in general, matched in the field of elementary education, where the problems of accommodation and school fees inherited from the School Board occasioned a number of debates in the Commons. In part, the enthusiasm for secondary education reflected the local authority's direct control over this area, with the exception of a few non-provided schools; a high proportion of the elementary schools was outside the direct responsibility of the Education Committee, although the 1902 Act brought some rate-aid to the voluntary schools.²¹ The cry for economy which characterised the work of the City Council in the early 20th century did not appear to affect plans for secondary education as drastically as those for elementary, though the 1915 report on financial administration threatened an already limited working-class access to secondary schooling by its recommended reductions in free place quotas. It was a source of some labour dissatisfaction that disruptions caused by the war effort primarily involved the elementary schools, while the cut-backs imposed by the "Geddes axe" of the post-war years had serious implications for the quality of elementary education, through increased class size, for example, that scarcely altered the life of the secondary schools. In fact, between

1914 and 1922, expenditure on municipal secondary education in Liverpool increased from £35,301 on 2,322 pupils to £145,925 on only 4,924 pupils. However, even in the new elementary schools of the early 20th century, two or three classes were being conducted in a single room, with some 70-80 children at a time.²²

Some attempt was made by the Education Committee in the post-1902 years to make up for disparities between secondary and elementary education by changes in the content-- and its organisation-- of elementary education. Although much remained on paper, these in fact tended to emphasise the existence of elementary and secondary education as distinct kinds, rather than stages. In a Report on the Curriculum in 1904, by the inspector to the Liverpool authority, it was suggested that a new "choice and balance of subjects" had to be guided by the great differences in parental occupation, ranging from upwards of 60% "labourers and dock labourers" in some schools to 1% in St. Margaret's higher-grade school. There were to be three kinds of schools: group "A" would offer a liberal teaching of all permitted subjects (including algebra, French and laboratory work), and cater especially to prospective elementary school teachers, who, under new regulations on pupil-teachers, were to benefit most from scholarships and free places in the secondary schools; group "B", the most numerous, would provide an education equally devoted to the three "R's", craftsmanship, and the "culture of the body"; and group "C", the "labouring class school", was to be distinguished from "B" by the amount of time spent on woodwork, cookery

and laundry, with a stress on the "moral and social" and the means of rising to "the social stratum next above".²³ It was also made explicit that the "City Apprentice", the product largely of group "C" schools, was to be as honourable as the "City Scholar", the product largely of group "A".²⁴ Group "A" schools were in fact in the nature of Higher Elementary Schools, and, following the Board of Education's 1905 Code on these, the Education Committee made plans to provide five such schools for clever pupils who were not fortunate enough to secure scholarships.²⁵ The Committee thus subscribed to Sadler's view of a different kind of "secondary" education, characterised by its duration and its curriculum (the Committee referred to the French "école primaire supérieure") which was intimately tied, like schemes of technical instruction, to the demands of industry:

The curriculum and Time Table should have for their object the continuation and development of the education given in the ordinary Public Elementary school, and the provision of special instruction bearing on the future occupations of the scholars . . .²⁶

Much of this practical orientation was especially encouraged by the Director of Education, James Legge, who produced a book on the subject, as well as official reports, drawing heavily on contemporary Progressive educational theory, with quotations from Stanley Hall and Kerschensteiner. His attempt to address not merely the training of "captains of industry" but the neglected rank and file was an enlightened reappraisal of the value of manual work, based on a belief that selection demonstrably favoured the "black coat" and ignored the "dungaree jacket", and that the fermentation of ideas over the past decade had established a

balance between the cultivation of individual freedom and the social ideal of education for citizenship. There was a situation in which "Pestalozzi has come into his own".²⁷

However, this practical orientation worked on the realistic assumption that elementary education was terminal for the mass of children: it became increasingly associated with preparation for specific kinds of occupations with the formation of a Juvenile Employment Committee in May 1912. For girls, this Committee especially sought to encourage domestic service-- at a time when the alternative channels of factory, shop, office and light trades contributed to a growing scarcity of domestic servants-- with increased domestic science work in evening continuation schools.²⁸ Since, from 1909, pupil teachers were secondary school bursars, Liverpool providing for 150 such bursars as against 50 pupil teachers previously, much of the higher element of elementary school work was taken away. Originally, however, this had largely been designed for intending elementary school teachers. Moreover, the Board of Education regulation on free places (25% in return for increased grants) led the Liverpool Committee to urge the early transfer of free place scholars to the secondary schools, certainly before the age of 13.

It was on the basis of these two developments, from 1907, that Legge formulated his recommendations on the "Curriculum in Elementary Schools" along practical lines, and advocating a due consideration of the "school and the district which it serves".²⁹ And it was in the context of the pressing need for "a great advance in education" that

H.A.L. Fisher placed his Education Bill, during an explanatory tour of Lancashire in September 1917, for "at present the rich learned and the poor earned".³⁰ There had to be increased provision of working-class "secondary" education if the full resources of the population were to be tapped, and the Bill outlined a potentially comprehensive system of education from the nursery school to post-14 compulsory continued day-time schooling. The main contribution of the Bill, in fact, was to establish an over-all school leaving age of 14, thus officially ending the half-time system and early exemptions, and, in place of a locally permitted leaving age of 15, to oblige youths between 14 and 16 who had finished full-time schooling to attend day continuation schools for the equivalent of one day per week (a total of 320 hours a year). Along with increased powers to the Board of Education and a variety of improved welfare measures, the Bill's main proposals marked a potentially considerable stride forward at a time of social re-construction, but they were jeopardised by stringent economy drives and the wide decision-making powers of the local authorities.³⁰ There was much criticism of both the Bill and the Act, by the Labour Party and the WEA in particular. During the war, the labour movement and the WEA had been urging at least a status quo position in education, with a clear commitment to educational advance-- a leaving age of 16 and "equality of opportunity for all with regard to secondary and university education"--immediately after the war.³¹ In response to Fisher's Act, the WEA and the Labour Party Advisory Committee on Education urged the local authorities to "resist the pressure of industrial interests", which

were identified-- especially in the Federation of British Industries --as a major source of objection to educational reform. Early resistance to Fisher's Bill in fact came from Lancashire textile manufacturers, who relied on the half-time system, and the proposal for day continuation schools had serious weaknesses which could be exploited by employers. It was conceivable that local authorities would be persuaded to reduce the hours of continued education from 320 to 280 (as permitted by the Act), "squeeze" them in at the end of the working day, or make use of "works schools" set up by employers. As a temporary measure, the continuation schools could provide "the secondary school and university of the vast majority of working-class children", offering a "good general education", if not jeopardised by short-sighted parsimony on the part of the local authorities.³² In this respect, it was vital for Labour members of city councils to influence education committees, as well as public opinion, for pressure would be placed on them to adopt "for the sake of economy, and out of deference to industrial interests, a policy which is at variance with the well-being of the children".³³

On the local level in Liverpool, the new Education Act was the occasion for a comprehensive review of the existing provision and content of elementary and secondary education in the city in order to establish a revised scheme of education. However, much of the scheme, particularly in relation to "central" and "senior" schools for post-14 year olds, remained on paper, along with proposed changes in school

welfare. At the elementary level, the Education Committee was forced to face the problem of insufficient accommodation, existing since the School board era, and scarcely tackled since then (allowing for a war-time hiatus), and finally to abolish lingering fees. With respect to curriculum, Liverpool had long promoted the practical curricular emphasis recommended by the Act. Although mostly an indirect concern of the Act, secondary education per se was given considerable attention in Legge's 1918 memorandum. Indeed, the focus on continued education in the Act, which led to a consideration of suitable curricula, in relation to future occupations and the demands of effective citizenship, afforded the local authorities a "clue to their classification of schools and classes".³⁴

While there was a demand for quasi-specialised, practical training for trades and industries associated mainly with the waterfront, the major demand in Liverpool was-- and increasingly so --for commercial-type training for access to lower-level clerical employment, as noted by Sadler earlier in the century. Unlike Manchester or Leeds, Liverpool had never been a prominent half-time centre (in 1918, only some 970 children were exempted before the age of 14), and the demand for more academically-oriented education, beyond the elementary school itself, was strong. Pupil-teachers, more of whom would be needed in view of extended compulsory elementary education, had become established as scholarship and free-place scholars in the secondary schools. Legge looked enthusiastically on proposals for central or senior schools as a means of providing a class of schools-- former elementary schools such

as Arnot and Brae Streets, Lawrence Road and St. Margaret's, all effectively of the "higer grade" type --which offered a form of "secondary" education non-competetive with the real secondary schools. Legge admitted that his Committee tended "to defend the secondary schools and to fear competition" from upward extensions of elementary institutions³⁵; but the curriculum of the proposed central schools, which were to be feeders to the secondary school ladder, was to "prepare the pupils for the problems of life and livelihood in a real and arduous world": it was essentially "elementary" in spirit. From a labour viewpoint, it was precisely at the level of secondary education that the process of eroding "all class distinctions and privileges" in education had to begin, for "the monopoly of higher education is the foundation of all other monopolies".³⁶ The total number of students in the secondary schools, provided and non-provided, had increased from 4093 in 1910 to 6068 by 1918, and the feeling of the Education Committee was that the continued education requirement of the 1918 Act would lead those parents who could "possibly afford it" to send their children to a secondary school till the age of 16:

It is true that there will be alternatives for full-time continued education in the new Junior Technical Schools, and in the Central Schools and classes . . . but there will be a natural preference for the Secondary School which inherits a prestige dating from mediaeval times which newer types of schools have yet to establish.³⁷

Along with an anticipated increase in the number of prospective elementary school teachers, this was a basis for expansion of the secondary school sphere, the minimum figure under consideration being 800 places

over the two years following the Act. Largely depending on the extent of pre-university (i.e. 16-18, or sixth-form) work, there was the possibility of High and Low grade secondary schools, thus further isolating the extended, and strictly elementary, work of the central-senior schools. Legge himself maintained that the policy of the Board of Education had resulted in a division of education "into water-tight compartments, Elementary, Secondary, Technical and Commercial", and ventured to predict that it would have eventually to be recast in a more "closely-co-ordinated, less invidious" system.³⁸

The requirement for compulsory continued education to 16 was to be met primarily by regulations originally formulated under the Technical Instruction Committee and the School Board, covering instruction of both elementary and "secondary", or senior, levels; it was estimated that some 14,000 young people per year would be involved initially, but considerably more, following investigation, in ensuing years.³⁹ Although it was not anticipated that many "works schools", provided by employers, or private individuals, would be established in Liverpool, as compared with other northern towns, the Education Committee looked favourably on the idea, as it would save local authorities the burden of "building and equipping a number of schools" and might secure a better attendance. However, it was the Education Committee itself which would have to provide most of the facilities for continued education, and in this respect, as Legge emphasised, there was no question that the success of the enterprise would depend "on the provision, at the earliest possible date, of permanent well-equipped buildings".⁴⁰ The day continuation schools were, in fact, one of the earliest victims of the Geddes axe;

by 1921, the Education Committee was even contemplating "a reduction of the work hitherto done".⁴¹

Labour and equality of opportunity in Liverpool

Labour and Socialist School Board candidates had repeatedly sought a co-ordination of elementary and secondary education so that, in theory if not in practice, all children might stand to benefit from higher, including university, education, irrespective of social background. The co-operation of the Trades Council with the Technical Instruction Committee during the 1890's had involved an area of post-elementary instruction that was essentially "secondary", although the Committee had made it quite clear that trade unionist interest in the field of technical instruction did not necessarily entitle or qualify the Trades Council for active participation in the sphere of policy-making attendant on secondary education per se. The energies of the labour movement continued to be devoted, as under the School Board, to a wide range of pressing problems mainly involving elementary schooling, particularly with respect to welfare: an immersion in the existing conditions affecting systematic education tended to keep a consideration of "free secondary education for all" situated at the level of the "ideals and aspirations" associated with the nascent local Labour Party. Following the formation of a new local education authority, the initial reports of the Trades Council co-opted member (William Winterburn) continued to emphasise the work of the evening classes and the Central Technical School, though it was noted that "much remains to be done for

Secondary Education".⁴² From 1907, George Nelson deliberately set out to acquaint himself-- and thus the Trades Council --with the functioning of the system as a whole, and he immediately drew attention to the "class distinction" underlying differences in the education given by Liverpool Collegiate and of that for children "of the plebian class".⁴³

Nelson initially chose not to work on the Technical Education sub-Committee in order to grasp the workings of "the administration of education in Liverpool", and while the Trades Council continued to display a keen concern to secure effective control of policy in the field, there was a growing scepticism of the attitude of the Education Committee. In presenting their report on the work of the Technical School in 1910, two Trades Council delegates complained of the short notice with which they had-- "at last"-- been asked to present a report to the Education Committee, a body which was seen to be "composed of men who have no sympathy with education". There was also the difficulty of getting the Education Committee "to sanction expenditure for purposes advised by their Committee", and the selfishness of employers "in not allowing their apprentices off in order that they may attend the Technical School Classes".⁴⁴ Although three trade unionists were re-elected to the Committee of Managers of the School, James Murphy, who complained that technical education made "more perfect human machines in the interest of the Capitalist", secured 20 votes as one of the competing candidates.⁴⁵ Murphy's sentiments were increasingly shared by Socialist elements in the mainstream labour movement, as demands for practical and vocational (in the sense of manual or technical) instruc-

tion were intensified, and served to reinforce the non-liberal education of the worker. The Forward attacked a speech by the Lord Mayor, at the Technical School, advocating early work: "Boys could not be too young to commence their adaptability to a mechanical career". This was seen merely to cater to employers' interests in producing workers "efficient as profit-earning automata", and later, in an account of Lawrence Small's talk on education to the Bootle ILP, there was a demand that vocational education be left until the last year of schooling,⁴⁶ with the implication, perhaps, of a form of schooling common to all.

As part of its local municipal programme in 1907, the Liverpool LRC included a demand for "The Co-ordination of Elementary, intermediate and higher education"⁴⁷, and a concern for real access to post-elementary studies became prominent in municipal election campaigns, and in the programme of the municipal Labour Group. In November 1912, for example, Arthur Bulley sought a raised school leaving age, since the children of the poor were "shut out at 14", while labour city councillors attacked the restricted access to secondary education explicit in the 1915 report on financial administration.⁴⁸ The ILP reviewed the "Treatment of the Workers' Child" at a study-group meeting in 1913, and published the salient features in the Forward as "Facts About Liverpool Education". The main focus was on a contrast between elementary and secondary education as they then existed. The Liverpool authority made 55 a minimum class size under a fully-certified elementary school teacher, the official maximum being 60 in elementary schools, as opposed to 30 in secondary; moreover, while the 1913 returns indicated an

elementary school accommodation of 132,649 (with 131,219 on the rolls and an average attendance of 117,046, for all schools), the "true picture" was that 78 out of 158 elementary schools had more pupils on the rolls than the accommodation allowed for, as brought to the attention of the House of Commons on a number of occasions.⁴⁹ Some elementary schools were of a higher class than others, as the pattern of scholarships continued to portray: "It is unfortunate that too often the bright, well-equipped schools are only attended by the class of children who see something of beauty in their own homes". These were the ones who acceded to the secondary schools, and even an elementary school-teaching career was now impossible for the working-class child because two years' secondary schooling was a pre-requisite: "To talk of an educational ladder is absurd" when, taking maintenance scholarships and free places into account, only 1.03% of children had a chance of free secondary education, and the question of proper maintenance (including text-books) was crucial.⁵⁰

Whereas there was much criticism of conditions, and elements of what could best be described as the "hidden curriculum", there was little criticism of the nature of secondary education itself. There were attacks, intensified during and after the war years, on excessive patriotism, and on the inculcation of deference, or subservient attitudes, as in a proposed book prize for essays on the motto: "Every child is capable of cheerful submission to superiors . . . fearless devotion to duty".⁵¹ A meeting of the Liverpool branch of the National Union of Teachers associated these with the fundamental issue of distinctions

between elementary and secondary education, which produced-- by implication-- the employer and the employee, the leader and the blind follower: "In our public schools [like Rugby, Eton or Charterhouse] there is training for mastership, in the elementary schools for servility . . . Economic factors dominate the system".⁵² If there was not a desire to educate for "mastership" in the existing socio-economic context of "masters and men", the Liverpool ILP certainly expressed its interest in the liberal education (with its traditional focus on "leadership") of workers; and demands for better elementary school provision, for adequate welfare measures, for a real ladder, were essentially demands for a vastly increased "access to the best facilities".⁵³ For this reason, with the outbreak of war, there was a strong initiative, largely on the part of the local ILP and Fabian Society, in advocating not only enlarged, remodelled and improved elementary school facilities, but also "additional secondary schools, training colleges, hostels, domestic economy centres [and] technical institutes", along with further buildings and equipment for universities. The position was supported, after a general fashion, by the LRC and the local Vigilance Committee.⁵⁴

The Report of the Special Committee on financial administration cut right across labour demands for widened access, especially in the unfortunate context of war-time emergency measures. Not only were there recommendations for increased elementary class size and a return of systematic fee-paying, but also for an effective narrowing of the more traditional working-class sphere of "higher" education: there were to be economies in technical education expenditure, with higher fees both in the Central Technical School-- which was to be put on a "business-

like footing"— and in evening continuation classes. The secondary schools were urged to reduce free-place quotas, a policy already attributed to the Secondary Schools sub-Committee.⁵⁵ The report occasioned one of the most heated debates in the City Council over educational policy, with a bitter attack conducted mainly by Robinson, Richardson, Nelson and Sexton, with effective support from an independent, former Irish Nationalist member, Councillor Burke. As chairman of the Committee of Managers of the Technical School, Burke especially condemned the attempt to stifle the good work of the technical and continuation classes. The Education Committee ought to concentrate on improving elementary education, a position which the labour members supported, if the continuation classes were really to provide the means of continued education, and if more children were to be able to accede to the secondary schools.⁵⁶ Towards the end of the war, the Education Committee proposed an increase in the number of free places in the secondary schools (58 extra), but this was still condemned as a "very meagre provision", some 1,400 candidates competing for 180 scholarships and free places during 1917.⁵⁷

With 20 labour, including Co-operative, members in the City Council following the police strike of summer 1919, the debate on secondary education was intensified, and there was a definite "secondary education for all" item in labour municipal and parliamentary programmes. The 1918 Act had brought no change to the separate existences of elementary and secondary education; in fact, as suggested in Legge's memorandum, it reinforced them. For this reason, while the local labour

movement enthusiastically co-operated with the WEA in urging the adoption of all the clauses of the Act in a manner suitable to the working class, it also campaigned vigorously for free secondary education for all. One of the pronounced features of secondary school selection in Liverpool at this time was the relatively high proportion, out of the total number, of students who entered the secondary schools under the age of 12. Although 12 was stated as the age at which most entered secondary schools by 1918, the scheme of the Education Committee proposed to develop the system of preparatory classes.⁵⁸ In fact, the ages of students at the time of entry ranged from 8 to 18, with a sharp falling off after 12-13, and Richardson proposed an amendment to keep all children under 11 out of the secondary schools, and advocating free access. With an increase in the number of children, especially former pupil teachers, now attending the municipal secondary schools, there was a relative over-crowding, with children of 12 and above denied places in order to find room for those of 8 upwards:

There were some parents who would not send their children to an elementary school, but sent them to a private school at the expense of the ratepayers ('No'). [Richardson retorted] 'Yes' . . . and that they got £2 grant per year for a child who had been in an elementary school for those two years, but they received nothing for those in private schools. The Education Committee was not making the best use of the accommodation available when they had so high a figure as 13% of the scholars, who were in secondary schools, under 11 years.⁵⁹

The amendment was immediately opposed by Sydney Jones-- generally sympathetic to other areas of labour criticism-- who held up the prepara-

tory school system of the great public schools as an example to be followed. The debate was a clear illustration of socio-political ideologies which were diametrically opposed: supporting Richardson's amendment, a new labour councillor, Mr. Cosnett, was emphatic that the preparatory system had a tendency "to create class distinction", in the obvious sense that the capacity to pay for private instruction then reflected distinctions based on social class. For Sydney Jones, the work of the elementary schools, although very good, "was not quite the same work" as that of preparatory classes, yet he maintained that the secondary schools did not display "class distinction". Paradoxically, and unwittingly, the Labour Group position was strengthened by the remarks of Mgr. Pinnington on the issue, who predicted a keen public opposition to Richardson's amendment, had it been adopted: "poor people were accustomed to regimentation, but they were dealing with a class of people who would not stand it", and who would demand an increase in the provision of private schools.⁶⁰ Further demands for economy bolstered the move towards private initiative, for the Education Committee accepted proposals in 1922 to increase secondary school fees by £3 per annum (bringing fees in 5 boys' schools to 12 guineas and to £9 - 12s. in 5 girls' schools), and tightening the already limited access afforded by scholarships and free places. A labour councillor, Herbert Rose, raised the point that parents of children competing for "Free Scholarships" had now to complete a questionnaire regarding their income before maintenance grants were awarded.⁶¹ As Richardson indicated, this in fact represented a reversal of the Committee's policy-- as urged by Sadler--

since 1902, and clearly meant that the city's secondary schools "were to be made the monopoly of the people who could afford to pay for them". Richardson's attempt to block the proposal was defeated by 20 to 10 votes in the Committee, one member, Professor Campagnac of the University, maintaining that much of the "rush" for secondary education was merely indicative of "an eagerness for place and office", scholarships and free places being justified "only in cases in which it would be a public calamity if they were not granted".⁶²

From September 1919, a new Liverpool Labour Party Programme was advocating "All education, from the elementary to the university school, to be free", along with a greatly improved system of elementary schooling.⁶³ There was an active co-operation with the local WEA, the LRC and Trades Council appointing special delegates, to secure an acceptable working of the 1918 Act. Earlier, in November 1917, a conference of the Liverpool branch WEA (presided over by J.P.Reddish, the local chairman, and attended by J.M. Mactavish, national general secretary) moved a resolution, seconded by Hoey, demanding such amendments to Fisher's Bill as would make it "a complete charter of education from primary school to the university". In addition to compulsory nursery schools, a maximum elementary school class size of 30, and adequate dental and medical treatment to the age of 18, there was a demand for compulsory school attendance until 16, with free maintenance if necessary, and a "must" for every "may" in the Bill.⁶⁴ The Trades Council and the LRC continued to appoint delegates to the local WEA Advisory Committee on the Act, and also received deputations from the Committee, seeking co-operation in

the formation of parents' committees.⁶⁵ The "Labour Party" particularly stressed the urgency of the need for free scholarships and more free places in the secondary schools, thus broadening its active campaign in the City Council, and following the lead of the national Labour Party (as in its Leaflet No. 10 of 1918 or the memorandum on "Local Education Schemes" of 1921, submitted to the Board of Education). In fact, it urged the "fullest local application of the National Policy".⁶⁶ The local Labour Party programmes of 1924 and 1925 reiterated earlier demands for free education from elementary to university levels, with changes in the organisation of elementary schooling (notably a reduction in class size, and the immediate provision of additional accommodation and staff) designed to facilitate increased access: it was Labour's intention of giving "every child equality of opportunity in education".⁶⁷ This was to be backed by a provision of forty new secondary schools and an increase of free places to 40%, in addition to numerous welfare measures.⁶⁸

Further attempts at economising on educational expenditures, as outlined in the Board of Education's Circular 1371 and Memorandum 44 of late 1925, advocating reduced education estimates and increased class sizes, were strongly opposed by the Liverpool Labour Party. Moreover, the opposition was closely linked to a growing militancy in the local labour movement by the mid-1920's, which brought about clear demands for complete working-class control of--and emphasis in--education, as indicated earlier. In January 1926, the Liverpool Trades Council and Labour Party expressed its "emphatic condemnation of Circular 1371 and memo. 44"; it saw in them a further expression of

. . .the class attack upon the workers, and calls upon the Trades Union Congress and Labour Party to organise effective working-class expression and resistance to same. We call for the pursuing of a vigorous extension of Education for the Working Class, not for reduction at the expense of the Working Class, or even satisfaction with the Status Quo.⁶⁹

In addition to investigations designed to bring about working-class control of education, and a "proletarian" outlook on life, the investigations of the 1926 "workers' Committee of enquiry", as suggested in the Labour Party Annual Conference resolution, were also to focus on the need for expanded education facilities, for increased access to education, with regard to the working class. In this respect, an expression of Labour's hopes and aspirations-- of "democratic control" and the "workers' point of view" --went hand in hand with a more immediate and realistic concern

To prepare a definite scheme for the provision of an adequate number of Free Technical and Secondary Schools, the latter having sides biased towards agriculture, commerce, the professions, engineering, etc., according to the work the children attending such schools are likely to take up in later life, together with special provision for Nursery and Factory schools.

To expose the real purposes with which Central Schools were established and show the need for their replacement by Secondary Schools. To draw up plans for the provision of suitable and adequate accommodation, staffing and up-to-date equipment for all primary schools. To deal with the questions of civil rights for all teachers and their freedom to join with other workers in the working-class movement.⁷⁰

This immediate concern dominated Liverpool Labour Party municipal programmes after 1926 and into the 1930's, a period characterised in educational terms by the debate on "Secondary Education for All". In 1927, for example, the Labour Municipal Programme, "Liverpool for Labour", had education as its first priority, and effectively summarised local labour educational policy for most of the decade ahead:

The ultimate aim of the Labour Party is to provide a good Secondary Education for every child willing and able to benefit . . . with generous facilities for the further advance of children of special powers. In the meantime, the party desires to improve and develop the primary schools by the provision of sanitary and well-equipped buildings and playing fields; by material reduction in the size of classes; by the provision of free meals and effective medical supervision and treatment through a complete system of clinics; and by all other measures that will secure for every child an opportunity for complete physical, moral, and mental development.⁷¹

Although there was a clear labour commitment to free secondary education for all, which brought the demands of working-class organisations into the official debate on educational policy-making, little progress was made in ending the essentially terminal nature of elementary education in the period covered by this study. In fact, there was hardly any significant change until after 1944, when the local Labour Party began seriously to discuss secondary education in terms of comprehensive schooling based on non-selective procedures. Some of the worst features of elementary schooling, notably with respect to early

child labour, school fees, and a minimal provision for welfare, were eradicated after 1918, and an educational ladder, while narrow, did ensure that most of the secondary school pupils came from the elementary schools by the 1920's. There was little consideration, if any, of the possibility of a common schooling, in a common school, for all children at the secondary stage when the question of access had to be so prominent in the educational struggle. Even by 1920, in the north of England, it was known that there was actually an increase in the number of children employed under 14, and most employers questioned the wisdom of another year at school. As one inspector, writing from Liverpool, noted in a report to the Board of Education, it was

quite wrong in supposing that the North of England manufacturer allows philanthropy to interfere with business. The head of a Liverpool firm with the worst reputation in regard to the treatment of its employees has all his life conducted a large bible class and leads in prayer at the laying of foundation stones etc.⁷²

NOTES TO CHAPTER VIII

1. See e.g. Eaglesham, From School Board to Local Authority, op. cit., p.190; The Foundations of Twentieth Century Education in England (London, 1967), ch. 3. Also O. Banks, Parity and Presige in English Secondary Education (London, 1955), chs. 2 and 4; Lawson and Silver, op. cit., p. 371, and Simon, Labour Movement, chs. VII and VIII. There was, however, a notable expansion in the field of school welfare services at the elementary level.
2. D. caradog Jones (ed.), The Social Survey of Merseyside (Liverpool, 1934), III, pp. 168-9. See appendix 9A below for Jones's statistics.
3. See the review by Harold Silver of Simon's third volume in his Studies in the History of Education: The Politics of Educational Reform 1920-1940 (London, 1974), in Bulletin of the Society for the Study of Labour History (Spring, 1976), which also carries a reply by Simon. There is a further discussion in the Autumn issue by Douglas Bourn (pp. 15-16). See also R. Barker, Education and Politics, op. cit., pp. 49ff.; R.W. Selleck, "The Hadow Report: a Study in Ambiguity", Melbourne Studies in Education (Melbourne, 1972).
4. Cf. Bourn, "Labour and Education", Bulletin, op. cit. The "Bradford Charter" included, in particular, "universal free compulsory secondary education" and no specialisation until the last year of the secondary stage, but, rather, an emphasis on general education. See Simon, Labour Movement, pp. 346-9, which takes the Charter to imply a common secondary school for all; the Bradford scheme was initially adopted as the Labour Party programme in 1917. Labour Party Annual Conference Report, 1917, p. 135, cited in Simon, p. 348. For a copy of the Charter, see Bradford and District Trades and Labour Council, Programme of Education (passed at a conference of 21 Oct. 1916), in PRO Ed. 10/15, 17/462G. Cf. a Liverpool Labour Party (LRC) "resolution on Education" of Sept. 1916, which merely stressed the importance of expanding educational facilities if there was to be a suitable national standard among citizens. LRC Minutes, 6 Sept. 1916.

5. Courier, 20 Oct. 1920 (remarks of Herbert Rose, a Labour city councillor); West Toxteth Election Special, 1924, op. cit.
6. See election newscuttings, pamphlets, etc., 1924/25, in TC Collection 331 TRA 14/1. Cf. Simon, op. cit., pp. 346ff.
7. Cf. Lawson and Silver, p. 373, citing Eaglesham and Banks.
8. See Kitchener's report to the Bryce Commission, op. cit., VI, section II, p. 144; also ibid., pp. 136ff. for the secondary schools; cf. Sadler, Report on Secondary Education in Liverpool, esp. ch. XI.
9. EC Annual Report (1906-7), pp. 10-11, in EC Proceedings (1906-7). See also C. Alsop, The Life of James W. Alsop, preface by Sydney Jones on "Educational Work in Liverpool".
10. EC Annual Report (1903-4), p. 12, and Report on the Education Act, 1902, pp. 4-7, 36, in EC Proceedings (1903-4), Appendices. Taking the non-provided (voluntary) secondary schools into account, there was in excess of 3,000 students at the secondary level in 1903-4.
11. Social Survey, op. cit., p. 165.
12. This was opened in 1908. See Secondary Education sub-Committee: Report . . . on the Proposed New Secondary School for Girls in the Aigburth District (1905), pp. 8-13, in EC Proceedings (1904-5); plans included laboratories, a lecture room, art studio, music rooms, dining room, library, gymnasium, bicycle shed and playground, with provision for "tennis and fives courts, as well as space for rounders and other games". See also Daily Post and Mercury, 16 Feb. 1905.
13. Social Survey, p. 195.
14. EC Annual Report (1908-9), pp. 13-17, 8; also ibid. (1907-8), pp. 8ff. By the late 1920's, the average fees in municipal secondary schools in Liverpool were £11 per annum. Social Survey, p. 167.
15. Sadler, Report on Secondary Education in Birkenhead (1904), p. 84; see also EC Circular S12 (July, 1909): Free Place Regulations, p. 4, in EC Proceedings (1908-9). For the coming year (1910), a total of 150 free places were available in the municipal secondary schools for

pupils of 11 and 12 years, selected on the basis of an examination in June, mainly in English and Arithmetic, but also including "an oral examination by the headmaster".

16. Post and Mercury, 19 Oct. 1909.
17. But these were few; cf. Holmes, What Is and What Might Be, preface, p. vi: "I am not exaggerating when I say that . . . there are elementary schools in England in which the life of the children is emancipative and educative to an extent which is unsurpassed, and perhaps unequalled, in any other type or grade of school". Cf. also Banks, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-9, 52ff.
18. This was implicit, for example, in the Liverpool Labour Party educational programme of Sept. 1919, where free education from elementary school to university was a demand accompanied by a comprehensive list of social welfare and leisure-oriented measures, including municipal housing (with bathrooms and gardens), theatres, opera houses, public halls, playgrounds and restaurants, so that "the social and intellectual life of the workers may be encouraged". LRC ("Labour Party") Minutes, 3 Sept. 1919. Cf. S. Webb, "Secondary Education", in H.B. Binns, A Century of Education (1908), reproduced in Brennan, Education for National Efficiency, *op. cit.*, p. 133, referring to the necessity "to ensure to every child the particular kind of schooling that it needs".
19. H.V. Weisse (Headmaster of the Liverpool Institute), "The Educational Ladder", in the published account of The North of England Education Conference [held in Liverpool] (London, 1911), pp. 5-6. Cf. also Liverpool Council of Education, Address by Augustine Birrell (President of the Board of Education) on the occasion of a prize-giving (March, 1906), pp. 12-13: the distinction between elementary and secondary education "consists in the time the pupil is able to devote to the course . . . those parents who can afford to allow their children the time, let them do so". Birrell was a native of Liverpool.
20. Social Survey, p. 187. Cf. Banks, p. 129, and also K. Lindsay's earlier sociological survey of 1926, Social Progress and Educational Waste (London, 1926), p. 7, which examined the problem of "how far

the 'educational ladder' is effective". Although mainly based on data from London, Bradford, Warrington and Wallasey, this indicated that in Liverpool, during the five years before 1926, there were 420 scholarships and 1,665 free-places given, and 321 school departments from which the children might have come; 78 departments nominated no children, 208 did not win a scholarship, while 115 failed to secure free-places. Out of the city's 39 wards, 8, with an average attendance of 37,133 children, sent 1,224 on to the secondary schools, while 31 others, with 81,242 children, had only 850 places distributed among them (pp. 201-2).

21. Cf. White, A History of the Corporation, p. 150, and e.g. Hansard, LII (1913), 21 April, cols. 6-7.
22. Post and Mercury, 18 Feb. 1904, and 6 Nov. 1922. At the end of 1921, the EC could indicate an increase in secondary-school provision (in grant-aided schools) to 15, with 2 more under construction. There was then a total of 7,501 pupils in secondary schools, including non-provided ones, with 140,676 on the rolls of elementary schools; there had been no increase in the number of elementary schools since 1914 (and "no playing fields as yet"). Courier, 18 Oct. 1921. See also Kensington Pioneer, April and Nov. 1915, for war-time labour criticism.
23. PRO Ed. 19/143 (Codes), typescript Report on Curriculum, by R.T. Bodey, 15 Oct. 1904, pp. 3-9. The word "stratum" replaces a deleted "station". For the beginnings of "secondary" education for aspiring teachers, with the Pupil Teacher Regulations of 1903, see P. Gosden, The Evolution of a Profession (Oxford, 1972), pp. 201ff.
24. See the accompanying letter of 18 Nov. 1904 in ibid. (9/416).
25. Which, however, were provided with "the avowed and laudable object of encouraging candidates for pupil teachership, and not to provide higher education for the general body of scholars qualified for it". Memorandum by the Chairman of the Elementary Schools Management sub-Committee . . . on the question of Higher Elementary Education (1905), p. 7, in EC Proceedings (1904-5), Appendices.
26. Ibid., p. 16, quoting Morant's Preface to the Official Code of 1905 on

- elementary extension, and Rule 2 of the Code. For Sir Robert Morant at the Board, see e.g. Banks, *op. cit.*, ch. 3; Simon, Labour Movement, pp. 237ff., and B.M. Allen, Sir Robert Morant (1943).
27. J.G. Legge, The Thinking Hand or Practical Education in the Elementary School (1914), p. 10, and his Memorandum on Practical Education (May, 1909), pp. 3-4, in EC Proceedings (1908-9).
 28. See Report Upon the Second Year's Work of the Juvenile Employment Committee (March, 1914), p. 36, and Appendix C, pp. 37-43. See also F.J. Leslie, Wasted Lives. The Problem of Child Labour (Liverpool, 1910), p. 20, and E. Rathbone, E. McCrindell, Technical Education of Women and Girls in Liverpool, Report of an Enquiry for the Liverpool Women's Industrial Council (Liverpool, 1910), which underlined the growing deficiency of instruction "adopted to increase the domestic efficiency of women of the poorer sections of the working classes" (p. 1).
 29. This was of "the utmost importance". See Report of the Elementary Schools Management sub-Committee in regard to Curriculum in Elementary Schools (1909), p. 6, based on Legge's 2nd. Report on the Elementary School Curriculum (May, 1909), in EC Proceedings (1908-9).
 30. For Fisher in Lancashire, see Manchester Guardian, 26 Sept. 1917. For the Bill, see e.g. C.L. Mowat, Britain Between the Wars 1918-1940 (London, 1955), p. 208; Simon, Labour Movement, pp. 350ff.
 31. See e.g. W.E.A. pamphlet (London, 1916), "Fair Play for the Children", p. 10.
 32. Labour Party, Advisory Committee on Education: Continued Education Under the New Education Act (n.d., 1918), pp. 1-6 esp.; see also Manchester Guardian, 27 and 28 Sept. 1917. Cf. Lawson and Silver, p. 394.
 33. Continued Education Under the New Education Act, p. 3.
 34. Memorandum on the Education Act, 1918 [Private and Confidential] by the Director of Education (1919), p. 52, and also pp. 7-12.
 35. PRO Ed. 16/171, for Legge's Memorandum on central schools, Min. EA

- 1880/18. Legge sought to create a "favourable attitude" in the Liverpool EC.
36. Labour Party Leaflet No. 10 (1918), "Why All who believe in Education should join the Labour Party"; The Times Educational Supplement, 9 May 1918, for Legge's memorandum. Cf. Banks, ch. 8 on the central and junior technical schools.
 37. Memorandum on the Education Act, op. cit., p. 28, and pp. 15ff.
 38. Ibid., p. 33, and pp. 29-32 for secondary school provision.
 39. Ibid., pp. 33ff.
 40. Ibid., p. 39.
 41. Post and Mercury, 24 May 1921, on the education estimates.
 42. TC Annual Report (1903-4), Winterburn's report.
 43. Ibid. (1908-9), pp. 19-20.
 44. TC Minutes, 14 June 1910, and cf. 9 June 1909, where the move to open a day technical school was praised, but the fee of 15s. per term "will debar many workingmen's children from taking advantage of the facilities offered".
 45. Ibid., 14 June 1910. Cf. also Murphy's election manifesto, "To the Electors of West Derby Ward", op. cit.: "I am . . . a strenuous opponent of technical education in trades where one worker has to compete against another, as such education is only intended to raise the standard of efficiency . . . When we reflect that technical classes are only attended by the workers in their own time and at their own expense when they should be resting or enjoying themselves, we must not be surprised to find such excessive training resulting in the 'speeding up' system of today . . . modern industrial conditions have no place for the man who has become 'too old at forty'". (original emphasis).
 46. Liverpool Forward, 17 Oct. 1913, for Small, and 27 Dec. 1912, for the attack on the Mayor's speech.
 47. LRC Minutes, 20 March 1907.

48. Liverpool Forward, 25 Oct. 1912, for Bulley, and, for attacks on the 1915 Report, see Kensington Pioneer, Nov. 1915, Post and Mercury, 28 Oct.
49. Forward, 9 May 1913, on an ILP students' class, conducted by John Edwards, at which the speaker was a class teacher, Sophie Blackburn (a Fabian). See also Hansard, LII (1913), op. cit., and LI (1913), 31 March, cols. 14-15, 10 April, cols. 1503-5. It was asserted that 20% of children were in overcrowded schools; there were 41 departments in Church and 36 in Catholic schools where the average attendance was in excess of the recognised accommodation.
50. Forward, op. cit. Cf. Lindsay, Social Progress, op. cit., ch. III, for what he described as "the barriers of poverty": "it is impossible to dissociate the free-place system from the maintenance system, [for] . . . maintenance is affected by the fees prevalent in the secondary schools" (p. 45).
51. Forward, 27 March 1914 (reporting Richardson).
52. Post and Mercury, 11 Sept. 1915: a meeting of the Liverpool and District Teachers' Association (a branch of the NUT).
53. Forward, 9 May 1913.
54. LRC Minutes, 6 Sept. 1916; Forward, 28 Aug. 1914.
55. See esp. Courier, 9 Sept. 1915.
56. Kensington Pioneer, Nov. 1915, and Post and Mercury, 28 Oct.
57. Courier, 19 July 1917.
58. Ibid., 18 March 1920; see also Annual Reports of the Governing Body of the Liverpool Institute, for 1917/18-1923, extracts from which are included in appendix 9B below.
59. Courier, op. cit., reporting Richardson in the City Council (his amendment was supported by Herbert Rose). There were 65 scholarships competed for by 600 elementary school candidates.
60. Post and Mercury, 18 March 1920 (my emphasis). The Liverpool labour

movement also criticised the "progressive" scheme introduced by the near-by Wallasey authority in 1920, which had the highest proportion of pupils per 1000 of the population in secondary schools by the late 1920's: this was still based on "class prejudice". Post and Mercury, 4 June 1920. Cf. also Lindsay's conclusion in 1926: some 80% were presented out of the eligible age-group, of whom 68% qualified for secondary education, but only fewer than 20% actually pursued it; moreover, a considerable number entered as fee-payers, "who are of equal merit, or at any rate satisfy the same test, as the 300-odd for whom places cannot be found (p. 186).

61. TC and LP Minutes, 11 July 1922, and Post and Mercury, 30 May: it was pointed out that only 270 scholarships and free places were available to 14,000 eligible candidates.
62. Ibid. Coslett described Professor Campagnac's speech as "a very plausible speech in favour of the man in possession" and a penalty against those with brains and no money. The fee increase caused some commotion, Richardson advising parents to apply for reimbursement of increased fee payments. Following a parents' protest, the EC recommended a repayment of £11,043 to avoid litigation, there having been a decision against Kent County EC in a similar case. See Courier, 9 April 1924, and Post and Mercury, 24 June.
63. LRC Minutes, 3 Sept. 1919, op. cit. The LRC also launched the Liverpool Pioneer that same month.
64. See Post and Mercury, 12 Nov. 1917, and cf. Times Educational Supplement, 27 Sept., cited in Simon, p. 354n., for criticisms by the North-West District WEA, to which Liverpool belonged. The Conference referred to Fisher's speech, the same day, at Swindon: no measure had been introduced to the Commons which had "so much potentiality for the improvement of the condition of the people".
65. E.g. TC Minutes, 9 Oct. 1918; LRC Minutes, 21 April 1920, and 7 July, for a deputation from Mr. Reddish of the local WEA on the need for parents' committees.

66. Richardson, in the 1924 general election campaign, in newscuttings, pamphlets, op. cit.; for the national policy, see e.g. Labour Party Leaflet No. 10, op. cit., and "Local Education Schemes", a Memorandum submitted to the Board of Education by the Labour Party (1921), p. 2. For Liverpool labour demands in relation to the WEA campaign, see e.g. TC Minutes, 9 Oct. 1918, stressing the "urgency" of the need for more "free scholarships" and free places in the secondary schools.
67. See 1924 general election campaign (esp. "Labour's Appeal to the People"), op. cit.; for the 1925 municipal programme, see TC and LP Minute Book (1925-1929), typescript insertion (unpaginated): while aiming ultimately "at FREE EDUCATION FROM ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TO UNIVERSITY", the immediate needs were seen to lie with an increase in free places and maintenance grants; reduced class size in elementary schools and increased staffing; more playing fields, and a "complete system of School Clinics".
68. West Toxteth Election Special, 1924; cf. Justice For All, 29 Oct. 1921, demanding "free high schools".
69. TC and LP Minutes, 20 Jan. 1926. For Circular 1371 and Memo. 44, and general opposition to them, see Simon, The Politics of Educational Reform, 1920-1940, pp. 103-8.
70. TC and LP Minutes, 1 July 1926; see also pp. 271-2 above.
71. "Liverpool for Labour", in Liverpool's Labour Voice, 30 Sept. 1927, copy in the John Braddock Papers, Acc. 2335, LRO (unclassified). Cf. Braddock's own municipal electoral manifesto (in Everton Ward), Nov. 1932, in ibid., which concentrated on feeding, nursery schools and medical inspection, along with "Secondary and/or Technical Education for every child willing and able to benefit . . ."
72. PRO Ed. 10/12, 668G, copies of inspectors' letters to the Board from the North of England: Liverpool, 17 June 1920.

CHAPTER NINE

Conclusion

In terms of the chronology of developments in formal education outlined in the preceding chapters, several well-defined landmarks conveniently divide the period under review into sub-sections, in accordance with the body of successive educational legislation from the 1870, 1889 and 1891 Acts through to those of 1902, 1906/14 and 1918 in particular. While bearing little or no relation to the educational reforms embodied in this legislation, the chronology of developments within the local labour movement can nevertheless be accommodated in the framework of educational "periods". Thus the later years of the School Board, which also marked the era of the Technical Instruction Committee, coincide with the emergence of an increasingly political trade unionism in the city and in the country at large, as revealed by the 1890 TUC meeting in Liverpool, and of the mainstream Socialist organisations during the late 1880's and early 1890's, notably in the revived SDF branch, the Socialist Society-Fabian Society, the ILP branches and a range of Clarion-inspired institutions. Similarly, the period of the Local Education Authority, interrupted by the 1914-18 War, corresponds roughly with the rise of the LRC-Trades Council as the basis of a local Labour Party, with a permanent, if small, Labour Group on the City Council from 1911. As in the national labour movement, it is difficult to sustain sufficient evidence of any direct correlation between the achievement of labour representation on educational or other bodies and either successful periods of educational work undertaken by the movement, or the use of formal educational issues (such as free schooling, free meals or secular education) as a prominent plank in labour electoral programmes. The emergence of an influential and aggressive Fabian Socialism in the Liverpool labour movement during the 1890's provides a good

illustration of this with respect to the School Board. The most spectacular, and least qualified, labour successes followed major strikes, notably those of 1911, 1919 and the early and late 1920's. Only in 1911, and to a lesser degree in 1919, was there simultaneously in existence a successful educational and propagandist campaign (much of it the work of Socialists and Syndicalists in the years preceding the strike), a definite educational plank in labour manifestos (child welfare), and a relatively successful outcome, at least in electoral terms.

The long period of the School Board contained developments which foreshadowed the work of the local authority after 1902, especially in the 1890's under the City Council Technical Instruction Committee; the 1891 Education Act, even if it failed to inaugurate a universally free system of elementary schooling, also represented a change in educational thinking which looked ahead to the early years of the welfare state. By the time of the Act, there was a well-established systematic provision of rate-aided elementary education in the city, along with a growing provision of varieties of "higher" elementary instruction--particularly in technical and scientific subjects, in organised science and evening schools--and a limited availability of competitive scholarships to enable certain elementary school scholars to enter secondary or quasi-secondary institutions; this was especially true of pupil-teacher candidates. As in other comparable urban areas, the period of the Liverpool School Board was characterised by a relatively rapid increase, as compared with the pre-1870 era, in the provision of efficient elementary schooling from around the mid-1870's, with the erection of the first Board schools, as well as by the evolution

of extended elementary and some strictly post-elementary facilities from the late 80's. However, unlike many other large urban school boards, the Liverpool Board never controlled the largest number of elementary schools and scholars in the city, a situation which remained little changed during the post-1902 years; moreover, and not unconnected with this, it never contained (after 1871-2, at least) a working-class representative, and never a representative of organised labour. If the success of organised labour in this period is to be determined at all on the basis of the degree of labour representation achieved, then one cannot look to the School Board. As suggested, the clue to this "failure" is to be found mainly in the nature of elementary educational provision in the city, which throughout the period covered in this study was dominated by voluntary effort, primarily that of the Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches, whose influence was already well-established in the city before 1870. Although undeniably devoted to the public work of the Board, which was justified largely by "social" arguments, the majority of Board members were themselves fervent supporters of Church or Catholic schools. In an electorate in which the major "political" appeal was to religious sentiment, and therefore to religious teaching--in which the cry of popery, of ritualism or of atheism could readily exploit the collective fears and prejudices of the working population--a labour programme of secular education, for example, stood as little chance of success as one of Catholic catechisms designed for fanatical Orangemen. It was suggested that relative labour successes at School Board elections, as in 1897, themselves reflected the extent to which one or other of the main parties could successfully exploit the particular fears or prejudices of the hour. In this respect, then, Liverpool was an

exceptionally "difficult city" for the organised working class.

On the other hand, if labour's performance in relation to the School Board is seen in the light of a struggle to achieve labour solidarity, then the failure is not absolute. It was seen that, by the late 1890's, Sam Reeves' improved performance at School Board elections partly bore witness to a uniformity of action which had not existed in the earliest labour School Board contests, and which was seldom a feature of municipal contests, where the Trades Council, in particular, was wary of co-operation with the Socialist organisations. Moreover, there was none of the active co-operation with Progressives, as candidates or members, that characterised labour and the London School Board. Although the labour movement willingly participated in the free education agitation of 1892, for example, it did so on its own terms and as part of an independent and continuing campaign which far outlasted that of the Liberal-Nonconformists, and, after 1891, there is no evidence of active co-operation among labour, Socialist and Progressive candidates at School Board elections. This seems to have been true elsewhere in Lancashire.¹

Labour involvement in the field of technical education, from the late 1880's, is also indicative of a degree of cohesion scarcely achieved in other areas of labour agitation. For much of the strictly progressive educational activity of the latter years of the school board era in Liverpool, one has to look to the work of the Technical Instruction Committee, a relatively active and innovative body. It was not only responsible for a considerable range of curricular innovation in technical, scientific, commercial and nautical education, but also for the expansion of a hitherto

voluntarily-organised system of scholarships (for post-elementary and post-secondary studies), and for the promotion of increased municipal secondary schooling and administrative co-ordination of the then numerous educational agencies in the city. The two latter areas were important features of the post-1902 reorganisation and involved the Committee in a wide interpretation of "technical instruction". However mixed its motives, it is clear that the local labour movement, acting largely through the Trades Council, took an active interest in this field. But while most artisans had a direct interest in proposed schemes of technical education, and in the threatened position of the traditional apprenticeship system, the main concern of the Trades Council seems not to have been with technical instruction per se, but with the question of labour representation in an area which was seen to be of central significance for trade unionists. Through co-optation, the Trades Council's participation in the work of the Technical Instruction Committee was to some extent a prelude to its continued co-opted role in the work of the Education Committee, and it offered some compensation for the absence of such a role in the formulation of School Board policy. When it came to the abolition of the school boards, and the supremacy of county and county borough control in education, in 1902-3, the local labour movement had at least acquired a relatively more positive experience of the City Council than of the School Board. Except for the last years of its existence, there was not the outright condemnation of the Technical Instruction Committee that was made of the School Board. That the Trades Council (and labour city councillors from 1905) showed an interest in the entire range of the work of the Education Committee, and not solely in technical instruction, was already apparent towards the end

of the period of the Technical Instruction Committee, and the Council's relationship with that body had served to prepare the way for later debates on the issue of equality of educational opportunity. There was a labour demand for access to secondary, or liberal, education which took precedence over demands for further technical education. In part, this was the result of an increasing Socialist influence over the Trades Council from the mid-1890's, and which, largely through the ILP, continued to influence both that body and the LRC in the early 20th. century. As with a number of Fabian Socialists in the 1890's, extreme left-wingers like James Murphy rejected technical education altogether, considering it to be an instrument of class-based education.

The nature of the relationship between trades councils and technical instruction committees needs further investigation. Existing studies of local labour movements and trades councils have shown that technical education was one of a number of issues which preoccupied, for the most part, trade unionists. But more research is needed before general statements can be made on labour attitudes towards technical education policy or towards daily work, or on the role of technical education committees as quasi-local authorities, concerned primarily with secondary education. Despite conflicting opinions on the purpose or use of technical instruction, among Socialists and trade unionists, "old" and "new", skilled and unskilled, there was an almost unanimous determination to establish bona-fide labour representation on a Committee which, like the Education Committee, catered to the education of both the working and middle classes.

Labour fears that an emphasis on the needs of the middle at the expense

of the working classes constituted a major feature of the later work of the Technical Instruction Committee, were reinforced during the period of the Education Committee, which witnessed the rapid expansion of municipal secondary schooling but, through a policy of stringent economies (intensified by the war effort), a limited growth of elementary education. In fact, as the local Labour Party could proclaim as late as 1938, Liverpool had the largest number of schools black-listed by the Board of Education.² The advances eventually occurring in the field of child welfare came only after a long campaign, promoted by the local labour movement and its elected representatives, and which brought about a climate of opinion favourable to the adoption of minimal legislative measures; it was only the experience of the war years which underlined the necessity for state action in the interests of social, and therefore the national, well-being. The campaign to secure the adoption of welfare legislation was one of the major and most successful undertakings of the Liverpool labour movement in the early 20th century, though it has received virtually no attention from labour or educational historians. It largely precluded a discussion of the social inequalities inherent in the provision of secondary education until after 1918, when, in an era of social reconstruction, the local Labour Party began seriously to combine its focus on the health of the child with a focus on the opportunity for all children to continue formal education beyond the age of 14. These were both parts of a single movement of resistance and opposition to economies in education that operated at a national level. However, if by the 1920's there was an established system of elementary and secondary education in the city, with a theoretical provision of post-elementary schooling "for all", there were effectively

two systems which, as portrayed in Caradog-Jones' Social Survey, continued to reflect 19th century social class divisions. Even following the 1939-45 War, the Liverpool Labour Party was advocating a real "parity of esteem" between the different kinds of secondary schools established by the 1944 Act--though these had in fact evolved during the 1920's and 1930's as a "tripartite" system--since there was still the "way round" of the preparatory schools, while secondary "modern" scholars were effectively seen as "third class citizens".³ In other words, Labour Party language in 1950 was not dissimilar to the language of labour debate on secondary education, in the City Council or in the pages of the Liverpool Forward, some thirty and more years earlier. Moreover, in a local educational situation which had not undergone radical alteration during the inter-war years, Labour argument continued to envisage a fair and improved access to varieties of secondary studies which, even if made available in a single "comprehensive" school, by no means constituted a common secondary curriculum.⁴

The growing labour militancy of the post-1918 period in Liverpool, which was reflected in demands for curricular changes designed to emphasise a working-class "point of view", was exceptional in both the local and national labour movements.⁵ A discussion of the content of education, of "working-class" and "middle-class" curricula, was largely confined to the realm of adult education, which, through the WEA and the Labour College movement, was closely identified with the labour movement, especially in the post-war years. The Liverpool experience would seem to indicate that the differing emphases apparent in this discussion were essentially a function of different sets of aims and convictions in relation to the political direction of Labour Party or TUC policies; the radical 1926 resolutions of

the Trades Council and Labour Party unambiguously situated the demand for educational reorganisation in the syndicalist context of workers' control of industry. However, although there had been an important, if numerically limited, syndicalist wing in the local labour movement since around 1906, which was committed to fundamental social change, the mainstream movement appreciated the educational work of both WEA and Plebs League, and the 1926 resolutions occurred in exceptional, immediate post-strike circumstances. Moreover, the resolutions did not all embody radical demands for workers' control. There was as much a focus on access to secondary schooling, and on existing conditions in elementary schools, as on workers' control or a proletarian outlook on life.⁶

In so far as it was involved in a strictly official capacity with formal educational developments from 1870, the Liverpool labour movement undoubtedly played a numerically weak and minor part. In fact, the attention devoted in press accounts to the arguments and "threats" of labour were out of all proportion to its actual role in local educational policy-making, as in other areas of policy, which were overwhelmingly determined by Conservatives. "Save for a brief period before 1900 Liverpool has been ruled by the Conservative Party for more than a hundred years".⁷ In the later document containing this statement, Conservative power was attributed to two major factors: an efficient and early-developed central organisation, with a succession of "astute and tough Party 'bosses'", and with the powerful support of a Workingmen's Conservative Association; and an "unprincipled use" of religious sectarianism, with a constant appeal to the threat of popery.⁸ This was an accurate assessment of the period

covered in the present study, which marks the successful Tory leadership of Arthur Forwood and Archibald Salvidge. An important consequence of the intrusion of bitter religious conflict into municipal political life, was that Liverpool earned an "unenviable reputation for rough and tumble politics", and that Socialism was readily portrayed by its opponents as a threat to religion and traditional morality. In one sense, this almost impossible position for organised labour--in which religious convictions entered into the discussion of municipal programmes not least in respect of education--served to intensify and preserve a devotion to principle and aspiration on the part of the local Labour Party reminiscent of the earlier Socialist sects. This stood in contrast to the weakness of Tory "opportunism" in the post-1895 period: according to the Labour Party's interpretation of Tory politics,

They [the Tories] do not really believe in what they are doing. The very act of Government is Socialist. That is why Conservative rule is opportunist, and why it moves from one expedient to another. If you have no philosophy other than resistance to change, and no principle other than a refusal to have any principles, there can be no vision.⁹

Apart from the 1890's period of Tory Democracy, or "municipal Socialism", there were no new or concrete proposals made by Salvidge or the Conservative Council in the working-class interest after 1900. The source of Conservative influence was primarily based on Protestantism, especially in the early years of the 20th century:

. . . the easiest road to immediate political success was to find an issue which demanded no practical policy . . . but

one about which people felt strongly, and the opponents were certain to be a minority.¹⁰

During the period covered by this thesis, the Catholic Church stood opposed to the labour movement (and its Socialism in particular), while the source of Conservative strength lay in working-class Protestant prejudice against Roman Catholicism, particularly of the Irish variety. Without specific "answers" on the religious question, the labour movement in Liverpool could win the massive and consistent support of neither Catholic nor Protestant. Official labour records, such as the minutes of the Trades Council or the LRC, suggest that there was a conscious endeavour to exclude religion from party agendas and business, the Labour Party including members of various religious persuasions, and publicly deploring religious excesses and "tests". On the few officially recorded occasions when religion was a central issue, it was in connection either with formal education or with attacks on Party premises or meetings by Orange thugs. The Fabian church and chapel campaign of the 1890's was limited in scope, and perhaps too aggressive in its attempt to portray Socialist morality as Christian, while, within the movement, Catholics were often unwilling to accept the full Socialist or labour policy on "secular" education. In a movement which relied heavily on working-class, and often Irish Catholic, communities for potential support (many early Liverpool Labour Party members were Catholics, notably Sexton and Morrissey), the teaching of Socialist doctrines was unwise. When Eleanor Keeling began writing her column for the Clarion in 1895, for instance, she was clearly warned on the religious question:

If I were you I wouldn't touch on Religion. Many of our readers are Romanists, and their priests are dead against Socialism, so a poor Romanist with Socialistic tendencies has a rough time of it already without the Clarion being down on them.¹¹

A combination of the relative success of municipal ventures, largely at the instigation of Arthur Forwood, in the 1880's and early 1890's, and of worsening economic conditions in the 90's, led to increasing demands for a much greater extension of municipalisation than the Tories (and the Liberals during 1892-5) were prepared to meet.¹² This was true in particular of the extension of social welfare services. It was not difficult, therefore, for the labour movement to portray the Liverpool Corporation as largely "undemocratic"; Salvidge never brought a workingman Conservative into the City Council. However, this was not productive of a relevant Labour counter-attack on the real power-base of Tory predominance in local affairs, except perhaps on a number of isolated occasions, as in 1911. A labour programme concentrating on public health, and especially child welfare, owed something of its relative success to the fact that it was primarily in pursuance of existing national legislation after 1906, and in a field in which Liverpool had been a pioneer during 1847-1872.¹³

It would be erroneous to take the measure of labour representation as necessarily indicative of the strength and over-all influence of the labour movement itself, and a study which was preoccupied exclusively with the activities of labour school board members, labour city councillors, or the parliamentary Labour Party, would do an injustice to the wider

labour movement whose work was in a broad sense educational. Moreover, the history of "failure" is often a part of the history of "success": in relation to education and the national labour movement, Brian Simon has pointed to

. . . a history of breakthroughs and retreats from which the lesson to emerge for the Labour movement was that nothing is gained (or retained) without persistent and determined pressure. Even this may fail to avert severe setbacks.¹⁴

It has been noted that by the 1890's Liverpool could claim the largest Trades Council, as well as the largest and probably most active Fabian Society, outside the metropolis. Along with rapidly expanding ILP branches from 1893 and a "very active" SDF, these bore witness to a well-developed and militant labour movement by 1894, a year which saw the creation of a Socialist newspaper in the local interest, and a Fabian-inspired Labour Representation Committee aimed at fostering the working-class solidarity crucial in a city divided along religious lines. It is not surprising that it was from such a climate that Joseph Edwards' Labour Annual emerged as a deliberate work of education in the interests of a national federation of all Socialist bodies. As such, it was an offshoot of an outstanding and influential Liverpool Fabian educational campaign, which produced an independent set of Tracts, circulars, pamphlets and a newspaper. It provided Edward Pease with a number of models for the guidance of other societies, and for Fabianism as a whole; this was especially true of the labour sermon tactic, and the Society's first and inaugural Circular.¹⁵ As with other provincial societies, a focus on the education of the masses, and on active electoral collaboration with all Socialist organisations,

distinguished the Liverpool Fabian Society from its London counterpart. It was exceptional among provincial societies outside of the university Fabian groups in maintaining an active Fabian Education Group as late as 1909, "for the purpose of studying Education from a Socialist point of view".¹⁶ The full range of its work, which also included working-class housing, unemployment, women's trade unionism and areas of local government, remains to be documented; in conjunction with its mainly educational emphasis, and with a similar documentation of other provincial societies, this could form the basis of a valuable addition to McBriar's detailed account of London Fabianism. An emphasis on the role of ideas in the Party, on effective organisation for Socialism, as in Joseph Edwards' "Fabian Opportunities" or the several writings of John Edwards, remained to the fore much later when, seeking to overcome local apathy and despondency, Labour Party study courses on party organisation envisaged nothing less than the creation of a Socialist mind:

You are organising to create a Socialist mind. All organisers and officials have the dynamic power of the Socialist idea at their command and members of the Party will always respond to the call and urge of officials who are astir with the purpose of spreading Socialism in the mind of the people.¹⁷

Organising of this sort was a prominent feature of the period of the rise of the local Labour Party, at a time when John Edwards was still active in the labour movement, and definite attempts were made to minimise religious differences within the movement and to achieve a degree of labour solidarity. The campaign to secure the adoption of welfare legislation provided an outstanding illustration of concerted action among

labour organisations, and this was reinforced by the experience of the 1911 transport strike which also had a bearing on the issue of child welfare. However, winning support for Socialist perspectives within the movement remained difficult when, as evidence suggests, most trade unions, including the dockers under James Sexton, were conservative in outlook. From 1907 in particular, attempts by those in power to "educate" the labour movement away from Socialism were apparent on the local as well as the national level. In Liverpool, these exploited the appeal of religious sentiment and were especially powerful during the 1911 municipal elections and in the years following the war, when Bolshevism was presented as the only possible alternative to Christianity. The extent to which there was a conscious policy of "control through organisation", that is control of the labour movement through its trade union leaders and politicians, is difficult to know with respect to Liverpool, and could form the basis of study in its own right. Certainly, Sexton became identified with reformist, and "social imperialist" politics during the war and post-war years, but he was rejected by the majority of the local LRC-Trades Council, and had to withdraw from the Labour Group in the City Council. Employers' associations in connection with the waterfront grew increasingly powerful in the period before the outbreak of war, to some extent "tying the hands" of local trade union leaderships; but the building trades, and later the railwaymen, emerged as important channels of anti-leadership and "direct action", and as staunch supporters of the Plebs League ideology. The existence of a reactionary kind of Toryism in Liverpool, with its outright condemnation of trade unionism, and the labour militancy engendered by a number of key strikes, probably limited the extent, or the success, of "control

through organisation". Moreover, to pursue reformist policies, as in the field of social welfare, did not necessarily imply a rejection of Socialist perspectives. The context of educational developments in Liverpool was such that labour demands for free meals, for a wider access to secondary education, or for secular education, were relatively "radical", but they were only a prelude to a complete "reconstruction of society" along co-operative lines. Although it is true that there were official local labour demands for a "changed curriculum", something akin to Labour College orthodoxy, the gist of militant argument was a plea for Rational education, with the implicit demand for working-class, as opposed to clerical or "bourgeois", control. Some militants, like Murphy, rejected any form of palliative or reformist ideology, but this was exceptional, and the majority of mainstream and leftward labourites were at one in their denunciation of perceived "authoritarianism" in formal and informal education, as distinct from the "authority" represented by bodies of knowledge and thought such as history, philosophy or sociology. In this respect, the local labour emphasis, like that of the national labour movement, was to seek educational reforms (free schooling, "equality of opportunity", or school welfare services) with a view ultimately to effecting educational and social change.

Until quite recently, the history of educational reform or growth in the city, like the history of the city's development as a whole, has failed to take account of working-class issues or involvement. That it had been seen essentially through the eyes of "Liverpool's merchant princes" was not an over-exaggeration made in a labour pamphlet of 1957. For the most part, this has been a function of the political evolution of the city

over the last century and a half; it was not until 1924 that Liverpool elected its first Labour M.P. (Jack Hayes, a former police striker), and not until 1945 that the Tory hegemony was, albeit temporarily, "eclipsed and distinguished like a farthing rushlight". Without some historical consideration of either education and the working class, or education and the organised working-class movement, a history of education in the city remains incomplete. As yet, neither of these perspectives has been sufficiently explored. Edward Thompson has shown that, in a large measure, the history of the working class is the history of its own "making", only a fraction of which can be found in the pages of official accounts of struggles for reform or for alternative social and political orders. Yet it is integral to the formulation of the "working-class point of view" envisaged as much by Cole as by Labour College enthusiasts like John Hamilton:

Our history--the history of the working men and women of Liverpool--lies buried in the minute books of our trade unions, in the Annual Reports of the Liverpool Trades Council, in the fading leaflets and pamphlets of past struggles, in the memories handed down by the pioneers of the labour movement . . . Our story will never be fully told. We have been more concerned with making history than with recording it. And the professional chronicler has seldom found us interesting . . . Minute books have mouldered away, files have gone into dustbins . . . The loss of this heritage goes deeper than sentimental regret.. Ignorance of our own history robs us of the experience which could guide and strengthen us today.¹⁹

NOTES TO CHAPTER IX

1. See Pugh, "A Note on School Board Elections", History of Education, VI (1977), p. 117.
2. Labour's Plan for Liverpool (Liverpool Labour Party, Liverpool, 1953), p. 15.
3. Ibid., pp. 18-19.
4. Ibid., p. 18. For a discussion of the "common curriculum", with particular reference to the Labour Party and its educational ideals, see e.g. D. Lawton, Education and Social Justice (London, 1977), chs. 7 and 3; also, in general, his Class, Culture and Curriculum (London, 1975), and H. Entwistle, "Working Class Education and the Notion of Cultural Adequacy", Cambridge Journal of Education, 6 (1976).
5. See e.g. Lawton, Education and Social Justice, pp. 44 and 141; Silver and Lawson, p. 393. An emphasis on the working-class viewpoint did not, however, necessarily imply that a "working-class" curriculum was or ought to be fundamentally different in substance from a "middle-class" one, in terms of subjects studied. See especially, Entwistle, Class, Culture and Education (1978), ch.3, for a discussion of the content of working-class education, which takes account of the evolution, historically, of the English working-class movement.
6. See pp. 271-2, and 363-4 above.
7. Labour's Plan, op. cit., p. 5.
8. Ibid., pp. 5-6.
9. Ibid., p. 6.
10. For this view, see White, A History of the Corporation of Liverpool, p. 192.
11. William Ranstend (Clarion) to Eleanor Keeling, 10 April 1895, in the Joseph Edwards Papers.

12. White, p. 202.
13. See ibid., ch. XI, and, for Liverpool's pioneering public health official (the first MOH), see W.M. Frazer, Duncan of Liverpool (1947).
14. Simon, Labour Movement, p. 363.
15. See ch. 2 above, and the correspondence between Edward Pease and Joseph Edwards in the Joseph Edwards Papers. Pease saw the local Fabian Circular No. 1 as "an excellent document" and wanted it widely distributed. Pease to Edwards, 30 Dec. 1892.
16. See the pamphlet, Fabian Educational Group 1908-9, in Joseph Edwards Papers; and also BLPES, Coll. Misc. 375 and 376 on local Fabian Societies, as referred to in ch. 2 above.
17. Labour Party Study Courses: Notes on Reading, pamphlet no. 1 (n.d., late 1930's), p. 3, in TC Collection, 331 TRA 18/8.
18. See J. Foster, "British Imperialism and the Labour Aristocracy", in J. Skelley (ed.), The General Strike, 1926 (London, 1976), pp. 16ff. See also R. Bean, "Employers' Associations in the Port of Liverpool", *op. cit.*
19. See the Trades Council and Labour Party pamphlet, Trade Union Exhibition (17-29 June 1957), p. 1. This exhibition was part of the festivities marking the 750th. Anniversary of the granting of Liverpool's royal charter (by King John). The Liverpool Corporation's official pamphlet, The Story of Liverpool, by F.A. Bailey and R. Millington, contains no references to the labour movement nor even to working-class life and work, except to record "appalling conditions of overcrowding and squalor" in the mid-19th. century (p. 43), and "the seething industrial unrest of 1911" (p. 49). The pamphlet was widely distributed in the schools .

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

Extract from R.T. Manson, Wayward Fancies

(Liverpool, 1906), pp. 26-28.

gives place to the foul unlovely British
SLUM AND ALL THIS FOR
WHAT? That some cast-iron brained
 plutocratic moneyface shall get rich,
 and strut and bully while he has strength
 and then snort and grunt into a bestial
 old age; and that at his funeral there
 shall be weepings of the Local Press and
 condolences of his Town Council and
 great laudations of **OUR RESPECTED TOWNSMAN.**

and what hope is there that this class
 of man will become extinct? ?

But little, we think, while the present
 system of educating our children
 shall obtain. . . The inducement held
 out to the young is: that by attending
 to their lessons they shall become **rich**.
 The models of Manhood held up before
 them are of those who, having commenced
 humbly, have, through perseverance and
 thrift, risen to be millionaires, merchants,
 ship-owners, generals, admirals.

The boy who commences at the sweeping
 out of the office, and ends by becoming
 the **HEAD** of the firm is the boy whom all are

H.T. 3 19A

GRUB ST. EDWARD'S
ANNUAL PRIZE DISTRIBUTION
BY
G. REEDY PAGE, Esq., T.C.

Go and do unto
them likewise unto



instructed to emulate. The gospel of **G**REED is instilled into them from their infancy. The desire to get rich and to be the master is the highest eminence they are bidden to attempt to attain.

These, they are taught certain lessons of morality by means of Dogmatism, and are made pay lip-service to certain high principles and noble morals; but the inculcations are of the shallowest description, and any effort on the part of the pupil to follow in actual life the dictates of the Ideal Conscience would be ridiculed, even by the teacher.

Such then the teaching, and such the product of that teaching. Such the precepts with which our children are imbued, and such the men who rule the WORLD.

All these have we, the **F**ar-sighted, to count our **F**OES, and against them have we common cause.

Can we hope to alter these things

APPENDIX 2

Liverpool District SDF, "School Board Election 1894": from SDF Handbill, TUC Archives, photostat in Liverpool Record Office.

The electorate was asked to plump their 15 votes solid for Joseph Goodman, whose programme included:-

Free meals in Board Schools

Evening meetings of the Board

Secular, Scientific and Higher Grade Education

Trade Union rate of wages for all employees of the Board

Direct employment of labour, without a contractor wherever possible

Opposition to all excessive and high paid salaries

Not less than twenty-four shillings minimum for unskilled labour

"Equality of Opportunity", "Social Progress", and the development

of a sturdier and more robust manhood and womanhood in our nation's life.

Trades Council School Board Programme, 1894 (which was essentially that of the Labour Representation Committee also).

- 1) All State schools to be free and non-sectarian, with free use of books and stationery.
- 2) Every possible assistance and encouragement in providing cheap or free meals.
- 3) Advocation of an inquiry into staffing and teachers' salaries.
- 4) Improved sanitary arrangements and compulsory closing of all

- insanitary schools in use; school baths, and larger, more healthy playgrounds.
- 5) School Board building to be done without intervention of private contractors, and with observation of Trade Union wages and hours.
 - 6) Painting and decorating of schools in the winter--to assist the equalisation of work in the decorating trades.
 - 7) In cases of Technical classes, the teacher shall be a thoroughly qualified practical instructor.
 - 8) All employees of the Board to be free to establish trade unions or Teachers' Associations--religion or private opinion not to be prejudicial to employment or advancement.
 - 9) The Board school managers to be compelled to allow the use of rooms for meetings, irrespective of religious or political views of the applicants.

(See Trades Council Minutes, 11 Sept. 1894, and Labour Chronicle Nov. 1894)

Liverpool Fabian Society, Tract No. 8, "Practical School Board Reform":
from BLPES, Coll. Misc. 375/3, local Fabian Societies.

Hints to Electors (1897)

It is certain that the tardy progress hitherto made in education may be largely ascribed to the dominant influence of the clerical element upon so many School Boards . . . :

Education absolutely free

Free books and utensils

Withdrawal of religious instruction, the refusal of admission and

home lessons

Provision of courses in the rights and duties of citizenship

Kindergarten

School Boards to feed and clothe the children

Leaving age to be raised to 16

Classes to be limited to 30, and 20 in higher Standards

Summonses for non-attendance to take place in the evening at the Schools--
not in the police courts

Voluntary schools to be under public management

Explicit power for School Boards to establish Secondary Schools

Higher education, including University and Technical education in every
branch, to be free to all who desire them

A national levy based on income and not on rental assessment to take the
place of School Board rates.

Liverpool Cinderella Club, Handbill (n.d., 1894?): from BLPES, Coll.

Misc. 376, handbill collection.

(Although not a School Board programme, this is included to illustrate
the Socialist emphasis on child welfare). The objects of the Club were:-

- 1) free evening meals, and musical and other entertainments, to the
poorest children of the city, regardless of creed
- 2) to get at truly deserving children via teachers, members, and friends--
who will be supplied with coupons to distribute
- 3) entertainments to be given in halls or schoolrooms; for these, ladies
and gentlemen are called upon to assist
- 4) the provision of a meal, to consist of a pint of thick, savoury

and nourishing soup, plus a slice of bread and jam or currant roll (all of standard quality), and will be supplied by the Liverpool Food Association

- 5) Members to spend the night on the streets investigating child-life, and rescuing children via Sheltering Homes, according to their creed.

APPENDIX 3A

The definition of "technical instruction", according to the
Technical Instruction Act (1889), VIII, p. 220:-

. . . "technical instruction" shall mean instruction in the principles of science and art applicable to industries, and in the application of special branches of science and art to specific industries or employments. It shall not include teaching the practice of any trade or industry or employment . . .

This was an addition to other elements, incorporated in the Act, as outlined in the Technical Schools (Local Authorities) Bill of 1889, in ibid., p. 225:-

"Technical Instruction" means instruction in:-

- a) Any of the branches of science and art with respect to which grants are for the time being made by the Department of Science and Art;
- b) The working of wood, clay, metal or other material for purposes of art or handicraft;
- c) Commercial arithmetic, commercial geography, book-keeping, modern languages, and shorthand; and
- d) Any other subject applicable to the purposes of agriculture or trade, or to commercial life and practice, which may be sanctioned by a minute of the Department of Science and Art on the representation of a local authority that such instruction is required by the circumstances of its district.

APPENDIX 3B

Technical Instruction Committee Expenditure during the
First Year of the TIC (1891): based on Report on Expenditure
 (to July 1893), and TIC Minutes, 17 June 1891 :-

To Library, Museum and Arts Committee Capital	£.	-	s.	-	d.
Account (to pay off balance of debt incurred in respect of buildings)	8215	-	15	-	10
To Municipal institutions for purchase of books and appliances for Technical Instruction:					
Reference Library	£550-19-11				
Lending Libraries	479- 8- 6				
Museum	100-10- 2				
<u>Total:</u>	1130	-	18	-	7
To grants to various institutions... for purchase of appliances and apparatus					
University (engineering, physics and chemical labs.)	£ 1250				
Secondary Schools: College (Shaw St.) Institute SFX	1200				
Evening Classes: Science and Art classes YMCA, Balfour Inst., Sanitary Plumbing etc.	770				
School of Science	1000				
Elementary Schools (grants of £5 to £50) includes pupil teachers, Hope St. Higher Grade, and some denominational schools	274- 5- 0				
Other: School of Cookery, Gov't School of Art, etc.	290				
<u>Total:</u>	4784	-	5	-	00
+unexpected balance carried forward	1391	-	8	-	0
<u>TOTAL:</u> ¹	15,522	-	7	-	5

¹By the late 1890's, expenditure reached in excess of £19,000.

APPENDIX 3C

Report by F. E. Kitchener, Assistant Commissioner on Secondary Education in the Hundreds of Salford and West Derby, Bryce Report, V. p. 206, in P.P., XLVII (1895), Appendix D :-

Percentage time in different Liverpool secondary schools spent on literary, scientific, technical and art sections of the curriculum:-

	<u>Lit.</u>	<u>Sci.</u>	<u>Tech.</u> ¹	<u>Art</u> ²
Merchant Taylors classical	73.3	26.7		
modern	60	40		
Liverpool College, Upper School classical	74.2	25.8		
modern	54.2	41.9		3.2
Liverpool College, Middle	45.2	51.6		3.2
Liverpool College, Commercial	35.6	38		6.4
Liverpool Institute, Higher	62	38		
Liverpool Institute, Commercial	43.3	50		6.7
St. Francis-Xavier	67.2	30.8		2
Catholic College Institute	43.3	28.3	21.7	6.7
Liverpool College (girls)	49.8	30.4	9.7	10.3
Liverpool Institute (girls)	52.4	36.5		11
Brae Street Higher Grade, 1st year	28.3	44.6	12.1	14.8
(Board School) 2nd year	28.5	52	12.1	7.4

¹including manual training, cooking etc.

²including music, mechanical drawing.

APPENDIX 4A

Outline Syllabus for a course of 24 lectures on the "Economic and Social Development of England in the 19th. Century" (1915-16),

by Evan Hughes

(based on an entry in University Extension Board, Joint Committee on Tutorial Classes for Workpeople, Report Book, III, p. 63, Liverpool University Archives, S 2749):-

A - The rise and growth of the existing economic system

Banking and capitalism

Population

- Laissez-faire movement. Adam Smith
- Economic effects of the Industrial Revolution including the growth of the "proletariat"
- Social conditions in the early 19th. Century

B - The Industrial System in the 19th. Century

- Finance

- Business

- The Labour Market

early trade unionism

conciliation and arbitration

Syndicalism

- Commerce

- Agriculture

- The Distribution of Wealth

APPENDIX 4B

Two Labour College Lecture Syllabuses

included in The Plebs, 15 (Feb. and Sept. 1923):-

- i) "Biology and Evolution. A Syllabus of Lectures delivered for the Liverpool Labour College" (by John Hamilton)

- ii) "The Builders' History. A Syllabus of Twelve Lectures for Classes under NCLC auspices" (by John Hamilton)

(see pages following)

BIOLOGY and EVOLUTION

A Syllabus of Lectures delivered for
the Liverpool Labour CollegePART I—THE EVIDENCES OF HUMAN EVOLUTION.
I AND II: THE HUMAN RACES.

THE living races of Man are the Australian, the African and Negroid races, the Mongolian, and the European and East Indian races. All these are the one species—Modern Man.

The extinct races of modern man are the Tasmanians, Cro-Magnons, Grimaldis and some others. Extinct races of ancient man are the Neanderthals, Pre-Neanderthals, Piltdown Man and *Pithecanthropus*. These are different species. The course of evolution is: From some unknown Anthropoid ancestral form, through *Pithecanthropus* and Piltdown Man (*Eoanthropus*) to the Pre-Neanderthals. In each case the process ended in a branch of the human family tree that became extinct. *Pithecanthropus* is the "annectant form," or "missing link," showing most strikingly both the Simian and the human characters. But the Pithecanthropoids, *Eoanthropoids* and Neanderthals all became extinct, from causes that we cannot trace.

Modern man (*Homo sapiens*) comes from some form that belongs, probably, to the Pre-Neanderthals. Then a number of races evolved. The Grimaldis (who were probably the ancestors of the existing black and white races); the "River-bed," "Galley Hill," etc., races; the Cro-Magnons, and the Tasmanians. All these, too, have died out. But, on the way, so to speak, they have given origin to the four main categories of existing man.

III: EVOLUTION AS AN HISTORICAL RECORD.

The great geological periods (Primary, Secondary and Tertiary) and their characteristic forms of life. The Quaternary period—that of the succession of glacial and inter-glacial ages. Man evolves during the Quaternary period—probably only about a 50,000th part of the whole life-period of the earth.

Each race had its own anatomical characters, but the cultural characters are more significant, for the purely morphological ones change but little. The cultural phases are: Eolithic, Lower Paleolithic, Upper Paleolithic, Neolithic and Metallic, the distinctions being based on the materials of the implements used,

and on the craftsmanship developed. The various cultural periods are not strictly successive, but overlap. Thus Tasmanian Man, in the middle of the 19th century, had a neolithic culture. Cro-Magnon Man, 10,000 to 20,000 years ago, was Paleolithic and made rude flint implements, but was highly artistic, had a ritual, and was morphologically "higher" than Modern European Man.

IV: EVIDENCES THAT AN EVOLUTIONARY PROCESS
HAS OCCURRED.

Everything, so far, *points to* an evolutionary process. The sequence of forms of life, up to man, and of the times of appearance of the various races of man, are all *as they would have been* if there had been evolution. But all this historical evidence is quite consistent with the hypothesis of special creation.

When the morphology of the animal kingdom is studied anatomical relationships are *suggested*. Everything is as it would be, given evolution. But, again, this is consistent with special creation and design. The study of embryology suggests powerfully the evolutionary idea. Higher animals show, in their individual, or embryogenic development, traces of the organisation of the lower groups.

The paleontological record and the evidence of embryology thus point to a process of evolution, but cannot prove that it did actually occur. The proof is in the establishment of the mechanism of the process and the demonstration that transformism (the origin of new species) can be seen in progress even now. This proof requires a knowledge of animal physiology, and it is the subject of the following lessons.

PART II—THE STUDY OF ORGANIC ACTION.

V AND VI: THE ANIMAL BODY; THE MECHANISM
OF MUSCLE AND NERVE.

It is convenient to regard the animal as something *purposeful*—though no admission of a "natural teleology" or "purpose" should be made. In teaching physiology emphasis should be laid on the great impulses, or "urges" of life: (1) self-preservation, (2) nutrition, and (3) growth (including reproduction). The animal organism must defend itself, eat, grow and reproduce—these impulses and their results are its life.

The animal is a structure of organ-systems, organs and tissues. These parts are unified, or integrated to constitute a mechanism that goes *of itself*. Lecture V deals with this mechanism—the skeleton, muscular system, central and peripheral nervous system, the circulatory system, the nutritive, respiratory and excretory

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systems, the reproductive system, the tissues and cells of which all these are composed. Lecture VI deals with the mechanisms of movement, organs of locomotion, attack and defence. A movement-system includes (a) a part of the skeleton provided with muscles, (b) the nerves connecting this with the central nervous system, and (c) the sense-organs associated with the motions which are to be effected.

VII AND VIII: THE BRAIN AND NERVOUS SYSTEM; SENSATION AND PERCEPTION (AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF PSYCHOLOGY).

The unifying or integrating bodily mechanism is the nervous system; this makes the activities of the animal *one*. The central nervous system in man is the brain and spinal cord and connected with this is the afferent peripheral nervous system—that is: (1) the nerves carrying stimuli from the organs of sense, and from the body itself, to the brain and spinal cord, and (2) the efferent peripheral nervous system carrying stimuli from the brain and spinal cord to the *effector* organs, that is, the muscles and glands.

The human nervous system is highly complex, but it can very easily be compared with that of a low animal, such as the earth-worm, and it is fundamentally the same. Above all the brain in man is the organ of control over the muscles; the link between events happening outside the body and bodily movements. Such bodily movements *adapt themselves* to the events that occur in the environment so as to satisfy the animal impulses—self-preservation, nutrition, growth and reproduction.

Sensation is the stimulation, by purely physical means, of the organs of sense and the conveyance of such stimuli to the central nervous system. The bodily movements that then occur are the *responses* to the external events that stimulate the sense organs. Such responses are purposive, subserving the life-impulses. In all this treatment *consciousness* need not occur, nor need it be postulated. When we come to deal with consciousness, perceptions, conceptions, ideas, etc., we enter the field of psychology.

Instinctive and intelligent activities must, however be studied here because of their bearing on evolution. Instinctive actions are inherited abilities to do certain things; intelligent activities are abilities of the same scope, but they must be *learned* by trial and error, or imitation, and they are not transmitted by heredity.

IX AND X: THE DRIVING FORCE OF THE ANIMAL MECHANISM; DIETETICS; ENERGY.

The animal does work and the condition for this is that it should expend energy. The physical meaning and measurement of energy

and work. Animal energy is obtained by the combustion of food substances within the muscles. Muscular energy is controlled and liberated by the nervous system.

The digestive and nutritive organs (mouth, stomach and intestines with their glands) transform food chemically into states capable of assimilation by the muscles and other bodily tissues. The heart and blood vessels distribute this transformed food material through the body. The lungs (in higher animals) and the gills (in lower animals) take oxygen from the environment and the blood stream carries this to the tissues. There the food materials are oxidised so as to yield energy.

Waste substances result (note the analogy of the animal body to a steam engine, or other prime motor). These waste products are excreted by the lungs, kidneys and skin.

Food substances have various energy-values. Classes of foods. The physiological meaning of labour-power.

PART III—THE STUDY OF ORGANIC EVOLUTION.

XI AND XII: REPRODUCTION AND SEX; EMBRYOLOGY.

An individual animal grows from a single, minute piece of protoplasm—the ovum. Having attained to full development, its further growth takes the form of reproduction. There are numerous ways in which organisms reproduce.

Asexual reproduction (in which there is no distinction between males and females); reproduction by budding; sex and its meaning—the differentiation of the gametes (that is, the ova in the females and the spermatozoa in the males). Fertilisation of the ovum by the sperm and the meaning of the process. Hermaphroditism (where the female and male organs are contained in the same individual). Parthenogenesis (or virgin reproduction). Artificial parthenogenesis (the fertilisation of the ovum by chemical means).

Embryogeny is the development of the individual body from the fertilised ovum. Stages of development—the blastula and gastrula phases that can be recognised in most animals. The law of recapitulation and its significance—the individual *tends* to retrace, in its own bodily development, certain phases in its evolutionary history. Rudimentary and vestigial organs and their significance for evolutionary hypothesis.

XIII AND XIV: HEREDITY AND THE THEORY OF THE GERM-PLASM. CROSSING; HYBRIDITY AND MENDELISM.

Something in the make-up of an organism tends to cause it to

resemble its parents—immediate or remote; this is the *family or racial organisation*. However it tends to resemble one or another parent, or grand, or great-grand (etc.) parent something tends to cause it to resemble a certain generalised type of body and behaviour—this is the *specific organisation*.

Sexual reproduction always leads to *variability*—the offspring from the same parents do not exactly resemble each other or either parent. The effects of crossing different races, or strains, or species; these are very complex. Hybrids or mongrels are the offspring from parents belonging to different species or strains. Usually the characters of the two parents are not simply blended in the offspring, but may be transmitted according to certain "Mendelian laws."

The essential things in sexual reproduction are certain substances contained in the ova (of the female parent) and the spermatozoa (of the male parent). These substances are the *germ plasms*.

The hereditary qualities, or organisations, of the animal are, somehow or other, *carried by* chemical substances contained in the germ-plasms. What is transmitted from parent to offspring (in either ovum or spermatozoon) is a bundle of *factors*. These factors determine the adult form of the individual in the course of development. The factors tend to adhere to each other, forming certain combinations. The adhesive tendency is what we have called the family, racial and specific organisations. All these matters constitute the study of heredity.

XV AND XVI: THE THEORIES OF EVOLUTION.

Part III. (Lectures XI to XIV) lead up easily to the present theories of transformism.

Lamarck's hypothesis. The animal responds to changes in the environment by changes in its body and behaviour, and so transformism occurs. Thus the use of parts of the body develops the latter, and *vice versa* with the disuse of parts. Such bodily modifications are then inherited by the offspring and gradually new varieties and species of organisms come into existence.

The inheritance of acquired characters. The weakness of the above hypothesis lies in proving that changes in the body acquired during the lifetime of an individual are transmitted by heredity. This is very difficult. Many biologists do not believe that individually acquired characters are transmissible by heredity. *Natural Selection* as stated by Darwin avoids this difficulty. There are two kinds of variability (in form and behaviour) from the average, (1) fluctuations which are not transmissible, (2) mutations which are transmissible by heredity. Variations are advantageous or not to the individual; if they are they aid it in the struggle for existence

and the favourable mutation is transmitted to the offspring. Thus transformism occurs.

The modern study of heredity—especially of Mendelism—is leading to a re-casting of the Darwinian theory of natural selection.

XVII: THE FACTORS OF HUMAN EVOLUTION.

The *course of human evolution* has been—erect posture with changes in the skeleton and muscles of the foot, pelvis and neck, then the fore-limbs set free for "handling." Development of the wrist, thumb and fingers. Development of the motor area of the cerebral cortex. Acquisition of omnivorous diet. Increasing intelligent, as opposed to instinctive, behaviour. Evolution of the herd-instinct.

All this has now nearly ceased. No marked changes in the human body for 10,000 to 20,000 years.

The *further development*, since paleolithic man, has been (1) that of the tool in the generalised sense; (2) evolution of the community through the family horde, the gens and the tribal group; further development of the acquisitive instinct, which is always in conflict with the herd instinct. So we pass to the study of Sociology.

The *factors of degeneracy* are (1) the extraordinary development of the acquisitive instinct, leading to modern capitalism. This leads to specialisation of hand-labour, the use of semi-automatic machine tools, and so to a restriction of the expression of individual variability, on which all biological evolution depends. (2) Growth of the property owning class and the consequent enjoyment of wealth without responsibility for production. Thus the Lamarckian factor of disuse comes into play. (3) The weakening of the struggle for bodily existence in the modern state; preservation and reproduction of the unfit (insane, unbalanced, epileptic, deaf-mute, feeble-minded epileptic). Increasing difficulty of child-bearing in women due to the slackening of natural elimination.

The Modern Eugenics Movement. This should be discussed critically. It supports the aristocratic ideal and that of social castes. Its evidence, at present, entirely insufficient. Its leaning on the notion of the non-transmissibility of acquired characters—the latter still in doubt.

PART IV—COSMIC EVOLUTION.

XVIII: MATTER, SPACE AND TIME.

Fundamental ideas. The hierarchy—electrons, atoms, molecules colloidal particles. The chemistry of the universe and its unity. *Space and its measurement.* The dimensions of space. The

geometry of Euclid and modern ideas. Units of space. Cosmic space and its measurement.

Time and duration. Measurement of time. Intervals of duration.

Universal gravitation.

XIX: THE NATURE AND EXTENT OF THE VISIBLE UNIVERSE.

The stellar universe: stars, star-clusters, hot and cold stars, gaseous and spiral nebulae, cosmic dust, the solar system. Cosmic distances. The galaxy.

The condition of the earth. The sun an eruptive star. The origin of the earth. The nebular hypothesis of Kant and Laplace and its difficulties. The modern planetesimal hypothesis. The ultimate fate of the solar system.

XX: THE ORIGIN OF LIFE.

The nature of a living organism; something that persists of itself, adapting itself to its environment and the changes in the latter, reproducing its own individual form and mode of behaviour.

Spontaneous generation. This has never been demonstrated. Hypothesis of the terrestrial origin of life.

The hypothesis of Pan-spermia. Life everywhere in the universe. Germs of life travelling through cosmic space. Life, like matter, eternal. A state of matter.

LITERATURE.

PART I.—*Ancient Types of Man*, Keith (Harper's Library of Living Thought), *Geology for Beginners*, Watts (Macmillan). For reference, *Men of the Old Stone Age*, Osborn (Bell), *Origin of Species*, Chapters x., xi.

PART II.—Huxley's *Text Book of Physiology*, or Hill's *Manual of Physiology* (Arnold). *The Human Body*, Keith (Home University Library).

PART III.—*Sax*, Geddes and Thomson (Home University Library). *Origin of Species*, *Descent of Man*, Darwin. *Evolution*, E. S. Goodrich (People's Books, Jack). *The Herd Instinct*, Trotter (Methuen).

PART IV.—*The Origin of a Planet*, Grew (Methuen). *Matter and Energy*, Soddy, (Home University Library). *Origin and Nature of Life*, Moore (Home University Library).

J. J.

We are compelled, through pressure of space, to hold over until next month an article by Scott Nearing, author of "The American Empire," on "Proletarian Culture in America."

CLASS ROOM NOTES for Students and Tutors

THE *Socialist Standard* for December had an attack on The PLEBS, because we said there had been inflation of the currency during the war, and this was the cause of higher prices. It sought to prove that there was no inflation by showing that prices had risen in a greater percentage than the quantity of currency had increased! Therefore, it argued, there was no inflation of currency *relative to prices*! But whoever said anything about "*relative to prices*"? The editor of the *S. S.* clearly does not understand the meaning of "inflation," which simply means an expansion in the volume of currency *leading to a rise in prices*, and the figures quoted in the *S. S.* merely go to show this. Nowhere—but in the *S. S.*—is inflation used to mean increase in currency to a greater extent than increase of prices. Price merely expresses a relation between currency and commodities exchanged. Hence, increased currency and the relation (prices) alters. The level of prices is not a separate entity of its own, moving up or down at will. The point about "convertibility" in the *S. S.* is also wrong. There was only *nominal* convertibility. Restriction on export of gold made it not worth anybody's while to convert Treasury notes into gold. The *S. S.* will duly appreciate the verdict hall-marked by the official imprint of the State at present controlling the political machine. The *Final Report on Currency and Foreign Exchanges* (Cmd. 464) remarked concerning the convertibility of the currency note: "The nominal convertibility of the note, which has been sustained by the prohibition of the export of gold, is of little value."

Advanced students, who have access to libraries, would do well to look up the article by Abraham Bergland on the Political Policy of Japan in the October, 1922, issue of the *Journal of Political Economy* (Chicago Univ.). The article starts by saying: "Political policies are usually shaped by economic forces. They may be, and in most cases are, the resultant of several industrial influences working towards certain general... ends. Not infrequently, however, a single industry or class of industries may be the sole or main determinant of political action." He gives facts and figures to show the relation of Japan's policy in China to the Japanese iron and steel industry. He notes how Japanese steel companies are setting up steelworks on the mainland of China. The figures of raw material resources, taken from the reports of the International Geological Congress, are most valuable.

we can measure the relationship between the economic cycles and the social cycles. To do this, we obtain what is known as the *coefficient of correlation*. If for every upward movement in the economic series there is a corresponding upward movement in the social series, and the downward movements also correspond exactly, we have a perfect correlation, which is expressed as 1. Any lesser correlation will be expressed as something between 1 and 0, that is, as a fraction. For example, nine-tenths will represent a high, five-tenths a moderate correlation, and 0 a lack of all correlation. Conclusions follow from results obtained in studying the conditions in the U.S. Similar work on English material, although not in form for publication, indicates that these conclusions are also applicable to conditions here.

1. *Marriages*.—The correlation between marriage rate and the business cycle is high, being nine-tenths for the period 1870—1920. This means that in times of unemployment and business depression the marriage rate falls to a minimum and rises with the return of "good times." The constriction of the marriage rate below what might be considered normal is bound, in itself, to have undesirable social results. There seems to be evidence that prostitution and illegitimacy increase when the marriage rate is below normal.

2. *Births*.—The correlation between the birth rate and the business cycle for the same period is fairly low, three-tenths, if we assume that it moves one year after the changes in business conditions. This relation is probably only secondarily an effect of business changes, and is primarily due to changes in the marriage rate.

3. *Divorce*.—The correlation is high, seven-tenths, for the period 1867—1906. The economic influence on the divorce rate has been emphasised earlier in the article.

4. *Disease*.—There is evidence that the diseases of poverty fluctuate closely with the business cycle. The coefficients of correlation have not been computed.

5. *Death*.—The general death rate shows a surprisingly high correlation, sixth-tenths. This means that there are more deaths in times of prosperity than in times of depression, but the faulty death registration in the U.S. may affect the result. Similarly infant death rates show a correlation of four-tenths. This may mean also, of course, that the bad effects of a period of depression do not show their results immediately, but lead to deaths several

THE BUILDERS' HISTORY.

A Syllabus of Twelve Lectures for classes held under N.C.L.C. auspices, and in particular for those in connection with the A.U.B.T.W. Educational Scheme.

By JOHN HAMILTON.

TEXT BOOK: "The Builders' History," By R. W. POSTGATZ (Labour Publishing Co., 12s. 6d., or Special Edition for Members of the National Federation of Building Trades Operatives and Plebs Students, 5s. 6d.).

FOREWORD.

This is the first, we hope, of special studies of the origin, growth and vicissitudes of organisation of the workers in particular industries. While dealing mainly with the building industry, regard has been given to the history of trade unionism generally. It is a mere truism to assert that if trade unionists desire to be usefully active in their unions, they must understand *why* organisation came into existence, its development and modifications. We must study the effects the developing forces of production have had, and how organisation and tactics necessarily changed to meet the changing relations which economic forces compel.

From history we learn two outstanding facts:

- (1) That everything is subject to change.
- (2) That the whole vast and complex social organisation has for its foundations the labour of the common people.

Further, as Marx and Engels wrote in the "Communist Manifesto": "The real fruit of the workers' struggle lies not in the immediate result but in the *always growing unity of the workers*."

The "Builders' History" was conceived to meet the needs of the "Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers" for its educational scheme, but in order that all sections of the industry might bear equal responsibility for its production, the "National Federation of Building Trades Operatives" decided to undertake its publication.

A study of this history will show the real nature and results of the workers' struggle, therefore as a result no intelligent worker can remain indifferent as to where his duty lies.

Introductory: 1749-1823. (Chapter 1.)

Building probably longest and least eventful history. Its history written in its monuments, and the spirit of the medieval craftsmen aptly described in the following doggerel lines:—

"These craftsmen old had a genial whim,
Which nothing could ever destroy,
They had a love of their art that naught could dim,
They toiled with chronic joy.
Nothing was too difficult to essay
In aught they dared to embark,
They triumphed on many an Abbey grey
Where they left their mason mark."

Trade Unions did not originate in the Middle Ages. "Industry was carried on under a system of enterprise at once public and private, associative and individual. The unit of production was the workshop of the individual master craftsmen, but the craftsman held his position as a master only by virtue of full membership in his Craft Guild."

Material conditions of the Middle Ages favourable to the craftsmen as compared with modern society. Ephemeral combinations of journeymen, such combinations illegal. No connection between the Medieval Guild and the Trade Union. Only with the appearance and development of the capitalist system of production, with its cleavage between employers and employed, did Trade Unionism arise. In the Building Industry there are no unions extant before the eighteenth century. Capitalist system slower in its growth in the building trades, hence no necessity for petitions to Parliament, which was characteristic of other workers in this period to protect themselves from the rapacity of employers. Dread of workers' organisations inspires Combination Acts, these Acts prevented records of the local Trade Clubs to be put in writing. Numerous prosecutions under the Acts, hence Trade Unions driven to be secret organisations. The era of mutual aid and improvement as a necessary disguise to real activities. Festive character of early unions, "Ale for new members and Tylers, 2s." Social purposes as well as trade protection.

Favoured position of builders as compared with workers in the machine-invaded industries.

LECTURE 2.

The Repeal of the Combination Acts: 1824-1830. (Chapter 2.)

The agitation for the appointment of a Government Commission to inquire into Exportation of Machinery, Emigration of Artisans and Combination Laws. Consummate wire-pulling, the Commission artfully controlled by Hume, prompted by Place. Scope represented to Government as only concerned with encouragement of machine production. Resolution, unanimously favouring repeal of Combination Acts, agreed to and adopted by Parliament in the Act of 1824. Place's curious prophecy unfulfilled, Unions sprang into being everywhere like mushrooms, and Building Unions played their part in attacks on employers. Alarmed ruling class substitute an amending Act in 1825. This amended Act, while collective bargaining

and combination remained lawful, created specific offences of "threats, intimidation, molestation and obstruction." Dramatic action of the carpenters in stopping building of Buckingham Palace in 1825. Work resumed under military protection. The depression and débâcle of 1825-1826. The only exception to the general collapse being the formation of a National Union by the Carpenters in 1827, followed by the Bricklayers in 1829. These foreshadowed the great General Union of 1832.

LECTURE 3.

The Operative Builders' Union: 1831-1833. (Chapters 3 and 4.)

Very meagre records existing of the most glorious episode in Building Trade Union history. Formation of Operative Builders' Union in 1832 by *federation* of existing Unions, not including the labourers. Revolutionary temper of the workers, alarm of the employers. Political trump-card of the middle class by the passing of the Reform Bill, 1832, disgusted the workers with political action. Builders' Union reflected that spirit, and was the vanguard of the first attack on the employers. Affinity between the programme then and modern Syndicalism and Sovietism. Attack on new system of "general contracting." Sympathy of the small master joiner, etc., with the worker, resentful both with the new economic development. Sympathy alienated as big and small bosses alike grew alarmed as power of the Union developed. Robert Owen allies himself with the Union. Effects of his teaching. The storm bursts. Masters retaliate by presentation of the "Document," to appear again and again in Building Trade Union history. Cessation of all building operations in Lancashire. Adoption of Owen's plan for a Building Guild at the "Builders' Parliament," 1833. The Union resolves itself into a Guild. Resemblance to modern Guild programme. First demand for an eight-hour working day.

LECTURE 4.

The Guild and Defeat: 1834. (Chapter 5.)

Owen forces the pace on the rank and file. The "Exclusives" sound a note of warning. The Guild commences work. High hopes, but faults in organisation—excessive autonomy of Lodges and inexperience in business matters. Impossibility of financing both the Lancashire struggle and the Guild. Owen's plan for the Builders' Union to be a part of the G.N.C.T.U. Builders hold aloof. The new Union, however, eclipses the Builders' Union. The O.B.U. organ, the "Pioneer," transferred to the G.N.C.T.U. Work stopped upon the Birmingham Guild Hall for lack of funds. Events which decided the fate of the O.B.U. belong to history of the G.N.C.T.U. Disastrous small strikes, central authority weak and incompetent, no common policy evolved. The monstrous penalty of seven years' transportation on the Dorchester labourers, the only reply to this being monster demonstrations. Owen commences heresy hunting. Members flood out of the Consolidated as fast as they flooded in. The final collapse. The Builders' Union and the London "Beer" lock-out. Funds abstracted from the Masons' section. The "Exclusives" step in. Constituent bodies fall away, and the Builders' Union passes out of existence. Economic lessons to be learnt.

LECTURE 5.

After the Storm: 1835-1847. (Chapter 6.)

Majority of the Unions went down with the wreck of the Builders' Union. Stonemasons an exception. Plasterers', Painters' and Slaters' national organisations disappeared entirely. History of formation of Scottish Unions independent of the O.B.U. and their decline. The workers had not lost their revolutionary aims, but changed their weapons to the political arena—Chartism. Building Unions, however, played very little part in this agitation. Cautious policy of the Unions, oaths being discontinued. O.S.M. introduces a new weapon, the black list. Furor created in 1841 by strike of masons on the Houses of Parliament, Woolwich Dockyard and Nelson's Column against a bullying foreman. Prolonged struggle, the most famous monument to the British Empire built by scab labour, and the final defeat of the masons was not an absolute one. The demand in Lancashire, 1846, for the nine hours working day. Employers retaliate by the lock-out. Withdrawal of the "nine hours" demand, and defeat of the "Document." Trouble in the Bricklayers' Society and formation of the two rival groups—"The Manchester Order" and the "London Order." Disaster and depression. Employers' hope of reducing the building operatives to "local associations" seemed likely of realisation. The Masons alone stem the tide.

LECTURE 6.

The Significance of Richard Harnott: 1847-1859.

(Chapters 7 and 8.)

Harnott (General Secretary, O.S.M.) heads the list of long-period officials in the Building Trade Unions. The old system of Trade Union organisation was developed by him as far as possible without radical change. But the power of local Lodges was curtailed. Throughout the country there was no uniformity in hours or rates of wages, but the first steps were taken to this end. Development of the "seasonal" strike. Piecework strenuously opposed. Opposition to Owenite plans for co-operative production on grounds of impracticability. History between 1847 and 1867 is the history of continued revolt by individual Lodges of importance in the O.S.M. against Harnott's centralisation policy, and of continued successes by him.

Employers and Government use legal persecution from 1854 onwards in two forms—conviction of strikers for conspiracy or "intimidation," and protection of pilferers of Societies funds. In 1867 a Court decision laid it down that Trade Union funds were not recoverable at law, because, though not illegal, the Unions were associations in restraint of trade and not to be protected. The direction of the legal battle then became a matter for the whole of the organised T.U. movement through the "Junta."

1860 sees the rebirth of a vigorous Trade Union movement in the building trades. The "nine hours" movement in London. George Potter takes the lead. Presentation of a petition, victimisation of leader of the deputation. Strike of masons and subsequent general lock-out. Revival of the "Document." Bitter opposition. Withdrawal of the "Document" and dropping of the "nine hours" demand. Deep impression made on the workers by the struggle. Two important results—formation of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners and the London Trades Council. Foundation of the "Beehive." Reorganisation of other Building Trade Unions.

LECTURE 7.

The Scrvile Generation: 1860-1866. (Chapters 9 and 10.)

Reconstruction of the Trade Union movement headed by the "Junta." The revolt in favour of caution, care and method, self-restraint and laborious attention. Applegarth, most of all, incarnated this new spirit of the "model" Unionism. High contributions and high benefits his goal. Development of strong craft spirit. Applegarth's panacea of "unconditional arbitration." Trade Union movement throws its weight in support of the Liberal Party. "Junta" uses London Trades Council for political agitation. Political victories, after enfranchisement of the town workers in 1867, included the passing of the Arbitration Act of 1867 and 1872. Applegarth's quarrel with Potter. The latter stood for small Trade Clubs and federal organisation as opposed to centralised, wealthy and powerful unions, and for strikes as a principle instead of conciliation. Formation of Master Builders' Association. The Golden Age of Victorian Capitalism. The infliction of the hourly system of payment. The "International" founds a rival organ to the "Beehive"—"The Working Man's Advocate."

LECTURE 8.

The Struggle in other Unions: 1860-1872.

(Chapters 11 and 12.)

Edwin Coulson (General Secretary, London Order of Bricklayers), a member of the "Junta," advocated the two fundamental principles of the Society: (1) That strikes were an evil to be avoided at all costs; (2) that absolute discipline and obedience to rule was essential. His dislike for Geo. Howell, a fellow bricklayer, the first Secretary of the London Trades Council. Howell joins the Manchester Order. Introduction of new benefits in the London Order, contributions raised from 3d. a week to 10d., great loss of membership in consequence. Development of Shop Steward organisation puts the O.B.S. on the up-grade again. Rivalry with the Manchester Order, the latter's policy and organisation being of the usual old-fashioned type. "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work." The London Order spreads northwards; conflict and strife. Markley (O.B.S.) leads a blackleg movement during the Manchester lock-out of the Manchester Order to enforce arbitration and payment by the hour. Coulson secures his expulsion. A monotonous exchange of insulting letters onwards between the two societies. Not, however, till the testing-time of 1878-1880 did the Manchester Order drop into a position of incontestable inferiority. Origins of the Plasterers' and Plumbers' Societies. Decline of the Painters' craft. The Manchester "Alliance" of Painters. Its secretary "a follower of Richard Cobden, the apostle of Free Trade." Attempts at Unionism amongst the Brickmakers. Violence of their methods the result of the introduction of machinery. They hadn't the insight to organise the machine workers to demand the same standard rates and conditions of the hand workers. Drastic action by the authorities and rapid decline of their organisation. Other Unions. Dependence of the Masons on Harnott. His death and consequences thereof.

LECTURE 9.

Applegarth's Victory: 1866-1885. (Chapters 13 and 14.)

The "Junta" policy was not that of complete non-resistance to the employers. Applegarth and Coulson made no concession on two questions—

strongly support the Workers' International founded in 1864. Intention of the founders was to extend the benefits of trade unionism to the Continent. The later introduction of revolutionary aims horrified the "Junta." Judicial persecution of the trade unionists at this time fell under three main heads. Two of these were referred to in Lecture 6. The third instrument of abuse was the old Master and Servants Acts, under which a worker who broke a contract could be imprisoned for three months, whereas the employer could only be sued for damages. Imprisonment, moreover, did not of itself discharge the worker's debt. These criminal provisions were repealed in 1867. Both the Potter and Applegarth groups were agreed to agitate for the reform of these laws by political action. The result was the failure of Potter to achieve success in this competition.

A Royal Commission was set up in 1867 to inquire into various charges against the Trade Unions, including "rattening" at Sheffield. This represents the last and most formidable attempt of the employers to suppress Trade Unionism. The evidence of Applegarth and other leaders helped the Commission to satisfy itself that there was a distinction between the policy of the Trade Unions proper and isolated outrages. This realisation was subsequently expressed in civil and criminal legislation. In 1868 the "Recorders' Act" was slipped through Parliament, which made defaulting officials of Trade Unions liable to imprisonment. In 1871 the Trade Union Act was passed which granted, under two main heads, all the demands of the Trade Unionists. But, besides this Act, another was passed which recapitulates the various decisions on molestation and picketing that had made Trade Union action so difficult. This was the Criminal Law Amendment Act, which was repealed in 1875 and its vigour much mitigated by the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act. The conflicts in London in 1872 and the inglorious part of the masons. The attempt to organise builders' labourers. The slump in trade and the Law Courts strike of 1877. Debacle of the masons. Quarrels between the Unions.

LECTURE 10.

The Building Trades Isolated: 1895-1910. (Chapters 15 and 16.)

Changes in officers, but no change of policy in the Building Trade Unions in 1889-1890. Energies of the ablest members turned to the Trades Union Congress. The Builders' leaders, as Broadhurst, formed the nucleus of the "old gang," carrying out the policy of the old "Junta." The T.U.C. under their leadership became practically a Liberal electoral instrument. Their demands were merely for detailed reforms in the Civil Service, etc. Only reluctantly did they support the Factory Acts, as they were opposed on principle to any interference of the State in industry. In 1886 Broadhurst was appointed Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department, the highest post to then achieved by an ex-worker. The advent of the "new unionism" with its opposition to high contributions and benefits, craft spirit, and lack of a fighting policy. The battle on policy at the T.U.C. and final triumph of the new order and its demands for a legally established eight-hour working day. The defeat of Broadhurst symbolises the fall of Liberalism, the end of Britain's supremacy in the world market; steel and iron supersede the textiles, and the Liberal Party was rent by the new Imperialism.

The new movement had little effect upon the building trades; proposals and machinery intended to decrease conflicts between Unions, such as the local Building Trade Federations, treated with contempt. Blackleg agencies, as the Free Labour Association, make their appearance. In 1899 the Master Builders' Association locked out all plasterers in England. The struggle a trial of strength, and an unexpected solidarity of the Unions compelled the employers to withdraw the lock-out without gaining their objects.

Bad trade after 1901 resulted in disorganisation of the Union machinery and wage cuts. Short-lived schemes of co-operative production. The Unions look coldly on Labour representation. Vain attempts at amalgamation. The National Board of Conciliation founded in 1908, an extension of local conciliation machinery. During these years of stagnation and decay the "Ragged Trousered Philanthropists" was written by an Irish painter, mirroring truly the sordid life of the ordinary operative, and his usual stupidity and servility.

LECTURE 11.

Industrial Unionism: 1911-1914. (Chapter 17.)

The old policy of the Amalgamated Unions justified by results up till 1900. Real wages show an increase, at the same time working conditions improve. After this date the standard of life fell. The year 1911, or thereabouts, closes the reformist period and opens a new revolutionary one; nevertheless obstacles created by past history stood in the way of the practical realisation of theoretical industrial unionism. Moreover the State Socialist type of leader trusted exclusively to Parliament to realise working-class programmes. Again the law required that two-thirds of the membership of the Unions should assent to any amalgamation proposals. Further, the Insurance Acts did not help the forward movement, as they increased the membership of the Unions by a mass of luke-warm and apathetic unionists. Official opposition even extended to sabotage. Industrial Unionist movement in building trades closely linked up with Syndicalist agitation. This propaganda of the Syndicalists ignored the State. Tremendous efforts and wide-spread interest in the rank-and-file agitation for amalgamation in the early stages. Official support by the O.B.S. Scheme under the auspices of the T.U.C. Parliamentary Committee agreed upon. Indirect hindering by officials. High-handed actions of Executive Committee, subsequent despair of achievement. The London lock-out of 1914 overshadows the movement. Strikes against non-unionists stirred the London Master Builders to action. Well-worn "Document" again presented; solidarity of the workers and prolonged stoppage. Conflicting advice by the two Labour dailies. Final breakaway by the masons. The non-unionist question to come within the purview of the Conciliation Boards. Grave step by the Industrial Unionists. Despairing of amalgamation and disheartened by the result of the lock-out, a Conference held in Birmingham on the eve of the Great War decided to form the Building Workers' Industrial Union.

LECTURE 12.

The War and After: 1914-1923. (Chapter 18.)

With the declaration of war the history of the building workers merges in that of the British working class. Orthodox view of the war taken by officials and rank and file. The minority opposition to the war voiced by

the B.W.I.U. The war kills the B.W.I.U.; the advantages of industrial unionism were eclipsed by the thoughts of other things. Further, the united front of employers and workers gave great power to the officials in persecuting the members of a Union not recognised by the employing class. In 1918 the Council called together to kill the B.W.I.U. was changed into the National Federation of Building Trades Operatives. Peace breathes new life into the Unions. Change of official personnel expedites the way to closer unity. Amalgamation result in the formation of the A.S.W. and A.U.B.T.W., and in Scotland the Building and Monumental Workers' Association. Attempts with the labourers largely frustrated by John Ward. The National Federation gathers power, overtime banned and usefulness of Composite Branches demonstrated. Building boom of 1919-1920 resulted in forward movements, and the successful achievement of the 44-hour week. Labour Day, May 1st, made a national holiday to celebrate the victory. Economic value of this victory. Two experiments of great interest made: The Building Guild and the Building Trades Parliament. The latter assimilated to the larger scheme of Whitley Councils. The slump of 1921 killed it, the employers by this time not being eager for peaceful relations, but demanding large wage cuts.

Trade conditions placed the Guild in financial difficulties, after its usefulness as an experiment in workers' control had been demonstrated. The educational scheme of the A.U.B.T.W. another sign of the new and more realist atmosphere. Not education for education's sake or ache, but knowledge to assist the workers to elucidate their immediate problems, and ultimately to drive out the employer. The final objective must be a Builders' Industrial Union. Not merely the uniting of Executive, but the rank and file. The State, however, cannot be ignored; political activity is likewise essential; and in working together for the common good in freedom and fellowship we renew the great slogan of John Ball, "Fellowship is life and lack of fellowship is death."

GENERAL REFERENCE READING.

- "History of Trade Unionism," S. & B. Webb (Longmans, Green & Co.), 21s.
 "Modern British Working-class Movement," W. W. Craik (Plebs League), 2s. 6d.
 "Revolution," R. W. Postgate (Students' Edition, "Plebs" League), 8s. 6d. (For Owenite and Chartist movement.)
 "The British Labour Movement," G. D. H. Cole (L.R.D. Syllabus), 6d.
 "Chartism and the Trade Unions," R. W. Postgate (L.R.D. Syllabus), 6d.
 "Trade Unionism: Past and Future," M. Starr (Plebs), 6d.

years later, in a period of prosperity. This seems to be also the medical opinion.

6. *Suicide*.—The suicide rate in the U.S. for the period 1900—20 shows a high negative correlation of seven-tenths, that is, there is a large number of suicides in times of depression, few in prosperity. The economic factor is undoubtedly an important cause of suicide.

7. *Crime*.—Crime may, in general, be considered in three classes. (a) There are "professional" crimes, that is, those committed by habitual, expert criminals. These are not numerous enough to obtain adequate statistics of their fluctuations, but they are probably unaffected by short period changes of economic conditions. (b) There are crimes due to psychological causes. These are fairly numerous, and include a large number of juvenile crimes, sexual crimes, etc. Statistics were not available in the U.S. The English figures suggest an economic influence. Recent statistics of the rejections of drafted men in the U.S. because of mental disorders, however, show that a much larger number came from urban than from rural districts. This would tend to show the economic influence in causing mental disorders, and hence its indirect influence in causing the so-called psychological crimes. (c) By far the most numerous class of crimes have a definitely economic origin. Crimes against property, with violence, including burglary, housebreaking and robbery, and the more numerous crimes against property without violence, including all sorts of larcenies, receiving stolen goods, etc., all seem to show a close connection with the business cycle. The figures were not available for the U.S., and these conclusions are based on English returns. The only satisfactory statistics in the U.S. were certain New York figures for total convictions for crime. These showed a fairly high negative correlation of four-tenths; convictions were large in economically bad times and small in good times.

This article is in many ways inadequate, based as it is on unfinished results. The excuse for it is that the results are suggestive, and that they give some idea of the far reaching social effects of the trade cycle. They show the futility of regarding the trade cycle as only a business phenomenon, and indicate, on the other hand, that it is closely interwoven with the social fabric of modern life. Furthermore, it suggests that the social problems arising from these conditions described above are dependent on economic conditions to so considerable an extent as to make fundamental change impossible until there has been a fundamental change in economic conditions.

DOROTHY SWAINE THOMAS.

APPENDIX 5A

Report on the Working of the Education (Provision of Meals) Act,
1908/9 and 1909/10, in P.P., XVIII (1911), p. 289, Table III.

TOTAL NUMBER OF CHILDREN FED AND MEALS PROVIDED

	MEALS PROVIDED			CHILDREN	
	1908/9			1908/9	
	Breakfasts	Dinners	Total		
Liverpool	5,582	496,847	502,429	-	
Manchester	272,121	539,291	811,412	8,785	
Bradford	218,532	749,074	967,606	5,963	
Leeds	-	290,191	290,191	5,463	
Birmingham	491,655	-	491,655	9,262	
	1909/10			1909/10	Av. attendance in area (1909/10)
Liverpool	2,321	181,896	184,217	-	118,292
Manchester	47,747	404,922	452,669	7,421	104,522
Bradford	315,492	642,247	957,739	4,406	35,273
Leeds	-	434,783	434,783	6,867	69,002
Birmingham	575,036	-	575,036	9,678	84,851

APPENDIX 5B

Report of the Underfed Children's Meals Committee for the half-
year ending 1 July 1909

Statement showing the number of Coupons for Meals issued during
the six months ended 1st July, 1909, as compared with the corres-
ponding periods of 1908 and 1907

WEEK ENDED.	NUMBER OF COUPONS ISSUED.			AVERAGE PER DAY.			DAILY AVERAGE FOR MONTH.		
	1909.	1908.	1907.	1909.	1908.	1907.	1909.	1908.	1907.
January 8th	11876	2610	—	2375	522	—			
.. 15th	14577	4192	—	2915	838	—	2830	870	440
.. 22nd	14761	5066	2436	2952	1013	487			
.. 29th	15564	5538	2058	3113	1107	411			
February 5th	15618	5871	2216	3124	1174	443			
.. 12th	15592	6165	2211	3118	1233	442	3126	1271	443
.. 19th	15818	6660	—	3164	1332	—			
.. 26th	15488	6727	—	3098	1315	—			
March 5th	15162	6524	—	3032	1305	—			
.. 12th	15629	6448	—	3126	1289	—	2654	1299	—
.. 19th	11206	6544	—	2241	1309	—			
.. 26th	11082	6462	—	2216	1293	—			
April 2nd	11429	6427	—	2286	1285	—			
.. 9th	6546	6203	—	2182	1241	—	2544	1263	—
.. 23rd	13561	—	—	2712	—	—			
.. 30th	14258	—	—	2852	—	—			
May 7th	11907	6644	—	2381	1329	—			
.. 14th	9900	6563	—	1980	1313	—	1956	1241	—
.. 21st	6589	5610	—	1617	1122	—			
.. 28th	6825	6004	—	1706	1201	—			
June 4th	6466	6445	1047	1614	1289	209			
.. 11th	7257	5464	2314	1451	1093	463			
.. 18th	7799	5537	2360	1560	1107	472	1397	1131	380
.. 25th	4390	5635	2058	1098	1127	412			
July 1st	4838	5182	—	1209	1036	—			
Totals	284128	134521	16700	2108	1170	418			

APPENDIX 5C

MEMORANDUM. Children's Meals Committee: Return showing the number of free Meals supplied during the last week in each month since the re-opening of the Schools after the Mid-summer Holiday, 1908

SCHOOL.	NUMBER OF FREE MEALS SUPPLIED DURING WEEK ENDING											
	Aug. 28th, 1908.	Sept. 25th, 1908.	Oct. 30th, 1908.	Nov. 28th, 1908.	Dec. 18th, 1908.	Jan. 26th, 1909.	Feb. 26th, 1909.	March 26th, 1909.	April 30th, 1909.	May 28th, 1909.	June 26th, 1909.	July 3rd, 1909.
COUNCIL SCHOOLS—												
ASHFIELD STREET	192	419	428	319	304	248	265	184	263	113	32	50
BANKS ROAD	—	—	—	29	21	32	32	30	45	30	31	19
BRAUFORT STREET	—	—	68	237	216	111	102	140	169	120	87	108
BOALER STREET	—	—	19	94	85	48	29	—	—	—	—	—
BROADGREEN ROAD	—	—	117	65	63	69	80	88	130	—	—	—
BUTLER STREET	—	—	54	40	43	36	25	19	24	—	—	—
CHATSWORTH STREET	—	241	396	285	314	409	380	282	422	232	216	217
DAISY STREET	—	61	74	21	21	7	24	33	13	15	6	12

APPENDIX 6A

Brief extracts from: Reports by School Medical Officers (1908-9)
in Education Committee Proceedings (1908-9), in LR0:-

- i) Heyworth Street Council School (School No. 114)
- ii) St. Peter's Church of England School, Sackville Street
(School No. 115)

(see pages following)

REPORT ON SCHOOL No. 114. (Dr. HAWKSLEY.)

DATE OF INSPECTION.—MARCH, 1909.

SITUATION OF SCHOOL AND SOCIAL CONDITION OF PARENTS.—This school is situated in the centre of the working class population of the City. Six parents attended the inspection.

REMARKS.

EMPLOYMENT OUT OF SCHOOL HOURS.—Five cases of employment during illegal hours were reported for further enquiry to the department of the Medical Officer of Health.

SCHOOL PREMISES, ETC.—This school is one of the large Council schools, and the premises include several rooms in an adjoining house, the school proper not being large enough to accommodate all the boys' department. The school is well designed and lighted. The ventilation is effected by Tobin's tubes, ceiling extractors and open fire places. Adequate lavatory and cloakroom accommodation is provided on each landing. A distinct smell of gas in several rooms in the boys' department led to an examination of the gas fittings. The joints between numerous incandescent gas burners and the chandeliers were found to consist of fibre packing no lead preparation being used to complete the joint. These burners have only recently been introduced into the school.

LATRINES, ETC.—These offices are too near the school, and are totally insufficient. Seven latrines and a small urinal only seven yards in length is provided for the use of 650 boys. Great confusion and inconvenience exists at play-time and at the conclusion of the school owing to the inadequate accommodation. There was a distinct offensive odour when these premises were inspected although the day was cold and frosty. Naturally such odour will be much more offensive in hot weather.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.—The parents of one girl refused permission for inspection. The children inspected were found to be in numerous cases insufficiently or improperly clad. The general health of the children was extremely good, the almost total absence of active verminous conditions being most satisfactory. One case of phthisis was discovered among the boys.

TABULATED SUMMARY SHOWING DEFECTS FOUND.

Particulars.	CHILDREN LEAVING.		New Admissions. Both Sexes.	Total.
	Boys.	Girls.		
1. Number due for inspection.....	—	—	—	—
2. Number inspected	43	22	—	—
3. Rooms Used	Assistant Teachers' Ante Rooms in Boys' Department.			—
4. Clothing improper or deficient	11	6	—	—
5. Footgear bad or absent	5	3	—	—
6. Head—Nits present	3	20	—	—
Verminous	1	—	—	—
7. Body and Clothing—Dirty	14	8	—	—
Verminous	—	—	—	—
8. Dull or mentally deficient	2	1	—	—
9. Speech defective	1	1	—	—
10. Vision defective	5	1	—	—
11. Squint	1	—	—	—
Conjunctivitis	2	1	—	—
Nebula	—	1	—	—
12. Hearing defective.....	1	—	—	—
13. Otorrhoea	1	—	—	—
14. Enlarged tonsils or adenoids	6	—	—	—
15. Teeth needing urgent attention	5	1	—	—
16. Nutrition poor	2	—	—	—
17. Anaemia	—	—	—	—
18. Heart affected	2	—	—	—
19. Bronchitis	—	—	—	—
20. Communicable diseases	1	—	—	—
Phthisis	1	—	—	—
21. Other defects	—	—	—	—
22. Unvaccinated	—	—	—	—

REPORT ON SCHOOL No. 115. (Dr. Hawesley.)

DATE OF INSPECTION.—MARCH, 1909.

SITUATION OF SCHOOL AND SOCIAL CONDITION OF PARENTS.—The school is situated in one of the poorest parts of the City. Six parents attended the inspection.

REMARKS.

EMPLOYMENT OUT OF SCHOOL HOURS.—None of the children inspected were found to be employed during illegal hours.

SCHOOL PREMISES, &c.—

BOYS' DEPARTMENT.—The large room is lighted from each side and is heated by two fireplaces, no pipes being provided. The desks are of obsolete design and are set at what is known as the plus distance. They are quite unfit for use by the boys of the upper standards, the seats being far too low and producing much discomfort and a considerable amount of mal-position when the desks are used for writing purposes by these boys.

GIRLS' DEPARTMENT.—This consists of one large and one small room. Here also the large room is heated by means of two obsolete fireplaces, the gas burners being lighted to warm the room further in severe weather. In the large room a re-arrangement of the desks of one of the classes was suggested to the Head Teacher in order to substitute a left hand for a front light. This was done with a marked improvement in the lighting of these desks.

INFANTS' DEPARTMENT.—The cloakroom was found to contain a very undesirable arrangement, viz.:—an open drain receiving roof and wash basin drainage from above, and discharging into a trap within the room.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.—Reference to the accompanying table reveals the interesting fact that none of the children inspected suffered from enlarged tonsils or adenoids, usually such common defects during school life. It will also be observed that a comparatively large number of eye defects, other than errors of refraction, were discovered. A relatively large proportion of the children were insufficiently clad.

TABLED SUMMARY SHEWING DEFECTS FOUND.

Particulars.	CHILDREN LEAVING.		New Admissions. Both Sexes.	Total.
	Boys.	Girls.		
1. Number due for inspection	—	—	—	—
2. Number inspected	37	29	—	66
3. Rooms used	Unused	Infants' Classroom.	—	—
4. Clothing improper or deficient	20	14	—	—
5. Footgear bad or absent.....	7	4	—	—
6. Head—Nits present	7	19	—	—
Verminous	1	2	—	—
7. Body and Clothing—Dirty	7	11	—	—
Verminous	3	1	—	—
8. Dull or mentally deficient	1	1	5 below St. 5	4 girls do.
9. Speech defective.....	1	1	—	—
10. Vision defective	8	11	—	—
11. Squint	—	1	—	—
Nebula	1	—	—	—
Conjunctivitis	2	—	—	—
Coloboma of iris	1	—	—	—
Lenses dislocated	1	—	—	—
12. Hearing defective	1	2	—	—
13. Otorrhoea	2	—	—	—
14. Enlarged tonsils or adenoids	—	—	—	—
15. Teeth needing urgent attention	4	2	—	—
16. Nutrition poor	3	1	—	—
17. Anaemia	3	1	—	—
18. Heart affected	—	—	—	—
19. Bronchitis	—	—	—	—
20. Communicable diseases	—	—	—	—
21. Other defects	—	—	—	—
22. Unvaccinated	—	—	—	—

APPENDIX 6B

Extract from: Report of the Medical Officer to the Education Authority
for the year 1910, in Education Committee Proceedings (1910-11)

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APPENDIX 6C

Extract from the Report of the Medical Officer to the EducationAuthority for 1909, in Education Committee Proceedings (1909-10):-

	Birth-rate (per 1000)	Death-rate	Infant Mortality (under 1yr. per 1000)	Population (per acre)
Liverpool (City of)	31.0	18.3	143	760,357 (total)
Fazakerly	23.8	12.1	140	2.7
Walton	32.5	13.3	108	34.5
Kirkdale*	31.5	19.1	148	99.4
Scotland*	37.6	27.7	212	132.7
Everton*	34.3	21.0	157	175.4
Exchange*	27.9	31.0	252	85.3
West Derby W.	29.3	17.7	138	132.9
West Derby E.	29.3	15.9	123	18.4
Abercromby	37.1	18.2	83	74.3
Toxteth	31.2	18.1	146	121.1
Wavertree	25.2	10.0	88	23.6
Sefton Park	18.2	10.6	96	29.3
Garston	27.8	11.6	113	15.4

* the main working-class inner districts

APPENDIX 6D

Map of Liverpool: Health Districts. Vital Statistics -- 1918:
from: Report of the Director of Education on the Education Act, 1918
(Liverpool, 1919), Appendices

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APPENDIX 7

Examples of Labour election manifestos, Municipal Elections, Nov. 1911

(from Trades Council Collection)

- i) Arthur K. BULLEY: Kensington Ward
- ii) W.R. BLAIR: Edge Hill Ward
- iii) Samuel REEVES: Knowsley Ward

(see pages following)

TO THE
Electors of Kensington Ward.

DEAR SIR (OR MADAM),

I stand as Labour Candidate for the Ward, at the request of the Kensington Branch of the Independent Labour Party. My candidature is endorsed by the Liverpool Labour Representation Committee, and by the 'Trades' Council.

As a Socialist, I believe that the State and the Municipality ought to be administered for the benefit of the whole of the people, and not, as at present, for the profit of a few. In the Council I shall judge all questions from this standpoint.

I strongly urge the workers of Kensington to use Solidarity in politics, as well as in industry. If Labour stands by Labour, it can win the Council as well as the strike.

The Council ought to be a model employer, and should pay a living wage of not less than 30/- per week to all its adult employees. If the Council sets the example, private firms will begin to follow. Although it may be difficult for private employers in the midst of competition to raise the standard of wages, yet a great public trust owes it as a duty to the community to fix a high standard. West Ham has established a minimum wage of 30/- per week.

The neglect of our children's health is simply squandering the national wealth, and the community should insist on all school children receiving proper medical attention.

The Management of the Leasehold Estate, by which the rates are increased 3/- in the £, is a public scandal, and I pledge myself, if returned to the Council, to tackle the matter.

I think that the question of whether or not Municipal Hostels for Women are as much needed in Liverpool as in Manchester, should be put to the proof by starting one on a small scale here.

Birkenhead and Wallasey provide cheap tram tickets for workers, while Liverpool provides first-class cars for the well-to-do. I would endeavour to alter this.

At the time of writing this address, there are still in Kensington Ward tramway men who have not been re-instated. This victimisation of workers who stand by their fellows will continue until Labour is made powerful in the Council.

Yours faithfully,

ARTHUR K. BULLEY.

Committee Room :
 3, Cottenham Street, Kensington.

MUNICIPAL ELECTION, WEDNESDAY, NOV 1st, 1911.

To the Electors of Edge Hill Ward:

FELLOW CITIZENS,

At the request of the Edge Hill Branch of the Independent Labour Party, and with the approval and support of the local Trade Union organisations, I am standing again as the Labour Candidate for this Ward, having been unanimously adopted by a large public meeting of Electors.

I deeply regret the disturbances which have recently taken place in this city, which are a strong condemnation of the policy adopted by the governing class towards law-abiding working-class ratepayers who had assembled in a peaceful manner for a perfectly lawful meeting. This action in itself is a strong argument for the workers to secure direct representation on the Council to prevent such a thing happening again.

The governing class, both Conservative and Liberal, are now blaming the workers for the loss and inconvenience caused to the city by the recent strike, but I am convinced that **the people to blame are the big railway companies,** whose obstinate refusal to consider their workers' appeal for fair wages compelled the men to use their only available weapon, viz.—the strike, and **also the authorities, whose foolish panic and distrust of the people** led them to import police and soldiers into the city, and provoked the disturbance which took place.

The medical inspection of children attending our public elementary schools, which the Labour party has agitated for, is now showing that **fully 13,000 children are suffering** from ailments, most of which do not require hospital treatment, but which, if neglected, will have serious consequences. **These ailments can be cured by simple treatment at Municipal Health Centres,** similar to those established at Bradford and Deptford, which would repay their cost by the increased Government attendance grant, and prevent a great deal of unnecessary suffering for the children.

The Under-staffing of Elementary Schools is another gross injustice, the average number of children per class teacher being 55, against 30 per teacher in the secondary schools. Both children and teacher suffer, as the latter not only suffer from overwork, but cannot give the children the attention necessary for efficient instruction.

There is great need for a Municipal Lodging House down town for respectable women, and as this need has been recognised in Manchester, Liverpool should not lag behind any longer in this matter.

I am in favour of a fair living wage being paid to all Corporation workers, with full right to combine in any trade union.

Cheap Tram Fares should be established for all workmen, clerks and shopworkers, as in Birkenhead and Wallasey, and the "Blind" should be carried free of charge to and from their work as in Manchester and other large cities, to avoid the danger and strain of our rapid street traffic. There are many other much-needed reforms which cannot be detailed here, but which will have my hearty support.

All these reforms can be carried out without any further increase of rates by **the proper management of the City Estates.** These have been mis-managed for many years, and even the governing class admit that their foolish methods have lost the city **Hundreds of Thousands of Pounds.** Local shopkeepers have to pay much higher rates than would have been necessary had the valuable leasehold property belonging to the city been used to proper advantage, and I am pledged to demand an enquiry into this scandal.

Don't be misled by our opponents' misrepresentations. I am not opposed to religious instruction, and I am standing for all the workers, whatever their politics or creed. I am a Socialist, because I am convinced that the land and other great means of wealth should be worked for the benefit of all the people, and not merely a few, and as a Trade Unionist, I believe in working with other Labour men and women for the things we all need now and are agreed upon. I therefore appeal to you all, both men and women, to unite and return me to the Council, on November 1st, as your representative.

Yours faithfully,



2 ASH LEIGH.
ANFIELD.

BOOTLE MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS.

November 1st, 1911.

TO THE ELECTORS OF KNOWSLEY WARD.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I have been invited by a number of Working-men Electors in Knowsley Ward to offer myself as a Candidate for the representation of this Ward on the Bootle Council, a request to which I accede the more readily as I believe that there is a need for a much larger representation of Labour views and interests on that Council than exists at present.

The Rent Collectors and Professional Classes representing, as they do, the smallest section of the community, have altogether too large a share of the representation, and the interests of the Working and Trading Classes suffer as a result.

As a Socialist and Labour Man, I shall do my best (should you do me the honour to return me as your Representative) to secure:—

THE ESTABLISHING OF A 30s. WEEK MINIMUM WAGE FOR CORPORATION EMPLOYEES ;

THE CARRYING OUT OF THE PROVISIONS OF THE HOUSING OF WORKING CLASSES ACT ;

THE RIGOROUS ENFORCEMENT OF, AND, IF NECESSARY, AMENDING OF THE BUILDING BYE-LAWS AND PUBLIC HEALTH ACTS ;

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A SCHOOL MEDICAL SERVICE FOR THE TREATMENT OF CHILDREN'S AILMENTS ;

MUNICIPALISATION OF GAS PRODUCTION, AS FAR AS REQUIRED BY THE BOROUGH ;

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A FERRY SERVICE ;

REPRESENTATION OF BOOTLE ON THE DOCK BOARD ; and

GENERALLY TO SECURE THAT ALL THE POWERS AT THE DISPOSAL OF THE COUNCIL SHALL BE USED TO BRIGHTEN AND MAKE EASIER THE LIVES OF THE WORKERS AND THEIR FAMILIES.

Yours faithfully,

SAMUEL REEVES.

316. Derby Road.
Bootle.

APPENDIX 8A

Education (Provision of Meals) Act, 1914

CHAPTER 20

An Act to amend the Education (Provision of Meals) Act,
1906. 7th August 1914.

Be it enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:-

1. A local education authority may, without any application to the Board of Education, spend out of the rates such sums as may be necessary to meet the cost of provision of food under section three of the Education (Provision of Meals) Act, 1906, and accordingly in that section the words "apply to the Board of Education, and that Board may authorise them to," and from "provided that" to the end of the section, shall be repealed.

2. The powers of a local education authority under the Education (Provision of Meals) Act, 1906, as amended by this Act, shall be exerciseable in respect of children attending a public elementary school within their area, both on days when the school meets and on other days.

3. This Act may be cited as the Education (Provision of Meals) Act, 1914, and the Education (Provision of Meals) Act, 1906, and this Act may be cited together as the Education (Provision of Meals) Acts, 1906 and 1914.

APPENDIX 8B

WEST TOXTETH DIVISION
GENERAL ELECTION, Jan. 1910.
 (Election Manifesto of James Sexton, in Transport House)

TO THE ELECTORS

Gentlemen (and I regret that the conditions of the Parliamentary Franchise does not admit of my addressing the Ladies also), as the accredited representative of the NATIONAL LABOUR PARTY for the second time in the history of West Toxteth, I venture to appeal to you as the Parliamentary Candidate for the Division.

Though West Toxteth on the whole is a purely working class Constituency, and though a Labour Candidate, I am not unmindful of the wants and necessities of all classes of Electors, and whom, I claim, will be benefitted by the following items in the programme I submit to you, as follows:—

THE RIGHT TO WORK, whereby to live, so that all men willing and able will be provided with useful productive work. Such a system would make charity unnecessary, bring self-respect and confidence to the British workman, and relieve the Ratepayer enormously, by reducing the poor rate, to which hundreds of thousands of workless workmen have to apply for assistance.

To Amend the Act for the feeding of necessitous School Children, by which it would be obligatory upon all Municipalities to provide at least one good meal per day. This system, if adopted, would be the stepping stone to the reform of our present Industrial and Reformatory School System, to which the bulk of the Children in those Institutions to day drift, because of the extreme poverty of their parents; and would minimise, if not prevent, the Children subject to such conditions drifting further down in the social scale, and becoming a perpetual charge upon the taxpayers of the country.

The entire abolition of imprisonment for arrears of Industrial and Reformatory Fees of any workman whose average income is less than £1 per week. By the present inhuman system men are periodically imprisoned, and become chronic jail birds owing to their inability to pay these fees.

An increase of the Old Age Pension from 5/- to 10/-, reduction of the age from 70 to 60, and the abolition of the present Poor Law disqualification.

National Insurance against sickness and accident.

Taxation of Land Values, which means in effect that the value created by the presence of the people shall be expected to bear the burdens of the people in the shape of taxes, instead of as at present being monopolised by the Landowner who does nothing to create any of its value, and who taxes the people who do. This would relieve Employer, Workman, and Shopkeeper of the enormous burdens they are bearing to-day, and from which the ground value owner escapes scot free; force idle land into use, and provide employment. This would establish FREE TRADE in the truest sense of the word, as free trade in land is the very first essential in real FREE TRADE.

Free Education in every sense of the word, from the Elementary School to the University, for every Class and Creed, with equal rights to all.

The ABOLITION of the POOR LAW, which degrades men, and makes chronic tramps of many of the unfortunate out-of-works; and the provision of Homes for the physically and mentally unfit, where work of such a character could be provided for them as would meet the necessities of their case.

The ABOLITION of the HOUSE OF LORDS.

Increase of INSPECTORS UNDER THE FACTORY ACTS, and the appointment of practical men whose knowledge will ensure the further diminution of Industrial Accidents in the Factories and at the Docks.

The Extension of the Franchise to Women on the same terms as exist, or may exist, to Men.

The entire Demolition of the Slums, and the providing to the people of the cities of healthy surroundings at a nominal rental.

A maximum of 60 HOURS WEEKLY for BARMEN and SHOP ASSISTANTS. That we should in the 20th century think it necessary to advocate even such a modest demand as this is a sad commentary indeed upon the present industrial system.

But all these and much more the Labour Party profess to be able to bring about should the people of the country invest them with the authority; and as one of the Labour Party's representatives I urgently point out the absolute necessity—nay, the crying necessity in the case of West Toxteth—and confidently look forward to your support up to the close of the poll.

Respectfully yours,

JAMES SEXTON.

"FOXHILL," HALEWOOD,
LIVERPOOL.

APPENDIX 8C

Reply of the Home Secretary to the War Emergency Workers'
National Committee on Arrears in Industrial School Fees

(WNC Box 13/4/7/8)

5th March, 1915

Dear Mr. Middleton,

You wrote to me on the 18th January about the possibility of men who are serving with His Majesty's Forces and have children in Reformatory or Industrial Schools being summoned on their return to civil life for arrears of payments, which may have accrued due under Orders made upon them by the Courts to contribute towards their children's maintenance. I had already had under consideration the position of such parents, and instructions have been issued that men who are serving with His Majesty's Forces shall not be called upon to contribute to the maintenance of their children in Reformatory or Industrial Schools, and any arrears which may accrue under existing Orders will be remitted.

Yours very truly

R. McKenna

J.S. Middleton, Esq.

APPENDIX 9A

Table extracted from: D. Caradog-Jones (ed.), *The Social Survey of Merseyside*, vol. III, ch. 6, "Social Factors in Secondary Education", p. 169:-

Association Between Housing Conditions and Success in
Gaining Scholarships, Liverpool, 1929-30

WARDS Arranged in the Order of Success in Gaining Scholarships	MEAN NO. of Pupils who gained Scholarships per 1000 of those attending Elementary Schools	PERCENTAGE of families Overcrowded
Aigburth, Sefton Park W., Sefton Park E., Allerton, Warbreck	11.3	4.5
Wavertree W., Anfield, Wavertree, Breckfield, Old Swan	6.2	6.4
Garston, Granby, Walton, Kirkdale, Kensington	4.3	7.5
Fairfield, Dingle, Great George, Low Hill, St. Domingo	3.2	9.9
West Derby, Fazakerly, Edge Hill, Brunswick, Everton	2.2	11.2
Much and Little Woolton, Crox- teth, Princes Park, Castle St., and St. Peter's, N. Scotland	1.1	13.2
Sandhills, S. Scotland, Vauxhall, Exchange, Netherfield	0.6	19.6
Abercromby, St. Anne's	0.0	27.8
All Liverpool	3.4	11.3

APPENDIX 9B

Numbers and Ages of Boys entering the Liverpool Institute(based on Annual Reports of the Governing Body for1918 to 1923):-

AGE of ENTRY	1917/18	1918/19	1920/21	1921/22	1922/23	1923/24
under 8	5	7	6	14	6	8
over 8/under 9	13	7	41	18	8	12
over 9/under 10	20	23	33	17	17	23
over 10/under 11	23	34	19	14	11	10
over 11/under 12	41	66	57	32	28	25
over 12/under 13	57	92	64	57	50	54

Above 13, the figures drop sharply in all years

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FREEDOM	PLEBS
THE INDUSTRIAL SYNDICALIST	SHAFTS

I.L.P. NEWS	THE SOCIALIST
JUSTICE	THE SYNDICALIST
JUSTICE FOR ALL	THE TRANSPORT WORKER
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C) Other

Abbreviations used:

- BJES : British Journal of Educational Studies.
- HE : History of Education.
- IRSH : International Review of Social History.
- THSLC : Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire.

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