

JOINT COMMITTEE OF THE  
INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY  
AND THE FABIAN SOCIETY.

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Socialist Educational  
Classes

SYLLABUS

SECOND SESSION - 1914-15.

Hon. Sec. of Educational Classes

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to whom all communications should be addressed.

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## GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS.

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The Educational Classes are under the general direction of the Joint Committee of the I.L.P. and Fabian Society and of the Divisional Councils of the I.L.P. A special Education Secretary has been appointed in each of the nine Divisional Areas to devote himself to the organisation and assistance of the Classes, and to report to the Divisional Council and to Headquarters. Each Class, however, will be free to choose its own subject from the Syllabus, and to settle its day and hour of meeting. **The Class will also have the right to admit as a student, if it so desires, any Trade Unionist or Socialist or other person not belonging to the I.L.P. Branch.**

Notice of the proposal to form a Class should be given to all members of the Branch, and also to the Divisional Education Secretary, who may, if necessary, attend the Branch meeting at which the matter is to be discussed. When **METHOD OF FORMING A CLASS.** it has been decided to form a Class, all intending students should at once enrol their names, and the Class should meet as soon as possible to settle its subject, time of meeting, etc. One of the members should be appointed Class Secretary, and full particulars should be given without delay both to the Divisional Education Secretary and to Headquarters, so that arrangements may be made for a lecturer or class-leader.

Each student will pay a fee of 1s. 6d. for the course. These fees should be collected by the Class Secretary and handed over to the Divisional Education Secretary. The Class will be **FEES.** expected to provide its own meeting place (which in most cases, it is assumed, will be the Branch premises).

The lecturer's expenses will not fall on the Class, but will be met by the Joint Committee.

When members of a Class wish to write essays on their subject, notice should be given both to the lecturer and to the Divisional Education Secretary, and arrangements will be made

**ESSAYS.** for the essays to be examined and corrected. The course on *William Morris*, it should be noted, has been included for the benefit of those interested in literature as well as in politics and sociology, and is intended particularly to be a means of encouraging students to express their ideas in writing. Regular essays (once a month) will, therefore, be expected from all the members of a Class which takes this subject. A charge of 6d. per month will be made on each student to cover cost of postage and correction of the essays.

Students are strongly urged to provide themselves with the text book recommended, which should be ordered through the National Labour Press (Manchester and London), and to make  
**TEXT** an effort also to extend their reading to some of the  
**BOOKS,** other books mentioned in the Syllabus. Special Book  
**ETC.** Boxes will be made up by the Fabian Society, containing most of the works recommended for each Course (usually one or two copies of each), together with others illustrative of the subject. Application for Book Boxes to be made to the Fabian Office (address after October 1st, 25, Tothill Street, Westminster): fee for each Box for a year, 10s., which entitles the Class to change the books several times during the year. Some of the books required will doubtless be found in the local Public Library, and the Libraries will often obtain any others that are formally asked for. All inquiries relating to local matters should be addressed to the Divisional Education Secretary, and those of a general nature to C. M. Lloyd, 37, Norfolk Street, Strand, London, W.C.



# SYLLABUS.

## 1.—THE ECONOMIC BASIS OF SOCIALISM.

I. Economics the science of Wealth—What is Wealth?—Wealth and Money—The factors in the production of Wealth—Land, Labour, and Capital—Doctrine of the French “ Physiocrats ” of 18th century as to Land—The Law of Diminishing Returns—Labour, the stages of organisation in the development of industry—Capital defined.

II. Value and Price—Use Value and Exchange Value—Ricardo's doctrine of Labour as determinant of Value—The Marxian theory of Value.

III. Criticisms of Marx's theory of Value—Utility and Value—The theory of Marginal Utility—Value in Exchange, or Price, and Marginal Utility—Laws of Supply and Demand—Markets and Market Price.

IV. Rent, what is it?—Cultivation of Land and origin of Rent—Monopoly Rent—Rent of Buildings—Rent and the Rates.

V. Wages—Real Wages and nominal Wages—“ Wages of Ability ”—The “ Wage Fund ” fallacy—“ The Iron Law of Wages ”—Ricardo and Lassalle—How far is the Iron Law really true?—Wages and the theory of Surplus Value.

VI. Interest, what is it?—Henry George's proof of the “ natural justice ” of Interest—Usury—The working of Interest in the commercial world to-day—The Bank Rate—The meaning of Profits in modern industry.

VII. What is Money?—Relations of Money and Capital—Adam Smith and “ The Mercantile Theory ”—The “ Abolition of Money ”—Paper Money, convertible and inconvertible—French Assignats and American Greenbacks—English Banknotes—The Credit System.

VIII. Foreign Trade—Exports and Imports—How Foreign Exchanges are effected—Foreign Investments—Free Trade and Protection—Who pays import duties?—Bounties—“ Dumping.”

IX. Taxation—Direct and Indirect Taxes—Income Tax—Death Duties—Food Taxes—Taxation of Monopolies—Taxation of Luxuries—Taxation of Unearned Increment—The Single Tax—Henry George and his disciples.

X. Rings and Trusts—Their nature and effects—The Marxian theory of the Concentration of Capital—Monopolies—How far is Competition a valuable factor in wealth production?—The economics of Co-operation—Co-operation, true and false—The conflict of Consumer and Producer.

TEXT BOOK FOR CLASS :—

*Students' Guide to Political Economy*, F. H. Spencer (published by Isaac Pitman and Sons), price 2s. 6d. net.

BOOKS RECOMMENDED FOR FURTHER READING :—

(Those marked \* are very important.)

*Wealth of Nations*, Adam Smith.

*Principles of Political Economy*, J. S. Mill.

\**Capital*, Karl Marx.

\**Economics, Descriptive and Theoretical*, Atkinson and McKillop.

*Principles of Economics*, Alfred Marshall.

*The Industrial System*, J. A. Hobson.

\**Short History of Political Economy since Adam Smith*, L. L. Price.

*Theory of Political Economy*, W. S. Jevons.

\**Fabian Essays* (No. I., *Economics*), G. Bernard Shaw.

*The Story of Trusts*, M. E. Hirst.

*Gold, Prices and Wages*, J. A. Hobson.



## 2.—THE INDUSTRIAL HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

I. FEUDALISM. The Manorial System—The Lord, the Tenant, the Villein or Serf—Manufactures and Trade in Norman England—The Merchant Guilds—The Craft Guilds—Apprenticeship—The Jews in Norman England.

II. ENGLISH TRADE IN THE MIDDLE AGES. Decline of the Manorial System—Gradual transformation of Villeins into Free Labourers—Great development of trade in 14th Century under Edward III.—The Woollen industry—Immigration of the Flemings—Mediæval Markets and Fairs—Wages and prices, and social life.

III. THE PLAGUE. The Black Death, 1349, and its economic effects—The "Supply of Labour"—Attempts of Parliament to keep wages down—"Maximum Wages" and the Statutes of Labourers—Prices and Rents—Social and moral effects of the Black Death—Wycliffe and the Friars—The Peasants' Revolt, 1381.

IV. THE END OF THE MIDDLE AGES. Condition of the people in the 15th Century—Break-up of the Middle Ages—The Beginnings of "Unemployment" with the dispersal of feudal retainers—Effects of Wars of the Roses on the working class—The Reformation and the Dissolution of the Monasteries—Economic and social results—Debasement of the coinage by Henry VIII., and its effect on wages and prices—The Agrarian Revolution (the conversion of arable into sheep farms).

V. THE EXPANSION OF ENGLAND. "The Age of the Great Discoveries"—Growth of overseas trade—Condition of the working class—Labour legislation under the Tudors—The Statute of Apprentices and the Poor Laws—Wages and prices in Elizabethan England.

VI. THE 17TH CENTURY. Commerce and industry in the 17th Century—Foreign Wars and expansion of trade—The Woollen trade in England—Mining—Other industries—Agriculture in the Seventeenth Century—Prices and wages—Effects of the Poor Laws and Act of Settlement (1662).

VII. AGRICULTURAL ENGLAND. Condition of rural England in first half of 18th Century—Popularity and success of Agriculture—The decline of the Yeomen—The enclosure of "Common Fields"—Economic advantages of enclosure—Social misery caused by the enclosures—Rents and prices in the Eighteenth Century—The "Old Poor Law" and its effects in rural England.

VIII. THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION. Industrial conditions in first half of 18th Century—"Small scale production" and home-work—The Great Inventions—The Spinning Jenny and Mule—The Powerloom—Steam—The Factory System—Development of Coal and Iron Trades—Growth and migration of population—The great French War and its effects—General characteristics of the Industrial Revolution.

IX. RESULTS OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION. Political and economic reactions—Trade Unionism—Chartism—The Co-operative Movement—Robert Owen—The Rochdale Pioneers—The Christian Socialists—Factory legislation—Shaftesbury, Sadler, Oastler—The "Ten Hours" Movement—The Corn Laws and the Free Trade Movement.

X. THE STATE AND THE WORKER IN THE 19TH CENTURY. The period of "Laissez Faire"—Renewed State activity—Labour legislation in latter part of the century—Rise of Labour as an organised political force—Trade Unionism, Socialism and the Labour Party—Social and industrial conditions from 1850 onwards—Changes in wages and prices—The evolution of modern industry—The problems of the 20th Century—Capital and Labour—Consumer and Producer.

#### TEXT BOOK FOR CLASS :—

*Industrial History of England*, H. de B. Gibbins (published by Methuen), price 2s. 3d. net.

#### BOOKS RECOMMENDED FOR FURTHER READING :—

(Those marked \* are very important.)

- \**Six Centuries of Work and Wages*, Thorold Rogers.
- \**Industrial History of Modern England*, G. H. Perris.
- The Agrarian Problem in the 16th Century*, R. H. Tawney.
- England in the Age of Wycliffe*, G. M. Trevelyan.
- The Farm Labourer*, O. J. Dunlop.
- A Sketch of Scottish Industrial and Local History in the 18th and 19th Centuries*, A. Hutcheson Stirling.
- \**The Industrial Revolution*, Arnold Toynbee.
- \**Capital* (the historical portions), Karl Marx.
- Apprenticeship and Child Labour*, O. J. Dunlop.
- \**History of Trade Unionism*, S. and B. Webb.
- Life of Francis Place*, Graham Wallas.
- Robert Owen*, Lloyd Jones.
- History of Co-operation*, G. J. Holyoake.
- History of Factory Legislation*, Hutchins and Harrison.
- \**History of Labour Representation*, A. W. Humphreys.
- The Evolution of Industry*, D. H. MacGregor.
- \**Short History of the English People*, J. R. Green.



### 3.—THE BRITISH LABOUR MOVEMENT.

I. The beginnings of the modern Proletariat due to (1) break-up of feudal system; (2) conversion of arable land into large sheep farms, and displacement of labourers from the land; (3) dissolution of the monasteries by Henry VIII.—Effect of debasement of the coinage by Henry VIII.; enormous rise of prices and consequent reduction of “real” wages—Regulation of labour in Tudor Times—The Statute of Apprentices and the Elizabethan Poor Law—Development and abuses of the Poor Law in the 18th Century.

II. The Industrial Revolution—General condition of the working-class in the 18th Century—Home-work and “small scale industry”—The Great Inventions (the Spinning Jenny and Mule, the Power-loom, Steam)—The Factory system—Misery and degradation of the people—Child labour.

III. The rise of Trade Unionism in the 18th Century—The early Trade Unions—Persecution of the Unions—The Combination Acts of 1799 and 1800—Struggles and agitation for their repeal—Place and Hume—Repeal of the Combination Acts—The revolutionary period of Trade Unionism—Influence of Robert Owen—“The Grand National Consolidated Trades Union”—The affair of the Dorchester Labourers, 1836—Strikes and lock-outs.

IV. Four great movements of the 19th Century: (1) Chartism; (2) Factory legislation; (3) Free Trade; (4) Co-operation. The Reform Act of 1832 and the origin of Chartism—The Six Points of the Charter—Crushing effect (temporarily) of Chartism on Trade Unionism—The Chartist leaders—Terror of the governing classes—The collapse of Chartism.

V. The early Factory Acts—Cruelty to apprentices and child labourers—The Act of 1802—Robert Owen—The Act of 1809—Oastler, Sadler, and Shaftesbury—The Ten Hours agitation—Passing of the Ten Hours Act—Development of Factory legislation.

VI. The Corn Laws—High protection—The price of wheat—Effect on the poor—The agitation for repeal of the Corn Laws—Cobden and Bright—The coming of Free Trade.

VII. The story of Robert Owen—His experiments in Co-operation—The work of G. J. Holyoake—Start of the Rochdale Pioneers, 1844—The Christian Socialists of 1848—The beginnings of Producers’ Co-operation and the “Self-governing Workshop” ideal—Development of the Co-operative Movement.

VIII.—Revival of Trade Unionism in the '40s—The building-up of the great Unions—The foundation of the A.S.E. and of Trades Councils—Renewed attacks on Trade Unionism—Struggle of the Unions for legal recognition—The Trade Union Acts of 1871 and 1876—The great trade depression of the '70s—Influence of Socialism—Rise of the New Unionism—The London Dock Strike of 1889 and organisation of the “unskilled labourers.”

IX.— The beginnings of the I.L.P. and the modern Labour Movement—The Taff Vale Decision, its meaning and its results—The Labour Representation Committee—The General Election of 1906 and the Labour Party—The Trade Disputes Act—The Osborne Judgment, its meaning and its results—The Trade Union Act, 1913.

X. The opposition of Capital and Labour to-day—The organisation of industry—Rings, Trusts and Employers' Federations—Labour's organisation : Trade Unionism, Syndicalism, Socialism.

#### TEXT BOOKS FOR CLASS :—

- The Industrial Revolution*, C. A. Beard (published by Geo. Allen), 1s. net.  
*History of Trade Unionism*, S. and B. Webb (published by Longmans), 7s. 6d. net.  
*Trade Unionism*, C. M. Lloyd (published by Black), 2s. 6d. net.  
*The Life of Cobden*, Lord Morley (published by Nelson), 1s. net.  
*Co-operation*, Joseph Clayton (published by Jack), 6d. net.  
*History of Labour Representation*, A. W. Humphreys (published by Constable), 2s. 6d.

#### BOOKS RECOMMENDED FOR FURTHER READING :—

(Those marked \* are very important.)

\**Six Centuries of Work and Wages*, Thorold Rogers.

\**The Industrial Revolution*, Arnold Toynbee.

\**Capital* (the historical portions), Karl Marx.

*Life of Francis Place*, Graham Wallas.

Robert Owen, F. Podmore.

\**History of Co-operation*, G. J. Holyoake.

*Industrial Co-operation*, Catherine Webb.

\**History of Factory Legislation*, Hutchins and Harrison.

*History of the English Corn Laws*, J. S. Nicholson.

*Law and Opinion in England*, A. V. Dicey.

*Industrial History of Modern England*, G. H. Perris.

*The Coming Force*, F. H. Rose.

\**A History of Socialism* (5th edition, 1913), Thomas Kirkup.

*Social and Political Pioneers*, Ramsden Balmforth.

*The Socialist Movement in England*, Brougham Villiers.

*The Socialist Movement*, J. R. MacDonald.

*The Social Unrest*, J. R. MacDonald.

*The World of Labour*, G. D. H. Cole.

*The Trust Movement in British Industry*, H. W. Macrosty.

*The Story of Trusts*, M. E. Hirst.



#### 4.—DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENTS OF THE 19th CENTURY.

(Great Britain.)

I. BEFORE THE REFORM ACT OF 1832. Effect of the French Revolution on the English ruling classes—"The panic dread of change"—Cobbett's revival of the demand for Parliamentary reform—The Radical Movement—Bentham and the Mills—Orator Hunt—Peterloo—The "Six Acts" to repress freedom of press, speech, and meeting—Effect of damming the democratic tide.

II. THE STRUGGLE FOR THE REFORM ACT OF 1832. Repeal of the laws against industrial combination—Francis Place and his work—Abolition of religious disabilities of Dissenters and Roman Catholics—The democratic appetite for reform whetted—Rotten condition of the Parliamentary electorate—The Owenites—National Union of the Working Classes and other sections in the general movement for reform—The Birmingham Political Union and the National Political Union—The Radical programme compared with the Reform Bill—Danger of revolution averted by the passing of the Bill.

III. RISE OF CHARTISM. The Reform Act a triumph for the Whigs and middle classes—Disappointment of the workers—The new Government antagonistic to Trade Unionism and Co-operation—Revolt against the New Poor Law—Rise of Chartism—Lovett, Vincent, and Hetherington, the "moral force" leaders—Bronterre O'Brien—The London Working Men's Association—Demand for a free Press—Adoption of "The People's Charter."

IV. THE FAILURE OF CHARTISM. Rise of physical force Chartism in the North—Feargus O'Connor and the Northern Star—The Chartist Convention of 1839—The National Petition—The Birmingham riots—Repression and persecution—Frost and the attack on Newport prison—Ernest Jones—Divisions and quarrels among the Chartists—O'Connor's land scheme—Revival of Chartist influence—The culmination in 1848—The National Convention and the Monster Petition—The Kennington Common fiasco—The end of the movement.

V. APATHY AND REVIVAL. The period of apathy, 1850-1866—Diversion of working class interests from political to industrial action—The Reform Bill of 1866—The revival of the demand for a wider franchise—"Hyde Park Railings"—The Reform Act of 1867—The International Working Men's Association—Its small influence in English politics—The revival of Socialism in the '80s—The modern Labour and Socialist Movement.

(France.)

VI. THE REVOLUTIONS OF 1830 AND 1848. Reaction following the restoration of the Bourbons—The autocracy of Charles X.—The Revolution of 1830—The July Monarchy—The bourgeois King Louis Philippe—His policy of personal rule—His opposition to reform—The growth of revolutionary Republicanism—Influence of the Socialists—St. Simon; Fourier—Denial of the right of public meeting—The Revolution of 1848—The Provisional Government—Louis Blanc—Foundation of the Second Republic.

VII. THE REACTION. The Provisional Government—Recognition of the "Right to Work"—Truth about the "National Workshops"—Louis Blanc's plan of co-operative associations with State aid—Reaction against the Socialists—The Constituent Assembly—Socialist revolt against the Assembly—Dissolution of the National Workshops and Insurrection of June—The new Constitution—The election of Louis Napoleon.

VIII. THE EMPIRE AND THE THIRD REPUBLIC. Louis Napoleon's *coup d'état* of 1852—The Second Empire and its constitution—Pursuit of glory abroad—Attempts at social reform—Degradation of Parliament—Suppression of all democratic political movements—The Church and the Empire—The International Working Men's Association and the rebirth of the Socialist Movement—Collapse of the Empire—The Commune and its aims—Causes of its failure—The modern French Socialist Movement.

(Germany.)

IX. THE RISE OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY. The Government of Prussia after the defeat of Napoleon—Despotic rule and broken pledges—The democratic movement in the Rhineland—Karl Marx as editor—His expulsion from Germany and France—The Communist Manifesto—The German Revolution of 1848—Its failure—Lassalle's attack on the Prussian Government—His trial and sentence—Period of quiescence—Conflict in 1861 between the Prussian King and the Parliament—Lassalle's counsel to the Liberals in 1852—His advice to the masses—"The Workers' Programme"—The Lassalleian agitation and foundation of the Universal Working Men's Association—Slow growth of the Association—Lassalle's programme of co-operative associations—His relations with Bismarck—His death—Results of his work—His successors—Formation of the Social Democratic Workmen's Party in 1869—Its connection with the International Working Men's Association—Bebel and Liebknecht—Differences between the Lassalleans and the Social Democrats or "Eisenachers"—Quarrels over the Franco-Prussian War—Foundation of the German Empire—Union of the Lassalleans and the Eisenachers in 1875—Rapid growth of the new organisation.



X. REPRESSION AND EXPANSION OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY. The growing fear of Social Democracy—Attempts at repression—The "Exceptional Law" against the Socialists—The stimulus of persecution—How the Socialist Movement was kept together—Admitted failure of the "Exceptional Law" and its termination in 1890—The Erfurt Programme—Development of the Social Democratic Party since 1890—Radicals and Revisionists—The immediate task of the Party—The present situation in Germany.

#### TEXT BOOKS FOR CLASS :—

- The Rise of Democracy*, J. H. Rose (published by Blackie), 2s. 6d.  
*Revolution and Reaction in France*, G. Lowes Dickinson (published by Geo. Allen), 5s.  
*The Socialist Movement in Germany*, W. Stephen Sanders (Fabian Society), 2d.

#### BOOKS RECOMMENDED FOR FURTHER READING :—

(Those marked \* are very important.)

- \**Life of Francis Place*, Graham Wallas.  
 \**Robert Owen*, Lloyd Jones.  
*Growth of English Industry and Commerce* (vol. ii., part ii.), W. Cunningham.  
 \**Political History of Europe since 1814*, Chas. Seignobos.  
 \**German Social Democracy*, Bertrand Russell.  
 \**A History of Socialism* (5th edition, 1913), Thomas Kirkup.  
 \**Industrial History of Modern England*, G. H. Perris.

## 5.—ENGLISH LOCAL GOVERNMENT: ITS ORGANISATION AND PROBLEMS.

I. THE EARLY HISTORY OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT. Beginnings of Local Government in England—The Saxon Township—The Manor—The rise of the Parish in the Middle Ages—Importance of the ancient Parish—The Vestry, the Churchwardens, the Overseers, and the Surveyors of Highways—Early history of the Shire and development of County government—History of the Borough—Abuses of Local Government and the reform of 1835 (Municipal Corporations Act, 1835).

II. THE COUNTY COUNCIL. County government formerly in hands of Justices of the Peace, acting through Quarter Sessions—The régime of Quarter Sessions—The Local Government Act, 1888, and the creation of County Councils—Constitution, officers and finance of County Council—Powers and duties of County Council : (1) Public Health, (2) Small Holdings, (3) Education, (4) Highways, (5) General—Relations of County Council with the Rural and Urban District Councils, with the Parish Councils, and with the Central Authority.

III. THE TOWN COUNCIL. County Boroughs and Non-County Boroughs : what they are, and how they differ—The Government of Towns before the Municipal Corporations Act, 1835—The Gradual absorption into the Town Council of the various bodies of Commissioners, 1835-82—Constitution, officers and finance of the Town Council of to-day—Powers and duties of the Town Council : (1) Health, (2) Housing and Town Planning, (3) Education, (4) Police, (5) Paving, cleaning, and lighting of streets, (6) Provision for general needs (*e.g.*, Water, Gas, Electricity, Tramways, Parks, etc.).

IV. THE PROBLEMS OF MUNICIPAL TRADING. What the Council can do—Development of municipal enterprise to-day—Practical illustrations from Great Britain, Germany, America—Electricity, Gas, Water; Trams and Buses; Housing; Allotments; Municipal Coal Supply; Afforestation; The municipality and Recreation—The Commonsense of Municipal Trading—The Rates—How the Rates are imposed—The "burden of the Rates"—Assistance from the National Exchequer—"Grants-in-aid," their importance in the development of Local Government.

V. THE URBAN DISTRICT COUNCIL. Creation of District Councils under the Local Government Act, 1894—Constitution, officers and finance of the Urban District Council—Close resemblance of Urban District Council and non-County Borough Council (how they differ)—Powers and duties of the U.D.C. : (1) Health, (2) Housing and Town Planning, (3) Education, (4) General.

VI. LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN RURAL PARISHES. The Local Government Act, 1894—The Parish ruled by a Parish Meeting—The Parish ruled by a Parish Council and Parish Meeting—Constitution and functions of the Parish Meeting and the Parish Council—What the Parish Council can do in the development of village life—Practical illustrations—The Rural District Council—Its constitution, officers and finance—Its powers and duties as Highway, Public Health, and Housing Authority—Its relations to the Guardians.



VII. THE BOARD OF GUARDIANS. The Elizabethan Poor Law—The new Poor Law of 1834—Its principles and methods—The Poor Law to-day—Constitution and officers of the Board of Guardians—Relations with the Central Authority, the Local Government Board—Powers and duties of the Board of Guardians (1) in relief of destitution; (2) as Rating and Vaccination Authority—The Workhouse and Outdoor Relief.

VIII. THE BOARD OF GUARDIANS (*continued*). The treatment of the "destitute" under the Board of Guardians—The Majority and Minority Reports of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws—What is, and what ought to be, the condition of (1) the Infants and Children; (2) the Sick; (3) the Mentally Defective; (4) the Aged; (5) the Vagrant; (6) the Able-bodied Unemployed; (7) the Widow with Young Children.

IX. THE GOVERNMENT OF LONDON. The London County Council—The 29 Metropolitan Boroughs—Special difficulties of London Government—The relations of the L.C.C. and the Metropolitan Boroughs—The position of the City Corporation—The Metropolitan Asylums Board—The Port of London Authority—The Metropolitan Water Board—The Traffic problem in London—The Public Health problem in London—The Poor Relief problem in London.

X. THE GOVERNMENT OF LONDON (*continued*). Proposals for reform of London Government—The question of "London over the Border"—The union of the City Corporation, the M.A.B., and the County Council—The question of devolution of powers to Special Boards—The position of the Metropolitan Borough Councils in a reformed London.

#### TEXT BOOK FOR CLASS :—

*Local Government*, Odgers and Naldret (English Citizen Series), published by Macmillan; price, 2s. 8d. net.

#### BOOKS RECOMMENDED FOR FURTHER READING AND REFERENCE :—

(Those marked \* are very important.)

*The Municipal Year Book* (Annual). (Contains very valuable statistics and general information as to the law, powers and duties of local authorities, etc.).

*The Municipal Manual*, A. E. Lauder.

*English Local Government*,—(*The Parish and the County*.—*The Manor and the Borough*.—*The King's Highway*.) S. and B. Webb.

*Local and Central Government*, Percy Ashley.

\**The Government of England* (Vol. 2, Part III.), A. L. Lowell.

*Local Government in England* (2 Volumes), Redlich and Hirst.

*Urban District Councils*, J. M. McLachlan.

\**Grants-in-Aid*, S. Webb.

\**Poor Law Commission Reports*.

*English Poor Law Policy*, S. and B. Webb.

*Outline of Local Government Law*, Dean and Rimmer (1914).

\**The Commonsense of Municipal Trading*, G. Bernard Shaw.

\**The Collectivist State in the Making*, E. Davies.

*Fabian Tracts on Parish Councils, Municipal Trading, etc., etc.*, 1d. each.

## 6.—SCOTTISH LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

I. The importance of Local Government—The relations of local and central administration—Democracy and Bureaucracy—The main functions of Local Government—The structure of the local governing bodies in Scotland—The Burgh, the County, the Parish, the School Board—Main differences of England and Scotland.

II. The Burgh—Burghs before the reform of 1833—Royal Burghs—Parliamentary Burghs—Police Burghs—Constitution, officers and finance of the Burgh—Powers and duties of the Burgh—Police, Public House Licensing, Public Health, Housing, Roads, Lunacy.

III. The County—County Government before 1889—The Commissioners of Supply and other administrative bodies—The Local Government Act, 1889—Constitution, officers and finance of the County Council—Powers and duties of the County Council—The District Committee—Relations of the County and the Burgh.

IV. The Parish—Relations with the Church—The Vestry in England in former times—The Kirk Session in the old Scottish landward parish—Different arrangements in the town parishes—The Parochial Board set up in 1845 for the management of poor relief—"Combinations of Parishes"—Addition of duties to the parish (Vaccination, Registration, Public Health, etc.)—Further reform of parish government by Local Government Act of 1894—The Landward Committee—Constitution, officers and present functions of the Parish Council.

V. The School Board—An *ad hoc* body for education—The Secondary Education Committee—Relations with the Central Authority, the Scottish Education Department—Peculiarities of School Boards in the matter of elections—Extra powers given to School Board by Education (Scotland) Act, 1908—Officials of the School Board—Advantages and disadvantages of *ad hoc* bodies—Abolition of School Boards in England by Education Act, 1902, and its results.

VI. Public Health—Sanitary functions of various local authorities—Nuisances—The Water Supply—Adulteration of Food and Drugs—The question of Pure Milk—Disease, notification and treatment—Hospitals, public and private—The example of Glasgow—Bad conditions in the Highlands and Islands.

VII. Poor Relief—Provision in earlier times—The Act of 1579—Differences of English and Scottish system—Abuses of Poor Relief in 18th and early 19th centuries—The reformed Poor Law of 1845—Administration of relief by the Parish Council—The Poorhouse and Outdoor Relief—Treatment of different classes of the Poor—(1) The Able-bodied, (2) the Children, (3) the Sick, (4) the Mentally Deficient, (5) the Aged—The Poor Law Commission and its recommendations.



VIII. Local Finance—Sources of local income in Scotland—Corporate property; fees, fines, and tolls; rates; grants-in-aid—Valuation and rating in Scotland—The Poor Rate and County Rates—Burgh Rates—"The burden of the Rates"—'Grants-in-aid,' their importance in the development of Local Government.

IX. and X. The Problems of Municipal Trading—What the Council can do—Development of municipal enterprise to-day—Practical illustrations from Great Britain, Germany, America—Electricity, Gas, Water; Trams and Buses; Housing; Allotments; Municipal Coal Supply; Afforestation—The municipality and Recreation—The Common Good—The "Commonsense of Municipal Trading."

#### TEXT BOOK FOR CLASS :—

*Local Government in Scotland*, Mabel Atkinson, (published by Blackwood and Sons); price 5s. net.

#### BOOKS RECOMMENDED FOR FURTHER READING AND REFERENCE :—

(Those marked \* are very important.)

\**Poor Law Commission Reports.*

\**The Commonsense of Municipal Trading*, G. Bernard Shaw.

\**Grants-in-Aid*, Sidney Webb.

\**The Collectivist State in the Making*, E. Davies.

## 7.—THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IN GREAT BRITAIN; ITS HISTORY AND PROBLEMS.

I. What is a Trade Union?—British Trade Unions not descended from mediæval Guilds—The early Journeymen's Societies—Beginnings of Trade Unionism in the 18th Century—Persecution of the Unions—The Combination Acts of 1799 and 1800—Struggles and agitation for their repeal—Francis Place and Joseph Hume—Repeal of the Acts and its results.

II. Revolutionary period of Trade Unionism—Early "Syndicalism"—"The Trades Union"—Influence of Robert Owen—"The Grand National"—Attitude of the governing classes—The Dorchester Labourers, 1836—Strikes and lock-outs—Dominance of Chartism and temporary decline of Trade Unionism.

III. Revival of Trade Unionism in the early 'Forties—"Moderate Counsels and Middle-class Economics"—The building-up of the great Unions—The Amalgamated Society of Engineers, 1852—Friendly benefits and conciliatory methods—Rise of the "Trade Union Officials"—The Trades Councils.

IV. Renewed attacks on Trade Unionism—The Sheffield outrages—The Master and Servant Act—The Law of Conspiracy and Restraint of Trade—The fight for legal recognition—The Positivists—Independent Labour politics—The Trade Union Acts of 1871 and 1876.

V. The great trade depression of the 'Seventies—Effects on the Unions—Internal dissensions—Influence of Socialism and of Henry George—The New Unionism—The Organisation of the "unskilled labourers"—The London Dock Strike of 1889.

VI. The Trade Union World in the 'Nineties—Formation of the I.L.P.—The Taff Vale Decision—The Labour Representation Committee—Political activity—The General Election of 1906—The Trade Disputes Act—The Osborne Judgment and the Trade Union Act, 1913.

VII. The function of Trade Unionism—The struggle of Capital and Labour—Methods of Industrial Peace—Profit-sharing and Co-partnership—The State and the Trade Unions—Trade Union regulations—The Standard Rate: piece rates, time rates, sliding scales—Standard Hours of Work—The Overtime question—The attempt to obtain security of employment—Apprenticeship and boy-labour—The competition of women in industry—Demarcation disputes—The "Right to a Trade."

VIII. Trade Union methods—(1) Voluntary Insurance: friendly and trade benefits—(2) Collective Bargaining: Conciliation and Arbitration—(3) The Strike—The General Strike, in theory and practice—The Sympathetic Strike—What is the value of the strike weapon?—(4) Political action—What the Trade Unions have achieved through Parliament.



IX. Lessons from abroad—German Trade Unionism and its methods of organisation—Revolutionary Syndicalism in France—The Belgian Trade Union Movement—The relations between the Trade Unions, the Co-operative Movement and the political Party.

X. The problems and the future of Trade Unionism—Amalgamation and federation—Centralisation *versus* local autonomy—The Trades Union Congress and the General Federation of Trade Unions—The claim of the workers to the control of industry—Syndicalism and Guild Socialism—The true place of the Trade Union in the State of the future.

TEXT BOOK FOR CLASS :—

*Trade Unionism*, C. M. Lloyd (published by Black; ready Autumn, 1914). 2s. 6d. net.

BOOKS RECOMMENDED FOR FURTHER READING :—

(Those marked \* are very important.)

\**History of Trade Unionism*, S. and B. Webb.

\**Industrial Democracy*, S. and B. Webb.

[N.B.—Mr. Sidney Webb has agreed to let any class have special cheap copies of *Industrial Democracy* at 2s. 6d. each, carriage paid, on remittance to him (41, Grosvenor Road, London, S.W.), of Postal Order covering the number of copies required.]

*Problems of Modern Industry*, S. and B. Webb.

*The Legal Position of Trade Unions*, Schloesser and Smith Clark.

*Trade Unionism*, H. H. Schloesser.

\**Industrial Organisation in Germany* (*New Statesman* Supplement, 1913), W. S. Sanders.

\**Syndicalism in France*, L. Levine.

*Syndicalism and the General Strike*, A. D. Lewis.

\**The World of Labour*, G. D. H. Cole.

*National Guilds*, A. R. Orage.

## 8.—THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT: ITS HISTORY AND PROBLEMS.

I. THE FOUNDERS AND THE BEGINNINGS. Condition of the working class in Great Britain a century ago—Low wages, high prices, the employers' Truck Shops, the tyranny of credit—Early experiments in Corn Mills and Union Shops—The story of Robert Owen, and the impulse he gave to Co-operation—The teachings of Dr. George King—The work of G. J. Holyoake—The failures of 1820-33—The successful start of the Rochdale Pioneers, 1844.

II. THE SELF-GOVERNING WORKSHOP. The two forms of Co-operation—True distinction not between Production and Distribution, but between Associations of Producers and Associations of Consumers—Associations of Producers and the "Self-Governing Workshop" ideal—The "Christian Socialists" of 1848, and the lessons of their failure—Later experiments of Associations of Producers—The Bootmakers of Leicester and Kettering—The Co-operative Printing Societies—Difficulties of this form of Co-operation.

III. THE CO-OPERATIVE STORE. An Association of Consumers seeking to supply their own needs under their own control—The Rochdale Pioneers' system of "Dividend on Purchase"—The democracy of the Co-operative Store—Its Members' Meetings—Its elected Committee—Its membership of the Co-operative Union and the Co-operative Wholesale Society—The typical Village Store—The small-town Store—The Stores in great towns (*e.g.*, Leeds, Edinburgh, etc.)—Further needs which the Store might supply.

IV. THE CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE. The function and the profits of the Wholesale Trades—The Beginnings of a Co-operative Wholesale Society—Foundation of the "C.W.S." in 1863—Its constitution—The democracy of its Quarterly Meetings and elected Directors—Its wholesale trading—Its importing—Its agencies in foreign parts—Its Bacon Factories and Foreign Depôts—Its Manufacturing Departments—Its Banking Departments—Its Steamships—The Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society and its Works at Shieldhall—The two Societies jointly buy their own Tea Plantations in Ceylon.

V. CO-OPERATIVE MANUFACTURING. Fallacy of common distinction between "productive" and "distributive"—Nothing can be produced except "utility," and distribution is a necessary part of the production of utility—Tendency of Consumers' Associations to eliminate the wholesale dealer and the manufacturer—What the Co-operative Store itself produces



—Need for a larger manufacturing unit than a single Store—Factories for all the Stores set up by C.W.S. in 1872—The making of boots, biscuits, furniture, clothing, cotton cloth, woollens, corsets, etc.—Advantage of this “production for use” under the control of the organised consumers—Why cannot it be indefinitely extended?

VI. “DIVIDEND ON PURCHASE.” Why the dividend of a Co-operative Society is not “profit,” but only rebate or discount—Importance of “Dividend on Purchase” in ensuring the utmost democracy, keeping the Society from exclusiveness, giving all members an equal interest in prosperity and affording most convenient way of saving—Should dividends be high or low?—The other ways of disposing of the surplus (lowering prices, spending more on education, providing things for common use of all the members).

VII. TREATMENT OF EMPLOYEES. What ought to be the standard of an Association of Consumers?—The position of Co-operative employees resembles that of officials of the Municipality or the State—They ought to have stability of position, considerate treatment, good conditions of employment, reasonable hours of labour, comparing favourably with those elsewhere, and a “living wage” at least up to the current standard in the locality—With few exceptions Co-operative Societies are habitually “good” employers, up to the level of the best—Ought employees to be given a share of “profits”?—Ought they not rather to share as members of the Society?

VIII. CO-OPERATION IN AGRICULTURE. The “large” farmer and the “small” farmer—Relative advantages—The “small” farmer’s need for Co-operation in buying seeds, manures, machinery; in working up produce (creamery, cheese factory, etc.); in marketing (combined transport, grading, etc.)—Here the Association of Producers is most successful—The Irish Creameries—Agricultural Co-operative Societies in Denmark, Germany, France, Belgium, etc.

IX.—CO-OPERATIVE CREDIT. Small individual producers frequently in need of capital—Co-operation enables them to get it—The Schultze-Delitsch and Raiffeisen Popular Banks in Germany—Their adoption in Italy, Belgium, Ireland and India—How they work—How far can they be successful in England (small-holder, jobbing craftsman, fisherman, hawker or small dealer, cabdriver, etc.)?

X. THE FUTURE OF CO-OPERATION. What Co-operation has achieved—Associations of Producers plainly not destined to take over the great industries—The place for the individual producer, the Self-Governing Workshop in industry, and the small agriculturists’ Co-operative—The three millions of “Store” Co-operators in Great Britain and their £70,000,000 of trade—Limitation of the voluntary Co-operation of the Store and the Wholesale to the common requirements of the artisan class—Where there is no stable body of consumers out of which a governing democracy could be formed, voluntary

Co-operation is impossible (e.g. railway and steamship passengers, the buyers of evening newspapers, the crowds at the theatres)—Where consumption is universal and obligatory, Co-operation must be compulsory—The Municipality and the State are also Associations of Consumers, of which membership is compulsory—The State and the Municipality as the owners of railways, steamship lines, coal mines, ironworks, tramways, gas and water works, etc.—We must, as producers, always serve, as citizen-consumers always command—Partnership between the organised producers (Trade Unions) and the same persons organised as consumers (Co-operative Store and Wholesale, Municipality and State).

#### TEXT BOOK FOR CLASS :—

*Industrial Co-operation*, Catherine Webb (Co-operative Union, Manchester), 2s. 6d. net.

#### BOOKS RECOMMENDED FOR FURTHER READING :—

(Those marked \* are very important).

*Co-operative Industry*, E. Aves.

\**Co-operation at Home and Abroad*, C. R. Fay.

\**History of Co-operation*, G. J. Holyoake.

*The Co-operative Movement in Great Britain*, (1892), Beatrice Potter (Mrs. Sidney Webb).

*Co-operative Production*, Benjamin Jones.

*People's Banks*, H. W. Wolff.



## 9.—THE LIFE AND WORKS OF WILLIAM MORRIS.

This course will deal with Morris as craftsman, poet, and Socialist. The class will study Morris's own works and his relation to the art and literature and social movement of his time. Each student will be expected to read A. Clutton Brock's *William Morris*, and also certain of Morris's own poems and prose works. Reading aloud by the students should form a regular part of each lecture. Furthermore, the aim of this course in particular being to help students to improve their power of expression, *it is expected that every member of the class will write short essays regularly on the subjects of the lectures.* The class leader must, of course, be consulted on this.

The following syllabus is divided into eight sections, but it may be found desirable to break it up further. This can easily be done by the class leader.

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I.—Early years—Influences of Ruskin, Kingsley and Tennyson—College days—Burne Jones, Rossetti, Swinburne—Oxford and Cambridge Magazine—“The Defence of Guinevere.”

II. Craftsmanship and the joy of labour—Establishment of the Firm—Tapestry, wallpapers and stained glass—Art, Labour and Socialism.

III.—“The Earthly Paradise”—Chaucer and Morris—“The Life and Death of Jason”—Sources of the poems—Greeks and Norsemen.

IV.—Journeys to Iceland—The Sagas—Story of Grettir the Strong—“Sigurd the Volsung”—Three Northern Love Stories.

V. Romance—Prose tales—“The House of the Wolfings”—“The Roots of the Mountains”—“The Sundering Flood”—“Poems by the Way”—The Arts' and Crafts' Society—The Kelmscott Press.

VI. Socialism—Rich and Poor—How Morris became a Socialist—Art and Politics—The “Anti-Scrape”—The Bulgarian Atrocities—The Democratic Federation.

VII. The S.D.F. and the Socialist League—“The Commonweal”—Propaganda thirty years ago—“Bloody Sunday”—The Anarchists—The Hammersmith Socialist Society.

VIII. What Socialism meant to Morris—“A Dream of John Ball”—“News from Nowhere”—Manifestoes and lectures—Communism—Demi-semi-Socialism—The Duty of Socialists.

*William Morris*, A. Clutton Brock (Home University Library), 1s. net.

BOOKS RECOMMENDED FOR READING :—

*Life of William Morris*, J. W. Mackail (Longmans) the standard work on Morris), 4s.

*William Morris*, Mrs. Townshend (Fabian Society), 2d.

*Morris's Works* (published by Longmans), especially—

*News from Nowhere* (1s. or 2s. net).

*A Dream of John Ball* (2s. net).

*Architecture, Industry and Wealth* (6s. net).

*Poems by the Way* (2s. net).

*The Earthly Paradise* (in 12 parts, 10 at 1s., 2 at 2s.; an abridged edition is published by the *Review of Reviews* at 1d.).

*Unto This Last*, John Ruskin.

*Hard Times*, Charles Dickens.

*History of Our Own Times*, Justin McCarthy.

*Industrial History of England*, H. de B. Gibbins.