New Boots from the Old: Matthew Walker Robieson s Ideas and the Struggle for Guild Socialism

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This thesis revives interest in a philosopher, Matthew Walker Robieson (1890-1919), Assistant Lecturer in Moral Philosophy at Glasgow University from 1911 to 1913, Lecturer in Moral Philosophy and History of Philosophy, Queen's University Belfast (QUB) from 1914 to 1919, and frequent contributor to The New Age journal and other publications. Trained in Glasgow as a philosopher, Robieson became engaged in politics during his student days, then as a contributor to ideas on the side of the democratic Left. Robieson supported Guild socialism; he tried to fit his ideas into a theory of liberty. The thesis explains and critiques his account of liberty. Robieson articulated a set of values that stood in stark contrast to Fabianism, collectivism, and Marxism (including Bolshevism). By studying Robieson the thesis aims to shed light on aspects of British intellectual culture in the years before, during and just after World War I. The thesis sheds new light on the Scots Guild Socialists, the contest of ideas in political theory, and the intellectual formation and contrast in the thinking of two philosophers influenced by Robieson, William and John Anderson. The thesis considers why the spirit of experimentation and hostility to servile notions of political action, such as collectivism, both inspired and divided the Guild Socialists in their quest for influence in the UK Labour movement. Robieson once observed that socialist theory needed to constantly renew itself, commenting that as the old Scots cobbler is reported to have said of the boots: "They'll need new soles and new uppers, but the auld whangs 'll dae." In his time, Robieson made a valuable contribution to this process – hence the title of this work.

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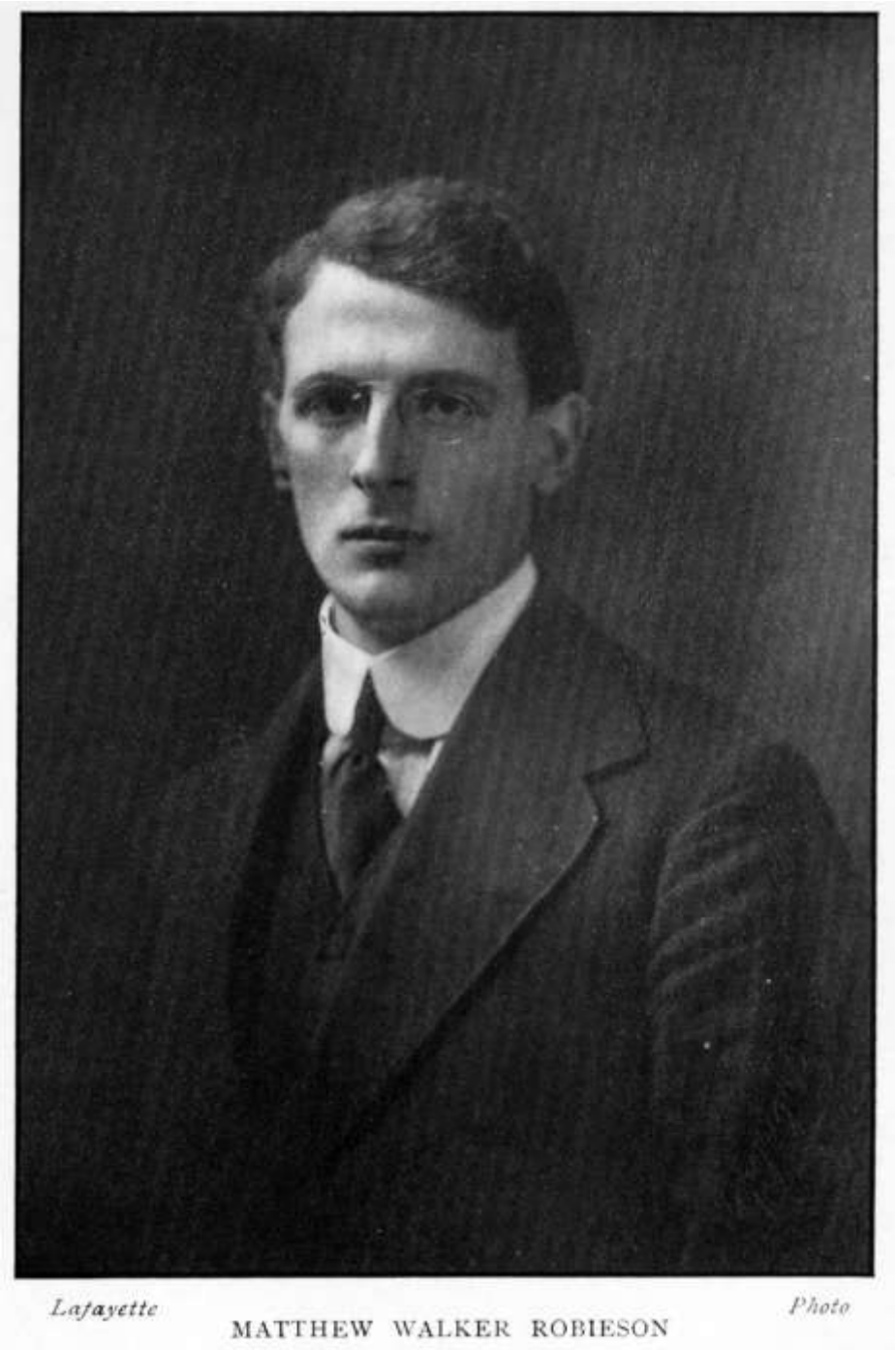
New Boots from the Old: Matthew Walker Robieson's Ideas and the Struggle for Guild Socialism

31.8.12

- Submitted by Michael Easson, in fulfilment of requirements for the PhD at HASS, UNSW@ADFA



Frontcover: Matthew Walker Robieson – photo taken at Lafayette Studios, Glasgow, sometime between 1917 and 1919. As part of the stiffened wrapping from the photographer survives, a larger version of this was sent to his parents, addressed to MWR's father, Wm. D. Robieson Esq, Coalsnaughton, Tillicoultry, where he was then teaching. Source: family collection of Mrs. Clare Thomas.

As the old Scots cobbler is reported to have said of the boots: "They'll need new soles and new uppers, but the auld whangs 'll dae."[1]

[1] M.W. Robieson 'The Theory of Morals on a Class Basis' *International Journal of Ethics* Vol. 29, No. 3 (April, 1919): pp. 316-317.

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Abbreviations

ADFA	Australian Defence Force Academy
AESD	Association of Engineering & Shipbuilding Draughtsmen
AGM	Annual General Meeting
ASE	Amalgamated Society of Engineers
BBC	British Broadcasting Commission
BLP	British Labour Party
BSP	British Socialist Party
CGT	Confédération générale du travail
COS	Charity Organisation Society
CPA	Central Presbyterian Association
CPGB	Communist Party of Great Britain
DORA	Defense of the Realm Act
EIS	Educational Institute of Scotland
FEIS	Fellow of the EIS
GUM	*Glasgow University Magazine*
GUSS	Glasgow University Socialist Society
IISH	International Institute of Social History [Amsterdam]
ILP	Independent Labour Party
IWW	International Workers of the World
MA	Masters of Arts
MJP	The Modernist Journals Project
MP	Member of Parliament
NA	*The New Age*
n.d.	not dated
NDP	National Democratic and Labour Party
NG	National Guilds
NGL	National Guilds League
NI	Northern Ireland
NSW	New South Wales
NUR	National Union of Railwaymen
NUT	National Union of Teachers
OFSC	Order of Friars of the Society of Capuchins (a Franciscan order)
PRONI	Public Records Office of Northern Ireland
QUB	Queen's University, Belfast
SDF	Social Democratic Federation
SDP	Social Democratic Party
SJ	Society of Jesus (a member of whom is called a Jesuit)
SPD	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands
SRC	Students' Representative Council
SSIP	Society for Socialist Inquiry and Propaganda
TLC	Trades and Labour Council
TUC	Trades Union Congress (of the UK)
UK	United Kingdom
UNSW	University of NSW
WEA	Workers' Educational Association

An Explanation and Acknowledgements

It may be useful to explain at the outset why certain letters and material personally collected thirty and more years ago are extensively utilised in this thesis.

In 1977, I began an assessment of 'the political philosophy and social theory of John Anderson (1893-1962)', the Challis Professor of Philosophy at the University of Sydney from 1927 to 1958. John Anderson was an important thinker in the development of Australian philosophy and Australian intellectual life.[1] A quartet of academics said that this was a promising thesis topic. They were Doug McCallum,[2] then Professor of Politics at the University of NSW; then senior lecturer Donald Horne, author of *The Education of Young Donald* (1967), which memorialised life at Sydney University in the late 1930s; Associate Professor Owen Harries, then on leave, who had edited a special issue of the *Australian Highway* journal[3] to commemorate Anderson's retirement and a book[4] in honour of one of Anderson's best students, W.H.C. ("Harry") Eddy;[5] and a noted political philosopher, Professor Preston King, lent encouragement and offered to co-supervise. McCallum and Horne were former students of Anderson and had long meditated on Anderson's critical thinking.

The intention was to understand Anderson's trajectory from socialist family background in Scotland to 'theoretical adviser' to the Communist Party of Australia, then Trotskyist, then later, an independent thinker. This required unearthing previously uncollected material, some held in private hands (including by his family) and comparing some of his propagandist and political

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[1] On John Anderson as a philosopher, see the discussion in S.A. Grave 'John Anderson' in S.A. Grave *A History of Philosophy in Australia*, University of Queensland Press, Scholars' Library, St. Lucia (1984): pp. 47-69.
[2] Note that biographies of all the main people mentioned in this thesis appear in Appendix 3.
[3] [Owen Harries, editor,] *The Australian Highway*: journal of the Workers' Educational Association of Australia, special issue entitled 'Anderson and Andersonianism' (September, 1958).
[4] Owen Harries, editor, *Liberty and Politics*, *Studies in Social Theory*, Pergamon Press for the Workers' Educational Association of New South Wales, Sydney (1976).
[5] *Cf.*, Lorraine Barlow, 'Eddy, William Henry Charles (Harry) (1913-1973)' *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Volume 14, Melbourne University Press, Parkville (1996): pp. 75-76.

writings to the considered, philosophical articles published in *The Australasian Journal of Philosophy*[6] and elsewhere.

Three events defeated my intention.

First, I heard from McCallum that A.J. ("Jim") Baker, then Professor of Philosophy at Macquarie University, would be publishing an account of Anderson's political and social philosophy.[7] This was exactly what I intended to cover. I read page proofs which showed that the exegesis in his book was good. Because there is no merit covering the same material in a similar way, I needed to offer something original as well as meticulously well researched. I read widely to better appreciate the worlds of English and Scottish philosophy and socialism in the first quarter of the 20th century. In particular, I wanted to understand the political ideas of Alexander ("Alex") Anderson, John's father, who was an active socialist, as well as the background to the development of John Anderson's thought.

Second, the papers of Anderson were not fully lodged in an archive and accessible. John Anderson's widow and their only child, Alexander ("Sandy") Anderson, both had their reasons – the material was in a mess; there was dogged insistence that I establish why I wanted a particular item, and so forth. This was hard. I wanted to sift through the material to see what might be of interest. I didn't know what was there. The then senior Archivist at Sydney University, Gerhard Fischer, was as frustrated as any of the putative researchers. From the family, there always seemed reason to delay sending all the papers to the University and to decline help to enable that. It was only after Sandy's death that all of the John Anderson papers

[6] Founded in Sydney in 1923 as *The Australasian Journal of Psychology and Philosophy*, the journal in 1947 changed its name and focus to *The Australasian Journal of Philosophy*.
[7] A.J. Baker *Anderson's Social Philosophy*: *The Social Thought and Political Life of Professor John Anderson*, Angus & Robertson, Sydney (1979). In three books Baker's key achievement was in expounding and critiquing John Anderson's thought. See also A.J. Baker *Australian Realism: The Systematic Philosophy of John Anderson*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (1986); A.J. Baker *Social Pluralism: A Realistic Analysis*, Wild and Woolley, Glebe (1997).

were deposited in the University of Sydney Archives at the Fisher Library. Though even this was a battle, as a so-called friend of Sandy's claimed that it was his wish that he live in the family home at Turramurra and open a museum with research tables and facilities for scholars. It was impossible to determine if this person really had good, though misguided, intentions, or if there was pure cunning to cash in on a recent friendship. After meeting him, I contacted the University's solicitors so as to immediately give effect to what I had understood - from conversations with Sandy – about his written, last will and testament.[8] Thus, ultimately, the remaining papers were transferred to the Archives at the Fisher Library, the house and effects sold and the proceeds - around $1.3 million dollars - bestowed upon the University of Sydney. Through a trust, funds were allocated to the cost of funding an Anderson Research Scholar[9] and for the publication of John Anderson's writings.[10] Only since the early 2000s, with the sorting and cataloguing of those papers, has this research source become available.

Third, I became diverted by what became a career in the trade union movement. This left little time for other activities, such as a research degree. So in 1981, I put my studies to one side - deferred.

There matters rested until 2009 when my wife, Mary Easson, was in intensive care for 70 days

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[8] Some of this story is told in an article by Peter Harris 'The Anderson Estate' *Quadrant* Vol. 41, No. 7-8 (July-August, 1997): pp. 76-80.

[9] George Molnar (1934-1999) was the first researcher, appointed in March 1999, but he died five months later. Eventually his edit of Anderson's lectures on Samuel Alexander was finished by Mark Weblin and published in 2005. The second John Anderson Research Scholar was Mark Weblin, 1999-2005. He worked diligently and closely with the Archivists at the University of Sydney in sorting through and cataloguing the John Anderson and family papers. All future scholars owe Weblin a great debt for this effort. The Third Research scholar was Creagh McLean Cole, 2005 to 2010. The position has since been vacant.

[10] Books of lectures by John Anderson so far published by the University are: John Anderson, edited by George Molnar and Mark Weblin, *Space Time and the Proposition*, Sydney University Press, Camperdown (2005); John Anderson, edited by Creagh McLean Cole, *Lectures on Political Theory 1941-45*, Sydney University Press, Camperdown (2007); John Anderson, edited by Creagh McLean Cole, *Lectures on Modern Philosophy: Hume, Reid and James, 1932-35*, Sydney University Press, Camperdown (2008); John Anderson, edited by Creagh McLean Cole and Graham Cullum, *Lectures on Greek Philosophy, 1928*, Sydney University Press, Camperdown (2008). Additionally, there is John Anderson, edited by Mark Weblin, *A Perilous and Fighting Life*: *From Communist to Conservative: The Political Writings of Professor John Anderson*, Pluto Press, North Melbourne (2003).

and in hospital for six months. An old friend, Dr Ross Kerridge, an anaesthetist, who had spent his own time recovering in an intensive care unit, told me he had written about the experience of long-term patients and immediate family: they usually did something unexpected afterwards. My friendship was too long standing to dare contradict his research findings.[11] I took time off work and my mind returned to my incomplete studies of thirty years ago. Except that now my focus was on a writer, Matthew Robieson, whom I had barely considered previously; but I had a hunch that he had been influential in the development of John Anderson's thought.

In returning to academic life, I want to dedicate the thesis to Mary, whose recovery and vivacious, life-loving brio made all this possible.

I was lucky to find an exceptionally able supervisor in Dr. David Blaazer who has been exacting in insisting that I argue, not assert; and research critically and articulate my points crisply, coherently and readably. His wide knowledge of the literature of Guild Socialism[12] and of leftist political movements in the first forty years of the 20th century have informed, checked and benefitted my research. Where certain readers of my drafts would send back ticks and praise, Dr. Blaazer's emendations and side notes conveyed a frowning insistence that one really could do better. Frequent feedback meant many redrafts; so now only I am responsible for the coherence, flow and argumentation. I am out of excuses. I have been warned.

As for readers of the first drafts of the thesis, Dr. Jim Baker, emeritus Professor of Philosophy at Macquarie University, read through an early version and provided many comments and

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[11] *Cf.* R.K. Kerridge, P.P. Glasziou and K.M. Hillman 'The use of "Quality-Adjusted Life Years" (QALYs) to Evaluate Treatment in Intensive Care' *Anaesthesia and Intensive Care* Vol. 23, No. 3 (June, 1995): pp. 322-331. R. Brooks, R. Kerridge, K. Hillman, A. Bauman and K. Daffurn 'Quality of Life Outcomes After Intensive Care. Comparison with a Community Group' *Intensive Care Medicine* Vol. 23, No. 5 (1997): pp. 581-586.

[12] Throughout the thesis 'Guild Socialism' is spelt in capitals unless the term is uncapitalised in a quote; whereas 'guild', as in 'guild ideas' is in lower case. On the meaning of the concept, the thesis explains.

insights. So too did Professor Jim Franklin, polymath, Mathematics professor and author of an outstanding history of philosophy in Australia;[13] he also read and commented on the penultimate draft. My good friend and colleague Catherine Harding read through each draft Chapter with a knowing eye spotting clumsy language, poor expression and plain mistakes. It is immensely important to be saved from self-harm!

Compared to thirty years ago sources now made available on and through the internet have made the practical aspect of scholarly research much easier – a good thing in and of itself. *The New Age* and other late 19th and early 20th century journals are now available on-line through the 'Modernist Journals Project', a venture between Brown and Tulsa universities to collect, digitise and index the major little magazines of the period;[14] meaning that all of the articles of an author and most references to him or her are obtainable there. Obscure magazines with incomplete runs in various libraries, are accessible on-line and sometimes, through correspondence, accessible by email exchange, inter-library loans and assistance from archivists across the globe. Papers of scholars and prominent people are often indexed in the relevant archives. Exploration through a laptop screen opens the universe. Yet not everything is perfectly catalogued, indexed, digitised or accessible. Some of the magazines and papers required personal travel to read them where they were held. Not every archivist pleasantly does some of the footwork for you. Sleuthing through the archives, inhaling library dust and the thrill of discovery in unexpected corners is forever an essential part of the historian's brief. Numerous archivists, researchers and librarians assisted the research.

For the overstretched staff at the University of Glasgow, a 'duty' roster mean that at different times archival and related inquiries were answered by Moira Rankin, Gemma Tougher, Emma Yan, Kiara King and others, as well as assistance rendered by Julie Gardham, Senior Assistant Librarian, Claire McKendrick, Chief Library Assistant, and Sharon Lawler, Library Assistant,

[13] Jim Franklin *Corrupting the Youth: A History of Philosophy in Australia*, MacLeay Press, Sydney (2003).
[14] See: www.dl.lib.brown.edu/mjp

Special Collections Department, University of Glasgow Library. A librarian at the Special Collections Department found and copied a professional looking booklet produced for Robieson and published in 1913 by James Macleose and Sons, Glasgow (the University's publishers at that time). This was Robieson's successful application, supported by various testimonial statements by past teachers and colleagues, on his attributes for the position of Lecturer in Moral Philosophy at Queen's University, Belfast. Such booklets were common in the period. The Duty Archivist at Glasgow University was initially unable to find any manuscripts by Matthew Robieson from the time he was a student or employed there.[15] From this, it would be easy to assume that, for example, Matthew Robieson's 1910 'Silver Medal' winning essay on 'Modern Realism' was lost. Jim Baker had noted: "In addition to his good philosophy background at the University, [John] Anderson had the advantage of personal contact with his older brother William, and with William's contemporary, Matthew Walker Robieson."[16] Baker specifically referenced a particular document:

> In his Silver Medal Essay on 'Modern Realism' in 1910, Robieson, writing in a clear and engaging style, defended "objective idealism" against modern realism as advanced up to that time. He was a bit unfair to Moore especially, but noted B. Russell's unclarities about external and internal relations, and brought out weaknesses of the Oxford Realists and also some uninspiring American realists. As the best realist work was yet to come (Alexander in *Mind* in 1912[17] and in his later work, and some of the American New Realists in 1912[18]) this was a pretty good effort in a student essay.[19]

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[15] Email: *Emma Yan, Duty Archivist, Glasgow University, to Michael Easson*, October 21, 2009.
[16] A.J. Baker 'Anderson's Intellectual Background and Influences', Part 1, *Heraclitus* No. 33 (October, 1993): p. 6.
[17] Baker probably meant to refer to Samuel Alexander 'The Basis of Realism' *Proceedings of the British Academy* Vol. VI (1914), read on January 28, 1914, rather than anything published in *Mind*.
[18] Edwin B. Holt, Walter T. Marvin, William Pepperrell Montague, Ralph Barton Perry and Edward Gleason Spaulding *The New Realism*, *Coöperative Studies in Philosophy*, Macmillan and Co., Limited, New York (1912).
[19] A.J. Baker 'Anderson's Intellectual Background and Influences', Part 1, *Loc. Cit.*, p. 6. A then Senior Lecturer in Psychology at the University of Sydney, Terry McMullen, was mentioned in Baker's essay as having found and copied this essay from the Glasgow University Archives in the early 1990s. This spurred me on.

From this lead, knowing that a copy once existed, the University was firmly pressed to look again and Kiara King, duty archivist, searched and found Robieson's 'missing' paper.[20] I am particularly grateful to her. A check of the catalogues of the papers of past Professors, such as Sir Hector Hetherington, a few years ahead of the Robiesons at Dollar Academy and also at Glasgow, indicate nothing of particular relevance. But such catalogues are often far from comprehensive. Visits to the University Archives also, however, drew a blank on anything substantial. Dr Catriona Macdonald, Reader in Late Modern Scottish History, Professor Colin Kidd, Honorary Senior Research Fellow (English Literature) and Alison Peden, Teaching and Student Support Administrator, School of Humanities Administration, University of Glasgow helped to find a copy of Ian McMillan's thesis on 'A Study of the University of Glasgow Rectorial Election Campaigns: 1858-1908'. This was useful for considering the Robieson twins' activities in student politics.

To date, no contemporary, original documents – not even letters - by either William Anderson or Matthew Robieson other than what is held in the John Anderson Papers for William and an article that Robieson and William wrote together,[21] and the copy of Robieson's Silver Essay paper in the Archives at the University of Glasgow[22] have been found.[23] It may be that nothing exists; perhaps the reading of this thesis might encourage others to notice something by Robieson in publications unreferenced here, or in papers and archives that might otherwise have been passed over. One of William Anderson's two surviving (of three) children, Marjorie Newhook, has nothing in her possession. Her daughter, Mrs. Catherine Mayo, checked with John Anderson, Marjorie's brother, not to be confused with his uncle of the same name, but nothing was found there either. There are some old photos, but that seems about it. The family appear

[20] Email: *Kiara King, Duty Archivist, Glasgow University, to Michael Easson*, September 28, 2010.
[21] M.W. Walker and W. Anderson *Some Points in the History of Socialist Theory* (n.d., possibly 1919?) John Anderson Papers, University of Sydney Archives, Series 1, Box 7, item 69.
[22] M.W. Robieson 'Modern Realism', unpublished holograph manuscript, submitted on October 31, 1910 and awarded the Glasgow University Silver Medal in Moral Philosophy in 1911; manuscript DC199/360 in the Glasgow University Archives.
[23] Plus there is the postcard from Matthew to William Robieson reproduced at p. 329.

suspicious of strangers, perhaps as a result of the 'treatment' of William Anderson by several academics. For example, Professor Keith Sinclair's *History of the University of Auckland*[24] refers to William Anderson and suggests that he was both a dead-weight and an utter reactionary. Sinclair had not even been aware that Anderson had read Marx. Sinclair once wrote: "when I knew him he was politically and educationally the most extreme conservative in a very conservative place. I once asked a question about Marx and he refused to discuss Marx saying that he was beyond the pale of western civilisation. He did, however, discuss Hegel with enthusiasm."[25] In the light of what this thesis reveals about William Anderson's Guild Socialist past, one can imagine Anderson's impish grin as Sinclair listened.

The Archivists at QUB, where Robieson spent his most active years as a thinker and writer, advised that no papers were held by or relating to Matthew Robieson. Ursula Mitchel, Digital Asset Management/Archive Officer, Queen's University Belfast Special Collections, the Library at QUB, as well as Diarmuid Kennedy, Subject Librarian (Arts & Humanities), Special Collections, The McClay Library, QUB, answered promptly and well every inquiry I made. If only there was more of direct relevance there! There is nothing relevant even in the papers of R.M. Henry, the classicist at QUB and expert on the early history of 20th century Irish nationalism, who co-wrote a pamphlet with Robieson,[26] as well as co-signing a letter with him on education issues.[27] Henry shared Robieson's interest in adult education and, from 1919-1938, served as chairman of the Belfast, later known as the Northern Ireland, branch of the Workers' Educational Association. An approach to the WEA, Northern Ireland (WEA NI), indicates that all their early records were either lost or with the Public Records Office of Northern Ireland (PRONI). The latter advised that there were few surviving such records for the 1914-1919

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[24] Keith Sinclair *A History of the University of Auckland 1883-1983*, Auckland University Press & Oxford University Press, Auckland (1983).
[25] Letter: *Keith Sinclair to Michael Easson*, March 26, 1981.
[26] M.W. Robieson and Robert Mitchell Henry [pamphlet] *University Training for Primary Teachers*: *with Special Reference to the Position in Ulster*, Mayne, Boyd, Belfast (1918): 14pp.
[27] M.W. Robieson with R.M. Henry letter: 'Popular Control in Education' *The Voice of Labour* (October 18, 1918): p. 454.

period and nothing at all on Robieson. David Huddleston, Head of Records Management, Cataloguing & Access, as well as Margaret McParland, Public Records Office of Northern Ireland (PRONI), Belfast, as well as Diarmuid Moore, Deputy Head, Workers' Education Association of Northern Ireland (WEA-NI) broke the news that the early records of the WEA in Belfast are scant and that there is nothing there mentioning Robieson.

Some academic course information can be found in the relevant University calendars and publications on what Robieson taught. In this respect, archivists and librarians at the University of Strathclyde, Glasgow, the old Teachers' College, where Robieson lectured from 1912-1913, and Queen's University, Belfast (QUB) have been especially helpful. Dr. Anne Cameron, Archival Assistant, Strathclyde University Archives, was helpful in providing information on the Teachers' College at Glasgow, where Robieson taught part time from 1912 to 1913 inclusive. She also put me in touch with Dr. David Sutton who assisted with research, including going through and indexing the *Glasgow University Magazine* (GUM) in the periods the Robiesons and Andersons were students. Interestingly, Sutton felt the shadow of history at his back, as he was a recipient of several of the same Glasgow University awards that M.W. Robieson won - the Buchanan prize for Moral Philosophy in year one and Best Arts graduate at MA Hons.

An enquiry was made with the Archivist at the University of Aberdeen, which holds the Professor John Laird papers. Laird was the Professor of Philosophy at QUB when Robieson also taught there. Nothing by Matthew Robieson, however, was found. There is one letter from W.D. Robieson to Laird, written in 1919, mentioning M.W. Robieson's death. Matthew Robieson's assistance is acknowledged in a book published by Laird, *Problems of the Self* (1917),[28] based on his Shaw Lectures, the book completed whilst Laird was a Professor and colleague of Robieson at QUB.

[28] John Laird *Problems of the Self*, Macmillan and Co., London (1917): p. vii.

A check with the coroner's office in Cornwall revealed that it held no records for 1919. But Kim Cooper, Principal Library Officer, Cornish Studies Library, Redruth, found for me a newspaper article reporting the death of Matthew Robieson on July 16, 1919 and a summary of the inquest.[29] This revealed that he was staying on holidays with Kenneth Richmond, the education author, and Mrs. Zoë Richmond. No papers of the Richmonds of relevance to Robieson, however, have been found.

Janet Carolan, Archive Officer, Dollar Academy, now the Harrow of Scotland, Robieson's old school, answered many inquiries, searched school records, obtained copies of articles in the *Dollar* magazine, as well as reading and commenting on drafts of this thesis. She found some material in the local – *Dollar Magazine* – journal, including a copy of a generously sympathetic obituary by Hector Hetherington published in 1919. Nothing directly by Matthew Robieson is extant; although there are some notes relevant to Sir William, Matthew's twin, who had been a Governor of the School. Late in 2009, Dollar's Archivist got in touch with Mrs. Anne Kahane (1923-2011), then aged 85, Matthew's only niece and daughter of his twin, William. Her daughter, Mrs. Clare Thomas, has provided very useful biographical information. Her insights and those of her mother, whilst she was alive, are embedded throughout the thesis.

Julia Mant and Nyree Morrison, Reference Archivists, in Archives and Records Management Services, Fisher Library, University of Sydney, were friendly and exceptionally helpful in assisting searches related to the John Anderson papers in their custody.

Cath Mayo, née Newhook, daughter of Marjorie Newhook, née Anderson, corresponded about William Anderson, her grandfather. Mrs. Mayo also commented on several early drafts of this thesis.

[29] 'Sad Fatality in Constantine Bay', *Cornish Guardian* (July 25, 1919).

Yvonne Sutherland, Archives Assistant, Special Collections/Kohikohinga Motuhake General Library/Te Herenga Mātauranga Whānui, The University of Auckland, searched for material relevant to William Anderson and found some articles and cuttings.

Elizabeth Martin, Librarian, and Clare Kavanagh, Assistant Librarian, both at Nuffield College Library, answered numerous queries and sourced material from the G.D.H. Cole archives at Nuffield College, Oxford.

Johanna Samuelson, researcher, with the guidance of Rose Lock, Senior Archive Assistant at the Special Collections at Sussex University, combed through the Maurice Reckitt Archive there and copied material.

Liz Wood, the Assistant Archivist at the Modern Records Centre, University of Warwick, Coventry, located material from *The Draughtsman* journal.

Christopher Dawkins, Collection Development Librarian, and Hayward Maberley, Academy Library, UNSW@ADFA, found important research material, including *The Socialist Torch*, the 1908 magazine of the Glasgow University Socialists, and assisted in liaising with several institutions in the UK.

Simon Wilson, Senior Archivist, Hull History Centre, Hull University, was helpful in procuring copies of information from the Archives of Robin Page Arnot - including correspondence with Sir William Robieson. A copy of the triptych given to G.D.H. Cole and Margaret Postgate on the occasion of their marriage, dated August 14, 1918, whose names include M.W. Robieson appears there. Wilson also copied the entire Samuel George Hobson file of the National Dictionary of Biography.

Audrey Canning, Gallacher Memorial Library, and Philip Wallace, Senior Assistant, Research Collections, Glasgow Caledonian University, located and made a copy of a pamphlet by William Gallacher and John Paton.

Ella Molenaar of the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam copied correspondence between Max Beer and G.D.H. Cole as well as other material.

Dr. Mark Weblin, one time John Anderson Scholar at the University of Sydney, answered several queries relevant to the John Anderson papers. So too did Dr. Jim Packer, Librarian, WEA, Sydney. Packer compiled and kindly made available an index to the John Anderson and family Papers and also to *Heraclitus*, an obscure broadsheet publishing papers and thoughts of libertarians, Andersonians, free thinkers and critical drinkers – a distinctively Australian publication!

Nancy Fulford, Special Collections, University of Reading, provided some background material and copies of correspondence in the Bodley Head archive relevant to Carl Eric Bechhofer Roberts.

Concerning the one time Marxist warrior, J. Walton Newbold, who clashed with Robieson, Fran Baker, Assistant Archivist, the John Rylands Library, University of Manchester, was able to find some material from the J. Walton Newbold's papers, which shed some light on the man.

Dr Maria Castrillo, Manuscripts Curator, Manuscript and Map Collections, National Library of Scotland found and copied extracts from *Papers Read at Educational Conference Under the Auspices of Stirling Branch of Educational Institute of Scotland, at Stirling, on April 22, 1899*, Educational Institute of Scotland (1899) to which W.D. Robieson Snr., Matthew Robieson's father, had contributed a paper on 'The New Code (1899) in Relation to Rural Schools'.

The Rev. A.D. Reid, of Kinross Parish Church, Scotland, made suggestions for research concerning the religious records and history of Scotland in the late 19th century and early 20th century.

Discoveries from internet search engine sites resulted in a growing accumulation of articles. A Master's degree on the historiography of Irish Marxism[30] had a few references to articles Robieson had written for Irish periodicals. Kathryn Norris, Assistant Librarian, Department of Early Printed Books, Trinity College Library, Dublin, checked the file of *Irish Opinion* to unearth material and sent on what she found. This was one of many examples of how articles by the principals relevant to this thesis were discovered. Through such research leads, a comprehensive bibliography of what Matthew Robieson and William Anderson had written could only now be compiled.

With respect to the Shaw Fellowship in Philosophy, which Matthew Robieson once applied for, Graeme D. Eddie, Digital Datasets Manager, Special Collections, Edinburgh University Library, looked up the records and answered my questions.

With the Professor John Laird papers, Siobhán Convery, Head of Special Libraries and Archives, Library & Historic Collections, University of Aberdeen, found a letter from W.D. Robieson to Laird about his brother's death in 1919. Professor Laird was then head of the Philosophy Department and a colleague of M.W. Robieson at QUB.

Julie Pedley and Darren Treadwell, Archivists, National Museum of Labour History at the Peoples' History Museum, Manchester, assisted with information relevant to Alexander Anderson, the father of William and John Anderson, and, from the John S. Middleton Papers,

[30] Romain Ravel *L'écriture Marxiste de l'Histoire Irlandaise*, Université Reims Champagne-Ardenne, Reims (2007).

information concerning Lothian Small, a student contemporary of Matthew Robieson and William Anderson.

Rita McComb, Librarian, at Hamilton Grammar School checked without success for information on the Anderson brothers' time at the school. The words 'flood', 'old records' and 'basement' are linked here. Many records have been lost. But it is good that she bothered to see if anything relevant had survived.

Jim Neal, Vice President for Information Services and University Librarian, and Bob Wolven, Director of Library Systems and Bibliographic Control, Columbia University, put me in touch with US library and journal resources which proved useful in tracking certain references.

Professor Alan Weir, Head of School in the Department of Philosophy, University of Glasgow, advised that no records or copies of papers by Robieson, or other students of the time, were kept by the Department. But, of course, the Robieson 'Modern Realism' silver prize winning paper in moral philosophy was found in the archives.

To understand the period under examination and the political issues in contention - particularly the emergence of Guild Socialism and its critique of collectivism, the idea of the Servile State and the like - requires a wide reading. If journalism is the business of engagingly reporting that LORD BYRON IS DEAD to an audience that did not know he was alive, then history is a more exacting requirement of exposition, analysis and understanding. To write about long forgotten authors, who once felt passionate about an almost overlooked episode of British political theory, who engaged in debate with faintly recalled figures, requires a mastery of information, sympathy for their time and the wisdom to decide what was living and dead in the arguments of yore. Hence I decided to consult experts in various fields.

Dr. David Martin, Senior Lecturer in History, Sheffield University, answered several queries on S.G. Hobson. Iain Hampsher-Monk, Professor of Political Theory, Department of Politics, University of Exeter, briefly corresponded about Stanley Glass, the author of *The Responsible Society*,[31] under whom he had studied. Jack Vowles, Professor of Politics at the University of Exeter, corresponded on Guild Socialism including about his PhD thesis 'From Corporatism to Workers' Control'.[32] Professor David Boucher, Head of School, School of European Studies, Cardiff University, corresponded on British Idealism.

Professor Sheila Fitzpatrick, Bernadotte E. Schmitt Distinguished Service Professor of History at the University of Chicago, answered a query about Nikolai Leonidovich Meshcheriakov, a Bolshevik writer who Robieson had quoted.

Dr. Charles Pigden, Department of Philosophy, University of Otago, answered some queries about William Anderson, including about a paper he delivered in 2008. Robert Nola, the author of an essay on philosophy at Auckland, also speculated in correspondence on William Anderson's influence and significance.

As the thesis expanded, I sent the draft to a trusted friend for comment. Retired Associate Professor of Philosophy at UNSW, Damian Grace, wrote a very firm critique explaining what had been written needed decluttering and concentration on Robieson's ideas: Less history and biographical detail, more explanation and intelligent theoretical insight were required. He followed up with detailed comments on my draft. This immensely helped. Footnotes were debulked with the biographical information on the main characters decanted into an Appendix. My supervisor had counselled along the same lines, also insisting that Robieson's ideas needed

[31] S.T. Glass *The Responsible Society*: *The Ideas of the English Guild Socialists*, Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd., London (1966).
[32] Jack Vowles From Corporatism to Workers Control: The Formation of British Guild Socialism, Ph.D., The University of British Columbia (1980).

to be properly addressed. But I had not been listening. Later Dr Grace read and commented on the final draft of the thesis.

Martin Krygier, Gordon Samuels Professor of Law and Social Theory at the University of NSW, Emeritus Professor Dexter Dunphy, Centre for Corporate Governance, Faculty of Business, University of Technology, Sydney, and Owen Harries also read over an advanced draft and proffered suggestions about what needed revision. Their criticism encouraged me to interogate myself continually: what are the overarching themes of the thesis? How does the information I give here contribute to them? If it does, does it do so best here, or somewhere else, such as an article? And so on. So more drafting followed in thinking about each word of analysis.

Ross Fitzgerald, Emeritus Professor of History and Politics at Griffith University, influenced the drafting of the thesis at a crucial juncture. He proffered a word of advice: 'stop'. This presumably in the sense of the Paul Valéry line that "a poem is never finished, only abandoned."[33] Surely he also had the PhD in mind.

To tap into such feedback and insights on substance and literary expression leads to a punishing conclusion. The faults of what follows rest solely with the author. But enough of such banter; the diving board, head to the water moment has arrived!

[33] Wystan Hugh Auden attributes the quote to Paul Valéry (1871-1945) in his 'Introduction' to a volume that contained many revisions to his previously published poetry. See: W.H. Auden *Collected Shorter Poems 1927-1957*, Faber and Faber Limited, London (1966): p. 16. All such insightfully pithy lines have a thousand fathers and even more 're-originators', in the sense used in the Martin Scorsese, director, and Paul D. Zimmerman, script-writer, film 'The King of Comedy' (1982).

1. Introduction: The Case for Taking Robieson's Ideas Seriously

This thesis aims to revive interest in a philosopher, Matthew Walker Robieson (1890-1919),[1] Assistant Lecturer in Moral Philosophy at Glasgow University from 1911 to 1913, Lecturer in Moral Philosophy and History of Philosophy, Queen's University Belfast (QUB) from 1914 to 1919, and frequent contributor to *The New Age* journal[2] and other publications. Matthew Robieson and his twin brother, William Dunkeld Robieson, were born to a schoolmaster father and housewife in Fossoway, in the Scottish highlands; he was educated there and at Dollar Academy and Glasgow University from where he graduated with the highest honours in philosophy in 1911. In his student days Robieson became committed to the socialist cause and seemed to encourage wide debate amongst his cohort on ends and means. Though he died young, drowning after an apparent heart seizure,[3] his intellectual output was creatively interesting. Trained in Glasgow as a philosopher, he became engaged in politics during his student days (in the University Socialist Club), then as a contributor to ideas on the side of the democratic Left. His ideas on political philosophy deserve close assessment. Robieson came to support a distinct strand of socialist thinking, represented by Guild

[1] As this thesis is mainly about ideas a minimum of biographical information is contained in the Chapters and footnotes. But Appendix 3 contains biographies of most of the people mentioned in the thesis.
[2] *The New Age* and the *New Age* are used interchangeably in this document.
[3] On July 12, 1919, death came from heart failure and drowning whilst swimming on holidays. See: 'Sad Fatality in Constantine Bay' *Cornish Guardian* (July 25, 1919). This article reported the findings of the coroner. The death certificate noted the cause of death as "syncope caused by shock of and while bathing (having had previous heart trouble)." *Death Certificate of Matthew Walker Robieson,* death certificate DYC520451, General Register Office. Robieson had been treated for heart problems and was rejected for military service because of this health issue.

socialism; but his allegiance was always critical and searching. He tried to fit his ideas into a robust theory of liberty. He was a guiding light in Guild Socialism;[4] he articulated a set of values that stood in stark contrast to Fabianism, collectivism, and Marxism (including Bolshevism). In doing so, Robieson particularly influenced a philosopher, Professor John Anderson, one of Australia's most important public intellectuals, who was Challis Professor of Philosophy at the University of Sydney from 1927 to 1958.[5] By studying Robieson, the thesis also aims to shed light on some significant but little understood aspects of British intellectual culture in the years before, during and just after World War I. This is highly relevant to the development of Anderson's mature political philosophy, particularly with respect to the Guild Socialist critique. What lives, what survives, how ideas transform, what ideas are discredited, fight for air and emerge as credible ideologies, are issues this thesis considers. Before, during and in the aftermath of the Great War, the west coast of Scotland was a ferment of debate. Even when, from 1914-1919, he was an academic at Queen's University, Belfast (QUB), Robieson was but a short ferry ride away from this environment.

Though now forgotten, of those attracted to the values, ideas and controversies associated with Guild Socialism, that mix of anti-statist, worker democracy theory that briefly flourished in Edwardian and post World War I Britain, Robieson was one of the most interesting and able of minds. As a philosopher and politically engaged critic, he argued that:

> Since we hardly know what men are, much less what they might become, the

[4] The literature provides no consistent guide as to whether to capitalise the term. Rather arbitrarily, but for consistency, unless faithfulness to quotations require otherwise, this thesis refers to "Guild Socialism" and "Guild Socialists."

[5] On Anderson's significance as a philosopher and his influence on intellectual life in Australia see: John Docker 'John Anderson and the Sydney Freethought Tradition' in John Docker *Australian Cultural Elites, Intellectual Traditions in Sydney and Melbourne*, Angus and Robertson, Cremorne (1974): pp. 131-155.

> institutions we praise should be those that encourage and draw out energy and initiative, which make men try to pass beyond the level at which they are normally, and at which an insufficiently flexible social scheme might tend to retain them permanently.[6]

He believed this marriage of energy and initiative as theoretically and practically important: "Theory without practice is empty; practice without theory is blind."[7] Robieson was a socialist in economics because he believed that every human being has a right to a decent living. He wanted to fit the ideas of the Guild Socialists into a theory of political freedom. If social institutions that enrich life are to be encouraged, then he saw that we must have some idea of what those institutions might be. Robieson says that they are those that allow everyone the right to live decently within political liberty. He argued against the dependency and collectivism sometimes, even usually, associated with socialism. He marks himself off from prevailing collectivist socialism and finds in Guild Socialism a more congenial way of putting freedom and the attaining of a minimum standard of living together.

Most of Robieson's significant writings on political subjects were published in *The New Age* journal and the *International Journal of Ethics*. Robieson wrote five substantive essays: an unpublished Silver Medal prize-winning essay on 'Modern Realism'[8] written

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[6] M.W. Robieson 'On Certain First Principles', Part 1, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 23, No. 13 (July 25, 1918): p. 198.
[7] M.W. Robieson [published under the pseudonym "O. Latham"] 'Notes on Political Theory', Part 1, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 21, No. 13 (July 26, 1917): p. 287.
[8] M.W. Robieson 'Modern Realism', unpublished holograph manuscript, submitted on October 31, 1910 and awarded the Glasgow University Silver Medal in Moral Philosophy in 1911; manuscript DC199/360 in the Glasgow University Archives. The Silver Medal award was from a competition amongst current students run by the Department of Moral Philosophy and referred to in the *Glasgow University Calendar 1910-1911*, James Maclehose & Sons, Glasgow (1910).

in his late undergraduate days (1910); a study on German socialism and the War[9] (1915) published in *The Hibbert Journal*; a four part article on 'Psycho-analysis and Conduct'[10] (1916) published in *The New Age*; an eight-part spirited defence of liberty[11] (1917-1918) published in *The New Age* and, finally, a theoretical article on Bolshevik Ethics[12] (1919) published in the *International Journal of Ethics*. The rest of his work mainly consists of short polemical pieces, book reviews and notices. Robieson also wrote on education, including an essay on the reorganisation of universities along guild lines, ultimately reproduced in one of S.G. Hobson's books.[13]

Due to his early death, Robieson was a great loss to an emerging political movement and to the development of political philosophy. The answers Robieson provided to the urgent questions of his time are worth retelling, critiquing and evaluating. In his political writings everything was connected to the idea of improvement; he was a radical critic and a moderate political activist. Although the ideas of the Guild Socialists claimed his allegiance, there was an important test. As he put it: "A movement towards national guilds must rest on believing that it is in the circumstances more convenient,

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[9] M.W. Robieson 'German Socialist Theory and War' *The Hibbert Journal* Vol. XIII, No. 8 (April, 1915): pp. 573-591.

[10] M.W. Robieson 'Psychoanalysis and Conduct': Part 1, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 19, No. 23 (October 5, 1916): pp. 543-544; Part 2, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 19, No. 24 (October 12, 1916): pp. 560-562; Part 3, *The New Age*, new series, Vol.19, No. 25 (October 19, 1916) pp. 585-586; Part 4, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 19, No. 26 (October 26, 1916): pp. 607-609.

[11] M.W. Robieson [under pseudonym O. Latham] 'Notes on Political Theory: An Apology for the Liberty of the Person' Part 1, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 21, No. 22 (September 27, 1917): pp. 463-464; Part 2, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 21, No. 24 (October 11, 1917): pp. 503-504; Part 3, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 22, No. 1 (November 1, 1917): pp. 8-10; Part 4, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 22, No. 3 (November 15, 1917): pp.47-48; Part 5, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 22, No. 4 (November 22, 1917): pp. 68-69; Part 6, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 22, No. 7 (December 13, 1917): pp.127-128; Part 7, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 22, No. 9 (December 27, 1917): pp. 166-167; Part 8, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 22, No. 11 (January 1, 1918): pp. 207-208.

[12] M.W. Robieson 'The Theory of Morals on a Class Basis' *International Journal of Ethics* Vol. XXIX, No. 3 (April, 1919): pp. 294-317.

[13] See M.W. Robieson 'On the Reorganisation of University Education', as edited by W. Anderson, in S.G. Hobson *National Guilds and the State*, G. Bell & Sons, Ltd., London (1920): pp. 363-400. This essay was originally published in *The New Age* in two parts in October 1918.

and that it will probably develop a type of social life really better."[14]

An account of the ideas, milieu and influence of Robieson, however, faces several obstacles. First, to say someone is forgotten is to admit the possibility that, in the long dialogue of political discourse, a voice no longer remembered is due to the conversation moving on - perhaps well past the interlocutor. A reader might well question if the stone should be upturned. Is being entombed in obscurity where matters should rest? Is this the fair verdict of time? After all, it might be said, if Robieson is not remembered this is for good reason; his writings were ephemeral. The political movement he was associated with, Guild Socialism, split and evaporated into the hot air of Marxism and Fascism as well as puddles of cultist irrelevancy. This is not, however, to do justice to the movement or those most intimately connected with it.

This is because, *qua* critique of collectivism, as a movement that extolled liberty, self-respect and freedom in the labour movement, the Guild Socialists, even if individually ignored or downplayed in the conventional narrative of the history of the British labour movement,[15] had a more significant influence than is usually acknowledged.[16] Robieson's was a strong voice in that story. Additionally, he had an immense impact on the development and the ideas of one of the more interesting philosophers of the 20th century, John Anderson, who decisively shaped the emergence of an Australian school

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[14] M.W. Robieson 'On Certain First Principles', Part 3, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 23, No. 15 (August 8, 1918): p. 236.

[15] See, for example, the argument advanced in David Blaazer 'Guild Socialism and the Historians' *The Australian Journal of Politics and History* Vol. 44, No. 1 (March, 1998): pp. 1-15. In several standard texts on the UK Labour Party, in Henry Pelling *A Short History of the Labour Party*, Macmillan, London (1961 and subsequent editions) and in Ross McKibbon's thorough *The Evolution of the Labour Party 1910-1924*, Oxford University Press, Oxford (1974) there are few references to the Guild Socialists, nearly all relating to G.D.H. Cole.

[16] Note the fleeting references to Guild Socialism in Geoffrey Foote *The Labour Party's Political Thought: A History*, Croom Helm, London (first edition: 1985; second edition: 1986; third edition: Macmillan, London, 1997) and Andrew Thorpe *A History of the British Labour Party*, Palgrave Macmillan, London (first edition: 1997; second: 2001; third: 2008).

of critical realism and whose political theory considered and developed points raised by Robieson. In an article written in 1993, on the philosophical influences on John Anderson, A.J. Baker particularly highlighted the writings by Robieson and his close friend and contemporary at Glasgow University, the philosopher William Anderson (John's brother), for *The New Age*. This was an interesting guess or deduction, mainly because Baker surmises that Robieson, as well as William Anderson, would have been an important philosophic, cultural and political influence, without knowing exactly how. As shown in this thesis, John Anderson's knowledge and respect for Robieson's thinking was immense. William Anderson's wide reading and interests, for example his appreciation of concepts from Sorel, became embedded in John Anderson's political philosophy. Baker, in discussing Anderson's early development as an intellectual, comments that:

> Matthew Robieson, who must have been either twenty-nine or thirty [at time of death], certainly had a facility in writing and thought critically about social issues as well as philosophy; so whether or not he would have developed in power and depth and as a controversialist in the way John Anderson did, he would undoubtedly have been a stimulating writer.[17]

Additionally, from *The New Age* there was considerable stimulus in regard to "worker-producer socialism, Sorelian ethics, Marxist theory, Freudian theory, pluralistic social theory, the Servile State, theory of education and… informed, down to earth literary criticism."[18]

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[17] A.J. Baker 'Anderson's Intellectual Background and Influences', Part 1, *Loc. Cit.,* p. 12.
[18] *Ibid.*

Another obstacle is that much of what Robieson wrote was published in a magazine, *The New Age*. Though ably edited from 1907 to 1922 by Alfred Orage, it was nonetheless not a mainstream journal of political philosophy. It deserves to be so considered, as suggested in this thesis, but the magazine is not usually mined for insight on high political theory. Hence the rich seams of Robieson's thought lie buried in an obscure publication. Yet as John Anderson remarked: "The *New Age* in its great period remains a source of stimulation for the student of culture, a mine from which material of the greatest value to scholarship can still be extracted."[19] From October 1916 to July 1919, Robieson was a mainstay of *The New Age* on political philosophy and philosophy. He sometimes wrote under a pseudonym. In *The New Age* he published under his own name and also as "O. Latham" – a *nom de plume* never publicly attributed to him.[20] Perhaps he used other pseudonyms in this and other publications. Knowing everything that he wrote is uncertain, although the research associated with this thesis has probably discovered most, if not all, of the major writings.[21]

What We Know of Robieson

Robieson is almost completely unknown. Wallace Martin in his book *The New Age Under Orage* lists his name in an Appendix as one of a group of ninety-seven authors "not named in the text who either contributed frequently, or are sufficiently well

[19] John Anderson 'Amazing Journalists', review of Paul Selver *Orage and the The Age Circle*, *The Observer* Vol. 3, No. 23 (November 12, 1960): p. 31.
[20] The pseudonym only came to light through checking John Anderson's list of Robieson's *New Age* articles suitable for re-publication in book form. There does not seem to be any significance in the name – or if there is this is unknown; perhaps, as Robieson, from a very conservative place – Belfast - chose to write on several controversial topics, such as those on liberty, he preferred the freedom to fence and joust in a mask without revealing his face.
[21] A companion volume to this thesis collects the writings of Robieson and William Anderson, together with some relevant pieces by John Anderson.

known to warrant mention"[22] out of the nearly seven hundred writers who wrote for the journal. Over the years, a few scattered references to him have occurred. W.H. Greenleaf's book *The British Political Tradition: The Rise of Collectivism*[23] specifically refers to Robieson's articles on 'Pyscho-analysis and Conduct'[24] noting that the influence of Freud's *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1900):[25] "…was less confined than might have been the case …because the book was taken up by Alfred Orage's periodical *The New Age*, notice in which helped to spread its ideas among the intellectual laity."[26] Robieson's four part series in October 1916 was his first major contribution to the journal. He gave a sympathetic summary of Freud's account of forgetting and bringing suppressed material to consciousness. Robieson sensibly noted that in the bowderlerized 'Freudian' theory, there was the implication that behind all neuroses were repressed or dissociated sexual elements. This was a despicable claim. He distinguished what Freud himself held from some cruder versions of Freudianism then in currency. Robieson warned about the potential misuse of Freudian insights as a new smear tactic. In a powerful passage, Robieson stated:

> A certain sort of Freudism is very congenial to a man of a misanthropic turn of mind. What could be more convenient than to treat the agitator as a neuropath, revolutionary views as obsessions depending on dissociations, and the organiser

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[22] Wallace Martin *The New Age Under Orage*, *Chapters in English Cultural History*, Manchester University Press/Barnes & Noble, Inc., Manchester/New York (1967): p. 296.
[23] W. H. Greenleaf *The British Political Tradition:* Vol. 1 *The Rise of Collectivism*, Methuen, London and New York (1987): p. 275 text & fn. 150.
[24] M.W. Robieson 'Pyscho-analysis and Conduct' *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 19, No.s 23-26 (October 5-26, 1916). A range of articles were published in *The New Age* on the new science, including a thoughtful review by M.D. Eder of the Swiss psychologist Gustav Carl Jung's *Psychology of the Unconscious* as well as the series by Robieson.
[25] Sigmund Freud *The Interpretation of Dreams*, A.A. Brill, translator, from the German 3rd edition, Macmillan, London (1913). This was the first English language translation.
[26] For an account of the reception of Freudian ideas in England see Dean Rapp 'The Early Discovery of Freud by the British General Educated Public, 1912-1919' *Social History of Medicine* Vol. 3, No. 2 (1990): pp. 217-243 and R.W. Clark *Freud: The Man and the Cause. A Biography*, Random House, New York (1980).

> of strikes as the victim of repressions not to be mentioned in polite society?[27]

He continued:

> The fact is there is no small danger of the development of a new and pseudo-scientific sort of abuse. It may be expected to become fashionable to extricate oneself from argumentative difficulties by calling the other man's position hysterical and suggesting that he should analyse himself, with a gentle hint that he should say as little as possible about what he discovers. The effect of this new form of the *argumentum ad hominem* is paralysing.[28]

Jim Baker speculates that those articles: "no doubt stimulated John Anderson's already existing interest in Freud's theories."[29] It is also likely that Robieson influenced the way Freud's thinking was incorporated and developed in Anderson's thought.

Marc Stears, the Oxford-based political theorist, also refers to Robieson. In his book *Progressives, Pluralists, and the Problems of the State,* in the context of guild-influenced ideas of pluralism, he writes: "In late 1918, a *New Age* commentator, M.W. Robieson …tried to convince his readers that any guild project must be founded on the assumption that it was 'the enormous variation from one individual to another' which entailed that any insistence on uniformity is impossible."[30] This emphasis on pluralism also informed Robieson's "stinging critique of idealism in his 'Hegelian Politics'."[31]

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[27] M.W. Robieson 'Psycho-Analysis and Conduct', Part 4, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 19, No. 26 (October 26, 1916): p. 607.
[28] *Ibid.*
[29] A.J. Baker 'Anderson's Intellectual Background and Influences' Part 1, *Heraclitus* No. 33 (October, 1993): p. 10.
[30] Marc Stears *Progressives, Pluralists, and the Problems of the State*: *Ideologies of Reform in the United States and Britain, 1909-1926*, Oxford University Press, Oxford (2002): p. 101; Stears was quoting from Robieson's 'On Certain First Principles', Part 1, *The New Age*, new series Vol. 23, No. 13 (July 25, 1918): pp. 197-198.
[31] Marc Stears, *Loc. Cit.,* p. 101, fn. 57. See M.W. Robieson 'Hegelian Politics' *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 24, No. 4 (November 28, 1918): pp. 55-56.

Other references include the slight discussion of Robieson's ideas on university reform made by Archibald Chisholm, who noted Robieson's examination of and suggestions about university governance in the light of the guild idea.[32] Howarth speculates that T.S. Eliot would have read Robieson's review of May Sinclair's *Defence of Idealism*.[33] The philosopher, J.S. Mackenzie mentions Robieson's ideas on university organisation.[34]

Of particular interest are items in the John Anderson Archives at the University of Sydney, including: i) as mentioned above, the holograph manuscript of a chapter of a book or an article on socialism jointly written by Matthew Robieson and William Anderson; ii) correspondence between John and William Anderson between 1917-1955, some of which relates to philosophy, *The New Age* and contemporary politics;[35] iii) draft notes by John Anderson of a proposed edit of Robieson's writings – shown in Appendix 1;[36] iv) other manuscripts by John Anderson relevant to Robieson - including a rejected-for-publication letter to the editor of *The New Age* concerning Guild Socialism;[37] and, v) a proposed draft of an incomplete introduction by John Anderson to Robieson's writings.[38]

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[32] Archibold Chisholm *Labour's Magna Charta A Critical Study of the Labour Clauses of the Peace Treaty and of the Draft Conventions and Recommendations of the Washington International Labour Conference*, Longmans, Green and Company, London, Second Edition (1921): p. 84-85.
[33] Herbert Howarth *Notes on Some Figures Behind T.S. Eliot*, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston (1964): p. 273. See also Herbert Howarth 'T.S. Eliot's *Criterion*: The Editor and his Contributors' *Comparative Literature* Vol. 11, No. 2 (Spring, 1959): pp. 97-110; see also, Rebeccah Kinnamon Neff '"New Mysticism" in the Writings of May Sinclair and T.S. Eliot' *Twentieth Century Literature* Vol. 26, No. 1 (Spring, 1980): pp. 82-108.
[34] John Stuart Mackenzie *Outlines of Social Philosophy*, Allen & Unwin, London (1921; originally published 1918); in this reprinted edition the bibliography was updated.
[35] 'Correspondence between John and William Anderson, 1917-1954', John Anderson Papers, University of Sydney archives, Acc. No. 1428 P.42, series 19, Item 1.
[36] See John Anderson Papers, University of Sydney archives, Acc. No. 1428, Group P.42, series 1, Box 5, items 51 & 53.
[37] John Anderson Letter: 'National Guilds v. The Class War' submitted to Alfred Orage, editor of *The New Age*, n.d., but *circa* August 1918 in the John Anderson Papers, University of Sydney archives, Acc. No. 1428 P.42, series 1, Box 1, Item 13.
[38] John Anderson 'Introduction to Notes on Political Theory', holograph editorial notes by John Anderson, n.d., John Anderson Papers, University of Sydney archives, Acc. No. 1428, Group P.42, series 1, Item No.

In 1920 William Anderson's obituary of Robieson appeared in the *International Journal of Ethics*, a journal for which Robieson contributed 14 articles. He wrote:

> Like many young students he had been attracted by, and had later reacted upon, the current political propaganda of socialism, but reaction in his case took the form of recognising that here was an ultimate conflict of social theories, with definite philosophical affiliations, and calling for that philosophical discussion and genuine scholarship which he was so well able to provide by a powerful memory, acuteness of intellect and a maturity of performance which was noticeable in his earliest work. So it is that in these writings there is to be found, practically for the first time in Britain, a discussion of socialist theory which can be compared with those of Sorel, Croce, Labriola or Sombart. Recognising in the contemporary advocacy of the scheme of National Guilds some definite apprehension of the problems in which he was interested, he contributed largely, from the same theoretical point of view, to the more thorough discussion of the subject in the *New Age*.[39]

Both during and immediately following the Great War, in a *New Age* aligned way, both Robieson and William Anderson were close to the centre of debate in the UK on what the socialist and labour movements should stand for in the brief moment when the ideas of Guild Socialism were born and showed so much promise.

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54. In this draft essay, Anderson proposed to introduce Robieson's political theory articles, viz., 'Notes' and 'An Apology' from *The New Age*. Hereafter this paper is referred to as John Anderson 'Notes on Political Theory', n.d., *circa* 1920-1921. There are several files of notes in the John Anderson papers, showing a detailed interest and attempts to edit Robieson; but few of these notes were written into a coherent order. Perhaps the task was abandoned once William Anderson took back the task in 1921.

[39] W. Anderson 'Matthew Walker Robieson' *International Journal of Ethics* Vol. 30, No. 3 (April, 1920), pp. 336-337.

Hector Hetherington in his obituary (1919), and William Anderson in his memoir (1920) allude to Robieson leaving behind a manuscript that they hoped could be published. Hetherington wrote:

> His contributions - almost weekly - to the *New Age* had unmistakable significance in clarifying the philosophical foundations of a great economic and political movement: and his studies in the implications of Marxist doctrine were of great weight and authority. I hope that it will be found possible to issue in volume form the most important of these writings, along with the manuscript of the book which Matthew had in hand at the time of his death.[40]

William Anderson stated that: "At the time of his death he was engaged on a more comprehensive philosophical work on the development of socialist theory, of which it is hoped that some portion, at least, may be published with other writings."[41] But nothing ever appeared. Perhaps something was sent to and rejected by publishers. Perhaps, more likely, the task was never completed. In an appendix to S.G. Hobson's book, *National Guilds and the State* (1920) William Anderson is referred to as Robieson's Literary Executor.[42] So, chief responsibility for preparing something for publication rested with him.

Robieson's thinking on political theory is scattered across various journals. Surprisingly there are no extensive arguments or essays in his published writings on the situation in Ireland, which was in constant ferment in the period he was in Belfast; though there are references here and there in his writings which evince sympathy for the Irish

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[40] Hector Hetherington [published as H.J.W.H.] 'Matthew Robieson' *The Dollar Magazine* Vol. XVIII, No. 71 (September 1919): p. 121.
[41] W. Anderson 'Matthew Walker Robieson' *International Journal of Ethics* Vol. 30, No. 3 (April, 1920): p. 337.
[42] M.W. Robieson 'On the Reorganisation of University Education', as edited by W. Anderson, in S.G. Hobson *National Guilds and the State*, *Loc. Cit.*, p. 363, fn.

nationalists. The surprise is because as a politically active intellectual who prolifically wrote on other matters, it might have been expected that he would turn his attention to what was happening on his doorstep. Perhaps his thoughts lie buried in anonymous or pseudonymous epistles and articles in the journals of the day and in yet to be unearthed papers in other people's archives. There are as indicated, however, interesting, if *obiter dicta*, comments that point to his thinking. The bitterness he saw developing and the anger on all sides about "thraythers!"[43] Robieson thought might lead to the creation of an isolated Ulster and what might become an insular corporate state in the south. Arguably both predictions proved prescient, including the fate of the Irish Free State under Éamon de Valera (1882-1975), Sinn Fein leader of the First Dial in 1919, Fianna Fáil leader and Taoiseach from 1932-1948, 1951-1954, and 1957-1959.[44]

Robieson wrote prolifically on education, including on the early history of the WEA in Ireland, on teacher reform generally and on Ireland and Scotland and specifically on the reorganisation of universities along guild lines. Some of his thinking here remains potent and relevant on an enduring basis. Education is the process of inculcating and developing the minds and potential of citizens and of future teachers. Robieson's main contribution to education policy occurred through involvement in university teaching, teacher training, the WEA and in a number of well-argued essays. Along with R.M. Henry, he co-wrote a pamphlet on the training of primary school teachers in Belfast.[45] Amongst a suite of reforms, there was urged a university level, credible education for

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[43] Slang for "traitors." The phrase is used in: C.E. Bechhofer Roberts [published as "C.E. Bechhoffer"] 'Letters from Ireland [No. 5]' *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 20, No. 1 (November 2, 1916): p. 14.
[44] See: E. O'Halpin *Defending Ireland: The Irish State and its Enemies Since 1922*, Oxford University Press, Oxford (1999).
[45] Robert Mitchell Henry and Matthew W. Robieson [pamphlet] *University Training for Primary Teachers*: *with Special Reference to the Position in Ulster*, Mayne, Boyd, Belfast (1918) 14pp.

such teachers. In 1918, for the *New Age* he wrote two substantive essays on education – 'Control in Education' and 'On the Reorganisation of University Education' - the latter being an ambitious proposal to restructure university education along guild lines. Robieson's proposed reorganisation of universities represented an attempt to put his Guild Socialist ideas into practice; this showed a consistency in Robieson's worldview about the relationship between education, liberty and guild ideas. He was concerned that so-called legislative 'reforms' to contract out thinking and responsibility on educational issues to political, elected bodies, such as Educational Authorities, would be to turn to a shrivelled conception of the potential to realise the best from educationists, the teachers themselves. He wrote that: "To talk solemnly about the end of education and its ultimate meaning may be a proper task for a professional philosopher; but it comes badly from a member of a local authority."[46] He noted a poor state of affairs: "...scandalously low salaries, defective equipment of schools, absence of facilities for promotion, parochial jealousies, and general victimisation..."[47] The core problem, in Robieson's view, was the foolish meddling of amateurs:

> It is a much wider question than that of the State v. the Professional organisation, for which, in its most general terms National Guildsmen may claim to have offered some sort of solution. It is that of the mere right of any profession to be a self-governing whole, and to be recognised as fit to be entrusted by the community with real responsibility for its particular function. In short is it, or is it not, to be free from constant interference by irresponsible and foolish amateurs?[48]

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[46] M.W. Robieson [published under the pseudonym "O. Latham"] 'Control in Education', Part 1, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 22, No. 24 (April 11, 1918): p. 466.
[47] *Ibid*., p. 467.
[48] *Ibid*.

Pressing the point, he drew an analogy with medicine:[49]

> Consider what would happen if a Public Health Bill were introduced which asked the medical men to stand aside from real responsibility, and then called them in to do the routine work along lines marked out by unknown officials and adapted to local circumstances by incompetent amateurs.[50]

Yet there was, in Scotland, some hope with the Education Institute of Scotland (EIS), the union in which his father had been so active: "... Its structure seems to me well adapted to its functions; and very recently it has begun to show itself sensitive to its responsibility as the repository of trained educational opinion in Scotland..."[51] He had high hopes for the EIS. But the task was huge: "They are not yet fully organised, and they are still less accustomed to fighting."[52] In the end, despite debates in its journal, the EIS never transformed itself into a guild.

Whilst at Belfast Robieson made contact with Irish radicals and socialists, as well as pursuing his academic interests. He published prolifically in philosophy, education and on political issues. William Anderson remarked of Robieson's Irish connections:

> He took a large share in the establishment and administration of the School of Social Study in Belfast, as in the activities of the Workers' Educational Association and kindred organisations, and was the joint-author of a scheme for the systematic training of teachers in the province of his University,[53] which is inspired by those ideas of social structure he had helped to work out. And it was

[49] *Ibid*.
[50] *Ibid*.
[51] *Ibid*.
[52] *Ibid*.
[53] *Ibid*.

> acknowledged by Irishmen that his appreciation of the Irish point of view was, for a stranger, well-nigh unique.[54]

With Robieson's active involvement, the Belfast branch of the WEA published proposals for Educational Reform in Ireland. They included the treatment of such questions as: A full-time education up to the age of 14; continuation schools – "the hours of attendance at continuation schools should be not less than 20 a week, and the teaching should be given during the work day"; school buildings; health of the children; choice of occupation; the training of teachers. As regards Higher Education, as one consideration, the WEA proposed grants for adult tutorial classes.[55]

Several mentions of Robieson's teaching work were published in *The Highway*, the official journal of the WEA. For example a correspondent reported:

> *Belfast.* We started our session with three courses in Moral Evolution, Civics and Economics. These prospered at first, but were later interrupted by influenza and strike; Mr. Robieson was unfortunately obliged to give up his very interesting course on Moral Evolution owing to ill-health. In January two new courses were started on English Literature and Economics. These classes are well attended, and so are the informal lectures on various subjects held on Saturday evenings. There is a movement on foot to set up a local education authority, and if this materialises we hope to secure representation and eventually local grants. We have had many enquiries from small urban districts throughout Ireland, and the rural areas also offer a promising field for WEA work.[56]

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[54] W. Anderson 'Matthew Walker Robieson' *International Journal of Ethics* Vol. 30, No. 3 (April, 1920): p. 337.
[55] [Anonymous] 'Ireland' *The Highway* Vol. 10, No. 10 (November, 1917): p. 30. Though mentioned in the WEA publication *The Highway* the relevant documents by the WEA in Belfast have not been found.
[56] [Anonymous] 'Ireland' *The Highway* Vol. 11, No. 7 (April, 1919): p. 69.

In a survey of adult education in Ireland, Robieson noted:

> In connection with the Queen's University of Belfast there has been a branch of the WEA in existence since 1910, and Tutorial Classes have been conducted since the same date. The difficulties it has had to meet have arisen from the peculiar conditions of the Labour movement of Belfast, the resemblance of which to similar movements in Great Britain is more apparent than real. Most of the usual organisations have at least a nominal existence, but their significance and influence are generally rather different. At present it is still true that the traditional division of political parties is little affected by economic conflict, and that the workers exhibit, on the whole, an unusually low degree of interest in social questions. Those who have been attracted to the WEA are for the most part drawn from amongst those who have broken away from party politics. The ILP, for example, which is apparently growing in Belfast, though it is largely an offshoot from the same movement on the Clyde, has supplied a number of members. So also have the Trade Unions, though there is much room for development in this direction. Between the Co-operative Society and the WEA there has been throughout a close connection. Certain of the meetings and classes have been held in the Co-operative Hall and lectures have been arranged jointly by the WEA and the Co-operative Society. During the past 18 months two courses have also been carried through in association with the Central Presbyterian Association.[57]

[57] M.W. Robieson 'The Irish Universities and the W.E.A.' *WEA Education Year-Book 1918-1919* (1918): pp. 318-320.

These last lectures were apparently particularly well appreciated. As the Central Presbyterian Association, Belfast, was to note: "Mr. Robieson as a lecturer had few equals, and we regret we will see his face and hear his voice no more."[58]

In Robieson's article on Ireland and the WEA, he said:

> The Tutorial Classes, which are organised by the [Queen's] University, have been principally in the hands of one of the lecturers of the University, with occasional assistance from other members of the staff and other persons interested in this type of work. The classes averaged about 20, and have covered a considerable range of subjects – Social Economics, Economic History, General History, Geography, Child Study, etc. It is usual also to arrange one or two public lectures each winter and to conduct a series of Saturday evening meetings for members at which papers are read on very various subjects and followed by a discussion. The attendance is comparatively small, but regular.
>
> The prospects of further development of the movement appear to be very encouraging provided that the finance problem can be solved. At present the Tutorial Classes are provided by the University, and the tutors are not specifically paid for this work. The roots of the difficulty are that no public body in Ireland can normally give grants for higher education – except, of course, for technical education under the direction of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction – and that there is no Local Educational Authority at all.[59]

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[58] See *CPA Magazine* (August, 1919). The *CPA Magazine* was the monthly publication of the Central Presbyterian Association, Belfast.
[59] M.W. Robieson 'The Irish Universities and the W.E.A.' *Loc. Cit.*

Hector Hetherington noted that "[Robieson] had many interests. He took a considerable part in the administration of his University, and wrote on the organisation of Irish education. The Irish political situation gravely concerned him, and he knew intimately many of the personalities and factors in Ireland. He instituted and directed the Belfast School of Social Study and Training; and above all, he gave himself to the work of teaching his students. He was a great power among them, and found much happiness in his work."[60] Linking the work of academics and labour organisations was a major part of Robieson's activities in Ireland. In a book review he noted:

> Most Irish workers must already have made the acquaintance of the 'Universities and Labour Series' edited by Professors Smiddy and Rahilly, of University College, Cork, of which the first two volumes were Professor Rahilly's Bibliography and Father MacSweeny's investigation into *Poverty in Cork*. The third has just been issued: *Marxian Socialism* by W. Paschal Larkin, O.F.S.C., M.A. (Cork: Purcell & Co.). It extends to about 130 pages, and its appearance at the price of sixpence in these times is a lesson to all publishers. The series as a whole is one of the products of the endeavour being made in Ireland to bring the Universities into as close a relation as possible to the workers, and as such it deserves the warmest welcome. The editors of the series are responsible for the movement in the South, whilst the Workers' Educational Association has been doing similar work in Belfast. If the colleges in Dublin can now move it should be possible to bring about very great developments. The prospects of success seem in some respects greater than they ever were in England; as with younger Universities and a more plastic organisation of the Labour movement, adaption

[60] Hector Hetherington [published as H.J.W.H.] 'Matthew Walker Robieson' *The Dollar Magazine* Vol. XVIII, No. 71 (September 1919): p. 122.

> to special needs should be easier. The business of the Universities, which should, after all, be the centres in the country of knowledge and learning, is not merely to train young men for degrees and do research, but to make that knowledge available for as many people as possible and to provide expert guidance on theoretical questions where it is required.[61]

In their history of QUB, Moody and Beckett refer to the establishment of the School of Social Training in 1915.[62] On June 16, 1915 at a meeting of the Queen's University Senate the proposed School of Social Training was endorsed with a view to courses in the University leading to a Diploma in Social Training. Robieson was co-opted to assist.[63] For the academic year 1915-1916, Robieson gave a course in 'Civics' for one hour a week throughout the session, and he continued to teach this course until 1917. On October 13, 1915 Robieson was appointed Director of Studies and he remained in this post until November, 1917, when the School was temporarily suspended because of a lack of student numbers (due to so many being at the War). So the War curtailed Robieson doing more in the educational, including adult education (WEA, etc.), fields.

Matthew Robieson and William Anderson were close friends; studied together in the same classes at Glasgow University and jointly led the socialist society on campus. Soon after graduation in 1911, they began careers as academic philosophers at Glasgow

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[61] M.W. Robieson 'Marx: The Great Unread' review of W. Paschal Larkin *Marxian Socialism*, *Irish Opinion (*February 9, 1918): p. 124.

[62] T.W. Moody and J.C. Beckett *Queen's Belfast 1845-1949*, *The History of a University, Vol. 2*, Faber & Faber Ltd., London (1959): pp. 460-462.

[63] As Director of Studies, Matthew Robieson submitted a report on the progress of the School at each meeting of the Board of Studies. But such reports were not retained in the University archives. The material in this paragraph is derived from: Email: *Ursula Mitchel*, *Digital Asset Management-Archive Officer, Queen's University, Belfast, to Michael Easson*, November 25, 2009.

University and even shared lodgings at some point.[64] Between 1915 and 1919 they contributed insightful and philosophically sophisticated articles to *The New Age*. Between them, they covered 'the Servile State',[65] Education, liberty, class conflict, Bolshevism and many other topics. All of their articles on socialism were written from a shared perspective, either explicitly supportive of or otherwise compatible with the national guilds movement. Inspired by a similar political outlook they joined the National Guilds League in 1915. Like many Guild Socialists and sympathisers, they were struck by the power of Hilaire Belloc's critique of the 'Servile State'. Belloc argued that capitalism was unstable, but that attempts to stabilise it would lead almost inexorably to such an expansion of state regulation that freedom would be prejudiced. Thus, capitalism would be replaced by the Servile State in which the mass of the people, although enjoying a minimum of economic 'security and sufficiency' would be permanently dispossessed of the means of production and lack freedom. The socialist writer Robert Blatchford said that Belloc's book had "shaken the ranks like a vehement and concentrated artillery fire."[66]

My research for this thesis commenced believing that it was likely that John Anderson had been intellectually influenced by Robieson and that this topic would be interesting to explore. His wife, Mrs. Janet C. Anderson,[67] once wrote: "My impression [was] that M.W. Robieson was more a friend of William Anderson than of J.A., though J.A. thought a great deal of him & would, I suppose, have seen quite a lot of him in the Glasgow

[64] At 12 Ruthven Street, Hillhead, Glasgow, a four storey terrace - across the road from the university. Both put the same address down as subscribers to the philosophical journal *Mind*. See *Mind*, new series, Vol. 23, No. 89 (January, 1914): pp. 165-168.
[65] See Hilaire Belloc *The Servile State*, T.N. Foulis, Edinburgh and London (1912) *supra*.
[66] Robert Blatchford 'What is the Matter with Socialism?' *The Clarion* No. 1108 (February 28, 1913): p. 1. Note the ensuing debate in the journal, including: Hilaire Belloc 'The Servile State. An Answer to Robert Blatchford' *The Clarion* No. 1111 (Friday, March 21, 1913): p. 1.
[67] Between 1978 and 1980 the author of this thesis carried out a detailed correspondence with Mrs. Anderson.

University days. He was dead before I became particularly friendly with J.A…."[68] Jim Baker notes that:

> There was … a variety of topics to stimulate the thinking of the young John Anderson by way of reading *The New Age* each week when it appeared and perusing back copies at home. But there was also the stimulus of interest in what his brother and Robieson wrote for the journal, and of being in touch with his brother and also presumably with Robieson when he was back in Glasgow in vacations.[69]

In correspondence more than thirty years ago with a number of ex-students of John Anderson, including Professor John Passmore, the author of *One Hundred Years of Philosophy* (1957),[70] Professor Eugene Kamenka (1928-1994) and Professor P.H. 'Perc' Partridge, all three then at the Australian National University (ANU), and other former colleagues, friends and admirers of Anderson's writings and thinking, it became apparent that there was some kind of intellectual connection. Passmore advised that Robieson had somehow been an influence on Anderson and that William considered himself "ten years ahead" of his brother in his understanding of politics and philosophy.[71] Percy Partridge had once investigated the connection, reading his articles in *The New Age*. He observed that Anderson had sometimes spoken of Robieson.[72] In the John Anderson Papers at the University of Sydney Archives in the Fisher Library (hereafter referred to as the Papers of John Anderson and family) this connection is proven. There is a wad of material showing that in the early 1920s Anderson drafted

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[68] Letter: *Mrs. Janet Anderson to Michael Easson,* March 4, 1980.
[69] A.J. Baker 'Anderson's Intellectual Background and Influences' Part 1 *Heraclitus* No. 33 (October, 1993): p. 8.
[70] John Passmore *One Hundred Years of Philosophy*, Gerald Duckworth & Co., London (1957). This book was arguably Passmore's most influential publication; it underwent various editions and multiple translations – becoming the standard reference work for English language philosophy from 1850 to then contemporary times.
[71] Letter: *Professor John Passmore to Michael Easson*, January 10, 1978.
[72] Letter: *Percy Partridge to Michael Easson*, April 1978.

detailed notes on editing the Robieson articles published in *The New Age*. These notes include an ordering of articles and suggested emendations, omissions and footnotes.[73] The Andersons were strongly influenced by Robieson's thought and William in turn helped to shape Robieson's readings and thinking. Both Andersons intended to edit Robieson's writings.

There was something peculiarly Glaswegian about the Robieson story. Glasgow was a centre of progressive liberalism and emergent socialism in all its forms: syndicalist, socialist, labourist and Guild Socialist. The last had to fight for life in the battle of ideas against intense ideological competition, as is discussed in Chapter 2. In philosophy, Glasgow was a centre of liberal, progressivist thought, associated with several great idealist philosophers, including Edward Caird and Henry Jones. The latter taught Robieson and the Andersons and engaged Matthew Robieson as an Assistant in Moral Philosophy in 1911-1913, effectively as Jones' Assistant. William Anderson was Assistant, then Lecturer in Logic under Professor Robert Latta from 1912-1920; he also doubled up in 1919 as temporary Assistant to the Professor of Moral Philosophy, Professor Jones.[74] The first twenty years of the 20th century saw a battle with Realism and the surprise, rapid eclipse of Idealism as the leading philosophical school in the English speaking world. Robieson and the Andersons thought originally in the circumstances of that struggle and their opinions are of lasting interest – if only as sidelights to the development and history of philosophy.

It is interesting to reflect on the turmoil of those times to see that much that seemed stable and certain was suddenly 'up for grabs'. Robieson tried to navigate through new

[73] See Appendix 1 to this thesis.
[74] 'Anderson, William, M.A.' Listing in *Who's Who 1955 in Australia,* J.A. Alexander, editor, Herald and Weekly Times, Melbourne (1955).

and uncertain currents, both philosophically and in the context of practical politics – especially in the area he knew well, education, particularly tertiary education.

He provoked extraordinary responses, for example, from Marxist diehards, such as J. Walton Newbold, eventually elected in 1922 as the first avowedly communist MP in the UK. Newbold's reaction to Robieson's writing in turn provoked a response by Arthur J. Penty, an influential writer on guild ideas, whose self-funded book *The Restoration of the Gild System* (1906)[75] developed the first strands of what became Guild Socialist ideology. Penty joined Robieson in arguing against Newbold's doctrinaire Marxism. John Anderson attempted to enter the fray, via a letter to *The New Age*, but Orage refused to publish - mocking it as a lightweight contribution to the debate. This is discussed in Chapter 8.

Robieson's Relevance to Political Theory

Does this thesis add anything much of value to social theory or to the history of ideas? It does so in at least these respects: First, there is the merit of Robieson's ideas in and of themselves. They are substantial. For example, Robieson's 'An Apology for the Liberty of the Person'[76] alone deserves contemplation. His thought can be decoded, considered and appreciated for the innovative argument it was. He wanted to be the theorist of the Guild Socialist movement. Second, there never has been an account of the Scottish Guild Socialists, particularly drawing on the contributions of John Paton, George Walker Thomson and Edwin Muir. They constituted the bloc of practical Guild Socialists to whom Robieson was closest. Explaining his contribution to the movement adds to our

[75] Arthur J. Penty *The Restoration of the Gild System*, Swann Sonnenschein, London (1906).
[76] M.W. Robieson [published under a pseudonym "O. Latham"] 'An Apology for the Liberty of the Person', published in eight parts in *The New Age* between September, 1917 and January, 1918.

understanding of Guild Socialism, which is customarily and misleadingly seen through a London monocle. Third, for the first time the impact of Robieson's thinking on John Anderson's political and philosophical ideas can be appreciated (even known about) and therefore the trajectory of Anderson's thought may be less marvelled about and better understood. Fourth, this thesis adds to our knowledge about why an interesting, apparently vibrant political movement, Guild Socialism, petered to a close. In describing and accounting for Robieson's milieu and influence, the thesis thus sheds new light on controversies that have had an enduring influence – including the political philosophy of the democratic left and its rivals.

The hardest, most interesting part of the challenge of the research underpinning this thesis is to relate the thought of Robieson to the swirl of ideas and influences of the time in which he wrote prolifically - broadly, between 1914 and 1919. In that era, there were two 'black swan' events that fundamentally changed the way people thought, particularly those on the left - World War I and the Bolshevik Revolution. In simple outline, World War I seemed to legitimise statist thinking - the war economy needed large scale State intervention, so central organisation of the economy seemed ideally efficient. This 'analysis' suited the collectivist mindset. Orage, in one of his 'Notes of the Week' opined: "Nobody can doubt that, provided the war continues, one industry after another will be commandeered, mobilised and taken over by the State until in the end the ideal of the State Socialists is reached."[77] Robieson feared the same. He saw the War as strengthening the State, enabling a new lease of life to a kind of capitalist production and increasing the potential for servitude. As he put matters:

[77] [Alfred Orage] 'Notes of the Week' *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 16, No. 20 (March 18, 1915): p. 522.

> The vicious principle of the Insurance Act[78] has been carried many stages further during the War. There can be no doubt that a most determined and persistent attempt will be made to perpetuate these conditions and make them the permanent structure of industry, on the pretext that in no other way can the results of the War "and of the sacrifices of our noble soldiers and sailors" be consolidated and secured.[79]

Thus there was a decline in liberty: "There is less of it, and men care less for it. Their catchwords are duty and service instead."[80] This was a vindication of Belloc's warnings.

The Russian Revolution inspired some of the British syndicalists who combined anti-Statism and suspicion of capitalism with an angry anarchism. The revolution shifted parts of the radical left into thinking that 'seizing power' was an option. Eventually, the pull of Bolshevik thinking - pro and con - decisively influenced the world of labour. Robieson predicted that: "Even if an insurrection were successful the result would only

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[78] In 1908 David Lloyd George, the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Liberal government led by Herbert Asquith proposed what became the National Insurance Act 1911. This measure gave the Britain its first contributory system of insurance against illness and unemployment. But the measure was highly controversial. The National Insurance Act Part I provided that every worker who earned under £160/year had to insure themself by paying 4 pence, the employer paid 3 pence, and general taxation paid 2 pence (Lloyd George called it the ninepence for fourpence). As a result, workers could take sick leave and be paid 10 shillings/week for the first 13 weeks and 5 shillings/week for the next 13 weeks. Workers also gained access to free treatment for tuberculosis and the sick were eligible for treatment by a panel doctor. The National Insurance Act Part II provided for time-limited unemployment benefit. The scheme from Part II was restricted to particular industries, cyclical/seasonal industries like construction of ships, and neither made any provision for dependants. Part II worked in a similar way to Part I. The worker gave 2.5 pence/week when employed, the employer 2.5 pence, and the taxpayer 3 pence. After one week of unemployment, the worker would be eligible to receive 7 shillings/week for up to 15 weeks in a year. Both measures were criticised for non-universality, administration flaws and as weak substitutes for universal cover. Under the Atlee Labour Government The National Insurance Act 1946 established a comprehensive system of social security throughout the United Kingdom. All persons of working age had to pay a weekly contribution and in return were entitled to a wide range of benefits, including Guardian's (or Orphans) Allowances, Death Grants, Unemployment Benefit, Widow's Benefits, Sickness Benefit, and Retirement Pension. Michael Heller 'The National Insurance Acts 1911–1947, the Approved Societies and the Prudential Assurance Company' *Twentieth Century British History* Vol. 19, No. 1 (2008): pp. 1-28.

[79] M.W. Robieson review: G.D.H. Cole's *The World of Labour* in *The Guildsman* Issue no. 7 (June 1917): p. 6.

[80] M.W. Robieson [published under the pseudonym "O. Latham"] 'Notes on Political Theory', Part 4, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 21, No. 20 (September 13, 1917): p. 424.

be disaster."[81] He meant an insurrection in Britain. He feared that violence and fear would extinguish liberty; that the means through revolution would destroy the ends of social progress. Unlike many of his cohort, Robieson clearly saw the perils of the Bolshevik revolution of 1917 as being destructive to liberty. This was a view that John Anderson eventually came to share, though not without acquiring and then discarding illusions along the way. Anderson reached his conclusions via disappointment about the 'iron heel of Soviet despotism'[82] and a sense of 'betrayal' and disillusion.

Early in the 20th century the modern labour movement was in formation. Before the black swan events, socialist ideas were being freshly minted and debated. A hagiography around Marx - or a version of Marxism - was being advanced by the more doctrinaire of the Left. Many ideas were fluid concerning the role of the State, independent organisation and culture. All socialists believed that economic power was crucial to understanding society, that flaws in capitalism caused impoverishment and economic crises, and that the unchecked profit impulse led to an impoverished life for the underclass and the unskilled. There was an empty soullessness to a society built around the fetish of maximum production and maximum profit which led to waste and

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[81] M.W. Robieson 'Marx, Utopia and the Class War' *The Voice of Labour*, new series, Vol. 1, No. 23 (May 4, 1918): p. 245.

[82] The phrase was attributed to Max Eastman (1883-1969), socialist, writer, journalist, anti-communist and eventual libertarian conservative, in a discussion in February 1978 with Michael Easson and Laurie Short (1915-2009), the union leader and former Trotskyite, who came under the influence of John Anderson in the early 1930s when both were members of the Revolutionary Workers League in Sydney. See Laurie Short 'John Anderson as a Trotskyist' *Heraclitus* No. 35 (March, 1994): pp. 1-3. Eastman's phrase actually was: "The monstrous blood-smeared misbegotten Iron Heel of a thing that emerged in the place of either a workers' republic or a return to democratic forms." See: Max Eastman *Stalin, Russia and the Crisis in Socialism*, W.W. Norton & Company, New York (1940): p. 104. For details on Short, see: Susanna Short *Laurie Short*: *A Political Life*, Allen and Unwin, North Sydney (1992). See: D.M. McCallum 'Marx and Socialism', notes of John Anderson's lectures on Marx and Philosophy, delivered to philosophy students, University of Sydney, typescript (1945), which extensively refers to Max Eastman's works, especially *Marx, Lenin and the Science of Revolution*, George Allen & Unwin, London (1926). Eastman, a former editor of the popular American socialist newspaper *The Masses*, 1913-1918, who smuggled out of the Soviet Union and translated Lenin's 'Last Testament' and for a time championed Trotsky, was one of the most influential left wing intellectuals of the twentieth century. On Eastman generally see: William L. O'Neill *The Last Romantic: a Life of Max Eastman*, Oxford University Press, New York (1978).

the 'dumbing down' of work – a point particularly emphasised by the John Ruskin and William Morris inspired British socialists. Robieson put it this way:

> The real objection which thinking men have to the present economic system concerns not so much the distribution of wealth as the distribution of work. Even if wages were high, modern industrialism seems to involve for many men a kind of life hardly fit for human beings.[83]

There were idealist, liberal, sentimental, scientific and other types of socialists, each strand offering insights, remedies and practical programmes for change. Along with the development of trade union organisation came a perspective of gradual change, of 'civilising capitalism' rather than seeking to overthrow 'the system'. Socialists were divided on strategy, tactics and even fundamental aims. In this context, Robieson relished vigorous debate and argued for the rhetorical delights of polemical writing, stating that he hoped:

> …that we are about to witness a revival of genuine political controversy, in place of obsolete quarrels over party symbols. An absurd regard for other people's feelings, and often still more for one's own, had lately so restricted polemical writing in its range that it looked like dying of inanition.[84]

These were exciting times.

In his writings Robieson conveyed a relatively coherent and even optimistic ideological position. He mused that there is a distinction to be made between being a worthy progressive and a pessimist:

> I should deny the imputation, based on this theory of liberty that I have put forward, that I am a "worthy progressive", an optimist, a humanist, and perhaps

[83] M.W. Robieson review: William Smart *Second Thoughts of an Economist*, *with a biographical sketch by Thomas Jones*, Macmillan and Company Ltd., London (1916), in *The International Journal of Ethics* Vol. 27, No. 2 (January 1917): p. 245.
[84] M.W. Robieson 'Hegelian Politics' *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 24, No. 4 (November 28, 1918): p. 55.

> even a romantic. I may not, of course, thereby succeed in reaching the depths of Mr. Hulme's despair or equalling the blackness of M. Sorel's pessimism… [but] why political theorists should indulge in these contests in frightfulness remains somewhat obscure.[85]

He wanted to develop a set of ideas that were well-grounded. He was deeply informed about socialist thought on the continent, particularly in Germany, where he had spent time in university vacations, learnt the language and mastered, in the original, philosophical and political texts, including the output of contemporary writers.[86] His knowledge of contemporary German publications informed his thinking on socialism and current events. He was also fluent in French and, possibly familiar, through his twin brother William,[87] an historian fluent in several languages, with Italian.

Unfortunately, no manuscript of a considered and substantial type saw publication before (or after) Matthew Robieson died. So we cannot be certain how exactly he might have systematically thought through various theoretical and practical positions. In the one unpublished manuscript we do have, the telling point was made that:

> ...there has been an obnoxious tendency within English Socialism to neglect theory for the sake of practice, the advocates of such a scheme as National Guilds

[85] M.W. Robieson [published under the pseudonym "O. Latham"] 'An Apology for the Liberty of the Person', Part 7, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 22, No. 9 (December 27, 1917): p. 166.
[86] Robieson appears to have studied in Germany before the War. As the bibliography to this thesis shows, he (and William Anderson) reviewed in 1914-1915 various philosophy books written in German – which suggests a deep affinity with the language.
[87] Matthew's twin, William Robieson, topped history at Glasgow and in 1912 toured Italy to learn the language; from 1913 to 1914 he briefly worked for the Professor of History before joining the staff of the *Glasgow Herald* in 1914. He later saw distinguished war service, returning to journalism and going on to edit the *Herald* from 1937 to 1956.

> will have altogether misunderstood their own view unless they regard it as an integral part of a systematic attitude to social life.[88]

This provides a clue as to his method: the desire to write up a philosophy, to fit Guild Socialism into a plausible account of political liberty. From his prolific contributions to *The New Age* in particular, there is enough in what we have to get his general direction and the drift of his ambitions, even though his developed statement of them was denied us. His ambitions were wide:

> Any endeavour, such as that of the *New Age*, to frame a connected Socialist theory must utilise the varied attempts made by Marx and by Engels to solve, partially at least, the problems connected with the application of the idea of class-emancipation to society. Marxism rests on two assertions, first that economic power is necessarily fundamental in social life and secondly that economic power is a function of an economic class.[89]

So he believed in the careful consideration of what was vital in socialist thought and the addressing of a practical politics to contemporary issues. History had not stood still. Capitalism had developed since Marx's prognostications. It was no use pretending otherwise. At one point, addressing recent commentary in *The New Age* on the relevance of Marx's thought, he says: "…the next great advance in such work will be accomplished by those who succeed in formulating a reconstructed Marxism."[90] With respect to many of the issues he wrote about, one might guess Robieson's satisfaction that the dialogue has moved on. In one article he suggests how interesting it would be to consider developments a hundred years hence in the field of educational thought and

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[88] M.W. Robieson and W. Anderson 'Some Points in the History of Socialist Theory', holograph manuscript, n.d., *circa* 1919 or perhaps earlier, in the John Anderson Papers, University of Sydney Archives, Series 1, Box 7, item 69. I have substituted "obnoxious" for "objective" in this quote.
[89] *Ibid*.
[90] M.W. Robieson Letter: 'The Economic Interpretation of History' *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 18, No. 8 (June 24, 1915): p. 191.

practice.[91] We have now almost reached that moment. So why not look backwards – in the ancient Greek sense that in looking to the past we can know the current world and anticipate the future.[92]

Guildsmen were concerned with individual diversity and liberty – a theme Robieson repeatedly returned to.[93] One way of attaching meaning to such ideas was to refer to the concept of function, that individual actions had meaning and ethical context with respect to their connection to a particular function. Ramiro de Maeztu, both in his book *Authority, Liberty and Function in the Light of the War*[94] and in follow-up articles for *The New Age*, dwelt on this theme. Stears says that among Guild Socialists there was "an unsurprisingly very different approach to the concept and an equally divergent account of its practical implications. It was not so much that 'the functional principle... kept strange company', as one commentator argued, but rather that it did not mean the same thing to the different groups."[95] This observation leads to the question of what the Guild Socialists stood for and what was interesting and distinctive about their movement. Chapters 3 and 4 offer answers to this question by explaining Robieson's views and

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[91] M.W. Robieson 'Government of Consent', review of Kenneth Richmond's *Education for Liberty*, W. Collins Sons & Co. Ltd., Glasgow (1918), *The New Age* new series, Vol. 23, No. 5 (May 30, 1918): p. 71.
[92] The Greek word ὀπίσω or *opisó* literally means "behind" or "back" or "after"; the word refers not to the past but to the future. The ancient Greek world saw the past and future in front of us: "Only a very few wise men can see what is behind them; some of these men, like the blind prophet Tiresias [the blind prophet of Thebes, famous for his clairvoyance, who appears in Sophocles' *Oedipus the King*], have been given this privilege by the gods. The rest of us, though we have our eyes, are walking blind, backwards into the future." Bernard Knox *Backing Into the Future*, *The Classical Tradition and its Renewal*, W.W. Norton & Company, New York/London (1994): pp. 11-12.
[93] Mis-spelling his name as 'M.W. Robinson' Robieson is listed as one of the significant activists in the guild movement in James W. Stitt *Joint Industrial Councils in British History*: *Inception, Adoption and Utilization, 1917-1939*, Praeger, Westport (2006): p. 62, fn. 31.
[94] Ramiro de Maeztu *Authority, Liberty and Function in the Light of the War*, George Allen and Unwin, London (1916). The book was largely drawn from articles de Maeztu published in 1915 and 1916 in *The New Age*.
[95] Marc Stears 'Guild Socialism and Ideological Diversity on the British Left' *Journal of Political Ideologies* Vol. 3, No. 3 (October, 1998): p. 299. The commentator Stears quoted was M.W. Robieson [published under the pseudonym "O. Latham"] 'An Apology for the Liberty of the Person', Part 5, in *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 22, No. 4 (November 22, 1917): p. 69.

those of other guildsmen.

After the National Guilds League (NGL) was formed in 1915, Robieson became involved and played a role assisting the national executive in 1917; from its formative period William Anderson was active in its affairs in Glasgow and attended national conferences. Initially, the NGL was a significantly Glasgow-influenced body, with the national journal *The Guildsman* published there. In 1919, facing financial problems, the journal shifted to London and the organisation came more under the control of G.D.H. Cole. As is discussed later in this thesis, much of the direction of the NGL turned on its relations with other organisations and movements, including syndicalism, in the fluid political milieu of the time. Robieson supported the Guild Socialist movement believing that this was where the best thinking within the labour tradition was being developed.

Yet not all the thinking and development of Guild Socialism's ideology was consistent, coherent or compelling. For example, Cole's mental pirouettes and contortions in trying to 'keep up' with the shifts in the labour movement were sometimes insightful and interesting, sometimes pedestrian and recycled.[96] Later in life, Cole reflected:

> The movement for workers' control was in truth at many points ill-defined and impractical about means; and it was also at bottom sharply divided about the ends in view. On the one hand were the out-and-out revolutionaries, most of whom passed into the Communist Party of Great Britain – and some of them

[96] The conservative theorist and historian Fossey John Cobb Hearnshaw (1869-1946) referring to Cole's *Self-Government in Industry* (1917) complained of "numerous other works, each of which, since Mr. Cole speaks before he has finished thinking – sets forth a system differing from that of its predecessor." F.J.C. Hearnshaw *A Survey of Socialism Analytical, Historical and Critical*, Macmillan and Co., London (1928): p. 322, fn. Hearnshaw was Professor of Medieval History at King's College, London, 1912 to 1934. He also authored *Conservatism in England*, *An Analytical, Historical, and Political Survey*, Macmillan & Co., London (1933). In Cole's defense he was trying to adapt his theory to rapidly changing events during and immediately after the Great War; he wanted to interpret the world to supporters. Naturally that would require each new book to freshly assess events.

> quite speedily out of it again; on the other were the idealists of workers' control, who were never extreme revolutionaries, but only left-wing reformists who, however opposed to state control and bureaucratic centralization, wanted to build on social institutions as they were, rather than to subvert them utterly and did not believe that a violent revolutionary upheaval in Great Britain was either practically on the cards or even desirable. For a time, adherents of these divergent views were united in a common movement for workers' control with many others who belonged to neither group; but presently, mainly under the influence of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, they fell apart, and it became clear that the first group wanted revolution *a la russe* more than it wanted workers' control in any real sense, and that of the second group was hardly less sharply divided into those who utterly repudiated revolution and those who tried to steer a middle course, defending what had been done in Russia without being prepared to advocate that it should be imitated under the very different conditions which prevailed in great Britain.[97]

Here the confusion of Cole's thinking is apparent. What, exactly, was meant by "a middle course?" To defend "what had been done in Russia" was hopelessly vague – assuming it was not a gloss on the Red terror. Did he mean "all power to the Soviets!" was a species of workers control worth "defending"? Actually, as Vowles says, he did once mean that. Cole flirted with the idea of the 'dictatorship of the proletariat' and: "at the end of 1920 the NGL special conference committed itself to the view that a brief dictatorship of the proletariat would be necessary in a transition to guild socialism."[98] One could imagine Robieson, if he were alive, fiercely contesting that proposal at the

[97] G.D.H. Cole 'Foreword' to Branko Pribićević, *Loc. Cit.*, p. v.
[98] Jack Vowles From Corporatism to Workers Control: The Formation of British Guild Socialism, PhD, The University of British Columbia (1980): p. 226. See, also, Jack Vowles 'A Guild Socialist Programme of Action, 1920' *Bulletin*, Society for the Study of Labour History, No. 3 (Autumn, 1981): pp. 16-21.

NGL Conference. In fact, Bolshevik organisation, from start to finish, was undemocratic in its very nature, reliant on fear and violence to exercise control. It is little wonder the Guild movement splintered. Though there were other issues, including Cole's desire to explicitly declare the Guild Socialists as socialists, rather than as a broader movement, there was much enmity amongst its members towards Cole's naïvely dangerous romanticism.

In a biographical note on Hobson, Stears remarks that within the Guild Socialist movement and the battle of influence between Cole and the originators of the ideas, particularly Hobson, the smarter man won.[99] Both were flawed. Cole was the deeper thinker. Hobson's business skills, possibly his ethics, and certainly his grasp of theory meant that political canonisation was unlikely.[100] Yet Hobson was never smart enough to be tempted by totalitarianism as, for a time, Cole clearly was attracted to the first years of Sovietism. There was a dogged consistency in Hobson's espousal of guild ideas. Perhaps there was something to be said for the simpler man.

From this background understanding it is interesting to explore the ideas of Robieson and to ponder the kind of influence he had, including on John Anderson, who in assimilation, in development of suggestions and lines of reasoning, and in thinking originally about the matters written about, forged his own views. As a result of the research in this thesis, the formation of that philosophy will perhaps now become more

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[99] Marc Stears 'S.G. Hobson' in *The Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Oxford (2004).

[100] Frank Matthews hints at rumours concerning Hobson's business practices and his overall coomercial competence. See: 'The Building Guilds' in Asa Briggs and John Saville *Essays in Labour History 1886-1923* Archon Books (1971): pp. 284-331. Note also: Frank Matthews 'The Ladder of Becoming: A.R. Orage, A.J. Penty and the Origins of Guild Socialism in England' in David. E. Martin and David Rubinstein, editors, *Ideology and the Labour Movement,* Croom Helm, London (1979): pp. 147-166.

intelligible.

Following this introductory Chapter, the thesis is arranged as follows: The next Chapter addresses theories of ideological progress. This is to provide a lens to understand and interpret Guild Socialism and Robieson's contribution. This occurred in a specific context including issues and contemporary debates before, during and just after the Great War. In the search for historical and political understanding, it is crucial to possess a theoretical understanding of a political movement - from both within and outside of a political philosophy class. Michael Freeden tellingly suggests that we need to understand that: "Party rhetoric, instructive and central as it is to understanding how a political system works, rarely aspires to the heights of complex ideological arguments, nor can it if it is to act as an effective mobiliser of public opinion."[101] This joining of the peculiarities of a party's traditions together with its specific ideological beliefs, suggests the merit of distinguishing between the doctrines and ethos of a movement. This leads to the relevance of Henry Drucker's works on this theme. These and other theories of ideological progress will be discussed.

The third Chapter, on 'Robieson's Guild Socialism', sets out the main ideas of the Guild Socialists as well as where Robieson stood and the theoretical position he advocated. Alfred Orage's *The New Age* journal was immensely influential as a cultural journal and in the development, debate and promulgation of guild ideas. The Chapter explores *The New Age* 'line' in the context of the development of the NGL towards Guild Socialism. In so doing, an account of Robieson's main writings together with an account of the

[101] Michael Freeden *Liberal Languages*, *Ideological Imaginations and Twentieth-Century Progressive Thought*, Princeton University Press, Princeton and Oxford (2005): p. 184. See also: Michael Freeden *Ideologies and Political Theories*: *A Conceptual Approach*, Clarendon Press, Oxford (1996) and Michael Freeden, editor, *Reassessing Political Ideologies*: *The Durability of Dissent*, Routledge, London (2001).

development of his thought as a Guild Socialist and political theorist is outlined. Robieson combined a mix of hard-headed realism and romantic idealism – something in common with the best of utopian thinkers. This is explained. Robieson seemed supportive of the idea of Professor D.G. Ritchie when he said that democracy is the assumption that all men were equal made for the purpose of discovering which are the best. On Robieson's account, this is the aim of excellence in education. Critic and philosopher George Davie called this 'the democratic intellect', which he characterised as a Scottish ideal.[102] Robieson adhered to J.A. Smith's dictum that being able to tell if a man is 'talking rot' is the ultimate goal of a liberal arts education.[103]

Chapter 4 points out that a trio of active trade unionists, close to the development of what later was termed the emergence of 'Red Clydeside', but opposed to the syndicalist and later the communist aspects of that period, were key to the movement; they were John Paton, George Thomson and Edwin Muir. Robieson and William Anderson were sympathetic to this 'wing' of the NGL. Their journal, *The Guildsman*, initially produced from Glasgow, contains a record of what the Guild Socialists thought about contemporary matters. Robieson and William Anderson contributed at least one article each to the journal and Anderson helped found and shape it. The Chapter includes an account of William Anderson's contribution to the movement both in Glasgow and through his articles for *The New Age*. He was an exact contemporary and closest friend

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[102] George Davie *The Democratic Intellect*: *Scotland and her Universities in the Nineteenth Century*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh (1961).

[103] A former student of Smith at Oxford and later Prime Minister, Harold Macmillan, recalled Smith opening a lecture in 1914: "Nothing that you will learn in the course of your studies will be of the slightest possible use to you in afterlife – save only this – if you work hard and diligently you should be able to detect when a man is talking rot, and that, in my view, is the main, if not the sole, purpose of education." See: Sir Alistair Horne *Macmillan Vol. 1, 1894-1956*, Macmillan, London (1988): p. 27. Smith was a referee for Robieson's application for the QUB post. M.W. Robieson *Letter of Application and Testimonials* of Matthew W. Robieson Candidate for the Lectureship in Moral Philosophy and History of Philosophy in the Queen's University of Belfast, Robert Maclehose & Co. Ltd., Glasgow (1913): p. 6.

of Robieson at Glasgow University. No one has written up his distinct contribution – either to the development of Robieson's thought or to that of his brother, John. Indeed, William Anderson's significance is under-estimated. This Chapter sets the scene, with subsequent chapters more searchingly evaluating Robieson's views in detail.

An important theme is that the Robieson and the Anderson brothers were stimulated by political developments in Glasgow, including the contest between various socialist groupings, though mainly as intellectuals active in the life of the University and the surrounding community. Chapter 5 provides some detail on Robieson's family background and experiences at Glasgow University. His intellectual life was largely shaped by his reactions to the decline of liberal idealism and his commitment to socialism.

Chapter 6 explores the turn to socialism. Robieson and William Anderson led the Glasgow University Socialist Club where they attempted to encourage a pluralist, tolerant environment, emphasising discussion and debate. This story is worth telling because Robieson was uniquely shaped by Glasgow politics and the university. Understanding the milieu in which he formed his thinking is critical to understanding the development of his thought.

Chapters 7 discusses possibly Robieson's most interesting and persuasive piece of argumentation, written under the pseudonym, "O. Latham" (never publicly attributed to him and thereby contributing to his relative obscurity), namely 'An Apology for the Liberty of the Person'. Robieson argued that liberty has value for its own sake, and that most *great* ends arise directly out of it. This is extensively discussed. John Anderson proposed to write an introduction to selections of Robieson's *New Age*

essays.[104] There are traces of Robieson's thinking in Anderson's own writings. His distinctive contribution to ethics and political philosophy is his understanding that goods and values exist in struggle and that notions of harmony and that of avoiding conflict only encourage quietism and the stifling of freedom. In contrast to the relational view of 'the good' as something that our activities should aim at, there is the conception of the good as a quality of those activities themselves. Chapter 7 suggests Anderson's view of ethics was partly drawn from Robieson's insights. Robieson was rejected for military service on health grounds, apparently due to a weak heart. He responded in his articles to the questions posed by the War, including conscription, the curtailment of liberty and the future of university education. Hand-in-hand with progress, he saw an emerging coarsening of post-war life. The orthodox Marxist attack on Robieson and the Guild Socialists significantly intensified consequent to the Russian Revolution.

On Marxism, Robieson put down his thoughts in an essay titled 'An Autopsy of Marxism'. In discussing this, Chapter 8 develops several themes raised in Chapter 2 about the contest of rival ideologies. For the Guild Socialists were locked in a battle for relevance, influence and power with rival forces in the UK labour movement. Robieson feared the worse in the development of chauvinistic Marxism along Bolshevik lines. He teased such opponents about whether they really understood Marx and whether a reformed Marxism was the challenge for modern times. In 1918 he was denounced by strident critics such as J. Walton Newbold, later Britain's first elected communist MP.

The concluding Chapter on 'The Thread of Influence' discusses Robieson's influence and that of the Guild Socialists more generally. As Vowles once observed: "The

[104] John Anderson 'Introduction to Notes on Political Theory', holograph editorial notes, *Loc. Cit.*

disappearance from usage of the name of a movement implies its death."[105] There is a sure route to the graveyard: some theories are impractical, their versimiltude and interpretative power are weaker than alternatives. Guild Socialism certainly disappeared on an organised basis. But the ideas of the Guild Socialists permeated the wider political culture, including amongst the most thoughtful of the moderate left. This thread can be compared to 'the crimson thread',[106] a reflection on a phrase of Peter Beilharz. The point being to contrast the pro-revolutionary or 'red' ideas John Anderson once espoused with the colours and cloth represented by the Glasgow Guild Socialists, particularly Robieson and William Anderson.

Thus the thesis will convey a representation of Robieson's intellectual life and convey a narrative about the political battles and issues he was engaged in. In doing so, the trajectory of the Guild Socialists can be better understood as, too, can their importance in the forging of the UK labour tradition. Even in defeat, their views helped to shape a distinctive tradition within the labour movement. In telling the story new light is shone on some forgotten paths, including the direction that John Anderson was ultimately to turn to. New areas of research are pointed to with respect to the distinctive articulation of a philosophy of freedom by Robieson, the significance and influence of the Scots Guild Socialists, and in connection with the evolution of John Anderson's political philosophy.

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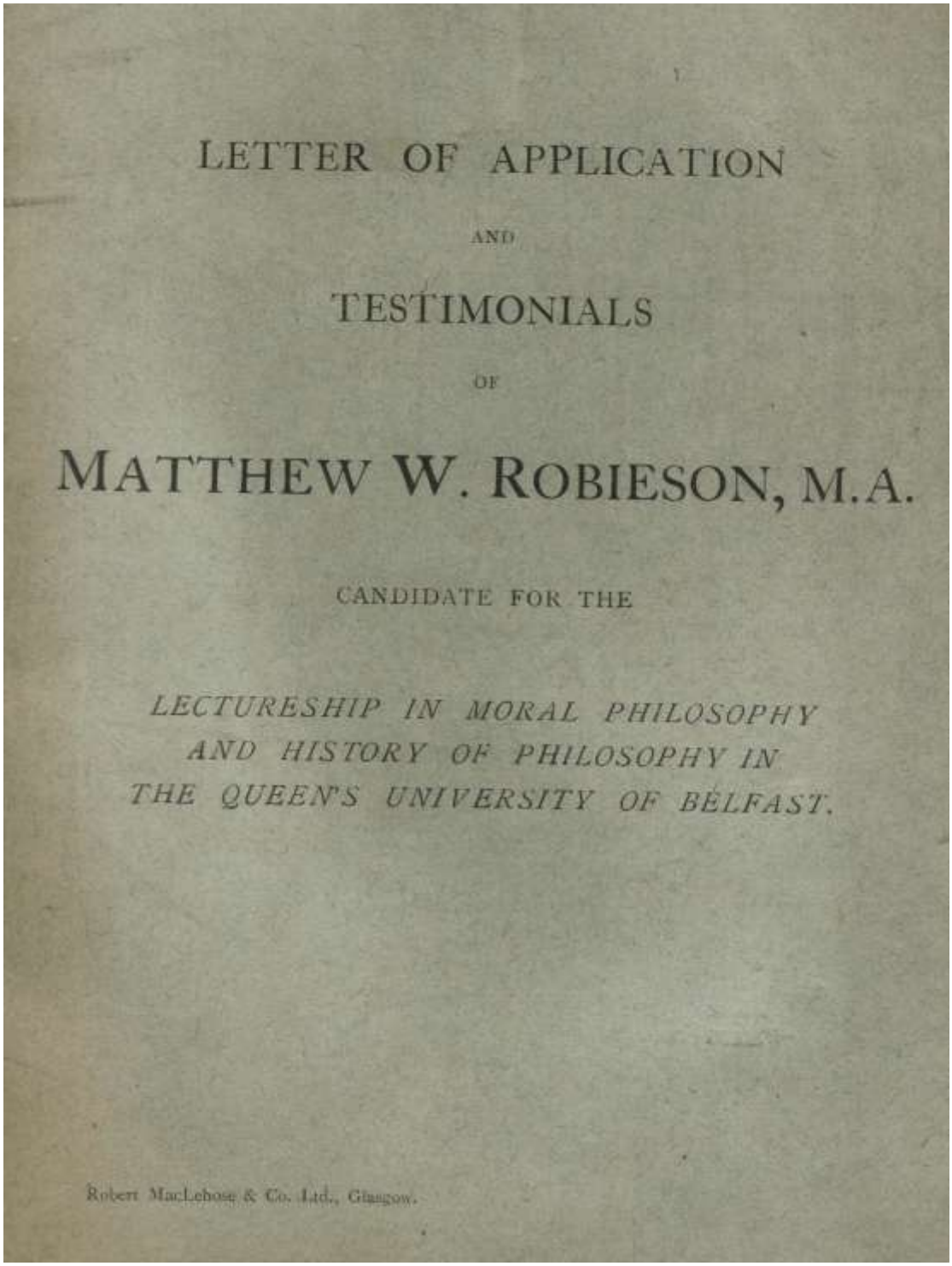
[105] Jack Vowles From Corporatism to Workers' Control: The Formation of British Guild Socialism, Ph.D., The University of British Columbia (1980): p. 9.
[106] Peter Beilharz 'John Anderson and the Syndicalist Moment' *Political Theory Newsletter* No. 5 [ADFA] (1993): pp. 5-13.



LETTER OF APPLICATION

AND

TESTIMONIALS

OF

MATTHEW W. ROBIESON, M.A.

CANDIDATE FOR THE

LECTURESHIP IN MORAL PHILOSOPHY AND HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY IN THE QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY OF BELFAST.

Robert MacLehose & Co. Ltd., Glasgow.

Robieson's application for the QUB post, *circa* October 1913; all of Robieson's articles for *The New Age* were written whilst He was at QUB, from December 1913 to July 1919.

2. Theories of Ideological Progress

Of particular relevance to the rise and eclipse of the Guild Socialists is how ideas and ideologies battle for space and credibility, and survive and fall. Such notions are considered in this Chapter. In doing so the reason for the decline of the Guild Socialists is illuminated. This is vital to an understanding of what and why Robieson and his cohort meant by the ideas that they expressed, including their narrative on 'what is to be done' in the movement they joined and hoped to enliven. Although Robieson seemed particularly interested in ideas, one senses that he was aware that debates on ideology are only part of the evolution of a political movement. So this Chapter explores generally the issue of what constitutes an ideology and what, in the Labour Party, evolved in the contest of competing traditions. In doing so, the problems of Guild Socialism are outlined in order to show the kind of social and intellectual environment that Robieson worked within.

First let us turn to the concept of ideology. Chaim Waxman introduces his book on the 'end of ideology debate' with a mélange of definitions of what is meant by the term.[1] So it might first help to define two main types of ideology. An ideological position can be understood in a soft or a hard sense. In the former, it represents a set of ideas that informs and guides a political movement or a person within that movement. In the

[1] Chaim I. Waxman, editor, *The End of Ideology Debate*, Funk & Wagnalls, New York (1969): pp. 3-4. This book gathered various reactions and reflections on Daniel Bell *The End of Ideology*: *On the Exhaustion of Political Ideas in the Fifties*, The Free Press, New York (1960).

latter, it represents an encompassing perspective that is more than a guide; it is a *weltangschuung* where everything turns on the ideological perspective. Both views may be confidently espoused, though one is clearly tempered and open to debate and change and the other is dogmatic and change-resistant. When Daniel Bell wrote about 'the end of ideology' he had in mind the latter perspective; his idea was that politics as practised from the mid 20th century was increasingly managerial, practical and shorn of ideological shibboleth. Bernard Crick, too, thought of an ideological position in the hard sense, as inherently unpolitical and driven by rigid, unworldly certainty. He saw politics as compromise. In Crick's view, ideologues are temperamentally unsuited for politics.[2] In Mannheim's phrase, "The total conception of ideology" raises a problem "of the totally distorted mind which falsifies everything which comes within its range…"[3] The words 'total' and 'totally' emphasise what he was talking about.

Mannheim was writing in a period when authoritarian and extreme doctrines, such as Hitlerism and Stalinism, were proudly proclaimed. His book *Ideology and Utopia* was itself the product of this period of chaos and unsettlement.[4] In such a world the possibilities of intelligible communication and *a fortiori* of agreement were reduced to a minimum. Because, in the hard sense, there were competing *weltangschuungs*; thus the absence of a common basis of understanding vitiated the possibility of appealing to the same criteria of relevance and truth. Mannheim tried to delineate political movements between ideological and utopian bases. He thought that the concept of ideology "reflects the one discovery which emerged from political conflict, namely, that … groups can in their thinking become so intensively interest-bound to a situation that

[2] Bernard Crick *In Defence of Politics*, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London (1962).
[3] Karl Mannheim *Ideology and Utopia*, *An Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge*, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co Ltd/Harcourt, Brace & Company Inc., London/New York (1936): p. 62. Mannheim's book was originally published in Weimar Germany in 1929 as *Ideologie und Utopie*.
[4] Louis Wirth 'Introduction', Karl Mannheim *Ideology and Utopia*, *Ibid*., pp. xxvi-xxxi.

they are simply no longer able to see certain facts which would undermine their sense of domination."[5] This he characterised as ideological – in the hard sense of the term.

In contrast, Mannheim suggested the concept of utopian thinking reflects the opposite discovery of the political struggle, namely that certain oppressed groups are intellectually so strongly interested in the destruction and transformation of a given condition of society that they unwittingly see only those elements in the situation which tend to negate it.[6] He saw that some utopians wanted to cut themselves off existing communities and thereafter create a new society. This was so in the particular sense that "Utopians found their solution to *éstatisme* in the small self-sufficient community."[7] Owenite socialists, for example, could be counted in that category.[8] Mannheim, though, wanted to apply the idea of a 'Utopia' to a type of orientation that transcends reality and which at the same time breaks the bonds of the existing order; thus, "a distinction is set up between the Utopian and the ideological states of mind."[9] He comments: "The possible Utopias and wish-images of an epoch as conceptions of the not-yet-real are oriented about what has already been realized in this epoch (and are not therefore chance, undetermined phantasies, or the results of inspiration)."[10]

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[5] Karl Mannheim *Ideology and Utopia*, *Loc. Cit.*, p. 35.
[6] *Ibid*.
[7] Sheldon S. Wolin *Politics and Vision*, *Continuity and Innovation in Western Political Thought*, George Allen & Unwin Ltd, Lonon (1961; first published, 1960): p. 417.
[8] See Margaret Cole *Robert Owen of New Lanark 1771-1858*, Batchworth Press, London (1953). Cole shows how Owen moved from being a 'model' factory owner and social philanthropist, to becoming an altogether more radical figure. Almost by accident he became the leading figure of a mass working class movement of Owenite Socialism that aimed to create a socialist society based around a co-operative model. Progressive social reforms enacted included raising the minimum age for millworkers from six to twelve, opening the industrial world's first crèche so that mothers would be free to work, stocking the village shop with good quality produce that was sold to Owen's employees at near cost; children were educated at the 'New Institution' for education and the formation of character.
[9] Karl Mannheim *Ideology and Utopia*, *Loc. Cit.*, p.173.
[10] *Ibid*., p. 262.

Mannheim, therefore, wanted to emphasise that what might be called 'soft utopians' were not merely wild dreamers.

Freeden argues that ideologies consist of certain concepts whose meanings change and evolve over time. This idea of ideology as a set of beliefs is a soft version of the term. Each ideology has both 'core' and 'peripheral' or secondary concepts. The former constitute beliefs of highest importance, e.g., class conflict in Marxism or freedom in liberalism. Based on Mannheim's delineation, Guild Socialism was a utopian doctrine. Yet this is to say little more than that it constituted an ideal type that its supporters thought worth striving for. The emergence of guild ideas, their adaption into Guild Socialism, their contest with other ideologies, the incorporation of their thought into other near ideologies and the ultimate demise of the movement need exploring. For this, we need to turn to Freeden who suggests that an understanding of the sustaining power of an ideology requires the rejection of the definition of ideologies as static 'belief systems'.[11]

Three theories help to explain why Guild Socialism spluttered to a close. Those are Freeden's ideas about ideological belief systems, Henry Drucker's concept of 'ethos' and 'doctrine' as twin parts of a political movement, and, Mannheim's discussion of an ideological versus a utopian frame of mind.

First, to Freeden, who notes that concepts may gain or lose importance over time, just as new concepts may emerge (or be borrowed from other ideologies) or fall out of use

[11] Michael Freeden *Ideologies and Political Theories*: *A Conceptual Approach, Clarendon Press*, Oxford (1996). See also Michael Freeden, editor, *Reassessing Political Ideologies*: The Durability of Dissent, Routledge, London (2001).

entirely. As he puts it in several places about one worldview: "Liberalism is a cluster of concepts and goods, some of which can only be attained by social initiative, others by its absence and by reliance on individual judgment and virtue."[12] On this formulation: "Liberalism is a process and it evokes an activity, the activity of being self-directively spontaneous, inventive, and imaginative." [13] Elaborating, he says: "Process *entails* history; history *is* the intellectual coherence of liberalism, rather than being superimposed to account for it."[14] Liberalism, like other ideologies, needs to be considered as a dynamic belief system and coded with its own language of reference. Ideas compete. Ideologies are contestable sets of ideas simultaneously seeking to interpret the world and to guide action. For example, in conservatism, in socialism and in liberalism property rights have contrasting legal and political importance. Concepts are defined by their relation to other concepts. Clarity of understanding requires that those conceptual relations attract attention, delineation and review.

Observing the conceptual evolution of ideologies suggests that the relative 'political success' of an ideology depends on its ability to impose belief – at the start with a small core, then a larger number of believers – in its own conceptual definitions. These are believed to be 'true' by the adherents. There is a form of 'conceptual competition', in which each ideology performs a continuous 'decontestation' of its concepts – that is, it tries to eliminate all possible competition with its own conceptual definitions, thereby rejecting competing definitions. So, for example, Marxism rejects private property as a product of the exploitative nature of capitalism just as, traditionally, some versions of

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[12] Michael Freeden *Liberal Languages*, *Ideological Imaginations and Twentieth-Century Progressive Thought*, Princeton University Press, Princeton and Oxford (2005):
pp. 15-16.
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 25.
[14] *Ibid*.

liberalism view state intervention as an infringement upon individual freedoms.[15] Sometimes this is the product of an inter-ideological competition (between ideologies), and otherwise the product of an intra-ideological competition (within ideologies). Arguably, in the 1980s, a form of the latter included Margaret Thatcher's neo-liberalism versus the legacy of middle-of-the-road Harold Macmillan type Toryism exemplified by Ted Heath.[16] Another arguable example is labourism versus Marxism versus Guild Socialism in the formative period of the labour movement in the first quarter of the 20th century. This is 'arguable' because the differences from the 'inside' look more 'inter' than 'intra' in their fierce contesting. Criticisms sometimes caused clarity in deciding where to stand. Blatchford thought that Belloc's strictures in *The Servile State* - the book "which has so shaken weak knees"[17] - was worth thinking hard about. He wanted to draw a distinction between the thinking represented in the *Fabian Essays*[18] and that of Morris's *News From Nowhere*.[19] He wrote: "Let us think of Collectivists as Fabian Socialists and of Communists as Morris Socialists, and we shall understand pretty clearly what we are talking about."[20] In other words, the distinction between so-called scientific Marxist socialism and moralising, ethical, Morrisite socialism were two, very distinct, tendencies, not easily housed under the broad socialist tent. They competed with each other. In large part, the Guild Socialists had more in common with the

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[15] See Stephen Holmes 'Welfare and the Liberal Conscience', *Passions and Constraint*, *On The Theory of Liberal Democracy*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London (1995): pp. 236-266. Holmes distinguishes between rival traditions or tendencies of liberalism including negative constitutionalism and Samaritan liberalism (sympathetic to welfare); he argues that classical liberalism and the welfare state could be compatible.
[16] Harold Macmillan *The Middle Way*, Macmillan and Co. Limited, London (1939). Edward ("Ted") Heath (1916-2005) was Tory party leader for a decade, 1965-1975 and Prime Minister from 1970–1974. On Thatcher, the unsurpassed biography is still Hugo Young *One of Us*, Macmillan, London (1989).
[17] Robert Blatchford 'What is the Matter with Socialism?' *The Clarion* No. 1108 (February 28, 1913): p. 1.
[18] George Bernard Shaw, editor, *Fabian Essays in Socialism*, by Shaw, Sidney Webb, William Clarke, Sydney Olivier, Annie Besant, Graham Wallas and Hubert Bland, Walter Scott, London (1889).
[19] William Morris *News From Nowhere. An Epoch of Rest. Being Some Chapters from a Utopian Romance*, Longmans Green and Co., London (1890). First serialised in *Commonweal* in 1890.
[20] Robert Blatchford 'What is the Matter with Socialism?', *Loc. Cit.*

Morrisite tradition. Robieson though saw the Guild Socialists as potentially reconciling both traditions and forging a unique interpretation of the world as well as a guide to action. But pro-Bolshevik advocacy by a core of British activists put an end to that ambition and even divided the Guild Socialists amongst themselves.

Political movements are not merely theoretical in nature; their ideas require leaders and cadres, especially at the early stages of development. Such people articulate, defend, modify and develop concepts. Hence the 'founders' loom large. Their particular personalities and characteristics help define the ethos of the group. During the formative development period, ideas are fragile, open to fierce competition and likely, too, to cause reaction in competing ideologies that might want to assimilate and re-interpret ideas so as to win adherents and retain those tempted to defect. Politics is not at all the highly rational process that many philosophers and educators believe; it is not what Mill thought it might and should be in judging the moral worth of actions by the consequences of those actions. Developing Bentham's theory that the moral worth of actions are merited depending on the consequence for human happiness, the achievement of pleasure and avoidance of pain, Mill said: "The multiplication of happiness is, according to the utilitarian ethics, the object of virtue."[21] He presumed that everyone could agree that the consequences of human actions contribute importantly to their moral value. Thus politics should be aimed at facilitating this state of affairs. Political history, however, is a story proving that this is easier said than done.

[21] John Stuart Mill *Utilitarianism*, Second Edition, edited with an Introduction by George Sher, Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., Indianapolis/Cambridge (2001; first published 1861): p. 19.

Applying insights derived from Freeden, Drucker, Crick and Mannheim to Guild Socialism can have useful explanatory power. The Guild Socialists died off because (a) there was insufficient coalescence around core ideas to sustain the movement in the long term; (b) in the swirl of competing ideologies, the Guild Socialists lacked sufficient coherence and confidence to sustain their vision or concepts against competing ideas on the Left – specifically labourism, syndicalism and Leninist ideas; (c) the Guild Socialists failed to assimilate other ideas and innovate as compared to their competitors; and, (d) when they did they sometimes wandered away from a Utopian to a loosely expressed ideological perspective and failed to retain support. For example, on the latter, at one point the National Guilds League propounded:

> Capitalism must necessarily disappear with the wage system, for without the wage system there can be no surplus value, and therefore no rent, interest, or profits. National Guilds would be based not upon the possession of capital but upon the monopoly of labour.[22]

This raised a host of questions of how such a society might work and the transition to such a state of affairs. But this was weakly and under-explored in their literature.

Robieson, as we shall explore, saw the potential for failure of the Guild Socialists competing in the ideas battlefield. He wanted to provide a philosophical foundation to the movement's core ideas. He wanted to create a systematic theory of freedom into which Guild Socialism fitted. That is discussed throughout the thesis, particularly in Chapter 7.

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[22] National Guilds League *A Short Statement of the Principles and Objects of the National Guilds League* Wightman & Co., Ltd, London, n.d. (*circa* 1919 or 1920): p. 7.

But as Robieson and generally the Guild Socialists sought to influence a specific political movement, it is wise to contemplate the nature of that movement. An excellent start is with Henry Drucker's *Doctrine and Ethos in the Labour Party* which, on publication, offered a fresh perspective on how to understand political movements, such as the UK Labour Party. In formulating his ideas, Drucker was heavily influenced by his own experience and observations as a member of the Labour Party in Edinburgh. His first book[23] evaluated ideologies in the context of different writers. *Doctrine and Ethos* applied his thinking on the UK Labour Party. The book was "to argue that there is more to the party's ideology than socialist doctrines. Its ideology has been equally strongly influenced by the sentiments and traditions of the people who have created and controlled it." The ideology embodied "both doctrine and ethos."[24] Drucker found that there were few, if any, books that captured this understanding of what it meant to be a member of a political party.[25]

Studies of the UK Labour Party usually concentrate on the intellectual pretensions of its leaders, the workings of Cabinets and the ideological importance of Annual Conference resolutions. For this reason much of the literature does not accord with the tunes to which the party is actually marching. Drucker's book is an exception to this tradition of writing about the Labour Party as if it were a propaganda machine whose output can be tested for coherency, ideological antecedents or socialist purity. Instead, he analyses the ideology of the party, that is, "the traditions, beliefs, characteristic procedures and

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[23] H.M. Drucker *The Political Uses of Ideology*, Macmillan, London (1974).
[24] H.M. Drucker *Doctrine and Ethos in the Labour Party*, George Allen & Unwin, London (1979): p. vii.
[25] Although one study by Egon Wertheimer impressed Drucker, as is clear from personal communications, in 1981, between Michael Easson and Henry Drucker. The author of this thesis was in regular contact with Drucker for several decades See Egon Wertheimer *Portrait of the Labour Party*, revised and enlarged edition, G.P. Putnam's Sons, London and New York (translated: 1930; first published in German, 1929).

feeling which help to animate the members."[26] Drucker is using the term ideology in the soft form described earlier. This suggests a view of politics that is dynamic and open to development and inconsistency. Freeden states that:

> … liberal thought is not only a narrative, but should be savoured as a *collective* narrative that is formed by conversations, reactions, and ripple-effects within large groups, allows the introduction of impermanence within constraining family resemblances, and concurrently enables the idea of development, and of potential evolutionary improvement, to occupy centre stage.[27]

This adds an element under-emphasised in Drucker's account: that an ideology is no static thing. Though, perhaps there is a distinction to be made here between being static and conservative. An ideology can tend to sustain an identity and set of norms and practices without being static, but also without encouraging movement. An ideology can be a way of managing change, of dealing with flux. That an ideology is not static does not, however, imply that it motivates change or dynamism.

For Drucker there are two aspects to ideology: ethos and doctrine. Doctrines are sets of ideas about the character of economic, social and political reality. A party's political doctrines are set out in a programme of action, which is usually revised from time to time; e.g., in terms of what can win government. Intellectuals are more at home with doctrine, hence, their concentration on this. But there is another aspect to a party's ideology: its ethos; in UK Labour's case, in the values which arise out of the experience of the British working class. Unlike the wealth of written material available for the study of the doctrinal aspects of Labour Party policy, there are few written sources for

[26] H.M. Drucker *Doctrine and Ethos in the Labour Party*, *Loc. Cit.*, p. 1.
[27] Michael Freeden *Liberal Languages*, *Loc. Cit.*, p. 11.

describing its ethos: "When describing the ethos of a group we are forced to make hypotheses on the basis of the footprints the group has left behind."[28]

There is always some tension between a movement's ethos and its doctrines. The Labour Party is described as part of a wider movement, "a collection of loosely related institutions and individuals all working for a vaguely defined common goal." Such a party requires organisational glue, a structure and a tradition, to hold it together. This suggests a clue as to why guild ideas failed to sustain themselves within the broad labour movement. They lost the battle despite some very formidable footholds – amongst the party intelligentsia, Labour-supporting intellectuals and many unions. The Guild Socialists were strongest in critiquing the world and weakest in providing in-depth solutions. In sometimes straying from a soft to a harder ideological perspective they moved away from the party's traditions to a position many found simply incredible. We can also argue that the ethos of the labourists reflected and was centred on the shared experiences of working people and their organisations to ameliorate poor working and living conditions. In concentrating on 'the big picture' more than the myriad battles and tasks of the moment, the Guild Socialists fitted uneasily with the labour movement's emerging ethos.

The rhetoric and symbols of the past are part of the organisational glue that keeps the party in one piece, if not necessarily of one mind. Drucker is quick to point out that "a past can be kept alive as long as it is believed. There is nothing about the movement of clocks which diminishes it."[29] Year after year, Labour's achievements are spontaneously

[28] H.M. Drucker *Doctrine and Ethos in the Labour Party*, *Loc. Cit.*, p. 12.
[29] *Ibid.*, p. 32.

recalled by party activists, and this shared sense of a proud past impels them to perform their humdrum tasks. Although referring to a different tradition, on this point too, Freeden offers insight when he suggests that "…liberalism is a pliant tradition subscribed to by identifiable groups, and that the scholar ought to reascertain periodically what those generally held beliefs are."[30] Freeden goes on to posit that:

> Ideological, as distinct from philosophical or scholarly, quality relates to communication, to mobilisation, and, not least, to the deftness with which ideologies weave short-term issues and a changing political landscape into a loose and periphery-sensitive morphological framework.[31]

But, again, he is dwelling on ideology as a set of beliefs rather than a more doctrinaire perspective.

Several questions are relevant. How fruitful are those concepts for explaining really existing political movements – such as the Guild Socialists? What was/is the delineation between policy content and ethos - say, with respect to the Guild Socialists? As Drucker conceives it, Labour's doctrine is a relatively open and diverse assembly of ideas revolving around some 'common doctrinal ground', notably the commitment to equality (understood in terms of a more equal distribution of income, status and power) realisable through such means as: "progressive taxation, comprehensive state education, free medical care, state intervention in the economy."[32] This is to state matters in a pragmatic way. He distinguishes between various doctrinal positions that assert that socialism is about nationalisation, or about equality or about partnership

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[30] Michael Freeden *Liberal Languages*, *Loc. Cit.*, p. 10.
[31] *Ibid.*, p. 14.
[32] *Ibid.*, p. 9

with the trade unions in defence of the material interests of the working class,[33] thereby highlighting the intra-ideological contest.[34] Sometimes, of course, such contest is between hard and soft versions of an ideology.

In imagining the ethos of a movement, Drucker confesses that this is harder to construct – particularly about an historical period. Three observations can be made about his use of the term. By ethos he has in mind feelings ingrained in the party into which new cohorts of members are socialised. Some of these might be termed norms or shared understandings, such as: loyalty to the leader, rather puritan expectations of the expected lifestyles of its representatives, highly prudent attitudes to the spending of party funds and belief in strict adherence to a body of codified rules.[35] Examples of the Labour Party's ethos include (i) the unwillingness to sack the party leader (loyalty to one's mate); (ii) the formality of the party's procedures (indigenous working class ritual); (iii) demands of heroism from party leaders; (iv) defending one's 'own' (trade union behaviour); (v) suspicion of office bearers (suspicion of social superiority); and (vi) hatred (or at least extreme dislike) of the Tories! This summary represents a kind of trade union ethos that characterised UK Labour up to the early 1990s.

The second aspect of Labour's ethos is the degree to which the party is grounded in a strong sense of its own past. Labour is soaked in its own traditions. Yet in minting a new party or movement, the historic reference points are vaguer and less rooted in a shared ethos. Drucker observes of the Labour Party that: "The sense of its past is so central to its ethos that it plays a crucial role in defining what the party is about to

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 45.
[34] Arguably, however, such differences are so intense and stark as to be better characterised as inter-ideological, rather than differences within an ideological tradition.
[35] H.M. Drucker *Doctrine and Ethos in the Labour Party*, *Loc. Cit.*, pp. 12-17.

those in it."[36] By 'past' he means the past as it lives in the collective memory of the party. A 'past' in this sense refers to "the way in which collections of half-remembered, often repeated and embellished tales of a specific past of a specific people" serve to bind the party together. The past, in this sense, "is a force making for group identity."[37] Necessarily, a formative movement is inventing its past and is therefore possessed of a weaker ethos and consequently is more vulnerable to competition and subject to 'derailing'.

Third, for Labour, a past is an "expression of the past experience of various parts of the British working class."[38] This comes close to defining it as a *weltanschuung*. There are similarities. Though even here, it is of a softer, more malleable form. As Drucker puts it, Labour: "still possesses habits and traditions which do not arise from any doctrinal conception, which are traceable in large measure to its ties with trade unions, and which shape much of the current controversy within the party."[39] An essential component of Labour's ethos is that it is more than a party – it is a part of a movement composed of both 'political' and 'industrial' wings. With his reference point centred on a rival ideology, Freeden puts matters this way:

> First, liberalism – as history – can be understood as a narrative about the emergence of a belief system, contextualised and temporalised. That narrative has focused primarily on the liberation of individuals and groups from oppression and discrimination. Second, liberalism – as ideology – can be understood as an actually identifiable configuration of specified political concepts, such as liberty, progress, and individuality, that adopts a distinct

[36] *Ibid.*, p. 25.
[37] *Ibid.*, p. 31.
[38] *Ibid.*, p. 25.
[39] *Ibid.*, p. 245.

> pattern, or a series of family resemblances, to which the name "liberal" is designated. Third, liberalism – as philosophy – can be understood as a modeling device in which universal ground rules are drawn up for a just and free society, rules that permit in particular a fair and equal pursuit of the chosen life plan of every person.[40]

Similarly the Guild Socialists in their early days had a history (brief), ideology (still fluid) and a philosophy (more strongly defined negatively, by what was opposed than that proposed). In competition were other ideological movements or tendencies within the labour movement; for example, the labourists drew heavily on trade union traditions; whereas, in contrast, the Marxists emphasised their veracity and fidelity to the Marxist canon. One might observe that, historically, the UK Labour Party developed in 'labourist' ways – characterised by its pragmatic, highly empirical temper and its disengagement from broader ideological debates.[41] This is not to discount ideas, which are always important to a political movement. But this is not all. As ethos is 'the spirit of the party' - that is, its vital principle or animating force, then it must encompass its fundamental values. This gives rise to the question: How do ideologies modify? Drucker is unclear on this point, mainly because so much of his account is about the party as he experienced it. An emerging political movement, such as the Guild Socialists, borrows and relies on other traditions, as it is still in formation, still in the process of inventing its own ideas, heroes and ethos. As the Guild Socialists explicitly defined itself and challenged the Labour Party on policy direction, this was especially challenging, as the Labour Party itself was still young in the 1910s.

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[40] Michael Freeden *Liberal Languages*, *Loc. Cit.*, p. 5.
[41] See David M. Young 'People, Place and Party: Describing Party Activism' *Politics* Vol. 24, No. 2 (2004): pp. 96-102.

In this sense, the Guild Socialists were attempting to partially legitimise themselves as worthy of the traditions of the labour movement of its time. Consequently, in that stage of development it was entirely embryonic. Applying Michael Freeden's concepts, the movement was locked in a deadly battle for survival. Rival ideologies belittle their arguments and/or attempt to assimilate some of their ideas.

Politics is always about formulating a perspective about the right thing to do. Weber's definition of politics is wide, "any kind of *independent* leadership in action."[42] In a classic formulation, he says:

> To be sure, mere passion, however genuinely felt, is not enough. It does not make a politician, unless passion as devotion to a 'cause' also makes responsibility to this cause the guiding star of action. And for this, a sense of proportion is needed. This is the decisive psychological quality of the politician: his ability to let realities work upon him with inner concentration and calmness. Hence his *distance* to things and men. 'Lack of distance' *per se is* one of the deadly sins of every politician. It is one of those qualities the breeding of which will condemn the progeny of our intellectuals to political incapacity. For the problem is simply how can warm passion and a cool sense of proportion be forged together in one and the same soul? Politics is made with the head, not with other parts of the body or soul. And yet devotion to politics, if it is not to be frivolous intellectual play but rather genuinely human conduct, can be born and nourished from passion alone. However, that firm taming of the soul, which distinguishes the passionate politician and differentiates him from the 'sterilely

[42] Max Weber 'Politics as a Vocation', in H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, editors, *From Max Weber*, Essays in Sociology, Routledge, London and New York (2009): p. 77.

> excited' and mere political dilettante, is possible only through habituation to detachment in every sense of the word. The 'strength' of a political 'personality' means, in the first place, the possession of these qualities of passion, responsibility, and proportion.[43]

"Passion and a cool sense of proportion" is at the nub. Balance is not easy to achieve and it is of a particular sort. The dilemma of political action is that ethically oriented conduct is guided by two fundamentally differing and irreconcilably opposed maxims: conduct oriented to an 'ethic of ultimate ends' or to an 'ethic of responsibility'. To explain, Weber draws a contrast between a fearlessness characterised by the phrase: 'The Christian does rightly and leaves the results with the Lord'[44] - and conduct that follows the maxim of an ethic of responsibility, such that one has to give an account of the foreseeable results of one's action. Weber remarks on a particular ideological perspective aligned to an imperviousness to see things sensibly:

> You may demonstrate to a convinced syndicalist, believing in an ethic of ultimate ends, that his action will result in increasing the opportunities of reaction, in increasing the oppression of his class, and obstructing its ascent - and you will not make the slightest impression upon him. If an action of good intent leads to bad results, then, in the actor's eyes, not he but the world, or the stupidity of other men, or God's will who made them thus, is responsible for the evil.[45]

This seems similar to a hard ideological stance; in contrast, there is this view:

> … a man who believes in an ethic of responsibility takes account of precisely the average deficiencies of people; as Fichte has correctly said, he does not even have the right to presuppose their goodness and perfection. He does not feel in a

[43] *Ibid.*, pp. 115-116.
[44] *Ibid.*, p. 120.
[45] *Ibid.*, pp. 120-121.

> position to burden others with the results of his own actions so far as he was able to foresee them; he will say: these results are ascribed to my action.[46]

This expresses an outlook that is pragmatic and problem-solving. Of course in politics decision making is never entirely logical. Thus the phrase that "politics is … certainly not made with the head alone."[47] Nor is political life entirely a contrast between the passionate and the pragmatic, the inspired versus the logical. In the one person, in the leadership of a political movement, both are required. Weber seems to show a grudging respect for a utopian perspective when he states:

> Politics is a strong and slow boring of hard boards. It takes both passion and perspective. Certainly all historical experience confirms the truth - that man would not have attained the possible unless time and again he had reached out for the impossible. But to do that a man must be a leader, and not only a leader but a hero as well, in a very sober sense of the word. And even those who are neither leaders nor heroes must arm themselves with that steadfastness of heart which can brave even the crumbling of all hopes. This is necessary right now, or else men will not be able to attain even that which is possible today. Only he has the calling for politics who is sure that he shall not crumble when the world from his point of view is too stupid or too base for what he wants to offer. Only he who in the face of all this can say 'In spite of all!' has the calling for politics.[48]

That sums up the art of politics where sober judgement requires perspective, experience, leadership, principles and the rest. Mistakes in political life usually turn on the failure to exercise sensible or creative judgement in the circumstances. Clarke, in a study of the relationship, tensions and competition between Liberalism and Socialism

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[46] *Ibid.*, p. 121.
[47] *Ibid.*, p. 127.
[48] *Ibid.*, p. 128.

in Edwardian Britain, dwells on change such that: "the world becomes a different place and the old map is no good any more; or the position of an individual or class is altered, needs and interests are changed, and the old ideas no longer fit."[49] In a formative movement there are many tests. Events require interpretation, engagement, solving and fitting into a narrative. The "crumbling of all hopes" by the membership requires exceptional leadership to counter.

What is the relevance of this to Guild Socialism? Few political movements have sustained the dramatic early promise then the disastrous course of Guild Socialism. Between 1912 and 1922 there was euphoria and momentum, then the gutting of the movement. This requires explanation. Were the Guild Socialists outfoxed on the political stage? If so, why? Did anything survive? What were the other, competing ideologies to Guild Socialism? Are the theories discussed here of heuristic value in explaining the extinguishing of the Guild Socialist tradition?

In a riposte on Guild Socialism, one response came from George Bernard Shaw who wrote in an appendix to a history of the Fabian Society that:

> [A] storm has burst on the Fabian Society and has left it just where it was. Guild Socialism, championed by the ablest and most industrious insurgents of the rising generation in the Society, raised its issue with Collectivism only to discover, when the matter, after a long agitation, was finally thrashed out at a conference at Barrow House,[50] that the issue was an imaginary one, and that Collectivism lost

[49] Peter Clarke *Liberals & Social Democrats*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (1978): p. 4.
[50] Built in the 1790s by Joseph Pocklington, a local entrepreneur, who saw the tourist potential of the location, Barrow House is in Derwentwater, Cumbria, in the Lakes District of England. Now used as a hostel, from 1912 onwards the mansion was taken over by the Fabians for their Summer School conferences. See website of Barrow House, accessed, March 2011, and for a brief description of the

nothing by the fullest tenable concessions to the Guild Socialists. A very brief consideration will shew that this was inevitable. Guild Socialism, in spite of its engaging medieval name, means nothing more picturesque than a claim that under Socialism each industry shall be controlled by its own operators, as the professions are today. This by itself would not imply Socialism at all: it would be merely a revival of the medieval guild, or a fresh attempt at the now exploded self-governing workshop of the primitive co-operators. Guild Socialism, with the emphasis on the Socialism, implies that the industries, however completely they may be controlled by their separate staffs, must pool their products. All the Guild Socialists admit this. The Socialist State must therefore include an organ for receiving and distributing the pooled products; and such an organ, representing the citizen not as producer but as consumer, reintroduces the whole machinery of Collectivism. Thus the alleged antithesis between Guild Socialism and Collectivism, under cover of which the one was presented as an alternative to the other, vanished at the first touch of the skilled criticism the Fabians brought to bear on it; and now Mrs. Sidney Webb, who was singled out for attack by the Guild Socialists as the arch Collectivist, is herself conducting an investigation into the existing control of industry by professional organisations,[51] whilst the quondam Guild Socialists are struggling with the difficult question of the proper spheres of the old form of Trade Union now called the craft union, and the new form called the industrial union, in which workers of all crafts and occupations, from clerks

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Fabians' use of the building, see [Anonymous] 'The Summer School' *New Statesman* Vol. 1 (June 21, 1913). Note that Robert Taylor in an introductory note to a reprint, *New Statesman* Vol. 137 (July 3, 2008), suggests that the author of the 1913 piece was the British radical journalist Samuel Kerkham Ratcliffe (1868-1958).

[51] Possibly a reference to the then forthcoming book: Sidney and Beatrice Webb *The History of Trade Unionism*, revised edition, extended to 1920, Longmans, Green and Co., London (1920) wherein then prominent Guild Socialists from the Labour Research Department, G.D.H. Cole and R. Page Arnot, are thanked in the 'Introduction' at p. vi.

> and railway porters to locomotive drivers and fitters, are organised in a single union of the entire industry. There is work enough for many years to some of the old Fabian kind in these directions; and this work will irresistibly reunite the disputants instead of perpetuating a quarrel in which, like most of the quarrels which the Society has survived, there was nothing fundamental at issue.[52]

This was a confident dismissal which pretended the issues in dispute were slight, as Shaw tried not so much to sweep Guild Socialism under the carpet as out the door. By pointing to unresolved theoretical issues, Shaw blithely suggested that the movement rested on mistaken enthusiasms and that all would be put right in returning to the collectivist home.

In 1918 a sympathetic, contemporary observer, Hugh Dalton, stated:

> The Guild idea is still in a youthful stage of rather truculent propaganda. Cool, detached studies of the idea, and especially of its detailed application, are still few, and advocates of the idea are still apt to declaim too much and to reason too little. The propaganda of the National Guildsman aims at stimulating in a special direction the workers' sense of the dignity of labour, and at heightening the workers' sensitiveness to his lack of control over the processes of production.[53]

This was a fair assessment. Dalton's last sentence hints at a potential compromise with the mainstream of the labour movement, by emphasising an element of support for worker involvement, short of absolute control. This is where G.D.H. Cole eventually ventured. In Cole's *The Next Ten Years in British Social and Economic Policy* (1929) he wrote that: "Guild Socialism collapsed under a cloud, not because the National Building

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[52] George Bernard Shaw 'On Guild Socialism' in Appendix I, Edward R. Pease *The History of the Fabian Society*, Fabian Society & George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London, second edition (originally published 1916; this edition, 1925): pp. 280-283.
[53] Hugh Dalton 'The Meaning of National Guilds' *The Highway* Vol. 11, No. 5 (February, 1919): p. 43.

Guild collapsed,[54] but because it ceased to have any relevance to the immediate situation which the working classes were compelled to face."[55] Coming from the most prominent, prolific socialist activist associated with the cause, this was a pretty damning indictment. Cole argued for Works Councils as a potential avenue of retaining the spirit of powerful worker involvement in industry.[56]

In a sad postscript, clinging to the certainty of his ideological perspective, A.J. Penty was to seize on Cole's concession, writing to Max Beer, the historian of British and European socialism, stating that:

> Cole has repudiated his Guild Socialist ideas in his latest book, *The Next Ten Years in British Social & Economic Policy*. But I feel justified for the line I took. It is curious how things work out. I thought that when the Guild Socialists found out that they were wrong they would listen to me. But it has not worked out that way. Meanwhile they appear to have forgotten what I said. If I were a good speaker I could drive things home nowadays. But I am not. So I have come to an end.[57]

What Beer made of Penty's pleadings is unrecorded. Paradoxically one can argue both that the Guild Socialists were more ethos than ideology; and that their ideas were hard

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[54] This is a reference to the economic bankruptcy of the building guilds set up in Manchester and London in the early 1920s. See Frank Matthews 'The Building Guilds' in Asa Briggs and John Saville *Essays in Labour History 1886-1923*, Archon Books (1971): pp. 284-331 and also Carl S. Joslyn 'A Catastrophe in the British Building Guilds' *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* Vol. 37, No. 3 (May, 1923) pp. 523-534.
[55] G.D.H. Cole *The Next Ten Years in British Social and Economic Policy*, The Macmillan Company, London (1929): p. 159.
[56] S.G. Hobson tried to keep matters alive with dwindling support. *Cf*. David Blaazer 'Guild Socialists after Guild Socialism: the Workers' Control Group and the House of Industry League' *Twentieth Century British History* Vol. 11, No. 2 (2000): pp. 135-155. See also R. Houlton 'Two Aspects of Guild Socialism – Penty and Hobson, and the Building Guilds' *Bulletin of the Society for the Study of Labour History* No. 7 (Autumn, 1963): pp. 23-28.
[57] Letter: *Arthur J. Penty to Max Beer*, June 21, 1929, in the Max Beer Papers, the International Institute of Social History (IISH), Amsterdam. I am grateful to Ella Molenaar, Reading Room, IISH, for locating material of interest in their archives. Margaret Cole had once described Penty as "a shaggy-looking architect with a fearful stammer." Margaret Cole *The Life of GDH Cole*, Macmillan, London (1971): p. 50.

to adapt to the emerging UK Labour ethos. The Guild Socialists'outlook amounted to a suspicion of the State, fear of servility, a quest for liberty and an understanding of the dignity of human labour. Connecting these impulses and beliefs into a coherent theory, capable of transmission to reality, was where the movement faltered. But, in another way, one could argue that they were too ideological for the emerging tradition of labourism then enveloping the Labour Party, particularly post the December 1918 general elections, when Labour became more than a corner party in the House of Commons, bargaining for favours from the Liberals. We know that the Labour movement is more than a collection of ideas; it has history, traditions, habits, ethos, strange quirks and so on, that bind people in a way that ideas alone do not. Cole's lament was that the Guild Socialist ideas, though interesting in themselves, ceased to have any relevance to the immediate situation which the working classes were compelled to face. But this statement of matters conceals a personal choice. Cole's comments were about the post World War I period, when much of the Left were tantalised by communism. Cole himself conceded much in the drafting of the Labour Party's constitution in 1918, including 'Clause 4' committing the party to the common ownership of the means of production and exchange; it seemed that Belloc's worries could be put on hold. Primarily drafted by Fabian ideologue Sidney Webb, Clause 4 read:

> To secure for the workers by hand or by brain the full fruits of their industry and the most equitable distribution thereof that may be possible upon the basis of the common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange,

> and the best obtainable system of popular administration and control of each industry or service.[58]

Though open to interpretation, the policy was widely seen as justifying nationalisation.[59] This emphasis was an enormous defeat. It was as if the Guild Socialists' concentration on ideas for reform – including the instantiation of these ideas in a real organisation – did not change things much. They were kept on the margins of Labour.

History has been unkind to the Guild Socialist movement. Pulled in all directions, the movement failed to adapt to the challenges it faced. Its ideological opponents won. One might say â la Harold MacMillan that "the opposition of events" got in the way of an appealing narrative. [60] World War I and the Bolshevik revolution – as well as the UK Labour Party's emergence from the political shadows, following the Liberal split in 1916, contributed to the demise. The December 1918 general election saw both the emergence of Labour as a potential alternate government for the first time, as well as the election of MPs, the overwhelming bulk of whom were moderate types, generally uninterested, whatever their rhetoric, in radical change. Ironically, in the same year the Labour Party's constitution was changed enshrining 'Clause 4', the socialist objective. The Fabians had permeated the backrooms and drafted what became policy.

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[58] Ross McKibbon *The Evolution of the Labour Party 1910-1924*, Oxford University Press, Oxford (1974) and his discussion at pp. 91-105 on the drafting of the Clause. For a discussion of Clause 4's implications for the ideology of the Labour Party, see: Martin Pugh *Speak for Britain! A New History of the Labour Party*, Bodley Head, London (2010), *supra*.

[59] Duncan Tanner 'The Development of British Socialism, 1900–1918' *Parliamentary History* Vol. 16, No. 1 (1997): pp. 48-66. Dominic Wring 'The Media and Intra-party Democracy: "new" Labour and the Clause Four Debate' *Democratization* Vol. 5, No. 2 (1998): pp. 42-61.

[60] One of the clichés of modern politics is the line attributed to Harold MacMillan who, when asked what he most feared, replied: "Events, dear boy, events." But this is a popular misquotation. The phrase "The opposition of events" was what he said - quoted in David Dilks *The Office of Prime Minister in Twentieth Century Britain*, University of Hull Press, Hull (1993): p. 12. On the misquote, see: Antony Jay *Lend Me Your Ears*, *Oxford Dictionary of Political Quotations*, Fourth Edition, Oxford University Press, Oxford (2010): p. 200.

Collectivism won the tussle for defining policy, at least formally. This was a defeat for the Guild Socialists.

Labour was divided between its State socialists and the indifferent-to-ideology labourists.[61] In 1924 George Thomson, the autodidact union leader and former activist in the Glasgow Branch of the NGL, wrote hopefully that:

> …whatever industrial future lies before us, guild theory has had a most vitalizing influence on trade union thought and development, and whatever the vicissitudes of actual existing guilds may be, the influence exerted to humanise industry and to replace the idea of quantitative production by that of qualitative production is bound to have a lasting and an increasing effect in making workers discontented with the wage system and its recurring severe industrial crises and permanent servitude.[62]

This was a reasonable summation in keeping with a pragmatic view. Foote comments that

> … in taking up Guild Socialism as an English answer to Syndicalism, a group of young Fabians around G.D.H. Cole[63] turned it from an interesting theory into a major political force with which to be reckoned. In doing so, they demonstrated the malleability of the Labour Party's political thought, and made an invaluable contribution to its development.[64]

Leaving aside the inaccurate, casual conflating of Guild Socialism as a variant of or some

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[61] Duncan Tanner 'The Development of British Socialism, 1900-1918' *Parliamentary History* Vol. 16, Issue 1 (February, 1997): pp. 48-66.
[62] George W. Thomson *The Grammar of Power* Labour Publishing Co., London (1924): p. 128.
[63] But, of course, Cole and his cohort resigned from the Fabian Society in May 1915. Luther P. Carpenter *G.D.H. Cole: an Intellectual Biography*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (1973): p. 33. The NGL was definitely anti-Fabian and anti-collectivist; Foote under-estimates this.
[64] Geoffrey Foote *The Labour Party's Political Thought: A History*, third edition, St. Martin's Press, New York (first published in 1985; this edition 1997): p. 104.

kind of localised adaption of syndicalism, Foote's point is that the ideas were to some extent defused of their extremist form and incorporated into the ethos. This claim is further considered in Chapters 3 and 4. In fighting for a say in the councils of the Labour Party and in pressing their arguments, there were not only Fabians and Marxists to contend with but also a yawning indifference by certain union leaders entirely uninterested in, and some explicitly hostile to, socialist intellectuals and their potential contribution. Robieson's observation contained a bitter truth. That those who would "separate off the manual workers from all others and identify their movement with them is, of course, certain. But such a group belongs to no tradition except the familiar English one of the proscription of brains for its own sake."[65]

Cole feared that the most significant challenge to the Guild Socialists came from the pro-communist and communist left. At the time, his answer was to express sympathy for the Bolsheviks in Russia whilst asserting that the British environment was different, meriting a localised strategy. Perhaps he saw that the bulk of the labour movement was suspicious of radical change. The tensions and differences on policy, tactics and direction by competing elements saw the guild movement drift in all directions. The issues were extensively discussed in the columns of *The New Age*, the most important journal originating and canvassing ideas relevant to Guild Socialism. The next Chapter discusses those ideas and the reasons behind Robieson's support.

[65] M.W. Robieson Letter: 'The Meaning of Bolshevism' *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 23, No. 22 (September 26, 1918): p. 355.

3. Robieson's Guild Socialism

This Chapter explores the central tenets of Guild Socialism and what Robieson thought about the main contentions of the movement. To understand Robieson's views requires an understanding of how the movement developed, its internal debates and how it battled for attention and responded to criticism. Orage said he always wanted to call what was developing as the movement for National Guilds not "as it was sometimes called without my approval, guild socialism."[1] Indeed, at first the concept of Guild Socialism was not used although the term gradually crept into the lexicon. In its manifestations, there might be said to be five stages in the development of the Guild movement.

First, the earliest theoretical statements of the Guild idea were made by A.J. Penty in his book *The Restoration of the Gild System* (1906)[2] and by Orage in his article 'Politics for Craftsmen' (1907).[3] Orage's article attacked the 'philistine' theories of the Fabian Society concerning 'Art under Socialism' and the Collectivist Socialist attempt to establish a 'Utopia' of a "highly organised and perfected factory system." Orage states: "The labours of Morris and his successors have created, or rather re-created the most ancient and honoured traditions of craftsmanship. At this moment there are craftsmen in England as good as England has ever seen."[4] But "with the steady flow of public opinion in the direction of the factory system, the universal market and collectivist

[1] Alfred Orage 'An Editor's Progress', Part 2, 'The Douglas Revelation' *Commonweal* Vol. 3, No. 15 (February 17, 1926): p. 402.
[2] Arthur J. Penty *The Restoration of the Gild System*, Swann Sonnenschein, London (1906).
[3] A.R. Orage 'Politics for Craftmen' *The Contemporary Review* Vol. XCI (June, 1907): pp. 782-794.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 794.

production, those same traditions of craftsmanship are constantly in peril of being practically ignored."[5] Penty glorified the medieval guilds, arguing that modern industrial production destroyed the individualism and imagination of the worker. Penty proposed that the unions should be reorganised into various guilds which would create and administer a monopoly of production of particular goods. The individual guild would ensure a high standard of craftsmanship and resist the tendency to exploit labour for the purpose of churning out goods of a cheap, massed-produced nature. Penty's solution for modern, capitalist society was to establish a seemingly closed and stationary economy of agriculture and handicrafts. Not surprisingly, Penty's theories, inspired by a romantic interpretation of medieval life, attracted sympathisers and a small band of hesitant adherents. The exit from the stage of capitalism was more complicated to achieve than turning the clock back 400 years.[6] Indeed, Orage was to argue "I could not agree to dissolve the trade-unions in medievalism; nor could I convince myself that they had no possible function in a reformed community. Guilds and trade-unions had somehow to be reconciled."[7] Orage says that he sponsored Penty's book and served as the first secretary of the Guild Restoration League.[8] In this version the connection between unions and large-scale production was slight. It had a tinge of going back to a presumed ideal – Penty's medieval guilds. That source was somewhat serene and utopian. Orage said of Penty and his cohort that their conception was noble but that they were unable to think through how to use their ideas to change the present: "Trade-unions to them were only a concomitant symptom of the fall from the middle-ages, justifiable as proletarian defences, but superfluous in a guild

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[5] *Ibid*.
[6] *Cf*. S.T. Glass *The Responsible Society*: *The Ideas of the English Guild Socialists*, Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd., London (1966): pp. 17-24, for a critique of Penty's views.
[7] Alfred Orage 'An Editor's Progress', Part 1, '*The New Age*' *Commonweal* Vol. 3, No. 14 (February 10, 1926): p. 377.
[8] *Ibid*.

community."[9] Penty moved to the United States to live and work in 1906 to 1907;[10] so, soon after publication of his book, he was not around in the U.K. to champion his views; perhaps in that period his ideas seemed to attract curiosity more than advocacy from readers intrigued with his criticisms of industrial society.

This was to change when, between 1912 and 1913, Samuel George ("S.G.") Hobson and Alfred Orage formulated and published a series of articles advocating 'national guilds' in *The New Age*. In this new version unions, reshaped along industry lines, would be rechristened as nascent guilds. Hobson was the main protagonist of Guild Socialism for *The New Age*, for which he wrote nearly 200 contributions.[11] As he wrote to Cole, he saw himself "as the father of the new movement."[12] Though once actively involved in the Fabian Society, he became sceptical of Collectivist Socialism. In his book *National Guilds*,[13] the collection of his essays in *The New Age*, he comments:

> It is to the credit of the old Social Democratic Federation that they always thoroughly understood that the real enemy was the wage system. They realised that wages were the mark of a class and that the class struggle… meant first and

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[9] *Ibid*.
[10] Mark Swenarton 'A.J. Penty and the Building Guilds', Mark Swenarton *Artisans and Architects*, *The Ruskinian Tradition in Architectural Thought*, Macmillan Press, London (1989): p. 176.
[11] Many of these articles were unsigned. S.G. Hobson *Pilgrim to the Left*, Edward Arnold, London (1938): p. 141.
[12] Letter: *S.G. Hobson, All Pines, British Honduras, to G.D.H. Cole*, March 30, 1915, G.D.H. Cole Papers, GDHC/D3/18/1-24, Archives, Nuffield College, Oxford.
[13] S.G. Hobson *National Guilds*, *An Inquiry Into the Wage System and The Way Out*, edited by A.R. Orage, G. Bell and Sons, London, Third Edition (1919). The first edition of this book made no mention of Hobson as the author and merely showed Orage as editor. Subsequent editions show Hobson as the author. There has been some speculation as to how significant Orage's editing was to the final version of *National Guilds*. *Cf.* S.T. Glass *Loc. Cit.*, p. 35. In his autobiography Hobson states, "During twelve years' association with the *New Age*, of my contributions… I doubt if even a comma was altered." S.G. Hobson *Pilgrim to the Left*, *Memoirs of a Modern Revolutionist*, Edward Arnold & Co., London (1938): p. 141, thus suggesting that Hobson was the sole writer of *National Guilds*; as Orage had died in 1934, there was no one to contradict him. Yet as Hobson was writing his first batch of articles (which became the *National Guilds* book) from British Honduras (now Belize) it seems probable that Orage had some editing imput.

> last the complete destruction of the economic bondage implied in the wage system.[14]

He attacked the uncritical belief that the redemption of society would flow from manipulating the levers of the State; in Hobson's words: "To seek economic power through politics is to pursue a mirage. Seek first industrial power, and political power will be added unto you. This is what *The New Age* writers mean when they so constantly assert that economic power precedes and dominates political action."[15] He suggested that the development of State Socialism as an idea was understandable in view of the struggle to prod the State, in the teeth of the prevailing laissez-faire economic theories, to ameliorate the evils of capitalism; however State Socialism misconceived the causes of what it intended to solve.[16] Most socialists directed their criticisms not against the wage system itself, but against aspects of this system – low wages or long working hours. The clamour for Industrial Arbitration was said to be a clever means to perpetuate the wage system.[17] Hobson, like Penty under the influence of Orage, envisaged that trade unions would emerge as National Guilds that would transform economic and industrial life and abolish the wage system. Allegedly, political Labour was incapable of understanding this because it has: "lapsed into the dreamy pleasance of Westminster."[18] Hobson remarked: "the Labour Party does not so much ponder as gape in honest and well-intentioned vacuity. (They are the fifth wheel of the political coach and are of no particular importance)."[19] In a pointed, paradoxical note, William Anderson, in his article 'The Social Priority of Property', concluded a critique of Collectivism stating: "the proper business of real socialists in these days is to oppose

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[14] S.G. Hobson *National Guilds*, *Loc. Cit.*, p. 4.
[15] S.G. Hobson *Guild Principles in War and Peace*, Bell and Sons, London (1918): p. 157.
[16] S.G. Hobson *National Guilds*, *Loc. Cit.,* p. 21.
[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 51-52.
[18] S.G. Hobson *Guild Principles in War and Peace*, *Loc. Cit.,* p. 64.
[19] S.G. Hobson *National Guilds*, *Loc. Cit.,* p. 44.

Socialism."[20] In other words, State socialism and labourism constituted the enemy. Thinkers such as Hobson, Robieson and Anderson believed that Guild Socialism was a call to action.

Hobson described modern industrialism as vulgarising everything it touched: "in essence our wage-paid population is but helotry clipped of some of its more savage features."[21] The division between the salariat (salary earner) and proletariat (wage earner) was one aspect of the wage system: "the salariat retains, and is, in fact, paid for, its personality, whereas the proletariat sells only its labour-power considered purely as a commodity."[22] The only way to 'improve' the status of the proletariat was to ensure its disappearance. In his book *Guild Principles in War and Peace* Hobson castigated the economists who promoted the commodity theory of labour, arguing that this economic theory defined labour merely as an economic cost in production. Referring to Binney Dibblee's study *The Laws of Supply and Demand*[23] Hobson asked:

> What shall we say of the pretentious body of doctrine, calling itself scientific, which rose up at that time to stamp the hall-mark of intellectual superiority on greed and crown ruthlessness with a halo? Of all the crimes committed in the name of Knowledge this was, perhaps, the worst. It has done more harm over a century than all the wars of the period. Intellectually, it was more impious than the condemnation of Abelard, the muzzling of Galileo, or the hounding of

[20] William Anderson 'The Social Priority of Property, Part II' *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 20, No. 6 (December 7, 1916): p. 129.
[21] S.G. Hobson *National Guilds*, *Loc. Cit*. The line about 'helotry' sounds like something coined by G.K. Chesterton.
[22] S.G. Hobson *Guild Principles in War and Peace*, *Loc. Cit.,* p. 37.
[23] George Binney Dibblee (1868-1952) wrote *The Laws of Supply and Demand, with Special Reference to Their Influence on Over-Production and Unemployment*, Constable and Company, London (1912).

> Semmelweiss to madness. It is no wonder that men who kept their senses called political economy the cruel science.[24]

Rhetorically, this was stirring stuff. The Guild Socialist writers at their best knew how to proudly articulate their case.

Hobson proposed that there be a continuous process of amalgamation of all unions in the same industry as the first step in the development of National Guilds. *National* because: "industry has long since ceased to be local; it cannot be sectional, because all sections necessarily dovetail into each other."[25] Further, the National Guild "must be strong enough to provide for all its parts and members, those working and those in reserve that is, unemployed."[26] Hobson defined what he meant:

> A National Guild is the combination of all the labour of every kind, administrative, executive and productive, in any particular industry. It includes those who work with their brains and those who contribute labour power… Numerically considered, the trade-unions must form the bases of the National Guilds; but they, in their turn, must merge into the greater body.[27]

The Guild Socialists believed that self-government in industry was essential to the creation of a vigorous democracy. Against syndicalism, which envisaged violent industrial warfare culminating in the General Strike which would finally destroy capitalism, Hobson visualised the metamorphosis of existing trade unions into National Guilds.[28] This, then, was the conversation carried out in *The New Age* with Hobson taking the lead as chief theorist. This version at first argued for the workers to

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[24] S.G. Hobson *Guild Principles in War and Peace*, *Loc. Cit.,* pp. 50-51.
[25] *Ibid.*, p. 26.
[26] *Ibid.*
[27] *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27.
[28] For a study of British Syndicalism see Bob Holton *British Syndicalism 1900-1914*, *Myths and Realities*, Pluto Press, London (1976).

'share' in the management of production and profit. Hobson suggested union co-operation with progressive employers.

Third, a tougher version, one of 'encroaching control' was put forward. It was as if the new, post-Fabian members around G.D.H. Cole brought with them the notion of 'permeation'.[29] There were tensions then between the original founders and the new recruits. The latter wanted influence and identified with the labour movement; they saw the first theorists of guild principles as too remote and divorced from whom they needed to persuade. The founders were unsure of and lacked any deep connections inside the union or political movement. Hobson pleaded with Cole: "Don't make the mistake of attacking the N.A. or unduly criticizing it. Rather adopt the attitude how much you regret Orage's isolation, & express appreciation of what the N.A has done. *That is the way to bring him in*."[30] Fourth, the idea of 'collective contract', as developed by John Paton and his cohort in the Glasgow branch of the NGL, was formulated in response to the Clyde experiments during the War (outlined below) and out of the Storrington discussion in 1914;[31] this concept of societal transformation, short of revolutionary excess, suited the appetites of certain labour

[29] The Fabians saw themselves as infiltrating, influencing and/or capturing other organisations. The leading Fabians held different versions of permeation: Shaw saw permeation in terms of weaning the Radicals away from the Liberal party; he favoured an independent party; Webb defined permeation in terms of the giving of expert advice to a political elite without any need for a new party. See: Mark Bevir 'Fabianism, Permeation and Independent Labour' *The Historical Journal* Vol. 39, No. 1 (1996): pp. 179-196. Cole in 1914 had unsuccessfully tried to take over the Fabian Society.

[30] Letter: *S.G. Hobson, All Pines, British Honduras, to G.D.H. Cole*, March 30, 1915, G.D.H. Cole Papers, GDHC/D3/18/1-24, Archives, Nuffield College, Oxford. Emphasis in the original. "Him" was of course Orage.

[31] During the Christmas vacation of 1914, Cole and several of his friends wrote at the Whitehouse Inn, Storrington, Sussex, what became known as 'the Storrington Document', a summary of views which laid the basis of the National Guilds League, though the latter never formally adopted this statement. See: Jack Vowles From Corporatism to Workers Control: The Formation of British Guild Socialism, PhD, The University of British Columbia (1980): p. 171. Also, Papers of G.D.H. Cole in Nuffield College Library, MSS. GDHC: Storrington Document material D3/15. One of several drafts of the document is reproduced in 'Guild Socialism: The Storrington Document' in Asa Briggs and John Saville, editors, *Essays in Labour History 1886-1923*, Macmillan, London (1971): pp. 332-349.

activists and intellectuals in the political situation during the War. They saw themselves as radicals. They wanted to present Guild Socialism as an appealing alternative to syndicalism and Bolshevism. They wanted mainstream trade union and labour movement support. Fifth, as the movement faltered towards the end of the War and thereafter, almost back to the second stage, there was sometimes the grudging acceptance of forms of worker participation as better than nothing. But in their criticisms of the Whitley schemes, the distinctive position of the Guild Socialists found a coherent voice.[32] From this summary, it is fair to denote the Guild socialists as utopians, believers in a substantial change in the organisation of society, but flexible and pragmatic about means and ends. This Chapter, including drawing on the experiences of the Scottish Guild Socialists, explores further the unfolding of the movement.

The Guild Socialists' central idea was of a society of autonomous self-managing guilds dispersing power instead of concentrating it in a despotic state and in large industrial conglomerates. Sovereignty would be fragmented into a pluralism of functional associations; "the cure for capitalism lay in the ethic of fellowship."[33] This framework posited that people 'naturally' organised themselves around certain purposive associations for production and that these organisations could be the basis for a non-coercive society permeated by fellowship. Robieson saw this theory as inherently socialist, writing that: "emancipation from the wage system is a sufficient mark both of

[32] *Cf.* [Anonymous] *National Guilds or Whitley Councils? Being a Reprint, with a New Introduction, Education and the Guild Idea*, The National Guilds League, London (1921).
[33] Mark Bevir *The Making of British Socialism*, Princeton University Press, Princeton and Oxford (2011): p. 311. This quote is drawn from Bevir's brief discussion of Guild Socialism.

the movement and of the theory."[34] Freedom at work was the catchcry of the movement. As Robieson wrote: "I would even urge the now old-fashioned and heretical doctrine that what a man most needs is to arrange his work and his life for himself – the former so far as the interest of his fellow-workers permits, the latter altogether."[35] There are similarities here to Millian liberalism, as is discussed further in Chapter 7. Clearly, maximising freedom was more than rhetoric; the concept was also a primary value - worth having for itself - and the more so because it issues in pluralism of an anti-capitalist kind. Their idea of freedom was not merely theoretical; these thinkers had witnessed crushing industrialism and, after the Insurance Act, must have held similar fears of the state. During the Great War, domestically they had seen both the fight for freedom and its erasure.

Nearly everything Robieson wrote on politics and social philosophy was sympathetic to the emerging movement of Guild Socialism. He also advocated for the cause at public meetings.[36] He thought, though, that the movement was in need of a coherent political theory. By that he argued the proposition that, in battle with other ideas and contestants on the political stage, it was best to know what could be rationally defended:

> They must have a political theory, and this theory must be capable of rational defence. Politics, we may say, is in principle only an extension of morality. Or if it be thought necessary to avoid the ambiguity connected with the term politics,

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[34] M.W. Robieson 'German Socialist Theory and War' *The Hibbert Journal* Vol. XIII, No. 8 (April, 1915): p. 575.
[35] M.W. Robieson Review: William Smart *Second Thoughts of an Economist*, with a biographical sketch by Thomas Jones, Macmillan and Company Ltd., London (1916), *The International Journal of Ethics* Vol. 27, No. 2 (January 1917): p. 248.
[36] For example, Robieson spoke at the Abbey Theatre, Dublin, on December 15, 1918 on the 'Implications of National Guilds' with Rev. T.A. Finlay, S.J., in the chair. See the advertisement: *Irish Independent* (Saturday, December 14, 1918): p. 1.

> let us agree that social theory deals ultimately with values realised in social groups or communities.[37]

This was to see ideas as essentially social constructs such that social groups and communities were infused with ideas that reflect and fight for life in the context of the traditions from which they spring. The movement he championed emerged from a debate amongst socialists:

> National Guilds, it may be urged, is a form of Socialism, and, as such, it has rightly despised the political - for this, it sees, is a mere consequence of the economic. Economic power precedes political power. Therefore, to develop a theory of political and personal liberty is, at the best, a superfluous luxury, and, at the worst, a wilful hindrance and return to the middle-class political Liberalism which Socialism abandoned, but which has remained its real enemy. If we provide for economic freedom, all the others will follow in its train...[38]

So freedom was not a fashion of "willing" to be free; without economic freedom it could only be a chimera or a sham - or, at least, a weak 'freedom'. This view was different to notions of security which collectivists tended to emphasise. He asserted that core to his beliefs was a clear conception of liberty. Thinking this through could not wait. As the issues associated with Bolshevism were to reveal, socialists needed to know what they stood for, why, and to understand themselves and their values against competing principles. Robieson explained his position:

> For the present, I content myself with recalling to the minds of National Guildsmen the familiar saying that economic power precedes political power, and inquiring whether it is to be taken seriously or not. If it is not, what is to

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[37] M.W. Robieson [published under the pseudonym "O. Latham"] 'An Apology for the Liberty of the Person', Part 8, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 22, No. 11 (January 10, 1918): p. 207.
[38] *Ibid*.

> prevent a member of the Labour, or any other political party, bringing in a Bill to create National Guilds, and expecting it to pass in the changed state of English feeling which we are told has been brought about by the war? But the fact is that nothing is more familiar to students of Guild literature than the double principle which forms the basis of its constructive policy (a) that economic power precedes political power, and (b) that industry must be a function undertaken by the Guilds in partnership with the State. That a man should unfeignedly believe both of these dogmas is essential to this way of salvation.[39]

This was as clear eyed as any of the guildsmen stated matters. Liberty needed to be fought for, won a thousand times and more, battling it out against alternative tendencies. The independent guild was the means to that end.

Robieson did not abide simple slogans – 'guilds good, capitalism bad'. All forms of human organisation required careful watch. The guilds themselves were no final end of history. For even here, in the guilds, freedom would be important to vouchsafe. In the movement's literature there was too easy an assumption that all would be solved in the new society. That was a particularly utopian view. Robieson noted briefly that: "…important still, the question of freedom in the Guild has never received the attention which it requires, although one may welcome several brief notes on it by Mr. W.M. Ewer[40] without agreeing with them."[41] Alas, he was not to live to explore further this point.

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[39] M.W. Robieson [published under the pseudonym "O. Latham"] 'An Apology for the Liberty of the Person', Part 8, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 22, No. 11 (January 10, 1918): p. 207.
[40] See W.M. Ewer's four part series 'The State and the Guilds' I, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 18, No. 1 (November 4, 1915): p. 8; 'The State and the Guilds' II, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 18, No. 2 (November 11, 1915): p. 34; 'The State and the Guilds' III, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 18, No. 6 (December 9, 1915): pp. 126-127; 'The State and the Guilds' IV, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 18, No. 21 (March 23, 1916): pp. 490-491.

From this short summary, it seems peculiar that the ideas of the Guild Socialists have been confused with syndicalism,[42] attacked as anarchist[43] and lampooned as obsessed with a medieval romanticism;[44] in short damned as a completely inappropriate alternative to capitalist, industrial society. Even in Bertrand Russell's book *Roads to Freedom*, which sympathetically refers to Guild Socialism, he treats the theory as drawn from syndicalism claiming that "It is in the modified form of Guild Socialism that the ideas derived from the CGT and the IWW are tending to bear fruit."[45] In the writing of that book, Russell was assisted by Hilderic Cousens,[46] a Guild Socialist on the fringes of the movement, who, as Russell says, "supplied me with facts on subjects which I had not time to investigate thoroughly myself." But nearly all Guild Socialists emphasised how distinctive their movement was and that their ideas were not "derived" from syndicalists.

In proposing self-governing guilds for each major branch of industry, the Guild Socialists envisaged that guilds would be concerned with work conditions and product quality. Instead of the panacea of nationalisation, democratic control was an alternative that could end or at least curtail class inequality. Democratic control of industry

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[41] M.W. Robieson [published under the pseudonym "O. Latham"] 'An Apology for the Liberty of the Person', Part 8, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 22, No. 11 (January 10, 1918): p. 208.
[42] As discussed later, see John Waugh Scott's book, *Syndicalism and Philosophical Realism*, A. and C. Black, London (1919): pp. 42 ff., which commits this fallacy.
[43] Adam Ulam *Philosophical Foundations of English Socialism*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge (1951): pp. 86-88.
[44] *Ibid.*, pp. 93f. See also J.W. Grove's 'Preface' to S.T. Glass *The Responsible Society*, Longmans, Green and Company, London (1966): p. vii.
[45] Bertrand Russell *Roads to Freedom*, *Socialism, Anarchism and Syndicalism*, George Allen & Unwin Ltd, London, third edition (1920, originally published 1918 with a second edition in 1919): p. 91. This makes me suspicious whether Russell really knew about the subtleties of political debate, including this cause. In his Preface written in 1918, for the second edition, Russell says the work was completed in April 1918 "in the last days before a period of imprisonment" – suggesting he was without research materials and highly reliant on the perspective of his assistant.
[46] Cousens was to defect to Social Credit ideas. See Hilderic Cousens *A New Policy for Labour*, *An Essay on the Relevance of Credit Control*, Cecil Palmer, London (1921).

envisaged guild (or union) representation in management. Many argued that this was the first step to full control. As for reasons why, union intellectual George Thomson summarised the argument: "National guildsmen revolted against the conception of an efficient collectivist State which should run politics and industry both from a central bureaucracy, and in which the citizens should be little better than sleeping partners, drawing their dividends in deep draughts of tranquility."[47]

Each National Guild was to be an Industrial Union, including all manual and brain workers 'belonging' to that particular industry. Guilds would consist of both employed and unemployed. All Guilds would be represented at the Guild Congress, which was intended to be the supreme industrial organ, a kind of industrial parliament. The Congress would plan and co-ordinate the economic development of the country, settle disputes between the Guilds and co-operate with bodies representing the people as consumers (and perhaps in other capacities) so as to co-ordinate the affairs of the whole society. The National Guilds aimed for almost complete control over their respective industries. The theory entailed that all managing bodies from the workshop level upwards should be democratically elected by, and subject to, the control of their constituents. On the issue of price determination, some guildsmen thought that there should be interference from outside through a joint consumers'-producers' body, so as to ensure a 'fair price' for goods produced. But on this concept there was wide debate and lack of agreement.

The ideas about Guild Socialism as extolled in the pages of *The New Age*, attracted the attention of certain young, very able middle-class intellectuals who eventually formed

[47] George W. Thomson *The Grammar of Power*, The Labour Publishing Company Limited, London (1924): pp. 120-1.

the National Guilds League (NGL) in 1915.[48] The NGL gradually came under the intellectual leadership of G.D.H. Cole, who converted from Fabianism to Guild Socialism around 1914. Orage, however, when disillusioned, claimed "I was never a member of the league myself."[49] Yet without his journal there may never have been any kind of Guild Socialism. At a time he was wrestling with the issues about collectivism and Fabian ideas and their critics, Cole wrote:

> Collectivism contains the definite idea of communal or consumers' ownership: Syndicalism contains the definite idea of producers' control (and ownership?) The Guild Socialism of the *New Age* is itself an attempt, with which I agree in part and disagree in part, to reconcile these two originally inconsistent ideas. I, too, desire a reconciliation, though not wholly in the Guild Socialist manner. I cannot leave the *New Age* and start afresh, because the *New Age* proposals have all along been to me a very real inspiration.[50]

Such references to syndicalism and Cole's interest in and occasional articulation of reconciliation accounts for the confusion by inattentive observers, such as J.W. Scott, in joining rather than contrasting Guild Socialism with other doctrines. Cole, along with all the Guild Socialists, complained of wage slavery:

> The Labour movement to-day, both in the political and in the industrial sphere, exists and claims allegiance as a protest against the economic system. The class struggle which it incarnates is justified as a criticism of the unequal division of

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[48] In May 1915 at the Steel Smelters' offices in London the inaugural executive was formed: Ivor Brown, G.D.H. Cole, Will Dyson, Sydney Herbert, S.G. Hobson, Rowland Kenney, W. Mellor, J.G. Newlove, Conrad Noel, T.W. Pateman, M.B. Reckitt, T.B. Simmons, Mrs E. Townshend and P.E.T. Widdrington. On Noel's resignation, W.N. Ewer replaced him. Pamphlet: National Guilds League *First Annual Report*, Victoria House Printing Co. Ltd., London (March, 1916): p. 3.
[49] Alfred Orage 'An Editor's Progress', Part 1, '*The New Age*', *Op. Cit.*, p. 378.
[50] G.D.H. Cole Letter: 'Collectivism and Guild Socialism' *The New Statesman* Vol. 2, No. 40 (January 10, 1914): p. 432.

> freedom, responsibility, and wealth between the capitalist and the wage-earning classes. It must seek to abolish the wage system, or it is nothing.[51]

This all or nothing approach characterised the movement. As Robieson bluntly summarised matters: "...we regard wage-slavery as being no more and no less capable of being altered by this interesting process [of reform] than chattel-slavery was."[52] They were all suspicious of the merits of amelioration: "... reform only aims at improving the wage system or making it less intolerable."[53]

The NGL was never strong in numbers – perhaps never more than 600 in total.[54] By the first quarter of 1916, the NGL claimed a national membership of 210.[55] But owing to the ability of its leading members its influence was vast. *The Daily Herald*, the most mainstream and popular newspaper of the UK labour movement, regularly published guild writers; labour leaders, including Ramsay MacDonald, at one point, lent cautious approval.[56] Many leading trade unionists supported the movement. The Trades Union Congress (TUC), the peak body of the unions, adopted resolutions in support,[57] as did the Independent Labour Party.[58] In retrospect, however, what each of those players meant by guild ideas varied significantly. This is discussed later in this Chapter.

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[51] G.D.H. Cole 'National Guilds', in [Various] *The Labour Year Book. 1916*, issued under the auspices of The Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress, The Executive Committee of the Labour Party and The Fabian Research Department, Co-operative Printing Society Limited, London (1915): p. 187.
[52] M.W. Robieson 'Political and Economic Action', Part 1, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 25, No. 8 (June 19, 1919): p. 137.
[53] M.W. Robieson 'Marx, Utopia and the Class War' *The Voice of Labour*, new series, Vol. 1, No. 23 (May 4, 1918): p. 245.
[54] David Blaazer 'Guild Socialism and the Historians' *The Australian Journal of Politics and History* Vol. 44, No.1 (March, 1998): pp. 2.
[55] Pamphlet: National Guilds League *First Annual Report*, Victoria House Printing Co. Ltd., London (March, 1916): p. 4.
[56] J. Ramsay MacDonald *The Socialist Movement*, Williams and Norgate, London (1910).
[57] David Blaazer 'Guild Socialism and the Historians', *Loc. Cit.*, pp. 12f. refers to the United Postal Workers, United Union of Railwaymen and Miners' Federation support for guild ideas as well as pockets of support elsewhere in the unions.
[58] On the initiative of the ILP, Cole refers to the Labour Party Conference in Scarborough in 1920 carrying a vague resolution on industrial democracy. G.D.H. Cole [published as "G.D.H.C"] 'Guilds at Home and Abroad' *The Guildsman* No. 44 (August, 1920): p. 5.

Given the fear of regimentation and servility, the Great War posed major tests and challenges. During the War many unions and their members agreed to suspend industrial activity. This, however, was anathema to many activists. The shop steward movement, a small but vocal group of militant activists in major industrial centres, particularly in Clydeside in Scotland, continued to agitate for workers' rights. Guild Socialists were prominent in support. Barrow and Bullock comment that: "Guild Socialists made the most systematic attempt to reconcile the citizen democracy of 'traditional' socialism with the worker democracy of syndicalism."[59] Certainly 'The Worker' group around Gallacher were influenced by anarchist and syndicalist notions;[60] but to say that the Guild Socialists wanted reconciliation with syndicalism was to put matters too simplistically. As Robieson said:

> To abolish the wage system, we maintain, is the imperative necessity in social development. But to do this with any hope of substituting for it a stable integrated social order, you must not turn your face from Parliament and deny the State, as the Syndicalists do.[61]

Robieson saw the Guild Socialists as mostly about containing excessive powers of the State. The debate was centrally about its role. Although Cole once thought that syndicalism could be reconciled with Guild Socialism, Robieson thought otherwise. Probably influenced by Cole, Barrow and Bullock state a position that confuses matters. There were very real differences and, despite civilities between certain adherents, no

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[59] Logie Barrow and Ian Bullock *Democratic Ideas and the British Labour Movement 1880-1914*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (1996): p. 264.
[60] Iain McLean *The Legend of Red Clydeside*, John Donald Publishers, Ltd., Edinburgh (1983): pp. 73-77. Gallacher was Secretary of the Clyde Workers' Committee and editor of their journal *The Worker*.
[61] M.W. Robieson Letter: 'Political and Economic Action' [reply to J.W. Scott] *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 25, No. 13 (July 24, 1919): p. 219.

reconciliation between the tendencies of democratic socialism, Guild Socialism and syndicalism.

What Robieson feared on the non-dogmatic, non-Marxist left, broadly the side represented by the Guild Socialists, was a drifting, non-theoretical muddling through the shoals of political life. He wanted abstract ideas to be relevant:

> So long as the general principles, it might seem, remain abstract enough to be true they have no relation to existence, and remain beyond the world, careless of mankind; and when they have been qualified sufficiently to mean something definite, they no longer appear to be valid. But although this unfortunate danger always besets the political philosopher, it must not discourage him. For if he does not succeed in bringing abstract theory and everyday practice into some sort of intelligible relation, he must resign himself (and other people) to unintelligent adaptation to unseen conditions, to the continuance of the delightful English practice of doing things instead of thinking about them. This is commonly called muddling through, and is generally admired.[62]

He was not spell-struck in admiration of this style of politics. To be successful required relevance to 'the world of labour' as Cole titled one of his books. This emphasis on being part of a movement (the labour movement broadly defined), and influencing events, made the Guild Socialists typical labour intellectuals. What distinguished them from the hard left ideologues was an interest in experimentation and flexibility (rather than fidelity to, say, a proscriptive Marxism). From the labourist type too, the Guild Socialists were distinguished by the articulation of a critique of existing society and a more

[62] M.W. Robieson [published under the pseudonym "O. Latham"] 'An Apology for the Liberty of the Person', Part 6, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 22, No. 7 (December 13, 1917): p. 127.

radical, comprehensive cure. Winning the unions over was a constant refrain in Curzon Street, where *The New Age* was headquartered.

In the immediate post-war era, Guild Socialists took an active part in disputes over the future of the coal industry; this industry was also a critical focus of debate between collectivists, market capitalists and others. During the War, with large-scale mechanisation of production, coal production increased dramatically in much of Western Europe. In the United Kingdom, however, the process of mechanisation was slower, and increases in production less marked. In February 1919, the Triple Alliance of the unions covering Miners, Railwaymen, and Transport workers threatened to strike if their demands to raise their wages were not met.[63] Fearing that this wage increase would result in a concomitant increase in the price of coal, potentially undermining the Government's deflationary agenda, Lloyd George's government at first stalled. With the threat of a widespread industry strike being a serious economic concern, however, Parliament created a thirteen-member Coal Industry Commission, chaired by Mr Justice Sankey, to study and make recommendations on wages and hours and on the ownership of industry.[64] The Commission met for the first time in March 1919. Agreements were reached with regard to wages and hours, but the issue of mine ownership was a fault line between competing opinions. The Chairman of the Commission advised against private ownership of mines and pushed for the nationalisation of the industry.[65] Guild Socialists around Cole advocated

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[63] See Robert Smillie 'The Triple Industrial Alliance', in [Various] *The Labour Year Book. 1916*, *Loc. Cit.*., pp. 103-104. See also, Maurice B. Reckitt [published as "M.B.R."] 'The Triple Alliance' in G.D.H. Cole and J.S. Middleton, joint editors, *The Labour Year Book 1919*, George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., Ruskin House & the Labour Party, London (1918): pp. 21-24.
[64] Graham D. Goodlad 'Lord Sankey and Labour: The Radicalisation of a Conservative' *Labour History Review* Vol. 59, Part 1 (1994): pp. 16-26.
[65] *Cf.* R.A.S. Redmayne *The British Coal-mining Industry During the War*, Clarendon Press, Oxford (1923).

'nationalisation' as a first step to 'socialisation'. This was to address directly an important question of the 'transition' from capitalist to guild production. The members of the Minority on the Coal Commission inquiry, including Tawney, proposed "a complete unification of the ownership and management of the collieries…" and of distribution.[66] Cole and others thought that nationalisation and bureaucratic management would be a temporary, intermediatory step. This, then, was nationalisation as a means rather than as an end. But not as an end such that the Fabian dream of 'rule by experts' took place. While the Fabians saw nationalisation as an end, the Guild socialists argued that it was a step along a path to reform and that worker control needed to be integrated from the 'beginning'. Thus, in this accommodation with nationalisation, the Guild Socialists displayed flexibility in achieving their ends. Cole and his allies advised the miners and the railwaymen to demand that nationalisation should be accompanied by a system of joint control by representatives of the state and the workers. This system of joint control would last until the workers became properly organised and gained the necessary experience to assume complete control. But the Government rejected this proposition.

The Guild Socialists argued that central to the new society would be economic and political freedom and the right to self-expression to all citizens. They argued that this could be achieved only in a society founded on the principles of functional representation and self-government, in which each sphere of human activity would be an autonomous unit. Cole, amongst others, repudiated the 'myth' of parliamentary government on the ground that no man could be represented in all his interests and

[66] Robert Smillie, Frank Hodges, Herbert Smith, Sir Leo Money, R.H. Tawney and Sidney Webb 'The Case for the Miners of Britain' [Full Minority Report] *Forward* [Glasgow, Scotland] Vol. 13, No. 20 (March 29, 1919): p. 5.

activities by any one representative.[67] This surely was true; politicians can hardly be said to represent, exactly, everyone's viewpoint. Necessarily they need to form judgements and act accordingly. But Cole loosely suggested that representative democracy was the problem. The exposition of his position in this way was a short run fad.[68] Cole more coherently argued that democracy within a workplace was a good thing; democracy was not just elections for Parliament. A conspiracy against the public, against elements in society, could occur; guarding against excesses would be an ever-present call. As indicated, in a Guild Socialist state, Robieson saw the continuing role for the State, noting two things: First, he was not naïve about the danger of combination: "Plainly, either the State, or the guilds, should they combine, could make the common life impossible."[69] Yet, despite risks, there would still be a need for the State:

> ... whether it is one amongst other organs of the community, possessing a particular and clearly definable function on a level with theirs; or whether it represents in some peculiar sense the community as a whole, in which case to attribute to it a function would be ambiguous.[70]

This was to define the State in a definite way: It was important not to glorify the State above other institutions of society and it was best to be cautious about its role. Robieson also argued that: "Syndicalism, for example (which is unquestionably a form of Socialism), has, I think, assumed too readily that the state is and must always be a mere instrument of capitalist exploitation, and that in a Socialist society it would no

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[67] In his discussion of these ideas, Carpenter decries this as a particularly impractical and potentially reckless aspect of Cole's utopian thought. See the chapter 'The Guild Utopia', in L.P. Carpenter *G.D.H. Cole, an Intellectual Biography*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (1973).
pp. 46-70. Orage, in contrast, as earlier outlined, always advocated parliamentary democracy, imperfections and all.

[68] On Cole's new edition of *Guild Socialism Restated* Hearnshaw acidly noted that this was for "the third and last time," implying that Cole was always changing his mind. F.J.C. Hearnshaw *A Survey of Socialism Analytical, Historical and Critical*, Macmillan and Co., London (1928): p. 322, fn.

[69] M.W. Robieson 'On Certain First Principles', Part 3, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 23, No. 15 (August 8, 1918): p. 236.

[70] *Ibid*.

longer exist."[71] Robieson's argument was a defence of the state, despite corresponding words of caution. On this view, a limited state was better than no state, and less of a threat to freedom, even if it remains some kind of danger.

Orage who, through his journal, arguably did most to popularise the Guild idea, attempted to explain from where well-spring of guild ideas flowed. Contesting any view to the contrary, he argued that it definitely was no French import: in a letter to *The Guildsman* journal in September, 1920 he stated:

> Sir, - Your contributor "H" may have reasons of his own for fathering the English National Guilds Movement in French Syndicalism, but the facts are against him. Mr. Penty's *Restoration of the Gild System* was published before 1906; and much of it was written in draft as far back as 1900, if not before. The development of Mr. Penty's local gilds into National Guilds, and the substitution of the Trade Union movement for his Arts and Crafts movement was the work of the *New Age* from 1907 onwards. French syndicalism, in so far as it affected National Guilds at all, did so only by stimulating a public interest in the question of Labour control; an interest we deliberately used as a lever for National Guilds propaganda.
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> As one who, for his sins, has written more, and more continuously, on the Guild idea than all the other writers on the subject put together, I can affirm that the "fathers that Begat Us" were not French Syndicalists, but English Socialists.[72]

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[71] M.W. Robieson 'Marx, Utopia and the Class War' *The Voice of Labour*, new series, Vol. 1, No. 23 (May 4, 1918): p. 250.
[72] A. Orage 'Letter' *The Guildsman* No. 45 (September, 1920): p. 10. This letter was partly quoted in Frank Matthews 'The Ladder of Becoming: A.R. Orage, A.J. Penty and the Origins of Guild Socialism', in David E.

Maurice Reckitt's and C.E. Bechhofer Roberts's account of the development of Guild Socialism, *The Meaning of National Guilds*, included "the craftsmen's challenge", "the blazing democracy of William Morris" and "the warning of Mr Belloc against the huge shadow of the servile state" as the chief influences on Guild Socialism.[73] Despite his Liberal pedigree Belloc wrote frequently for labour publications. Belloc once commented on one of his greatest concerns:

> If you say that it is unlikely such a healthy society can be reconstructed out of the Capitalist welter - well, there you will find us differing among ourselves, for no man can fortell the future. Some of us think there is energy enough left to restore this diseased society to freedom; others of us think it will drift into servitude. I incline to the latter.[74]

This prophetic warning, as earlier noted, was one of the most influential jeremiads in the development of guild ideas and socialist politics generally.

The Guild Socialists proposed that if industrial activity was not to be autocratic, to some degree it must be participative and, ideally, self-governing. The main principles of this industrial self-government were that the community would own all the means of production administered by the workers organised in National Guilds. The Guilds would in exchange have to pay a rent to the state as the central co-ordinating organ of the society. The desired transformation would be achieved by a process of 'encroaching

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Martin and David Rubinstein, editors, *Ideology and the Labour Movement*, Croom Helm, London (1979): pp. 153-154.

[73] M.B. Reckitt and C.E. Bechhofer *The Meaning of National Guilds*, Cecil Palmer, London, second revised edition (1920): p. xiv. *Cf.* S.T. Glass *The Responsible Society*: *The Ideas of the English Guild Socialists*, Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd., London (1966): pp. 782-794.

[74] Hilaire Belloc 'On the Word "Constructive"' *The New Statesman* Vol. 2, No. 35 (December 6, 1913): p. 271.

control';[75] that is, a policy of gradual transformation of the trade unions into industrial unions and the gradual extension of their share in the organisation of industry at the expense of the employers. The unions would press continuously for a greater share in control and the employers would find this hard to resist because in each industry the unions would have a 'monopoly of labour' power. Of the future role of employers, Robieson said that one day there would be none in the guild world. In a side note to a book review he observed: "Mr. Arnold's conception of National Guilds is somewhat in need of correction. A Guild, he seems to think, is a combination of both employers and employed. But surely for Guild Socialism there would be no employers."[76] In the end the unions would take almost complete or total control and thereby render the employers functionless. They would supposedly wither on the vine.

Such aims were very ambitious. In some senses the Guild Socialist movement was embryonic, forever on the verge of quickening, but not yet ready to give birth. They were pitted against other competing, 'utopian visions' like the Industrial Unionists and Syndicalists with the latter's more extreme notions (e.g., the big 'general strike'), rejected by Guild Socialists. There were important differences with the other schools of opinion. The Guild Socialists proposed a peaceful and evolutionary transformation of society. The new society would not be built entirely on industrial lines. Although this was contested within the ranks of the Guild Socialists, Robieson saw the continued

[75] See the discussion in Branko Pribićević *The Shop Stewards Movement and Workers' Control 1910-1922*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford (1959): pp. 150f.
[76] M.W. Robieson review of Edward V. Arnold *War Time Lectures*, George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London (1916), in *The International Journal of Ethics* Vol. 27, No. 4 (July 1917): p. 528.

existence of the political state as an essential part of the new order. Syndicalists, however, had a toxic view of the state and wanted its complete overthrow.[77]

Anderson, and Robieson too, held that the abolition of poverty and insecurity were compatible with the Servile State; collectivism might prove a 'solution' which could ensure greater 'efficiency' of the wage system, but this would be through minimising the importance of freedom in favour of promoting security. In contrast, the collectivist socialist might want to argue that the improvement in the economic conditions of society and the elimination of destitution were essential to a free society and would establish the conditions for a working class more culturally and politically active.[78] Guild Socialists, however, believed the claim for producers' self-government was effectively ignored by orthodox socialists. Therefore the identification of collectivist socialism with the Servile State was sound. An aspect of Guild Socialism was its commitment to the pluralist state, in which no single source of authority would be omnipotent. The various guilds – Hobson suggested that there should be 22 covering all manufacturing, services and distributive occupations – would be governed by the producers of each.[79] Guildsmen were divided, however, as to how to represent the interests of consumers and the exact role of the State.

As we saw earlier, Hobson argued that the wage system was the hallmark of servility under capitalism. As he stated in *Guild Principles in War and Peace*:

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[77] This horrified many Labour supporters. See, for example, J. Ramsay MacDonald *Syndicalism: A Critical Examination*, Constable and Co Ltd, London (1912) and Philip Snowden *Socialism and Syndicalism*, Collins, London (1913).
[78] G. Bernard Shaw 'The Case for the Socialization of Undertakings', in Huntly Carter, editor, *The Limits of State Industrial Control*, *A Symposium on the Present Situation & how to Meet It*, T. Fisher Unwin Ltd., London (1919): pp. 221-228.
[79] *Cf.* S.T. Glass *Loc. Cit.*, pp. 30-32.

> ...the essence of wagery is that economic power passes with labour to the *entrepreneur*. No economic power is reserved to the labourer because his wage is based upon the bare cost of sustenance. The result is that we have two types of citizen – the "active" and the "passive."[80]

Robieson saw the effects on men's souls in these terms:

> The vicious results of the commodity valuation of labour are most easily seen when we consider its effects on men's souls…. our existing institutions with regard to property and industry – to mention no others – seem merely to cramp and distort the soul instead of uniting its faculties and increasing its vitality. In economic organisation, at least, the thwarting of dispositions could scarcely go any further. For the most part, such work is mechanical, and the creative faculties, the exercise of which is the most easily recognised condition of mental health, become atrophied. Nor is this counterbalanced by an interest in the process as a whole if not in its details. That, like the possession of the product, is not for the worker. The same reason prevents any co-operation with others fulfilling its ordinary psychological purpose. The discipline is precisely what discipline should not be.[81]

The remedy Guild Socialists proposed for the industrial and economic ills they analysed was a framework that would encourage the common people to be active, particularly in their labour - "emancipated from drudgery, the producer's mind is bent upon transforming his work into an art or craft."[82]

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[80] *Loc. Cit.*, p. 40.
[81] M.W. Robieson 'On Certain First Principles', Part 2, Vol. 23, No. 14 *The New Age*, new series, (August 1, 1918): p. 213.
[82] S.G. Hobson *National Guilds*, *Loc. Cit.*, p. 33.

One writer who stimulated Robieson's thinking was Dr. John Waugh Scott, one of his former lecturers in philosophy at Glasgow and, in 1913, a referee for Robieson's application for the QUB post.[83] Scott tried in his *Syndicalism and Philosophical Realism*[84] to draw together and link the strands of radicalism in philosophy and politics, and between realism and syndicalism, as encapsulated in the thought of Bertrand Russell. Robieson was to excoriate such a simplistic and wildly inaccurate statement of ideas. (Although, as already explained, Russell bears some responsibility for Scott's confusion; Russell's works were highly sympathetic to syndicalism.)

In Robieson's view, the syndicalists' approach to politics could be easily characterised: "It is direct, easy, and simple."[85] Their theory was part critique and part rallying cry. It was a "consequence of the failure of political action to bring about the end it was expected to fulfil"[86] as well as "primarily an impulse towards 'direct action'."[87] So their instinct as to what was wrong appealed but their impulsive, tear-down-the-State solution was simplistic and flawed. Far from hitting hard at Guild Socialists, Robieson observed that most supporters would agree with Scott's criticisms of the syndicalists. Ludicrously, in Robieson's view, "Mr. Scott charges us all (he specifically mentions Mr. Cole) with trying to keep the workers' class-sense alive. To this, of course, we plead guilty."[88] Thus he concluded of Scott's arguments that:

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[83] The QUB post became vacant following Herbert Leslie Stewart's (1882-1953) departure to Canada as Professor of Philosophy at Dalhousie University, Nova Scotia. [Anonymous] 'Ireland' *The Journal of Education*, new series, Vol. 36 (February, 1914): p. 124.
[84] J.W. Scott *Syndicalism and Philosophical Realism*, *A Study in the Correlation of Contemporary Social Tendencies*, A. & C. Black, Ltd., London (1919).
[85] M.W. Robieson 'Political and Economic Action', Part 2, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 25, No. 9 (June 26, 1919): p. 153.
[86] M.W. Robieson 'Political and Economic Action', Part 1, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 25, No. 8 (June 19, 1919): p. 136.
[87] *Ibid*.
[88] *Ibid*., p. 137.

> ...these assumptions lend to a brilliant book a thoroughly bad political flavour. A man who writes a patently sincere and direct criticism of one element in the modern social movement must expect to be treated seriously, and if he requires it, savagely, even by people whom he includes only by implication.[89]

The main point was that Scott seemed to prefer: "a perfectly abstract integrity at the expense of everything else in the common life..."[90] The import of Robieson's charge was that Scott's clever polemic bore little resemblance to actual politics and the beliefs of the actors he sought to criticise.

An issue for socialists, Guild Socialists included, was the means to reach desired goals. Political agitation in a democratic society, such as Edwardian Britain, enabled the Labour Party to win seats and bargain for power. The world, however, would not be transformed through mere parliamentary means. Robieson was explicit on the point:

> What we condemn is the idle dream of Labour that it can enter into its social kingdom by the merely political means to which it has committed itself. Apart from the proved impossibility in fact, two considerations have been adduced by guildsmen in season and out of season. The old Labour Party was intended to represent a mere economic interest in Parliament, a procedure which (though regularly pardoned in coalowners and railway directors) is a corruption of citizenship. Again, though Parliament might represent the central mind of the community and give expression to the general will, to burden it with non-political things like economic administration was a mistake in principle.[91]

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[89] *Ibid*., pp. 136-137.
[90] *Ibid*., p. 137.
[91] M.W. Robieson 'Political and Economic Action', Part 2, *Loc. Cit*., p. 152.

Just changing office-holders should not be the sole aim of political action. Robieson mentioned: "A sudden apprehension of the barrenness of merely political action is a common happening in this generation."[92] He wrote:

> …attention to purely political affairs, no matter how successful, can end in accomplishing nothing more than the control of the machinery of government. I agree that the State ought to be the spirit of the community, that parliament is its organ, and the government its executive. But what manner of community it is, and what spirit therefore the State shall express depends on how it is organised. We maintain that a community can only be ordered decently by centralising its authority and delegating its powers.[93]

This was to imply that the organising of work would be vital to everything. Democracy and expression in the workplace would be truly foundational and would give character to society, Parliament and the State as a whole. In Robieson's estimate nowhere, except in the writings of Guild Socialists, were the important, contemporary issues critically debated. Challenging the perpetuation of power by the ruling elite were trade unions and other voluntary associations. Yet their legitimacy was challenged by the state – sometimes quite fundamentally, such as in the array of legislative acts requiring registration and legal recognition of labour organisations:

> To treat these associations as fictions or creatures of the State is not merely useless.[94] It is a bad solution which does them violence. Constructive thought can fail in other ways than by falling back on the obvious. It can, for example, be content with principles which were important a generation ago. Nowhere,

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[92] *Ibid.*, p. 153.
[93] *Ibid.*, p. 152.
[94] This referred to the legal fiction in UK law that certain organisations, like unions, needed to be registered by the State to be legitimate. *Cf.* M.A. Hickling 'Legal Personality and Trade Unions in the British Isles' *Western Law Review* Vol. 4 (1965): pp. 7f.

> except in the writings of the adherents of national Guilds, is there any coherent attempt to work out this problem in the detail which it demands.[95]

Robieson expressed his frustration with liberal idealists who had not applied their minds to the way society was really organised, including the effective, ruthless rule of the privileged elite:

> Has it ever occurred to our idealists, we wonder, to consider the nature of power and its various forms? Its location in a society and its just distribution throughout it is from this point of view the study and the task of the statesman. When we refuse to look for it, to apportion it according to responsibility and function, nothing happens except that the State from being the central mind of the community is turned to be the tool of a class bent on profit and the perpetuation of its own power...[96]

Robieson castigated those whose imagination was limited to merely improving wagery; Guild Socialists wanted the problem uprooted. Of the political movement and of potential reformers, he noted that: "Mr. Scott apparently only desires to see them good enough to improve it. My view is at least more ethical."[97] This suggests the rejection of incrementalism. The Guild Socialists wanted a different kind of society, although they accepted that this could just be done without any transitional states. But they were utter root and branch reformers because of their critique of society's myriad failures, including the limited realisation of the potential of individuals, particularly those whose station in life and potentiality left them abandoned by the operations of a ruthless capitalism.

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[95] M.W. Robieson 'Political and Economic Action', Part 2, *Loc. Cit.*, p. 153.
[96] *Ibid.*, pp. 153-154.
[97] *Ibid.*, p. 154.

Having castigated the syndicalists as simple-minded, holding a primitive view of political action, Robieson also argued that one should not only look through their prognostications to their weaknesses, but also try to appreciate what they were reacting against. This required an empathetical disposition in order to understand the critique inherent in the campaign against existing society. Scott "had not, as it seemed to me, realised sufficiently how much truth the movement nevertheless contained."[98] Going on, Robieson noted: "Though he saw that it was a reaction against the failure of political action, he did not grasp that it was an exaggeration of the proper corrective..."[99] Scott had not thought through the issues enough or contemplated the origins of the movements he purported to examine: "His book annoyed me because, though he put down exactly what he thought to be true, and I did not contradict it, he had not thought more and further and about the other side."[100] Hence the use of tough language in Robieson's original review: "... this underlay my deliberate use of the term 'savagely'. It was an attempt to stir up Mr. Scott's unconscious."[101] In contrast to the narrow focus of Scott's book, Robieson wanted to emphasise the merits of guild theory:

> I wished, I think, incidentally to indicate to Mr. Scott what seemed to me the valuable contributions to political theory which have been made by National Guilds writers, and to suggest that from the constructive point of view these penetrate to a deeper layer in social consciousness, and are much more worth his attention than a somewhat easily criticised and superficial theory like Syndicalism. About the attitude of National Guild theory to the latter there has never, I am sure, been any doubt. It definitely and specifically rejected its main

[98] M.W. Robieson Letter: 'Political and Economic Action' [reply to J.W. Scott] *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 25, No. 13 (July 24, 1919): p. 219.
[99] *Ibid*.
[100] *Ibid*.
[101] *Ibid*.

> principle, which is hostility to the State, and the substitution of economic for political action. It can hardly be the case, therefore, that I imagine Mr. Scott has hit the National Guild movement in criticising this principle.[102]

Indeed he says that: "...with his criticism of Syndicalism most reflective supporters of the claims of Labour will be found to agree."[103]

Robieson castigated the Liberals for being reformers without their heart being in the quest to achieve significant economic reform and he criticised syndicalists for substituting economic for political action. In such rhetoric and criticism Robieson shared a similar outlook to other socialists. As Bernard Crick once described this outlook: "Socialism as a theory of politics is never less than a strong criticism of the narrowness of conservatism and of the generalities of liberalism."[104] Moreover, socialists believe that the "liberal…likes the smooth fruits without wishing to care for the gnarled tree."[105]

In retrospect, the Guild Socialists seemed naïve about entrepreneurship, the role of leadership in organising and inspiring a workforce, incentives and markets. Self-interested motivation, of the right kind, was under-estimated and under-appreciated. They looked at industrial organisation from one end of the production line. More than one 'side' needed consideration. Managers and providers of capital were not 'hangers on' or peripheral to the production process. Pelling pithily noted: "What crippled it in the long run was the inexorable development of large-scale industry and the gradual recognition that highly-skilled management, rather than

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[102] *Ibid*.
[103] M.W. Robieson 'Political and Economic Action', Part 1, *Loc. Cit.*, p. 136.
[104] Bernard Crick *In Defence of Politics*, Continuum, London and New York, fifth edition (2000): p. 130.
[105] *Ibid*., p. 128.

GDH and Margaret Cole at home, n.d.; source: GDH Cole Papers, Nuffield College

direct democracy, was the only effective way to run it."[106] The term 'only', however, tends to shut down debate about alternatives. Even accepting Pelling's broad critique still leaves space, for example, for forms of participation and meaningful contribution by workers in an organisation.

Whatever weaknesses we may now detect in the cluster of concepts known as Guild Socialism, it had a clear, contemporary appeal as a critique of society and as a critique of rival socialist theories. For a time this gave the movement an apparent

[106] Henry Pelling, review S.T. Glass *The Ideas of Guild Socialism*, *The Historical Journal* Vol. 10, No. 2 (1967): p. 321.

coherence, a soft ideological prism through which to interpret the world. Thus the notion emphasised by John Anderson that the movement was a movement of criticism, as he saw ideas as always involved in a struggle for realisation and improvement.[107] It is not clear, however, that the Guild Socialist movement's ideas cohered. What comes through are concepts about distributed power, the demise of capital (as then conceived), a defence of liberty and criticism of other reformers. Among these various 'ideas' there doesn't seem to be a unifying principle. Robieson seemed to see that there was the gap in their thinking. For Guild Socialists there were significant implications:

> The sense in which a social movement like that towards National Guilds can have a philosophical basis deserves more discussion than it can receive here. We may content ourselves with pointing out two directions in which philosophical principles are evidently implied. On the one hand, the criticism directed against the existing social order carries us far beyond economics to fundamental political and even moral ideas. A discussion of the possible structure of a community organised on a Guild basis involves similarly the possibility of raising critical general questions. The first group of principles must plainly be consistent with the second; but they need not be identical.[108]

This was to begin to broach the vexed questions of ensuring some sort of consistency

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[107] John Anderson 'Amazing Journalists' review of Paul Selver *Orage and the New Age Circle*, *The Observer* Vol. 3, No. 23 (November 12, 1960): p. 31. Armstrong said of Anderson's philosophy that: "Minds, knowledge, morality, education, society, were no more than empirical realities, spatiotemporal realities that the inquiring mind might investigate, seeking to strip away the illusions that hung about them. Social life was not some unified affair, but a continuous interaction of different social movements with different, often irreconcilable, ways of life. The life of inquiry, which he championed, was no more than a particular way of life." David Armstrong 'Black Swans: The Formative Influences in Australian Philosophy' in B. Brogaard and B. Smith, editors, *Rationality and Irrationality*, Proceedings of the 23rd International Wittgenstein Symposium, Kirchberg am Wechsel, Wein (2000): pp. 11-17.

[108] M.W. Robieson 'On Certain First Principles', Part 2, Vol. 23, No. 14 *The New Age*, new series, (August 1, 1918): p. 213.

between critique of the present, advocacy of a better society and whether the restructure of society along Guild Socialist lines would be consistent with its objectives.

Central to Robieson's view was the notion of a good person developing responsibly in action. Of Idealism, he says that: "however much it may talk about the eternal values being those which a man sees to be good when his soul is at its highest stretch, it remains true that the precise criterion its ethical theory provides is not open..." [109] In contrast, Robieson argues for a subjectivism that recognises that: "experiences are valuable; experience is mind together with its object; and an experience has value in so far as it satisfies the logical conditions of comprehensiveness and harmoniousness. Values are, therefore, theoretically capable of being arranged in an ordered series."[110] Real movements, however have to do things. In Weberian terms, there was too much preaching about ultimate ends and too little experiment and action. The national guilds movement, it seemed, never ventured far from the shop floor or the critic's couch.

Robieson and William Anderson saw themselves as supporters of the guild idea, adding depth and philosophical rigour to inchoate thinking. As William Anderson said of Robieson:

> His personal example is one that went to show that while universality of interest may not be for the moment a predominant feature of the work of philosophers the tradition is still one that can be maintained without detriment to thoroughness and real knowledge. What he had published was principally in the region of social

[109] M.W. Robieson [published under the pseudonym "O. Latham"] 'Notes on Political Theory', Part 3, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 21, No. 17, (August 23, 1917): p. 369.
[110] *Ibid*.

> and political theory. It was his conviction that it is knowledge above all that is requisite in the current treatment of social questions, whether of class or of sex, but he further realized that knowledge in these matters has still to be well-founded through those methods of discussion of first principles and examination of assumptions which are characteristic of philosophy.[111]

This was the perspective that Robieson brought to the discussion of Guild Socialism and related issues. In discussion centred on certain philosophies and ways of life, they need to be rooted in logic and experience; hence, a focus on 'first principles' and 'assumptions' in what Robieson wrote. He saw the 'guild idea' as meriting support. The prescription and programme of action of the Guild Socialists were experiments worth pursuing. This begs investigation of what was meant by such experimentation. This we further explore next, noting that in supporting Guild Socialism Robieson wanted to place his stamp on a philosophy of freedom.

"The Winnowing of Ideas"[112]

The New Age in the period from 1907 to the end of the Great War became the most important journal of ideas influencing the thought of intellectuals associated with the UK labour movement. It was there that the ideas of Guild Socialism obtained popularity. Robieson wrote for the journal. His political and philosophical thought is impossible to consider outside of the political movement he supported and the journal to which he contributed his best articles.

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[111] W. Anderson 'Matthew Walker Robieson' *International Journal of Ethics* Vol. 30, No. 3 (April, 1920): pp. 336-337.

[112] S.G. Hobson or Alfred Orage [published as "National Guildsmen"] 'Towards National Guilds' *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 21, No. 23 (October 4, 1917): p. 481: "Every Guildsman, even every reader of *The New Age*, has the responsibility of sowing the seed while there is yet time. Revolution is the *winnowing* of ideas; and it will depend upon our zeal to-day whether a revolution finds the nation full of chaff or grain."

As Orage put it, *The New Age* was "undeniably 'brilliant', brazenly incorruptible and independent, and could always count on the support of the young of all ages…"[113] We will presently explain the journal's line in the context of the development of Guild Socialism, and will explore where Robieson and also the Anderson brothers were positioned. Margaret Cole commented on Orage that: "Under him, *The New Age*, while never coming near financial success – unless it be counted success to persuade Arnold Bennett to write for it without any remuneration at all – gradually reached the position of being compulsory reading for anyone who claimed to be of the Left in literature, art, drama, politics, economics and what not."[114]

Unfortunately, Orage never left behind a complete or a comprehensive set of papers. What does exist is a collection of manuscripts now deposited at Leeds[115] and some scattered papers in various archives.[116] A son, Richard Orage, apparently donated the papers he held of his father to the Gurdjieff Society in London.[117] The archival records of *The New Age* journal, which might have included details on contributors, their *noms de plume*, exchanges of correspondence and other information, were probably thrown out or otherwise discarded, perhaps after Orage sold the journal at the end of 1922.

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[113] Alfred Orage 'An Editor's Progress', Part 1, '*The New Age*' *Commonweal* Vol. 3, No. 14 (February 10, 1926): p. 379.
[114] Margaret Cole *The Life of GDH Cole*, Macmillan, London (1971): p. 51. But note that Rowland Kenney claims that Bennett never wrote unpaid for *The New Age*. See Rowland Kenney *Westering. An Autobiography*, edited by Mrs. E. Townshend, J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd., London (1939): p. 153.
[115] Papers of Alfred Richard Orage: Handlist 124, Brotherton Collection, Leeds University Library.
[116] A few of those, in Canada and in the United States, are referred to in Chris Cook and Jeffery Weeks *Sources in British Political History 1900-1951, Vol. 5*: *A Guide to the Private Papers of Selected Writers, Intellectuals and Publicists*, Macmillan Press Ltd., London (1978): p. 148.
[117] Email: *Dr. Tom Steele, Senior Honorary Research Fellow, Faculty of Education, University of Glasgow, to Michael Easson*, April 5, 2011. A check with trustees of the Society reveals that nothing is held there. Email: *Dick Temple, on behalf of the London Gurdjieff Society, to Michael Easson*, April 10, 2011. It seems, however, that the Richard Dwight Orage and other family archives ended up at Leeds, supplementing the Library's existing collection. Email: *Paul Beekman Taylor, Gurdjieff Society, to Michael Easson,* April 10, 2011. None of this material, however, refers to Robieson.

There is no reference to such a lode of archival material in Wallace Martin's detailed, though primarily literary, account of *The New Age* journal and its editor.[118]

Orage estimated sales at 4,500 copies per week with 30% returns as of August, 1913.[119] In its earliest years circulation rose dramatically, reaching 16,000 in September of 1908 and 22,000 by the end of November of that year.[120] That was the highest circulation achieved by the magazine in its fifteen-year life. When circulation was markedly lower, no doubt many copies reached more than one reader. But who were those people? Who read *The New Age*? A clear answer is this:

> The new battalions of teachers required by the Education Act had to be sought in the schools of villages and slums, for the possessing classes were neither numerous enough nor willing to see their children take up teaching on weekdays. The process was at work all over England, with immense social consequences for it had created, in three decades, a large and unprecedented social category... Between [1870 and 1900] the force of teachers had built up from 14,000 to over 100,000, three quarters of whom were women. Here was the rank and file of the movement for women's rights, and a public for progressive journalism on a scale never known before. The teacher training programme not only gave Orage his first career; it gave him the audience for his second.[121]

This reads as a convincing assessment – backed by insight and circulation data. There

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[118] Wallace Martin *The New Age Under Orage*, *Chapters in English Cultural History*, Manchester University Press/Barnes & Noble, Inc., Manchester/New York (1967).
[119] Alfred Orage [published as "R.H.C."] 'Readers and Writers' *The New Age*, new series Vol. 13, No. 16 (August 14, 1913): p. 458.
[120] Alfred Orage [published as "R.H.C."] 'To Our Readers' *The New Age*, new series Vol. 4, No. 5 (November 26, 1908): p. 81.
[121] John Carswell *Lives and Letters*, *A.R. Orage, Katherine Mansfield, Beatrice Hastings, John Middleton Murray, S.S. Koteliansky, 1906-1957*, New Directions, New York (1978): p. 16.

was, then, a new class of readers in England when *The New Age* began its 'new series' in May, 1907 and many of these people yearned to look to Orage's magazine for information and cultural enrichment. From its new beginnings *The New Age* never limited its pages to writers of a single persuasion. The very title of the magazine indicates the confidence with which it championed the idea of political change, but the paper's editorial openness brought so many theoretical and political positions to its pages that it is hard today to decide its overall political valence. Indeed, as Carswell observed: "With hindsight, one can trace in *The New Age* lines of thought which led to almost every operative doctrine of the thirties and forties, including the most horrific."[122]

Aside from arts and letters students at Brown and Tulsa Universities, in their 'modernist journals project',[123] there has been limited recent interest in Orage or *The New Age* journal. When Orage is recalled, the enthusiasms of his last decade are passed over.[124] Some of his enthusiasms were swept into the dustbin. The creed of Guild Socialism, with which he had been so identified (though he styled the movement the campaign for National Guilds), earnt a good sweep out of the way. As Orage embraced the ideas of Social Credit, the journal's defection from advocate of Guild Socialism to critic then opponent, gravely weakened the movement, which seemed to suddenly dive under the political lake almost without trace or ripple in the mid 1920s. As Guild

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[122] *Ibid.*, p. 147. Without developing the point in detail, Vowles suggests that in the pages of *The New Age* the ideas of Guild Socialism were in free association with tendencies hostile to democracy. See Vowles, *Loc. Cit.*, pp. 13f.

[123] The Modernist Journals Project (MJP) began in 1995 at Brown University; since 2003 it has been a co-venture with Tulsa University. The Project aims to create a database of digitised periodicals connected with the study of modernism and its rise in the English-speaking world, with periodical literature as its central concern. The historical scope of the project is from 1890 to 1922, with a geographical range extending to where English language periodicals were published. See: www.dl.lib.brown.edu/mjp, accessed, June 2011.

[124] Nowadays the words 'New Age' have some oddish associations, evoking images of tinkling crystals, incense, beads, chants, mysticism and spiritualism!

Socialism was primarily a movement of ideas, and its organ was *The New Age*, the change of direction in that journal had a debilitating impact on the fortunes of the movement. Many ex-Guildsmen joined the communist party and a few others found affinity with Italian fascism. Even G.D.H. Cole in the late 1920s announced that his earlier Guild Socialist views were naïve.[125] Late in life, in nostalgic reminiscing, however, Cole claimed never to have left behind his Guild Socialist thinking.[126]

There are now a few academic studies that prefer to believe that 'social credit' ideas[127] emerged in a near lineal transmission from guild ideas.[128] In contrast, speaking like a true ideologue, Orage was to state: "For me personally the realisation of the complete disappearance of the guild idea as a living potency brought no sense of disappointment, but rather of relief."[129] There was a clean break. Orage championed fiercely whatever he believed in at the time. Sometimes that meant contemptuously casting old garments to the flames. Some of those associated with Orage, such as Ezra Pound,[130] would later

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[125] G.D.H. Cole 'Introduction' *The Next Ten Years in British Social and Economic Policy*, Macmillan and Co., Ltd., London (1929).
[126] See Cole's 'Introduction' to Branko Pribićević *The Shop Stewards Movement and Workers' Control 1910-1922*, *Loc. Cit*.
[127] Such ideas are discussed later in this Chapter.
[128] See Brian Burkitt and Frances Hutchinson *The Political Economy of Social Credit and Guild Socialism*, Routledge, London (1997). See also Tom Villis *Reaction and the Avant-Garde*: *The Revolt Against Liberal Democracy in Early Twentieth-Century Britain*, International Library of Political Studies, Tauris Academic Studies (2005). In this book Villis illuminates right-wing thought in the first decades of the 20th century. He says that prominent literary figures, such as Alfred Orage, Ezra Pound, Hilaire Belloc and the Chestertons led a revolt against liberal parliamentary democracy in Britain. This group, a self-identifying Nietzschean elite eager to lead the masses, despised parliaments. Villis in his keenness to prosecute his case overlooks competing arguments and exaggerates, seeming to regard any elite as *ipso facto* driven by a primeval, anti-democratic persuasion. The case against Orage, in particular, is weak.
[129] Alfred Orage 'An Editor's Progress', Part 2, 'The Douglas Revelation' *Commonweal* Vol. 3, No. 15 (February 17, 1926): p. 402. There are many passages in Orage's memoir published in *Commonweal* where he refers to the break with Guild Socialism and describes Social Credit as a new, unique and complete guide to modern economic life. This doesn't look, in Orage's mind, like there was a linear progression.
[130] A tribute to Orage, including a defence of his social credit thinking, is: Erza Pound 'In the Wounds (Memoriam A.R. Orage)' *The Criterion*, a Literary Review, Vol. XIV, No. 56 (April, 1935): pp. 391-407. It seems that each decade produces a new crop of books on Ezra Pound.

indulge in anti-semitic drivel. But in no sense in the 'golden era' was *The New Age* journal a right wing publication.

The New Age was a weekly magazine, printed in double columns, folio sized. Under Orage's editorship, thirty volumes were produced, each volume running for six months, with pages numbered accordingly. The 'new series' *The New Age* played a central role in the debates on the cultural, literary, social and political issues of the day. Katherine Mansfield, whose first stories appeared there, said, in a letter to Orage: "you taught me to write, you taught me to think; you showed me what there was to be done and what not to do."[131] Her sentiments were widely shared by contributors.

The idea of the 'new series' of *The New Age* journal began in 1900 in Leeds in Yorkshire.[132] There, in a second hand bookstore, two young men searching for modern literary works first met. George Holbrook Jackson, known as Holbrook Jackson, the British journalist, writer and publisher, tells the story in his book on Shaw[133] of how Orage and he began a long conversation resulting in Jackson lending a copy of Nietzsche's *Thus Spake Zarathustra* and Orage lending the *Bhagavad Gita*. This friendship became manifest via the Leeds Art Club, which they founded in 1903. The club invited the leading literary figures of the day to speak in Leeds - and they came, and spoke – such as W.B. Yeats, G.K. Chesterton, G.B. Shaw, H. Belloc, Edward Carpenter, Wyndham Lewis and many others. The Shaw connection was initially vital both

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[131] Letter: *Katherine Mansfield to Alfred Orage*, February 9, 1921; cited in Carey Snyder 'Katherine Mansfield and the *New Age* School of Satire' *The Journal of Periodical Studies* Vol. 1, No. 2 (2010): p. 125. Also cited in Martin, *Loc. Cit.*, p. 58.
[132] This account and in following passages, heavily relies on Robert Scholes 'General Introduction to *The New Age* 1907-1922' The modernist Journals project on-line, accessed, April 2011.
[133] Holbrook Jackson'Prefatory Letter to A.R. Orage', *Bernard Shaw*, E. Grant Richards, London (1909): pp. 9-18.

intellectually and financially. Hehad originally encouraged the Fabian Arts Group; in 1906 both Orage and Jackson moved to London where, with the help of H.G. Wells, Eric Gill, Shaw and William Rothenstein, they founded the Fabian Arts Group as an alternative to orthodox Fabian Socialism – though perhaps Shaw saw their efforts at this time as complimentary to rather than challenging Fabianism. Orage and Jackson, however, saw the latter as too preoccupied with organisation and collectivist principles and hardly at all with questions of culture and the arts.[134] Admiring their energy and trusting Jackson, Shaw put up five hundred pounds to help them buy what had hitherto been a Christian socialist journal, *The New Age*, founded thirteen years before in 1894.[135] The Theosophist banker Lewis Alexander Wallace put up another five hundred pounds to meet the purchase price demanded by Joseph Clayton, whom Orage knew through the Independent Labour Party. Shaw was to complain that Orage refused to lick the hand that fed him. Writing in 1908 to C.H. Norman, he wrote that: "Orage abuses me because, having given *The New Age* £500 to keep it going for six months, and contributed a thousand pounds worth of copy to it for nothing, I intimate that I am not prepared to repeat the effort."[136] Over the years Wallace continued to help Orage balance his budget. As Scholes pointed out,[137] *The New Age* might have been another one of those magazines that came and went, except for the constant, unobtrusive financial help of Wallace, and the qualities Orage brought to the editorship. Orage made *The New Age* a journal of consequence.

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[134] *Cf*. A.M. McBriar *Fabian Socialism and English Politics 1884-1918*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (1966).
[135] Founded as a left-liberal 'Weekly Record of Culture, Social Service, and Literary Life', the journal had little impact until taken over by Orage. After 15 years in the editor's chair, Orage sold it. *The New Age* continued to be published weekly from 1923 to 1938, edited by Arthur Brenton.
[136] Letter: *George Bernard Shaw to C.H. Norman*, September 24, 1908; reprinted in Dan H. Laurence, editor, *Bernard Shaw Collected Letters*, *Vol. 2* [in a series], Max Reinhardt, London (1972): p. 810.
[137] Robert Scholes 'General Introduction to *The New Age* 1907-1922', *Loc. Cit*.

Rowland Kenney said that "The columns of *The New Age* were a tilt-yard in which a score of expert literary lancers jousted."[138] The writing was often presented pseudonymously. Among the notable contributors were Katherine Mansfield, Edwin Muir (at first under the pseudonym "Edward Moore"), A.E. Randall (also, as literary critic, under the pseudonym "John Francis Hope"), Arthur J. Penty, G.D.H. Cole, Ezra Pound, Beatrice Hastings (also under the pseudonym "Alice Morning" and "Beatrice L. Hutchins"), Arnold Bennett (sometimes under the pseudonym of "Jacob Tonson"[139]) T.E. Hulme (sometimes as "Thomas Gratton" other articles as "North Staff") – of whom Robieson said his early death gave "us cause to regret most bitterly the loss of his fertile mind to the discussion of the political philosophy of the Guilds,"[140] Carl Eric Bechhofer Roberts (often as "Carl Eric Bechhofer", "C.E.B." and variants, including "Charles Brook-Farmer"[141]) and S.G. Hobson (sometimes as "Anthony Farley"[142]). Orage published under his own name, but also as "R.H.C." and as "R.H. Congreve."[143] After the death in 1918 of John McFarland Kennedy - or, to use his main pen name, "Leighton Warnock",[144] Orage appropriated "S. Verdad"[145] – which had been Kennedy's pseudonym on foreign policy matters.

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[138] Rowland Kenney *Westering*. *An Autobiography*, J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd., London (1939): p. 153.
[139] A collection of essays, originally appearing in *The New Age* under the name "Jacob Tonson" was published as Arnold Bennett *Books and Persons*, *Being Comments on a Past Epoch 1908-1911*, Chatto & Windus, London (1917).
[140] M.W. Robieson [published under the pseudonym "O. Latham"] 'An Apology for the Liberty of the Person', Part 7, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 22, No. 9 (December 27, 1917): p. 166.
[141] This was the name William Anderson refers to in his letter to his brother John, describing those of the *New Age* circle he met in 1918. Letter: *William Anderson to John Anderson*, June 10, 1918, University of Sydney Archives, P.42, Papers of John Anderson and family, Series 19, Acc. No.1428, item 1.
[142] Those articles were collected and published in book form: S.G. Hobson [published as "Anthony Farley"] *Letters to my Nephew*, George G. Harrap, London (1917).
[143] Orage mentions his pseudonym in his 'Preface' to his *Readers and Writers*, George Allen & Unwin Ltd, London (1922) - also published in the United States under the same title by Alfred A. Knopf, New York (1922).
[144] In addition to his translations of Nietzsche and of a number of other scholarly and literary texts, J.M. Kennedy's major contribution to the magazine was his weekly (or almost weekly) 'Foreign Affairs' column signed "S. Verdad."
[145] Philip Mairet noted that "S. Verdad" was Portugese for "it's true". See Philip Mairet *A.R. Orage A Memoir*, J.M. Dent and Sons Ltd., London (1936): p. 61. But *verdade* is the Portugese word; *verdad* is

As editor, Orage took prospective writing and honed it into interesting, publishable copy. He was apparently a person of extraordinary charm, able to persuade recognised and emerging writers of talent to contribute. His editorial method was intense, active and searching. He developed a stable of writers that he sought out, obtaining articles from authors with special knowledge, ability, or standing - especially young ones on the rise. As with every editor, he sometimes despaired of a passive readership and its lack of appreciative response to what he published. Referring to a series of articles by Robieson, Orage castigated his readership about the lack of feedback; he wrote:

> Where there is a hornets' nest I cannot refrain from putting my pen into it. And, besides, it is not my duty to allow to be concluded so excellent a series of articles as Mr. O. Latham's 'Apology for Personal Liberty'[146] without a bow of acknowledgment. Readers of *The New Age*, I venture to say, are either very timid on the whole, or a little ungenerous. They find in these pages from time to time work by hitherto unknown writers, some of which (at the very least) can claim to be promising in a high degree. Were it to appear elsewhere I am sure that attention would not only be given to it, but publicly or privately thrust upon it. Are there not swans in every pool but this? Our own readers, on the contrary, appear to like to keep geese. Rarely does a reader offer a word of praise or encouragement or even of criticism to a new writer; but he must plough on in the dark and in the silence alone, save for one or two of his old colleagues, whose appreciation, because it may be presumed, is perhaps less stimulating than the spontaneity of his unknown readers. This, by the way, is not a complaint, but a criticism. The world cannot expect a high culture to be

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Spanish for "truth"; in Spanish *es verdad* means "it is true." This is noted in Robert Scholes & Clifford Wulfman *Modernism in the Magazines. An Introduction*, Yale University Press, New Haven (2011): p. 151.

[146] This was the eight part series published by M.W. Robieson – under the pseudonym "O. Latham" - in *The New Age* from 1917 to 1918.

> maintained by writers alone. Readers, as I have very often said, make writers. If, therefore, the world of readers (particularly after the war) desires to see a school of excellent writers, the world must pay the price of discriminating judgment and open appreciation. Close-fisted silence, whether friendly or unfriendly, is equally deadly. By the way once more, the foregoing is not intended to be apropos of Mr. O. Latham, who, under another name, has honour enough and to spare. It just occurred to me to say it; and I have now finished.[147]

"Close-fisted silence" is the last reaction a writer or editor would choose.

Orage once summed up the socialist movement, as it developed in the 1890s, as infested with cranks, dreamers, poseurs and unrealistic radicals:

> [Socialism was then] a cult, with affiliations now quite disowned - with theosophy, arts and crafts, vegetarianism, the 'simple life', and almost, we might say, with the musical glasses. Morris had shed a medieval light over it with his stained glass *News From Nowhere*. Edward Carpenter had put it into sandals, Cunninghame Graham had mounted it upon an Arab steed to which he was always saying a romantic farewell. Keir Hardie had clothed it in a cloth cap and red tie.[148] And Bernard Shaw, on behalf of the Fabian Society, had hung it with innumerable jingling epigrammatic bells—and cap. My brand of socialism was, therefore, a blend or, let us say, an anthology of all those, to which from my personal predilections and experience I added a good practical knowledge of the

[147] Alfred Orage [published as "R.H.C."] 'Readers and Writers' *The New Age*, new series Vol. 22, No. 13 (January 24, 1918): p. 251.
[148] On winning West Ham in 1892 Keir Hardie rode to the House of Commons clothed in cloth cap, red tie, tweed suit, and flannel shirt, accompanied by a band. See W. Hamish Fraser 'Keir Hardie: Radical, Socialist, Feminist' *La réputation de personnalités historiques écossaises* Vol. 10 (2005): pp. 103-115.

> working classes, a professional interest in economics which led me to master Marx's *Das Kapital* and an idealism fed at the source - namely Plato.[149]

Such a cocky summary indicated that Orage was convinced that he knew best, had a grasp of the fundamentals, a ready reckoner through the maze, and a formula for decoding the alchemy of life. For about a decade he believed that the ideas of Guild Socialism as expounded, developed and perfected in the pages of *The New Age* would enable the noisy, socialist crowd to become a crew sailing to an assured destination. With Orage there was always a touch of looking for the big short-cut. Yet as an editor and cultivator of good writing, he argued, stimulated, changed his mind, recast opinions, swapped ideas and cracked a whip of sarcasm over lazy thinking and slothful expression. He was the exacting editor who conjured each week between sixteen to thirty-two pages[150] of crackling, enlightening and challenging prose. A century on and a read through the first few pages of Orage's editorial opinion in 'Notes of the Week' and his columns on new writers still reads like the ink is wet on the page. The 'test of time' is that the vibrancy, credibility and power of expression still makes reading his work an intellectually engaging pastime.

For all this genius in extracting the best out of people, there was the darker, sillier side. It was as if one hand inked his thoughts to the page, the other arm searched for the Excalibur moment when he would seize and draw a sword of explanation to swoop off the heads of opponents. Thus with bewildering, if graduating, intensity he shifted from the guild idea to Guild Socialism to increasing devotion from 1918 onwards to Major

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[149] Alfred Orage 'An Editor's Progress', Part 1, *Commonweal* A weekly review of Literature, the Arts and Public Affairs, Vol. 3, No. 14 (February 10, 1926): p. 376. Also quoted in Mairet, *Loc. Cit.*, p. 40.

[150] At the start, in 1907, it was 16 pages, then 20 pages a year later, 24 pages by 1910, 32 pages in 1913, back to 24 pages in 1914, later in the year 20 pages, then 24 pages from 1915 to 1917, then 20 pages in 1917-1918, then 16 from later in 1918 and onwards.

Douglas' Social Credit ideas (briefly discussed later) and then, improbably enough, in the early 1920s he became a devotee of Gurdjieff, the mystic, who preached his disciples to live the simple life.[151] To allude to a line of Whitman's, Orage was a contradiction in multitudes. But there was no Robieson – or Anderson – involvement in those later, more eccentric phases of Orage's life.

Sometime in the early years of the Great War, Robieson and William Anderson entered the scene. Possibly Robieson came to Orage's notice for the first time for a clear, crisp 'Letter to the Editor' he sent on 'Compulsion', published in November, 1914. Robieson wanted to logically examine what was being written in the journal on the topic of vaccination. Several writers had worried about the legality and merit of compulsory vaccination; some queried whether the good outweighed the disadvantages.[152] Robieson's letter stated that "these attacks [are] on pure science under the cover of political rights. And in the interest of clear thinking let *The New Age* endeavour to find some ground for its less important views..."[153]

Anne Hardy in an article on the background to the vaccination controversy observes that on August 27, 1914, just three weeks after the outbreak of war, Sir William Osler, Regius Professor of Medicine at Oxford University, wrote a letter to the *Times*, in which

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[151] Although Gurdjieff wrote some rubbish about his alleged meetings on the spiritual plane with great men, his community was pretty sane. Like Orage, he could 'tolerate genius' and he was not power-crazed. There's a good account of the community in: Fritz Peters *Boyhood with Gurdjieff*, Victor Gollancz, London (1964). I am grateful to Jim Franklin for this information.

[152] Robieson was responding to a debate opened up by [Anonymous] 'Compulsion' *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 15, No. 23 (October 8, 1914): pp. 541-542 and various follow up letters such as: John H. Bonner Letter: 'Compulsion' *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 15, No. 25 (October 22, 1914): p. 604; William Seaford Letter: 'Value of Vaccination' *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 15, No. 25 (October 22, 1914): pp. 605-606. J.L. Murray Letter: 'The Gospel of Nietzsche', *Ibid*., pp. 606-607.

[153] M.W. Robieson Letter: 'Compulsion' *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 16, No. 1 (November 5, 1914): p. 23.

he urged the necessity of compulsorily vaccinating British troops against typhoid.[154] "In war," he pressed, "the microbe kills more than the bullet," and he reminded readers that more men had died of dysentery and typhoid in the Boer War than had died in action. Osler's vaccination plea was supported the following week by letters from Sir Lauder Brunton, a leader of the medical profession, and Sir Almroth Wright, head of the Innoculation Department at St Mary's Hospital, London, and a pioneer of anti-typhoid vaccine. On September 28, 1914 Wright wrote again, arguing the case for compulsory vaccination at far greater length. "An army going on active service," he stated, "goes from the sanitary conditions of civilisation straight back to those of barbarism. It goes out to confront dangers which have, in settled communities, been so completely extinguished as to have passed almost out of mind."[155] These letters may be read as a reflection of medical altruism, of concern for the potentially needless loss of life and as advocacy for the adoption of a scientific stance towards problems capable of being ameliorated by it. In his letter to *The New Age* Robieson argued in response to civil libertarian criticisms that: "your contributors are unable to see where their arguments lead, and that the whole business is simply a confusion of thought;" and that

> The really important point in the whole matter is the curious bias which *The New Age* has frequently displayed against preventive medicine generally. I confess it has always seemed to me quite inconsistent with the most reasonable and scientific position it has taken up with regard to economic theory, with its critical attitude to art and literature, and with its competent discussions of

[154] Anne Hardy '"Straight Back to Barbarism": Antityphoid Inoculation and the Great War, 1914' *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* Vol. 74, No. 2 (Summer, 2000): pp. 265-290.
[155] Quoted in *Ibid.*

> recent work in psychology. Bacteriology and Pathology are as exact sciences of the inductive sort as exist...[156]

The tone of the letter suggests an engaged reader, very interested in the wide array of issues discussed in the journal. Of course, such comments by Robieson were marginal to the central issues facing Labour in the attempt to bid for power in Parliament and elsewhere. Those were issues that Robieson and his good friend William Anderson were soon to address.

The next reference to Robieson occurred in August 1915 when *The New Age* quoted from his article in *The Hibbert Journal* on the German Socialists and the War:

> The plain conclusion of the Socialist theory is that political action, whether in Parliament of not, can accomplish nothing except in complete subordination to a movement for the conquest of economic power - nor is there anything mysterious about the latter. The Trade Union is its only possible and only necessary instrument because in it the worker is an economic person, a member of his economic class. To this day this political weakness of the flesh continues to blind the German Socialists: even Syndicalist activity has scarce begun to enlighten their darkened understanding. In spite of evident defects; and exaggerations, Syndicalists must be admitted to be in this respect more Marxist than the orthodox Marxist and there are other exceptions *of* the same kind - the Industrial Workers of the World in America, whose leader, Daniel de Leon, has produced works which for acuteness and directness of statement are hardly surpassed in all Socialist Literature: the Socialist Labour Party in Britain: and, most important of all, various writers in *The New Age*, whose recent book, *National Guilds*, no serious

[156] M.W. Robieson Letter: 'Compulsion' *Loc. Cit.*, p. 22.

> student of the subject can afford to neglect. - M.W. Robieson in the *Hibbert Journal*.[157]

Orage's gimlet eye would often spot sympathetic references to his journal and he loved reporting on them. Robieson was not yet a major figure in *The New Age* circle. But he was soon to write on the important issues of the day.

As noted in Chapter 1, there was some uncertainty amongst guild supporters as to the role of the state. Orage and Hobson thought that Parliamentary democracy stood paramount above all other institutions. Not all Guild Socialists were clear on this point. As Orage put it:

> In one sense these heirs, as they hope, of the executive power of the State are right in their judgment. We have never, as our readers know, shared the view of the Syndicalists that the State is or can ever be of no account. It is indeed much more, even in its embodied form of Parliament, than a mere conglomerate of functions, being a symbol as well as an organ of national unity. The House of Commons may, it is true, from time to time, obscure this symbol of national unity and leave us to conclude that Parliament itself is nothing but an organ of class dominance; but that is the fault of the House of Commons in particular, and the remedy lies in purging the House of Commons and not in decrying Parliament in general. From even the most pessimistic point of view Parliament is at this moment the only representative we possess of the "better self" of the nation as well as the organ of the middle classes. The hope of improving matters is therefore in the endeavour to cleanse the House of Commons of its class

[157] 'Press Cuttings' *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 17, No. 17 (August 26, 1915): p. 416. This quotation actually joined part of a passage and a footnote together from M.W. Robieson 'German Socialist Theory and War' *The Hibbert Journal* Vol. XIII, No. 8 (April, 1915): p. 584.

> character - which constitutes an invasion of national rights in Parliament - and to emphasise once more the aspect of Parliament as the better self of the nation.[158]

Hobson's critique of modern industrial society was partly informed by Belloc's theories concerning the Servile State. Belloc pilloried those socialists who would regulate society by a remote bureaucracy. "The collectivist", he said, "proposes to put land and capital into the hands of the political officers of the community." This in the belief that such power would be administered to the general advantage of the community.[159] This version of socialism was frequently attacked by *The New Age* writers and Guild Socialists. Belloc interpreted modern capitalism as developing towards the Servile State which he defined:

> The servile state is that in which we find so considerable a body of families and individuals distinguished from *free citizens* by the mark of compulsory labour as to stamp a general character upon society, and all the chief characters, good or evil, attaching to the institution of slavery will be found permeating such a state.[160]

It is clear that Penty, Hobson and Orage were the central figures in the construction of Guild Socialism, aided by the critiques of Belloc and others. Perhaps thinking of Hobson's advice many years before, Cole acknowledged: "Orage made Guild Socialism an intellectual force upon which we popularizers and propagandists were able to seize when the moment was favourable."[161] But Orage and the other founders were remote from trade unions and organising to give effect to their ideas. The impetus to do that

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[158][Alfred Orage] 'Notes of the Week' *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 13, No. 1 (May 1, 1913): p. 1.
[159] Hillaire Belloc *The Servile State*, Liberty Classics, Indianapolis (1977; first published T.N. Foulis, London, 1912): p. 129.
[160] *Ibid.*, p. 60.
[161] G.D.H. Cole [on Orage] Supplement [on Orage's death] *New English Weekly* November 15, 1934): p. 17.

largely came from Cole and, separately, guild organisations formed throughout Great Britain, of which the Glasgow branch was the most significant. This was the branch of the NGL that Robieson was most in touch with. This occurred both through his participation (though from Belfast, at QUB), and through knowledge of the activities of his friend, William Anderson, who played a vital role in its activities. So we shall next turn to the Scot Guild Socialists.

4. **The Scot Guild Socialists**

A Trio of Leaders

Under-explored in the academic literature[1] is the fact that the Glasgow branch of the NGL was the movement's most successful outpost.[2] Though based in Belfast, a ferry ride away, Robieson was involved with the movement, spoke at their meetings, wrote an article for their journal and identified with their cause. William Anderson was even more involved; the second section of this Chapter specifically refers to his vital role in the early days.

At the core of the Glasgow Branch of the NGL was a trio of active trade unionists, close to the development of 'Red Clydeside',[3] but opposed to syndicalism and later the communist aspects of that period. They were John Paton (1886-1920), George Thomson (1883-1949) and Edwin Muir (1887-1959). By the end of the second decade of the 20th century all three were drawn to, living and working in London, playing national leadership roles in espousal and agitation for guild ideas. In 1919 Paton was employed as the NGL's full time union organiser. Thompson moved to the national headquarters of his union, the Association of Engineering & Shipbuilding Draughtsmen

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[1] For example, Glass's classic study mistakenly emphasises the "English Guild Socialists" in the title and discussion. See: S.T. Glass *The Responsible Society*: *The Ideas of the English Guild Socialists*, Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd., London (1966).
[2] Vowles notes that by April 1916 there had been meetings of members held in Birmingham, Newcastle, Liverpool, Manchester, London, Leeds and Glasgow. Jack Vowles From Corporatism to Workers' Control, PhD thesis, The University of British Columbia (1980). p. 174.
[3] Iain MacLean *The Legend of Red Clydeside*, John Donald Publishers Ltd., Edinburgh (1983).

(AESD), where he edited the publication *The Draughtsman*. Muir assisted Alfred Orage bring out *The New Age* journal. The balance of this Chapter argues for the first time about their contribution to guild theory and discusses their significance.

The voluminous writings of the Guild Socialists published in pamphlets, books and journals, particularly during the Great War, evolved into a theory of social transformation based on the idea of workers' control, potentially acceptable to the main body of progressive trade unionists. Surprisingly though, after he had left the movement, Orage was to complain: "Never upon a single occasion in my recollection was any accredited spokesman on behalf of national guilds invited or permitted to address an officially convened trade-union gathering."[4] This ignores that there were many union contacts and links. G.D.H. Cole, one of the main theorists of the NGL, for example was employed as an unpaid research officer by the Amalgamated Society of Engineers (ASE) union in 1916.[5] By the end of the war a policy of permeation of the unions was producing results. Many leaders of and even whole unions declared in favour of Guild Socialism. The years 1918-1921 saw the climax of the Guild Socialist influence - the miners and the railwaymen adopted modified versions of the Guild Socialist concept of workers' control in their national programmes, the builders and the Post Office workers adopted resolutions strongly supportive of Guild Socialism, and the UK Trades Union Congress (TUC) passed a resolution declaring in its favour.[6] By 1919 there was much satisfaction within the NGL about union links and support. For example, the NGL claimed support from the miners, the NUR ("the policy of the N.U.R. is

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[4] Alfred Orage 'An Editor's Progress', Part 1, '*The New Age*' *Commonweal* Vol. 3, No. 14 (February 10, 1926): p. 378.
[5] Margaret Cole *Growing Up Into Revolution*, Longmans, Green and Co., London (1949): p. 60. Jack Vowles From Corporatism to Workers' Control, *Loc. Cit.*, p. 178.
[6] David Blaazer 'Guild Socialism and the Historians' *The Australian Journal of Politics and History* Vol. 44, No.1 (March, 1998): pp. 1-15.

becoming increasingly defined in the direction of a National Guild"). It was further noted that an important branch of the salariat, the Association of Engineering & Shipbuilding Draughtsmen (AESD), had "shown a strong tendency to move in direction of a National Guild, additionally, the Postal Workers and the NUT "have definitely adopted a Guild policy."[7] The actual establishment of Guilds in building and some other industries and their initial successes put ideas into practice.[8]

In the west of Scotland, perhaps uniquely, there was a strong union base to the guild movement, including a big influence in the local trade union movement. Competition was fierce. "Hecklers are numerous. The way of the apostle of Guilds is strenuous and exhilarating; he draws fire both of politicos and industrialists. Also, however, he makes converts on both sides, increasingly. The I.L.P.'ers are sick of politics, and the industrialists are for the most part mere rebels, in the wilderness, awaiting a policy and a lead."[9] Within a few years, however, the guild movement disintegrated. Internal conflicts between the left and the right wing of the League were debilitating. Splits and differences on the Soviet Revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat as well as Major Douglas' scheme of Social Credit were critical 'fracturing points'. The failure of the several nascent Building Guilds also sapped enthusiasm. But even in Glasgow membership was small; in 1918 the Glasgow Group's membership had fallen to 34.[10]

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[7] Pamphlet: National Guilds League *Annual Report 1918-1919*, H. Williams & Sons, London (1919): pp. 3-4.
[8] *Cf.* Carl S. Joslyn 'The British Building Guilds: A Critical Survey of Two Years Work' *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* Vol. 37, No. 1 (November, 1922): pp. 75-133.
[9] Report on Glasgow, Pamphlet: National Guilds League *Annual Report 1916-1917*, Victoria House Printing Co. Ltd., London (March, 1917): p. 9.
[10] Pamphlet: National Guilds League *Annual Report 1917-1918* H. Williams & Sons, London (1918): p. 11.

Though the *New Age* continued to publish some favourable articles on guild ideas, a crucial blow to the Guild Socialist movement came in 1918-1919 with Orage and the journal defecting to a new ideological movement - the dead end of Social Credit ideas.[11] Before the collapse of the guild movement, the west Scotland supporters were the exemplar of blending active unionists and intellectuals into a co-operative, influential political force. Robieson and especially William Anderson were involved in creating that force. In contrast, although he did so much to inspire the movement, Orage preferred to dabble with ideas rather than to dare lead and work through the practical issues associated with the theory. Reflecting on his experiences, Orage commented: "The failure, in fact, to secure a constituency to support our proposals in any section or in any leader of trade-unionism was fatal to our representative character. We could only speak for ourselves; and ourselves, in point of power, were negligible."[12] Yet such a constituency did exist in Glasgow.

At the beginning of the Great War, with *The New Age* advocating Guild Socialism, Paton, Thomson and Muir, together with a number of other socialists in the west of Scotland, became interested. They read the journal, thought that the ideas on national guilds were worthwhile and decided to do something. On October 16, 1915 they founded the Glasgow branch of the National Guilds League,[13] contributed to the writing of some of the League's first pamphlets and in December 1916 produced the League's national

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[11] For a good, general, historical and theoretical discussion of these ideas, see: John L. Finlay *Social Credit: The English Origins* McGill-Queens University Press, Montreal and London (1972). On Orage and Social Credit see: Walter van Trier 'A.R. Orage and the Reception of Douglas' Social Credit Theory' in Guido Erreygers and Geert Jacobs, editors, *Language, Communication and the Economy* John Benjamins Publishing Company, Amsterdam and Philadelphia (2005): pp. 199-229.
[12] Alfred Orage 'An Editor's Progress, Part 1, *The New Age*', *Loc. Cit.*, p. 379.
[13] Report on Glasgow, under heading 'Groups', pamphlet: National Guilds League *First Annual Report* Victoria House Printing Co. Ltd., London (March, 1916): p. 7.

publication, *The Guildsman*. Paton,[14] though trained as a draughtsman, became a shop steward of the ASE. Muir was then a clerk in a Renfrew shipyard. At the first meeting of the Glasgow Branch held on October 16, 1915, Muir was in the Chair with Paton as Secretary, continuing in those roles to the end of 1916.[15] Thomson also worked in a Renfrew shipyard and, towards the end of 1917, became the convenor of the Association of Engineering & Shipbuilding Draughtsmen (AESD) Publications and Propaganda Committee and editor of the AESD journal.

John Paton, from a photo in J.P. Bedford papers, Nuffield College

[14] The guildsman, John Paton (1886-1920), is not to be confused with John Paton (1886-1976), the ILP official and politician, born in Aberdeen, who spent his formative years in Scotland where he joined the ILP in 1904.

[15] Glasgow Branch, NGL (October 16, 1915 to October 28, 1916), holograph, *Minute Book of Glasgow and District Group, National Guilds League, 1916*, in the Guild Socialism papers, J.P. Bedford Collection, Nuffield College, Oxford, Box 12, MSS 47 manuscript folder. The Bedfords, who collected a mass of Guild Socialist papers now in the library of Nuffield College, Oxford, were described by Margaret Cole as "two of the nicest and most selfless people in the world." Margaret Cole *Growing Up Into Revolution*, *Loc. Cit.*, p. 101, fn 1.

In one of the few considered references to Paton by a labour historian, Macdonald, in a study of Paisley politics, notes his organisational efforts to win recruits for guild principles:

> In December 1916, John Paton, an ASE member from Cardonald, resigned as secretary of the Paisley TLC. Then, as editor and leader of the active Glasgow branch of the National Guilds League (NGL) – composed largely of moderate shop stewards – he began publication of the *Guildsman*, which later, as the *Guild Socialist*, became the official organ of the NGL. Paton's influence on the Paisley TLC was profound. In May 1917, he addressed the council on 'Trade Unionism and Idealism', and two months later the council voted by twenty votes to three to become affiliated to the NGL.[16]

Paton was to die young in March 1920. Arguably with his death and that the previous July of Robieson the movement lost its most articulate networker within the unions as well as, potentially, one of its more important theoretical leaders. A moving tribute to Paton was published in the journal *The Draughtsman*:

> The most promising labour leader of our day died during the month at the early age of 34. John Paton, who was a draughtsman when the present writer first knew him, but who went voluntarily back from the office to the shops, fought as a shop steward some of the best industrial fights in the name of the workers that have been fought in this country. He had spoken at draughtsmen's meetings, where his unconventionality caused some stir, and was until recently not so widely known as many men, much his inferior in every way, because he never sought notoriety and eschewed politics. He was the Editor of the *Guildsman* and

[16] Catriona M.M. Macdonald *The Radical Thread*: *Political Change in Scotland. Paisley Politics, 1885-1924*, Tuckwell Press, East Linton (2000): p. 211. The affiliation of the Paisley Trades Council to the League was noted in: 'League Executive' *The Guildsman* No. 9 (August 1917) p. 10.

> recently went to London as organising secretary to the National Guilds League, in which, within a few months he conspicuously distinguished himself where many were distinguished. His entire absence of self-seeking, scorn for money, his intellectual honesty, loveable disposition, combined with a rare culture and utter fearlessness is a sad loss to that part of the community which works and hopes for a brighter dawn. The world has lost a good soldier in the war for the liberation of humanity, one who was at once a thinker and a fighter and some of us have lost a priceless friend.[17]

Although this article is unsigned, the author was Paton's close friend George Thomson. Paton, Thomson and Muir were several of the outstanding personalities in the formative years of union organisation in the shipyards, Paton with the ASE and Muir and Thomson with the AESD. The latter union began its life in 1913 on Clydeside and grew quickly; by 1917, when it moved its headquarters to London, the union had a membership of more than 10,000. It affiliated to the TUC in 1918 and to the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions in 1943.[18]

In his discussions with local labour figures Muir says there was one union activist who stood out:

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[17] Obituary for John Paton in *The Draughtsman* Vol. 3, No. 3 (April 1920): pp. 2-3 [document reference: MSS.101/DA/4/1/1 in the Warwick University archives]. I am grateful to Liz Wood, Assistant Archivist, Modern Records Centre, University of Warwick, Coventry, for assistance in locating this item and other material from *The Draughtsman*. Email: *Liz Wood to Michael Easson*, June 23, 2010.

[18] See J.E. Mortimer *A History of the Association of Engineering and Shipbuilding Draughtsmen*, The Association of Engineering and Shipbuilding Draughtsmen, London (1960). Alas, this is an exceedingly pedestrian account of what should have been a fascinating study. The Association changed its name to the Draughtsmen & Allied Technicians Association (DATA) in 1961 and was one of three unions that formed the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers (AUEW) in 1970, becoming the Technical, Administrative & Supervisory Section (TASS) of that union. TASS eventually left the amalgamation in 1985 and became an independent union. The union later joined with the Association of Scientific, Technical & Managerial Staffs (ASTMS) to co-form the Manufacturing: Science: Finance Union (MSF) in 1988.

> The National Guilds League had now been started, and a branch set up in Glasgow. The soul of the branch was John Paton, a young draughtsman with a genius for ideas and action. He died many years ago; if he had lived he would have made his mark on the Labour movement and would have changed it for the better, for he had intellectual integrity, a clear conception of means and ends, brilliant practical capacity, and on the top of these a natural vitality and charm which no one could resist. Our little group was very busy during the winters: we made a thorough study of the book on National Guilds…[19]

Indeed, Muir led some of the discussions on the *National Guilds* book.[20] There was a show of confidence in the development of the movement. As Paton noted: "The League membership grows slowly but steadily and *The Guildsman* makes rapid headway. On the whole the League is 'Progressing favourably', but it is still a very feeble instrument confronted with a very great task…."[21] Muir said: "we addressed meetings and brought out *The Guildsman*, for which Paton wrote the editorials. We tried to mitigate the exclusive note struck by *The New Age*…"[22] Presumably Orage's publication was 'exclusive' in the sense of rarefied, pitched to an intellectual audience, rather than to working people. Of the first issue of what became *The Guildsman* Paton wrote: "Arrangements for the first number are well in hand. The only danger is that the stuff may be too 'heavy': we are far too intellectual(!) (or priggish?) in the Guilds movement to make successful propagandists."[23]

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[19] Edwin Muir *An Autobiography*, *Loc. Cit.,* p. 148. The reference to "National Guilds" is to [A.R. Orage, editor, though mostly, if not exclusively written by S.G. Hobson] *National Guilds an Inquiry Into the Wage System and the Way Out*, G. Bell & Sons Ltd., London (1914).
[20] Minutes of seventh meeting, February 5, 1916, Glasgow Branch, NGL, holograph, *Minute Book of Glasgow and District Group, National Guilds League, 1916*, in Guild Socialism papers, J.P. Bedford Collection, Nuffield College, Oxford, Box 12, MSS 47 manuscript folder.
[21] J. Paton 'Organising Secretary's Notes' *The Guildsman* No. 35 (November, 1919): p. 11.
[22] Edwin Muir *An Autobiography*, *Loc. Cit.,* p. 148.
[23] Letter: *John Paton to Mrs Ewer*, November 9, 1916, in Guild Socialism papers, J.P. Bedford Collection, Nuffield College, Oxford, Box 8, M25 Scotch and Irish Groups, 1916-1924.

As a young man in Glasgow, Muir worked in a variety of poorly paid clerical jobs and educated himself, in part by reading *The New Age*. Muir wrote to Orage for advice upon his intellectual development, receiving a reply recommending that he study in depth one "great mind."[24] Muir chose the philosopher Nietzsche for such a study, a figure in vogue in early 20th century intellectual circles. On his own political development, Muir comments that: "*The New Age* gave me an adequate picture of contemporary politics and literature, a thing I badly needed, and with a few vigorous blows shortened a process which would otherwise have taken a long time."[25] Muir struck up a friendship with Thomson "who was slightly older than myself and gave me much more than I could give him in return…"[26] He goes on to say that: "At about this time *The New Age* was bringing out its proposals for National Guilds as an alternative to State socialism, and on another plane of my mind, a clean, dry plane, I was an enthusiastic advocate…" He says: "The idea caught on; the Trade Unions were powerful at the time, the Shop Stewards movement was beginning. The outbreak of the European War did not destroy the movement; on the Clyde at least it grew stronger for some time afterwards, and a group there, of whom I was one, brought out a little monthly paper called *The Guildsman*, which had a respectable circulation."[27] He played a major role in bringing out the publication. In September 1916 William Anderson, whose role will be discussed at greater length below, and Muir were added to the publications committee of the Glasgow Branch.[28] Paton asked of the NGL Executive Committee in London: "We think

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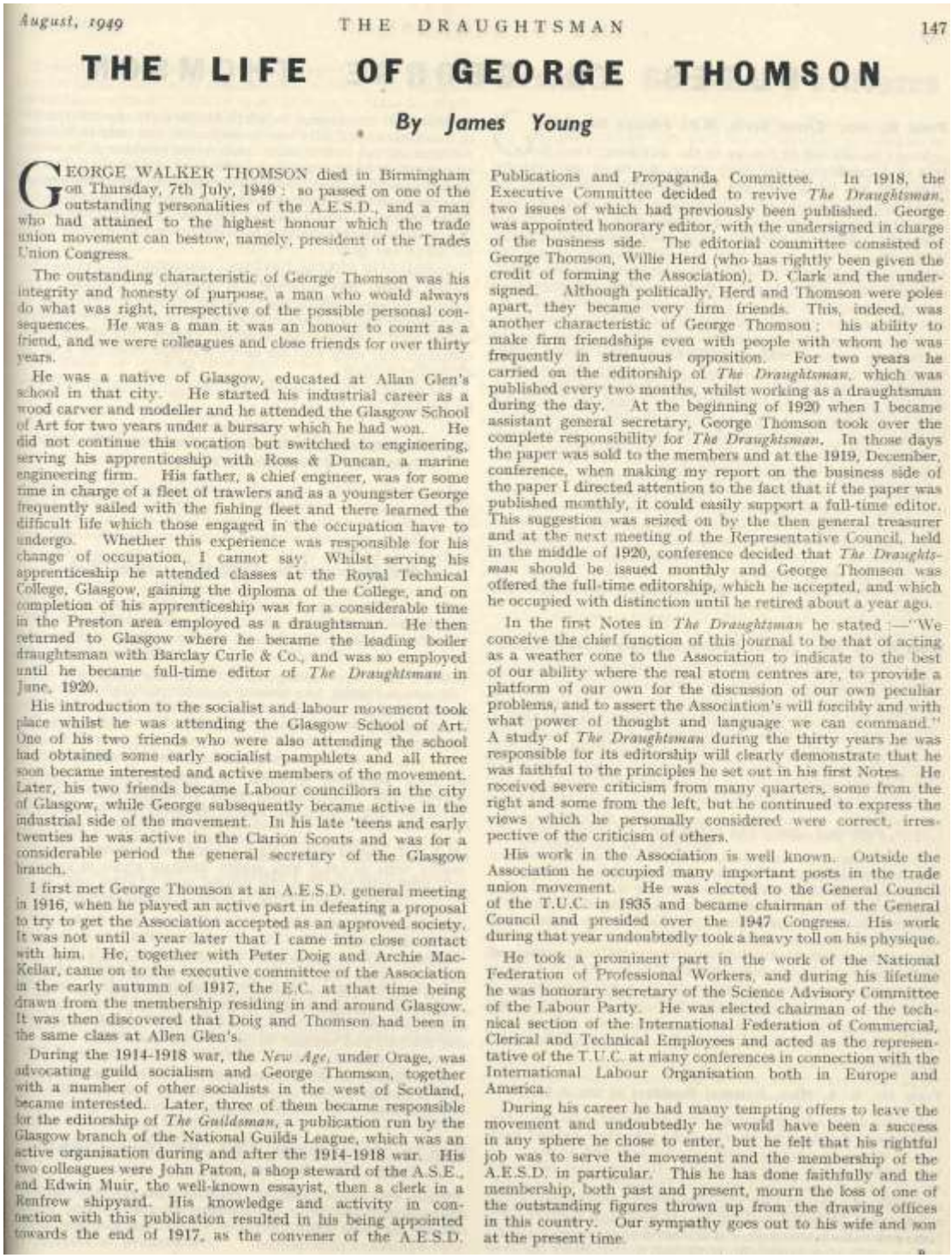
[24] Wallace Martin *The* 'New Age' *Under Orage*: *Chapters in English Cultural History*, Manchester University Press, Manchester (1967): p. 277.
[25] Edwin Muir *An Autobiography*, The Hogarth Press, London (1954): p. 122.
[26] *Ibid.*, pp. 124-125.
[27] *Ibid.*, p. 146.
[28] Minutes of nineteenth meeting, September 30, 1916, Glasgow Branch, NGL, holograph, *Minute Book of Glasgow and District Group, National Guilds League, 1916*, *Loc. Cit.*



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THE LIFE OF GEORGE THOMSON

By James Young

GEORGE WALKER THOMSON died in Birmingham on Thursday, 7th July, 1949: so passed on one of the outstanding personalities of the A.E.S.D., and a man who had attained to the highest honour which the trade union movement can bestow, namely, president of the Trades Union Congress.

The outstanding characteristic of George Thomson was his integrity and honesty of purpose, a man who would always do what was right, irrespective of the possible personal consequences. He was a man it was an honour to count as a friend, and we were colleagues and close friends for over thirty years.

He was a native of Glasgow, educated at Allan Glen's school in that city. He started his industrial career as a wood carver and modeller and he attended the Glasgow School of Art for two years under a bursary which he had won. He did not continue this vocation but switched to engineering, serving his apprenticeship with Ross & Duncan, a marine engineering firm. His father, a chief engineer, was for some time in charge of a fleet of trawlers and as a youngster George frequently sailed with the fishing fleet and there learned the difficult life which those engaged in the occupation have to undergo. Whether this experience was responsible for his change of occupation, I cannot say. Whilst serving his apprenticeship he attended classes at the Royal Technical College, Glasgow, gaining the diploma of the College, and on completion of his apprenticeship was for a considerable time in the Preston area employed as a draughtsman. He then returned to Glasgow where he became the leading boiler draughtsman with Barclay Curle & Co., and was so employed until he became full-time editor of *The Draughtsman* in June, 1920.

His introduction to the socialist and labour movement took place whilst he was attending the Glasgow School of Art. One of his two friends who were also attending the school had obtained some early socialist pamphlets and all three soon became interested and active members of the movement. Later, his two friends became Labour councillors in the city of Glasgow, while George subsequently became active in the industrial side of the movement. In his late 'teens and early twenties he was active in the Clarion Scouts and was for a considerable period the general secretary of the Glasgow branch.

I first met George Thomson at an A.E.S.D. general meeting in 1916, when he played an active part in defeating a proposal to try to get the Association accepted as an approved society. It was not until a year later that I came into close contact with him. He, together with Peter Doig and Archie MacKellar, came on to the executive committee of the Association in the early autumn of 1917, the E.C. at that time being drawn from the membership residing in and around Glasgow. It was then discovered that Doig and Thomson had been in the same class at Allen Glen's.

During the 1914-1918 war, the *New Age*, under Orage, was advocating guild socialism and George Thomson, together with a number of other socialists in the west of Scotland, became interested. Later, three of them became responsible for the editorship of *The Guildsman*, a publication run by the Glasgow branch of the National Guilds League, which was an active organisation during and after the 1914-1918 war. His two colleagues were John Paton, a shop steward of the A.S.E., and Edwin Muir, the well-known essayist, then a clerk in a Renfrew shipyard. His knowledge and activity in connection with this publication resulted in his being appointed towards the end of 1917, as the convener of the A.E.S.D. Publications and Propaganda Committee. In 1918, the Executive Committee decided to revive *The Draughtsman*, two issues of which had previously been published. George was appointed honorary editor, with the undersigned in charge of the business side. The editorial committee consisted of George Thomson, Willie Herd (who has rightly been given the credit of forming the Association), D. Clark and the undersigned. Although politically, Herd and Thomson were poles apart, they became very firm friends. This, indeed, was another characteristic of George Thomson: his ability to make firm friendships even with people with whom he was frequently in strenuous opposition. For two years he carried on the editorship of *The Draughtsman*, which was published every two months, whilst working as a draughtsman during the day. At the beginning of 1920 when I became assistant general secretary, George Thomson took over the complete responsibility for *The Draughtsman*. In those days the paper was sold to the members and at the 1919, December, conference, when making my report on the business side of the paper I directed attention to the fact that if the paper was published monthly, it could easily support a full-time editor. This suggestion was seized on by the then general treasurer and at the next meeting of the Representative Council, held in the middle of 1920, conference decided that *The Draughtsman* should be issued monthly and George Thomson was offered the full-time editorship, which he accepted, and which he occupied with distinction until he retired about a year ago.

In the first Notes in *The Draughtsman* he stated:—"We conceive the chief function of this journal to be that of acting as a weather cone to the Association to indicate to the best of our ability where the real storm centres are, to provide a platform of our own for the discussion of our own peculiar problems, and to assert the Association's will forcibly and with what power of thought and language we can command." A study of *The Draughtsman* during the thirty years he was responsible for its editorship will clearly demonstrate that he was faithful to the principles he set out in his first Notes. He received severe criticism from many quarters, some from the right and some from the left, but he continued to express the views which he personally considered were correct, irrespective of the criticism of others.

His work in the Association is well known. Outside the Association he occupied many important posts in the trade union movement. He was elected to the General Council of the T.U.C. in 1935 and became chairman of the General Council and presided over the 1947 Congress. His work during that year undoubtedly took a heavy toll on his physique.

He took a prominent part in the work of the National Federation of Professional Workers, and during his lifetime he was honorary secretary of the Science Advisory Committee of the Labour Party. He was elected chairman of the technical section of the International Federation of Commercial, Clerical and Technical Employees and acted as the representative of the T.U.C. at many conferences in connection with the International Labour Organisation both in Europe and America.

During his career he had many tempting offers to leave the movement and undoubtedly he would have been a success in any sphere he chose to enter, but he felt that his rightful job was to serve the movement and the membership of the A.E.S.D. in particular. This he has done faithfully and the membership, both past and present, mourn the loss of one of the outstanding figures thrown up from the drawing offices in this country. Our sympathy goes out to his wife and son at the present time.

Young's obituary to Thomson. Source: From an issue of *The Draughtsmen* held in the archives of the University of Warwick.

of a subtitle 'Organ of the National Guilds League.' Is there any objection to this?"[29] The previous month, in October 1916, the journal was provisionally titled *The National*

[29] Letter: *John Paton to Mrs Ewer*, November 9, 1916, in Guild Socialism papers, J.P. Bedford Collection, Nuffield College, Oxford, Box 8, M25 Scotch and Irish Groups, 1916-1924.

Guildsman with a publication committee of Messrs Anderson, Ritchie, Muir, Paton and Mortimer "given full control of the publication."[30] John Mortimer, appointed as the Business Manager of *The Guildsman*, was probably then a teacher or teacher's assistant at St Ninians Catholic primary school at Paisley. He claimed to have sold or disposed of 1500 of the first two numbers of the journal produced in 1916 with plans for third number of 1800. But to break even and cover printing and distribution costs Mortimer estimated that they needed a paying subscription base of 3,000 with £3 in paid advertisements; but they only got £2 advertising revenue from the first two issues.[31]

Muir's articles for *The New Age*, written under the pseudonym "Edward Moore", were collected together and published in 1918 as his first book, *We Moderns*,[32] which was highly praised. Orage said: "If you regard it as an imitation of Nietzsche, you must admit that it is as a *tour de force* parody of the very highest order."[33] This was a typical Orage summation: high praise mixed with high reservation; he noticed good work but wanted Muir to think and write in a clearer, more authentic style. Muir apparently composed his articles surreptitiously while working as a costing clerk.[34] He moved to London in 1919 accepting Orage's offer to be an Assistant Editor of *The New Age*. Later he achieved literary success with his translations, poetry and his various critical writings. His development demonstrates the key role Orage and *The New Age* played in

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[30] Minutes of twentieth meeting, October 14, 1916, Glasgow Branch, NGL, holograph, *Minute Book of Glasgow and District Group, National Guilds League, 1916*, *Loc. Cit.*

[31] Letter: *John Mortimer to Mrs Ewer*, February 9, 1917, in Guild Socialism papers, J.P. Bedford Collection, Nuffield College, Oxford, Box 8, M25 Scotch and Irish Groups, 1916-1924. In this letter Mortimer gives his address as "St Ninians, Meikleriggs, Paisley." He is almost certainly the same Mortimer who wrote the AESD history.

[32] Edwin Muir [published as "Edward Moore"]*We Moderns*: *Enigmas and Guesses*, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London (1918).

[33] Alfred Orage [published as "R.H.C."] 'Readers and Writers' *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 21, No. 21 (September 20, 1917): p. 447.

[34] Martin, *Loc. Cit.*, p. 278. Apparently his effort was largely written on slips of paper hidden among the pages of his ledgers. See: Willa Muir *Belonging*, *A Memoir*, The Hogarth Press, London (1968): p. 12.

developing many writers in the period. It was akin to the adult education ideal of enabling through education ordinary folk as equal participants in a democratic community.[35] Muir's experience is the story of a workingman's literary development and the attainment of the highest honours. Taking him seriously entailed criticism. As Robieson put it of *We Moderns*: "...if (as I suppose is the case) this is his first piece of serious writing, *The New Age* has fulfilled its purpose of enabling genius as well as talent to find a means of expression."[36] But his appreciation was qualified, noting of the book:

> At one time their very title would have made me shudder, and I know that I am not alone in finding their form strange and unfamiliar and even repellant. More than one perusal has not been altogether effective in dissipating this feeling, but it has certainly cleared up something of the state of mind that underlies it.[37]

There was a 'trying too hard to be profound' element in what Muir wrote. Robieson went on to explain:

> ...the suggestion of something which is not a psychic vision mystic and incommunicable, but yet is not open to ordinary argument, is seldom absent from his writings. Mr. Moore had better choose... He is, or he is not, reaching after a truth which will compel all men and draw them after him. If he is, the philosophers may welcome him into their company. He will not sit low and sadly at their board. But if he is not, then he is an incurable romantic. Work of the latter sort can never be of the highest order.[38]

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[35] Jonathan Rose 'The Whole Contention Concerning the Workers' Educational Association', *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Class*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London (2001): pp. 256-297. See also: Lawrence Goldman *Dons and Workers*, *Oxford and Adult Education since 1850*, Clarendon Press, Oxford (1995).
[36] M.W. Robieson 'Common Sense' *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 23, No. 10 (July 4, 1918): p. 154.
[37] *Ibid*.
[38] *Ibid.*

He was articulating a kind of manifesto of clear thinking. In writing this, Robieson understood that for many in his profession it might be said that opacity is their main fault and clarity their least concern! Interestingly, Muir eventually thought on similar lines and remarked in his *Autobiography* that his first writings were "a lyrical refusal to come down to earth."[39] He learnt to write better and more clearly and, in doing so, passed from the world of labour and socialist politics to literary endeavours.[40]

The most important of the trio of the leaders of the Glasgow Branch of the NGL was John Paton, Secretary of the Branch, the first editor of The Guildsman, and shop steward for the ASE. Thomson wrote a stirring account of Paton:

> The certified cause of death was pneumonia,[41] but he really died as the result of his great exertions in the great war of human liberation, in which he was one of the stoutest fighters. ...his sole quest was that of ideas and their translation into terms of practicality. His conception of the world was dynamic and he abhorred life by committee, or anything like mere mechanical perfection. Trained as an engine fitter, he roughed it for some time in America, worked in the drawing office and returned to the shops, soon becoming the most prominent shop steward in his native Paisley, fighting and winning many good fights, making him respected by friend and foe alike. In these fights he displayed a talent, tenacity and an utter fearlessness, which lifted him high above the ruck of labour leaders. He was one of the founders of the Glasgow Group of the National Guilds

[39] Edwin Muir *An Autobiography*, *Loc. Cit.,* p. 151.
[40] In 1919, whilst taking a break from attending the NGL AGM, Muir married at a registry office in London; Willa Muir *Belonging*, *Loc. Cit.*, p. 28.
[41] Actually there were two causes of death on March 16, 1920: tubercular meningitis and pleuro pneumonia. Arthur J. Penty, mentioned on the death certificate, was present when Paton died at 66 Strand on the Green, Chiswick, in the then outskirts of London. This was Penty's address. *Death Certificate of John Shearer Paton*, DYC 810777, U.K. General Registers Office (registered March 18, 1920).

> League and acted as its secretary. When the Group started *The Guildsman* in December, 1916, Paton at once practically became editor and was its father and its mother until two years later it was transferred to London. Under his guidance it became a power and was noted for its balanced leaders, its freshness of ideas and powerful exposition of Guild Theory. Paton's chief contribution, Collective Contract,[42] first appeared there, being afterwards circulated in leaflet form by [the] Paisley Trades Council. His first exposition of the proposal in the house of the writer will long remain a vivid memory. With his departure from Glasgow last July to take up the post of organising secretary in London, the Group suffered eclipse; but what was Glasgow's loss was London's gain...[43]

This was to acknowledge how fragile the NGL base was – even in Scotland. There were few individuals to rely on.

The Coles wrote:

> Paton made *The Guildsman*: he set the tone of constructive criticism and good literary quality which we have done our best to maintain. He established and kept it going under great difficulties by hard work which any other man in his position would have felt himself too hard pressed to undertake. The editors, who feel how much the paper owes to him, desire to add their tribute … and to express their sense also of the loss which our movement has sustained by his untimely death.[44]

Maurice Reckitt, then the Secretary to the League, identified Paton as a supporter of the moderate wing of what was becoming an increasingly fractured organisation:

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[42] G.W. Thompson 'Collective Contract' *The Guildsman* No. 13 (December, 1917): pp. 3-4.
[43] George Thomson 'John Paton' *The Guildsman* No. 40 (April, 1920): p. 3.
[44] [G.D.H. Cole and Margaret Cole] 'Notes of the Month' *The Guildsman* No. 40 (April, 1920): p. 1

> ...after a fine speech which he made [in London] in 1918 in exposition of his constructive programme for the engineering industry, there were many of us who felt that in him the League had an industrial propagandist of whose full services it should avail itself at the first opportunity… that came in 1919 with reorganisation and [a] new organising secretary… He had the greatest distrust of political methods and of the political movement, and perhaps chiefly for this reason always refused to be dubbed a "guild socialist"; while his intellectual bias, which was ever practical while at the same time essentially non-"materialist", strongly urged him against "Bolshevik" interpretations which have made so strong an appeal to the sentiment and imagination of so many Guildsmen.[45]

Indeed, Paton pressed that "We must oppose the neo-Marxian no less than the Fabians, however great the sacrifice in popularity that may be involved. Only in this way can we justify our existence as a separate group."[46] His arguments about Collective Contract were expressed in *The Guildsman* and articulated in pamphlets and at public meetings. Some saw him – and his ideas - as providing an important link between existing unions and their transformation to industry wide guilds. As workers got into the habit of bargaining collectively and taking responsibility for work organisation they would see the merit of industrial rather than solely craft organisation. Beyond this, Paton argued that collective bargaining had to develop into organising production – a different and more challenging level of responsibility. One of the original progenitors of the guild idea, Penty commented:

> Sir,- It is now six or seven years since the National Guild theory first appeared in the columns of *The New Age*, and I think the Guild writers are to be

[45] M.B. Reckitt 'The League' *The Guildsman* No. 40 (April, 1920): p. 11.
[46] Letter: *John Paton to Mrs Ewer* [Secretary, NGL], January 3, 1919, Guild Socialism JP Bedford Collection, Nuffield College, Oxford, Box 8, M25 Scotch and Irish Groups, 1916-1924.

> congratulated on the success which has attended their efforts, but I want to ask if the time has not now arrived for an expansion of National Guild theory. The more we think about the practical application of the theory, the more we realise that, as it stands, it is an idea of limited applicability... The elements are here and accepted by us, but they need bringing together and presenting as the solution of the problem of production.
>
> First among these ideas is that of the Collective Contract which Mr. Paton proposed at the last Guild Conference. This idea is one of the first importance, and I do not think it has been given the prominence it deserves. It is, in fact, the missing link in Guild theory, and we have reason to be grateful for its arrival... Then there is the revival of the Guild idea of the fixed price, of which Lord Rhondda has given a practical demonstration, and which, if pushed, might be effective in reintroducing the mediæval idea of the Just Price,[47] which is a natural development of it. These two ideas, the Collective Contract and the Fixed Price, should be run together as the upper and nether millstones between which capitalism will be ground…[48]

The urgent tone conveyed a touch of desperation and simplistic enthusiasm for the perfect theory. Penty's comments recognised that there was a pretty large gap between the 'guild' critique of industrial society and the working through of a practical plan

[47] The just price is a theory proposed by St. Thomas Aquinas that attempts to set standards of fairness in transactions. See Raymond de Roover 'The Concept of the Just Price: Theory and Economic Policy' *The Journal of Economic History* Vol. 18, No. 4 (December, 1958): pp. 418-434 and John W. Baldwin 'The Medieval Theories of the Just Price: Romanists, Canonists, and Theologians in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries' *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, new series, Vol. 49, No. 4 (1959): pp. 1-92.
[48] A.J. Penty Letter: 'National Guild Theory' *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 24, No. 2 (November 14, 1918): p. 31.

PAISLEY TRADES AND LABOUR COUNCIL.

TOWARDS INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

A Memorandum on Workshop Control.

By W. GALLACHER (Clyde Workers' Committee) and
J. PATON (A. S. E.).

Reconstruction.—We would have it clearly understood by all whom it concerns that Labour has nothing to hope for and much to fear from Industrial Reconstruction, as it is being so freely expounded at present by managing directors, statesmen, and official Trade Union leaders. These gentlemen unite in declaring that there can be no return after the war to the old conditions; there must be "a complete break with the past." But the moment they get down to definite proposals it becomes evident that not only do they desire to preserve the very worst evils of the old system, but also to perpetuate as many of the restrictive regulations of war-time as the workers can be bribed to submit to. They are weaving snares to our feet in the form of co-partnership and profit-sharing schemes; their talk is not of Freedom, but of security of employment, higher wages, and bonus; of harmony between employers and wage-earners; and of that latest abomination, Workers' Welfare. The central figure of their brightest vision of the future is the profiteer, swollen with the dividends of increased production in the national interest. Behind him stretch his foundries and factories, their furnaces blazing, their machinery clanking by day and by night, manned by an army of sleek, docile, contented wage-slaves. In short, the Capitalist system of production having broken down, we are to be invited to build it up again, and re-establish it more securely than ever.

It would appear that we must do our own reconstruction. It is very simple: there is only one thing to be done, and we can begin to do it NOW. It is to smash the Wage System, and wrest the control of industry from the capitalists. Nothing else is any use at all. No "break with the past" is possible under capitalism. Though conditions be "reformed" out of all recognition, so long as Wagery remains "the past" is with us still. The more it changes the more it is the same thing.

Now the movement for the overthrow of Capitalism by an abolition of the Wages System must begin, not at Westminster, not in the Trade Union Executive, nor yet in the Trade Union Branches, but in the Workshops. And it should take the form of the assumption by the workers of an ever-increasing share in Control.

Not Peace but a Sword.—A share in Control does not imply that the workers should enter into partnership or any sort of alliance with the employer,

The front-cover of Gallacher's and Paton's pamphlet on the Collective Contract. Source: from a copy held in the Research Collections, Glasgow Caledonian University.

towards national guilds or Guild Socialism. As we shall soon discuss, Penty thought that Paton's concept of the Collective Contract was a persuasive proposal to breach the gap.

Hobson, always alert to new ideas in the guild movement, wrote a series of articles for *The New Age* on the shop stewards and workshop committees. One article referred specifically to Paton's ideas. Hobson argued that the key to business is production and that a workshop committee concerned "only with amenity and discipline has but ashort course to run. It may and does show some myopic groping for a new status; as yet it has not realised that higher status comes from control of production and not from responsibility for discipline."[49] He commented that: "At the present moment, any movement, however restricted, aiming at control over production, must be clothed with significance: must be regarded as an initiatory effort, as a sure sign that our deduction is sound. Nor would it be surprising if the movement came from the Clyde, a district where they are not afraid of fundamental principles: where, more than elsewhere, efficient capitalism is confronted with Labour, organised and studious."[50] This was to wish upon a star – that the stirrings on the Clyde could be captured for Guild Socialism.

Hobson quoted from a pamphlet by Paton and William Gallacher, issued by the Paisley Trades and Labour Council,[51] which argued: "Only the apathy or disloyalty of the workers themselves can prevent the work committees having in a very short time the experience and the authority to enable them to undertake in one large contract, or in

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[49] S.G. Hobson 'The Workshop III - Collective Contract' *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 23, No. 18 (August 29, 1918): p. 283.
[50] *Ibid.*
[51] W. Gallacher and J. Paton *Towards Industrial Democracy*, *A Memorandum on Workshop Control*, Paisley Trades and Labour Council, n.d. (*circa* 1917). Cole reproduced the Gallacher and Paton pamphlet in: G.D.H. Cole *Workshop Organisation*, Clarendon Press, Oxford (1923): pp. 170-175.

two or three contracts at most, the entire business of production throughout the establishment. Granted an alliance with the organised office-workers - a development which is assured so soon as the Shop Committees are worthy of confidence and influential enough to give adequate protection - these contracts might include the work of design and the purchase of raw material, as well as the operations of manufacture and construction." Thereafter, in their pamphlet, followed a detailed account of what such collective contracts might entail. Their formulation suggested a step-by-step approach: taking on 'contracts' for a plant, learning from the experience and gradually taking over full responsibility. If only, however, employers would willingly co-operate like shorn lambs ready for the feast! The ideas put forward begged many issues. One of the earliest, comprehensive studies of Guild Socialism was surely right in suggesting an over optimistic psychology of human behaviour.[52] Yet the concept of Collective Contract was another example of the 'spirit' of experimentation at work. This indicated a healthy aspect of the Guild Socialists: a willingness to consider new ideas. Their uncompromising commitment should not be confused with an uncompromising dogmatism. The rhetoric of the Guild Socialists was anti-dogmatic and their conduct very much so. They were not hard ideologues. As one of the pamphlets of the movement put it: "… National Guilds stand for optimism, for faith in humanity. To prove them right or wrong is not in the power of logic. We can but see."[53] Seeing meant acting and experimenting.

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[52] See Niles Carpenter *Guild Socialism*, *an Historical and Critical Analysis*, D. Appleton and Company, New York and London (1922). A similar view about the over-optimistic, defective psychology of the guild socialists was reached by the English philosopher Guy Cromwell Field *Guild Socialism. A Critical Examination*, Wells Gardner, Darton & Co., Ltd, London (1920).
[53] [Anonymous] *The Guild Idea, An Appeal to the Public*, pamphlets of the National Guildsmen's League, No. 2, Victoria House Printing Co., Ltd., London, n.d. (*circa* 1916):p. 16.

Hobson concluded: "The workshop organisation here figured by these two Labour leaders is evidently, both in form and purpose, a very different thing from the official workshop committees… about which some employers and social writers have grown lyrical." In other words, Paton and Gallacher were addressing how in practice and detail a guild would work in managing a business enterprise; this went beyond grievance-bearing shop committee organisation. Theirs was certainly a brisk estimate of how guilds might work in practice. The striding seemed to jump over a lot of the practical difficulties. The object was to "revolutionize the relations between the firm and the workers."[54] Collective Contract was meant to be a halfway stage between existing workshop conditions and guild organisation. Perhaps bearing out Stearns' comment about his intellectual capabilities being limited,[55] we find Hobson explicating Paton's and Gallacher's views by endorsing the concept of: "...a contract between employers and employees to consolidate wages into one or two contracts instead of five or ten thousand contracts, as is the case to-day."[56] This part of Hobson's summary, however, conflated the idea of collective bargaining along industry lines with the notion of collective contracting for production. Hobson obliquely notes that "market conditions" would introduce pressures and tensions relevant to management. As a businessman himself, he knew that success might be decisively impacted by external factors, not just the organisation of work itself.

Gallacher and Paton recognised some of their difficulties:

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[54] W.R. Scott and J. Cunnison *The Industries of the Clyde Valley During the War*, Clarendon Press, Oxford (1924): p. 158.
[55] Marc Stears 'Hobson, Samuel George (1870–1940)' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* Oxford University Press (2004). [online version accessed January, 2012].
[56] S.G. Hobson 'The Workshop III - Collective Contract', *Loc. Cit.*

> ...even when we have got so far, we shall not yet have destroyed the wage system. But we shall have undermined it. Capitalism will still flourish, but for the first time in its sordid history it will be in real jeopardy. With such a grip on the industrial machine as we have postulated, and backed by the resources of a great Industrial Union, or it might even be a Federation of Industrial Unions, the Committees could soon... put the profiteer out of business.[57]

This was rhetorical flourish suggesting that as workers learnt through the extension, step by step, of collective contract to manage a business' contractual orders, together with the organising of work to meet such demands and so forth, that knowledge and leadership and business acumen would accumulate. Eventually, the workers would supposedly be entirely capable of running the enterprise. The authors viewed the principle of Collective Contract as possessing within itself the magic of its own metamorphosis: "It breaks into the sacred ark of the capitalist covenant,"[58] as Hobson delightedly said. It meant the restructuring of the workplace into a guild. As an NGL pamphlet put matters: "The struggling, reformist Trade Union must pass into the controlling responsible Guild."[59] But to assert that the transformative change could be achieved quickly – "soon" – as Paton and Gallacher stated – was to be wildly enthusiastic.

On their proposal Pribićević bluntly commented that: "The fundamental drawback of the scheme was a lack of realism unrivalled by any other Guild Socialist plan of

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[57] Gallacher and Paton, *Loc. Cit.*
[58] S.G. Hobson 'The Workshop III - Collective Contract', *Loc. Cit.*
[59] [Anonymous] *The Guild Idea, An Appeal to the Public*, pamphlets of the National Guildsmen's League, No. 2, Victoria House Printing Co., Ltd., London, n.d. (*circa* 1916): p. 15.

collective contract (*sic*.)."[60] But what was espoused in this pamphlet was the definitive article. There were no other Guild Socialist "plans" of Collective Contract. One wonders, in its formulation, what part was Paton, what ideas came from Gallacher, as these two men tried to reconcile their ideas into a common programme of action. Certainly Paton continued to press the idea.[61] Perhaps it is also relevant to question why Pribićević 'knew' he was right. The appropriate Guild Socialist response might be that: "it has not been tried, so do not dismiss it."

Despite the so-called 'legend' of Red Clydeside during the war years, the overwhelming bulk of workers supported the ILP and mainstream of Labour Party, rather than the 'revolutionaries'.[62] Smyth, in a careful study, notes: "This argument of a missed revolutionary opportunity may have had more to do with Gallacher's subsequent career in the Communist Party of Great Britain…than with the actual unfolding of events at the time."[63] Indubitably Paton's grouping was more moderate in its expression of objectives and rhetoric than Gallacher whose earlier, syndicalist heritage led him to intemperate rhetoric.[64] At this time, however, Gallacher was working out where he stood. As, clearly, was Paton.[65] After the Bolshevik revolution and Gallacher's

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[60] Branko Pribićević *The Shop Stewards Movement and Workers' Control 1910-1922*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford (1959): p. 153.
[61] John Paton, Letter to the editor: 'The New Industrial Order' *The Times* [London, England] (November 21, 1919).
[62] *Cf.* Vowles, *Loc. Cit*.
[63] J.J. Smyth *Labour in Glasgow 1896-1936*: *Socialism, Suffrage, Sectarianism*, Tuckwell Press, East Linton (2000): p. 79.
[64] See the discussions: John McKay 'William Gallacher: From Infantile Disorder to Stalinist Order' *The Scottish Labour History Review* No. 5 (Winter 1991/Spring 1992): pp. 4-6. Ralph Darlington 'Revolutionary Syndicalist Opposition to the First World War: A Comparative Reassessment' *Revue belge de philologie et d'historie* Vol. 84, No. 4 (2006): pp. 983-1003. And Andrew Thorpe 'Communist MP: Willie Gallacher and British Communism', in K. Morgan, G. Cohen and A. Flinn, editors, *Agents of the Revolution: New Biographical Approaches to the History of International Communism in the Age of Lenin and Stalin*, Peter Lang, Bern (2005): pp. 132-158.
[65] References to Paton's role in the development of the shop steward movement are to be found in Alan Clinton *The Trade Union Rank and File Trades Councils in Britain 1900-40*, Manchester University Press/Rowman and Littlefield, Manchester/Totowa (1977); G.D.H. Cole *Workshop Organisation*,

conversion to communism, nothing more was directly said by him on the Collective Contract. Nor was there any reference to Paton, whom Gallacher would have regarded as irredeemably reformist.

Noting the 'revolt on the Clyde', Hobson commented that:

> Certainly there always comes a time when local men, driven desperate, on the one side by harsh conditions, on the other by executive policy, take the law into their own hands, and, in the name of democracy, proceed to extremes. Granting that democracy postulates discipline, we cannot deny the democratic impulse at the root of the local movement for a more elastic expression of local life and work. This issue came to a head on the Clyde in 1915. The local men decided on independent action despite the advice of the A.S.E. Executive.[66]

The reasons for and the significance of the locally generated action defying the political Labour and the union leadership have been much discussed. Hobson drew attention to an article by Mr. J.H. Jones, Lecturer on Social Economics at Glasgow University, who watched the strike at close quarters. Alarmed and alert, Jones wrote that:

> ...collective bargaining implies an agreement covering a period of time, and such an agreement implies in turn an enduring organisation of labour. A party to a contract must be either a continuous personality or a legal inheritor of its rights and duties. Thus, the Labour Withdrawal Committee cannot be reconciled with trade unionism: it stands for anarchism in the industrial world and no logic can make it consistent with constitutionalism for (i) its aim is the destruction of

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Clarendon Press, Oxford (1923); and Edmund and Ruth Frow *Engineering Struggles*, *Episodes in the Story of the Shop Stewards' Movement*, Working Class Movement Library, Manchester Free Press, Manchester (1982).

[66] S.G. Hobson 'The Workshop VI. The Industrial Unit and the New Shop Steward' *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 23, No. 22 (September 26, 1918): p. 346.

> government machinery; (ii) its economic success depends upon the prior achievement of that destruction; (iii) that success if achieved makes it a governing body, open to the same kind of attack and destruction as marked its own rise to power. This is an infinite process whose every link is a breach of continuity, a mode of perpetual succession in which each successor wipes out the obligations attaching to its patrimony.[67]

Hobson suggested that this had grand implications, commenting that: "the new shop steward although invariably himself a trade unionist, does not act as such, but as the elected representative of his section of the shop, chosen by employees of every trade and union."[68] Hobson concluded:

> The effects of this, now increasingly realised, are (i.) to constitute the shop as the unit of activity thereby superseding the trade union branch; (ii.) to organise an effective local counterpoise to centralisation; (iii.) to expedite and finally compel trade union amalgamation as the first step to the Industrial Union (iv.) to compass industrial solidarity by bringing the worker of every grade into organic cohesion. But let the new shop steward speak for himself.[69]

Quoting from the influential shop steward J.T. Murphy's pamphlet, 'The Workers' Committee',[70] Hobson argued that here was a trend in British society "beyond the Clyde." Murphy was in Sheffield in northern England apparently leading a separate movement. Hobson proposed that:

> In his general scheme of workshop organisation, Mr. Murphy is in substantial agreement with Messrs. Gallacher and Paton. Mr. Murphy wants a Plant

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[67] J.H. Jones 'Labour Unrest and the War' *The Political Quarterly* No. 6 (May, 1915): p. 90.
[68] S.G. Hobson 'The Workshop VI. The Industrial Unit and the New Shop Steward', *Loc. Cit.*
[69] *Ibid.*
[70] J.T. Murphy 'The Workers' Committee' (1918). For extracts of this pamphlet, see: G.D.H. Cole *Workshop Organisation*, *Loc. Cit.*, pp. 149-151.

> Committee. "Without a Central Committee on each plant," he says, "the Workshop Committee tends to looseness of action… On the other hand, with a Plant Committee at work, every change in workshop practice could be observed, every new department tackled as to the organisation of the workers in that department, and everywhere would proceed a growth of the knowledge among the workers of how intimately related we are to each other, how dependent we are each on the other for the production of society's requirements. In other words, there would proceed a cultivation of the consciousness of the social character of the methods of production. Without that consciousness all hope of a united working class is vain and complete solidarity impossible." Subject to the reservations already indicated, we may provisionally regard the workshop as the future unit of Labour organisation.[71]

This did not turn out to be the case.[72] As Cole explained, the industries inflated for war production afterwards returned to normal size. In the post-war recession, the active shop steward got the sack or modified behaviour to avoid it. Rank and file trade unionism emerged only as a pale shadow of its former militant self.[73] We do not know Robieson's response or attitude to these events as he largely eschewed specific, published commentary on 'matters of the moment'; in other words, his writings mainly addressed substantive matters of political philosophy. We do know, as discussed later, that he wanted to distinguish syndicalism from Guild Socialism and he was opposed to the infatuation of some radicals with Bolshevism.

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[71] S.G. Hobson 'The Workshop VI. The Industrial Unit and the New Shop Steward', *Loc. Cit.*
[72] For a discussion of the development of the shop steward movement during World War I and immediately thereafter, see Darlington, *Loc. Cit.*, pp. 30-53 and Ralph Darlington *Syndicalism and the Transition to Communism*: *An International Comparative Analysis*, Ashgate: Aldershot (2008).
[73] G.D.H. Cole *The Next Ten Years in British Social and Economic Policy*, The MacMillan Company, London (1929): p. 159.

Beilharz says during World War I that 'Red Clydeside' was Scotland's syndicalist moment.[74] This was only true to a point, despite the idea becoming one of the myths of history perpetuated in different ways by different parts of the labour movement.[75] The myth is no guide to the events. The rest of the labour movement admired the workers for standing up for their rights and wanting to be treated decently, but the mainstream union and political Labour leadership saw the Clydesiders' constant strikes as reckless, undisciplined and embarassing. For every Willie Gallacher, there was a John Hodge (the pugnacious, anti-strike unionist, politician and Labour Minister in the Coalition Ministry), and many more in between. Iain McLean contested the notion of 'red Clydeside' as a heroic period, suggesting that a more accurate assessment would acknowledge:

1. Most of the Red Clydesiders were driven less by socialist ideology than by material concerns;
2. Those who were driven by socialist ideology got a sympathetic hearing, but only on those matters where ideology and material interests coincided.
3. Wartime Red Clydeside was not a class struggle but a collection of sectional interests;
4. So was post-war Red Clydeside; but the sectional interests were different.
5. Therefore there never was a revolutionary situation on Red Clydeside, although both revolutionaries and some people in government thought there was.

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[74] Peter Beilharz 'John Anderson and the Syndicalist Moment' *Political Theory Newsletter* [ADFA] No. 5 (1993): pp. 5-13.

[75] As well as the discussion earlier, see: Alastair Reid 'Glasgow Socialism' *Social History* Vol. 11, No. 1 (1986): pp. 89-97; and William Kenefick and Arthur McIvor, editors, *Roots of Red Clydeside 1910-1914? Labour Unrest and Industrial Relations in West Scotland*, John Donald Publishers Ltd., Edinburgh (1996). A fierce debate on the legend is conveyed in: Iain McLean 'Red Clydeside after 25 Years' *The Journal of the Scottish Labour History Society* No. 29 (1994): pp. 98-111 and John McKay 'Red Clydeside after 75 Years: A Reply to Iain McLean' *The Journal of the Scottish Labour History Society* No. 31 (1996): pp. 85-94.

6. However, Red Clydeside had a highly significant impact on housing and planning policy, in Glasgow and nationwide.[76]

With the benefit of hindsight we can say that the period was actually the reformist moment, the eve of a great movement coming to power. Perhaps significantly, at the December 1918 UK general elections Labour only won one of the 15 Glasgow seats. By 1922, in less politically fraught circumstances, 11 were won for Labour.

As for the Guild Socialists, Pribićević observed, the idea of Collective Contract, as originally formulated, under-estimated the challenges and promised too much.[77] After Paton's death, Cole expressed his doubts. "The discussion which took place at the Annual Conference of the National Guilds League on the subject of Collective Contract showed that there is, even amongst Guildsmen, a considerable haziness concerning the real meaning of this proposal which the League has endorsed."[78] Despite his enthusiasm at one time, in George Thomson's book espousing socialism written five years after Paton launched the idea, the concept goes unmentioned.[79] Instead, Thomson said:

> It is fair to say at this point that some of the guild experiments in England which were inaugurated at the beginning of the great industrial depression which succeeded the war, have failed, partly through external causes which can be understood, readily, and partly through their own failure to realise the importance of the financial side of running the guilds, and an incomplete grasp of business technique. How far failure was inherent in the experiments which

[76] Iain McLean 'Red Clydeside After 25 Years' *Journal of the Scottish Labour History Society* No. 29 (1994): p. 101.
[77] Branko Pribićević *The Shop Stewards Movement and Workers' Control 1910-1922*, *Loc. Cit.*
[78] G.D.H. Cole 'Collective Contract' *The Guildsman* No. 43 (July, 1920): p. 4.
[79] G.W. Thomson *The Grammar of Power* Labour Publishing Co., London (1924).

> were necessarily conducted in an unsuitable environment, it would be difficult to say…[80]

His use of the word 'experiments' is significant. Thomson[81] and his like were not ideological zealots. They were open to trial and error and modification of their theory. Thomson was the member of the trio who went furthest in the movement – becoming in 1947 President of the Trades Union Congress immediately after World War II. In that crucial year, he played an extremely important if hitherto unacknowledged role in supporting Ernest Bevin, the UK Foreign Minister,[82] who remembered Thomson as one of "the 'backroom boys' in that work" that prepared the way for the Attlee Labour Government's economic and industry changes, including nationalisation.[83] The obituarist for *The Times* noted that: "It was only during this year of office as chairman of the TUC that he became in any sense a national figure."[84] Yet he was always an important figure in the Guild Socialist tradition, starting from its earliest days as a

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[80] *Ibid.*, p. 127.

[81] Thomson is not to be confused with another George Thomson, George Derwent Thomson (1903-1987), the English classical scholar, Marxist polemicist and scholar of the Irish language.

[82] Bevin was a former Secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union and past colleague, from the 1930s with Thomson, on the Executive Council of the TUC. In 1931 when G.D.H. Cole created the Society for Socialist Inquiry and Propaganda (SSIP), later renamed the Socialist League, both Bevin and Thomson were actively involved; the first pamphlet published was G.D.H. Cole and E. Bevin *The Crisis*, New Statesman and Nation, London (1931). The next year Thomson published *The Technican Under Socialism* [pamphlet], Society for Socialist Inquiry and Propaganda, London (1932). On the SSIP, see: Michael Bor *The Socialist League in the 1930s*, Athena Press Ltd., Twickenham [England](2005.) It is not clear if Bevin was ever associated with or supportive of Guild Socialism, but from the early 1930s he was close to Cole and Thomson, two senior alumni from that movement. This alliance of political and industrial labour was particularly crucial with respect to Bevin's intense concentration on keeping the Iron Curtain where it was in Europe and containing the communist presence in the unions at home. Bevin's life is well-told in: Alan Bullock *The Life and Times of Ernest Bevin: Volume One: Trade Union Leader 1881-1940*, William Heinemann Ltd, London (1960); *The Life and Times of Ernest Bevin: Volume Two: Minister of Labour 1940-45*, William Heinemann Ltd, London (1967); *The Life and Times of Ernest Bevin: Volume Three: Foreign Secretary 1945-1951*, William Heinemann Ltd, London (1983). A fierce, leftist critique of Labour's finest hour and Bevin's anti-communism is: John Saville 'Ernest Bevin and the Cold War 1945-1950', John Saville and Ralph Milliband, editors, *The Socialist Register 1984*, Merlin Press, London (1984): pp. 68-100. Saville was a marvellous labour historian who sometimes wrote nonsense; he seems unaware of Bevin's SSIP connection.

[83] Rt. Hon. Ernest Bevin, MP '[Contribution to] Tributes to George Thomson' *The Draughtsman* (August, 1949): p. 148. What 'nationalisation' in the aftermath of World War II meant to Thomson, Cole and others, in the context of past theories of worker control, is an interesting subject for further research. But this is an intellectual excursion beyond the remit of this thesis.

[84] [Anonymous] Obituary: 'Mr. G.W. Thomson' *The Times* [London, England] (July 9, 1949): p. 7.

founder of the Glasgow Branch of the NGL. Perhaps his political development represents one kind of outcome in the unfolding of the Guild Socialist project. Thomson saw himself as a radical, fought for advances in union campaigns and for improvements in consultation and 'industry discussion' and opposed communism at home and abroad as the enemies of freedom and of an effective, democratic labour movement.

The exact relationship with and impact of the individuals involved in the Glasgow Branch of the NGL on Robieson is not known. But we know that Robieson was in direct contact with them. It is therefore reasonable to surmise that Robieson became aware of their battles with others in the labour movement, such as the syndicalists, including efforts to win over the latter to their cause. To be involved meant appreciating that there was a real contest for relevance and influence in the marketplace of socialist and labour ideas in Glasgow. Paton in his report on Glasgow, 1916-1917, highlights Robieson's paper on 'Co-operation and National Guilds'.[85] Unfortunately, there is no record of what he said.[86] There was some interest in publishing the paper as a pamphlet. At the 1917 AGM of the NGL, Arnot reported: "… it was suggested at the London Group Meeting to ask if the Glasgow Group could approach Mr. Robieson to see if his notes of that lecture were the sort of thing that could be got ready as a pamphlet for the League."[87] Paton thought that "Robieson would be willing to work out something on those lines."[88] But he was not ready to publish. It was later reported: "Of

[85] John Paton 'Report of Glasgow', pamphlet: National Guilds League *Annual Report 1916-1917*, Victoria House Printing Co. Ltd., London (March, 1917): p. 9.
[86] Minutes of the fifteenth meeting in 1916, when Robieson spoke, are missing, torn out of the minute book. Glasgow Branch, NGL, holograph, *Minute Book of Glasgow and District Group, National Guilds League, 1916*, in Guild Socialism papers, J.P. Bedford Collection, Nuffield College, Oxford, Box 12, MSS 47 manuscript folder.
[87] Transcript of Discussion and Minutes of NGL Annual Meeting April 8, 1917, typescript, n.d., p. 14, in G.D.H. Cole papers, Nuffield College, Oxford, manuscript folder GDHC/D3/3/1,2.
[88] *Ibid*.

other publications discussed at that last meeting, M.W. Robieson reported that his paper on co-operation read in Glasgow existed only as rough notes…"[89]

In 1917 for *The Guildsman* Robieson reviewed Cole's latest book, the third edition of *The World of Labour*,[90] writing that "a re-reading has made me feel how great a gulf separates us today from 1914; in some respects this adds to the value of the volume, for it was without set purpose dealing with the conclusion of an economic era."[91] He went on:

> …the danger of a different and servile system being upon us before Labour is awake has increased beyond belief. It is not, to my mind, that the War has brought about anything absolutely new; but that it has intensified, strengthened and accelerated certain tendencies present now since perhaps the beginning of the century. The War has done in two years or three what at the ordinary rate of economic progress might have taken anything up to half a century. I am not sure that we are not entitled to go further and say it has come near to accomplishing a revolution. For the change from typical competitive capitalism based on contract to the Servile State looks like being permanently established. It is so, for the period of the War: as Mr. Cole points out, the Government control of industry means that "the only real change introduced is that the employers acquire a new security for their ownership and their profits, while the men are subjected to a new and more severe discipline exercised through their employers."[92]

This passage shows Robieson as seeing the impact of the War as deepening the

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[89] Pamphlet: National Guilds League *Annual Report 1917-1918*, H. Williams & Sons, London (1918): p. 6.
[90] M.W. Robieson review of G.D.H. Cole's *The World of Labour*, third edition, *The Guildsman* No. 7 (June, 1917): p. 6.
[91] *Ibid.*
[92] *Ibid.*

problems of society, reinforcing the guild critique and causing an even greater need to challenge the existing order; to the extent that State control assisted control of the workforce, this was a disaster; he expressed what was orthodox thinking in the Guild Socialist tradition. As was argued: "… whether he is working for a private or a public master, it is better to be a responsible and self-governing person than a watched and ticketed unit under bureaucratic dominion."[93]

It appears that Robieson was nominated for a national role with the NGL.[94] The record shows him as elected to a Special Committee of Enquiry to debate the future policy of the movement.[95] But Robieson was never a member of the NGL National Executive..[96] Division in the movement became acute after the Bolshevik Revolution. The debate over Russian communism and its applicability to the United Kingdom became a burning issue throught the labour movement. The voices of the Guild Socialists were divided between skeptics, admirers, romantics and opponents. Litvinov, the Bolshevik representative in London, made a huge effort to win over support.[97] Though mildly pleased with 'the Russian revolution', Tom Johnston, founder and publisher of *Forward* newspaper, an important figure in Robieson's radicalisation at Glasgow University, as we shall see, thought it necessary in *Forward* to publish criticisms, including a critique by one of the usurped who pointed out "[t]hat dictatorship is maintained only by

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[93] [Anonymous] *The Guild Idea, An Appeal to the Public*, pamphlets of the National Guildsmen's League, No. 2, *Loc. Cit.*, p. 17.
[94] Transcript of Discussion and Minutes of NGL Annual Meeting April 8, 1917, typescript, n.d., p. 56, in G.D.H. Cole papers, Nuffield College, Oxford, manuscript folder GDHC/D3/3/1,2.
[95] *Ibid*. Those elected to the Special Committee with votes against their names were: W.N. Ewer 32; M.B. Reckitt 32; W. Mellor 31; J.F. Armour 25; A.R. Orage 25; R.P. Arnot 23; and, M.W. Robieson 18.
[96] Cole compiled a list of all the members on the NGL Executive from 1915-1916 to 1919-1920; Robieson was not on it. G.D.H. Cole 'Notes on National Guilds League, Executive Committee', holograph manuscript, n.d., in G.D.H. Cole papers, Nuffield College, Oxford, manuscript folder GDHC/D3/2/1-13.
[97] Maxim Litvinoff 'The Case for the Russian Revolutionary Committee' *Forward* [Glasgow, Scotland] Vol. 12, No. 13 (Saturday. February 9, 1918): p. 3.

shameless terrorization."[98] Johnston defended Kerensky.[99] But he was also critical of local 'hysteria' mocking arguments that local industrial action was inspired by Moscow, rather than rooted in local, domestic grievances. For example, "…the police have been at Paisley looking for German gold below Willie Gallacher's bed…"[100] There is a reference to Raymond Postgate, brother of Mrs. Margaret Cole, as a 'guild communist'.[101] Within a year, R. Page Arnot, the Ewers, Mellor and Postgate, all amongst Cole's strongest supporters, were in the communist party. Reckitt drifted to social credit ideas wondering if a kind of Christian social action was the future.[102] By this time, in 1920, the Scots' influence had waned. Paton and Robieson were dead. William Anderson was preparing to migrate to New Zealand. Muir had moved on. Thomson still burnished with optimism but he was in London now. One of the last remaining, significant activists of the early Scottish period of the NGL, W.D. Ritchie, MA, Director of Education Clerk and Treasurer, County of Selkirk Education Authority, wrote a letter of resignation: "For some time I have been away from Glasgow, and of those I knew best Paton has died, Anderson has gone to New Zealand, and Muir & Thomson gone to London."[103] The far left were demonising the guildsmen as

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[98] Russian Social Democratic Federation [Statement provided by Mr. Camille Huysmans, Secretary of the International Socialist Bureau for the Russian Social Democratic Federation] 'Against Bolshevism' *Forward* [Glasgow, Scotland] Vol. 12, No. 15 (Saturday. February 23, 1918): p. 3.
[99] 'Socialist War Points' [a defence of Kerensky probably written by Tom Johnston] *Forward* [Glasgow, Scotland] Vol. 12, No. 34 (Saturday, July 6, 1918): p. 1.
[100] [Anonymous, but probably Tom Johnston] 'Socialist War Points' *Forward* [Glasgow, Scotland] Vol. 15, No. 13 (February 22, 1919): p. 1. The article jokes that the police were probably trying to prove Willie's real name was "Gallacherovsky."
[101] *The Guildsman* No. 45 (September, 1920): p. 7.
[102] *Cf.* John S. Peart-Binns *Maurice B. Reckitt, A Life*, Bowerdean Press and Marshall Pickering, Basingstoke (1988). See items in the Maurice Reckitt papers in the Special Collections/Archives of the University of Sussex: 'Some notes on the origin and early days of the National Guilds League' 1919. Ts. ff.8. 6/48; 'Some notes on the origin and early days of the N.G.L., by MBR, 1919', ff.6. 16/7; 'Guild socialism and the Labour Research Department', pp. 6. 18/1.
[103] Letter: *W.D. Ritchie to Joan Beauchamp, Office Secretary, NGL*, February 16, 1921, Box 8, M25 Scotch and Irish Groups, 1916-1924, Guild Socialism, JP Bedford Collection, Nuffield College, Oxford.

impractical romantics.[104] The Guild Socialist movement was beginning to cease to believe in itself.

From a read through publications of the era, one thing that stands out is that the Guild Socialists were a small, fractious group, confident of their general prescriptions, but introverted and poorly engaged with the rest of the broad labour movement. Even in Johnston's *Forward* newspaper, published in Glasgow, there were scant references to their movement and, from 1917 to 1920, there were no articles dealing with Guild Socialist ideas; it seems no-one from the movement bothered to so engage.[105] This was in considerable contrast with early editorials by Paton in *The Guildsman* speculating about the role the NGL intended to play in the debates engulfing the labour movement. Thus it might be surmised that despite the amazingly impressive individuals committed to the cause, they did not seem to keep up with and regularly join others in debates in their newspapers (e.g., *The Clarion*, *Forward*, *Labour Leader*, etc.) on contemporary issues. The *Daily Herald* was the main exception; from time to time it published articles about, by and sympathetic to Guild Socialists. The reach of the NGL, their limited ability to contribute to debates and publications within the labour movement, was a sign that a small grouping was failing to win new recruits. Others were more successful. Some of the leaders of the NGL were to defect to rival causes, including communism and fascism and plain, unthinking labourism. But at the end of the War this was still before us.

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[104] Ian Bullock *Romancing the Revolution*, *The Myth of Soviet Democracy and the British Left*, AU [Athabasca University] Press, Alberta (2011).
[105] There was, at least, one tiny advertisement for an issue of *The Guildsman* highlighting 'A Scheme of Control' by W. Gallacher and J. Paton (ASE). See: *Forward* [Glasgow, Scotland] Vol. 11 No. 35 (July 14, 1917): p. 4.

Intellectually and politically, the person Robieson seemed closest to was William Anderson, the son of vigorously active socialist parents. His political trajectory sheds light on the socialist movement which they each came to identify with and sought to shape.

The Under-Estimated William Anderson, co-founder of *The Guildsman*

Important to the expression of a vibrant, Scots perspective was the marrying of university and self-educated worker intellectuals into a common movement. In Glasgow, the most significant of the former was William Anderson, whose writings we will now critically examine, and comment on, noting what he wrote on guild ideas and socialism and, in doing so, briefly estimate his likely significance both for Robieson's and also John Anderson's thought. William Anderson[106] was an influence on Robieson and, as we have seen, played an important role in the development of guild ideas in Glasgow; he forged a national reputation as an expert on Guild Socialism[107] and deserves credit as a co-founder of the Glasgow branch and of the NGL publication, *The Guildsman*.

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[106] As an academic, in 1912 Anderson served as Professor John Latta's assistant, then later as a Lecturer in the Logic Department in Glasgow, prior to taking up in 1921 a post as the first philosophy professor at Auckland University College, New Zealand. 'Anderson, William, M.A.' Listing in *Who's Who 1955 in Australia*, J.A. Alexander, editor, Herald and Weekly Times, Melbourne (1955). Whilst still in Glasgow, Anderson, together with Leonard J. Russell, who in October 1910 joined the staff of the Logic Department, taught Logic to trainee teachers based on Russell's text: L.J. Russell *An Introduction to Logic From the Standpoint of Education*, Macmillan & Co., London (1914). See JCE/1/1, Minutes of Meetings. Glasgow Provincial Committee for the Training of Teachers. Appendix II: Syllabus of Subjects for Non-University Classes, Session 1912-13, p.16. Letter: *Anne Cameron, Archival Assistant, University of Strathclyde, Glasgow, to Michael Easson*, November 20, 2009.

[107] William Anderson was referred to as a member of the League in S.G. Hobson's *Guild Principles in War and Peace* G. Bell and Sons, London (1919): pp. 165-176; and, S.G. Hobson *National Guilds and the State* G. Bell and Sons, London (1920): pp. 3, 27 and 363.

Anderson's main political writings were composed from July 1915 to March 1917. In 1915 he also played an important, foundational role in the early days of the Glasgow Branch of the National Guilds League. Given the high regard for *The New Age* by Paton, Muir and Thompson, it is likely that they read Anderson's articles there. It is possible that they made direct contact with each other or, perhaps, Orage put them together. Anderson led a discussion group at the second meeting of the Glasgow guildsmen[108] on the *National Guilds* book,[109] which was intensely studied as a key text. At one meeting Anderson was found "contributing a most interesting review of the opening section on 'the wages System' of *National Guilds*."[110] He also led further discussion in May 1916[111] and he spoke on education issues and their relevance to the guilds movement[112] – perhaps relevant to Robieson's thinking in this field.[113] Anderson probably organised others to join and to participate. For example, in March 1916 a former junior teacher with his father, Mr John Summers, William's eventual father-in-law, led one of the NGL Glasgow study circle discussions on *National Guilds*.[114]

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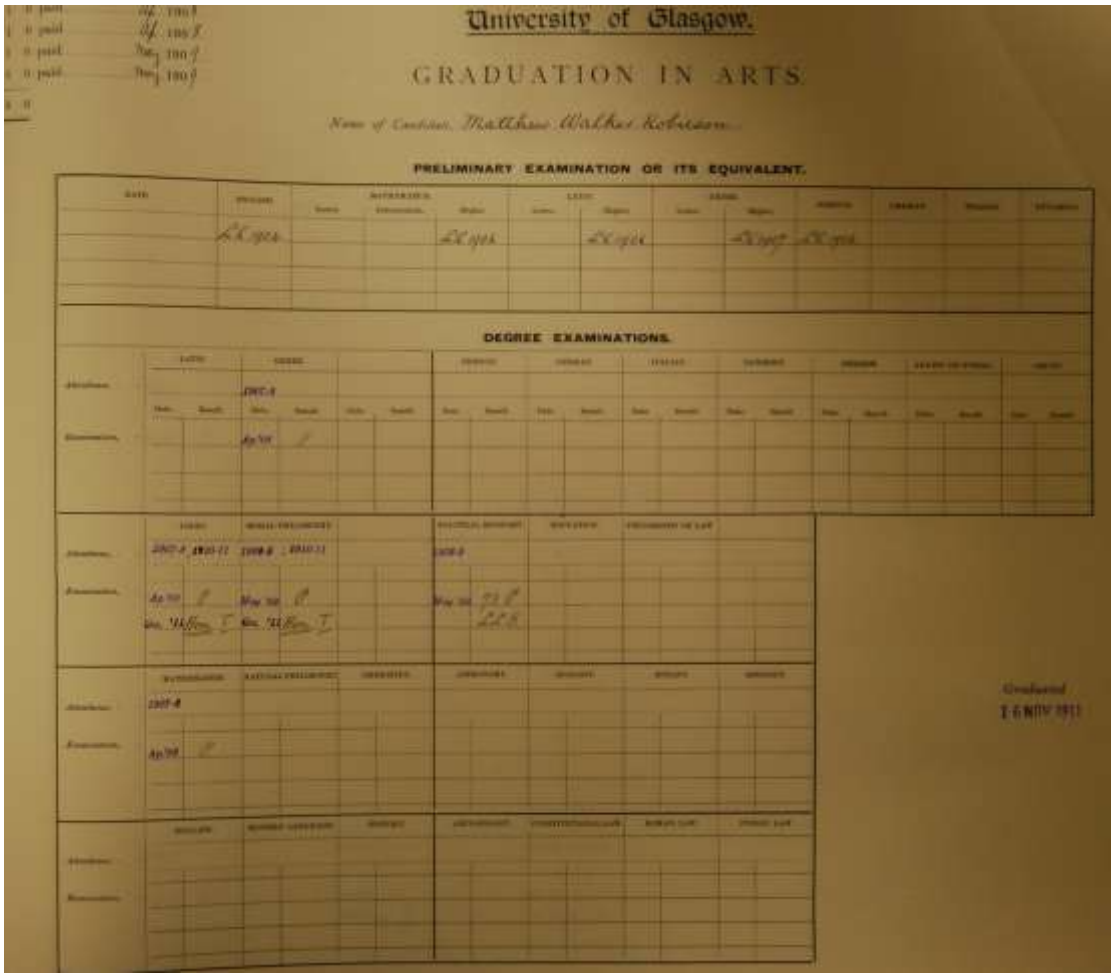
[108] Minutes of second meeting, November 6, 1915, Glasgow Branch, NGL, holograph, *Minute Book of Glasgow and District Group, National Guilds League, 1916*, in Guild Socialism papers, J.P. Bedford Collection, Nuffield College, Oxford, Box 12, MSS 47 manuscript folder.
[109] i.e., A.R. Orage, editor, though mostly, if not exclusively written by S.G. Hobson, *National Guilds an Inquiry Into the Wage System and the Way Out*, G. Bell & Sons Ltd., London (1914).
[110] Part I of the book covered 'The Wage System', in *Ibid*., pp. 1-108. Minutes of fourth meeting, December 25, 1915, Glasgow Branch, NGL, holograph, *Minute Book of Glasgow and District Group, National Guilds League, 1916*, *Loc. Cit*. The Minutes do record this meeting as held on Xmas Day!
[111] Minutes of fourteenth meeting, May 13, 1916, Glasgow Branch, NGL, holograph, *Minute Book of Glasgow and District Group, National Guilds League, 1916*, *Loc. Cit*.
[112] Minutes of nineteenth meeting, September 30, 1916, Glasgow Branch, NGL, holograph, *Minute Book of Glasgow and District Group, National Guilds League, 1916*, *Loc. Cit*.
[113] M.W. Robieson 'On the Reorganisation of University Education' Part 1, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 23, No. 26 (October 24, 1918): pp. 408-410 and 'On the Reorganisation of University Education' Part 2, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 23, No. 27 (October 31, 1918): pp. 425-428. Both articles reprinted, as edited by W. Anderson, in S.G. Hobson *National Guilds and the State*, G. Bell & Sons, Ltd., London (1920): pp. 363-400.
[114] Minutes of ninth meeting, March 4, 1916, Glasgow Branch, NGL, holograph, *Minute Book of Glasgow and District Group, National Guilds League, 1916*, *Loc. Cit*.

He sometimes represented the Glasgow NGL at other meetings; for example, Anderson and Ritchie were delegated to attend a meeting on March 9, 1916 of the Richmond Literary Society.[115] Paton recorded them saying of their mission to win converts that "there is a type of mere rebel more impenetrable to ideas than the avowed philistine."[116] As already noted Anderson's efforts led to the publication of the journal *The Guildsman* in December 1916 with Paton as editor and Anderson, Muir and others


University of Glasgow.

GRADUATION IN ARTS.

Name of Graduate Matthew Walker Robieson

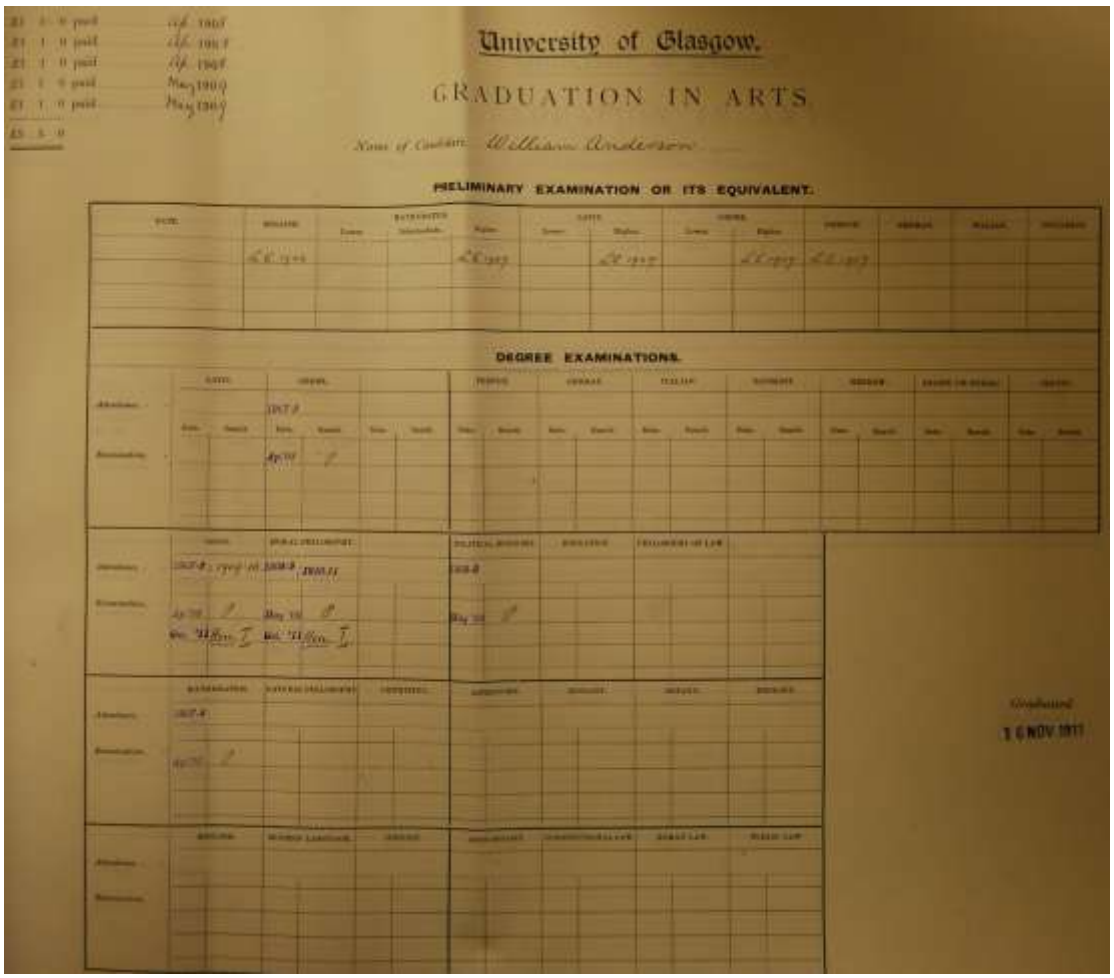
PRELIMINARY EXAMINATION OR ITS EQUIVALENT.

DEGREE EXAMINATIONS.

Extract from M.W. Robieson's academic record, showing a double first in moral philosophy and in logic. Like William Anderson (see below), his exact contemporary, he studied Political Economy, Ancient Greek and Mathematics. Source: Glasgow University archives.

[115] Minutes of eighth meeting, February 19, 1916, Glasgow Branch, NGL, holograph, *Minute Book of Glasgow and District Group, National Guilds League, 1916*, *Loc. Cit.*
[116] Minutes of tenth meeting, March 18, 1916, Glasgow Branch, NGL, holograph, *Minute Book of Glasgow and District Group, National Guilds League, 1916*, *Loc. Cit.*

on the editorial board.[117] There is a clear continuity between the views Anderson expressed in *The New Age* and the development of Robieson's thinking, which saw publication mostly in the same journal between October 1916 and July 1919. They collaborated in the development of Guild Socialist thinking. No one has written up Anderson's distinct contribution – either to the development of Robieson's thought, or to that of his brother, John. Indeed, William Anderson's significance is generally under-


University of Glasgow.

GRADUATION IN ARTS

Name of Graduate: William Anderson

PRELIMINARY EXAMINATION OR ITS EQUIVALENT.

DEGREE EXAMINATIONS.

Graduated 16 NOV 1911

Extract from W.A. Anderson's academic record. Source: Special Collections, University of Glasgow. This can be compared to Robieson's, above. Both Robieson and W. Anderson were in every class together at University, not only in philosophy but also in ancient Greek and political economy.

[117] Minutes of twentieth meeting, October 14, 1916, Glasgow Branch, NGL, holograph, *Minute Book of Glasgow and District Group, National Guilds League, 1916*, *Loc. Cit.*

estimated. Nearly everything of importance that he wrote on political matters was for *The New Age* journal. There, from 1915, he began writing serious articles about political ideas, searchingly examining shibboleths and creatively evaluating the concepts and the thoughts of writers introduced or mentioned in the journal's pages in previously half-digested ways. This was so, for example, with respect to Sorel's thinking. Articles by a clear thinking logician like Anderson was what *The New Age* needed more of.[118] What he wrote his brother read with interest.[119]

Jim Baker notes that: "[s]tudents of John Anderson's thought will recognise the affinity between his earlier ethics and politics and the… position put forward by William Anderson."[120] A common theme, in the Anderson brothers' view, was the idea of the 'producer' in Guild Socialism. The division between the salariat and the proletariat is one aspect of servility under capitalism. Yet collectivism was no door out. William Anderson put forward this critique:

> …collectivism has never really come to grips with the real nature of property…The collectivist is accustomed to expatiate on the way in which capitalism has de-individualised the ownership of the instruments of wealth-production. But he has never proved – and the onus of proof is upon him – that the transference of this type of "ownership" to the "State" affects the first, or

[118] Huntly Carter stuck the heading 'Logic' to Anderson's contribution to his symposium on post war reconstruction. See W. Anderson 'Logic', in Huntly Carter, editor, *Industrial Reconstruction A Symposium on the Situation After the War and How to Meet It*, T. Fisher Unwin, Ltd., London (1917): pp. 247-253, originally published as an contribution to 'An Industrial Symposium' edited by Huntly Carter in *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 20, No. 12 (January, 1917): pp. 274-275.
[119] Letter: *Mrs. J.C. Anderson to Michael Easson*, March 16, 1979.
[120] Jim Baker, Part 1, *Loc. Cit.*, p. 9.

> shareholding type, in the least. Collectivism is, in the first instance, merely a new kind of economic administration or enterprise (or lack of it).[121]

William Anderson's articles for *The New Age* argued that Socialism is "the economic emancipation of the proletarian class" and defended the National Guilds as "a relatively practical scheme."[122] In his first articles he makes points against assumptions about the easy "necessity" or "inevitability" of socialism as well as against "sentimental British Socialism, with its 'wars on poverty'." He was also critical of Marx:

> Now it is from his almost exclusive attention to the ethical position of Hegel, and his conviction that his own view supplied the precise antidote to that, that the weakness of Marx's account of the effects of the final historical act arise. It appears as if because certain institutions have peculiar functions for a certain historical epoch, the economic foundations of which Marx investigated, they must disappear with the downfall of the dominant class. But surely to say that with the emancipation of the proletariat property is to disappear in communism, that the family will be no longer necessary, that social and functional classes will be no more (a poor lookout for National Guilds), that even competition will vanish, or that such a change in human character will be produced that the state itself may be dispensed with, that, in short, because these institutions have an historical basis they have no other, is merely fantastic.[123]

On the property issue, Anderson insisted that the main point about emancipation is organisation and not mere ownership – e.g., "The methods… of those who recommend

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[121] William Anderson 'The Social Priority of Property, Part II' *Loc. Cit.*, p. 129. See below for an exposition of William Anderson's interpretation of Guild Socialism.

[122] Although Anderson's articles referred to the National Guilds and not Guild Socialism (a phrase of greater significance a few years after he wrote) he saw the theory as a branch grown from the tree of socialism.

[123] W. Anderson 'The Economic View of History' Part 2 *The New Age*, new series Vol. 17, No. 13 (July 22, 1915): p. 275.

National Guilds is not directed upon ownership, but rather to the industrial organisation of the working class with a view to the control of industry in a guild system." Such an approach he takes to be a great improvement on what "has been the ill-fated attempt to realise collectivist Socialism by way of putting on the whole armour of the State" – such as what the British Fabians proposed.[124] But as a result of the guild approach "The Servile State… need have no terrors for us"[125] – as Belloc's forebodings should not apply in such a State.

Anderson makes a comparison between syndicalism and National Guild policies to the effect that they are alike in some respects: industrial organisation and control; but there is the difference that the guilds have an eye on co-operation with other sections of society and hence on social stability in a way that syndicalism does not. He was active in the NGL.[126] He claimed in his essay 'The Economic View of History' that "it has taken socialist thought all the time since Marx's analysis of capitalist economy to work out such a relatively practical scheme as National Guilds."[127] He did not believe that Government control of industry would improve matters:

> Where the Government gives guarantees for the successful carrying out of certain industrial operations, it is not going to have the whole thing spoilt by

[124] *Cf*. A.M. McBriar *Fabian Socialism and English Politics 1884-1918*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (1966): pp. 98-118.
[125] W. Anderson 'National Guilds, Socialism, and the Servile State' Part 2, *The New Age*, new series Vol. 20, No. 2 (November 9, 1916): p. 34.
[126] For a brief account of the formation of the National Guilds League see S.G. Hobson *Pilgrim to the Left*, *Loc. Cit.*, pp. 186-187.
[127] William Anderson 'The Economic View of History, Part I' *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 17, No. 12 (July 15, 1915): p. 246.

> strikes, and it will be impelled to strive, even by the most "conciliatory" methods, to remove the possibility even of the threat of a strike.[128]

Consideration of the dangers of the Servile State led, in this analysis, to two important issues:- (i) the possibility of guild organisation of modern industry; and (ii) "the general social and political theory from which the working beliefs of those who would bring about such a system may most profitably be drawn."[129]

In articles on 'Some Considerations of Class Ideologies' Anderson examined the definition of the proletariat according to the tenets of 'Scientific Socialism': "A class which was defined by its passivity and its mere lack could not be thought capable of any deliberate activity at all."[130] Unless the proletariat can be said to stand for something, then it merely denoted a collection of individuals who were not owners of capital. So an important question to consider was 'what characteristics would be exhibited by the proletariat after a revolution or the transformation of society through National Guilds?' Anderson refers to George Sorel's work *Reflections on Violence*, especially Sorel's formulation of 'the ethic of the producer', for an answer to this question and concludes that:

> ...a really class-conscious proletariat…will have some other view of itself than as a unit in capitalist society. It must come to regard itself otherwise than as merely constituted by the conditions of labour for wages…its true social

[128] William Anderson 'An Industrial Symposium' *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 20, No. 12 (January 18, 1917): p. 275.
[129] William Anderson 'National Guilds, Socialism, and the Servile State' *Loc. Cit.*, p. 34.
[130] William Anderson 'Some Considerations of Class Ideologies, Part I' *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 20, No. 17 (February 22, 1917): p. 392.

> significance…only emerges when it selects its *productive* functions as the central element in its being, round which all activities turn.[131]

If the principle of working class action is only to secure increases in wages, then the capitalist system is barely challenged. On Anderson's interpretation:

> ...the conflicts, which from the standpoint of capitalistic society were that between capital and labour, are transfigured; it is now at last revealed as the eternal struggle of producer and consumer. The proper attitude of the former to the latter is war, and it will be preserved by the producer's taking up in their actual work the attitude that industry is already their concern, and that the "ownership" and "management" by the capitalist of what he calls his own business are really the aggressive interference from outside of an interest hostile to production and the productive spirit.[132]

In terms which echo Sorel,[133] Anderson states:

> The class-war which is characteristic of present-day civilisation, then, affords to the classical virtues of courage and honour, with their retinue, for the first time a chance to appear in the lives and actions of modern men. It is in their strength alone that the conditions of social life that can be called good are to be maintained.[134]

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[131] William Anderson 'Some Considerations on Class Ideologies, Part II' *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 20, No. 18 (March 1, 1917): p. 416.
[132] *Ibid.*
[133] *Cf.* Georges Sorel 'The Ethics of the Producers' in *Reflections on Violence*, translated by T.E. Hulme, Collier Books, New York (1961): pp. 216-249. *The New Age* journal published several articles on Sorel, *Cf.* T.E. Hulme's Preface to *Reflections on Violence*, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 17, No. 24 (October 14, 1915): pp. 569-570; Herbert Read 'Sorel, Marx and the War' *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 19, No. 6 (June 8, 1916): pp. 128-129.
[134] William Anderson 'Some Considerations on Class Ideologies, Part II' *Loc. Cit.*, p. 417.

In contrast, in capitalist society "courage, honour and even industrious habits come to exist only on sufferance" [135] – they must not be allowed to interfere with the prevailing modes of industry or commerce.

Anderson considered the relation between National Guilds, collectivism and socialism and the role of the proletariat in the creation of a socialist society. In one piece, he pauses to consider whether it was the Calvinist Reformation which enabled men, instead of remaining content with the limited production of medieval times, to move from Faith to Works - as a sign of grace - to exploit in a large way Nature and its resources. From this flowed the argument, "with or without the theological garb,"[136] the modern defence of capitalist economic life: that it is "fundamentally a great adventure. It is an activity with a purpose, that of the greatest possible production. The main protagonists are man on the one side and Nature on the other."[137] Further, on the human side, it is claimed or assumed that "Capital and Labour are two interests standing on an equal footing" and that disputes between them are settled in an impartial way by people "speaking for the whole nation."[138] He criticises and dismisses such argument. This defence of capitalism entirely neglects "its money-lending, investing, 'profiteering' side" – because it is not just a matter of "man versus nature" as there is a symbiotic relationshp: "[t]here is [also] exploitation of natural resources."[139]

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[135] William Anderson 'Some Considerations on Class Ideologies, Part III' *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 20, No. 19 (March 8, 1917): p. 450.
[136] W. Anderson 'Some Considerations on Class Ideologies', Part 2, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 20, No. 18 (March 1, 1917): p. 418.
[137] *Ibid*.
[138] *Ibid.*
[139] William Anderson 'Some Considerations on Class Ideologies', Part 3, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 20, No. 19 (March 8, 1917): p. 449.

William (left) and John (right) Anderson at Glasgow University, *circa* 1919. Source: Mrs. Cath Mayo collection

According to Anderson, change doesn't just 'happen'; the transition from capitalism to socialism is not obscurely and mysteriously 'scientific' in some inevitable sense. There is the idea of class struggle and Sorel's argument about the 'purifying power' of class war which occurs in full vigour only "when production is, for whatever reason, on the up-grade."[140] Of the supposed virtues of capitalism, these are "rather of the prudential than of the heroic order. Even in our own day we see production sacrificed where it does not pay... (as e.g., in) the destruction of goods... In fact, as a practical creed, 'maximum production' is strictly for the proletariat. For capitalism it belongs rather to the sphere of apologetics."[141]

Drawing on an analysis by Werner Sombart,[142] William Anderson argued that economic rationalism consists in production for exchange, as distinct from production for use, so

[140] *Ibid.*
[141] *Ibid.*, p. 450.
[142] Werner Sombart *The Quintessence of Capitalism*, *A Study of the History and Psychology of the Modern Business Man*, translated and edited by Mortimer Epstein, T. Fisher Unwin Ltd., London (1915).

that it is saleability not the goodness of commodities that matters. The capitalist class is not 'an enlightened class'. We are thus: "not entitled to look for the virtues of ideal producers in the representative orders of capitalist society... At some stage, for instance, honesty is recognised as necessary for trade, at another time it is repudiated or thought little of."[143] Also, as a modern development, what remains of the capitalist spirit is being superseded by the growth in bureaucratic ways of running huge enterprises. There is now "much to show that on the side of enterprise and direction of industry, the *active* side as against the passivity of shareholding, what was once rational tends to become mechanical."[144]

In short, he saw economic rationalism as of a very restricted scope. Consequently, we are far from finding in Capitalism anything like 'the producer's' point of view, that even the narrow stand-point of the exploitation of nature by man is no true part of its tradition. Further, there is a constant cry of "Produce, produce!" that goes with an underlying mistaken view that we are all in it together in a common enterprise: "The pre-supposition being that if we persevere in such efforts we shall suddenly find that there are no class differences left to settle."[145]

Those words were written before the phenomena of much better wages, widespread welfare benefits and constantly rising expectations. In retrospect, in those still empirically open circumstances, it was easy not to foresee that the mass of the people - including the 'poor clerks' and the 'salariat', both of whom William Anderson

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[143] William Anderson 'Some Considerations on Class Ideologies', Part 3, *Loc. Cit.*, p. 450.
[144] *Ibid.*
[145] *Ibid.*, p. 451.

specifically thought hopefully about in relation to the producer's ethic - would come to

William Anderson on graduation in 1911. Source: Mrs Cath Mayo private collection

be dominated by a passive, material benefits outlook; i.e., that in addition to the capitalists and the politician and bureaucrat 'benefactors' of welfarism, its beneficiaries would also come to share the same consumer ethic, and that at best a minority of people could be actuated by the 'heroic' and politically active/aware values suggested by Sorel and the Guild writers. Additionally, it must be said, what became 'capitalism' or 'industrialism' in the 20th century, despite peaks and troughs, "delivered the goods" for ordinary folk. The Labour movement and enlightened progressives of various stripes played their part in that outcome. Yet this hardly justified passivity or an unambitious life. According to Sorel, as Anderson pointed out, the consumer view of life is capitalism:

> The consumer is typically the man who expects that his wants will be satisfied because they are his wants. If they are not satisfied, he considers he is either being robbed by man or ill-used by God… The producer, on the other hand, is constantly face to face with a stubborn and alien material, whose most striking characteristic is not its natural utility, but its eminent reluctance to gratify human needs or desires. He must, accordingly, develop the virtues and beliefs of the warrior if he would, at the same time, subdue nature, and keep in their proper place those who have the insolence to postulate that their demands on him constitute the natural measure of his productiveness. For Sorel, the proletariat alone can become such an order of producers.[146]

So Sorel's conception of the producers turns to the classical virtues of courage and honour, waging a class war against consumers – the group that included capitalists, the politicians and bureaucrats.

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[146] William Anderson 'Some Considerations on Class Ideologies", Part 2, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 20, No. 18 (March 1, 1917): p. 417.

Anderson's articles for *The New Age* have affinities with his brother's social theory. Guild Socialism married a critique of capitalism and of the Servile State with a criticism of collectivist socialism; their critique suggested a way out of the wage system. It may be supposed that John Anderson was thinking of himself as much as socialists in general when he wrote in his essay, 'The Servile State', published in the *Australasian Journal of Psychology and Philosophy* in 1943:

> The prognostications of Hilaire Belloc in *The Servile State* were not taken very seriously by the Socialists to whom they were, in the main, addressed; and, in the period between the two wars, they must have seemed to many to have lost such a point as they had ever had. Even then, of course, there were thinkers who associated the actual establishment of servile conditions with attempts at Collectivism. But for the most part Socialism was still felt to be a liberating force, and the tendency to enslavement was regarded as coming from avowedly anti-Socialist quarters.[147]

Those comments illustrated that *The New Age* writers and the ideas of the Guild Socialists stimulated the development of his social theory.[148] But this impact was delayed. John Anderson was attracted to the cultural and radical perspective of the Guild Socialists, but he seems not to have been a member. He was too radical or, if anything, his affinities were with the 'Guild Communists'. From the mid-1920s, after the

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[147] John Anderson 'The Servile State' in *Studies in Empirical Philosophy*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney (1962): p. 328.

[148] Professor John Passmore once commented, based on his conversations with John Anderson, that: "Anderson was to some degree influenced by guild socialism and the sort of pluralism some of the earlier *New Age* writers expressed." Letter: *Professor John Passmore to Michael Easson*, January 10, 1978. Though it is anecdotal and third-hand, so not decisive, it might be interesting that Jim Baker recalls a comment made by Arthur Bishop, a former student of Anderson, who remembered John Anderson saying he was once a supporter of guild socialism. Notes of Interview: *Jim Baker and Michael Easson*, February 23, 2011. Arthur Bishop was an active member of the Freethought and Literary Societies and graduated from the University of Sydney in 1935; he gave a short paper 'John Anderson, etc.' *Heraclitus* No. 89 (July 2001).

Guild Socialist movement had completely faded and in response to the Great Strike of 1926 he began a move to what became various shades of revolutionary politics. He was one of those socialists who had not thought enough about Belloc's strictures on regimentation and loss of freedom in industrial society. To the extent that, in 1943, Anderson was recovering and appreciating an independent radicalism, in the way he now expressed matters he was closest to the political philosophy once expressed by Robieson. Anderson was critical, however, of some Guild advocates, particularly "the propagandists of the National Guilds League" who "failed to grasp the interlocking of economico-political and literary-aesthetic criticism" as part of a general culture.[149] This critique was a shot at the Cole faction in the NGL, which, perhaps unfairly, he considered narrow and generally uninterested in culture. This was typically the view of the circle around Orage and *The New Age*. Perhaps it also reflected the view of some of the Scottish Guild Socialists.

In June 1917, Paton's monthly Glasgow Report for *The Guildsman* noted: "W. Anderson has joined the Army" and that he was sorely missed.[150] A few months later, in private correspondence, John Anderson quipped to his brother: "I'm glad to hear that you're having a cheerful time. If you're drilling recruits, you must be getting on, from the military point of view. I hope you manage to get leave. With your successful evasion of Church Parade, you should not be hard put to it to extend the sphere of your craft."[151]

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[149] John Anderson Review: Paul Selver *Orage and the New Age Circle*, *Loc. Cit.*, p. 30.
[150] *The Guildsman* No. 7 (June, 1917): p. 6.
[151] Letter: *John Anderson to William Anderson*, September 25, 1917, University of Sydney Archives, P.42 Papers of John Anderson and family, Series 19, Acc. No.1428, item 1.

Which suggests that his duties at that point did not then extend to active combat.[152] But Baker notes that, before the end of the war, William Anderson was a gunner in France.[153]

It seems likely that William Anderson gradually grew disillusioned with the National Guilds League (NGL) – though he still attended their meetings until 1920.[154] Years after he first wrote for the journal, in 1918 William finally met *The New Age* crowd:

> At the N.A. place I found Orage, Hobson & Brookfarmer,[155] but I did not see Ramiro [de Maeztu]. They were lamenting the condition of the NGL in that it contained so many pacifists & were afraid of the effect that would have on public opinion. Also, the like effect of its Bohemian tendencies (!!). It seems G.D.H. Cole is getting married in due course to a woman on the NGL executive who, according to S.G. Hobson, addressed the last ex. meeting with a cigar in her mouth & who Hobson (who has now left the ex. – he did not stand last time) fears is "fast".[156] They were lamenting the tendency of the N.G.L. in these respects to emulate the Fabian nursery [unclear] etc. It was just like the Fors[157] & J. Summers weeping over Grayson or like having a glass of beer. But the *N.A.*

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[152] Although details of his war experience are uncertain, William Anderson ended his service as a second lieutenant. See Glasgow University website on biographies of those who served in World War I. Alas, in his case, the only detail given there is his rank. John Anderson once wrote: "You are perhaps well advised not to press matters with regard to your commission. That business about being a corporal would certainly prevent your taking out new papers" – suggesting that the officer ranking lay ahead. (The rank of corporal nominally corresponds to being second-in-command of a squad of soldiers). See Letter: *John Anderson to William Anderson*, February 19, 1918, University of Sydney Archives, P.42 Papers of John Anderson and family, Series 19, Acc. No.1428, item 1.

[153] A.J. Baker 'Anderson's Intellectual Background and Influences' Part 2 *Heraclitus* No. 34 (January, 1994): p. 7.

[154] William Anderson signed the record of attendance at the National Guilds League Conference of May 8 and 9, 1920. See records of the NGL in the G.D.H. Cole Papers, MSS GDHC, Archives, Balliol College, Oxford. I am grateful to Clare Kavanagh, Assistant Librarian, Nuffield College for finding and locating the NGL minutes showing this. Email: *Clare Kavanagh to Michael Easson*, November 18, 2009.

[155] i.e., C.E. Bechhofer Roberts.

[156] This is a reference to Margaret Cole, née Postgate.

[157] This was Alexander Anderson's nickname.

> oh God. There is no doubt that there are Socialists. Why, Orage was saying that the trouble was that the Guild stuff was being read by the capitalists with a view to defensive measures, but was not being studied by the working men's organisations. I tried to point out that that was the inevitable effect of propaganda, but these people are so utterly immersed in the propagandist point of view that all they could do by way of reply was to write to me to say what were my ideas then, for getting the stuff brought before the proper quarters. I was lunching with Hobson afterwards & he was discussing his controversy with Cole. I found it was almost impossible to get him to see that the question at issue was what was the proper analysis of the state or society. As it is at any time instead of what particular sort of state we chose to have & also what *were* the relations between the economic sphere & the state, nation, or society and what we wanted them to be, or what was the relation we should choose among a lot of different ones "advocated" by different people. It is really so funny to hear these people saying: "I would give no economic power to the State" or "I would give it so much but no more". Or do you think they are right in talking like that & I am making a superstitious use of the idea of scientific law? At any rate, I begin to realise in a sympathetic way what poor old Hegel must have felt when he spoke in the way he did about the "ought to be" people.[158]

This indicates a frustration with writers that William Anderson once admired; for their sagacious insights and engagement in political battles were drifting to dogmatic positions and to a self-righteous disposition remote from true political engagement; for the latter required political skills. In a political movement it is never enough to merely

[158] Letter: *William Anderson to John Anderson*, June 10, 1918, University of Sydney Archives, P. 42, Papers of John Anderson and family, Series 19, Acc. No.1428, item 1.

reason from what "ought to be" to reality; the realisation of ideas required more. William Anderson was also annoyed by the growing commitment of *The New Age* circle the theories of Major Douglas and the Social Credit movement. *The New Age* drift to social credit ideas frustrated the hell out of erstwhile supporters. In September 1919 William Anderson wrote to his brother saying:

> So far I got [in discussion with Orage] when the man Mairet[159] came in & the subject was changed. But I'll see Douglas myself on Monday & hope to be able to get some more satisfaction. I feel like writing an article entitled 'Douglasism Revolutionary, or the primrose path exposed'. But Orage wouldn't print it. He is absolutely cocksure that the "labour problem" is now forever solved.[160]

Apparently Anderson met Douglas a few times. William Anderson observed that at one point:

> Orage and Douglas went some time ago to see Smillie with their scheme[161] adapted to the Coal Industry. Smillie, it seems, doesn't believe that nationalisation will do any good, or do what is claimed for it (by him among others, in public), & would be only too glad to hear of a workable scheme. But he said he hadn't time to consider details (probably he couldn't understand it) & referred them to Hodges, who would report to him. Hodges professed himself favourable at the time, but since then nothing has been heard from him. Presumably [he was] too busy. Orage greatly perturbed, as he fears the scheme may leak out in America or Germany in the meantime & his own dear, native land lose the glory. He suppressed a bit of

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[159] Philip Mairet (1886-1975) was a designer, writer and journalist. He wrote a biography of Orage: Philip Mairet *A.R. Orage A Memoir*, J.M. Dent and Sons Ltd., London (1936).
[160] Letter: *William Anderson to John Anderson*, September 11, 1919, University of Sydney Archives, P.42 Papers of John Anderson and family, Series 19, Acc. No.1428, item 1.
[161] See Alfred Orage and C.H. Douglas *Credit-power and Democracy*: *with a Draft Scheme for the Mining Industry*, Cecil Palmer, London (1920).

> the 'Plumb Plan'[162] in his publication of it as coming perilously near a re-discovery of Douglasism...[163]

This was a reference to the Plumb Plan, a system of public ownership of railroads to replace the Railway Administration after World War I, proposed by Glenn E. Plumb, counsel for the unionised railway employees, and considered in the U.S. Congress in 1919 as the Sims Bill. It called for the government to purchase railroad properties at fair value, subject to judicial review. A quasi-public corporation representing the government, operators, and 'qualified' employees would then operate the railroads. Improvements would be financed by federal and local funds, with profits used to retire the public bonds, reduce rates, and increase railway wages. The bill failed, and in December 1919 President Woodrow Wilson called for the return of railroads to private operation.

A few months later John Anderson wrote to his brother "I hope you slaughtered the beggar [i.e., Douglas] on Saturday."[164] Critiquing Douglas thinking became a preoccupation; as was noted by the Glasgow correspondent in *The Guildsman* in 1919: "The Group meetings commenced in real earnest on Saturday, November 1, when W. Anderson opened a series of discussions on Major Douglas's analysis of the credit system. Mr Anderson dealt mainly with the political implications of the theory."[165] Alas, this summary does not explicate any detail as to what was said.

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[162] See the discussion in G.D.H. Cole *Chaos and Order in Industry*, Muethen & Co. Ltd, London (1920): pp. 92-100; See K. Austin Kerr *American Railroad Politics, 1914–1920*: *Rates, Wages, and Efficiency*, University of Pittsburgh Press, Pittsburgh (1968) and Glenn E. Plumb and William G. Roylance *Industrial Democracy*: *A Plan for Its Achievement*, B.W. Huebsch, New York (1923).
[163] Letter: *William Anderson to John Anderson*, September 11, 1919, University of Sydney Archives, P.42 Papers of John Anderson and family, Series 19, Acc. No.1428, item 1. Douglasism and Social Credit ideas are briefly discussed in Chapter 3.
[164] Letter: John Anderson to William Anderson, November 3, 1919, John Anderson Papers, Box Box 52, Series 19, Item 1, University of Sydney.
[165] R. Rodger, Secretary, Report on Glasgow Group *The Guildsman* No. 36 (December, 1919): p. 11.

At the National Guilds League conference on May 8th and 9th 1920, W. Anderson is listed as speaking for the Manchester Group's Amendment to the Resolution on Soviets and Democracy. He also seconded several resolutions; one on Public Ownership, which had been proposed by G.W. Thomson; another, a Resolution on trade union organisation.[166] But the detail of those resolutions and the issues canvassed are not clear. But it is evident that William Anderson was active to the end of his period in Scotland.

Now settled in Auckland, New Zealand, in 1922 William Anderson advised his brother to cease work on the Robieson material as he was ready himself to complete the job of editing the articles into a book. He wrote: "Just send on whatever you have of M.W.R's stuff. I haven't done a great deal to it, but can now write up what I have to say pretty rapidly. Certainly don't spend any more of your time on it. Thanks very much for what you've done."[167] According to Baker: "Janet Anderson [Professor John Anderson's wife] told me [William Anderson] intended to edit and get published Robieson's collected writings, but as he went to New Zealand in 1921 he presumably found he was too busy and too far away for it to be feasible to do so."[168] Despite intensive and extensive family and archival searches to date, the Robieson manuscript that Anderson must have worked on has not been found; it is presumably lost forever.

From the discussion herein we have established the case for west Scotland's distinctive contribution to the Guild Socialist movement. One of their most important achievements was the foundation and development of what came to be the NGL's

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[166] See the Guild Socialism collection, M2 League conferences, part of the G.D.H. Cole Collection, Nuffield College, Oxford University.
[167] Letter: *William Anderson to John Anderson*, March 3, 1922, University of Sydney Archives, P.42 Papers of John Anderson and family, Series 19, Acc. No.1428, item 1.
[168] A.J. Baker 'Anderson's Intellectual Background and Influences' Part 1 *Loc. Cit.*, p. 12.

official journal, *The Guildsman*. In the development of his political and philosophical outlook, Robieson thought hard about William Anderson's arguments. Chapter 7 addresses this in the context of a coherent ethical theory. What Robieson attempted to shape for Guild Socialism, John Anderson was to refashion into his own philosophy. Robieson appears at first as an onlooker at this drama of ideas. He was to gear up to present his views. Crucial to their development was the emergence in the pages of *The New Age* of a new political movement: that of Guild Socialism – an allegiance in which Robieson found comfort. Before further discussing this, it will be helpful to describe the family background and the milieu at Glasgow University from where the principals of this narrative emerged.

5. The Glasgow Discovery: The Way, the Truth and the Life

"All Unshaken Still": The Family Robieson

Everyone is a product of circumstance, of family and community. Matthew Robieson's personal history is relevant to the person who emerged as a public intellectual prepared to enter the fray on political and educational questions. Understanding this background is relevant to any historical understanding of why certain positions were adopted and about who thought what and why. This Chapter briefly discusses the Robieson family then, more extensively, evaluates the Robieson brothers' experience at Glasgow University.

The Robieson twins were born on May 29, 1890 at Fossoway,[1] Kinross-shire, to their mother Eliza and schoolmaster father William. Life was tough in isolated country hamlets in the elevated, windswept East country. Neil Munro's poem 'To Exiles' sums up the sturdy race as the Scots saw themselves. The poem is addressed to those Scots in foreign lands and goes on:

Wild cries the Winter, and we walk song-haunted
Over the moors and by the thundering falls,
Or where the dirge of a brave past is chaunted
In dolorous dusks by immemorial walls.

[1] The name 'Fossoway' is thought to originate from the Gaelic *fasach-fheidh* meaning "desert of the deer." See David Beveridge *Between The Ochils and Forth*: *Description, Topographical and Historical of the Country Between Stirling Bridge and Aberdour*, William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London (1888): p. 292.

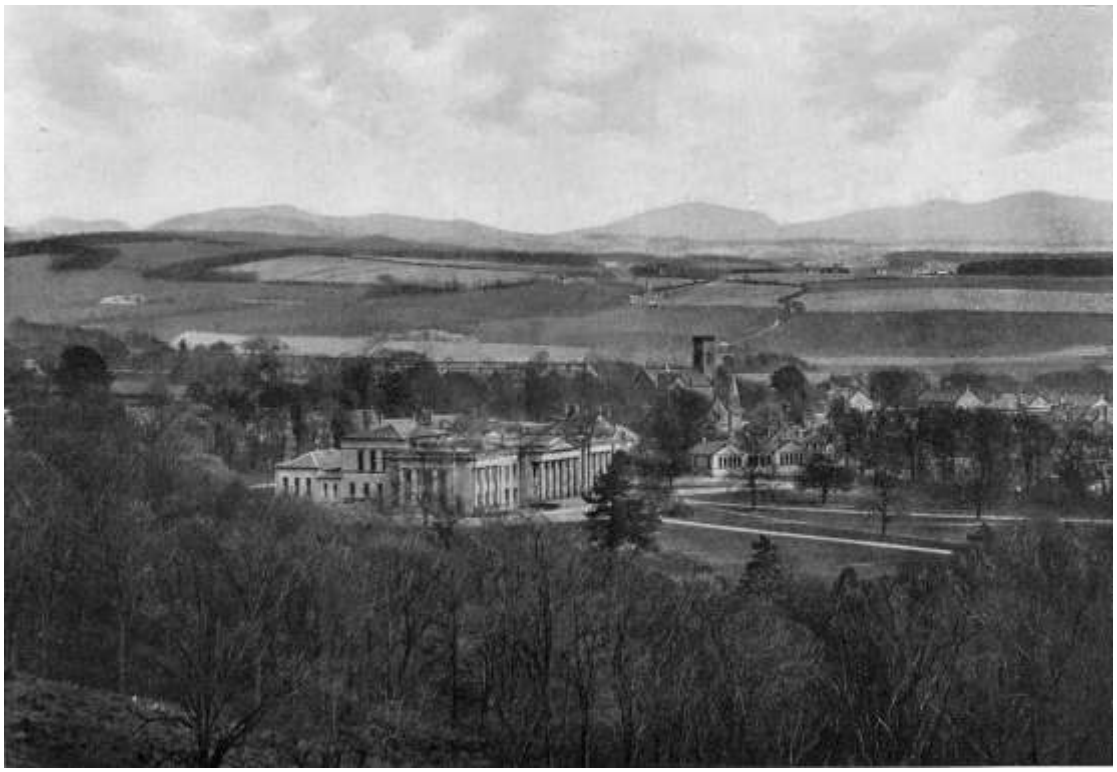
Though rains may thrash on us, the great mists blind us,

And lightning rend the pine-tree on the hill,

Yet are we strong, yet shall the morning find us

Children of tempest all unshaken still.[2]

The Scots are not the only people who in stern poetry commemorate their endurance against inhospitable circumstance. They saw themselves as tough, noble and all the better for it, the "children of the tempest all unshaken still" who battle and endure beyond the odds. There was something of this mindset in the Robieson family.



An illustration of Dollar School, *circa* 1903. Source: Dollar Academy Photographic Archive.

[2] Neil Munro *The Poetry of Neil Munro*, edited with a preface by John Buchan, William Blackwood & Sons Ltd., Edinburgh and London (1931): pp. 27-29. Neil Munro (1863-1930) was a Scottish novelist, journalist, critic and poet. During World War I, his son Hugh was killed at Loos in 1915. An extract from the poem 'Exiles' was quoted in Thomas Johnston *Memories*, Collins, London (1952): p. 190.

Robieson Senior had a deep interest in education issues and participated in and spoke at conferences organised by the Educational Institute of Scotland (EIS)[3] of which he became a Fellow.[4] A major interest of his was about school reforms, particularly those affecting the isolated rural schools. Some brief background to the Scottish education system is that in contrast to the English system of greater depth over a smaller range of subjects, traditionally the Scots, both at secondary and at university level, emphasised breadth across a range of subjects. Generally, the Scottish Universities have courses a year longer (typically four years) than their counterparts elsewhere in the UK. One unique aspect is that the ancient universities of Scotland issue a Master of Arts as the first degree in the humanities.

In 1872 the Presbyterian churches made a crucial contribution to a new education system by handing over their schools without charge to the School Boards. Prior to this, the Free Church supported 548 schools across Scotland together with 584 teachers. But the Catholics stayed outside.[5] The *Education (Scotland) Act, 1872* required compulsory attendance for all children between 5 and 13, although fees still had to be paid until 1890. State control increased the number of school inspectors after 1872. The new system was co-ordinated nationally by the Scotch Education Department with the curriculum emphasising the teaching of reading, writing, and arithmetic (the three

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[3] See, for example, W.D. Robieson 'The New Code in Relation to Rural Schools' in *Papers Read at Educational Conference Under the Auspices of Stirling Branch of Educational Institute of Scotland, at Stirling, on April 22nd, 1899*, Educational Institute of Scotland, Stirling Branch, The Stirling Journal and Advertiser, Stirling (1899): pp. 12-20.

[4] See the reference to W.D. Robieson Snr. as a FEIS in: [Anonymous] 'Mr. W.D. Robieson, F.E.I.S.' *The Scottish Educational Journal*, organ of the Educational Institute of Scotland, Vol. 24, No. 4 (January 24, 1941): p. 56; and [Anonymous] 'In Memoriam – Matthew W. Robieson, M.A.' *The Scottish Educational Journal* Vol. 11, No. 31 (August 1, 1919): p. 1.

[5] The *Education (Scotland) Act*, *1918*, however, brought the Catholics into the system and the Act abolished the school boards. Separate denominational schools, the vast majority being Roman Catholic, with a small number of Scottish Episcopal schools, were funded by the State – along with the non-denominational state schools. See Rev. Brother Kenneth 'The Education (Scotland) Act, 1918, in the Making' *Innes Review*. Vol. 19 (Autumn, 1968): pp. 91-128.

'Rs'). Pupil-teachers could qualify after attending Teacher Training College. The leaving age was raised to 14 in 1883. Compulsory medical and dental inspections were introduced after 1908, though reaching remote schools proved difficult. Post-elementary schools were not publicly funded. Local school boards tried to make sure that sufficient schools were built and that children attended them. There were around 1,000 such boards in Scotland in 1918. After 1918, this became a county responsibility.[6]

In 1899 Robieson Snr. published a paper of a talk that praised recent reforms. Commenting on recent circulars and guidelines by the Scottish Education Department he wrote: "now the hand of the true educationist is distinctly visible in its construction."[7] He urged that school inspectors should be mentors rather than educational policemen. At that time, there were 13 subjects of varying importance with the main emphasis on the 3"R"s. Promotion in one subject was relaxed so as to be no longer dependent on proficiency in another, e.g., arithmetic. Amusingly, he commented that:

> In connection with rural schools one of the subjects quite deserves special mention, viz., practice in speaking English (juniors), oral description of events (seniors) - a rather notable and commendable addition. To speak correctly is every whit a valuable an acquisition as to write grammatically, and the benefit of the study is seen at a glance, but somehow the reference to practice in speaking English in a way appeals to a teacher's sense of humour. One will be interested

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[6] See R. D. Anderson *Education and Opportunity in Victorian Scotland Schools and Universities*, Clarendon Press, Oxford (1983) and James Scotland 'The Centenary of the Education (Scotland) Act of 1872' *British Journal of Educational Studies* Vol. 20, No. 2 (June, 1972): pp. 121-136.

[7] W.D. Robieson [Snr.] 'The New Code (1899) in Relation to Rural Schools' in *Papers Read at Educational Conference Under the Auspices of Stirling Branch of Educational Institute of Scotland, at Stirling, on April 22nd, 1899*, Educational Institute of Scotland, Stirling Branch, The Stirling Journal and Advertiser, Stirling (1899): p. 12. I am grateful to Dr Maria Castrillo, Manuscripts Curator, Manuscript and Map Collections, National Library of Scotland for finding this pamphlet and making a copy.

> to see an examination in this subject! Can we readily train our country children to speak fluently and boldly in presence of that august functionary H.M.I. [i.e., His Majesty's Inspector]?[8]

He suggested that his charges rarely lacked fluency. It was more a problem of speaking when required!

On the religious adherence of the family, there was a reference in *The Scotsman* to a United Free meeting arranged by the Dunfermline and Kinross United Free Presbytery, held in the Kinross Town Hall:

> …the following resolution, proposed by Mr. W.D. Robieson, schoolmaster, Fossoway, and seconded by the Rev. John Ruthven, Erskine United Free Church, Kinross, was unanimously adopted:- 'That this meeting, having regard to the situation created by the recent decision of the House of Lords, cannot entertain any suggestion to fall back from the Union of 1900, and affirms its adherence to and practical sympathy with the United Free Church in its stand for spiritual liberty and progress'.[9]

This was a reference to a bitter conflict then engulfing the Church.[10] The Free Church of Scotland was formed in 1843 by a large withdrawal from the established Church of Scotland in a division known as the Disruption. In 1900 the vast majority of the Free Church of Scotland joined with the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland to form the

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[8] *Ibid.*, p. 14.
[9] *The Scotsman*, October 13, 1904, p. 6.
[10] The Free Church of Scotland was formed in 1843 by a large withdrawal from the established Church of Scotland in a division known as the Disruption. In 1900 the vast majority of the Free Church of Scotland joined with the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland to form the United Free Church of Scotland

Matthew and William Robieson - young boys in sailor suits - impossible to tell which is which. Source: family collection of Mrs. Clare Thomas.

United Free Church of Scotland.[11] Independence from the State was a key point: "Voluntaryism meant an aversion not only to State control, but to any kind of State connection."[12]

Perhaps Matthew considered a religious life. It was reported that at a meeting of the College Committee of the United Free Church, held in October 1907 that M.W. Robieson was a successful competitor for one of the theological bursaries to Glasgow University: 30 pounds for 3 years.[13] At Glasgow University, he participated in the United Free Church Students' Society.[14] In the 1911 Census, his father apparently recorded that Matthew was a Divinity student.[15]

A school contemporary, Hector Hetherington, recalled that "Matthew Robieson came to Dollar with his twin brother William, I think, in 1903, from their father's school in Fossoway."[16] Dollar Academy, established in 1818,[17] was a prestigious, co-educational

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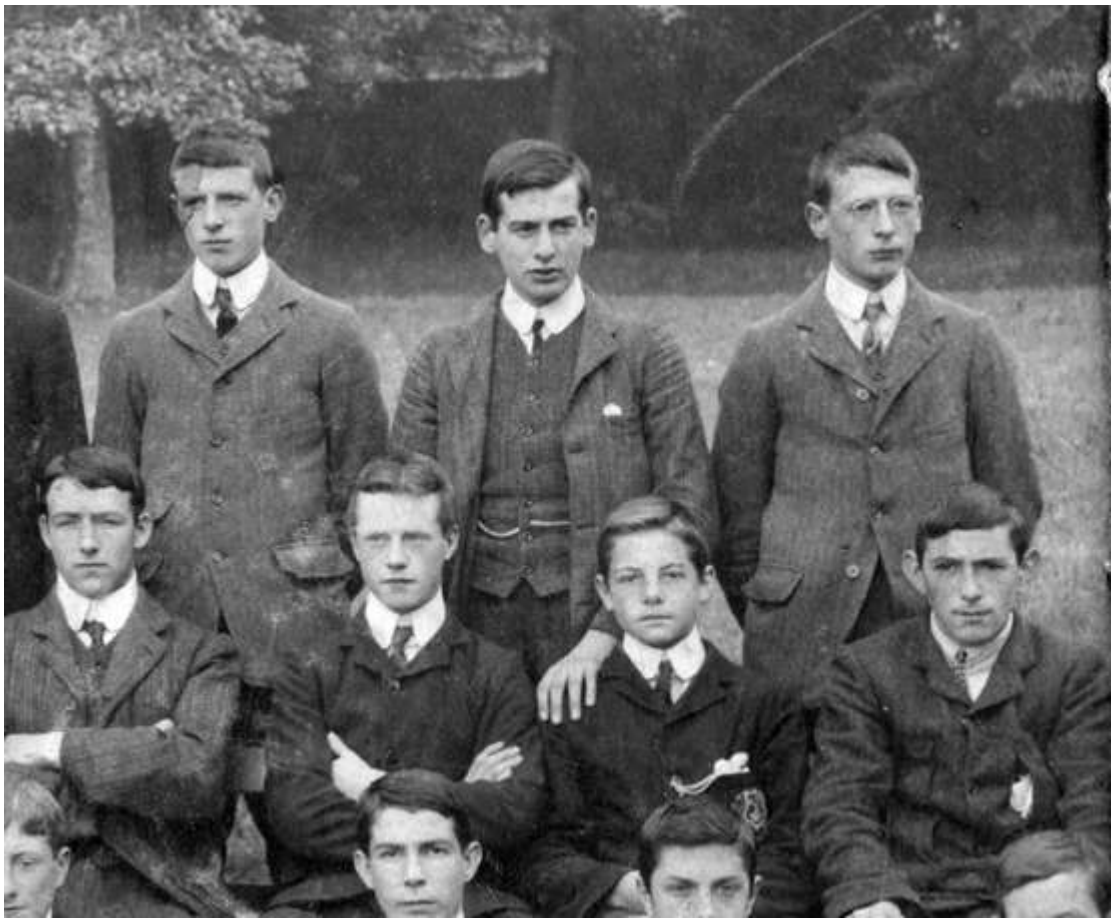
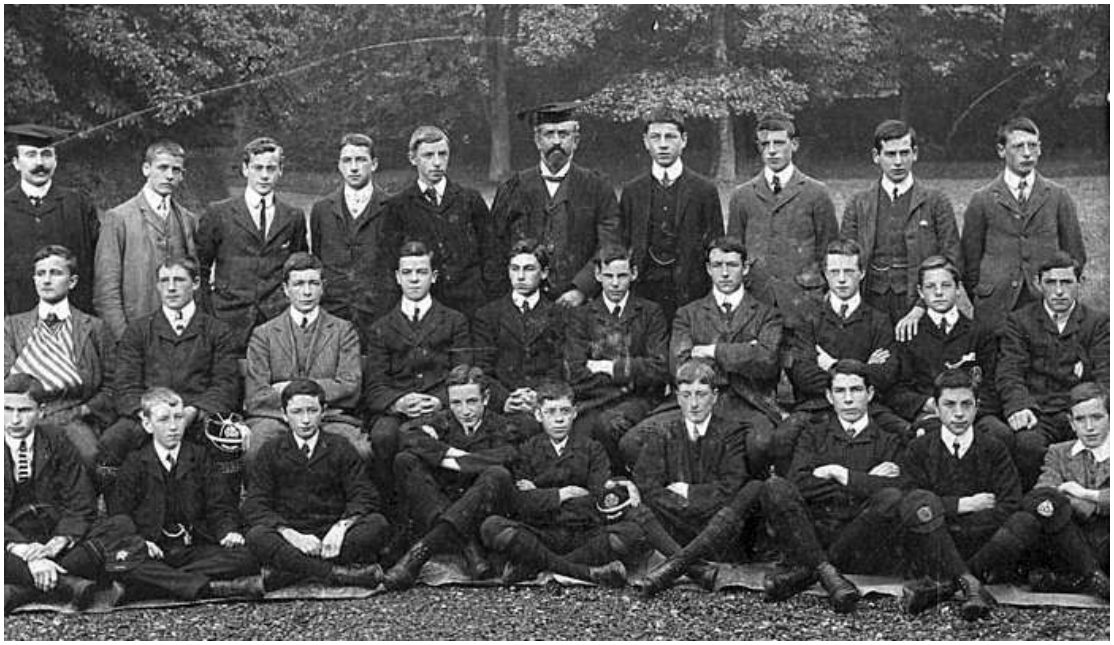
[11] United Free Church itself re-united with the Church of Scotland in 1929.
[12] John Buchan and George Adam Smith *The Kirk in Scotland 1560-1929*, Hodder & Stoughton, Edinburgh (1930): p. 89. Though partisan, this book is useful in summarising the history and issues of Scottish Church history. For another side of the debate, see James Barr *The United Free Church of Scotland*, Allenson and Co., Ltd., London (1934).
[13] *The Scotsman*, October 15, 1907, p. 6.
[14] See 'United Free Church Students' Society' *Glasgow University Magazine* Vol. 21, No. 6 (December 9, 1908): pp. 158-159. This report states that M.W. Robieson led the debate on the topic of 'Municipal Control of the Drink Traffic'. Another report is at 'U.F. Students' Society' *Glasgow University Magazine* Vol. 21, No. 10, (January 20, 1909): p. 292.
[15] Clare Thomas wrote: "I checked the Robieson entry in the 1911 Census yesterday and was amused to see Uncle Matth listed as 'Divinity Student'; I suspect that was great-grandfather's view - he would have been the one giving the information to the enumerator, possibly even refusing to believe that Matth had abandoned divinity (if he ever truly took it up, unless it helped with funding) and was 'dabbling' in philosophy and socialism." Email: *Clare Thomas to Michael Easson*, May 9, 2011. Since April 2011 the 1911 UK Census details have been searchable on-line.
[16] Hector Hetherington [published as H.J.W.H.] 'Matthew Robieson' *The Dollar Magazine* Vol. XVIII, No. 71 (September 1919): p. 120.
[17] John McNabb (1732-1802), merchant and shipowner, bequeathed half his considerable fortune to the Minister and Kirk-Session of Dollar, who decided to build a school – which was completed in 1821. McNabb's bequest was for "a charity or school, for the poor of the parish of Dollar." Email: *Janet Carolan, Dollar School archivist, to Michael Easson*, May 27, 2011. Because the country was still at war in 1918, the centenary celebrations were held in 1919 on June 26th and 27th. Some useful facts on the school, Dollar



Matthew Robieson top left; William Robieson top far right. Source: Dollar Academy Photographic Archive.



Senior Class, Dollar Institution 1906-1907. Source: Dollar Academy Photographic Archive.

village & surrounds can be garnered from a pamphlet *Dollar*, Clackmannanshire, The Official Guide, Ed. J. Burrow & Co. Ltd., Cheltenham and London (n.d., *circa* late 1920s).

SPECIAL PRIZES AND MEDALS.

The Governors annually award Silver Medals to the best Pupil in each Department. The Medallists for Session 1906-1907 are:—

I. *English and English Literature*—

(1) Boys - - - { WM. D. ROBIESON. / MATTHEW W. ROBIESON (*Prox. Acc.*).

(2) Girls - - - { MARGARET B. ELLIS. / MARGARET WILSON (*Prox. Acc.*).

II. *Latin*—WM. D. ROBIESON.

III. *Greek*—WM. D. ROBIESON.

IV. *French*—WM. D. ROBIESON.

V. *German*—MARGARET B. ELLIS.

VI. *Mathematics*—MATTHEW W. ROBIESON.

VII. *Science*—Boys - - CYRIL P. C. YOUNG.
Girls - - GRACE MACDONALD.

VIII. *Art*—MARY I. S. MACBETH.
GERTRUDE M. CRABB (*Prox. Acc.*).

IX. *Silver Pen for Highest Success in Commercial Department*—

(1) Girls - - - MARY RONALDSON.

(2) Boys - - - DONALD G. SINCLAIR.

THE MILNE MEDALS,

founded in memory of Dr John Milne, Principal of Dollar Institution from 1851-1868, are awarded to the Best General Scholar in the Boys' and Girls' Schools.

Medallists for 1906-1907—

Girls - - - MARGARET WILSON.

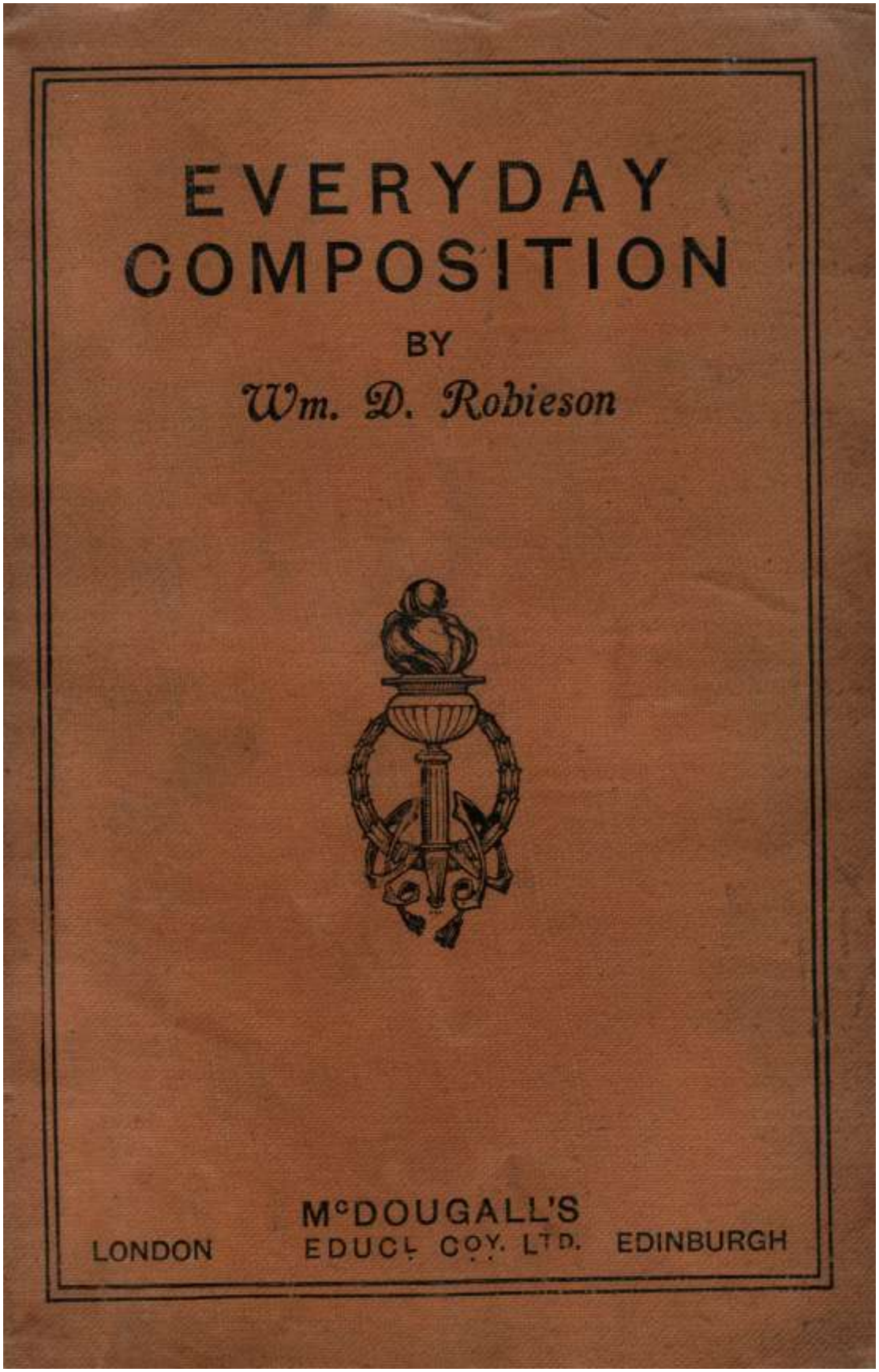
Boys - - - WM. D. ROBIESON.

THE WM. WILSON MEMORIAL PRIZE

was founded by Mr Wilson, London, recently deceased, and has been endowed by Bequest left by him. Its value is £2. 10s., to be expended on Books, and it is awarded on the conditions attached to the Scholarships founded by the late Right Honourable Cecil J. Rhodes.

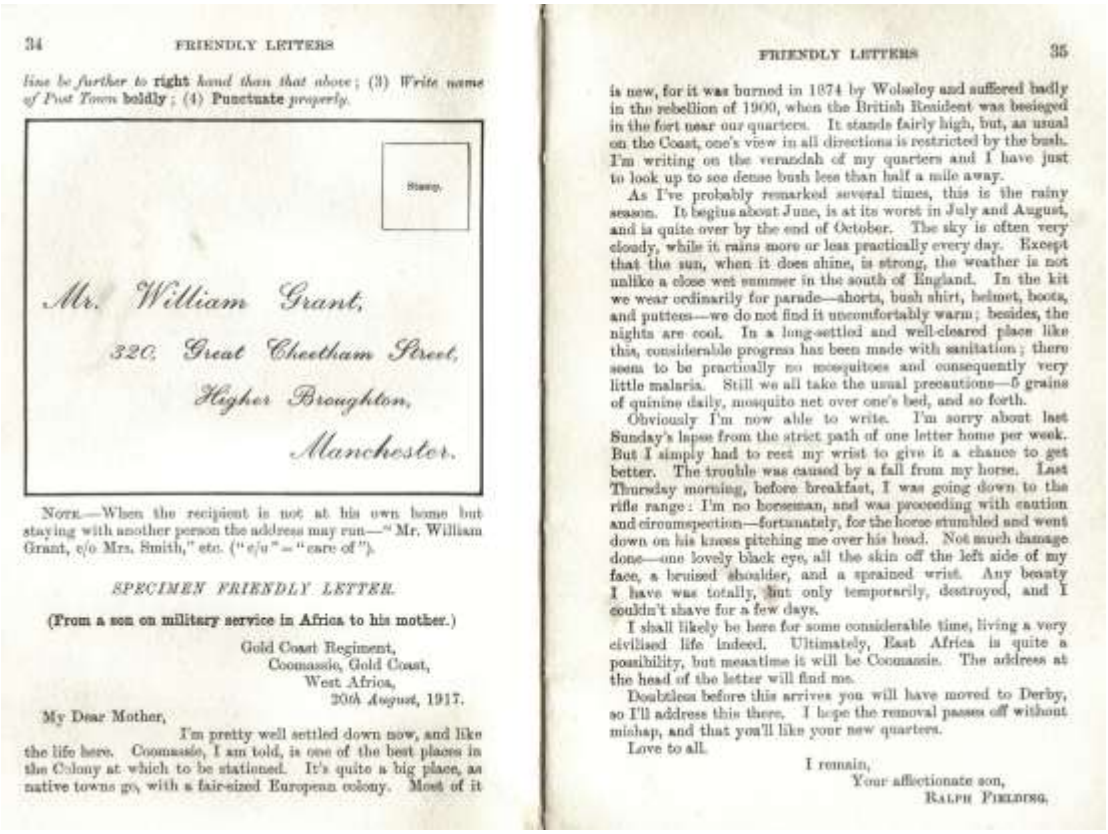
MATTHEW W. ROBIESON, } Equal.
WM. D. ROBIESON, }

Prize list in 1906-1907 at Dollar, including the award to William for first prize in French, which was actually won by Matthew Robieson. Source: Dollar Academy Archives.



Wm. D. Robieson's *Everyday Composition* (1918). Source: from the original in the possession of Mrs. Clare Thomas.

(though with sex-segregated classes), inclusive, private school with mostly day pupils; the school accommodated about 90 boarders; the rest were from the village of Dollar itself, from the surrounding counties of Clackmannanshire, Stirling, Perth and Kinross and Fife, elsewhere in the U.K. and from Scots families overseas. Even so, Dollar was not an exclusive school when the Robiesons were there, from 1903 to 1907. At that time the fees were low, many bursaries were available and there was free education with free books and even free boots and clothes for those on low incomes. The school was set up for the poor of the parish. Virtually all Dollar children attended whether their father was the bank manager or the dustman.[18]



34 FRIENDLY LETTERS

line be further to **right** *hand than that above*; (3) *Write name of Post Town* **boldly**; (4) **Punctuate** *properly.*

Stamp.

Mr. William Grant,
320, Great Cheetham Street,
Higher Broughton,
Manchester.

NOTE.—When the recipient is not at his own home but staying with another person the address may run—"Mr. William Grant, c/o Mrs. Smith," etc. ("c/o" = "care of").

SPECIMEN FRIENDLY LETTER.

(From a son on military service in Africa to his mother.)

Gold Coast Regiment,
Coomassie, Gold Coast,
West Africa,
20th August, 1917.

My Dear Mother,

I'm pretty well settled down now, and like the life here. Coomassie, I am told, is one of the best places in the Colony at which to be stationed. It's quite a big place, as native towns go, with a fair-sized European colony. Most of it

FRIENDLY LETTERS 35

is new, for it was burned in 1874 by Wolseley and suffered badly in the rebellion of 1900, when the British Resident was besieged in the fort near our quarters. It stands fairly high, but, as usual on the Coast, one's view in all directions is restricted by the bush. I'm writing on the verandah of my quarters and I have just to look up to see dense bush less than half a mile away.

As I've probably remarked several times, this is the rainy season. It begins about June, is at its worst in July and August, and is quite over by the end of October. The sky is often very cloudy, while it rains more or less practically every day. Except that the sun, when it does shine, is strong, the weather is not unlike a close wet summer in the south of England. In the kit we wear ordinarily for parade—shorts, bush shirt, helmet, boots, and puttees—we do not find it uncomfortably warm; besides, the nights are cool. In a long-settled and well-cleared place like this, considerable progress has been made with sanitation; there seem to be practically no mosquitoes and consequently very little malaria. Still we all take the usual precautions—5 grains of quinine daily, mosquito net over one's bed, and so forth.

Obviously I'm now able to write. I'm sorry about last Sunday's lapse from the strict path of one letter home per week. But I simply had to rest my wrist to give it a chance to get better. The trouble was caused by a fall from my horse. Last Thursday morning, before breakfast, I was going down to the rifle range: I'm no horseman, and was proceeding with caution and circumspection—fortunately, for the horse stumbled and went down on his knees pitching me over his head. Not much damage done—one lovely black eye, all the skin off the left side of my face, a bruised shoulder, and a sprained wrist. Any beauty I have was totally, but only temporarily, destroyed, and I couldn't shave for a few days.

I shall likely be here for some considerable time, living a very civilised life indeed. Ultimately, East Africa is quite a possibility, but meantime it will be Coomassie. The address at the head of the letter will find me.

Doubtless before this arrives you will have moved to Derby, so I'll address this there. I hope the removal passes off without mishap, and that you'll like your new quarters.

Love to all.

I remain,
Your affectionate son,
RALPH FIELDING.

Extract: a letter based on one by WDR to his mother. Source: Wm. D. Robieson *Every Day Composition*

[18] Email: *Janet Carolan, Dollar School archivist, to Michael Easson*, May 19, 2011. The school went private and became more elitist in the 1970s.

W.D.R. on appointment as editor of the Glasgow *Herald*; from *The Outram Journal* (June, 1936): p. 20.

The Robieson boys' fees were paid by the Kinross county education authority; they also received free books and travel. (Other pupils who travelled to Dollar had their fees paid by other shire authorities, Clackmannanshire, Fife, *etc*.).[19]

The Robieson brothers came from a family that was an outpost of learning and culture in rural Scotland. Although Robieson Snr. seems not to have been politically radical, he was active in the Scottish teachers' union. Robieson Snr. formed views and pressed his thoughts on education reform and on high education standards. Thinking creatively and effectively are liberating impulses, but require a mastery of the arts and forms of the language. In this he was in a tradition that emphasised that in education people are transformed – to think, express and argue. As a leading member of the local communities which he served, Robieson Snr. set an example to his sons: stand for what you believe, love ideas and know what they mean.

In many ways, this is a conventional familial background – albeit led by an apparently exceptionally talented, if severe, father-mentor. The Anderson brothers also led life as sons of a prominent town schoolmaster. But the contrast in politics was great. Chapter 8 considers how this was so in the context of an exploration of the ideas of the Scottish and British socialists. Matthew Robieson came to those sources fresh, whereas the Andersons were brought up in a 'socialist household'. All were to react, think about and mint their own thoughts. Perhaps the most important part of the forging of their ideas

[19] Janet Carolan points out that in the 1906 to 1907 class, 63 were Bursars and the number who were Foundationers (*i.e.*, received free education and books because their parents' incomes were below a very low threshold) was 84 out of a total enrolment of around 360 aged 10-18. The rest were on relatively low fees: "I do not call this 'exclusive' but rather democratic - and of course the school was also co-educational." Email: *Janet Carolan, Dollar School archivist, to Michael Easson*, May 27, 2011.

occurred at Glasgow University where Matthew Robieson was converted to socialism.[20] That is where we shall now turn.

The Fossoway Church and family gravestone of the Robieson family. Source: family collection of Clare Thomas

A Liberal Education in Edwardian Glasgow

During the period that they were enrolled, Bill and Matth Robieson (students, 1907-1911), William Anderson (1907-1911) and John Anderson (1911-1918) encountered a vibrantly interesting university that enabled them to study rigorously and to read widely in traditional philosophy and logic, moral philosophy, political economy and, in

[20] See: Anonymous [Published as "From Our Own Correspondent" in Glasgow] 'Professor Drowned. Brilliant Career Cut Short by Bathing Tragedy in Cornwall' *Daily Herald* new series, No. 95, July 19, 1919, p. 2.

Bill Robieson's case, history. Glasgow's equivalent of Oxford's Politics, Philosophy and Economics (PPE) degree encouraged a broad education and ensured that Glasgow became the pre-eminent university in Edwardian Scotland.

Their university experience educated Robieson and Anderson in ideas, argument and debating skills. They were stimulated by political developments in Glasgow, though mainly as intellectuals active in the life of the university and the surrounding community. The Robiesons and the elder Anderson became close friends – despite differences in outlook and religious sensibilities. As discussed in the next Chapter, Matthew Robieson and William Anderson led the socialist cause on campus. Bill Robieson became equally prominent for the Liberal side. The claim can be made that university, family and the city 'made' them. This Chapter discusses their distinctive educational experience that was very much in flux in the period they studied and became politically active in Glasgow.

Glasgow was and is a city of multiple and even contradictory identities. The 'Second City of the Empire', 'Red Clydeside' and the 'Merchant City' are a few of the phrases used to project the Glasgow image, positively and negatively.[21] In the 19th century Scotland gradually generated vast wealth through commerce, manufacturing and heavy industry which made Glasgow the 'Second City of the Empire' and shipbuilder to the world. It had a slightly imperious sense of secondness - to London. The city and its

[21] Some books consulted for this assessment include: Edwin Muir *Scottish Journey*, William Heinemann Ltd in association with Victor Gollancz Ltd., Kingswood [Surrey, England] (1935); Colm Brogan *The Glasgow Story*, Frederick Muller Ltd., London (1952); George Blake *The Shipbuilders*, a Novel, Faber & Faber Limited, London (1955); W. Hamish Fraser and Irene Maver *Glasgow Volume II*: *1830 to 1912*, Manchester University Press, Manchester and New York (1996); Irene Maver *Glasgow* Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh (2000); Nigel Dalziel *Glasgow*, The History Press, Brimscombe Port Stroud [United Kingdom] (2009).

university were belligerently proud of being a place where thinking and teaching went on with less pretension. The university was rebuilt in the 1880s intertwined with the commercial and civic life of a merchant city capital, rather than set off and isolated in a country town like Oxford and Cambridge.

Ethnically divided between Scots Protestants and Irish immigrants, in the early part of the 20th century, Glasgow was growing and confident, but with extremes of wealth, poverty and squalor. Sub-standard, over crowded and unsanitary housing became a major social issue.[22] From the late 1840s onwards, vast numbers of Irish Catholics settled in Glasgow. Originally forced to flee Ireland due to the Great Famine in that country,[23] the Irish continued to immigrate to Glasgow in huge numbers for the rest of the 19th and early 20th centuries, driven by economic stagnation at home. This gave Glasgow a large Catholic population.

From the Industrial Revolution, Glasgow produced and exported textiles, engineering products, manufactured goods and steel. The opening of the Monkland Canal in 1791 facilitated access to the iron-ore and coalmines in Lanarkshire. After extensive engineering projects to dredge and deepen the Clyde, shipbuilding became a major industry on the upper stretches of the river (although many vessels were actually built in Clydebank, closer to the mouth of the river). Glasgow's population at around 200,000 surpassed Edinburgh by 1821. In 1861 the population was just under 400,000, many of them living in over-crowded accommodation called 'single ends'. By 1911, Glasgow's

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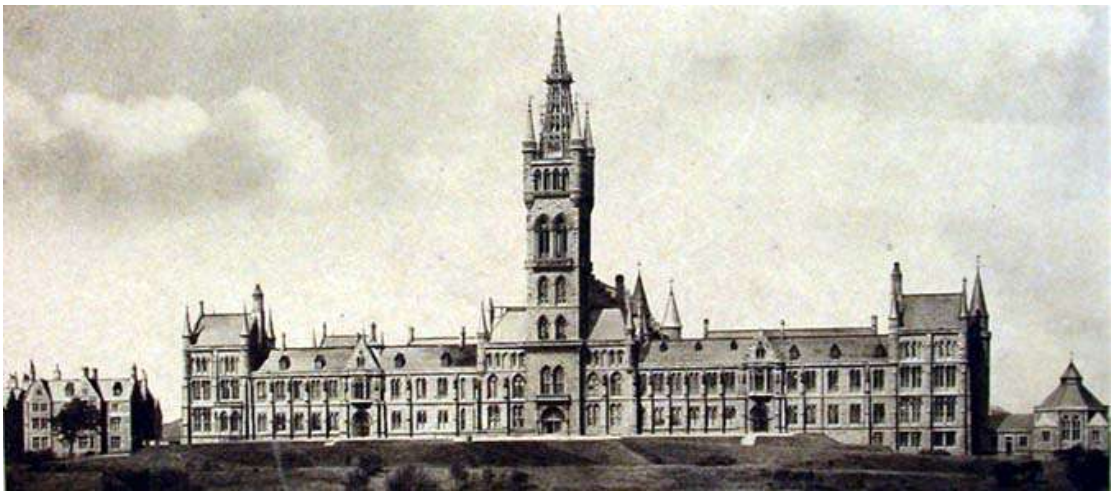
[22] Frank Worsdall *The Tenement: A Way of Life*: *a Social, Historical and Architectural Study of Housing in Glasgow*, W. and R. Chambers, Edinburgh (1979); Joseph Melling, *Rent Strikes. Peoples' Struggle for Housing in West Scotland 1890–1916*, Polygon Books, Edinburgh (1983); N.J. Morgan and M.J. Daunton 'Landlords in Glasgow: A Study of 1900' *Business History* Vol. 25, No. 3 (1983): pp. 264-286.
[23] The Great Irish Famine was between 1845 and 1852, where a failure of the potato crop led to starvation, disease and emigration. See Liam Kennedy, Paul S. Ell, E.M. Crawford, L.A. Clarkson, editors, *Mapping The Great Irish Famine*, Four Courts Press, Dublin, Ireland (1999).

population was close to 800,000 and over a million by 1920.[24] By the end of the 19th century the city was producing many of the largest ships and locomotives in the world. In Victorian and Edwardian Scotland, the construction of many of the city's greatest architectural masterpieces and most ambitious civic projects, like the Loch Katrine aqueduct - initial works completed in 1859 and the second aqueduct opened in 1901[25] - and the Subway,[26] built and opened on December 14, 1896 by the Glasgow District Subway Company, were funded by this wealth. Urban changes produced handsome new streets and parks, as well as increasingly fetid slums and unsightly factories. In the early 20th century, the demolition of the historic core of the city by unsentimental Glaswegians made way for new public buildings, new housing, the central shopping area and a modern railway system.



Detail of Old College, Glasgow. Source: University Archives, *University of Glasgow Old and New*, revised from an earlier edition, photographs in photogravure by T.& R Annan & Sons, James MacLehose & Sons, Glasgow (1891).

A major beneficiary of the growing wealth and population of Glasgow was its University

[24] From 1920-1950 the population hovered around a million souls before consistently declining. Besides that already cited, there is a wealth of historical and other accounts of Glasgow. A selection is: Ronald Miller and Joy Tivy, editors, *The Glasgow Region*: A General Survey, British Association for the Advancement of Science, Glasgow (1958); R.A. Cage, editor, *The Working Class in Glasgow 1750-1914*, Croom Helm, London (1987). Allan Massie *Glasgow: Portraits of a City*, Barrie & Jenkins, London (1989).
[25] Harlean James 'Glasgow the Practical' *National Municipal Review* Vol. 18, Issue 7 (July, 1929): pp. 447-451.
[26] John Wright and Ian Maclean, *Circles under the Clyde: A History of the Glasgow Underground*, Capital Transport, Harrow Weald (1997).

whose motto - *Via, Veritas, Vita* ("The Way, the Truth and the Life"[27]) - reflected its origins, as the original University was founded on the basis of a Papal Bull.[28]

In 1870 the University moved to a new site on Gilmorehill in the leafy West End of the city, around three miles west of its prior location, enclosed by a large loop of the Kelvin River. Thomas Jones wrote: "...after four centuries in the east, the college left the scene of busy warehouses and sordid wynds and squalid poor and went west to Gilbert Scott's palace 'with the hundred little prickly turrets' on the banks of the Kelvin."[29] The University relocated to a number of custom-made buildings, designed by Sir George Gilbert Scott in the Gothic revival style.[30] The largest of these, now called the Gilbert Scott Building, echoed on a grand scale the High Street campus's twin quadrangle layout. Between the two quadrangles, Scott's son, Oldrid, built an open undercroft above which is his grand Bute Hall (used for examinations and graduation ceremonies), and the buildings' signature Gothic bell tower. The sandstone cladding and the Gothic design of the buildings' exterior belie the modernity of its Victorian construction. The structures were hung on a then cutting-edge riveted iron frame, with a lightweight wooden-beam roof.

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[27] These, of course, are the words of Jesus in John's Gospel: John 14:6.
[28] Sir Donald MacAlister 'The University of Glasgow', J. Graham Kerr, editor, *Glasgow*, Sketches by Various Authors, for the British Association of Science, Robert MacLehose and Company Ltd, Glasgow (1928): p. 86. 'The Papal Bull', Michael Moss, Moira Rankin and Lesley Richmond, compilers, *Who, Where and When: The History & Constitution of the University of Glasgow* University of Glasgow, Glasgow (2001): pp. 19-21. A modern history of Glasgow University is Michael Moss, J. Forbes Munro and Richard H. Trainor *University, City and State*: *The University of Glasgow since 1870*, Edinburgh University Press for the University of Glasgow, Edinburgh (2000).
[29] Thomas Jones 'Biographical Sketch', in William Smart *Second Thoughts of an Economist*, Macmillan and Co., Limited, London (1916): p. xii.
[30] *Cf.* David Cole *The Work of Sir Gilbert Scott*, The Architectural Press, London (1980).

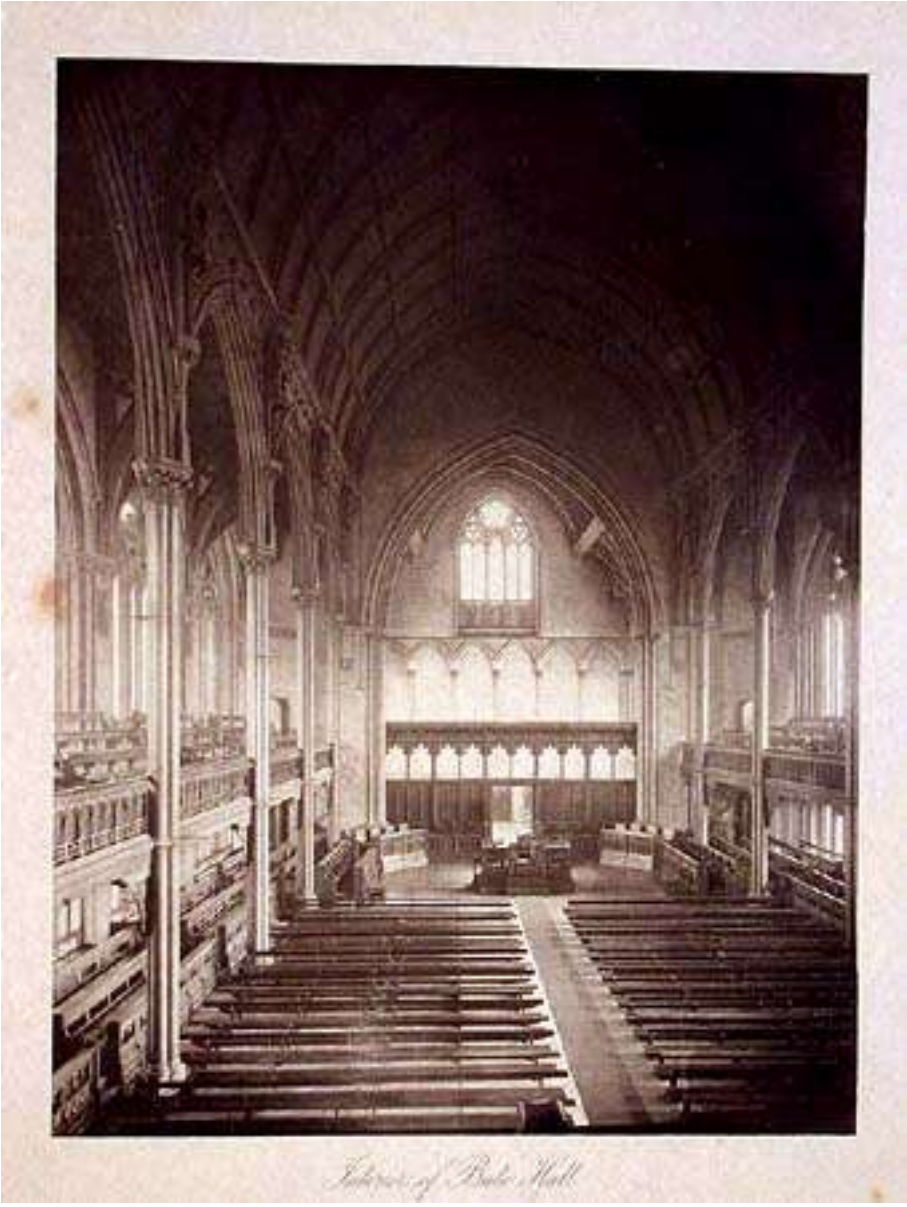
University Buildings from West End Park. Source: University Archives, from the commemorative volume *University of Glasgow Old and New*, revised from an earlier edition, photographs in photogravure by T.& R Annan & Sons, James MacLehose & Sons, Glasgow (1891).

Although women were admitted as students from 1892,[31] women teachers were scarce and until early in the 20th century none attained Professorships.[32] By the early 20th century, even the enlarged premises could not contain the ever-growing university, which quickly spread across much of Gilmorehill. Bill Robieson recalled: "When I came up in 1907 the university had just begun to expand from the 1870 buildings. The

[31] In February 1892 the Scottish Universities Commissioners published an Ordinance authorising the universities to make provision for the instruction and graduation of women. Earlier, in April 1877, the Glasgow Association for the Higher Education of Women was formed with the support of Glasgow University Principal John Caird. The Association's primary aims were to offer women courses of study similar to those available to men at universities, and "to promote generally the higher culture and education of women" with the co-operation of the University of Glasgow. In June 1883 the Association was incorporated under the Companies Act as the Queen Margaret College, the first and only college in Scotland to provide higher education for women. The rise in numbers during the early 1900s resulted in overcrowding at the Queen Margaret and women were increasingly expected to attend mixed classes at Gilmorehill. Subsequently, many of the College lectureships were converted to lectureships in the University Departments. By the late 1920s the College was being used for little more than administrative purposes and in 1934 the buildings and grounds were abandoned (the building was sold in 1935 and became the home of BBC Scotland). See 'Women in the University' accessed from the University of Glasgow website, February 2011.

[32] In 1911, an informed newspaper article reported that the General Council of the University voted down 11-9 a proposal to allow women to be appointed Professors. See 'Glasgow University Council. Women Candidates for Professorship Proposal Defeated' *The Scotsman* (January 12, 1911): p. 10.

natural philosophy building and what is now called the west medical building had just been opened…"[33] More expansion was to come.



Interior of Bute Hall where exams and graduation ceremonies were held. Source: Glasgow University Archives, *University of Glasgow Old and New*, revised from an earlier edition, photographs in photogravure by T. & R. Annan & Sons, James MacLehose & Sons, Glasgow (1891).

[33] ["University Correspondent"] 'Students are Better Looked After Now' *The Glasgow Herald* (January 8, 1968). The article quoted Sir William Robieson's recollection the day before, in a BBC Radio 4 broadcast, on student life 60 years previously.

In the Scottish universities it was then the practice to begin any honours course in the humanities with a choice of three philosophical subjects: political economy, moral philosophy,[34] or logic[35] and metaphysics.[36] The Scottish system provided that all students graduated with a Masters degree. For the ordinary Degree of Master of Arts, the graduate received a Diploma, setting forth the subjects in which he or she had passed. The Degree with Honours could be taken in one or more recognised Groups of subjects.[37] In undertaking honours, Smart observed that "We are no longer limited to text-book courses. We have to meet men who are much nearer our own level, and we have to meet them round a table, with full right on their part of interruption, criticism, and inquiry."[38] In honours, advanced skills in understanding material, together with originality and verve in argumentation, were required.

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[34] The Moral Philosophy classes, Bill Robieson recalled, started at 8.00am five days a week; the subject was treated both historically and systematically. Lectures were given on the metaphysical and psychological implications of Morals, and in connection with the historical part the development of Morals was traced, and an account given of some of the main ethical theories of ancient and modern times. The work of the class included the study of Plato's *Republic* and Thomas Carlyle's major work, *Sartor Resartus* (meaning 'the tailor re-tailored'), first published in serial form in 1833-34, purported to be a commentary on the thought and early life of an imaginary German philosopher called Diogenes Teufelsdröckh (translatable as 'god-born devil-dung'), author of a tome entitled 'Clothes: their Origin and Influence'. Teufelsdröckh's musings are mulled over by a skeptical English editor who also provides fragmentary biographical material on the philosopher. The work is, in part, a parody of Hegel and, more generally of German Idealism. After 1910 Henry Jones' *Idealism as a Practical Creed* was added to the reading list. Henry Jones *Idealism as a Practical Creed Being the Lectures on Philosophy and Modern Life Delivered Before the University of Sydney*, James Maclehose and Sons, Glasgow (1910).

[35] In Logic the readings would have included: John Stuart Mill *A System of Logic: Ratiocinative & Inductive, Being a Connected View of the Principles of Evidence and the Methods of Scientific Investigation*, John W. Parker, London (first published in 1843 with many later editions); G.W.F. Hegel *Encyclopedia Logic* or *The Logic of Hegel* translated from Hegel's the *Encyclopedia of the Philosophical Sciences*, William Wallace, editor and translator, Clarendon Press, Oxford (1874); John Venn *Symbolic Logic*, Macmillan and Company, London (1881); Christoph von Sigwart *Logic* in two volumes, Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Ltd, London (1895); Bernard Bosanquet *Logic or the Morphology of Knowledge*, Oxford University Press, Oxford (1911); G.F. Stout *Analytic Psychology*, in two volumes, Swan Sonnenschein & Co., London (1902) William James *The Principles of Psychology*, in two volumes, Macmillan and Co., Ltd., London (1890).

[36] To give a flavour of the work covered, in Metaphysics, the following was studied: (1) Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason*. (2) Several subjects drawn from Greek Philosophy and Modern Philosophy were examined: (i) History of Greek Philosophy up to Aristotle; (ii) Aristotle and the Post-Aristotelian systems (exclusive of Neo-Platonism); (iii) Descartes and Cartesianism, Spinoza and Leibniz; (iv) Locke, Berkeley and Hume; (v) Hegel's smaller *Logic* - i.e., William Wallace *The Logic of Hegel*, translated from the *Encyclopaedia of the Philosophical Sciences*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, second edition, revised and augmented (1892).

[37] *Cf.* Robert Latta 'Faculty of Arts' *Glasgow University Student Handbook 1913-14*, James Maclehose & Sons, Glasgow (1914): pp. 14-16; 19-22; 25-28.

[38] William Smart 'From the Arts Side' *The University of Glasgow Its Position & Wants*, James Maclehose and Sons, Glasgow (1900): p. 84.

In Moral Philosophy, candidates were expected to offer for examination some book, subject, author, or period; or to submit a thesis on a subject in Philosophy, either in Logic or in Moral Philosophy or in English.[39]

The University became strong in the teaching of political economy and political philosophy. In 1892 a Lectureship in Political Economy was established with William Smart (1853-1915), whose thinking was influenced by Thomas Carlyle, John Ruskin and later by Edward Caird.[40] In 1896 Smart's position was raised to a Chair of Political Economy (Professor to 1915) in what in time would develop into the Department of Economics. A former student and later academic colleague of Smart, Thomas Jones, remarked:

> It was impossible to have the city out of one's mind in the economics class-room in Glasgow. The clang of the hammers on the Clyde mingled with the professor's voice as you sat on the benches. Through the windows you saw the smoking chimneys of factory and foundry under "the engineering skies." And when you went out into the wind and rain past the massive houses of the industrial captains to a lodging with a concealed bed in Partick, or to a settlement in a slum off the Cowcaddens, the grim strenuous life of the workmen, the grey streets of lofty tenements "ruled into pigeon holes," with thirty or forty families on a single

[39] Alas, theses from the relevant period have not survived. Professor Alan Weir, since 2006 Professor of Philosophy and Head of the Department of Philosophy at Glasgow University and, previously, senior lecturer in Philosophy at Queen's University Belfast, noted that: "We do not keep MA theses beyond about 3 years, never mind a century! We do know of people working on 17th century theses which are held in the Library but it would seem that once the student population grew such theses were no longer kept." Email: *Professor Alan Weir to Michael Easson*, November 20, 2009.
[40] Thomas Jones 'Biographical Sketch', in William Smart *Second Thoughts of an Economist*, *Loc. Cit.*, p. xvi.

> ticketed stairway, made any permanent escape into the realms of pure theory impossible.[41]

In 1909 a Lectureship in Political Philosophy was founded with funds raised to commemorate the late Edward Caird, who had died the year before. The first Edward Caird Lecturer in Political Philosophy[42] was Dr Robert Alexander Duff, author of an acclaimed study of Spinoza,[43] who had a major impact on Matthew Robieson. As Official Adviser of Studies in Arts at the University of Glasgow, Duff wrote that he saw promise from the very start:

> When Mr. M.W. Robieson first came up to this University it fell to me as Official Adviser of Studies in Arts to interview him. It seemed to me then that Providence meant him to be a philosopher; and I suggested to him - what I very rarely do - that he should enter a Philosophy Class in his first session. He did so, and carried off the first prize in it. And every year that has passed since has only confirmed my first impression.[44]

This echoed similar assessments by other teachers.

In Political Economy, there was an assistant working with Professor William Smart. From 1906 to 1908 Richard Henry Tawney, whom Robieson might have known when he studied Political Economy, assisted Smart in the teaching duties. Tawney lamented that:

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[41] *Ibid*., p. xxxv.
[42] In 1960 this became an independent Department with the replacement of the Lectureship with the Chair in Political and Social Theory. The Chair was renamed twice, first to Political and Social Philosophy in 1965, and then to Politics in 1970.
[43] Robert A. Duff *Spinoza's Political and Ethical Philosophy*, James Maclehose and Sons, Glasgow (1903).
[44] R.A. Duff 'Testimonial Letter' in Matthew W. Robieson *Letter of Application and Testimonials* of Matthew W. Robieson, M.A. Candidate for the Lecturership in Moral Philosophy and History of Philosophy in the Queen's University of Belfast, James Maclehose and Sons, Glasgow (1913): p. 13.

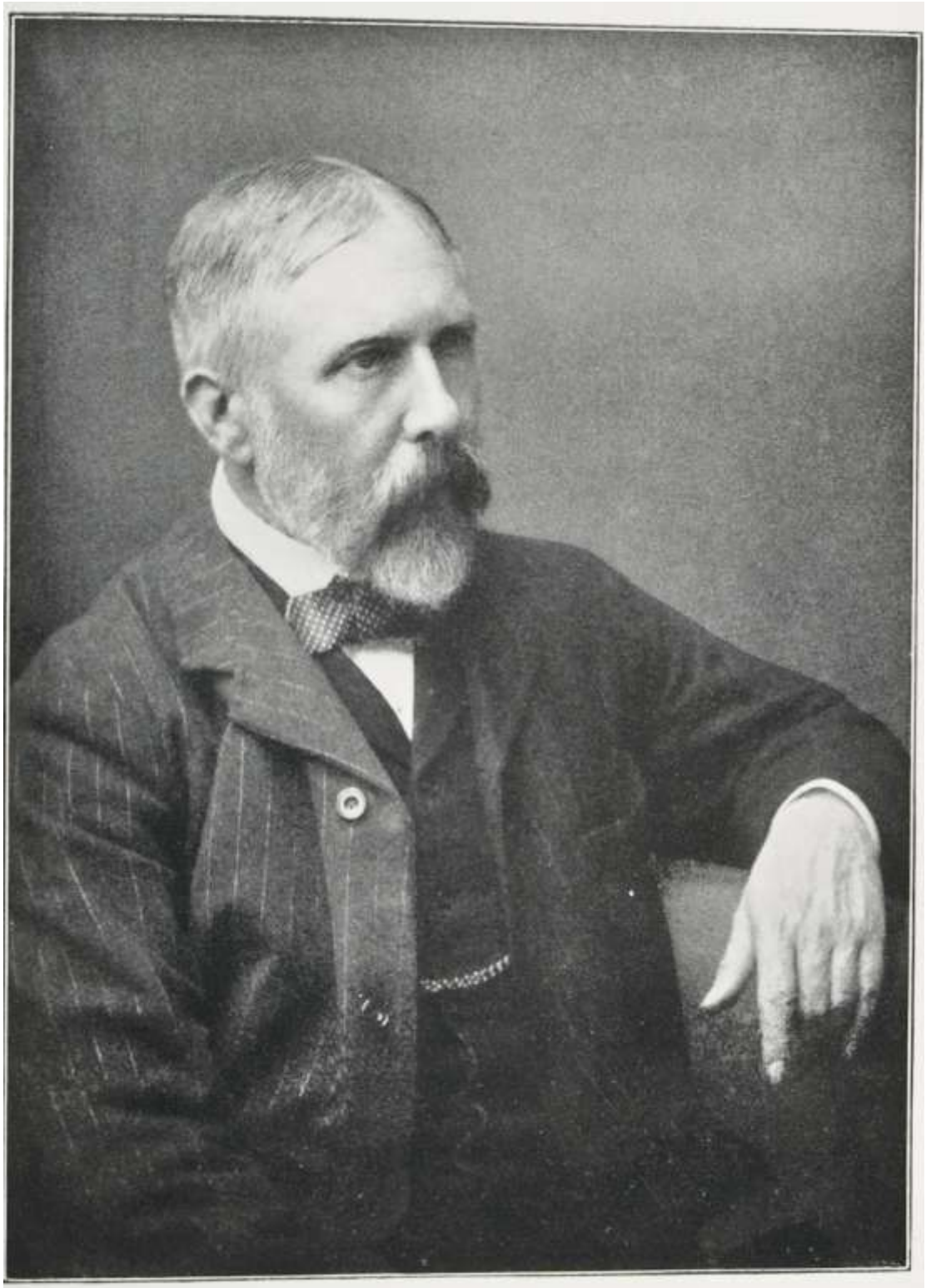
> The mass-production methods then in vogue in the University, with their excessive reliance on information conveyed in lectures for subsequent regurgitation in recurrent papers, to be corrected by the unhappy assistant at the rate, when the Department was a large one, of hundreds a month, [was] exasperat[ing].[45]

But, as discussed below, this was about to change.

From 1909, replacing Tawney, who returned to Oxford, John Harry Jones taught Social Economics; he urged students to devote special attention to contemporary social problems. The course was closely associated with that of the classes in Political Economy and Political Philosophy. From 1908 to 1910, when Robieson was enrolled, the subject of study included 'Social Progress during the Nineteenth Century' with special reference to the *Report on Scotland* of the Poor Law Commission, 1909. As Smart was one of the non-dissenting Poor Law Commissioners, one could imagine vigorous discussion in the classroom about the minority report, endorsed by the Labour side, and the report supported by the majority. Jones, who became Director of Studies, Glasgow School of Social Study and Training, wrote of Robieson that:

> He attended the Honours Course in Economics, and a full course in Social Economics. He was… the best economic student of his year. ...[he] showed unusual power of analysis when confronted with intricate financial and

[45] R.H. Tawney [published as "R.H.T."] 'Kenneth Leys, 1876-1950)' *The Oxford Magazine* Vol. LXIX No. 5 (November 9, 1950): p. 106. Leys was assistant to the Professor of History from 1904-1909.



The Late Professor William Smart, M.A., D.Phil., LL.D.

Professor William Smart., who wrote in support of Robieson's QUB application. Source: *Glasgow University Magazine* Vol. 27, No. 8 (May 13, 1915): p. 236a.

> commercial problems. During last session he lectured to students of the Glasgow School of Social Study and Training; and although his subject was a branch of Social Science, the evidence of his students clearly shows that his mastery of it was complete, his exposition lucid, and his manner of delivery attractive.[46]

Ferguson Scholarships[47] were open to Arts graduates. Scholarships were awarded in different fields - Classics; Mathematics, including Natural Philosophy; and in Mental Philosophy, including Logic, Psychology, Metaphysics, Moral Philosophy, and the History of Philosophy.[48] Hetherington says:

> Matthew's philosophical bent was evident from the day he entered college. He took Logic in his first year, a course the University rarely allows, and he astounded every one who did not know him by carrying off easily, from 250 competitors, the first prize in the class. Every philosophical distinction that was open to him he won, including the Ferguson Scholarship, open to the four Scottish Universities, and the Logan Gold Medal, awarded to the most distinguished graduate in Arts in Glasgow.[49]

The Logan Medal or the Thomas Logan Memorial Medal and Prize[50] was awarded every June to the graduate in Arts of the preceding year who obtained the highest marks in

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[46] J.H. Jones 'Testimonial Letter' in: Matthew W. Robieson *Letter of Application and Testimonials* of Matthew W. Robieson, M.A. Candidate for the Lecturership in Moral Philosophy and History of Philosophy in the Queen's University of Belfast, James Maclehose and Sons, Glasgow (1913): p. 15.

[47] With a view to the encouragement of the higher learning in Scotland, the trustees of the late Mr. Ferguson, of Cairnbrock, out of his legacy of £50,000 for educational and other purposes, instituted in 1860 six Scholarships, each of the value of £80 per annum, to be held for two years, and to be called 'The Ferguson Scholarships'.

[48] The competition was open to all persons who had passed the Examinations required for the Degree of Master of Arts in one of the Universities of Scotland. The Scholarships of £80 each per annum were tenable for two years and scholarship holders were expected to prosecute studies in furtherance of higher learning. Former Ferguson Scholarship holders included Hugh A. Reyburn, M.A., and Leonard J. Russell, M.A (both awarded in 1908), and Hector J.W. Hetherington, M.A., in Mental Philosophy (awarded in 1911). Robieson won his in 1913.

[49] Hector Hetherington [published as "H.J.W.H"] 'Matthew Robieson' *Dollar Magazine* (1919): p. 120.

[50] This was named after Mr. David Logan, fruiterer, Glasgow, who died on 19th May, 1886, directed his trustees to pay to the Senate the sum of £500, free of legacy duty, to found a Gold Medal and Prize in memory of his brother, Thomas Logan. The Medal was of the value of £5, and the Prize consisted of the balance of the annual proceeds given in money.

the Degree Examinations. M.W. Robieson won this prize in 1912. Actually, not every available philosophical prize was won - for example, the Shaw Philosophical Fellowship.[51] Perhaps Robieson's Ferguson scholarship, awarded in 1913, might have disqualified him. But he entered the field losing to George Johnston[52]

In Edwardian Glasgow, there were no halls of residence accommodating students. They lived at home or in lodgings around Glasgow. There was one exception - the Glasgow University Students' Settlement at 10 Possil Road at Garscube Toll, in an impoverished industrial area. In the Robiesons' time as students, those who resided there included Tom Johnston, Hugh Reyburn, Lothian Small, William Anderson, John Anderson and Hector Hetherington.[53] The Settlement was part of a liberal reformist social movement with the object to establish 'settlement houses' in poor urban areas, in which volunteer middle-class 'settlement workers and students' would live, hoping to share knowledge and culture with, and alleviate the poverty of, their low-income neighbours The settlement movement, popular amongst adherents of Liberal Idealism, started in

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[51] This Scholarship was administered by the University of Edinburgh and awarded by competitive examination in the subjects of Logic, Metaphysics, Psychology, Moral Philosophy, and the History of Philosophy. The Fellowship was open to the competition of Graduates in Arts of the Scottish Universities - i.e., the University of Edinburgh, the University of Glasgow, the University of Aberdeen, and the University of St. Andrews. The Fellowship could not be held along with any other Fellowship, Scholarship, or Bursary, in any Scottish University. This Fellowship was founded by subscription in 1867, in the University of Edinburgh, in memory of Sir James Shaw, Baronet, who was born at Mosshead, in the Parish of Riecartou, and County of Ayr, in 1764, and elected Lord Mayor of London in 1805, and M.P. for the same city in 1806, and after a long and distinguished career, died in London in 1843. It was in the power of the *Senatus Academicus* of the University of Edinburgh to require the holder of the Shaw Philosophical Fellowship during the fourth or fifth year of his tenure of it, to deliver in the University of Edinburgh a Course of Lectures, not exceeding four, on any of the subjects for the encouragement of the study of which the Fellowship has been founded.

[52] The Edinburgh University Senate Minutes (January 15, 1914) and the Faculty of Arts Minutes (January, 1914) note that the award in 1914 of the Shaw Fellowship was to G.A. Johnston M.A. (Glasg.) with *proxime accessurunt* (or runners up) being M.W.Robieson M.A. (Glasg.) and H. J. W. Hetherington M.A. (Glasg.). University of Edinburgh *Senatus Academicus*, printed minutes. Vol. I, October 1913 to July 1917, p. 54. Email: *Graeme Eddie, Digital Datasets Manager, Special Collections, Edinburgh University Library, to Michael Easson*, November 18, 2009. Incidentally, the award of the Shaw Fellowship to John Anderson is noted in the Senate Minutes dated 15 January 1920 and also noted in the Faculty of Arts Minutes (January 1920).

[53] Various details in this discussion are drawn from *The Glasgow University Calendar for the Year 1912-13* James Maclehose and Sons, Glasgow (1912).

London in the mid 19th century. These houses offered food, shelter, and basic, as well as sometimes higher education, provided by virtue of the charity parted by wealthy donors and (for education) scholars who volunteered their time. Such institutions were often praised by religious representatives concerned with the lives of the poor, and criticised as normative or moralistic by radical social movements.[54]

In almost every area of study, bursaries helped students progress through University.[55] Bill Robieson recalled, perhaps complacently, that: "I think it true to say that in Glasgow and the surrounding area where the young student could travel, the low income was not a real disadvantage, provided the parents were prepared to make a certain degree of sacrifice to do without the wages which the student would have earned between the ages of 17 and 21."[56] For the Robieson twins, the University bursary entrance examinations enabled them to pay their keep. Each brother had about £60 a year. Matthew won a scholarship from Dollar and another from the United Free Church. William had £30 from Dollar and the £30 John Clark (Mile End) bursary for four years.

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[54] One account notes that the Glasgow Settlement was "established in 1889 on the initiative of Henry Drummond of the Free Church College and Professor Smart after the latter had visited Canon Barnett at Toynbee Hall in Whitechapel… In 1892 the Glasgow Settlement moved to new quarters in Possil Road in a slum area close to the old site of the University." E.L. Ellis *T.J. A Life of Dr. Thomas Jones, CH*, *Cabinet Secretary to Four Prime Ministers*, University of Wales Press, Cardiff (1992): p. 64. The Glasgow Settlement work took various forms, including social clubs, Sunday meetings, a 'Poor Man's Lawyer', a Medical Dispensary, and Savings Bank. In 1926, the Possil Road lease lapsed and the settlement closed. See James Cunnison 'Casual Recollections of the Students' Settlement' *The College Courant*, the journal of the Glasgow University Graduates Association, Vol. 8, No. 15 (Martinmas, 1955): pp. 29-36.

[55] In Arts, with three classes, fees were about 12 guineas per year; in Medicine fees were about 20 guineas; in between those was Science. Where the family income was not so high, the Carnegie Trust sometimes paid the fees. In the 1908 to 1909 *Calendar* there are over 130 pages describing available bursaries and scholarships. See *The Glasgow University Calendar for the Year 1908-09*, James Maclehose and Sons, Glasgow (1909): pp. 311-446.

[56] W.D. Robieson 'An Edwardian Student', *Loc. Cit.*, p. 7. In quoting from the article several typos, Reyburn for Reaburn, Johnston for Johnson, etc., are corrected as it seems Sir William died before the transcript could be properly reviewed. Unless otherwise stated, quotes from W.D. Robieson dealing with university life are taken from this article.

There was a buzz, an intellectual excitement that also encompassed student life at Glasgow.[57] William Robieson reflected that "...people like myself, and all those who came from the country, working along on bursaries, with our fees paid by the Carnegie Trust, were all able to take a full part in student activities, be members of the Union, go to debates and all the rest of it."[58] A university history notes that: "In 1901 Andrew Carnegie, a fabulously wealthy Scottish American steel magnate, established a trust with a capital of $10 million to meet student fees and to assist the Scottish universities more generally. The effect at Glasgow was striking. The number of students rose sharply; men from 1,700 in 1900 to 2,250 in 1913 and women from 350 to 660."[59] The Carnegie Trust endowed not only bursaries but also special teaching positions, which ranged over many areas of specialisation. For example, in 1912-13, Robieson, as Eglinton Fellow, was funded for a short course of lectures on "The relation of the ethical and the economic conditions of life" to the Moral Philosophy Honours Class.

In 1908 for the first time a summer term of five weeks was introduced and exams followed on that, which meant that the university year effectively ended sometime in June. This had various impacts, including for language training. For potential academic philosophers, proficiency in German and/or French was considered vital. Professor

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[57] For example, the Glasgow University Philosophical Society, founded in 1887, was instituted for the promotion of Philosophical Discussion and Investigation. The Society It met on alternate Wednesday Evenings at 7.30 p.m. during the Winter Session, in the Union. The Office-Bearers for the Session 1912 to 1913 included the Honorary President - Professor John Watson; Honorary Vice-Presidents - The Principal, Professor Sir Henry Jones, Professor Latta, Professor Dixon; the President - John W. Scott; members of the Committee included H.J.W. Hetherington, A. Macbeath and M.W. Robieson.
[58] *Ibid*. For some details of the American steel tycoon's Andrew Carnegie's munificence, see Simon Goodenough *The Greatest Good Fortune*, Andrew Carnegie's Gift for Today, Macdonald Publishers, Edinburgh (1985). Unfortunately, this book is not comprehensive on Carnegie's gifts to academic study in Scotland, the land of his birth. In A.J. Belford's *Centenary Handbook of the Educational Institute of Scotland*, The Educational Institute of Scotland, Edinburgh (1946): p. 421, he mentions that in 1901 "Andrew Carnegie, LLD, Skibo Castle, Ardgay" was made an honorary fellow of the EIS.
[59] A.L. Brown and Michael Moss *The University of Glasgow: 1451-1996*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh (1996): pp. 72-73.

Andrew Seth Pringle-Pattison (1856-1931), Professor of Logic and Metaphysics at Edinburgh University, from 1891 to 1919, wrote:

> To students of Philosophy, who wish to pursue the subject beyond the undergraduate stage, a knowledge of French and German is practically essential. This is perhaps especially true of German, for whatever view one may take of German Idealism and its conclusions, it must be admitted that the many-sided movement which began with Kant is as centrally important in modern Philosophy as the theories of Plato and Aristotle for ancient thought. And if, during the last half-century, the springs of philosophical genius have not flowed more freely in Germany than elsewhere, the number of trained intellects devoted to a critical and historical study of the subject is still, I imagine, greater there than in any other country. The number of philosophical journals published in Germany, and the fact that most of our standard histories of Philosophy are translated from the German, are sufficient evidence of this. It has long been the habit, therefore, of Scottish students of Philosophy to supplement their home training by one or two semesters at a German University. The long summer vacation traditional in Scotland (though now at an end) made it both easy and natural for a man to take at least one summer session abroad, and this was perhaps most generally done in the summer after he had taken his Honours Degree. The benefits resulting from the practice were so obvious that it is to be hoped that the New Regulations which provide for the lengthening of the Arts session may be worked in such a way as not to cut off the possibility of foreign study.[60]

[60] Prof. Andrew Seth Pringle-Pattison 'The Study of Philosophy Abroad', in H.J. Darnton-Fraser, editor and compiler, *A Handbook on Foreign Study*, issued in the name and by the authority of the SRCs of all the

More time for lecturing meant that it was no longer necessary for the Professor or one of his lecturers to lecture every day; he could do it three or four days a week, and have tutorials on the non-lecturing days. That was the beginning of the tutorial system at the University. Professor William Smart had long recommended the wider application of the kind of private teaching in the Honours classes to the wider student population, via the tutorial system. In an article published in the *Glasgow Herald* in 1900, Smart proposed that tutorials become standard to the teaching practice and that the academic list be supplemented with the appointment of assistants.[61] He noted: "We have long known that, generally speaking, the result of mere lecturing to large classes is that the majority soon after the start get left hopelessly behind. The most conscientious lecturing can never take the place of personal contact and individual teaching."[62] In the first year of the brothers' education at Glasgow, there were no tutorials at all:

> …you simply came up and heard a lecture, went away back to the Union or the Library, and that was the end of it. There was very little, far too little, contact between the teaching staff, especially the professorial staff and the students. The consequence of that was that the students travelling to Glasgow on bursaries, especially from the remoter Highlands, or from the remoter parts of the Lowlands very often came up, attended classes, and if they didn't know about the Union, or were too shy to go to it - the subscription was 7s. 6d. a year so it wasn't lack of money that kept people away - often went through the three years

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Universities of Great Britain and Ireland represented at the British Universities Students' Congress, The Darien Press, Edinburgh (1909): pp. 9-11.

[61] William Smart 'From the Arts Side' reprinted in [various authors] *The University of Glasgow Its Position & Wants*, James Maclehose and Sons, Glasgow (1900): pp. 84-85.

[62] *Ibid.*, p. 83.

> of taking an ordinary M.A. without making any friends. That was one of the great defects of Scottish university life almost up to the First War.[63]

Tawney recalled that a History lecturer lamented before class: "Pray for me, as I begin on Monday at 10 – to a crowded room of very raw men and women, some rude and nearly all quite indifferent to the subject."[64] Bill Robieson commented:

> I remember Professor Medley, on whose staff I was at one time, saying to me that …he was appalled to find out how little contact there was between himself and the students at the University. He instituted a system, which existed in my day, of having about three students, whose names were read out at the end of the lecture, come to his rooms, sit down and he asked them what their background was. I still remember that this was one of the great changes that took place in University life. It broke that particular kind of ice, and it did the University student, particularly the Arts student, a very great deal of good. The only class in which the lecturer came and talked to you about an essay was History. I remember quite well being told in a class like Logic or English, 'All the essays have now been corrected - you will get them from the janitors[65] as you go out'. There was a small written comment of two or three sentences on the back. Only if you knew the style could you tell which member of the staff had read the essay.[66]

The Robiesons found the study of Greek boring due to rote learning; studies in the classics, including Greek and Latin, at Dollar Academy were far ahead of what was

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[63] W.D. Robieson 'An Edwardian Student', *Loc. Cit.*, p. 9.
[64] R.H. Tawney [published as "R.H.T."] 'Kenneth Leys, 1876-1950)' *The Oxford Magazine* Vol. LXIX No. 5 (November 9, 1950): p. 106. Leys was assistant to the Professor of History from 1904-1909.
[65] The word 'janitor' was a peculiarly Scottish use of the word for caretaker or university assistant.
[66] W.D. Robieson 'An Edwardian Student', *Loc. Cit.*, p. 9.

being taught at the University.[67] Latin lectures were compulsory for many of the teacher training students who were mixed in with the more academic university students. The teaching suffered. It was a system of students arriving in the lecture hall, being lectured at, writing notes that were required to be memorized and not much else. With Tutorials this was to change. Ideas merited understanding and discussion.

Sir William recalled that, for some reason, the Glasgow graduation ceremonies were unruly occasions:

> The first graduation ceremony I went to was the November one in 1907. …you had no chairs, but benches in the Bute Hall. There were a number of benches for students at the back, and I remember arriving there with Hector Hetherington… and we had to take Gordon MacDow out with a bleeding nose. The benches were being broken up and thrown about. That tradition persisted until Hector came.[68] He stopped it at once. I don't know how. It was sheer hooliganism. There was always a great splash in the *Herald* next day. 'Rowdy students at Glasgow'.[69]

Indeed, the Robiesons' own noisy graduation ceremony in 1911 was remarked on by the press. The University correspondent reporting: "Some forms and chairs were smashed, and the fragments carried off as trophies."[70]

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[67] W.D. Robieson 'Notes on the 1905-1906 Prospectus' for Dollar Academy; typescript, n.s., *circa* early 1970s. Extracts of Robieson's notes were provided by Janet Carolan, Archive Officer, Dollar Academy. Robieson had been a past student and Governor of the school.
[68] This is a reference to when Hetherington became Glasgow University Principal in 1936.
[69] W.D. Robieson 'An Edwardian Student', *Loc. Cit.*, p. 10.
[70] *The Scotsman* (November 17, 1911): p. 10. The article also mentioned: "While the audience were gathering, the students gave their customary exhibition of boisterous behaviour, and all through the proceedings the noise was so great that the ceremony had to be conducted in dumb show..."

An Edwardian Student

A few months before his death in July 1977, Sir William Robieson talked with his daughter, Mrs. Anne Kahane, and Professor A. L. Brown about student life at Glasgow in 1907. What follows is an edited transcript of part of these conversations; the original recordings are in the University Archives.

THE new University wasn't long open when I came up. There were the two quadrangles, minus one end. On the west end the Botany Building had been added in 1901 and in 1907 the new Natural Philosophy Department and what is now known as the West Medical Building were opened. In the corner beyond the Hunter Halls was the entrance to Anatomy and Surgery and down there were the dissecting rooms. There were lecture rooms in the East quadrangle for the Practice of Medicine and Midwifery further along. I don't know why but everyone of importance who took Midwifery carved his name on the desks. I remember seeing them when I was convener of the Fabric Committee. There was Divinity in the corner where Geography now is and there were two classrooms for Law and Conveyancing but they were really all-purpose classrooms because Law and Conveyancing were held early in the morning at eight o'clock and I attended an Italian class there. The German class was held there too, and all sorts of odd things that couldn't be fitted in. The French Department, curiously enough, was in what is now known as Pearce Lodge and it remained there until after the First War.

In those days there were no halls of residence; either you lived at home or you lived in lodgings; and a very great number lived in lodgings because the proportion coming from Glasgow was smaller, I think, than it is now. In any case the University was very busy at eight in the morning. The Greek class was at eight, Moral Philosophy was at eight, one division of Mathematics was at eight, Law was at eight, Conveyancing was at eight, and the quadrangles were full of scurrying figures who were obviously not greatly liking it in December, and especially in the bad month of January. The effect of having classes at that hour—and others were at nine like Latin and Logic—was that very few people from far outside Glasgow came in by train. For example, all my friends, and I had quite a number, from Greenock, lived in lodgings; the same was true of people from Kilmarnock, and some people from Airdrie, but not all. I remember well one student, George Henderson, later Moderator of the General Assembly, whose father was a minister in Airdrie, and who got the 6.20 train every morning all winter from Airdrie station.

For a great many of us, especially all of us who came from the country, and we were mostly the sons of country ministers, country schoolmasters and country doctors, small farmers, trades people in a reasonable way of business, what we did was to live in lodgings somewhere in the neighbourhood, in the region between Charing Cross and Partickhill, that is to say, within reasonable walking distance of the University. My brother and I, being twins, came up in the same year and what we used to do was to advertise, say, early in September in *The Glasgow Herald* for a sitting room and bedroom for two students who would occupy them with the appropriate university holidays until June of the following year. I don't remember having less than 40 replies, some quite unsuitable, and some outside the assigned area, but on the whole we had a good choice and during the three or four years that we pursued this system I think we only once got rather indifferent rooms. On the whole they were very good.

They were probably in four, maybe five room and kitchen houses, depending on the family circumstances of the people who took in lodgers. They gave us breakfast before our classes, whether they were at eight or nine in the morning, and an evening meal, high tea, at about six from Monday to Friday. On Saturday we had breakfast, and the evening meal. On Sunday we had mid-day dinner; after that, we fended for ourselves, which really meant that we went and spent the afternoon and evening with friends. If not, the Mens' Union at the top of University Avenue was open on a Sunday evening, but it didn't provide food. The cost per week for board and lodgings on this basis was about 14s. per person per week. Lunch in the union was waitress served with table cloths—three courses—soup 2d., main course 6d., sweet 2d. If you took the three courses it was 9d. and it was a very good meal, and we got along very well on that. The temptation to some people, of course, instead of having lunch was to skip it and have coffee and some of the wonderful buns that you used to be able to get at the buffet which was at the far end of the Dining Room in the main Union. It wasn't always a matter of lack of money; there was a wonderful glamour about these buns and you felt that you could get along quite well until your meal at home in the evening.

Extract of an article on W.D. Robieson's reminiscence on university life at Glasgow before World War I. Source: copied from an issue of *The College Currant* held by the University of Glasgow.

At the end of 1911, Matthew Robieson, his brother William, along with William Anderson were all to graduate with MAs with first class honours in their respective fields. The same year John Anderson went up to Glasgow University to begin studies. The first three went to Europe to study languages and started academic careers at Glasgow University – Matthew, earlier than the others, as assistant to the Professor of Moral Philosophy, Henry Jones; William Anderson as assistant to the Professor of Logic, Robert Latta, and William Robieson as assistant to the Professor of History, William Medley. On Robieson's appointment, a contemporary report stated: "Seldom is the room of a distinguished and promising scholar filled with so much acceptance... In Mr. Robieson... pure intellectual and moral force and dialectical acumen will give him the same force in his professional work that we have seen him wield in the Union."[71] It was as a philosopher that Robieson developed such a power of intellectual expression.

The next Chapter briefly describes what constituted the philosophical traditions that Robieson responded to as well as discussing his emergence on the Glasgow University campus as a strong voice for socialism.

[71] See report: 'Changes in the Philosophy School' *Glasgow University Magazine* Vol. 24, No. 7 (December 20, 1911): p. 199.

CHANGES IN THE PHILOSOPHY SCHOOL.

We are glad to offer our congratulations to the Universities of Cape Town and Glasgow. Mr. Hugh A. Reyburn, who is vacating an assistantship in our own Philosophy department to assume the Chair in Cape Town University, we remember as a student of rare dialectical skill and generous social interests as well, as a lecturer who clothed the dry bones of philosophy with a fair and winning form. We offer him our congratulations, and in the days just coming we wish him and Mrs. Reyburn God-speed in their new life.

Matthew W. Robieson, M.A.

Seldom is the room of a distinguished and promising scholar filled with so much acceptance. By Mr. Reyburn's departure a vacancy is created in the department, which now wins the services of Mr. Matthew W. Robieson, Eglinton Fellow in Philosophy. In Mr. Robieson, too, pure intellectual and moral force and dialectical acumen will give him the same force in his professional work that we have seen him wield in the Union. Congratulations, Matthew! Congratulations, Philosophy!

Robieson replaces Reyburn in the Philosophy Department. Source: *Glasgow University Magazine* Vol. 24, No. 7 (November, 1911): p. 199.

6. Turning to Socialism

Philosophy: The Strange Death of Liberal Idealism[1]

In the late 19th century and early in the 20th century Glasgow was an outpost of political liberalism and of philosophical Idealism. Robieson rebelled against both, seeing flaws in their philosophical bases and implications. He came to ground his thinking, and a philosophy of freedom, on what he believed were sturdier foundations. In discussing the development of Robieson's social theory, this Chapter opens with a brief, necessarily telescoped, account of the philosophical heritage and, later in more detail, discusses a specific event – namely, the Glasgow University Rectorial elections in 1908 where Robieson nailed his colors to the socialist mast.

Space does not permit a detailed account of idealism, or liberalism or the relations between the two, though a sketch is offered here. Because of many complexities and nuances, this account must summarily explain the traditions of philosophy, teaching and example that characterised the 'Glasgow School' which, by the time Robieson and the Andersons were studying, was led by Professor Henry Jones, Professor of Moral Philosophy at Glasgow from 1894 to 1922. I propose to discuss the main characteristics

[1] In choosing this chapter title, there is an echo of George Dangerfield's book *The Strange Death of Liberal England*, Capricorn Books, New York (1935), which is about the political party. As in politics, as in philosophy, the collapse of 'liberal idealism' was as unexpected as it was sudden.

of philosophy as it was taught at Glasgow whilst referencing the eclipse of British Idealism. But only the main points can be highlighted. Key points are: First, that philosophy was rigorously and critically taught at Glasgow. Discussion of rival positions was encouraged; consideration of the historical development of philosophical views and their context was part of the emphasis. Second, although at the time Robieson studied, all philosophers at Glasgow were types of Idealists, there were many shades of opinion. Jones encouraged debate on the meaning and significance of realism. Robieson in his last year as a student won the Silver Medal in Moral Philosophy for an essay he wrote on 'Critical Realism', which searchingly and sometimes sympathetically evaluated the challenges to the philosophical positions of his teachers. Third, the philosophers at Glasgow were mostly, if not all, ardent Liberals. This was no necessary connection or implication associated with Idealism. One could easily hold definite views on whether 'mind is synonymous with consciousness' and entertain all sorts of political philosophies. Fourth, at Glasgow there was strong support for New Liberalism. This ideology, in the soft sense of the term, sought to marry traditional liberal suspicion of the State with an argument that, in the pursuit of social justice, an active State was required. There were obvious tensions in this outlook. Underpinning this idea, as we saw mentioned in Chapter 2 in the references to Freeden's and Holmes's work,[2] was the proposition that the good of the community could be viewed as harmonious with the freedom of the individual.

[2] See in particular: Michael Freeden *Liberal Languages*. *Ideological Imaginations and Twentieth-Century Progressive Thought*, Princeton University Press, Princeton and Oxford (2005) and Michael Freeden *The New Liberalism*: *An Ideology of Social Reform*, Clarendon Press, Oxford (1978); Stephen Holmes *Passions and Constraint*, *On The Theory of Liberal Democracy*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London (1995).

Let us now briefly evaluate those four points. At Glasgow, philosophy, as taught, invited debate on first principles and consideration of rival schools. Hector Hetherington commented that this made for an extremely strong intellectual grounding:

> By a happy fortune for the prosperity of the Glasgow philosophical school, the chair of logic was occupied, during Jones' professorship, by two men of very different habits of mind from his own. Professor [Robert] Adamson was perhaps the greatest philosophical scholar of his time, with a range and depth of knowledge and power of historical criticism to which Jones could make no pretension. Professor [Robert] Latta, who succeeded to the chair on Adamson's untimely death in 1902, was more in agreement with Jones' general point of view than Adamson had been – at least in his later years. But his method of teaching was much more like Adamson's than Jones', and he gave his students a first-rate training in the technique of philosophical scholarship. The combination of the two methods made a very strong school. In the competitive examinations for the various inter-university scholarships in Scotland, Glasgow had far more than its share of honours, and at the present time Glasgow students of Jones' period are occupying philosophical chairs in every part of the English-speaking world…[3]

Jones apparently encouraged students to think for themselves and to disagree. In 1924, Hetherington noted of Jones working with his assistants, who included Robieson from 1911 to 1913, that:

> It was Jones' habit to see a great deal of his assistants. He kept open house to them, and an unfailing welcome at any hour of the day. He was always brimming over with some idea that he wanted to discuss; and the moment one set foot in

[3] H.J.W. Hetherington *The Life and Letters of Sir Henry Jones, Loc. Cit.,* pp. 81-82.

> his study, one was liable to be engulfed, to the detriment of one's proper business, in an argument as to the course of his next honours lecture or as to the merits of a recent book. He was just as eager to talk about his visitor's concerns and interests as about his own, and would take endless trouble over the criticism of anything one asked him to read. But even the shortest conversation had something in it about what was engaging his thought at the moment; and nothing delighted him quite so much as to find his junior of another mind than his own.[4]

An obituary to Latta praised him for: "bringing about a marked expansion in the range and organisation of philosophical studies," observing that with Jones they did: "much in gaining for Glasgow a pre-eminent position among philosophical schools of the Empire."[5] Latta was a member of the Senate and Dean of the Faculty of Arts. A former student commented that:

> As a teacher, Latta had not the gifts that make popular appeal. His lectures contrasted sharply with the lively entertainment provided across the Quadrangle by the brilliant and ebullient Jones. But if the manner of delivery was not inspiring, the abler and more serious students soon came to appreciate that in content Latta's Logic lectures (and indeed his lectures on Pyschology likewise) had outstanding merits – always beautifully organised, phrased with precision and lucidity, and scrupulously fair in the presentation and appraisal of rival theories.[6]

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[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 84-85.
[5] [Anonymous] Obituary: 'Professor Latta. Death in Surrey. His Work in Glasgow' *The Scotsman* (February 19, 1932): p. 8.
[6] C.A. Campbell, 'Philosophy', *Loc. Cit.*, pp. 121-122.

Arguably, Jones never fulfilled his earlier promise. Edward Caird once pleaded with him that he should "resist the pressure... on him to be useful in all directions."[7] His greatest talent was as a teacher and mentor, rather than as an original philosopher. Hetherington, writing of the experience of working as his assistant, said:

> To fill in the historical background of this [or that] doctrine, and to complete the discussion of its sources and of other possible interpretations of the world, he relied partly on the work of his assistants, based as that was on some philosophical classic, and partly on the private reading of the students. This he controlled by his method of setting essays – almost invariably on historical subjects. Thus, while his own teaching was metaphysical and speculative, he saw to it that his students acquired also a considerable knowledge of at least the main types of ethical theories, and learned to find their way in philosophical literature."[8]

This points to why, in particular, Matthew Robieson and other Glasgow-trained philosophers could demonstrate a mastery of the development and history of philosophical thought.[9] For example, in the final paragraph of his article on modern realism,[10] Robieson wrote:

> No Idealist now will refuse to believe in the reality of the natural order or attempt an *a priori* construction of experience. He will recognise frankly and respect the place of the scientists, and take their results and use them, fully, believing as he does that in the end all truth is one, and in it is no contradiction

[7] Cited in Thomas Jones 'Sir Henry Jones, C.H.' in Thomas Jones *A Theme with Variations*, The Gregynog Press, Newtown, Powys (1933): pp. 85-91.
[8] H.J.W. Hetherington *The Life and Letters of Sir Henry Jones*, *Loc. Cit.*, pp. 76-77.
[9] A love of philosophical history and chinstroking about the origin of philosophical concepts marked Jones' style. *Cf.* See Henry Jones 'Introduction' to Paul Janet and Gabriel Séailles *A History of the Problems of Philosophy*, Ada Monahan translator, Henry Jones editor, Vol. 1, Macmillan and Co., Limited, London (1902): pp. vii-xvi.
[10] M.W. Robieson 'Modern Realism', unpublished holograph manuscript, submitted on October 31, 1910; manuscript DC199/360 in the Glasgow University Archives.

> at all. He may indeed say with the greatest of Modern English Idealists "That the glory of this world in the end is appearance leaves the world more glorious, if we feel it is a show of some fuller splendour; but the sensuous curtain is a deception and a cheat, if it hides some colourless movement of atoms, some spectral woof of impalpable abstractions, or unearthly ballet of bloodless categories."[11] But the latter way is not so: for "the reality of the material object lies ultimately in its necessity as an element in the evolution of Spirit".[12]

Robieson's essay confidently assessed the flaws in the theories in competition, by reference to their internal logic and by suggesting how they might be expressed at their strongest. Although sympathy for modern realism was evident in Robieson's argument, he proposed what new arguments an Idealist might need to state to save the day.

In the period leading up to World War I, Glasgow, Cambridge and Oxford were arguably the pre-eminent Universities for philosophical training in the United Kingdom. Their graduates populated the Philosophy Departments of the leading Anglophone universities across the world and had an overarching influence. Prominent Glasgow philosophers included A.D. Lindsay who, between periods at Oxford, was Professor of Moral Philosophy at Glasgow, 1922 to 1924, in between Sir Henry Jones and Hector Hetherington. Interestingly, Lindsay was sometimes furious at the caricatures produced about the so-called Idealists. He wrote to *The New Statesman*: "I am not myself an Idealist, and I follow your reviewer and one of the philosophers he contemns,

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[11] F.H. Bradley *The Principles Of Logic*, Kegan, Paul, Trench & Co., London (1883): p. 533.
[12] I. Kant *The Critique of Pure Reason*, *Book 1*, p. 644. The reference quotes from Edward Caird's translation of Kant's work.

Immanuel Kant, in holding that dogmatic metaphysical systems are futile."[13] Perhaps inspired by Caird, who became Principal of Balliol College, Oxford, there was some tie up. H.J. Paton, John Macmurray and Campbell were Glasgow men who went to Balliol. Lindsay and John Macmurray became Fellows of the College, and Lindsay its Master in 1924. Whereas Glasgow was Idealist in philosophical outlook, at Cambridge philosophy was beginning to be led in new, strongly realist directions by G.E. Moore and Bertrand Russell. British Idealism found expression in Green's *Prolegomena to Ethics*[14] and Bradley's *Principles of Logic*[15] (both first published in 1883). Yet, as Robieson was to note, within thirty years of the publication of these key texts, the adherents of these views were to find themselves regarded as preaching old doctrine, a 'tyrannical' sect, and warned to look to themselves, for the doom of their 'city' was at hand.[16] To discuss the battles between the contending schools, however, would invite consideration of more than this thesis could bear.

Second, on the idealist outlook at Glasgow, in the first quarter of the 20th century, Scottish Absolute Idealism, if that rubric can do justice to the subtleties and variations of a myriad of thinkers, faced from the ramparts two foes: the rival tradition of Scottish 'common sense' rationalism[17] and the Cambridge school of philosophical realism, which soon became an Anglo-American front that overwhelmed British Idealism. The idealists' thinking led to the rejection of empiricism as a theory of investigation.

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[13] A.D. Lindsay Letter: 'The Idealistic Reaction Against Science' *The New Statesman* Vol. 4, No. 9 (December 26, 1914): p. 294. A reference to [Anonymous] 'Shorter Notices' Review of Professor Aliotta *The Idealistic Reaction Against Science*, translated Anges McCaskill, *The New Statesman* Vol. 4, No. 8 (December 17, 1914): p. 277.
[14] T.H. Green *Prolegomena to Ethics*, edited by A.C. Bradley, Clarendon Press, Oxford (1883). The book, posthumously published, was edited by the younger brother of F.H. Bradley, Andrew Cecil Bradley (1851-1935), literary critic, who was to become an eminent Shakespearean scholar.
[15] F.H. Bradley *Principles of Logic*, Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., London (1883).
[16] M.W. Robieson 'Critical Realism', *Loc. Cit.*, p. 3.
[17] *Cf.* S.A. Grave *The Scottish Philosophy of Common Sense*, Oxford University Press, Oxford (1960).

Leonard Russell puts their claim at its strongest in saying:

> In the conflict between materialism and idealism Henry Jones held that it was important to use the principle, asserted by Aristotle, that if a thing develops from an original A and becomes a B, it is the form of B that is important for an understanding of the thing's nature. If it is said that after all B is only a particular form of A, it can be replied that A has the capacity of producing B. So, said Henry Jones, if we think that self-conscious beings have developed from material particles, we should not argue that this is all self-conscious beings are; we should rather argue that what we thought were merely material particles turn out to have the capacity of producing self-conscious beings.[18]

Matthew Robieson urged that clarity is everything in philosophical analysis:

> A philosophical work is no longer a collection of amiable opinions and distressing generalisations, helped out by an awe-inspiring terminology. Even in moral philosophy and metaphysics one does sometimes come across a book which reaches a level of clear, exact thinking comparable to one on logic or even natural science.[19]

This alludes to the development of systematic, careful, philosophical debate in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Sweeping, *ex cathedra* pronouncement by philosophers jarred with this approach to philosophy as an autonomous discipline with a distinctive, analytical method. Tellingly, with respect to the British traditions of neo-Hegelianism, Robieson noted:

> That the Neo-Hegelian flood which overwhelmed English philosophy a full generation ago has been rapidly subsiding now for ten years or more, everyone

[18] L.J. Russell 'Recollections', *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.
[19] M.W. Robieson 'Common Sense' *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 23, No. 10 (July 4, 1918): p. 154.

> knows who takes any interest in the subject. I should be the last to deny that its influence on English thought has in the main been good and that from its leading exponents we have had writings of the most impressive sort which happily still continue to appear. But while Hegelianism gave, both in Germany and England, an enormous and much needed impetus to historical studies in philosophy, its effects on the content of such work where they were not indifferent were almost wholly bad.[20]

Robieson had a low regard for what passed for scholarship and systematic thinking by many such writers. His former teacher, J.W. Scott, said of the British neo-Hegelians what might be stated more generally: "No mere chronicle of adherents with an enumeration of their works and a statement of their eternal philosophical affinities ever explains a philosophical movement."[21] A movement involves the development of thinking within and in response to a tradition. An historical perspective is therefore essential in that understanding. Robieson's 1910 essay on 'Modern Realism' accounted for what was then the rising, not yet clearly victorious movement of modern realism. He anticipated many of the arguments, pro and con, that would be advanced over the ensuing decade.[22] In the quicksand of changing opinions, the pillars of Absolute Idealism weakened and cracked. G.E. Moore and Bertrand Russell, like Hannibal's elephants, were over the alps. Bosanquet and Bradley took on the invading force and reputations were slaughtered in the battle. Henry Jones was no Fabius Maximus[23] amongst the idealists. Within a decade the realists had conquered Oxford and most of

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[20] M.W. Robieson 'The Celebrated Locke' *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 23, No. 4 (May 23, 1918): p. 57.
[21] J.W. Scott 'Neo-Hegelianism' in James Hastings *et. al.*, editors, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, *Vol. 9, Mundas-Phrgians*, T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh (1917): p. 300.
[22] M.W. Robieson 'Modern Realism', *Loc. Cit.*
[23] Fabius Maximus (275-203BC), full name *Quintus* Fabius Maximus *Verrucosus,* called the "*Cunctator"* (the delayer) was the Roman general and statesman who, as commander of the Roman army during the Second Punic War, withstood Hannibal by his strategy of harassing the Carthaginians while avoiding a pitched battle.

the American philosophy world, although in a comment applicable to Idealism as well as its rivals, Robieson observed: "A term so ambiguous as Realism may be used much as an author pleases..."[24] An appropriate theme to this explanation is that some modern defenders of British Idealism, despite considerable scholarly achievement, tend to exaggerate the Hegelian influence. Such ideas were interwoven in the cloth, but the tartan of influences that made up British, particularly Scottish, idealism was made of many fibres. The Platonic tradition of idealism and related strands, arguably a discernable, uniquely British tradition, needs to be accounted for.[25] Interestingly, Robieson, in some of his essays in *The New Age* and elsewhere provides insights about liberal Idealism and what he thought of the battles for philosophic dominance.

Jones certainly, however, could be classified as an Idealist. As Leonard Russell noted:

> The idealists stressed the point that truth can only be found in an experience which is completely coherent and self-consistent. This led to the criticism of any view which tries to find a foundation for truth in some isolated self-evident propositions, such as the Cartesian *cogito*, or as the mind's awareness of its own experiences.[26]

It would be better if the tradition of British idealism was defended on the basis of the historiography of what particular philosophers actually wrote and thought rather than over-simplified summaries. Indeed this is the powerful point that R.G. Collingwood made in his *Autobiography* as a criticism of the Oxford 'new Realists' who caricatured their opponents. Robieson, too, recognised that simplification and typecasting were false shortcuts. Thus the description of Jones as a 'Hegelian' probably exaggerates the

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[24] M.W. Robieson 'Political and Economic Action', Part 1, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 25, No. 8 (June 19, 1919): p. 136.
[25] John Muirhead *The Platonic Tradition in Anglo-Saxon Philosophy*, George Allen & Unwin Ltd, London (1931).
[26] L.J. Russell 'Recollections', *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

case.[27] Fellow-traveller maybe; but Jones was never that systematic and was more plastic in his thinking than to be pinned and simply marked in the display cabinet as a 'Scots Hegelian'. Amongst the Idealists there was a wide diversity of views:

> [From] common premises the most astonishingly diverse conclusions were drawn. Amongst prominent idealists could be discovered representatives of almost every shade of political opinion. T.H. Green himself was a typical English Nonconformist Liberal; Lord Milner,[28] one of his eminent pupils, takes as his political ideal the Prussian principle of a homogeneous community; Dr. Bosanquet himself is prominently identified with the principles of the COS; the late Mr. D.G. Ritchie[29] was led from the same starting-point in the direction of Collectivism. Professor Hobhouse himself has in metaphysics not a little in common with the general standpoint, which is one reason for the interest of his present volume. About his political theories we need say no more than that they seem to be the exact opposite of those of Lord Milner.[30]

Otter also makes the point about the diversity of views amongst the British idealists.[31] Scott suggested that the idealists did not uncritically replicate: "It was, in fact, an effort of the English philosophical mind to use the results of that idealism upon problems which English thought, art, and life had created during the first decades of the

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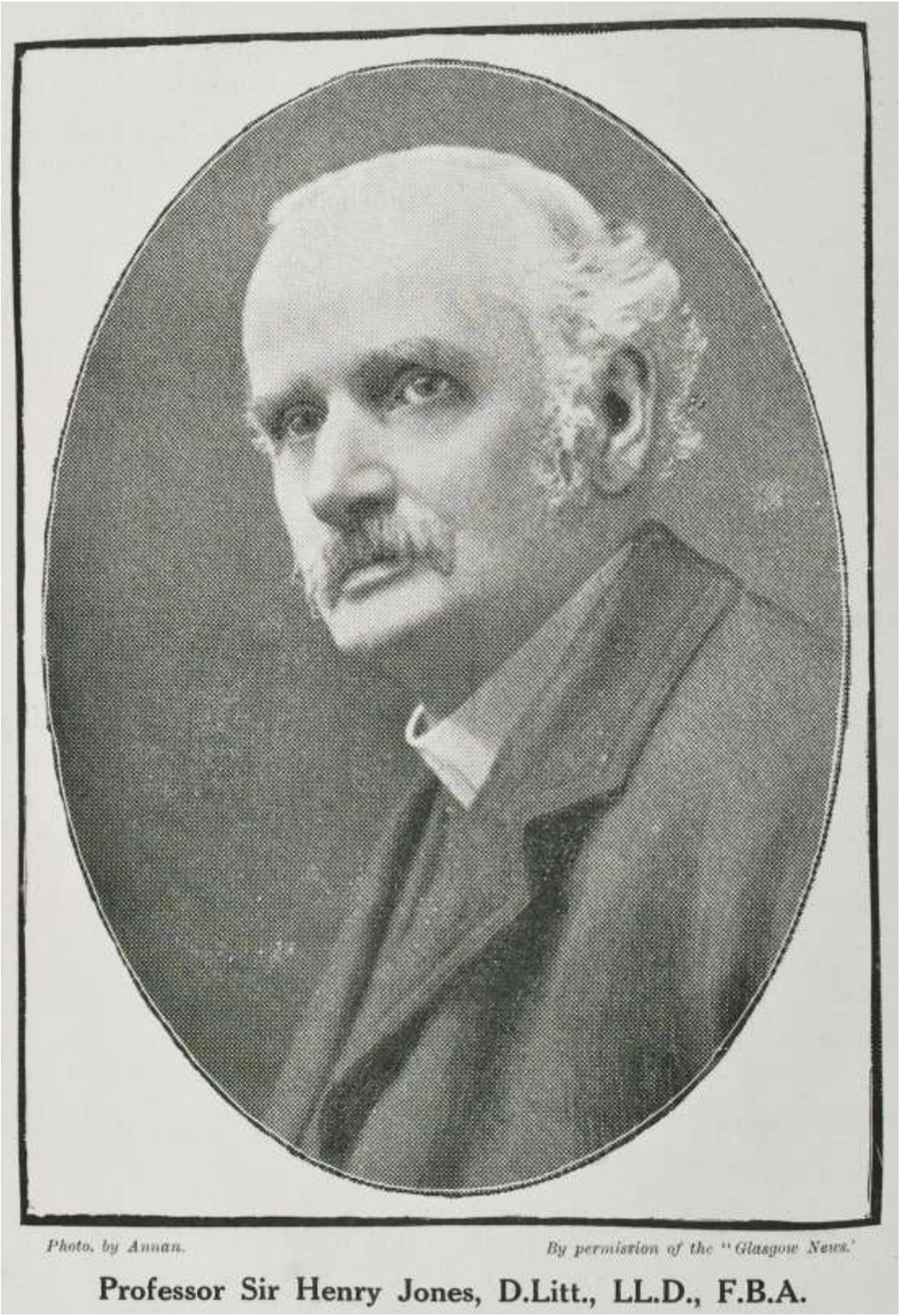
[27] See also David Boucher 'Practical Hegelianism: Henry Jones's Lecture Tour of Australia' *Journal of the History of Ideas* Vol. 51, No. 3 (July-September, 1990): pp. 423-452.
[28] Alfred Milner, 1st Viscount Milner (1854-1925), conservative politician, was educated at Balliol; Lloyd George turned to him in December 1916 when he formed his national government. He was made a member of the five-person War Cabinet. See Terence O'Brien *Milner*, Constable, London (1979).
[29] David George Ritchie (1853-1903), philosopher, was Professor of Logic and Metaphysics at St Andrews. See David G. Ritchie *Philosophical Studies*, edited with a memoir by Robert Latta, The Macmillan Company, London (1905).
[30] M.W. Robieson 'Hegelian Politics' *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 24, No. 4 (November 28, 1918): p. 55.
[31] Sandra Den Otter *British Idealism and Social Explanation A study in Late Victorian Thought*, Clarendon Press, Oxford (1996).

century."[32] The exploration of these points, however, would take us far from the scope of this thesis.[33]

Third, as indicated, the Glasgow philosophical tradition of liberal idealism is perhaps best personified in the life, thought and ideas of Sir Henry Jones, Edward Caird's successor as Professor of Moral Philosophy at Glasgow. Jones was an inspiring teacher

[32] J.W. Scott 'Neo-Hegelianism', in James Hastings *et. al.*, editors, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, *Vol. 9, Mundas-Phrgians*, T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh (1917): p. 300.
[33] For arguments about the Glasgow philosophers and their significance and influence in the development of Idealism and, more generally, philosophy in the U.K. see: Alexander Broadie *A History of Scottish Philosophy*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh (2009); and W.J. Mander *British Idealism A History*, Oxford University Press, Oxford (2011).



Professor Sir Henry Jones, almost looking clerical. Source: *Glasgow University Magazine* Vol. 24, No. 9 (1912): p. 246. The same photo was employed on the inside of Jones' book *Idealism as a Practical Creed* (1909).

who taught the Robieson and Anderson brothers. One past student and later academic colleague of Jones, Leonard Russell, recalled: "He was able to make you feel that he was discovering for the first time some particular argument, some manner of expression, that as a matter of fact he had used hundreds of times before to other audiences (and sometimes to you)."[34] Jones was acutely conscious of his personal journey to achieve an education and rise above the ruck. He left school at twelve and a half to work as an apprentice shoe-maker with his father.[35] He once complained that, of certain of the employers of his acquaintance: "They had no more thought of educating the youth than of educating their pit-ponies."[36] He believed that the broad educational endeavour needed to stimulate common folk to think for themselves. For Jones, in thinking about the development of a robust political culture, in public life what was required was: "A bulwark against error in the mind of the people themselves, to help them rise to such a level of intelligence and integrity that they cannot be exploited by specious argument, nor their will be corrupted by promises of class advantage. And that means then raising the level of the life of the people, and moralizing their politics."[37] Though in some ways a partisan Liberal, Jones had a high regard for many in the emergent Labour Party, [38] seeing some of the ablest of his students joining them. Perhaps he had in mind Reyburn, Robieson and the Anderson brothers, amongst others.

Jones argued that: "the state while limiting caprice has enlarged freedom; that in appropriating industrial enterprises it has liberated the economic power of its

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[34] L.J. Russell 'Recollections' offprint, Sguardia su la Filosofia Contemporanea, Torino (1965): p. 4.
[35] David Boucher and Andrew Vincent *A Radical Hegelian The Political and Social Philosophy of Henry Jones*, University of Wales Press, Cardiff (1993): p. 3.
[36] Quote from a letter Jones to Fisher, cited in David Boucher and Andrew Vincent *A Radical Hegelian, Loc. Cit.*, p. 111.
[37] Henry Jones 'Ethics and Politics' *Quarterly Examiner* Vol. XLIV (1910): p. 408.
[38] David Boucher and Andrew Vincent *A Radical Hegelian*, *Loc. Cit.*, p. 114.

citizens."[39] In summarising his philosophy, including his criticisms of the thinking of the Labour Party, Boucher and Vincent comment that: "Jones is obviously reading socialism as collectivism or State Socialism. It is a shame, in this context, that we do not have any detailed response to guild socialism."[40] But it seems that Jones never dwelt on such thinking. This perhaps suggests that Robieson, his assistant for several years to the end of 1913, had not discussed with him such ideas; perhaps Robieson, who went to Belfast to QUB in December 1913, had not yet thought through his views on that matter. The ideas were still fresh, debated in *The New Age* in 1912/1913, with the Hobson/Orage book on National Guilds only published in 1914.

Influenced by his teachers, Robieson believed philosophers were called to play a role vital to the political process. Through Robieson's articles in the *New Age*, which reached a wide, 'educated public', he supplied his readers with the 'moral information' needed to fulfill their duties as citizens. This is to express matters in a distinctly liberal way, although Robieson was to argue that liberalism, as a political movement, failed to reckon sufficiently about economic fundamentals and relations between classes and that these factors were the cause of wage slavery and poverty.

Fourth, with respect to the New Liberalism, their ideas provided the intellectual planks for the building of the modern welfare state. The involvement of Liberals in social justice was often matched by personal commitment and activity, such as in Glasgow causes including the University Settlement, the local Charity Organization Society and

[39] Henry Jones *The Working Faith of the Social Reformer and Other Essays*, Macmillan, London (1910): p. 105.
[40] David Boucher and Andrew Vincent *A Radical Hegelian*, *Loc. Cit.*, p. 226, fn. 120 to Chpt 6.

in adult education.[41] All the major New Liberal theorists sought ways to respond to the economic, social and political change wrought by the industrial revolution. For example, Bernard Bosanquet elaborated a theory of the workings of the political system in his *The Philosophical Theory of the State*.[42] His study sought to rationalise state authority over individuals and proposed limits to individual human rights. He argued that the modern state is an organism or a totality united in a shared understanding of the good. On this view, one's station and associated rights and duties determine one's rightful function.

This theory both Robieson and John Anderson fought against; they saw it as a certain kind of liberalism characterised by paternalism and confident interference in the lives of individuals in order to protect them from their baser selves. One account of John Anderson's political thought says that:

> The classical liberal notion of negative liberty as freedom from obstacles and interference, however, could mean nothing to him. Goods exist, after all, only in struggle. Moreover, it is not individual wants and pursuits that are the primary bearers of liberty, but social movements and activities. Individuals are taken up in such movements and activities which promote their acceptance of the productive values required by practices of disinterested and creative endeavour. Through

[41] Robert Hamilton and Robert Turner 'Hegel in Glasgow: Idealists and the Emergence of Adult Education in the West of Scotland, 1866-1927' *Studies in the Education of Adults* Vol. 38, No. 2 (Autumn 2006): pp. 195-209. On the Charity Organization Society (COS) both Bernard and Helen Bosanquet were deeply involved; there was a Glasgow branch. See Ross McKibbin 'Class and Poverty in Edwardian England' in his *The Ideologies of Class Social Relations in Britain 1880-1950*, Oxford University Press, Oxford (1990): pp. 170-196; with reference to several approaches to social policy, see A.A. McBriar *An Edwardian Mixed Doubles: Bosanquets Versus the Webbs – a Study in British Social Policy*, Oxford University Press, Oxford (1987). On the COS generally, see: James Leiby 'Charity Organization Reconsidered' *Social Service Review* Vol. 58, No. 4 (December, 1984): pp. 523-538.

[42] Bernard Bosanquet *The Philosophical Theory of the State*, Macmillan & Co., Limited, London (1899– and subsequent editions).

their participation in such activities their interests change and develop.[43]

This is entirely compatible with Robieson's view that: "It is not doing what one likes, but what one believes to be right" and that "Liberty has value for its own sake: it may be worth striving after, although it has no result beyond itself; and as an element it enormously increases the values of wholes into which it enters… most *great* ends arise… directly out of liberty."[44] These ideas by Robieson are discussed in greater detail in the next Chapter. But before going there let us discuss the socialist milieu that he encountered and helped to shape at Glasgow University – where he decided to join the socialist movement.

The Glasgow University Socialists and the Legend of the 1908 Contest for University Rector.

Glasgow was one of the British universities to develop a distinctive and significant socialist organisation early in the 20th century, prior to World War I. Both Matthew Robieson and William Anderson became immersed and active in university politics, including what became a famous contest – the nomination of Keir Hardie for election in 1908 as Rector of Glasgow University. Their activities defined a kind of socialist politics - pluralist, tolerant, eclectic, fiercely anti-Liberal and, ultimately, antagonistic to Fabianism. Their receptiveness to Guild Socialist ideas is partly explained by the politics minted in their university years. So the remainder of this Chapter attempts to capture the ethos and thinking of that period.

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[43] Creagh Cole, *Loc. Cit.*, p. xii.
[44] M.W. Robieson [under the pseudonym "O. Latham"] 'An Apology for the Liberty of the Person', No. 8 in a series, *Loc. Cit.*, pp. 207-208

In 1913 the inaugural issue of *The University Socialist* journal provided two vividly contrasting representations of the Glasgow University Fabian Club and the Glasgow University Socialists; one was a debating club, internally focused; the other overtly political, evangelising and socialist. Perhaps such genteel promotion of the Club's purpose was meant to entice students to come along for a discussion. Every activist knows that finding a receptive audience can be an important part of winning recruits. The Fabians projected a soft ideological pose. The Fabian Society stated that it: "confines its work to the University" and to its meetings "rarely entices anyone who is not a past or present student."[45] "The exact nature of the work of the society is educative, and not propagandist,"[46] typically acting through small evening meetings. "It avoids treating its own dogmas as sacrosanct. In a word, it is not a political society at all."[47] In contrast, and aggressively, the Socialist Club declared itself as "a purely political organisation, and, as such, it is believed unique amongst the University Socialist Societies of Great Britain."[48] This was a pretty ambitious claim. The Club's reputation relied on what had been achieved in 1908, Robieson's first year at university, in standing Labour's Keir Hardie in the election, by students and graduates, that year for Rector of Glasgow University.

William Robieson recalled the force of personality and impact in 1908 of an older student then in his mid 20s, Tom Johnston, the founder and owner of *Forward*, the Scots socialist newspaper, who had enrolled in classes in economics. As socialist journalist

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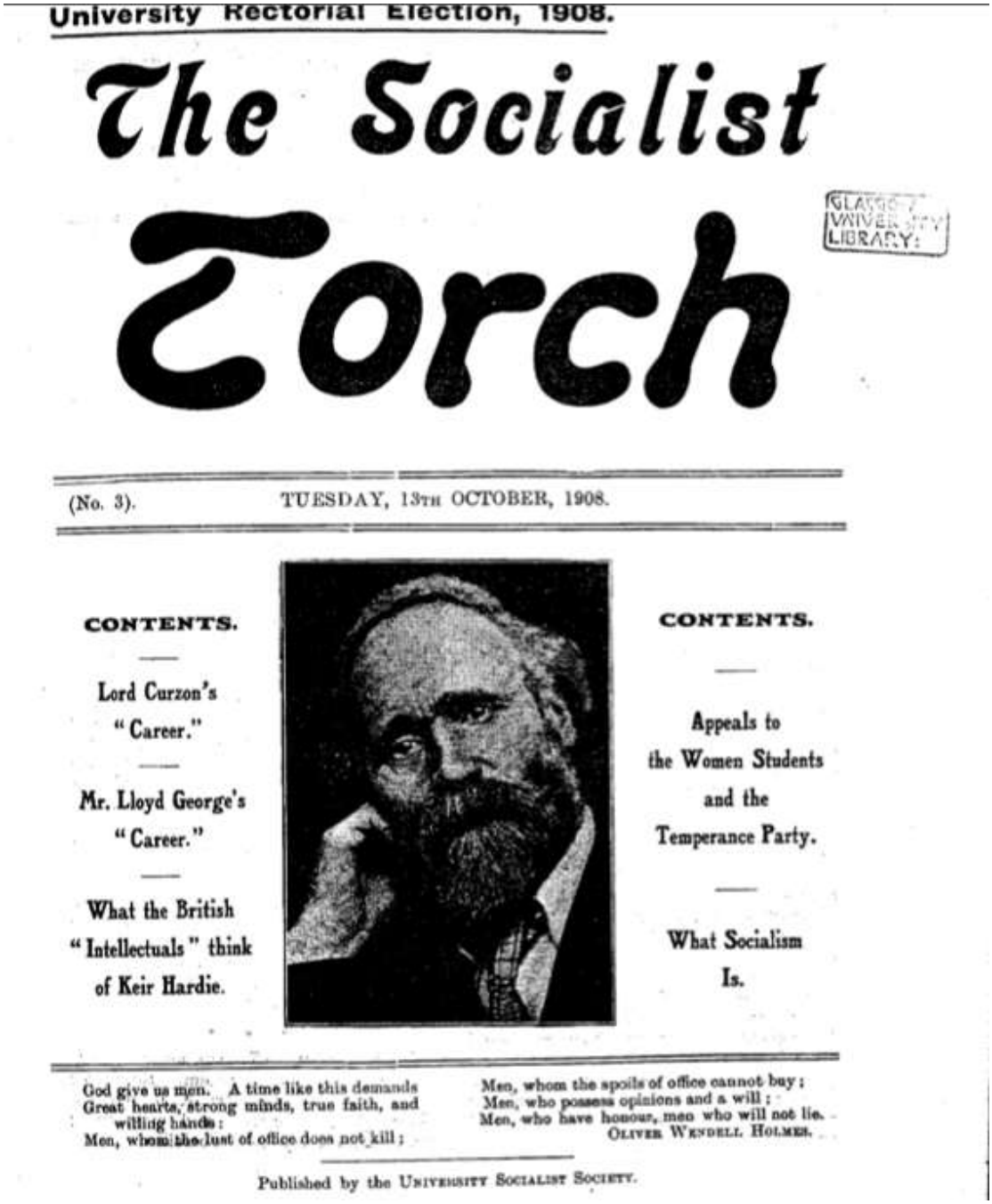
[45] M.M. 'Glasgow University Fabian Society' *The University Socialist* [Journal of the University Socialist Federation] No. 1 (Lent Term, 1913): p. 59.
[46] *Ibid*., p. 60.
[47] *Ibid*.
[48] G.W.B. 'Glasgow University Socialist Club' *The University Socialist* [Journal of the University Socialist Federation] No. 1 (Lent Term, 1913): pp. 61-62.

R. P. Arnot, M.A.,

Editor, *G.U.M.*, 1912-13.
Senior Vice-President, S.R.C.

R.P. Arnot, editor. Source: *Glasgow University Magazine* Vol. 26, No. 8 (1913/1914): p. 216



University Rectorial Election, 1908.

The Socialist Torch

(No. 3). TUESDAY, 13TH OCTOBER, 1908.

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CONTENTS.

God give us men. A time like this demands
Great hearts, strong minds, true faith, and willing hands:
Men, whom the lust of office does not kill;
Men, whom the spoils of office cannot buy;
Men, who possess opinions and a will;
Men, who have honour, men who will not lie.
OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES.

Published by the UNIVERSITY SOCIALIST SOCIETY.

Front cover of the third issue of the Glasgow socialists' *The Socialist Torch*, featuring a photo of Keir Hardie; source: Glasgow University Archives

and later as a Labour politician and administrator, by personality, insight and judicious use of the levers of power, Johnston had an immense impact on the formation and

development of the Labour party in Scotland. At University, his most significant action was in getting the Socialist Club to stand a candidate and largely running that campaign.

Five years after the event, the election was examined in the second issue of *The University Socialist* journal.[49] Though published anonymously, on the grounds of wit, eloquence and familiarity with the events, it is highly likely that Robieson was the author of 'A Scottish Rectorial'. Robieson was actively involved in the 1908 Rectorial election, which radicalised him and strengthened his commitment to socialism and the kind of activity appropriate to someone wishing to change the world. The alternative author might have been R. Page Arnot, represented on the editorial board of *The University Socialist*. If so, he had never written better. But it is more likely that he had procured the article from Robieson with whom he was on friendly terms.[50] In any event, the article's anti-Fabian flavour also suggests Robieson as, at the time, Arnot was pro-Fabian – joining its Research Department in 1914. The article mocks the Fabians saying that "A Fabian Society exists, but on the strict understanding that such frailties as human perspiration are not thrust on the attention of the college."[51] This was a partisan critique from a competitor Club. The GUSS 'put down' the Fabians suggesting that they did no work for the cause, though were happy debating amongst themselves. Whereas the Fabian Club article had politely stressed that "the duplication of societies in Glasgow is necessary and advantageous to both,"[52] the latter article bluntly assessed that: "The Fabian Society has attempted to make converts to what seems to the outsider

[49] M.W. Robieson [attributed; though published anonymously] 'A Scottish Rectorial' *The University Socialist* [Journal of the University Socialist Federation] No. 2 (Michaelmas Term, 1913): pp. 98-103.
[50] Arnot, for example, movingly wrote to William Robieson recalling Matthew's death fifty years earlier and urging that the Glasgow *Herald* publish something in his memory, mentioning "a renewal of the grief we all felt at the cutting off, before he had reached his prime, of one who had such promise and was such a good friend." Letter: *R. Page Arnot to W.D. Robieson*, September 2, 1969, Robin Page Arnot papers, DAR/2/54 Archives, Hull University Library.
[51] M.W. Robieson [attributed; though published anonymously] 'A Scottish Rectorial', *Loc. Cit.*, p. 98.
[52] G.W.B. 'Glasgow University Socialist Club', *Loc. Cit.*, p. 61.

nothing more than a Bastard Officialism, with the natural result that the University Undergraduate treats the Fabian Society to contemptuous indifference."[53] Such rivalry had led the Fabian committee to declare in 1908 that despite any rumours to the contrary, they supported Hardie.[54]

The Rectorial campaign was significant in that: "The fever-heat of the election afforded a fine opportunity for propaganda which was readily and ably seized upon by the Socialist leaders. Meetings, literature, and Union debates were all utilised to the utmost and many students joined the Society."[55] Five issues of the *Socialist Torch*, a publication just for the election, at sixteen pages each, were produced between March and October 1908; a scroll through the journal shows immense support from noted socialists and excitement for the cause. On page one, each issue published some poetry from Oliver Wendel Holmes:

> God, give us men. A time like this demands
>
> Great hearts, strong minds, true faith, and
>
> Willing hands:
>
> Men, whom the lust of office does not kill;
>
> Men, whom the spoils of office cannot buy;
>
> Men, who possess opinions and a will;
>
> Men, who have honour, men who will not lie.[56]

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[53] M.W. Robieson [attributed; though published anonymously] 'A Scottish Rectorial', *Loc. Cit.*, p. 103.
[54] See Letter signed by A.H. Garvie, President, Andrew Paterson, Vice President, and John F. MacDonald, Secretary, Glasgow University Fabian Society, together with committee members, including Hugh Reyburn and Gladstone L.R. Small [later known as Lothian Small], pledging support for Hardie whilst explaining as a "non-political body" the Fabian Society could not "officially" associate with the contest - though, as individuals, each of them did. The letter was meant to repudiate "*absolutely*" rumours that they were half-hearted in any support for Hardie. *The Socialist Torch* [University Socialist Society, Glasgow] No. 5, (Wednesday, October 21, 1908): p. 9.
[55] G.W.B. 'Glasgow University Socialist Club', *Loc. Cit.*, p. 61.
[56] *The Socialist Torch* [all issues, No. 1-5, London] (June-October, 1908).

This seemed to encapsulate the heady idealism and self importance – a "time like this" - of the battle. The editors and contributors to *Socialist Torch* were determined to seize the opportunity: "…we shall descend to no personalities; we have no concern with the personal appearance, clothing, or peculiarities of any opponent – Liberal or Tory. We are out on a fight for principle, for rousing educative propaganda among a class that Socialism has hitherto made no organised effort to attach to its flag."[57] But the character of Curzon, especially, came brutally under fire. The intention was simple: "The career of Lord Curzon and the parochial existence of Mr. Lloyd George were subjected to detailed survey and criticism. Socialism was expounded with an amusing religious fervour, and challenges were strewn about indiscriminately"[58] to the other Societies to defend themselves. There were consequences: "The immediate result of this issue was the crowding of the Conservative and Liberal periodicals with defence of their candidates and their principles."[59] The Socialists explained it was okay to be one: Sir Oliver Lodge, President of Birmingham University "and our greatest physicist", Dr Alfred Russell Wallace, with Darwin the co-discover of the principles of evolution, H.G. Wells, the Rev. R.J. Campbell,[60] George Bernard Shaw and hundreds of other leading intellectuals could be identified with the cause; so, "surely we ask nothing overmuch, nothing extravagant in this request for a hearing."[61] The university socialists nominated Hardie with two thoughts in mind: first, that this was a propaganda and educative opportunity; and, second, they wanted the right candidate. They reasoned: "the only course for the Socialist Party was to put forward someone whose advocacy of Socialism had been sufficiently uncompromising to ensure that the real political issue was not

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[57] An 'Open Letter' to "Fellow Students", *The Socialist Torch* No. 1 (March 19, 1908): p. 2.
[58] M.W. Robieson [attributed; though published anonymously] 'A Scottish Rectorial', *Loc. Cit.*, p. 100.
[59] *Ibid*.
[60] Rev. R.J. Campbell 'The Ethics of Socialism' *The Socialist Torch* No. 1 (March 19, 1908): p. 11.
[61] An 'Open Letter' to "Fellow Students", *The Socialist Torch* No. 1 (March 19, 1908): p. 2.

clouded by any false suggestion of literary distinction."[62] So Shaw was ruled out. Perhaps his contamination with Fabian ideals also made him unappealing to the campus socialists. "After considerable consideration it was decided to advance for the Academic Holy of Holies one whose fearless political career had made his name stink in the nostrils of the elect."[63] The author of this whimsical and biting survey of the famous contest noted that there was shock in the inner sanctum of the University. Hardie's nomination was the last received: "Next day the *Senatus Academicus* went into mourning, and its members hung their academic heads throughout the election."[64] It was not all jousting, leafleting, contending and debating - this was Glasgow, not Oxford:

> The Union Debating Hall was again chartered, and the Rev. Mr. [J.] Stitt Wilson was billed to address the students on Socialism.
>
> As seen from the platform, the meeting instead of being a political gathering resembled an organised fireworks display. Twenty minutes were quickly spent in the delivery of vegetables, sundry pails of water, and any handy missile at the platform party, and the rest of the ninety minutes in the explosion of squibs and the setting fire to paraffin-soaked umbrellas. All the time an unceasing din was kept up by the audience, aided by the manipulation of a small battering ram.
>
> At the end of an hour and a half, the Socialist executive bowed to these superior arguments and filed out with the immediate prospect of a public ducking, which fortunately proved abortive.[65]

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[62] M.W. Robieson [attributed; though published anonymously] 'A Scottish Rectorial', *Loc. Cit.*, p. 99.
[63] *Ibid*.
[64] *Ibid*., p. 100.
[65] *Ibid*. Rectorial Campaigns at Glasgow had long been boisterous affairs. Ian MacMillian A Study of the University of Glasgow Rectorial Election Campaigns: 1858-1908, M.Litt., University of Glasgow (2009).

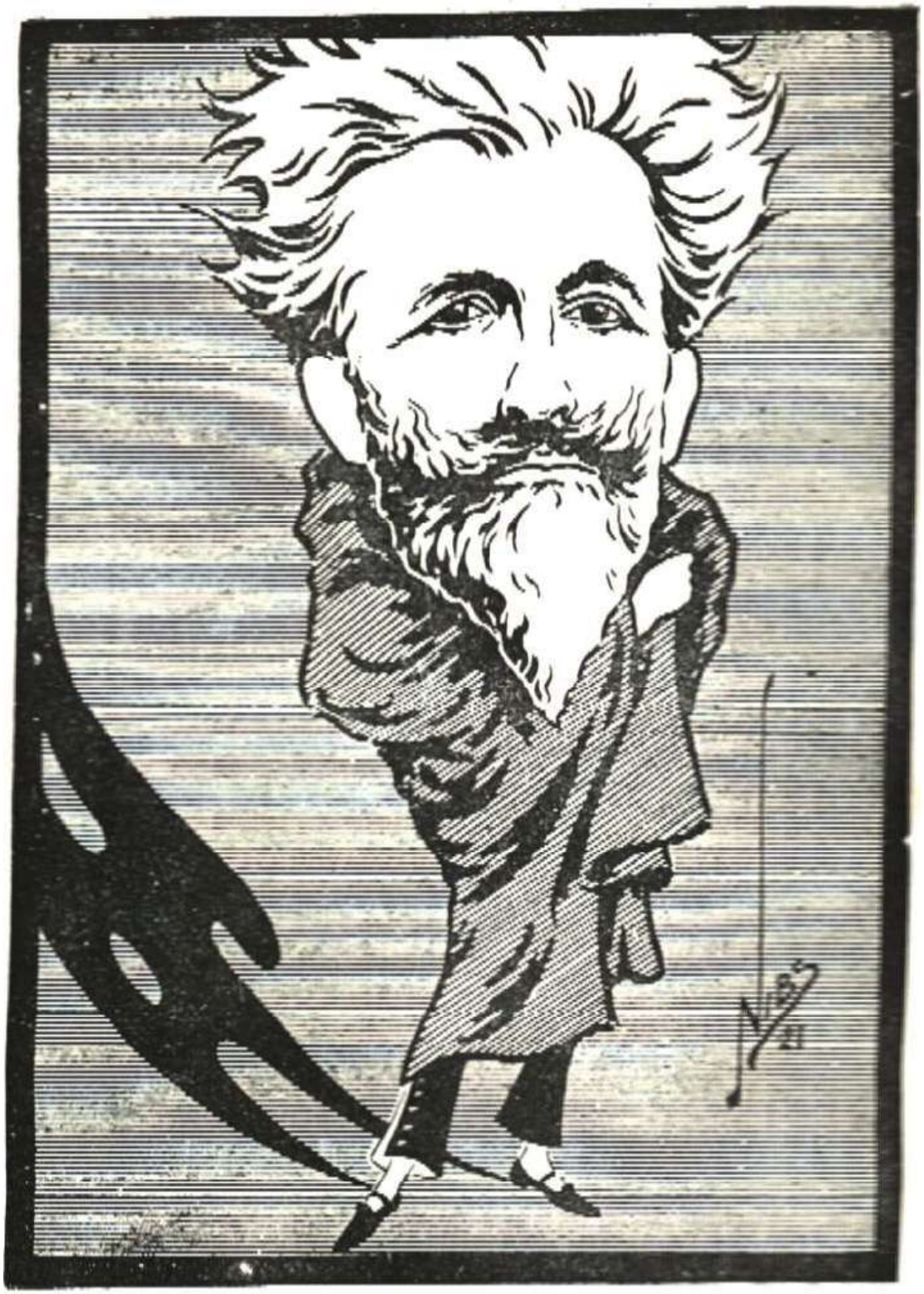

Illustration of R.B. Cunninghame Graham, who supported Hardie in 1908; 20 years later, he ran as Rector for the Scottish Nationalists; source: *Glasgow University Magazine* Vol. 40, No. 3 (November 21, 1928): plate facing p. 61.

Defending socialism on campus had taken on new meaning; feelings ran high. For the University Socialists, it was time to "disillusionise" "credulous Radical Students" that the Liberal Prime Minister Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman "is or ever was a Goliath of Social Reform, a fearless pioneer of change or a doughty democrat hacking for the people's sake at Privilege and Oppression."[66] Whereas Curzon, the Czar of India, was a blood soaked tyrant.[67] The Liberals were outraged by the attack on their sickly Prime Minister,[68] who died on April 22, 1908. Competing publications were issued – the *Four Nations* for the Liberals and the *Lord Rector* for the Conservatives. In June, a fresh fusillade was fired at Lloyd George linking him to murders under the British flag in an Egyptian village[69] and Curzon was further attacked as a slaver and educational primitive.[70]

With the election drawing close, in October, for "the third time", the Socialists called on the Liberals and the Conservatives to face and debate them on campus.[71] But there was no response to the challenge. Instead a public meeting was organised with Victor Grayson, MP, R.B. Cunninghame Graham and Mrs Cobden Sanderson (daughter of Richard Cobden) due to speak in favour of Hardie.[72] Without informing a waiting audience, Grayson, however, decided not to show up. As he later explained:

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[66] 'Why No Student Should Vote Liberal. A Criticism of the Premier's Political Career' *The Socialist Torch* No. 1 (March 19, 1908): p. 6.
[67] H.E.A. Cotton [Editor, *India*] 'Lord Curzon in India. An Indictment' *The Socialist Torch* No. 1 (March 19, 1908): pp. 3-4. Cotton's article, originally published in 1904, was especially updated for this publication.
[68] An 'Open Letter' to "Fellow Students", *The Socialist Torch* No. 2 (June 4, 1908): p. 2.
[69] 'The Chancellor's Great Record. Mr Lloyd George Implicated in the Denshawai Murders' *The Socialist Torch* No. 2 (June 4, 1908): p. 2.
[70] 'Lord Curzon: The Protagonist of Slavery. Why No Student Should Vote for Him' *The Socialist Torch* No. 2 (June 4, 1908): p. 6.
[71] 'A Challenge to the Liberal and Conservative Parties For the Third Time' *The Socialist Torch* No. 3 (October 13, 1908): p. 2. Previous challenges had been issued: 'A Challenge to the Liberal & Conservative Parties' *The Socialist Torch* No. 1 (March 19, 1908): p. 2; 'Challenge to the Liberal & Tory Clubs for the Second Time' *The Socialist Torch* No. 2 (June 4, 1908): p. 7.
[72] 'Advertisement *The Socialist Torch* No. 3 (October 13, 1908): p. 9.

> On Sunday, October 18, before a large audience, with the English Press present, I emphatically refusedto fulfil my engagement in Glasgow to support Mr. Keir Hardie's candidature for the Rectorship because of Mr. Hardie's attack upon, and repudiation of, me a couple of nights before at Llanelly.[73]

Mrs. Cobden Sanderson, who did honour her commitment, spoke and said there was little difference between the Tories and the Liberals: "they all represented capitalism and landlordism."[74] A public statement by various worthies – including Alfred Wallace, George Meredith (novelist), H.G. Wells, G. Bernard Shaw, Richard Whiteing (novelist) Edward Carpenter (poet and philosopher), George Cadbury (philanthropist), R.B. Cunninghame Graham (Man of Letters) and various religious men - was published in support of Hardie.[75] Targetted pitches were made to temperance,[76] women,[77] Irish,[78] Asiatics,[79] and other students. Women were told about the Liberals' keenness to snuff out women's suffragist rights.[80] Students were presented with fresh defamations about Curzon's reputation for sedition and inducement of famine in India.[81] Lest there be any doubt that the Liberals were the main enemy, the final issue of *The Socialist Torch* birched them again and again. One heading said enough: 'Lurid Sidelights on Capitalist Liberalism's "Great" Past. How They "Burked" the Franchise, Sweated the Children, and

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[73] Victor Grayson 'Cleanse Yourself From Your Idols' *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 4, No. 6 (December 3, 1908): p. 104.
[74] [Anonymous correspondent] 'Rectorial Elections. Socialists in City Hall' *Herald* [Glasgow, Scotland] (October 20, 1908): p. 7.
[75] 'What the British "Intellectuals" Think of Keir Hardie' [Open Letter] *The Socialist Torch* No. 3 (October 13, 1908): p. 11.
[76] 'To the Temperance Students of Glasgow University', *Ibid*., p.10.
[77] 'To Queen Margaret Students' *The Socialist Torch* No. 3 (October 13, 1908): p. 12; 'Women and Socialism' *The Socialist Torch* No. 4 (October 20, 1908): p. 2 and in the same issue, 'To the Students of Queen Margaret's', pp. 6-7.
[78] M.W. Robieson [attributed; though published anonymously] 'A Scottish Rectorial', *Loc. Cit*., p. 101.
[79] 'Asiatics! Remember This!' *The Socialist Torch* No. 5 (October 21, 1908): p. 4.
[80] 'How the Liberal Government Attempts to Crush the Women's Franchise Movement. Cruelty Almost Unbelievable' *The Socialist Torch* No. 4 (October 20, 1908): p. 7.
[81] 'How the Man of Many Medals Represented Britain Over the Seas. Why No Student Should Vote for Curzon' *The Socialist Torch* No. 3 (October 13, 1908): p. 15.

Took Bribes'.[82] As for Lord Curzon, "His whole career is but the tiresome record of what happens when an insignificant man, blind to his own insignificance, is born into the purple."[83]This account of the election shows the forte of the socialist students for polemics and a savage, elegant literary élan in mocking their opponents. But where did they stand on socialism; what clues were put forward on that? First, they were eclectic in the range of supporters and activists quoted, encouraged to write for and referred to in *The Socialist Torch*. This was a broad Church of Socialism. Second, if there was a wee bit too much argument from authority – as if, "look, these great men and women support socialism, so there's no shame in coming aboard" – still, it was done well. Third, there was a coherent, if sometimes stridently negative, critique of the hypocrisy and pretensions of Liberals and Tories. All political groupings define themselves by what they oppose as well as what they contend for. Four, snippets on what socialism had already 'achieved' were mentioned – such as in the municipal, state management of the previously private-owned Glasgow trams.[84] Five, there was no dogmatic distillation of Marxist prescriptions of socialism. Marx went almost unmentioned. In response to campus Liberal jibes, that the socialists saw all problems solved under his doctrine and that they worshipped at his feet, came this insistent note: "We neither require to fall back on Marx for a justification of Socialism nor have we ever for a single moment dreamt that Socialism was going to cure sore feet."[85] Six, several articles tried to sketch a coherent, positive view of what socialist philosophy stood for. The emphasis was partly ethics and partly economics. Hardie was personally put forward as exemplifying both aspects – "the little Lanarkshire pit-boy has elbowed his way into the forefront of

[82] *The Socialist Torch* No. 5 (October 21, 1908): p. 2.
[83] 'The Eternal Curzon. A Study in "Hereditary" Legislative Acumen', *Ibid*., p. 5.
[84] 'Socialism in Practice' *The Socialist Torch* No. 2 (June 4, 1908): p. 13.
[85] An 'Open Letter' to "Fellow Students", *The Socialist Torch* No. 2 (June 4, 1908): p. 2.

the nation's counsellors."[86] The virtuous character of the socialist nominee was not all. The Rev. Campbell indicted a system that put so many in poverty and despair: "Socialism may be preached by a fighting Agnostic, by a Free Thinker, or a convinced Sacerdotalist, but in so far as they all have as a common object the uplifting of humanity, they are all Christian."[87] This was an almost utilitarian view of Christian socialism. Another article opined on the 'Economics of Socialism'[88] arguing that collective ownership was better than a society manipulated by a few, selfishly maximising individual profit. Traditional, anti-competitive ideas about the 'inefficiency' of capitalism were advanced. With collective ownership, "it means the abolition of the present waste of energy and resources, the unnecessary multiplication of plant and places of business, and the socially useless employment of capital."[89] At this stage, the Club's exposition of an alternative, Socialist vision was limited. Promising to hammer their opponents in future issues of *The Socialist Torch*, there was also the promise "to indicate the broad principles which regulate the economics of Socialism, and to give practical illustrations of those laws applied to everyday problems."[90] Students were urged to consult the *Fabian Essays*.[91] But the positive account of what Socialism *is* only found limited explanation in future propaganda efforts.[92] One article grappled with the task:

> Socialism may be defined as a doctrine of society which calls for ownership and control by the community of all the means necessary for production and distribution of the things on which the well-being of the community depends. In

[86] 'Our Candidate' *The Socialist Torch* No. 1 (March 19, 1908): p. 13.
[87] Rev. R.J. Campbell 'The Ethics of Socialism' *The Socialist Torch* No. 1 (March 19, 1908): p. 11.
[88] 'The Economics of Socialism' *The Socialist Torch* No. 2 (June 4, 1908): pp. 8-9.
[89] *Ibid*., p. 9.
[90] 'Announcements' *The Socialist Torch* No. 2 (June 4, 1908): p. 12.
[91] *Ibid*.
[92] 'What is Socialism' *The Socialist Torch* No. 3 (October 13, 1908): pp. 13-14.

> other words, Socialism is a plan for completely democratising society by taking it out of the power of any individual to exercise authority over another unless as the appointed delegate of the people at large.[93]

References to "wage slavery" and the like, freedom of workers to be in control of their work and deep suspicion of a potential, wasteful, debilitating socialist bureaucracy – the stock images of the Guild Socialists - were absent in the presentation of the socialist case. There was one dash of William Morris purple prose in the final issue; there was a mention of a nightmarish vision of the history of mankind:

> Was it all to end in a counting-house on the top of a cinder heap, with Podsnap's drawing-room in the offing, and a Whig committee dealing out champagne to the rich and margarine to the poor, in such convenient portions as would make all men contented together, though the pleasure of the eyes was gone from the world, and the place of Homer was to be taken by Huxley?[94]

This was a glimpse of horror at levelling down, unimaginative utilitarian ideas, where culture and creativity were devalued, where an undiscriminating, philistine might reckon *The Illiad* as worthy as *Man's Place in Nature* – a somewhat extreme distinction. But, in the end, the point to note is that in setting out the case for socialism, every main argument then current was mentioned in *The Socialist Torch* including the very contrasting Morris and Shaw visions of what 'world anew' might be constructed from the old.

In the end, in the Glasgow University rectorial election of 1908 the Conservative

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[93] *Ibid*., p. 13.

[94] 'Modern Civilisation. A Great Artist's View' *The Socialist Torch* No. 5 (October 21, 1908): p. 15. This was a quote from William Morris: 'How I Became a Socialist' (1896) *News from Nowhere and Other Writings*, Clive Wilmer, editor, Penguin, London (1993): pp. 381-382.

candidate, Lord Curzon, with 947 votes beat the Liberals' Lloyd George, 935, by 12 votes, with the Labour candidate, Keir Hardie, polling 122. The total number who voted was therefore 2,004 out of around 2,400 eligible voters. And so "by the rejection of Mr. Keir Hardie there was lost to the University world an Academic Address unequalled since Thomas Carlyle was Lord Rector of Edinburgh University."[95]

An aspect of the contest was the contrasting politics of the Robieson twins. In November 1908, William Robieson spoke making "a slashing attack on the Socialists to such effect that the merry chatter of the onlookers actually subsided for a moment."[96] The combative competition of the brothers was a source of comment. In one aside, the *GUM* editor jokingly wondered "[i]f the Robiesons were triplets"![97]

William Robieson recalled that:

> I was very deeply involved in that campaign. I belonged to the Liberal Club, but the great show that year was made by a man much older than any of us, who had come up the previous year, called Tom Johnston - later The Rt. Hon. Thomas Johnston, who owned and edited *Forward*. He came up to the Economics classes and he played an important, genial, pleasant and friendly part in student life. He came from Kirkintilloch as did… Hugh Reyburn, who was a philosopher. Tom Johnston decided that he would form a Socialist Club. He enrolled important people in it, and they ran Keir Hardie as candidate. My brother was in it, he was

[95] M.W. Robieson [attributed; though published anonymously] 'A Scottish Rectorial' *The University Socialist* [Journal of the University Socialist Federation] No. 2 (Michaelmas Term, 1913): p. 103.
[96] 'The Dialectic Debate' *Glasgow University Magazine* Vol. 21, No. 5, (December 2, 1908): p. 142.
[97] 'Unthinkables' *Glasgow University Magazine* Vol. 21, No. 8 (January 7, 1909): p. 242.

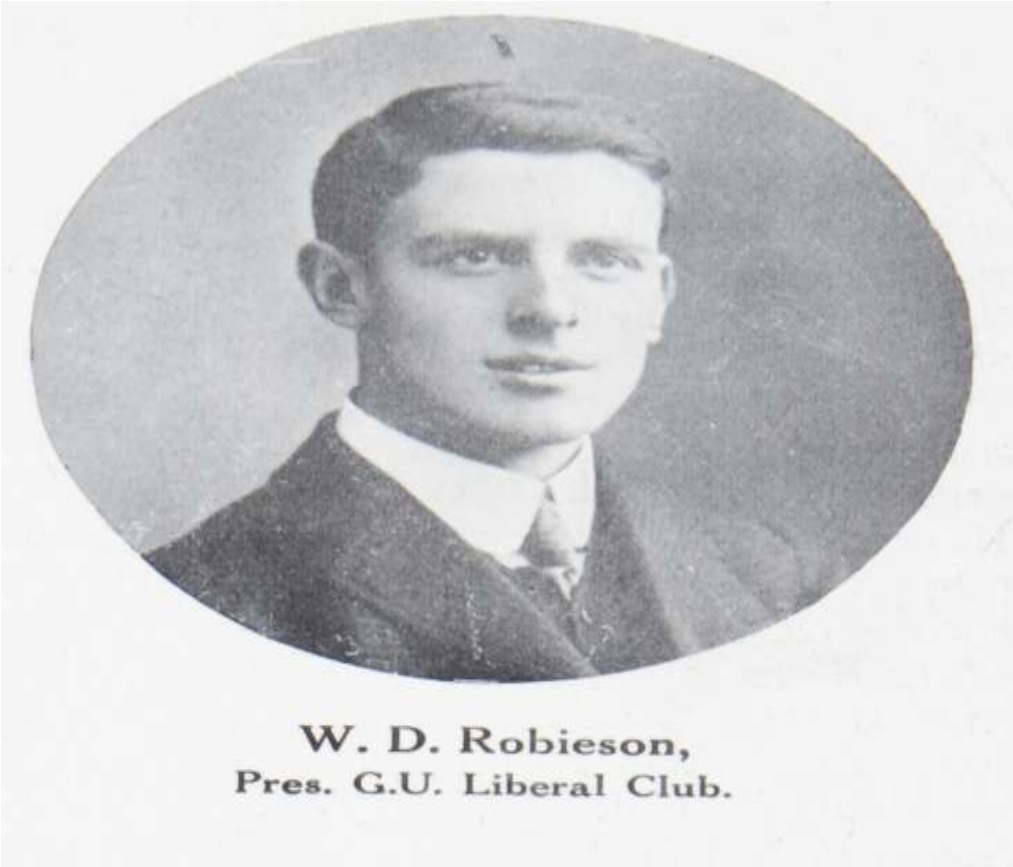
then going through his Marxist stage, which didn't last very long, John Boyd was in it, afterwards Walter Elliot's election agent, and Walter Elliot.[98]

Johnston noted: "When we began the contest in the spring, the Fabian membership only

'An impression of the Union Meeting'. Source: illustration in *Glasgow University Magazine* Vol. 28, No. 7 (May 9, 1917): p. 221.

totalled 30; on the eve of the poll we had received definite pledges of support from 170 students."[99] In 1975, a former student wrote to Bill Robieson to say, "…I possess one copy of *the Glasgow University Students' Handbook 1910-11*. I see that you were President of the Liberal Club for that session and Matthew of the Socialist Society. It amuses me to see that John Boyd was Treasurer of the Socialist Society and that he and

[98] W.D. Robieson 'An Edwardian Student', interview with Mrs. Anne Kahane, and Professor A.L. Brown, *The College Courant*, the journal of the Glasgow University Graduates Association, Vol. 30, No. 60 (Whitsun, 1978): pp. 6-11.
[99] Thomas Johnston 'Through Socialist Spectacles' *Glasgow University Magazine* Vol. 21, No. 1 (November 4, 1908): p. 12.



W.D. Robieson, President of Liberal Club. Source: *Glasgow University Magazine* Vol. 23, No. 8 (1910/1911): p. 204a

Walter Elliot were members of the committee of the Fabian Society…"[100] Mavor wrote in his memoirs that: "Elliot, I think, fought for Curzon and voted for Keir Hardie, but he had no objection to assisting in the candidature of Mr. Lloyd George."[101]

Actually, Hardie had been nominated without his knowledge or consent whilst he was travelling in India. Johnston states that he was apprehensive about Hardie's reaction

[100] Letter: *John M. Williamson to Sir William Robieson*, November 6, 1975. I am grateful to Mrs. Clare Thomas for providing me with a copy of this correspondence. Williamson had apparently written out of the blue, re-introducing himself to Robieson, saying: "I used to see you from time to time when I was at Glasgow in 1906-11 but I probably saw more of your back than of your face, for I sat immediately behind you and Matthew in the Ordinary Greek class during the winter of 1907-08. You would be lodging in the city but I travelled in from Uddingston, my home town or rather village, every morning by the 7.10 train in order to emerge from the smoke of the Low Level at Kelvinbridge and hurry uphill for the 8 o'clock class. I found it mighty cold at times, and was very glad to be wearing the red cloak, the use of which had just been revived. I don't suppose the revival endured." Apparently Williamson saw a reference to Robieson in *The Scots Magazine* and this prompted him to write.
[101] [O. Mavor] *One Way of Living James Bridie's Autobiography*, Constable and Company Ltd., London (1939): p. 146.

when he returned home: "When [Hardie] arrived at Southampton he was of course interviewed on many subjects by pressmen, one of whom shot at him out of the blue the query 'What do you think of your chances for the Lord Rectorship of Glasgow University?'" Johnston goes on: "That must have been a complete puzzler for the old gentleman, but the prompt reply surrounded by the traditional caution of his race, greatly relieved some youths in far away Glasgow when they read of it: 'Well you know, I have just arrived'."[102] Johnston went on to recall that: "At the time I was chairman of the University Socialist Society, and as the election day drew nearer, Sir Henry [Jones] could the less disguise his irritation, and would interlard his lectures with what he considered conclusive swipes at Socialist doctrine."[103] Jones no doubt hated the personal criticism of someone he greatly admired and went on to serve actively, when Lloyd George became Prime Minister.

William Robieson said of the Socialist Club that in 1908 they "established themselves, and then when Tom Johnston left, it just seemed to fade away. It kept going, but it never made any impact, and when it came to the next rectorial election, and even more stormy political days, they didn't run a candidate."[104] Similarly, in 1913, it was observed of the fervour of 1908 that: "Two years afterwards, however, it was allowed to lapse."[105] Perhaps, despite the satisfaction of a modest result in 1908, there was also the understanding that, under the 'first past the post' election method, splitting the anti-Tory vote had enabled a Tory win. This indeed was an issue: "An official attempt was made by the Liberal Club to bring about the withdrawal of Mr. Keir Hardie's

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[102] Thomas Johnston *Memories*, Collins, London (1952): p. 43.
[103] *Ibid.*
[104] W.D. Robieson 'An Edwardian Student', *Loc. Cit.*
[105] G.W.B. 'Glasgow University Socialist Club', *Loc. Cit.*, p. 61.

candidature in order, it was said, 'to prevent splitting the progressive vote'."[106] But this plead was spurned "on the simple ground that the Socialist Club could not see any material difference between the policy and principles of the Liberal and of the Conservative Clubs."[107]

The campaign was not for nought. Johnston at the time wrote that the experience of running Hardie galvanised support: "Socialism, of course, will ultimately win in the 'Varsity, as it will win everywhere else; and now that we have about 200 members in the G.U.S.S. [i.e., the Glasgow University Socialist Society], a clearer knowledge of the issue diffused over the electorate."[108] Besides a sizable, active student membership, the Socialists had won a measure of respect on campus:

> Considering that we stood for a cause much misrepresented, grossly caricatured: a cause regarded by large groups of students as running perilously parallel with, if not including larceny, murder, and fire raising... we did not expect to be met with rose-water, kid gloves, and kisses.[109]

Matthew Robieson was one of those radicalised by the campaign. He became a G.U.S.S. member. On his death *The Daily Herald* reported: "He had a brilliant career at Glasgow University, where he became a Socialist."[110] In 1909 he was playing a leadership role; "Mr. M.W. Robieson presided over a large attendance" who came to hear Ramsay MacDonald speak.[111] Keir Hardie eventually visited campus after the Rectorial election, at a reception organised by Tom Johnston. Hardie "sang us 'The Red Flag'... and put us

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[106] M.W. Robieson [attributed; though published anonymously] 'A Scottish Rectorial', *Loc. Cit.*, p. 102.
[107] *Ibid*.
[108] Thomas Johnston 'Through Socialist Spectacles', *Loc. Cit.,* p. 13.
[109] *Ibid.*, p. 12.
[110] Anonymous [Published as "From Our Own Correspondent" in Glasgow] 'Professor Drowned. Brilliant Career Cut Short by Bathing Tragedy in Cornwall' *Daily Herald*, new series, No. 95 (July 19, 1919): p. 2.
[111] 'Glasgow University Socialist Society' *Glasgow University Magazine* Vol. 21, No. 11, (January 28, 1909): pp. 320-321.

to the blush by knowing more of 'Auld Lang Syne' than any other man present."[112] The *Student Handbook 1910-1911* states that the Honorary President of the G.U.S.S. was Keir Hardie, with an eclectic range of Honorary Vice Presidents, including J. Ramsay MacDonald, H.M. Hyndman, The Countess of Warwick, Alfred Russel Wallace, Professor Thomas Jones, the Rev. R.J. Campbell, J.A. Allan,[113] R.B. Cunninghame Graham and Richard Whiteing. Matthew Robieson was the Club President, William Anderson its Secretary, John Boyd, Treasurer. James B. Galbraith[114] and G.L.R. Small were the Vice Presidents.[115] This continued the tradition exemplified in the figures cited, quoted and admired in *The Socialist Torch* in 1908. The collection of Labour pioneers, a peeress, an English naturalist and evolutionist, economics professor, famous leftwing cleric, theosophist, mercurial adventurer, and popular leftwing novelist, suggested a combination of the down-to-earth and the big stars. The personalities and the tendencies they represented was a reminder of the disparate ranks of the socialist movement.

The Socialist Society had for its aim "the active propagation of the principles of Socialism in the University, and the maintenance of the dignity of the office of Lord Rector"[116] – a dig at Lord Curzon who was still to give his Rectorial address. One wonders if he too was nominated in ignorance of personal involvement and against his wishes. This might explain the several year delay in fronting up to the university to give the Rector's address.

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[112] Walter E. Elliot [published as "Parvus"] 'The Socialist Reception' *Glasgow University Magazine* Vol. 21, No. 14, (February 17, 1909): p. 400. "Parvus" was one of Elliot's pseudonyms.
[113] This was probably Jas. A. Allan who addressed the University Fabian Society on February 16, 1915 on 'Socialism from a Theosophical Standpoint'. See under 'Club Syllabuses' in *Glasgow University Student Handbook 1914-1915* James Maclehose and Sons, Glasgow (1914): p. 166.
[114] This was possibly James Biggam Galbraith (1894-1984), then a medical student.
[115] *Glasgow University Student Handbook 1910-1911* James Maclehose and Sons, Glasgow (1911): p. 159.
[116] *Ibid.*, p. 158.

In 1911, there was still the Glasgow University Fabian Society. The Secretary of the GUSS was *ex-officio* a member of its executive, so William Anderson was involved. Professor Thomas Jones, who as a student had helped found the GUSS club, was the Honorary President. The Fabian Society President was Gladstone L.R. Small, who may have been a rival on campus to Robieson and Anderson. Members of the Fabian Committee included John Boyd, Walter E. Elliot and Hugh Reyburn.[117] Henry Slesser, then known as Henry H. Schloesser, spoke at the Fabian Society in November 1908 on 'The Moral Basis of Socialism'.[118]

We do not know much of the development in the political thinking of Robieson or William Anderson in the period leading to graduation and thereafter with immediate appointment to junior academic posts in Glasgow. But there are snippets of information. In 1912, the Fabian and Dialectic societies conducted a joint debate. William Anderson spoke on the topic 'Socialism would destroy liberty' – which meant dealing with the canard that the controls socialists wished to impose would destroy enterprise and freedom.[119] A report noted that: "Mr W. Anderson led ably for the Fabians – felt that there would have been no need of a debate had his opponent understood what Socialism was – pointed out that Socialism was opposed to

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[117] 'Glasgow University Fabian Society', *Loc. Cit.*, pp. 144-146.
[118] *Glasgow University Magazine* Vol. 21, No. 5 (December 2, 1908): p. 132.
[119] See for example the pamphlet Sidney Webb *et. al.*, *Socialism and Individualism*, The Fabian Socialist Series, No. 3, A.C. Fifield, London (1908). The pamphlet featured essays by Sidney Webb (1859-1947), Bernard Shaw (1856-1950), Sidney Ball (1857-1918) and Sir Oliver Lodge (1851-1940). See also, E.[rnest] Belfort Bax and J. Hiam Levy *Socialism and Individualism*, Personal Rights Association/P.S. King & Son, London (1904). Ernest Belfort Bax (1854-1926) was a British, socialist journalist and philosopher, associated with the Social Democratic Federation (SDF). Joseph Hiam Levy (1838-1913), English author and economist, was educated at the City of London School and joined the Civil Service. He later became a lecturer in economics at Birkbeck College and an important figure in the Personal Rights Association. These papers were first presented as lectures, Bax in support of Socialism and Levy for Individualism.

Lothian Small, President, Fabian Club. Source: *Glasgow University Magazine* Vol. 23, No. 8 (1910/1911): p. 204a.

Capitalism, and not to Individualism."[120] The report goes on to state that "Mr Robieson is going to deliver a paper on 'Marxism and Fabianism' to the society next February – something more carefully prepared, he says – less of a paragon."[121]

Student debates were not always earnest and dreary affairs. A report on the 1912 Scottish Inter-'Varsities Fabian Conference stated that the Edinburgh and Glasgow

[120] 'Dialectic' in the *Glasgow University Magazine* Vol. 24, No. 9 (January 17, 1912): pp. 253-254. M.W. Robieson also participated and reportedly presented "a sound exposition of Marxism."
[121] *Ibid*.

students would "debate first on the merits of East and West Socialism, and afterwards… scrap their differences in song and dance."[122] At that conference the Glasgow University Fabians were represented by William and John Anderson, R. Page Arnot, Walter Elliot and others. In 1913, the Fabians advertised a programme of talks, including William Anderson[123] speaking on 'Radicalism' on November 13, 1913. In the following October, G.D.H. Cole spoke to students.[124] Matthew Robieson had an impact in persuasively arguing the merit of his ideas. One report of the Fabian Society stated:

> To hold a University audience in rapt attention for fifty-five minutes, to lead them through the most intricate and vexed problems of economics without ever losing grip of the argument – to do all this without a single note is a feat seldom achieved by any student. This was done by Matthew Robieson, M.A., on Tuesday, 14th November [1911], as the leader in a discussion on the "General Strike." Mr. Robieson is perhaps the most convincing speaker we have among the students. His voice sounds rather harshly at first, but as he proceeds the fullness and gravity of thought packed into each sentence constrains the hearers to mark nothing but the unfolding of the argument... The persiflage to tickle our ears, the froth that makes up most of the draught and poured out to us by your average speaker are replaced in Mr. Robieson by a richness and a painstaking elaboration that keeps every brain alert, at full tension.[125]

What he actually said and his notes of that speech are lost to us; though it is clear that his persuasive and intellectual talents were extraordinarily high. Bill Robieson recalled that: "We talked about politics at lunch time and at meetings… the Union debates,

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[122] 'Second-Hand Politics' in the *Glasgow University Magazine* Vol. 25, No. 5 (November 27, 1912): p. 132.
[123] See section under 'Club Syllabuses' in the *Glasgow University Student Handbook 1913-1914*, James Maclehose and Sons, Glasgow (1913): p. 182.
[124] 'Club Syllabuses' in the *Glasgow University Student Handbook 1914-1915*, James Maclehose and Sons, Glasgow (1914): p. 166.
[125] 'Fabian Society' *Glasgow University Magazine* Vol. 24, No. 3 (November 22, 1911): p. 77.

which were based on politics in parliamentary form, took place every fortnight, and they would be attended by three or four hundred people. The Liberal Club was a very vigorous club;[126] so too was the Tory Club..."[127] Williamson noted that:

> I was present at the crowded meeting in the Union which followed Curzon's announcement of a second postponement of the date for his address (the first, you may recall, was due to the imminence of a general election) and I have always thought that your brother Matthew hit the nail on the head when he suggested that the real reason behind the snub was that Curzon had not finished his home exercise. When the exercise was completed and presented to the students in the form of a rectorial address it proved to be an exhaustive (and exhausting) treatment of the Eurasian problem in India.[128]

Ironically, the Student Representatives Council officials, including Boyd, a Socialist Club member in 1908, as well as the former Presidents of the Conservative and Liberal Clubs at the time of his election were included in an official welcome to meet the Rector, Lord Curzon, when he eventually made it to Glasgow in early 1911.[129]

In early 1912, after a period of timidity, "The disappointment consequent on this [lack of] activity led to the genesis of the present club in the Spring of last year, to conduct

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[126] Bill Robieson says that Osborne Mavor, later known as James Bribie, the playwright, was a member of the Liberal Club, as too Walter Elliot in 1911. W.D. Robieson 'An Edwardian Student', *Loc. Cit.*

[127] W.D. Robieson, *Ibid.*

[128] Letter: *John M. Williamson to Sir William Robieson*, November 6, 1975. I am grateful to Mrs. Clare Thomas, who sent on a copy of this correspondence. Perhaps several passages ultimately crept into the book: The Marquis Curzon of Kedleston *British Government in India*: *The Story of the Viceroys and Government Houses*, in two volumes, Cassell, London (1925). In the same letter, Williamson went on to state: "Incidentally that meeting left me with a distrust of mass meeting resolutions which I retain to this day. With few dissentients the students, Conservative, Liberal and Socialist, about 700 of them, called on Curzon to resign. Next day, when the indignation cooled down, it was resolved to have a referendum of the whole body of students on the subject. The result was, so far as I can remember, about 700 supporting the call to resign, about 2000 against. I'm all for the secret ballot."

[129] *The Scotsman* (January 25, 1911): p. 10. The student representatives included in the official greeting included Mr. John Boyd, Secretary of the Students Representative Council and Mr. Robieson, President of the Liberal Club at the time of the election. Apparently the Socialists were not invited.

the same work as that undertaken by the former society."[130] This alluded to the fact that no Socialist candidate was fielded in the 1911 Rectorial election won by the Liberals' Augustine Birrell.[131] The reference to a 'genesis' of a new club may have entailed criticism of Robieson's and Anderson's performance as Club leaders. It also reflected the burden of the myth of 1908, when the exciting, unrepeated campaign to install Hardie came into play. In any year, the battle plan meant facing the odds with a small core, few funds and a scene that might be clearly surveyed:

> The political opinions of the University undergraduate are those of any unimaginative individual who intends to exist in the rarified outer atmosphere of the world of vested interest. Conservatism of the Athletic Club type vies with an equally strong Liberalism, and Socialism receives the attention such a crude and ungentlemanly doctrine deserves.[132]

This was to reference matters ironically. The essential challenge was the message and the candidate, the vehicle for the message.

We have sketched the significance of the campaign of 1908; there were some tensions thereafter in order to replicate the heady days when the Socialists won 6% of the vote and were loud and clever in challenging one and all. We know Robieson and Anderson became articulate voices for Socialism on campus. They used the Fabian club to debate and to develop their views. As to what those might be we, alas, know little – other than,

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[130] G.W.B. 'Glasgow University Socialist Club', *Loc. Cit.*, p. 61.

[131] Defeating the Unionist candidate Lord Charles Beresford, Augustine Birrell (1850-1933), Liberal politician, was elected University Rector - serving from 1911 to 1914. Birrell won with 1,107 votes to 912, a majority of 195. 'New Scottish Lord Rectors' *The Times* (October 30, 1911): p. 10. Birrell was Chief Secretary for Ireland, 1908 to 1916, resigning in the immediate aftermath of the Easter 1916 uprising. He was the architect of the *Irish Universities Act, 1908*, which created the National University of Ireland (with colleges in Dublin, Galway, and Cork) and Queen's University, Belfast (previously Queen's College). See 'Augustine Birrell', Glasgow University website, accessed February 2012, and Leon Ó Broin *The Chief Secretary: Augustine Birrell in Ireland*, Chatto & Windus, London (1969).

[132] M.W. Robieson [attributed; though published anonymously] 'A Scottish Rectorial', *Loc. Cit.*, p. 98.

apparently, there was a tolerance and respect for wide shades of opinion on the Left. This was to exhibit a non-ideological, Leftist perspective. Something must have changed. The pillory of Fabianism was not yet evident in their university days. But they must have felt the need for a more persuasive exposition of a case to believe in.

The next Chapter will discuss where Robieson stood on political matters, and in applying his philosophical mind to the articulation of a defence of liberty.

7. Robieson's Apology for Liberty

In Robieson's writings, his intelligent vehemence, his sense of the stakes, never deserted him. He saw that politics is more than a clubable pastime and the art of striking a compromise. In the capacity for civilised conflict it is battle in defence of beliefs that matter. He would have agreed with Weber on striking a balance between conviction and experimentation; that politics sometimes required a point of saying: "Here I stand; I can do no other."[1] Robieson believed his ideas were connected to an important political movement – that of Guild Socialism. In that context, this Chapter accounts for the development of Robieson's thought as a political theorist.

Robieson's views are mostly contained not in systematic philosophical expositions but in *pièces d' occasion*. It seems that he deferred writing a comprehensive theoretical exposition as he preferred to debate, test his ideas and write - for an engaged political and informed readership – mostly for *The New Age*. His theoretical views are housed in such pieces and not – as one might expect from his background – in conventional philosophy. His road to Guild Socialism was reached via a rejection of capitalism, Marxism and liberalism. Capitalism creates problems not addressed adequately by Marxism or liberalism. He thought these problems concerned liberty; ownership and property; the state, sovereignty and power; and civil association. All such problems are

[1] Max Weber 'Politics as a Vocation', in H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, editors, *From Max Weber*, Essays in Sociology, Routledge, London and New York (2009): p. 127.

solved in a new type of economic association, the guild, which is not merely an enterprise association but one with political objectives as well; which is a counter to the state but not an alternative claimant for sovereignty; which does not displace other civil associations but does replace wage relations under capitalism. As we have seen, there were other positive reasons for the guilds, but those were the views central to Robieson's position. Democracy fits into all this in that the guilds were models and bearers of a social revolution that is reminiscent of Marx's proletarian revolution as the turning point of history. In the development of his argument he was for the most part critical of other positions; Robieson spent more effort critiquing others than in explicating his own position.

We do not know where Robieson stood on some of the tactical issues, though the broad outline of his political philosophy is clear. In numerous unforeseeable ways the world changed whilst he was an academic philosopher at QUB from December 1913 to July 1919. Politics saw seismic shifts: in the UK liberalism was becoming more diffusely spread within parties - permeation of a sort - but as a political Party, the Liberals' best days were drawing to a close. The development of 'new Liberalism' and the accommodating of State intervention with traditional liberal ideas added colour to the pallid cheeks of a hitherto confident political movement. In retrospect it was the flush of huffing and puffing on a journey of steep slopes. Liberalism as an organised political force was becoming weak, the conservatives began their positioning as the dominant UK party; the Labour Party, by the 1918 election, was becoming the alternative party of government. The Left fractured and split on attitudes to Bolshevism. In Ireland, a

'terrible beauty'[2] was unfolding giving corroboration to what Robieson once wrote about:

> For like the Irishmen of the South and West, the tradition of endless wrongs will turn the attention of the people inward upon itself, and poison its soul with repressed desires, and dry up the sources of its energy, so that it becomes unstable and unproductive and even the victim of delusions. Or if it be a garrison on behalf of the conqueror, specially privileged as a reward for preserving to him the fruits of his labour, like the Irishmen of the North, the memory of the past will bring with it only the fear of retribution and the terror of abandonment at the will of the conqueror. No psychological consequence could be more inevitable than the mind of Ulster, perfectly expressed by one of its leaders when he said: "I say solemnly that the day England casts me off and despises my loyalty and allegiance, that day I will say, 'England, I will laugh at your calamity; I will mock when your fear cometh'."[3]

The breakup of Ireland was about to occur.

At the time of his death Robieson was further developing his views on politics and political philosophy. If he left anything behind that set out or indicated the development of his thinking, nothing survives; this is a substantial loss. What we do know about Robieson is what he wrote and published in The *New Age* and in other journals. These are a rich lode of ideas and thoughts, sometimes mixed with ephemeral comments and side points. As a philosopher, Robieson's foot was in the river feeling the changing tide but wanting to derive insight as to what was happening: 'why this

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[2] This is to allude to W.B. Yeats' poem 'Easter, 1916'.

[3] M.W. Robieson [under pseudonym "O. Latham"] 'An Apology for the Liberty of the Person' Part VI, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 22, No. 7, (December 13, 1917): pp. 127-128. The last sentences recall Proverbs 1:26.

direction? Is this current unalterable? What of swimming against the stream?' were some of the questions on his mind. The idea of adopting scientific discipline wherever

Triptych designed and produced by Robin Page Arnot - those listed include Arnot's wife Leila and daughter Barbara, Alfred Orage, George Bernard Shaw, Edwin Muir, George Thomson (misspelt as Thompson), M.W. Robieson, Maurice Reckitt, the Ewers and James Paton – possibly a misprint for John Paton? Source: From Hull University Archives, R.P. Arnot papers, DX/198/1.

possible and clear thinking at all times, infused Robieson's writings for *The New Age*. For instance, referring to Edwin Muir's obscure prose, in an article on 'Common Sense', Robieson wrote:

> That professional philosophers should desire this formal clearness and distinctness of statement is not mere pedantry, an incapacity to see anything outside one's groove which, it is alleged, the atmosphere of a college engenders.Such a partiality is in fact one of the healthiest signs in present-day philosophy: for it means the introduction into it of the scientific attitude. ...About the German tradition in philosophy and in the English as affected by the German

> there has always been a flavour of the esoteric. At its best there is a familiar difficulty in getting hold of it.[4]

He drove home the point:

> ...when the question is really fundamental and abstract, of things that really matter, something altogether different is required. Progress and truth depend on insights which are the possession only of specially gifted minds, and their influence is always disintegrating. It leads to enlightenment.[5]

In the mind of an engaged, political intellectual, a critical spirit rather than a meek acceptance of authority was required:

> We require to know exactly what is meant here. Are these prophets partakers in a vision to which all men may one day attain, pioneers who clear the path before the march of the people? In this case the seer may be specially honoured, but not as of a race apart; he is of the same stuff as his fellow. On the other hand, there are people who claim experience of another sort. The mystic is one. The adept is another.[6]

Isolation in and immersion in Irish affairs cleared and focused the mind. Was it hard for a Scots Presbyterian to write so sympathetically of Irish nationality? Robieson wrote that:

> The intense exasperation against England, which is the main feature in the situation, is only very partially explained by the long record of general misrule. A more immediate cause is the persistent trick which the English have of treating the Irish as if they were an inferior edition of themselves; or again that peculiar self-satisfaction which offers Ireland a settlement which nobody in Ireland

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[4] M.W. Robieson Letter: 'Common Sense' *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 23, No. 10 (July 4, 1918): p. 154.
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Ibid.*

> wants, and then calls out unceasingly, "Lo, how excellent and noble a beast the British Lion is." And the settlement itself - or anything else which, in the opinion of most Irishmen, England is in the least likely to concede - is of such a sort as to prevent Ireland doing anything that England could seriously object to. From which it follows as a corollary that England does not really believe in liberty. A man believes in liberty if he is prepared to concede it to people who disagree with him under conditions which permit them and not him to carry their views into effect.[7]

Certainly, this indicates an openness to understand Irish grievances and an acute consideration of the point of view of the Irish nationalists. We noted in Chapter 1 that there was no systematic discussion of Irish affairs by Robieson. But it is obvious that, peppered through his writings, Ireland was frequently in mind. Hence this localised comment in the quotation above. From the remark on liberty he also wanted to emphasise a universal point: that there were tests of a genuine, liberal outlook. A people, the Irish, wanting to be free should be allowed to be. Anything less is to discount, crimp and curtail freedom. Liberty for oneself but not for others marked a frame of mind that Robieson found repulsive. Being in Ireland also helped in thinking through some issues of socialist theory. As Robieson thought there was a great need of a replenished, reconstructed political theory that understood history and strove for relevance and impact. Marxism, with its emphasis on largescale manufacturing and a largely industrial society, had limited explanatory power for Ireland:

> For an Irish socialist the need [for a reformed Marxism] is still more acute. All revolutionary socialist thought is steeped in Marx's ideas, and some of them are

[7] M.W. Robieson [under pseudonym "O. Latham"] 'Notes on Political Theory' Part II, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 21, No. 15, (August 9, 1917): p. 325.

> quite antagonistic to things very characteristic of Ireland. He was exceedingly suspicious of peasant proprietorship. The Socialist Party of Ireland[8] must show either that Marx was wrong in his view of this or that it is compatible with Socialism; and it has not, so far as I know, set forth clearly its mind on the subject. Similarly with Nationality: International Socialism, which derives from Marx, is not obviously compatible with the propaganda of a claim for independence from another country equally capitalist – a claim largely identified with people who, whatever they are, are not workers, but small business men and employers who talk about "fair wages."[9]

A point that Robieson continued to press was that the greatest liberty ought to be the end of politics:

> Neither the individual nor the group exists apart and then comes into union with others, resigning some part of its liberty. Freedom or self-determination, as we understand it, is a product, a highly complex and late development. It is always being made and it should always be becoming better; for it arises in the endeavour after self-expression in those activities whose objects our souls see to be good. Negative though the principle of liberty may be, if we state it as the presumption that an individual or group should be left to work out its own destiny, its other side is positive attainment, while the only alternative is an authority which wasteth at noonday.[10] As a State develops and becomes more free, the citizen should less and less be restrained from doing what he sees to be his duty by authority or tradition or custom. Freedom for the citizen may well be

[8] The brief-lived Socialist Party of Ireland was formed in 1909, a revival of the Irish Socialist Labour Party, which became inactive and wound up in March 1904. David Lynch *Radical Politics in Modern Ireland: The Irish Socialist Republican Party 1896-1904*, Irish Academic Press, Dublin (2005).
[9] M.W. Robieson 'Marx: The Great Unread' review of W. Paschal Larkin *Marxian Socialism*, *Irish Opinion* (February 9, 1918): p. 124.
[10] Psalm 91.6.

said to be the end of political development.[11]

Such an end need not be and is not ultimate. To consider values worth pursuing and realising is to be involved in political or moral life at every point. We know a decent man when we see him, and we know why. But we usually do not put it in a form which will bear ethical analysis:

> The reasons which justify the conduct of the man in the street would undoubtedly pass his comprehension. The study of what things are really worth having and why is more remote from practice and nearer to truth. Logic does the same sort of thing. The reduction of arguments to logical form helps us to test their correctness and tells us, no doubt, what they really mean. But people do not conduct discussions in this fashion. And a man's judgment may be exceptionally sound who never heard of Baroko and Bokardo.[12] Principles derived from the discussion of objective values, then, must be used with caution in moral and political estimates.[13]

Robieson is making the distinction between logical and sound arguments. Robieson argued that underlying the concept of a guild society were certain general principles: (1) that the development of societies follows certain laws; (2) that the economic organisation of a society is in some sense fundamental; and, (3) that the associations which make up the community are living organisms, or real persons. They are neither fictions nor the creatures of the State. This point is forcefully stated:

> We begin from the common life (which exists, of course, only in individuals), and observe it bubbling up into associations definable by the things they intend and taking form in institutions. In an organised group with a considerable basis of

[11] M.W. Robieson 'Marx: The Great Unread', *Loc. Cit.*, p. 124.
[12] Baroko and Bokardo are syllogisms used in logic.
[13] M.W. Robieson 'On Certain First Principles', Part 2, *Loc. Cit.*, p. 214.

> common sentiment either natural or formed by history (e.g., a nation) organisation for common purposes brings into being the State, which waxes strong, and threatens at last both in theory and practice to swallow up all other associations. We are agreed that one of our main hopes from guild organisation is the checking of its headlong career. Also that this end must be sought chiefly by a division of functions among various associations, above all between the State and the guilds, since they are by far the most powerful. Plainly, this implies the abandonment of the notion that all corporate functions of any kind are deIegations from the State, and with it of the traditional juristic idea that corporations have a merely fictitious personality. The associations are living; they have real personality and a continuous existence; responsibility can be attributed to them; and though they are nothing outside of their members, in some sense they have unity. Against a certain kind of metaphysical criticism this would require much defence; but to the partisan of the State we need only point out that they can act as one, if the State can. Finally, all these associations express the life or soul of the community, not of the State, which is itself an expression.[14]

The 'State' is not society. Nor are associations delegations from the State. He believed that the separation of functions with the consequent setting free of the political from other considerations would greatly reduce the fetish of State power. No division of functions, however, can very well hinder sovereignty being somewhere. If you divide it between two associations, it would lie between them conjointly and could be expressed and discussed in crises by a joint session. Robieson points out that there are numerous

[14] M.W. Robieson 'On Certain First Principles', Part 3, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 23, No. 15 (August 8, 1918): p. 235.

other associations in the community besides the State and the Guilds. For example, the Churches: "which may make themselves very inconvenient indeed."[15] Second, while the community lives in all its activities, a certain sense of the whole inevitably expresses itself peculiarly through one of them. But differences in opinion are not of themselves a crisis or necessarily a problem. Core to Robieson's philosophy was an understanding of the end to which political struggle should be directed, which in his view, was freedom. The State tamed and considered in a pluralist way, is serviceable to this objective: "To seize upon and strive after the highest things ought to describe public policy. Should the endeavour to maintain such a point of view become specially associated with religious organisations, to guide it primarily by *thought* could hardly be easy. But with the attempt to influence the State in this way, we are, even under present conditions, familiar."[16] Robieson considered that limited government and a constitutional state would act as constraints on the exercise of sovereignty. Though he believed that the state could be tamed by pluralism, there were other possible constitutional arrangements. Alas, there is not enough in what we have by Robieson to know exactly what he was thinking in refined detail. But the broad outline of his theory of the state, democracy and liberty is known and discussed later in this Chapter.

For Marxist socialists there was always tension between the theory and practice. Utopians imply the problem of social change is not intractable; it is internal such that reform lay within: "…it makes the issue a moral one, inasmuch as the ground of its condemnation of the existing system is that it is wicked and the fruit of sin, and its effectual remedy is a change of heart."[17] This was like Weber's sense of the ethic of ultimate ends. Such an outlook and behaviour was how socialists acted – somewhat in

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[15] *Ibid.*, p. 236.
[16] *Ibid.*
[17] M.W. Robieson 'German Socialist Theory and War' *The Hibbert Journal* Vol. XIII, No. 8 (April, 1915): p. 577.

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Marx: The Great Un-Read.

By M. W. Robieson, Queen's University, Belfast.

We trust this estimate of Father Larkin's book will induce many to study it, and in order to appreciate it, to read Marx and Marxist Literature. For it is to Marx that we owe gratitude for James Connolly's best work.

Most Irish workers must already have made the acquaintance of the "University and Labour Series," edited by Professors Smiddy and Rahilly, of University College, Cork, of which the first two volumes were Professor Rahilly's Bibliography and Father MacSweeny's investigation into Poverty in Cork. The third has just been issued: "Marxian Socialism," by W. Paschal Larkin, O.S.F.C., M.A. (Cork: Purcell & Co.) It extends to about 130 pages, and its appearance at the price of expence in these times is a lesson to all publishers.

The series as a whole is one of the products of the endeavour being made in Ireland to bring the Universities into as close a relation as possible to the workers, and as such it deserves the warmest welcome. The editors of the series are responsible for the movement in the South, while the Workers' Educational Association has been doing similar work in Belfast. If the colleges in Dublin can now move it should be possible to bring about very great developments. The prospects of success seem in some respects greater than they ever were in England; as with younger Universities and a more plastic organisation of the Labour movement, adaptation to special needs should be easier. The business of the Universities, which should, after all, be the centres in the country of knowledge and learning, is not merely to train young men for degrees and do research, but to make that knowledge available for as many people as possible and to provide expert guidance on theoretical questions where it is required. No one who knows what he is talking about desires to popularise knowledge. It cannot be popularised without being destroyed. But no effort is too great to diffuse it as widely as may be. The writer of this book has appreciated that; and does not attempt to give us Marx without tears.

Father Larkin's book deals with the origin and principles and development of the doctrine of Marx and his disciples. Those who have tried to understand the theory of modern Socialism will recognise what a difficult task this is and how essential it is to attempt it. Marx is one of the writers whom everybody talks about and hardly anybody reads. The number of books on Labour, by writers who ought to know better, which betray no more than a nodding acquaintance with him is amazing. A really well-informed discussion of his work is rare, and I do not know of a good elementary book on him in English. This is a misfortune because no one can hope to understand even present-day Socialism or developments of the working-class movement in Europe or America who has not studied sympathetically Marx's position. Comparatively few Socialists, no doubt, are orthodox Marxists. The I.L.P. does not pretend to be; the Syndicalists, who claim to be the true Marxists, have "improved" the theory almost out of recognition; while Mr. Orage and his colleagues of "The New Age" have never paid sufficient attention to their predecessors. Nevertheless the basis of all these movements and their inter-relations is quite unintelligible unless you know a good deal about Marx. If you do not you may as well not even attempt to follow the Social movement on the Continent. Consider, for example, what lies behind the present state of Russia.

For an Irish Socialist the need is still more acute. All revolutionary Socialist thought is steeped in Marx's ideas, and some of them are quite antagonistic to things very characteristic of Ireland. He was exceedingly suspicious of peasant proprietorship. The Socialist Party of Ireland must show either that Marx was wrong in his view of this, or that it is compatible with Socialism; and it has not, so far as I know, set forth clearly its mind on the subject. Similarly with Nationality. International Socialism, which derives from Marx, is not obviously compatible with the propaganda of a claim for independence from another country equally capitalist—a claim largely identified with people who, whatever they are, are not workers, but small business men and employers who talk about "fair wages." And even though the Erfurt programme declared religion to be a private matter, it is not certain that any church can admit this, and in any case a mild acquaintance with Socialist literature betrays the fact that it is for the most part not Catholic and not Christian. In the bases of all Socialist parties there are enunciated ideas which involve the economic interpretation of history. No one can seriously doubt that the presuppositions this had in Marx were materialistic. Can it be defended on a theory compatible with the dogmas of Christianity? And if not, where is Socialism without it?

That Irish Socialists should attempt to answer these questions seems urgent, and this book will give them real guidance into the different elements of Marx's thought. There is a common misapprehension that the chief, if not the only, doctrine of Marx is his theory of value. The arrangement of Father Larkin's book disposes such an idea. He considers first of all the origin of Marxism and its relations to preceding economic and philosophical views. Then he discusses historical materialism (which is Marx's philosophy) and supplements and criticises it. In the chapter on "The Marxian Theory of Value," which follows, Father Larkin has a subject less attractive to him. The expository part is quite accurate on the whole but the criticism contains little more than the usual arguments of anti-Socialists. This had not been the case in the first two chapters in which, even where he disagreed with Marx, Father Larkin had generally something to say which really advanced the discussion. The final chapter is again excellent and provides a brief but perfectly clear account of modern developments from Marx—Revisionism, Syndicalism, and Guild Socialism. That his own preference is for Mr. Belloc's Distributive State is clear enough; but it is unfortunate that he did not expand his criticisms of the others. As they stand they only provoke further questions.

Professor Rahilly contributes an admirable introduction, in which his great learning is used to full advantage. After discussing the disputed topic of the influence on Marx of the writings of William Thompson (who was, by the way, a Cork man) he deals with some general points in connexion with Marx. In one important particular he corrects Father Larkin. The latter maintains that the theory of surplus value is intended to have a certain ethical significance. This is not so; its only function is to make plain in what way the existing capitalist system is certain to collapse and give place to Socialism. That is what is meant by making Socialism scientific. The Utopian endeavoured to persuade people to bring it about by a change of heart. Marx desired to inform them that it was coming, and have it they must, whether they wanted it or not.

In a volume dealing with so controversial a subject as Marxism, there is necessarily a great deal that must seem to other people than the author to be disputable, but "Irish Opinion" is not the place to enter on a controversy about technical points. I need do no more than congratulate Father Larkin and Professor Rahilly on their book and recommend it heartily to all Irishmen, who ought to know about Marx.

Robieson's review of Father Larkin's book on Marx. Source: copied from an issue held in Trinity College, Dublin.

contrast to 'scientific Marxism'. Part of the problem of matching action with formula, Robieson explained, was because: "...no satisfactory account was ever given by Marxism

of the part to be played in the social movement by economic organisation."[18] For on the economic interpretation of history: "…whatever the economic interpretation of history is, it is not a theory of motives. The notion that it is so is derived from some of the disciples and friends of Marx, from whom heaven save him and us!"[19]

In the socialist press, since the time of Marx and Engels, it has been a dismissive phrase to call a person or a movement 'utopian'. Engels in his book *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* argues that the Marxian brand is scientific and dismisses all others as utopian. He specifically had in mind Charles Fourier and Robert Owen for their plans, including the latter's New Lanark in Scotland.[20] Although such thinkers inspired supporters to struggle and sacrifice for a better life, Engels argued that their poor understanding of the class struggle, and of the inevitable unfolding of capitalism, led to disillusionment and failure. With the same brush Engels dismissed ideas of an ethical socialism as unscientific. In the Marxist interpretation of history faithful disciples claimed to have discerned destiny. They claimed to know the ineluctable laws of history. Theirs was a so-called scientific socialism. On their analysis, change,

> Whether it be violent or peaceful, slow or rapid, is utterly irrelevant. What does matter is that a new set of productive forces has come into being. And in face of this, [on the Marxist theory] all that men can do is to study the course of history and read the signs of the times so as to see as clearly as may be the direction in

[18] M.W. Robieson 'Political and Economic Action', Part 2, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 25, No. 9 (June 26, 1919): p. 153.
[19] M.W. Robieson Letter: 'The Economic Interpretation of History' *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 18, No. 8 (June 24, 1915): p. 191.
[20] A popular rendering of Owen's views on co-operation is found in Lloyd Jones *The Life, Times and Labours of Robert Owen*, Swan Sonnenschein and Company, London (1895). A more critical perspective is in a collection of essays: Sidney Pollard and John Salt, editors, *Robert Owen Prophet of the Poor*, Essays in Honour of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of His Birth, Macmillan, London (1971).

> which the world-process is moving, and to act in accordance with this knowledge. Anything else is merely wasted effort, a useless kicking against the pricks.[21]

Yet even Marxists, in waiting for the walls of Jericho to fall, thought that trumpets should blast. There is a real puzzle here: "The paradox of Marxism is that its contention that socialism is inevitable is constantly interfering with its passionate desire to malign the capitalist."[22] Thus, it could be said: "Orthodox Marxism, then, has never been quite clear on its own principles, and its practice has been seriously at variance with them."[23] It might be said that really existing Marxists wanted to give the inevitable a hurry along. Political organisation meant organisation for political change: For example, "… sanguine hopes in education and political freedom were certainly inconsistent with the materialist conception of history, but their presence can scarcely be doubted, and their influence has been enormous."[24]

The use by Marxists of the term 'scientific law' required examination. In a joint, unpublished article, Robieson and William Anderson said of such laws that: "In no sense are they abstractions; they do not depend upon mind; no more have they a validity of their own in addition to their more or less complete realisation in fact."[25] Indeed, we are not talking about an ethereal concept: "Laws in short are real forces. But as events or forces they belong to the same changing world of material reality as the

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[21] M.W. Robieson 'German Socialist Theory and War', *Loc. Cit.*, pp. 579-580.
[22] M.W. Robieson 'The Theory of Morals on a Class Basis' *International Journal of Ethics* Vol. 29, No. 3 (April, 1919): p. 312.
[23] M.W. Robieson 'German Socialist Theory and War', *Loc. Cit.*, p. 589.
[24] *Ibid*.
[25] M.W. Robieson and W. Anderson 'Some Points in the History of Socialist Theory', holograph manuscript, n.d., *circa* 1919 or perhaps earlier, in the John Anderson Papers, University of Sydney Archives, Series 1, Box 7, item 69.

particular events."[26] By this, Robieson argued that such laws are not above, sacrosanct or external; they are part of our world. The point of laws is that they *do not* change amid the flux of events. That is what marks them off from mere regularities. What Robieson and Anderson meant is that societal laws are derived from human experience; they are meant to predict, to 'come off' by explaining cause and effect; they are not like the laws of religious obligations; the former are part of and derived from the world; if they do not 'come off' then there is a problem with the theory's correct, empirical derivation of law from evidence. Where the facts seem to contradict the theory, then the 'laws' need modification, or recasting or rejection. Robieson and Anderson were stating a critical, empirical realism. This fitted with their view that Marx's writings were not the final explanation of the workings of economics and society. Marxism merited support so long as its explanatory power was derived from contemporary reality. In seeking to explain the world, Marxian laws need to be testable and part of the world, not above it.

This analysis of laws of history leaves out the moral critique. For Guild Socialists, wage slavery led to a compelling conclusion: "... a system which treats labour as a commodity cannot possibly be capable of real justification."[27] This is the error of untrammeled capitalism: "…the unpardonable error of capitalism is that it subjects men to the production of things which should be mere means to their good. Maximum production for profit is its end, and this inversion of moral values must continue to damn it."[28] Yet Guild Socialists recognised that the organisation of work is complicated. On industrial organisation, Robieson saw that:

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[26] *Ibid*.
[27] M.W. Robieson 'On Certain First Principles', Part 2, Vol. 23, No. 14 *The New Age*, new series, (August 1, 1918): p. 213.
[28] *Ibid*.

> Only the strengthening of Trade Unionism offers any hope to Labour of permanent deliverance. The great difficulty is to preserve the purity and certainty of its aim, so that it does not wander off into by-path meadows, where the chains are more firmly fastened on it in its slumbers.[29]

This was a theme to which Robieson returned, becoming interested in union organisation and seeing the importance of the unions's role in fighting the Servile State:

> Unions bent on wresting industry from the grasp of Capital are not merely a necessary means to the destruction of the wage-system; they are the ancestors of new forms of economic life. Only in the Trade Union which knows its own business and sets before itself a clear vision of its end can men do that constructive thinking …and fit themselves to establish a new community. Moreover, the fate of the Union which is not "class-conscious" is not doubtful. Even now the Servile State is upon us, and without a constant conflict it cannot be avoided. To a conflict, therefore, we must go.[30]

This was no sentimental damning of employers and a dismissal of the complexity of modern life. Robieson, for example, accepted his old teacher's William Smart's characterisation of the honour of the employer:

> The position of the employer in modern industry is one of great honour and extreme responsibility. He has to anticipate demand, bringing the factors of production together in the most efficient of possible combinations, taking the risks, and out of the price of the anticipated product paying wages and interest in advance. Such a function is at least as honourable as that of a professional man, and Smart appeals to the employer to regard it as such and to found and

[29] M.W. Robieson 'Contribution to an Industrial Symposium', published as number 15 in a series conducted by Huntly Carter in *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 20, No. 4 (November 23, 1916): p. 83.
[30] M.W. Robieson 'Political and Economic Action', Part 1, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 25, No. 8 (June 19, 1919): p. 137.

> observe a professional tradition, caring for the interests of his workpeople, putting them where their labour tells most, and so on.[31]

But to Robieson there could be no assumption or trust in benevolence. To forge a society organised for work in its bountiful, meaningful potential was the task of socialist criticism and striving. Robieson went on:

> ...the employer performs functions that are extraordinarily complex, and recent economic development has seen a decided division of them. There is the mere provision of capital; there is the actual management and detailed organisation of the business; and there is the general control and direction of policy. Each of these functions is separately paid for. And - interest being admittedly impersonal - the "professional function" will be shared between the manager and the Board of Directors. Ultimately we may suppose it to go to the latter, the manager being no more than a salaried servant. For social betterment, then, we must look to an increase in the morality of railway directors and shipping magnates. This is extraordinarily hopeful.[32]

He dismissed any such argument as syrup-dripping cant:

> The bogey is the creation of their later sentimental opponents, bent on showing that the wage system would be admirable if the employers would only turn their hearts to the light, pay wages in kind, not in base coin of the realm, and give to their workmen happy cottage-homes.[33]

Freedom could never be secure if it was regarded as a gift, unearnt and unattached to personal and political struggle. This, however, in modern life might be where the trends

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[31] M.W. Robieson review: William Smart *Second Thoughts of an Economist*, *with a biographical sketch by Thomas Jones*, Macmillan and Company Ltd., London (1916), *The International Journal of Ethics* Vol. 27, No. 2 (January 1917): p. 245.
[32] *Ibid*., p. 247.
[33] M.W. Robieson Letter: 'The Economic Interpretation of History' *Loc. Cit.*, p. 191.

were heading. Robieson imagined that: "All the arguments that have been used during the war to maintain and to strengthen the essential feature of the capitalistic organisation of industry will be used afterwards for a like purpose."[34] Such arguments included the need for 'unity', peaceful production and opposition to industrial action. In wartime the expression of such ideas found receptive ears. The War had meant that "Capitalism has in various ways gained a new lease of life."[35] He made this ringing call for liberty:

> Every individual is a potential value, intangible and sacred, as every nation is. Having no subjective rights he ought to be respected, because without this no one can ever advise him how he may best contribute to the greatness of the community or bring into being those high and impersonal values which are alone worth having, or are the object of religious worship and the source of the passionate emotions which belong to the appreciation and creation of beauty. These works of art are the only things which stand out above the dreary record of civilisations great in their day, in which men strove and lived, and governments were doubtless exceedingly efficient. Who can tell how many men they forced by compulsion into necessary services (such as the Army), who might, if left to themselves, have produced some of the things that alone make up culture and left behind them at least *some* things by which their civilisation might be remembered? But it was too much to ask brave loyal men to risk their lives while these idlers and cowards and neuropaths went free.[36]

There would be the problem after the War, Robieson imagined, of rediscovering lost

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[34] M.W. Robieson 'Contribution to an Industrial Symposium', *Loc. Cit.*, p. 83.
[35] M.W. Robieson 'Marx, Utopia and the Class War' *The Voice of Labour*, new series, Vol. 1, No. 23 (May 4, 1918): p. 245.
[36] M.W. Robieson [published under the pseudonym "O. Latham"] 'An Apology for the Liberty of the Person', Part 6, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 22, No. 7 (December 13, 1917): p. 128.

and subdued freedoms. Drawing from history, he saw that the handloom weavers rebelled for a reason:

> When the hand-loom weavers rioted against the introduction of power-looms, they were objecting not to the mere presence of machinery, but to its exclusive possession by certain classes of people. They did not deny that the national dividend would increase: but they knew that no share of it would fall to them.[37]

The Luddites, in the circumstances of their time, foretold that as technology advanced their lives would become more miserable. The dignity of labour was being mechanised away. They lacked an important right - the right to organise and the right to strike:

> …if modern industry is to develop into anything whatever except the Servile State, it is essential that the right to strike should be maintained in its purity. If that disappears, nothing can be saved from the wreckage. So long as it remains, dispossession is not yet legalised, and the way of salvation is open to all.[38]

With respect to post war reconstruction, Robieson stated: "I do not myself see what the State ought to do after the war but as little as possible."[39] By this he hoped that "we shall perhaps hear less of the duty of the citizen to the State (when something else altogether is meant), and more of his duty to the other organised groups among which his lot is cast."[40] Elaborating on this theme, he wrote: "What threatens to overwhelm us is the curiously impersonal rule of the political and economic and social organisations of the modern world. Of these the greater is the State, and against its growing might all decent men must endure to struggle."[41] Loyalty to the State hardly ranked higher than

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[37] M.W. Robieson Review: William Smart's *Second Thoughts of an Economist*, *Loc. Cit.*, p. 246.
[38] M.W. Robieson 'Contribution to an Industrial Symposium', *Loc. Cit.*, p. 83.
[39] *Ibid*.
[40] *Ibid*.
[41] M.W. Robieson [published under the pseudonym "O. Latham"] 'An Apology for the Liberty of the Person', Part 5, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 22, No. 4 (November 22, 1917): p. 68.

all other claims to allegiance. The State is not mother of all. He believed that the theory of the supreme Sovereignty of State was absurd:

> The traditional (and damnable) doctrine of the sovereignty of the State has …no basis except this: that social peace and social order are to be honoured beyond all things. It is absurd, and all good men know it. To tell them that the maintenance of order in the State as a whole is an end more binding on them than loyalty to Church or Guild, or even to Family, is a piece of gratuitous and malevolent folly. Men have common traditions of courage and honour and devotion, but never to the State. Yet when they sacrifice themselves for great ends, it claims the credit. The rule of the idea over men's minds depends on confusion and cowardice - confusion, because they will not think clearly - and cowardice, lest if we should overthrow the idol, those below us who also have reverenced it may rise up against us.[42]

Robieson thought that: "The political theorising of the English for a generation has been chiefly in the hands of the old Liberals, and some of them still pursue their melancholy way unconscious that the world has left them behind."[43] Much of what passed for theory was muddled and sometimes outright illiberal. Well read in all the main, recent philosophical texts, Robieson felt that several philosophers and thinkers were misunderstood. Grand thoughts were attributed to them that scarcely impinged on their real political outlook. Thomas Hill Green, for example:

> ...was an old-fashioned Radical who found a basis for his inherited and adopted views in principles he thought he discovered partly in Aristotle and partly in Kant. He believed first of all in temperance reform and sanitary legislation and

[42] M.W. Robieson [published under the pseudonym "O. Latham"] 'Notes on Political Theory', Part 4, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 21, No. 20 (September 13, 1917): p. 425.
[43] M.W. Robieson [published under the pseudonym "O. Latham"] 'Notes on Political Theory', Part 1, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 21, No. 13 (July 26, 1917): p. 286.

> the development of elementary education; his views on the land question brought him near to the advocacy of nationalisation; and he thought that a conscientious person would recognise women's suffrage as the next step in the progress of humanity to perfection.[44]

Against this gentle, pleasant thinking lay two rough truths: the death of old fashioned liberalism and the paradoxical, cheerful, proclaimed fidelity of its modern adherents. The War had brought about the erosion of liberty and the passing of the old Radical notion of suspicion of State control. Of Liberalism, Robieson remarked: "…even if there be yet life, there is no hope", immediately going on to say: "It is as well so, for it was a poor creature at the best. We may, I think, return a verdict of death from natural causes, perhaps hastened by the shock of the war, though its latter days must have been cheered by the singular fidelity of its children."[45] This brought Robieson to note that there were two types of idealist liberalism: the progressive side versus the mildly Unionist. He explained:

> …it is quite sharply divided into two camps. One is, on the whole, Liberal and progressive; the other is mildly Unionist and not a little sceptical of politics. One is friendly to State action, and if annoyed might become Collectivist; the other believes in character and the change of heart. One worships in a polling-booth; a C.O.S. Office[46] is the shrine of the other. The latter is a much more profound and precise and definite doctrine than the former; though it is not always easy to understand and bring to a point. Still, the principles are there, and their application follows. But, with the Liberal doctrine, it is much harder to come to terms. It seems either all principles or all application, for these two, it says, are

[44] *Ibid*., p. 286.
[45] *Ibid*.
[46] The C.O.S. refers to the Charity Organisation Society. See Mrs. [E.] Townshend *The Case Against the Charity Organization Society* Fabian Tract 158, Fabian Society, London (July, 1911).

> one. This gives it an enormous dialectical advantage. Generally it confines itself to the enunciation of general principles, believing that this is the business of philosophy, and that these are just what men will most often forget. It sometimes solves antitheses, dwelling, meantime, on the difficulty of the feat. But the principles are empty, and the antitheses for the most part false. The performance is remarkable like a series of conjuring tricks. The expected results are there; you cannot see how it is done, though you suspect deception in spite of the protests of the performer. The patter is almost always profuse but dull.[47]

This was to kick hard against a political movement that he believed was complacent about the causes of society's ills. This was the reason for the rejection of Liberalism by the modern labour movement:

> The resentment which all the older Socialists and some of the newer felt against Liberalism even at its best rested on a just conviction that political and personal liberty were stones offered them instead of bread. And from this it is easy to jump to the conclusion that they can never matter, at least, until after the Social Revolution.[48]

He rejected both this sort of liberalism and any notion that political and personal justice could wait. Economic and political liberty were intertwined. He argued that in the flaws of recent Liberalism, Radicalism would have been free. He wrote: "Nationality and liberty, for example, are principles which the Radicals certainly maintained. Liberalism has done them mere lip-service."[49] As will be argued presently, Robieson saw nationalism at its best as the discovery of the potential of a free people. To liberty

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[47] M.W. Robieson [published under the pseudonym "O. Latham"] 'Notes on Political Theory', Part 1, *Loc. Cit.*, p. 287.
[48] M.W. Robieson [published under the pseudonym "O. Latham"] 'An Apology for the Liberty of the Person', Part 8, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 22, No. 11 (January 10, 1918): p. 207.
[49] M.W. Robieson [published under the pseudonym "O. Latham"] 'Notes on Political Theory', Part 2, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 21, No. 15 (August 9, 1917): p. 324.

he attached the greatest significance. For this was at the heart of everything he stood for. This, in Robieson's opinion, gave meaning and substance to the political movement known as Guild Socialism. In competition, in marked contrast, the clear modern trend was the affection of modern liberals for the State:

> ...idealistic Liberalism is responsible for such things as the Insurance Act and the present state of Ireland because of its inveterate and unchecked affection for the principle of the sovereignty of the State. They are the products of this unhappy liaison. Liberalism cannot disown them. They may be poor things, but they are its own.[50]

In drifting to such a position there was a lost conception and respect of autonomous, voluntary groups. Thus the Liberal political party had betrayed its principles:

> Liberalism was really equally fatal to liberty. It had lost the idea of an autonomous voluntary group, which is the only means of keeping Leviathan within bounds. And it was also fatal to nationality. It might construct a new administrative body, but it could never permit the breath of a new national life to inform it, for fear it might turn out a Frankenstein. It could recognise provinces and even dominions, but not nations.[51]

A paternalism infected their outlook and, in consequence, some pretty illiberal policies were tolerated. For example there was a relaxed complacency about Irish independence. The 'nation' alluded to in this passage was obviously the emerald isle. In engaging in battle with the new Liberals Robieson said that the times needed a revival of old fashioned radicalism: "…we require few things so much as a revival of the old Radical doctrine of liberty."[52] The criticism being that: "like most other people, the

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[50] *Ibid*.
[51] *Ibid*.
[52] *Ibid*., p. 325.

Liberals believe steadfastly in liberty for those who think like themselves. Anything else they call the abuse of liberty, and the result is the characteristic policy of restraining the working-classes for their own good."[53] He had Ireland partly in mind here too. Even if the Liberals were better than the Unionists in at least contemplating Irish independence, their thinking was forged in reluctance and contempt. In the proud espousal of their principles, the "hot gospelling" of the new Liberals, suggested that the: "prophets of a new order seldom see what the old really meant."[54] In doing so, "Perhaps [New Liberalism] thought it believed them. If it did, the truth was not in it, for it has culminated in present-day Ireland on the one hand, and the Insurance Act on the other. These two things mark it out for what it is. By their fruits ye shall know them."[55]

This is a very harsh critique and markedly contrasts with those narratives that stress the brotherly links between social democracy and liberalism. For example, Ben Jackson "highlights the pattern of mutual influence and indeed intellectual interdependence between theorists who self-identified as liberals and those who saw themselves as socialists…"[56] But Robieson was having none of that. His criticisms of them was fierce; he surmised that the new Liberals had forgotten their best traditions including the insight about State power:

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[53] *Ibid*., p. 324.
[54] M.W. Robieson [published under the pseudonym "O. Latham"] 'Notes on Political Theory', Part 3, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 21, No. 17, (August 23, 1917): p. 368.
[55] M.W. Robieson [published under the pseudonym "O. Latham"] 'Notes on Political Theory', Part 2, *Loc. Cit*., p. 324.
[56] Ben Jackson 'Socialism and the New Liberalism', in Ben Jackson and Marc Stears, editors, *Liberalism as Ideology*, *Essays in Honour of Michael Freeden*, Oxford University Press, Oxford (2012): p. 35. This theme of socialist and liberal affinity, co-operation and rivalry are explored in Michael Freeden *Liberal Languages*. *Ideological Imaginations and Twentieth-Century Progressive Thought*, Princeton University Press, Princeton and Oxford (2005); Peter Clarke *Liberals and Social Democrats*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (1978); and, David Blaazer *The Popular Front & The Progressive Tradition*. *Socialists, Liberals, and the Quest for Unity, 1884-1939*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (1992).

The Liberals, though nominally believers in political freedom, have been [recently] much more interested in discussing the possibility of compulsion. This has led them in the direction of Fabianism, and they are the theoretical source of the tendency in legislation towards the servile state. The State is a moral agent: it has a conscience: it rightly exercises authority on behalf of good life. Therefore it may compel, and the inference is easy that it ought to compel. As usual there is no criterion provided, except in the vaguest way, to distinguish the directions in which this compulsion is right from those in which it is harmful. The other and most typical view - represented most characteristically by the Bosanquets - is exceedingly careful and guarded in its advocacy of State action. It has developed a complex and very consistent social policy which received unusually complete expression in the *Majority Report of the Poor Law Commission*.[57] In the first place, it is hostile to State action, except within a very limited sphere. Seeing in character and its development the adaptation of the person to his environment, freedom for it is a positive idea expressing the degree of control through understanding which is shown in the process. Hence the objection to compulsion by the State is not that the authority is that of other people who infringe the rights of the individual; nor is it that coercion is bad for its own sake (as some of the Liberal idealists apparently still hold); but that the State can appeal only to relatively lower impulses and motives in human nature – those, that is, that can be reached by fear of punishment.[58]

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[57] Lord George Hamilton *et. al*. *Poor Law Report 1909*, Report of The Royal Commission on The Poor Laws and Relief of Distress, Majority Report Volume I and II, including Minority Report (1909). See also the pamphlet: Bernard Bosanquet *The Majority Report of the Poor Law Commission*, National Poor Law Reform Association, London (1909).
[58] M.W. Robieson [published under the pseudonym "O. Latham"] 'Notes on Political Theory', Part 3, *Loc. Cit*., p. 368.

In putting matters in this way, this passage makes Robieson - and to the extent that he represented the thinking of other Guild Socialists – appear as much closer to an older, radical liberalism and hostile both to the 'new Liberals' and to Collectivists. He saw the latter traditions as too complacent about the power of the State and largely uninterested in defending the extension of individual liberty outside of State compulsion.

Responsibility and Adventure

Robieson saw liberty as the story of "responsibility and adventure."[59] This concept was intricately bound up with ideas of politics. Vigorously, Robieson argued that: "...social progress (or, at least, the absence of retrogression) will be through the development and extension of autonomous voluntary groups and the breakdown of the absolute sovereignty of the formally unitary state."[60] In contrast, Robieson says that Ramiro de Maeztu and thinkers like him: "accuses the partisans of liberty of the sin of pride (with perhaps a vague suggestion also of the lust of the flesh), I reply by admitting it."[61] In other words, Robieson was having none of the argument that liberty was a concession or some kind of moral holiday from the good life. He believed that the right to live one's life freely was everything in political life. This, however, was not to be equated with undisciplined license. In Robieson's formulation, living a free life meant something

[59] M.W. Robieson [published under the pseudonym "O. Latham"] 'Notes on Political Theory', Part 4, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 21, No. 20 (September 13, 1917): p. 424.
[60] M.W. Robieson [published under the pseudonym "O. Latham"] 'An Apology for the Liberty of the Person', Part 1, *Loc. Cit.*, p. 463.
[61] *Ibid.*, p. 464.

specific: "By personal liberty, I mean the free and responsible direction of one's own life."[62]

Robieson argued that the glorification of the State was the foremost idea to reject:

> The first condition of a satisfactory theory of political liberty, I am going to argue, is the abandonment of the dogmas of the sovereignty of the State. The second is like unto it. It is the recognition that society consists of interdependent but largely autonomous and voluntary groups, together with the conviction that wherever social life has been worth living it has been because of these "communities" and in spite of the State. There is a third condition, which concerns the value of liberty in itself. We ought, as it seems to me, to find room for as much liberty as possible in the activities of men, often when it is not obvious what value these make for, and sometimes even when it is pretty clear that it doesn't make for any in particular.[63]

Later in this Chapter the argument is put that Robieson's development of a coherent ethical theory was his contribution – at its highest stretch – to political philosophy. On his reckoning, life should be flooded with a robust experience and view of liberty. Not all consequences could be known. But this was the point of a life lived as responsibility and adventure. Robieson saw that the ultimate corruption of statist theories entailed a dismissive contempt for voluntary societies and organisation. With respect to such theory:

> As it develops, other fallacies are added, the idea, for example, that laws are the expression of the will of the sovereign, and, as such, right and just and good. In

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[62] *Ibid*.
[63] M.W. Robieson [published under the pseudonym "O. Latham"] 'Notes on Political Theory', Part 4, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 21, No. 20 (September 13, 1917): p. 424.

> the end you have the full-blown doctrine of the jurists, which deprives societies, live trade unions or churches of any real corporate life of their own, of any power of development, or any right to act except as definitely provided for according to the letter of a trust. No community, in short, is to have any power or any right except in so far as this is delegated to it by the State.[64]

This was to draw out Statist theories at their most absurd. It was also to describe a distinct, powerful tendency in the organisation of modern society. This was something that Guild Socialists abhorred. It was reason to fight.

The issues in contention merited a sustained analysis; and, in doing so, engagement with the claims of rival theories. Arguably Robieson's most interesting and persuasive piece of argumentation was written for *The New Age* under an unknown pseudonym, "O. Latham" (contributing to his relative obscurity), namely: 'An Apology for the Liberty of the Person'.[65] Questions about the limits of liberty, the role of the State, the obtaining of ethical behaviour from citizens in 'the responsible society' became significant issues for guildsmen. The most adept and thoughtful of their advocates recognised that the concept of a producers' society raised a host of practical and moral issues. The notion of a society of National Guilds members acting honourably and conscientiously was one of the claims of their movement. Yet all were pretty much aware of the criticism of socialism that it was against 'human nature'. What could be fashioned out of the crooked timber of humanity? Widespread were ideas of man acting in calculated, selfish ways. How would a community of producers act? As an empirical question that was in the future and partly unanswerable; how they *should* act was a different matter.

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[64] *Ibid*.
[65] M.W. Robieson [published as "O. Latham"] 'An Apology for the Liberty of the Person' *The New Age*, various issues 1917-1918, *Loc. Cit.*

The concept of liberty is about freedom as a political value. The moral philosopher Bernard Williams suggested that its importance rests on two major foundations. First, as a value for us in our world – "meaning by that, those of a liberal democratic society."[66] Second, understandings of liberty involve a complex historical deposit, and "we will not understand them unless we grasp something of that deposit, of what the idea of freedom, in these various connections, has become."[67] This way of stating matters suggests that the concept has evolved and created a basis that cannot entirely be considered in the abstract. The historical deposit makes freedom - what it is now - a function of actual history. Williams suggests there is no static definition; for liberty is a value and a concept tested and forged in competition with, and in the context of, other values. Robieson was to offer a definition of freedom, the political action associated with its realisation, and an ethical theory to explain and justify the advance of liberty: "...a free State is a society possessing government in which there is reason to suppose that no fundamental conflict will arise between the government and the people."[68] Moreover, he proposed that: "into a connected, orderly and varied social life liberty will enter at every point."[69] He posited a simple concept of an ordered community: "Unless it satisfies at least the most fundamental wishes of its members, a community cannot be regarded as other than disordered."[70] Such a society is never settled; it is dynamic. Robieson and the Guild Socialists stressed the importance of the producer and of work as enobling. As for what might be defined as a *fundamental* disagreement between

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[66] Bernard Williams 'From Freedom to Liberty: The Construction of a Political Value', *Philosophy & Public Affairs* Vol. 30, No. 1 (2001): p. 3.
[67] *Ibid*.
[68] M.W. Robieson [published under the pseudonym "O. Latham"] 'An Apology for the Liberty of the Person', Part 3, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 22, No. 1 (November 1, 1917): p. 8.
[69] M.W. Robieson [published under the pseudonym "O. Latham"] 'An Apology for the Liberty of the Person', Part 2, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 21, No. 24 (October 11, 1917): p. 504.
[70] M.W. Robieson 'On Certain First Principles', Part 1, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 23, No. 13 (July 25, 1918): p. 197.

government and people, as opposed to popular grouching against government, he does not instance any - apart from the view to oppose instances where the state permits gross inequality and seeks to suck the life out of autonomous groups by controlling or licensing their affairs.

The argument put forward is that a sound public policy is that which allows individuals and autonomous groups to discover what is good:

> When we turn to the other side of the problem, to the organisation of the community with the Guild as a basis, we shall naturally get the obverse of the same ideas. Here it is convenient to take first their place in experience. The basis of the State is the self-determination of its members, and the lines of its structure are from below up. It implies to begin with respect for the individual or the group, and this is to permit it to fashion his life so far as practicable along those lines which it can discover to be good. The associations in such a State should be so far as possible voluntary; and where they are compulsory they must involve control from the lowest level. Only in this way can the member be most made to feel that in his work he can express himself, and that to the public policy to which the State gives expression his will has a part.[71]

This, then, is to state that the idea of liberty is tied up with and is part of the movement associated with Guild Socialism. On Robieson's conception, the eventual move to a Guild Socialist world would not settle old battles or bring into being some boring paradise. This is because all is in flux. Each individual, group and society generally needs to find out for itself the meaning of precious ideals. In this sense, freedom is always restless. The defence of liberty is that it leads to the development of and sustaining of certain

[71] *Ibid*.

values: "No final reason can ever be given for the preservation of liberty except that it leads to values."[72] It might be observed that such a defence of liberty sounds Millian, especially the idea of the discovery of good as opposed to the mere pursuit of good. The political philosopher John Stuart Mill, in his classic work *On Liberty*, argued in the opening paragraph that an understanding of "the nature and limits of the power which can be legitimately exercised by society over the individual"[73] was essential to formulating a coherent, intellectually robust approach to liberty. This is to introduce the concept of 'negative freedom' – freedom from unnecessary interference. The 'State' is not everything – or society; nor are associations delegations from the State. Mill wrote in a stirring passage:

> ...there are but few persons, in comparison with the whole of mankind, whose experiments, if adopted by others, would be likely to be any improvement on established practice. But these few are the salt of the earth; without them, human life would become a stagnant pool. Not only is it they who introduce good things which did not before exist; it is they who keep the life in those which already exist... There is only too great a tendency in the best beliefs and practices to degenerate into the mechanical; and unless there were a succession of persons whose ever-recurring originality prevents the grounds of those beliefs and practices from becoming merely traditional... there would be no reason why civilisation should not die out...[74]

That summed up a logic of entertaining dissent and originality to extend and defend what we have in freedom and liberty. But Robieson tried to make some distinctions

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[72] M.W. Robieson 'On Certain First Principles', Part 3, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 23, No. 15 (August 8, 1918): p. 235.
[73] J.S. Mill *On Liberty*, annotated text, David Spitz, editor, Norton Critical Edition, W.W. Norton & Company Inc., New York, (1975 this edition; first published 1859).
[74] *Ibid*., p. 61.

between Millian liberty and his own, as we shall see.

In reaching his conclusions Robieson fought against several myths, sometimes with a touch of rhetorical flourish and a few strands of stuffing from the straw man flying about, in the telling of the argument. For example, Robieson cites the popular notion that fighting for liberty involved a return to the Greek ideal, writing that the Greek ideal was misconceived:

> The middle and upper-class Greeks of the fifth and fourth centuries in Athens - pretty much, by all accounts, like middle and upper-class people elsewhere - a mixed lot, consisting of various sorts of barbarians, with the familiar pride of place, dislike of the working-classes, and intellectual vacancy. The notion that they were anything else is partly due to a misreading of the philosophers.[75]

This was an audacious summary intended to confront the truth. In the ancient world, in a man's relationship to the polity, he was either a beast or a god. Indeed, in turning to Plato's *Republic* he noted:

> Yet no one feels that in the Republic one would be living in an atmosphere of bondage; if it be not altogether a city of free men, there is no antagonism of classes. But such a result is only attained by going far beyond the abstract statement of the functional principle. And this is the principle of my thesis about liberty. If you are to have political liberty, if the living state is to bear upon it the peculiar and irreducible but extraordinarily real character we call freedom, there must be added to the functional principle upon which it is organised certain other elements; and in the modern state by far the most vital of these is personal liberty.

[75] M.W. Robieson [published under the pseudonym "O. Latham"] 'An Apology for the Liberty of the Person', Part 3, *Loc. Cit.*, p. 9.

> It would be to take it on too low a level to treat this as making personal liberty a means to political. Means and end, instrument and result, are trifling ideas to bring to matters of this sort. Personal liberty, in conjunction with the search after the good, will make by the same act citizens and free men. The product is one...[76]

This formulation was to draw out and defeat several foes. First, the idea that freedom is functional. By the 'functional principle' is meant the proposition: "that no institution or other social unit has any right to exist for its own sake."[77] He had in mind the position advanced by Ramiro de Maeztu. Although the latter claimed fidelity to the cause – as if "in general agreement with the Guild Socialism associated with *The New Age*"[78] – his writings betrayed a weak appreciation of economic thought and conveyed a primitive concept of an ethical theory. For de Maeztu, as Robieson argued: "The contrast is between liberty as opportunity for service and liberty as opportunity for idling."[79] His thought could be shortly summarised: "Formally, his doctrine is that values are fundamental and liberty only an instrumental end..."[80] On this view, liberty was: "…the deification of mere caprice."[81] In singling out de Maeztu, a now almost entirely forgotten figure, Robieson's arguments applied to a particular type – namely, those idealists who equated freedom as as something exercised not for personal enjoyment but for the greater good; such idealists believed that one's station in life determined

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[76] *Ibid*.
[77] M.W. Robieson 'The Functional Principle', Part 1, originally published as 'The Idea of Function', *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 23, No. 18 (August 29, 1918): p. 282. John Anderson's edit of Robieson's writings subsituted "sake" instead of "sense".
[78] M.W. Robieson review Ramiro de Maetzu *Authority, Liberty and Function in the Light of the War*, *A Critique of Authority and Liberty as the Foundations of the Modern State and an Attempt to Base Societies on the Principle of Function*, George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London (1916), *International Journal of Ethics* Vol. 28, No. 3 (April, 1918): p. 425.
[79] M.W. Robieson [published under the pseudonym "O. Latham"] 'An Apology for the Liberty of the Person', Part 3, *Loc*. *Cit*., p. 8.
[80] M.W. Robieson review of Ramiro de Maetzu's *Authority, Liberty and Function in the Light of the War*, *Loc*. *Cit*., p. 428.
[81] M.W. Robieson [published under the pseudonym "O. Latham"] 'Notes on Political Theory', Part 3, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 21, No. 17, (August 23, 1917): p. 368.

what needed to be done. De Maeztu was probably chosen to bear the brunt of the argument because of his influence amongst those Robieson most wanted to argue with and convince: other Guild Socialists.

Stated at its strongest, de Maeztu's solution was comparable to the idealist notion that liberty comes from acting in the interests of a community, that liberty is a good realised in connection to that community – not as a selfish act for individual pleasure. True liberty, on this view, is not a license to do anything. Liberty is the ability to do what advances the 'best' interest of a community. De Maeztu conceived the 'functional principle' to defend this notion. Robieson, however, fiercely fought this merely instrumentalist view of liberty, stating that:

> Liberty has value for its own sake: it may be worth striving after, although it has no result beyond itself; and as an element it enormously increases the values of wholes into which it enters. The problem of its value as a means is more complicated because of the various degrees of unity possible between it and its end. The connection in the case of liberty is very intimate; so that most great ends arise (if at all) directly out of liberty.

Benedetto Croce had a similar point in suggesting that liberty always arises in struggle; and that in periods of complacency there is a seeping of vitality: "…periods of increased or reduced liberty follow upon each other and …a liberal order, the more it is established and undisputed, the more surely decays into habit, and thereby its vigilant self-awareness and readiness for defence is weakened."[82] Liberty is a value realised in a life conceived as ceaselessly battling for freedom.

[82] Benedetto Croce *History as the Story of Liberty*, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London (originally published in Italian, 1938; this translated edition, 1941): p. 60.

Many of Ramiro de Maeztu's *New Age* writings were collected, along with some diary entries, into a book: *Authority, Liberty, and Function in the Light of War* (1916). The book had a subtitle: 'A critique of Authority and Liberty as the foundations of the modern State and an attempt to base societies on the principle of Function'. The work discusses function and values, and attempts to indicate how society could be based on the functional principle. It muses on its applicability both to internal and to international affairs. De Maeztu argued that just as no man has any subjective right to anything, so no state has any subjective right to govern a territory. The rights of states depend on the functions they perform in the development of human solidarity and the increase of values. On this basis institutions exist and can be judged according to their function. This idea de Maeztu conceived as an original contribution to political theory. During the Great War, in England, his ideas enjoyed wide currency in socialist and intellectual circles. Robieson, in a review of the book, says:

> Mr. de Maeztu's anxiety to displace the traditional English view of liberty and substitute for it 'the primacy of things' brings him near to denying altogether its value. Formally, his doctrine is that values are fundamental and liberty only an instrumental end: even if we take the latter as participation in the government or citizenship it is not difficult to treat the realisation of this in particular individuals as a rather unimportant detail. I do not imagine that Mr. de Maeztu himself takes this view of it, but only that it would be easy for other people to do so on the pretext of maintaining the purity of his own doctrine. In this respect the case is parallel to that of the really characteristic German doctrine of nationality, which holds that the value of a nation is to be judged by its contribution to culture for which the interesting corollary follows that since

> German culture is superior to that of other peoples it has a right to impose its culture and its nationality on them. Hence, e.g., neither Polish nor Irish nationality can possibly matter. But the fact is that a nation is constituted primarily by its historical unity and its basis of common sentiment, and other nations should respect and encourage its desire to become autonomous, because only thus will it be possible for it to develop its peculiar contribution to culture.[83]

De Maeztu's discussion about the functional State and 'the primacy of things' was examined in Robieson's writings.[84] To draw out an extreme version of functional man, a comparison was made with H.G. Wells' notion of the Selenite State in the novel *The First Men in the Moon*,[85] where the children of the lower classes were from birth treated and developed to be able to perform one task and one only:

> …to which the citizen (if so he was) was to devote his whole soul and find in it his good. Mere labouring men might by hypnotic means be cured of desires above their station; and even induced to spend the intervals between their tasks in healthful and refreshing sleep, instead of wearing and useless agitation.[86]

This might seem simply satirical. But Robieson wasn't just jousting. His lance had deadly aim: "What I am trying to show is that, from the abstract statement of the

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[83] M.W. Robieson review of Ramiro de Maeztu *Authority, Liberty and Function in the Light of the War*, *International Journal of Ethics* Vol. 28, No. 3 (April, 1918): pp. 425-429.
[84] M.W. Robieson 'The Functional Principle' Part 1 [published as 'The Idea of Function'] *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 23, No. 18 (August 29, 1918): p. 282; and, 'The Functional Principle' Part 2, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 23, No. 20 (September 12, 1918): p. 315. For a discussion of de Maeztu's ideas of 'function' see: Kelvin James Nicholas Knight The Myth of Functional Representation: Neo-Corporatism, Guild Socialism, Citizenship, and the Concept of Function, PhD, London School of Economics and Political Science (1990): pp. 157-212.
[85] H.G. Wells *The First Men in the Moon*, George Newnes, London (1901).
[86] M.W. Robieson [published under the pseudonym "O. Latham"] 'An Apology for the Liberty of the Person', Part 4, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 22, No. 3 (November 15, 1917): p. 47.

principle, *by itself* no criterion can be desired for preferring the Republic to the Kingdom of the Moon."[87] Robieson argued that:

> Liberty in any really intelligible sense involves responsibility and the right to shape one's conduct in the light of circumstances; and depends therefore on certain psychological conditions. Extend this to the case of the group, and similar conditions form the basis of its history. Corresponding to the liberty of the person there is the freedom of the group, religious, or political, or social.[88]

So the concept is more complex, its implications more nuanced than anything imagined by de Maeztu. The core position Robieson articulated is that in theory and practice there is no antithesis of personal and political liberty. He elaborated:

> We cannot rightly regard a State as politically free unless it recognises that there is a sense in which all men are equal. No one has ever expressed that sense better than Professor D.G. Ritchie[89] when he said that democracy was the assumption that all men were equal made for the purpose of discovering which are the best. It is the vague presence along with the asserted absence of that idea in the Republic that causes us to wonder what manner of State it really is.[90]

Alluding to F.H. Bradley's famous text, taking aim at the whole corpus of idealist ethical theory, Robieson argued that: "The obvious criticism is that no criterion is provided for

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[87] *Ibid*., p. 48.
[88] M.W. Robieson [published under the pseudonym "O. Latham"] 'An Apology for the Liberty of the Person', Part 6, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 22, No. 7 (December 13, 1917): p. 127.
[89] David George Ritchie (1853-1903) was the Scottish philosopher who taught at Edinburgh, Oxford and St Andrews. His *Philosophical Studies*, Macmillan, London (1905) was edited with a memoir by Robieson's former teacher at Glasgow University, Robert Latta.
[90] M.W. Robieson [published under the pseudonym "O. Latham"] 'An Apology for the Liberty of the Person', Part 5, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 22, No. 4 (November 22, 1917): p. 68.

determining what a man's station is, so that the supposed functional principle is appearance and not reality."[91]

Robieson proposed that a functional view of liberty was what necessarily arose from an idealist view. So in criticising de Maeztu's confusions he aimed to strike two foes with the one swinging blow. Besides the Idealists, another foe Robieson took issue with were the utilitarians. Liberty is a concept more complex and its implications more nuanced than anything imagined by the utilitarians. The latter refers to those close allies and predecessors of Mill's – Bagehot and others – who argued that any proposition could be judged according to the principle of 'the greatest happiness to the greatest number' – as if utility could be made from a statistical estimate. Mill, in contrast, feared the tyranny of the majority and tried to encapsulate the ideals of liberty as important in themselves. Of J.S. Mill's generally admirable efforts to encapsulate the ideals of liberty, Robieson detected a flaw in that Mill seemed to regard "…society as a sort of magnified Utilitarian debating society."[92] In the formulation of the utilitarians, they were too canny: "Utilitarians were hopelessly intellectualistic," or rationalist for "we now know that it is the emotional basis of a man's soul that controls his conduct."[93] To state that people are self-interested is a limited conception of the truth: "A decent psychology was almost altogether lacking, and its absence was supplied by a sublime faith in the less defensible parts of the little they did possess."[94] By a "decent psychology" Robieson meant to apply insights about man being a self-actualising being, motivated not only by self-interest,

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[91] *Ibid*., pp. 68-69. Robieson is alluding to both: F.H. Bradley 'My Station and Its Duties' in *Ethical Studies* Oxford University Press, Oxford (1876); and F.H. Bradley *Appearance and Reality*, Swan Sonnenschein, London (1893).
[92] M.W. Robieson [published under the pseudonym "O. Latham"] 'An Apology for the Liberty of the Person', Part 2, *Loc*. *Cit*., p. 504.
[93] *Ibid*.
[94] *Ibid*.

but also by ideas of what is good. Man is not merely a calculating utilitarian; Robieson quips that: "...the dominant school of psychology (the Freudian) tends to represent the normal man as a dull, self-confident, cat-witted, middle-class official."[95] In contrast, the critical mind, searching for truth and self awareness swims against the tide. Progress depends on such types. Indeed: "Nothing is more necessary, I should say, than to develop at the expense of established order the socially unstable mind, the mind open to reason and to experience and less controlled by the suggestions of the herd."[96] This was to employ the word 'unstable' in an ironic sense. Devil's Advocates and theorists challenging an established order must always appear destabilising – deliberately so. Edmund Burke, reflecting on the terror unleashed in the French Revolution, had a similar point in stating:

> It is better to cherish virtue and humanity, by leaving much to free will, even with some loss to the object than to attempt to make men mere machines and instruments of a political benevolence. The world on the whole will gain by a liberty, without which virtue cannot exist.[97]

This was to urge soberly that even if mistakes and errors are committed they might be better than trying to force men to be mere machines, following a pre-programmed agenda. This was a classic statement against the hard ideological viewpoint.

Moving from criticisms of opposing views, Robieson tries to establish arguments that might strongly establish his views. In doing so, he tried dialectically to conceive of weaknesses and, through discussion of contending views, more confidently state a robust position. Robieson confronts the argument about obligation, notions of 'ought', and what we actually do and experience and the difficulties of linking ought with is:

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[95] *Ibid*.
[96] *Ibid*.
[97] Edmund Burke *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, J. Dodsley, London (1790): p. 154. The orginal's spelling has been Englished to modern standard.

> No apology for it is possible except to show that the power which is asserted to have the right to compel represents the real will of the person on whom the compulsion is exercised. It is his fuller self; it enjoins what he himself would wish to do were his insight more sure and his passing desires less insistent. If we follow this creed, therefore, we must steadfastly believe that when the State cows by show or threat of force the starving striker, it is doing what he himself would do willingly were he not blinded by ignorance and prejudice and hunger. It is saving him from himself, his worst enemy. This is Idealism indeed.[98]

This summary by Robieson was meant to mock subservient calls of 'authority'. Besides this suspicion of command and commander Robieson saw liberty as instrument and ultimate value:

> ...liberty may very well be both an instrumental and an ultimate value, and that even if it were only the latter it might, nevertheless, be a political principle. Both of these propositions require proof, and, first, a remark on the kind of proof that is possible. Judgements about value, I assume, cannot in the end be proved, but must simply be seen to be true or false.

This raises a difficulty in assessing what might properly constitute an appropriate test. Certainly a degree of subjectivity is attached to the matter. But not only that:

> Hence, if you disagree with your neighbour's estimate of what sort of things are really worth having, there is no direct means whereby either of you can bring the other to his senses. Something may perhaps be done indirectly, by attempting to show him that he does not really mean what he imagines he means; or, again, by discovering the reasons that led him to the easy assumption

[98] M.W. Robieson [published under the pseudonym "O. Latham"] 'Notes on Political Theory', Part 4, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 21, No. 20 (September 13, 1917): p. 424.

> of a false belief. Both methods are difficult, and are easily made offensive; but in the abstract they are legitimate enough, and in the end nothing else seems available.[99]

It is only through debate and evaluation that we understand each other and, indeed, our own good selves. Can anything, then, be meant by saying something has an absolute value? Or, avoiding idealistic terminology, intrinsic value? The meaning of intrinsic value is based on this concept: "A thing has intrinsic value or has value for its own sake when it would be worth having though nothing else at all existed in the universe. Though it had no consequence of any kind, its value would remain unaltered."[100] Before turning to explain in more detail that claim, let us pause to consider the instrumental utility of liberty.

Certain ideas and values are instrumental leading to the actualisation of other goods:

> For very many great values follow directly and with certainty on the means to them, and are best attained and enjoyed when the immediate attention is absorbed elsewhere. It seems to be so with wisdom, which philosophers have praised with complete if intelligible unanimity. And a similar fact can be regarded according to taste as an argument for or against pleasure. Therefore no contradiction of our ordinary experience would be implied were we to admit that liberty was only an instrumental value and yet assert that eternal vigilance in the guardianship of it is the price of the great goods to which it leads.[101]

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[99] M.W. Robieson [published under the pseudonym "O. Latham"] 'An Apology for the Liberty of the Person', Part 1, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 21, No. 22 (September 27, 1917): p. 463.
[100] *Ibid*.
[101] M.W. Robieson [published under the pseudonym "O. Latham"] 'An Apology for the Liberty of the Person', Part 2, *Loc. Cit.*, p. 503.

Thus, even on this apparently grudging concession, a rather large impact can be assessed. The value of the whole is increased with its addition:

> …by the addition of a further element to a whole, whose value we already know the value of, the whole may be greatly increased even if the value of the additional element for its own sake be nothing at all. If then it should happen that liberty was in this case of having no intrinsic value, the possibility always remains that the values of the wholes into which it does enter are incalculably greater than those of otherwise quite similar wholes into which it does not.[102]

The free discovery of values is the more impressive without compulsion; 'impressive' in the sense that 'following orders' or doing something on pain of punishment is merely the freedom to do as one is told:

> Values freely attained yield as a result a type of experience enormously more valuable than experience in which these values only happen - *a fortiori* than that into which they are introduced by compulsion, in those cases, if any, where this is possible. From which it follows (so far as one can draw a valid conclusion on these highly abstract grounds) that liberty greatly increases in general the value of an experiential whole in which it occurs; and that, therefore, there is a presumption that the increase of it as much as possible will be great gain.[103]

We are here of course dealing with vexed philosophical issues the substance and subtlety of which have pre-occupied the philosophers of the ages. Robieson himself at one point pauses for an 'epistemological breather':

> Merely to assume that liberty has no value as an end and discuss whether it has any as a means does not do justice to the subtlety of the problem. With regard to

[102] *Ibid.*
[103] *Ibid.*

> values, end and means are not the fundamental ideas, much less the only relevant ones. No two things are more easily confused than an element which adds to the value of whole, though it has itself no intrinsic value, with a thing which has value only as a means.[104]

In attempting to understand and discover the moral principles that might constitute what could be styled 'An Apology for the Liberty of the Person', we are best to keep in mind that nothing can be completely abstract:

> Many psychical dispositions must be admitted ... even if it be denied that they have intrinsic value or value as elements in other wholes. Their importance comes from this, that all values - or at least all with which human beings seem to be concerned - are realised in persons, and experience, which is the process of realising them, falls in time.[105]

Robieson wants to insist that in the creativity and unpredictability of human consciousness is a potentially good thing; there is thus a spiritual or psychical dimension: "As a value, then, liberty, which is one of these spiritual dispositions, may be instrumental not to the things which we now know but to the less certain things we know not yet."[106] We cannot know exactly everything about a person and his or her development. This therefore justifies entrusting the infusion of liberty in every person's life. This is no ends and means. For: "End and means are not part and whole."[107] In fact, on Robieson's argument, we are dealing with both the intrinsic and the instrumental. Rather than conceiving a derivation of power and responsibility from the State to individuals, it would be better to think this: "The fundamental thing in social life is then the power that society possesses as a whole, and this is the state. From that follow

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[104] *Ibid*.
[105] *Ibid*., pp. 503-504.
[106] *Ibid*., p. 504.
[107] *Ibid*.

sovereignty and the identification of good men with good citizens and patriots."[108]

Robieson frequently returned to a criticism of Statist ideology:

> The notion of a real will which is also general rests on a confusion of two utterly distinct conceptions, that of human nature as distinct from deliberate will, and that of an ideal will which would express the practical possibilities of harmony in human nature. The third step is still more tragically wrong. The identification of the general will with the State is only possible if we refuse to distinguish society from the State and shut our eyes persistently to the nature of the functions which the State really performs.[109]

Against the arbitrariness of princes: "liberty is the only remedy."[110]

Beyond the conception of what liberty stands for, and what is opposed, is a view of morals and obligations. Robieson gave definition to what he was talking about:

> Morality refers to the conduct of men: and it lays on them duties and obligations. Their activities and their minds and selves are its primary concern; and the fact that a philosopher holds that these have no value for their own sake should not prevent his seeing this. All he need do is argue either that they have a derived value or that morality doesn't matter. Similarly, ethics is no science of values in general or in the abstract. Morality is the main part of its subject matter: it deals with values realised in conduct. But religion, on the other hand, is not in the first instance interested in what men are or do. It has to lead them beyond themselves and bring them into relation with values which are relatively

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[108] M.W. Robieson Review of Ramiro de Maetzu *Authority, Liberty and Function in the Light of the War*, *Loc. Cit.*, p. 426.
[109] M.W. Robieson 'Hegelian Politics' *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 24, No. 4 (November 28, 1918): p. 55.
[110] M.W. Robieson [published under the pseudonym "O. Latham"] 'An Apology for the Liberty of the Person', Part 7, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 22, No. 9 (December 27, 1917): p. 167.

> permanent. To say this is no doubt to put it in its lowest terms; and it might become intelligible only when delivered from abstraction by a discussion of the types of religion, which vary from the primitive man's prayers to powers (more or less personal) which intervene spasmodically in human affairs, through the worship of a single being who directs the universe, to devotion to things worth having in entire independence of our success or failure in attaining them and of whether they exist or not.[111]

Robieson was careful to draw a contrast with religion. As an apparently religious man

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CONTENTS.

NOTES OF THE WEEK.

We shall be forgiven for mentioning Mr. Bottomley for the last time; for this loud-voiced representative

been peace last Christmas, if not the Christmas before, or even the Christmas before that. For the actual military circumstances (remember we discriminate between the actual and the potential)—the actual military circumstances at this moment are certainly no better, on

An extract from the *New Age* showing one of the articles on liberty published by "O. Latham" (i.e., M.W. Robieson)

or, at least a philosopher keenly interested in religious ideas, he wanted to dispel the notion that religious thought contained, in the Hegelian sense of striving for purpose,

[111] *Ibid.*, p. 166.

the end of morality. He thought that morality needed a rational, empirical defence. Modern life could never be a theocracy. The arbitrariness of princes of the Church and those others who claimed to speak in God's name were to be sceptically regarded. Each individual should think for themselves. There was place for a rational theory of ethics and religion:

> Even if we agree that religion represents an attitude more valuable in itself and at the same time more ultimate than morality, that does not mean that it swallows up the latter, so that it can have no rights on its own account. Religion, after all, is the affair of the Church, and the Church, whatever it is, is not society; still less is it the State. To drag the doctrine of Original Sin into politics suggests a day of humiliation in which we all in a general confession admit that we are miserable criminals.[112]

That cleared, in developing a theory of morality that might go with the political movement he championed, Robieson set a benchmark: "The ethical theory I should accept is essentially rational and sceptical…"[113]

Robieson, in the summary of his searching, critical evalution of the issues, stated the principles of the argument:

> 1. Liberty involves the free and responsible direction of one's own life. On the negative side it implies security that no one should be molested in doing what he takes to be his duty by the intimidation of authority, however exercised. Like everything else it must be estimated by reference to objective values. It is not doing what one likes, but what one believes to be right.

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[112] *Ibid*. pp. 166-167.
[113] *Ibid*., p. 167.

2. Liberty belongs, therefore, to men's souls; and a failure to appreciate its value may therefore arise either from a contempt for the soul or a mistaken idea that the soul is somehow unreal or cannot have value. This can be guarded against by showing that the soul (or self) has a reality of its own which is not merely that of its objects.

3. There are three senses in which a thing may have value. (a) it may be an intrinsic value; (b) it may have value as a means; (c) it may have an additive value. These are different but not mutually exclusive in one thing. In the case of each, appeal must be made to reflective consideration.

4. Liberty has value for its own sake: it may be worth striving after, although it has no result beyond itself; and as an element it enormously increases the values of wholes into which it enters. The problem of its value as a means is more complicated because of the various degrees of unity possible between it and its end. The connection in the case of liberty is very intimate; so that most *great* ends arise (if at all) directly out of liberty.

5. It is as a means that liberty chiefly requires to be defended and discussed. The asserted antithesis of personal and political liberty is false. It is not really supported by the analogy of the Greek state: and in the modern state the two are in principle the same and a means to values.

6. The fact is that although the functional principle and the primacy of values (rather than of things) may be accepted as the basis of societies, other elements enter into any state which is defensible: while if these are isolated the states built up on them may be very bad and need not exclude slavery. The functional principle (which is supposed to assert political but not personal liberty) is no more than a

statement of certain abstract conditions which a decent society implies. But to complete the elements of its structure, liberty at least must be added.

7. The personal side of liberty must be emphasised even more than the political in the modern State, because the danger that threatens us is not the tyranny of a despot but the impersonal dominance of the State.

8. A further argument can be drawn from the analogies among various social groups. The basis of the generally admitted recognition of nationality is easy to see; it is that it is a potential value, and therefore at once sacred and intangible. This is true also in general about other social groups and about the individual.

9. The objection based on the dogma of Original Sin - that such a view as this implies a romantic and impossibly idealistic view of human nature, is baseless, and itself rests on a confusion between religion and morality.

10. Such a position differs from Syndicalism by recognising the political community and its importance and from any form of Liberalism by maintaining that economic power precedes political power and welcoming all the consequences of this principle.[114]

These ten principles are intelligible in the context of the arguments earlier outlined. It was a powerful, comprehensive perspective that advanced liberty as valuable of itself, in conjunction with other values and in stimulating the realisation of other goods. Further, its presence stimulates its possessors to endeavour to do their best. Therefore to pen in, to restrict or curtail liberty is to harm the realisation of potential.

[114] M.W. Robieson [under the pseudonym "O. Latham"] 'An Apology for the Liberty of the Person', No. 8 in a series, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 22, No. 11 (January 1, 1918): pp. 207-208.

Commenting on the development of Robieson's arguments over a three month period in various issues of *The New Age* journal, Orage was moved to state enthusiastic endorsement:

> Mr. Latham's acceptance of a brief on behalf of Liberty came as a promise of deliverance. He was at a glance equipped for championcy, having been armed by art and nature with a formidable style, a clear mind, an acid-drop sense of humour, and vast reading. After a few displays of fence his modest confidence began to infect us; and by the time he had discovered, seized and played upon the opening left by Mr. de Maeztu in his defence of Functionalism, we were ready to break our bars. The actual moment of the deliverance was, you will remember, Mr. Latham's seizure of Mr. de Maeztu's phrase: the potential value of Liberty. If only a potential value, Liberty was still a sort of value, after all. And what was implied in the potential value of Liberty if not the value of Liberty even in a Functional State? Without recalling all the argument from this point - for is it not written in the book of Mr. Latham? – it is sufficient to say that the conclusions arrived at, while not contradictory but rather supplementary of Mr. Maeztu's, were gratifying. The heart had been justified of its criticisms.[115]

Earlier, in the same article, Orage gently chided his long time contributor,[116] though simultaneously offering praise to de Maeztu for holding up his side of the argument:

> Reverting to the series referred to, my concluding impression, that of a professed layman, is one of relief that personal liberty, after all, though put upon its defence by Mr. de Maeztu, has acquitted itself so well in the hands of Mr. O. Latham. With the technical aspects of the desperate encounter between

[115] Alfred Orage [published as "R.H.C."] 'Readers and Writers' *The New Age*, new series Vol. 22, No. 13 (January 24, 1918): p. 251.
[116] Of de Maeztu's 84 contributions to *The New Age* journal around 80 were published between 1915 and 1919, inclusive.

Functionalism aspiring to tyranny and Personal Liberty aspiring to anarchy, I have not the courage to be concerned at this moment. But as lookers-on often see most of the game, and we may score even though we do not play, it will be permitted me again to express my relief at the triumph of Mr. Latham. Understand me clearly, colleague de Maeztu. I am not saying that in respect of Mr. de Maeztu's main claim to have established Function as the criterion of social organisation there has been or that a reader like myself desired the triumph of Mr. Latham. Nor, again, is it the case that Mr. Latham's defence of Personal Liberty was directed against the principle of Function which Mr. de Maeztu has formulated. On the contrary, both writers may be said to have triumphed, and neither of them at the real cost of the other. Function has triumphed over the defect in Mr. de Maeztu's early presentation of it; and Personal Liberty has triumphed in being proved not only compatible with but necessary to Function. In short, Function and Liberty have kissed, and the triumph of Mr. Latham is at once an individual and a mutual triumph. How has this come about? You will remember the conclusion of Mr. de Maeztu's primitive gospel of Function: it was that we should cease to regard personal liberty as a value in itself or even as a value in any sense. Things were to lord it over persons; and persons were to submit to compulsion without so much as regretting the constraint of their freedom. It was a forbidding prospect untempered even by S. Paul's phrase concerning the perfect law of liberty. It was, in fact, all law and no liberty. And though, indeed, it appeared that the argument was irrefutable in our heads, in our hearts we were alarmed by it.[117]

[117] *Ibid.*

Stears, in an article on the Guild Socialists and the ideological diversity of the British left, observes that debates between idealists and pluralists characterised some of the main faultlines amongst the Guild Socialists. He comments on the position adopted by Cole and Robieson: [118] "The resolute conviction that individuals' ways of looking at the world were inevitably and irreconcilably different led Cole and his colleagues to denounce any organicist or quasi-organicist notion as 'essentially false'."[119] Stears goes on:

> In place of the [De] Maeztu account therefore, functional activity was understood simply to be any action which was productive in some very broad sense. The existing capitalistic system, and its Fabian counterpart, was held to be simply incapable of producing the level of goods and services that a society consisting in a collection of free individuals would require. That is, what was important for this second group was that the economy should expand and produce a broad range of goods to enable citizens to pursue their own lives independent of economic constraints. A functional system was one which ensured continuity of supply; the 'object of industry' was simply 'to produce goods'. As if to illustrate the depth of the rift, one opponent explicitly condemned Cole and colleagues for apparently considering the questions of what is produced and by whom a 'matter of complete indifference'.[120]

In John Anderson's summary of Robieson's argument, he says:

> The principle by which Mr. de Maeztu endeavours to supplant both authority and liberty is that of function. But for a person to have a definite function, directed to values external to himself, is precisely the condition of subjection to

[118] Stears refers to M.W. Robieson, 'On Certain First Principles' *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 23, No. 13 (July 25, 1918): pp. 197-8.
[119] Marc Stears 'Guild Socialism and Ideological Diversity on the British Left', *Loc.. Cit.*, p. 300.
[120] *Ibid*.

> authority; it differs from tyranny simply in the subjection of all instead of all but one; and it differs from the modern state only in being slightly less free. There is no room for discovery, for a man's functions are directed to values already known; and if new directions are to be opened up, it will be someone's special function to say what these are to be. Anything more distinct from the spirit of scientific inquiry it would be hard to imagine, and it is therefore equally distinct from positive ethical study – and in particular from the objective ethics of Mr. G.E. Moore. Thus it is Mr. Robieson's special task to show that "social function" as expounded by Mr. de Maeztu has no place alongside objective ethics; so that it may be surmised that Mr. de Maeztu's "primacy of things" is not identical with that theory but involves considerable misunderstanding. It is only through free personal activity that such "things" (values) are discovered and maintained.[121]

Robieson saw that in de Maeztu's political theory there was the potential for authoritarianism and a sickly 'we know best' intolerance. In some ways, that potential was realised in de Maeztu's later work.[122]

Adventure, Responsibility and the Link with John Anderson

In reckoning M.W. Robieson's influence, an intriguing part of the focus leads to John Anderson, who wanted to edit Robieson's *New Age* essays.[123] This connotes admiration for Robieson's arguments. Yet there appears to be no specific reference to Robieson in unpublished lectures or published material by Anderson. But in acknowledging Belloc's

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[121] John Anderson 'Introduction to Notes on Political Theory', holograph editorial notes by John Anderson, n.d., John Anderson Papers, University of Sydney archives, Acc. No. 1428, Group P.42, series 1, Item No. 54.
[122] *Cf*. Martin Nozick 'An Examination of Ramiro de Maeztu' *PMLA* 69, No. 4 (September, 1954): pp. 719-740.
[123] As is outlined in Appendix 2.

critique there is a clear allusion to those, including the Guild Socialists who did take seriously the dangers of a collectivist model of society. It is useful to evaluate Anderson's thinking in the context of a discussion of his remarks in his 1943 essay on 'The Servile State' and a relating of all this back to Robieson.

In his planned collection of Robieson's articles, John Anderson proposed to write commentaries to selections. Only one piece, however, 'Introduction to Notes on Political Theory', though incomplete and with various annotations and suggestions for inserts - and impossible to completely piece together - is extant in the John Anderson Papers.[124] There are notes on some other essays, but nothing as coherent and near finished.

Anderson, when writing his 'Introduction', was then formulating and discovering his own views on ethics, realism and philosophic method; he set out his reactions and theories about the issues raised, commenting that, in writing his articles for *The New Age*, Robieson did not intend to give a complete or systematic account of political theory. Anderson wrote: "It is the purpose of this introduction to explain the controversial occasion of these articles, and further to indicate how Mr. Robieson would have developed his social theory in greater detail." To do so, such "explanation and expansion would only be possible for one who was in considerable agreement with Mr. Robieson's views." In stating that, Anderson said these articles for *The New Age* were "an individual contribution to the theory of National Guilds."[125] This was the main point of what Robieson set out to do. His ethical theory was tied to a movement he

[124] Holograph editorial notes by John Anderson, n.d., John Anderson Papers, University of Sydney archives, Acc. No. 1428, Group P.42, series 1, Item No. 54. In this draft essay, Anderson proposed to introduce Robieson's political theory articles, viz., 'Notes' and 'An Apology'. Hereafter this paper is referred to as John Anderson 'Notes on Political Theory', n.d., *circa* 1920-1921.
[125] *Ibid.*

championed. He wanted to add a substantive philosophy underpinning the Guild Socialist movement. Anderson saw liberty as a process of self-discovery – of learning to be free. "It is nonetheless clear that the free spirit has greater affinity with this temperament than with the authoritarian." He went on to note that: "it will be hard to find adventure in duty – i.e., in a formula which we are not allowed to test."[126]

Anderson tries to counter the view that political opinions merely represent sentiment or *a priori* premises: A man's ethical position and social tendencies may indicate a particular temperament, but this is not to dismiss his philosophy as temperamental. Anderson argues that all knowledge is empirical because that is how we discover things. (Though certain ideas, such as mathematics, though derived from reality, are beyond space and time.) Particularly emphasising the social sciences, Anderson says: "If theory were non-controversial, it *would* have no application to actual controversies: it would be 'mere theory'. Thus we cannot take philosophical conclusions on values as a starting point for political theory." This argues that ethics is not separated from life. The responsibility and adventure of an individual or of a voluntary association is learnt, discovered, experienced. It is therefore empirical, capable of testing, assessing and debatable. It is never a matter of following the *ex cathedra*. Anderson posits that: "Temperamental differences notwithstanding, our ethical beliefs do not spring suddenly into a definite and final form, but grow in our experience, point in different directions of activity and may be criticised by reference to subsequent events." Such a view has affinities with pragmatism.[127]

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[126] *Ibid.*

[127] Indeed, several of Robieson's articles are referenced in: John R. Shook *Pragmatism: An Annotated Bibliography, 1898-1940*, Value Inquiry Series, Editions Rodopi B.V., Amsterdam and Atlanta (1998).

Robieson, Anderson says, accepts that proof is required for showing that a concept X is good. This does not occur through impartial speculation alone. It arises out of controversy. Besides, Anderson insists: "Impartiality is not found in the man who has no definite opinions: he is rather the most partial of men." In *thinking* about our experience: "The only method that we have is the method of hypothesis, which is continuous with the 'trial and error' which we apply to all the objects of our experience." Anderson tries to sketch a concept of objective ethics, based on a realist empiricism, of reckoning consequences and learning from experience. Anderson argues that: "The method of trial and error is bound up with the principles of 'responsibility and adventure'[128] in social and political behaviour." These principles are in inseparable conjunction. Anderson goes on to state that: "we cannot have real adventure unless we know what we are doing, and we are not responsible persons unless we are free to choose our objective." This is a philosophy of liberty, in contrast to notions of service and duty. Going with this, was an intense scrutiny of and scepticism about claims about a common interest of society, social 'unity' and phrases signifying covertly servile notions.

Anderson suggests that Robieson might have rounded out his study with an assessment of Sorel's concept of 'myth', volunteering to fill the gap by stating:

> A positive philosophy recognises "myth" as an element in knowledge, indicating a direction of inquiry in addition to an immediate object: it maintains that concern for "definite objects", apart from inquiry, uncritical acceptance of a stabilised belief, is a condition of superstition and subjection. And therefore it

[128] The phrase is Robieson's. See M.W. Robieson [published under the pseudonym "O. Latham"] 'Notes on Political Theory', Part 4, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 21, No. 20 (September 13, 1917): p. 424.

> does not set myth over against definite knowledge as a different and higher (or lower) kind of understanding.

Relying on Robieson's analogy, he says that political theory "capable of rational defence" is a much stronger bulwark against servility than, say, religious dogma. Anderson's point, which is also Robieson's, is that responsibility is attained. In contrast, there is Ramiro de Maeztu's idea that: "responsibility is responsibility to somebody else." On the contrary: "It is only through free personal activity that such 'things'[129] (values) are discovered and maintained."

Anderson thought for himself. He didn't merely copy or replicate anyone else's efforts. Yet the forward-moving direction of his thinking, his development of ideas of adventure and responsibility, emerged through examining many of the same ideas and issues which Robieson had also picked over. In penning the draft of an introduction to Robieson's articles,[130] Anderson's ambition was to provide a "clear understanding [and] an appreciation of their context ...because ... they form, in the writer's opinion, a valuable addition to philosophic literature."[131] In an elaboration, Anderson argues that Robieson's thinking meant:

> …we shall see liberty as something that is constantly being achieved (and as constantly attacked) in personal and social life, and we shall endeavour to communicate it as widely as we can, to attain it in every sphere of action, to understand its varied manifestations, in the same way in which we continue to

[129] A reference to Ramiro de Maeztu's notion of the 'primacy of things'.
[130] John Anderson 'Introduction to Notes on Political Theory' Holograph editorial notes by John Anderson, n.d., John Anderson Papers, University of Sydney archives, Acc. No. 1428, Group P.42, series 1, Item No. 54.
[131] *Ibid.*

> follow out scientific inquiry and to attain positive and active knowledge, through trial and error.[132]

Robieson's views lived on as developed by Anderson. Referring to the quirky, confessional article 'The Servile State' that John Anderson wrote in 1943, labour and social theorist Beilharz remarks that:

> What I want to suggest is that a certain crimson thread runs through Anderson's thinking, a logic of a peculiar kind which is in its genesis caught up with the syndicalist moment. Marxian without being Marxist, in a sense, it often beckons the thinking of Sorel, for it speaks of the ethics of the producers and takes up a position against servility as the central social ill.[133]

Beilharz clearly found Anderson's thinking intriguing and unique. One senses that he was both fascinated and a little appalled. The robust, fearless critique of conformity and servility appealed. But should every effort to lift up the common people through welfare measures deserve to be pilloried as root and branch corrupt thinking leading to servility? Did Anderson's assimilation of quasi-syndicalist and Sorelian views produce a theory a little too tough, unworldly and unappealing?

Before dwelling on that, it is necessary to examine the question of liberty and the value of political struggle raised by the War. Obviously the War affected everything, including the fortunes of the Guild Socialists. Restrictions on debate and liberty were also aspects of the problem. Robieson lived in an astonishingly interesting period – arguably, in the right place and time, where keeping up meant thinking things through.

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[132] *Ibid.*

[133] Peter Beilharz 'John Anderson and the Syndicalist Moment' *Political Theory Newsletter* [ADFA] No. 5 (1993): p. 5.

The Great War and "The Beatings of Great Bells"[134]

Robieson responded in his articles to the questions posed by the War, relating them to the curtailment of liberty and the merits of conscientious objection. He saw that: "We are all familiar, for example, with the impatience a decent man can hardly avoid in the face of the patriot."[135] But this did not mean indifference to the nation, despite this kind of patriot. Orage at various points argued a similar point: "Nationalism in the sense in which *The New Age* is proud to be an English journal is not incompatible with internationalism and with panhumanism."[136]

It has now passed into mythology that the parties of the Socialist International betrayed 'international proletarian solidarity' and jingoistically championed the war efforts of their respective governments.[137] In the sarcastic words of the historian of British Labour, Carl Brand: "In the agony of the moment it is not surprising that even thoroughgoing Marxians should seize upon the distinction between 'war of defence' and 'war of aggression' and allow militant patriotism to triumph over pacifist internationalism."[138] These interpretations suggest several questions: (i) were British Socialists and the Socialist International able to resist the Great War? (ii) if not and even so, was one side better than the other?[139] And, the question M.W. Robieson

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[134] *Cf.* the powerful closing stanza of Wilfred Owen's poem 'The Send Off': "Shall they return to beatings of great bells/ In wild train-loads? /A few, a few, too few for drums and yells /May creep back, silent, to still village wells /Up half-known roads." Quoted in Arthur Orrmont *Requiem For War The Life of Wilfred Owen*, Four Winds Press, New York (1972): p. 149.
[135] M.W. Robieson [published under the pseudonym "O. Latham"] 'An Apology for the Liberty of the Person', Part 6, *The New Age* new series, Vol. 22, No. 7 (December 13, 1917): p. 127.
[136] Alfred Orage [published as "R.H.C."] 'Readers and Writers' *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 22, No. 22 (March 28, 1918): p. 436.
[137] *Cf.* Isaac Deutscher *Marxism in Our Time,* Jonathon Cape, London (1972): pp. 103-104.
[138] Carl F. Brand *British Labour's Rise to Power*, Stanford University Press, Stanford (1941): p. 28.
[139] For a discussion, see James Joll *The Second International 1889-1914*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London and Boston (1974).

assessed in his April, 1915, *Hibbert Journal* article, (iii) was the attitude of war incompatible with socialist principles? With respect to the German socialists, theory and reality were considered in an acute account by Robieson.[140] He argued that nationalism and socialism were not in opposition.

A postcard sent on April 3, 1918, by MW Robieson to his brother whilst latter was in the Gold Coast, in Africa. A photograph Included with this is reproduced at p. 345. Source: family collection of Mrs. Clare Thomas.

Within the more radical parts of the British labour movement differences over international issues bitterly divided the SDF and then the SDP. Supporters of Hyndman, for example, rationalised that, despite its ills, British imperialism could be a civilising force of social benefit to the colonial peoples. In Hyndman's *Future of Democracy* (1915) he stated: "All wars are no more of necessity economic wars than all internal national conflicts are of necessity class struggles… [but] The wars of emancipation, such as those of Hungary and Italy, and the Balkan principalities cannot be brought under

[140] M.W. Robieson 'German Socialist Theory and War' *The Hibbert Journal* Vol. XIII, No. 8 (April, 1915): pp. 573-591.

this head (of capitalist wars) nor can the wars of Germany against Austria and France."[141] In contrast, the avowedly revolutionary sections of the party claimed that imperialism, being an arm of capitalism, exploited the labour of the colonies and was therefore *ipso facto* evil.[142] Moreover, the revolutionaries viewed the conflict of nations as the result of conflicting economic forces.[143] These internal divisions were considerably exacerbated during the Great War.

In the UK, the Hyndmanites' response to such questions was contained in the BSP national executive statement on the war published on September 15, 1914, part of which read:

> *The British Socialist Party, whilst working consistently in the interests of peace, has always maintained the right of nations to defend their national existence by force of arms. Recognising that the national freedom and independence of this country are threatened by Prussian militarism, the Party naturally desires to see the prosecution of the war to a speedy and successful issue.*[144]

The statement also proposed: "Let it (the Government) proclaim that it will be no party to the vindictive crushing of the German people, and that it will strive for a reasonable and honourable peace at the earliest opportunity."[145] The BSP unlike most of the parties on the European continent, did not have to face a clear-cut decision over national defence – in the context of armies within or across its borders. The active

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[141] Quoted in H.W. Lee and E. Archbold, Herbert Tracey, editors, *Social-Democracy in Britain*, *Fifty Years of the Socialist Movement*, The Social Democratic Federation, London (1935): p. 228, who were in turn quoting from H.M. Hyndman and E. Belfort Bax 'Socialism, Materialism & the War' *English Review* Vol. XIX (December 1914): pp. 52-69.
[142] *Cf.* Norman Hetherington 'Hyndman, The Social Democratic Federation and Imperialism' *Historical Studies* University of Melbourne, Vol. 16, No. 62 (April, 1974): pp. 89-103.
[143] For a succinct statement and critique of Marxist theories of imperialism, see Hans J. Morgenthau *Politics Among Nations*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 5th edition (1973): pp. 48-54.
[144] Quoted in H.W. Lee and E. Archbold *Loc. Cit.*, p. 225. Emphasis in the original. This statement was signed by the members of the national executive of the BSP including A. Anderson.
[145] *Ibid*.

support of Hyndman and his followers for recruitment worsened the divisions. The 1915 Annual Conference of the BSP decided that the supreme duty of socialists was to work for an immediate peace. At the April 1916 Conference, Hyndman and 25 to 30 of his supporters stormed out of Caxton Hall (London). Delegates cheered speeches which boasted "Having got rid of the greybeards and hoary traditions of the past, they would go on as anti-nationalists and internationalists, opposing all kinds of militarism, including the Citizen Army."[146] The Citizen Army was a reference to James (Ramsay) Macdonald's and others' advocacy of this idea.[147]

At the 1916 Conference, the BSP, in a more radical expression of its policy, declared that war could only be abolished through the overthrow of capitalism.[148] The mood of the Conference was expressed by Mr. J. Andrews, a delegate from North West Ham, who said "We were told that the war was one for the defence of Belgium. Gallipoli and Mesopotamia were a long, long way, not from Tipperary, but from Belgium. As socialists, our fighting should be done at home, where the exploitation took place."[149] In the minds of the Hyndmanites and many others, "This kind of advice when a country is at life and death grips with an aggressive power is merely impossibilism in a new form."[150] The father of William and John, Alexander Anderson was one of those who agreed and he left the BSP with the other 'pro-war' Hyndmanites.[151] In June 1916 they

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[146] Quoted in H.W. Lee and E. Archbold, *Loc. Cit.*, p. 239. The BSP, and the SDF before it, had supported the idea of a Citizen Army for national self-defence purposes. *Cf.* Walter Kendall *Loc. Cit.*, pp. 55-57.
[147] See David Marquand, *Ramsay MacDonald: A Biography*, Jonathan Cape London (1977).
[148] Walter Kendall *Loc. Cit.*, p. 102.
[149] *Report of the 1916 Annual Conference of the B.S.P.*, BSP Publication (1916): p. 7.
[150] H.W. Lee and E. Archbold *Loc. Cit.*, p. 224. "Impossibilism in a new form" refers to the struggle in the SDF between 1900-1904 between the party leadership and the doctrinaire socialists inspired by Daniel De Leon's American Socialist Labour Party; the dissidents in the BSP were termed the 'impossibilists' by the party heirarchy who accused them of advocating a programme which would be impossible to convince British workers to vote for. *Cf.* Walter Kendall *Loc. Cit.*, pp. 3-22.
[151] Nan Milton *Loc. Cit.*, p. 79. See also Letter: *Harry McShane to Michael Easson*, March 17, 1979. Harry McShane (1891-1988) in 1909 joined the ILP which he left in 1912 to join the BSP. From 1922 to 1953 he

formed the National Socialist Party.[152] On Anderson's position, there is a report in *The Guildsman* magazine:

> On the 17th [of March, 1917], Mr. Alexander Anderson, M.A., lectured on 'Democracy, War, and Foreign Policy'. This is the first time the question of the war in its general aspect has been discussed in the Group, and the event revealed an interesting diversity of opinion. The lecturer very ably championed the national policy.[153]

It is likely that, as an active member of the executive of the Glasgow Branch of the National Guilds League, William Anderson invited - or suggested to – his father that he address this audience.

Writers for *The New Age* expressed concern that the rapacious greed of wealthy war profiteers, combined with the rising prices and stalled wages, unfairly and unequally burdened the working classes. Many writers argued that the conscription of men without an accompanying conscription of capital (of those industrial and financial resources necessary to the war effort) would only exacerbate the difficult economic conditions facing wartime Britain. It was not clear what was entailed by *The New Age* formulation. 'Conscription of capital' sounded like nationalisation. But that was far from the journal's 'line'. The explanation never ventured past the rhetoric. Nor was that the only question. The Guild Socialists were nationalistic to an extent but also hostile to

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was a member of the Communist Party of Great Britain. *Cf*. Harry McShane *No Mean Fighter*, *Loc. Cit*. A. Anderson's eclipse and importance may be measured by the fact that his replacement as delegate from the Stonehouse Branch to the 1916 BSP Annual Conference was A.A. Watts, a leading opponent of the Hyndman position over the Great War and for seven years a member of the National Executive of the SDF, SDP and BSP. See the *Report of the 1916 Annual Conference of the B.S.P.*, *Loc. Cit.*, p. 5; Max Beer *Loc. Cit.*, p. 386; Walter Kendall *Loc. Cit.*, pp. 257; 306 and 417. See, generally, Robert Duncan and Arthur McIvor, editors, *Labour and Class Conflict on the Clyde 1900-1950*, *Essays in Honour of Harry McShane 1891-1988*, John Donald Publishers Ltd., Edinburgh (1992).

[152] Walter Kendall, *Loc. Cit.*, p. 103.

[153] John Paton 'Report on the Glasgow Group' *The Guildsman* No. 5 (April, 1917): p. 10.

duty. Many of them, such as Cole, opposed conscription on this basis. Even supporters of the War, such as Robieson, never answered directly the question of how conscription could ever be considered as justified. Their limited support for a limited state sat uneasily with the incorporation of autonomous organisations into the state war machine. As the Great War went on such issues were harder to quarantine, neglect or ignore. Some Guild Socialists believed War was 'wrong', either this one or all wars. Some thought participation in the War justified, but conscription was not. Based on the fact that Robieson volunteered to enlist (he failed the medical test due to a pre-existing heart-problem), and was never a conscientious objector (though he argued for 'fair' consideration and treatment of those who were), I suspect that this was Robieson's view. Others believed that the circumstances demanded an all out effort, conscription and all. Guild socialists, like the broader labour movement, divided on such matters.

"S. Verdad" warned that Sir Edward Carson's[154] insistence on expanding conscription risked decreasing production in key wartime industries at home.[155] Such discussion illustrated the problem of unintended consequences, as well as the difficulty of squaring one objective, winning the War, with illiberal means. As we shall see, Robieson argued in his *Hibbert Journal* article that socialism offered no easy answer to the question of 'what should a socialist do?'

The failure in 1915 of the Allies' Gallipoli strategy, of neutralising Turkey so as to penetrate Central Europe, convinced the War Office that more British troops were required in France to force a break-through there. Prime Minister Asquith and most of

[154] During World War I Carson, the leader of the Irish Unionists, became a member of the War Cabinet. See H. Montgomery Hyde *Carson*, Constable, London (1974).
[155] J.M. Kennedy [published as "S. Verdad"] 'Foreign Affairs' *The New Age*, new series Vol. 18, No. 23 (April 6, 1916): p. 532.

his Cabinet reluctantly decided that conscription was required and an Act to this end was expeditiously introduced into the House of Commons on January 5, 1916. On January 24, 1916 the Military Service Act was passed by the House of Commons - with only 36 negative votes.[156]

Universal conscription applied from June 1916 with then Prime Minister Asquith handling the passing of the legislation; the inclusion of a 'conscience clause' minimised opposition within his own Party (the Liberals) and the Labour Party to universal conscription.[157] But much depended on how the letter of the law would be implemented. Robieson answered this point sharply by saying that: "The existence of short ways with dissenters is an unanswerable argument for liberty."[158]

In fact the legislation passed in January 1916 was not as generous as it might seem:

> In theory, the provisions for conscientious objections were quite generous; in practice, this generous intent was frustrated by the Act's ambiguous wording and by the instrumentality employed to make it work. Enforcement was left in the hands of local tribunals with widely independent power. Chiefly composed of unpaid, middle-aged patriots without legal training who had previously been prominent in recruiting activities; these tribunals were more apt to reflect popular attitudes than Government intentions.[159]

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[156] Thomas C. Kennedy 'Public Opinion and the Conscientious Objector, 1915-1919' *The Journal of British Studies* Vol. 12, No. 2 (May, 1973): p. 108.
[157] For a discussion on this subject, see John Rae *Loc. Cit.*, pp. 13-32.
[158] M.W. Robieson [under pseudonym "O. Latham"] 'Notes on Political Theory: An Apology for the Liberty of the Person' Part IV, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 22, No. 3 (November 15, 1917): pp. 47-48.
[159] Thomas C. Kennedy *Loc. Cit.*, p. 108.

Although exemptions for certain religious adherents were common, few exemptions were granted to those applying on political grounds.[160] Robieson was to argue that the experience in handling conscientious objectors threw a startlingly vivid light on the consequences of some familiar political ideas and on the confusion about how to handle dissenters. He wrote: "What, for example, ought to be meant by the term 'conscientious objector'? No attempt was made to provide a definition in the Act, and its determination was left to perfectly incompetent tribunals."[161]

Army officers. William Anderson seated (middle). Source: From the family collection of Mrs Cath Mayo

[160] *Ibid.*, p. 109; John Rae *Loc. Cit.*, *supra*. See also Brock Millman *Managing Domestic Dissent in First World War Britain*, Frank Cass Publishers, London (2000).
[161] M.W. Robieson review: Mrs. Henry Hobhouse *I Appeal Unto Caesar*, *The Case of the Conscientious Objector*, George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London (1917), in the *International Journal of Ethics* Vol. 28, No. 2 (January, 1918): pp. 277-280.

As the war continued, Orage and other writers in *The New Age* advocated a foreign policy that would end the war as quickly as possible and allow for German self-determination after the cessation of hostilities: Orage wrote: "What is still needed to tip the balance in the Allied favour is a reaffirmation of our conviction that Kaiserism alone is responsible for the war..."[162] Orage was convinced that should the German people understand that they would not be held responsible for the war and that the Kaiser and "Prussian militarism and aggression" would, then they might revolt against their leaders themselves and end the war earlier. Orage believed that this policy would also lead to a democratic Germany.

A number of *The New Age* contributors decried the conditions of liberty at home during the war and advocated for a return to freedoms of press, speech, and organisation. How to re-establish democratic values and principles in a much-changed post-war world was analysed in detail and in its complexity. The question of how conscientious objectors should be treated was frequently discussed, particularly in the context of heavy-handed treatment. Robieson saw the war as strengthening the State and adding to the forces favouring servility. Indeed, as Robieson put matters, it would seem that: "two year's experience of the Munitions Act and the Defence of the Realm Act has brought illumination."[163] By this Robieson implied that the brute force of the State trampling on industrial and other freedoms indicated the potential of State *fiat* and dictatorship.

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[162] [Alfred Orage] 'Notes of the Week' *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 21, No. 9 (June 28, 1917): p. 194.
[163] M.W. Robieson review: G.D.H. Cole's *The World of Labour*, *The Guildsman* Issue no. 7 (June 1917): p. 6.

World War I Irish Recruiting Poster issued by the Central Council for the Organisation of Recruiting in Ireland, and printed by M'Caw, Stevenson & Orr, Ltd., Dublin and Belfast, approx. 73.5cms x 50.5cms.

In his article on 'German Socialist Theory and War' Robieson carefully assessed the position of socialists to war observing that:

> …the prevalence of Socialism in Germany [was once seen] as one of the main reasons for denying that there was the least danger of war between Britain and Germany; and a plausible case could be made out for the view, especially by those who liked to consider themselves sympathetic towards the labouring class. That the Socialist should participate in a twentieth-century war, instead of

> protesting against it continually, may well seem at variance with his fundamental tenets and his declared policy.[164]

Robieson says the conventional view that socialists are naturally anti-war was mistaken. Within the general orthodox socialist position:

> …there is nothing in it which is antagonistic to war as such, whatever may be said about particular wars. It is characteristic of a certain rather uninstructed type of mind, especially in England, to regard Socialists as good people who abhor war and bloodshed above all other things, and much more than most other people do.[165]

For a committed socialist there is just one test: "…the criterion of all practical activity must be the extent to which it furthers emancipation."[166] Moreover, Robieson argued:

> The only reasons which could permit him to participate willingly in a war would require to show that there was much more threatened by his country's defeat than the loss of an economic sphere of influence, or a fall in profits. How far in a particular case this is so is a question of detail, complex and hard to determine though it be.[167] Similarly, it follows that, though Socialism is internationalist, it is

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[164] M.W. Robieson 'German Socialist Theory and War' *The Hibbert Journal* Vol. XIII, No. 8 (April, 1915): p. 573.
[165] *Ibid*., p. 582.
[166] *Ibid*., p. 584.
[167] An illustration of the position may be found in the fact that Herve, one of the most extreme of the French Anti-Militarists, is said now to be at the front. In the matter of nationalism, Marx's attitude to Germany and Poland is the best example. [MWR's footnote in the original]. Gustave Hervé (1871-1944) was a French writer and politician; he came to prominence as a fervent anti-militarist socialist and pacifist, but he later turned to an equally zealous ultranationalist stance, declaring his "patriotisme" in 1912 when released from 26 months of imprisonment for anti-militarist publishing activities. In 1919 he created the Parti socialiste national (PSN), which promoted "class co-operation" and solidarity. This 'national socialism' of Hervé was soon transformed into a form of 'French fascism', and Hervé heralded Benito Mussolini as a hero. See M.B. Loughlin 'Gustave Hervé's Transition from Socialism to National Socialism: Another Example of French Fascism?' *Journal of Contemporary History* Vol. 36, No. 1 (January, 2001): pp. 5-39.

> not anti-nationalist, but the elements in national life it regards as characteristic are not those most commonly associated with the term.[168]

Robieson was not a conscientious objector to the War. He tried to enlist. This attitude of preparedness to join the War effort was consistent with his cohort, including his brother. William Anderson passed his medical. He served. Although there are passages in Robieson's and for that matter John Anderson's writings that were critical of an overbearing State and opposed to illiberal and intolerant aspects of the domestic war effort, there was no outright opposition or conscientious objection. Naturally, however, the philosophical implications of what was happening were subject to examination. What counts as the just war was discussed by William Anderson in several essays in *The New Age* journal[169] and by John Anderson in his 1917 essay 'Is The State A Moral Agent?'[170] and in an address on 'The International' to the Glasgow University Fabian Society.[171]

William Anderson's article 'The Economic View of History' also challenged the notion that Marxism led to a pacifist stance concerning war and opposed the view that all wars were caused purely by economic factors. In elaborating, he referred to Marx's articles for the *New York Tribune* on the Crimean War. Anderson was concerned to argue that wars were sometimes caused by "the necessary commercial expansion of historic States" and the equally important conflicts between capitalist nations – "the historic nations of the West" – and those nations which have not been "raised by economic

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[168] M.W. Robieson 'German Socialist Theory and War', *Loc. Cit.*, p. 585.
[169] William Anderson 'The Economic View of History, Part I' *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 17, No. 11 (July 15, 1915): pp. 246-247; William Anderson 'The Economic View of History, Part II' *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 17, No. 12 (July 22, 1915): pp. 274-276.
[170] John Anderson *Is the State a Moral Agent?* Glasgow (1917). This essay, written at the end of 1916, won the Glasgow University Silver Medal for the best essay in Political Science for the academic year 1916-1917.
[171] Report of Fabian Society meeting held on January 24, 1918 in the *Glasgow University Magazine* Vol. 29, No. 4, (January 30, 1918): p. 97.

differentiation out of the domain of anthropology to an historical position."[172] In the latter category he counted Russia and Turkey. Illustrating this point he quotes Marx from an article written for the *New York Tribune* in March 1853: "Whenever the revolutionary hurricane has subsided for a moment, one ever-recurring question is sure to turn up: the eternal Eastern Question"[173] – that is, "who is to control the Asiatic market."[174] Anderson comments, "In the situation as Marx saw it, that lay between the historical nations of the West, well-advanced in capitalist evolution, and Russia, a non-historical power."[175] In such circumstances a victory for Russia would delay the culmination of European capitalism and the development of a socialist society; therefore war was justified against "Russia's essential barbarism."[176] Hence the proper course for socialists was not to stand back and hope for the best: "Marx was not, after all, a modern I.L.P. pacifist, who believed that nothing of any importance to the working class could be achieved except under the conditions of an artificial, carefully constructed, and rigidly guarded state of external peace."[177] This language suggests that Anderson found the pacificist case exasperating. He concludes that although the particular powers in the Great War had realigned compared to the situation in 1853-1856, "We have now two groups of civilised interests contending for the same market as before,"[178] and that a real choice exists as to which group's victory will further or hinder the development to socialism. He suggested, without expanding on the point, that a socialist position on the Great War should be determined according to which

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[172] William Anderson 'The Economic View of History, Part II' *Loc. Cit.*, pp. 274-275. Anderson is not clear as to what is meant by an "historical position", however the tenor of the article suggests he means a 'Western', capitalist nation.
[173] Quoted in William Anderson 'The Economic View of History, Part II' *Loc. Cit.*, p. 174.
[174] *Ibid*.
[175] *Ibid.*
[176] *Ibid.*
[177] *Ibid.*
[178] *Ibid.*, p. 175.

'side' would further the development of socialism. This was comparable to how Robieson put matters.

Robieson thought that there was a peculiar problem with German nationalism; even if there was no inconsistency between 'socialism' and 'nationalism' and the taking up of arms to defend a nation state, there was in Germany, however, an aggressive nationalism that infected everything. But Robieson did not think nationalism was a bad thing in itself. He saw good arising from a community's identity with tradition and values that gave character to a people. He had Ireland in mind. The philosophical point being that: "Nationality in fact is not merely an instrumental value; it is itself a source of values. The case is similar with political liberty, which is also a potential value, recognised because it will give birth to others."[179]

In the November 7, 1918 issue of *The New Age*, four days before the Armistice brought an end to the First World War, the author of the 'Foreign Affairs' column proclaimed:

> It will take a generation to realise the effects of the war upon the psychological map even more than upon the geographical map of Europe. We live in an age of miracles. Four old Empires will have disappeared in the course of four years; and twice four new nations have arisen to take their place. The German Empire has gone; the Russian Empire has gone; the Turkish Empire has gone; and the Austrian Empire has gone. *Les rois sont morts; vivent les nations*![180]

This was an expression of optimism and awe. What more might be achievable in an era of miracles?

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[179] M.W. Robieson review of Ramiro de Maeztu *Authority, Liberty and Function in the Light of the War*, *International Journal of Ethics* Vol. XXVIII, No. 3 (April 1918): pp. 425-429.
[180] "S. Verdad" 'Foreign Affairs' *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 24, No. 1 (November 7, 1918): p. 4. This was either Kennedy's last column for the journal or the first by Orage under this pseudonym.

One miracle Robieson did not believe in was the Bolshevik Revolution. His acute concern with liberty, and scepticism and opposition to sweeping alternatives, created enemies. This was particularly so with the Marxist left. The next section discusses their reaction to Robieson's daring claim that *Das Kapital* was not the Word and that the last word in the debate on socialist ideas was yet to be written.

8. "Shade of Marx, Beware!" The Marxist Challenge

Shade of Marx, Beware![1]

We have admired and read your works, but we

Refuse to idolise. We're "heretics"

Who yet will praise your genius while we see

Some faults in your scholastic politics;

But these who skip and dance and shout to-day,

Oh, fiery Marx, we knew them long ago,

And many trod the worn-out Fabian way

And some kissed Holy Philip Snowden's toe;

Some swaggered past us as revisionists

And sneered in fear at thought of revolution.

As chicken-hearted, social pacifists

They sought and found a very sweet solution

For all of Labour's economic woes

By patching, mending, cleaning, gilding cages.

Oh, Shade of Marx, beware, and hold your nose,

For now these Fakirs of the latter ages,

[1] Triboulet 'Shade of Marx, Beware' *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 23, No. 2 (May 9, 1918): p. 19. One wonders whose pseudonym was 'Triboulet'. It might have been a common *nom de plume*. A triboulet is a jester; the character Triboulet appears in Victor Hugo's *Le Roi s'amuse* and the opera inspired by the story, Giuseppe Verdi's *Rigoletto*. There was a real Triboulet (1479–1536), a jester of kings Louis XII and Francis I of France. 'Triboulet' is a pseudonym that appears over fifty times in the *New Age*; and the name appears also in *The Guildsman* and in the *Glasgow University Magazine*.

These peers of Donkeydom, these I.L. Peers

Would murder you and all your work with cheers.

The orthodox Marxist attack on the Guild Socialists was a striking theme of labour movement debate subsequent and consequent to the Bolshevik Revolution. Robieson does not seem to have commented on the June Revolution, the Menshevik Kerensky-led coming to power of social democrats – which inspired many labourites and socialists. On the later October putsch, he saw early its catastrophic potential. A form of unreflective Marxism saw teleology justify solipsism. On Marxism, Robieson put his thoughts down in an essay 'An Autopsy of Marxism' (1918). He wrote: "It is not easy, a century after Marx's birth, to say whether he has suffered more from the devotion of his friends or the contempt of his enemies. The disciples, like others of their kind, easily exhaust one's patience."[2] In a brief account and commentary on this article, Jim Baker makes the telling point that: "It is thus instructive to find Robieson at that time putting forward criticisms of a kind that, decades later, critics such as John Anderson had to fight hard to get heard given the renewed influence of dogmatic, pro-Stalin, Marxist beliefs."[3]

Robieson argued that: "Marx is one of the writers whom everybody talks about and hardly anybody reads. The number of books on Labour, by writers who ought to know better, which betray no more than a nodding acquaintance with him is amazing." [4] Yet the position was so short of good analysis that he said that "A really well-informed discussion of his work is rare, and I do not know of a good elementary book on him in

[2] M.W. Robieson 'An Autopsy of Marxism' *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 23, No. 1 (May 9, 1918): pp. 22-23.
[3] Jim Baker, 'Anderson's Intellectual Background and Influences', Part 1, *Loc. Cit.*, p. 11.
[4] M.W. Robieson 'Marx – The Great Unread' *Irish Opinion (*February 9, 1918): p. 124.

English."[5] His critique unleashed the wrath of the so-called 'orthodox Marxists'; for example from J. Walton Newbold, who in 1922 was elected a communist MP from Scotland. With ideologies, here understood in the soft sense, there is rarely a Carthaginian extinction. Even if a movement is defeated, parts of an ideology live on, adapting in subsequent belief systems. This was so in the labour movement. It is useful to put in context the fierce battle, intra-ideological and inter-ideological, between the Guild Socialist view, Robieson's own opinions and the red flags of the diehard, revolutionary Marxists.

Sassoon argues that there was a trinity of simple propositions that typified socialism prior to 1914, namely:

A. A statement on the present: 'the existing social order is unfair'.
B. A statement on the future: 'the existing social order can be changed'.
C. A strategic statement on the transition from A to B: 'fate alone will not bring about this transition, we must organise and act'.[6]

Most socialists and associated movements held to this trio of viewpoints. Following Sassoon, the first such proposition embraces the Marxist theory of exploitation to

[5] *Ibid*.
[6] Donald Sassoon 'Socialism Before 1914: Final Goals and Practical Tasks' in Iain Hampsher-Monk, editor, *Defending Politics*, *Bernard Crick and Pluralism*, British Academic Press, London and New York (1993): pp. 50-51.

A photo that accompanied the postcard at p. 329: MWR (back, left); G.H. Fitzsimons (back, right; details unknown); Professor Charles Wilfrid Valentine (front, left; Professor of Education, QUB) and Professor George Gregory Smith (front, right; Professor of English Literature, QUB). Source: family collection of Mrs. Clare Thomas. Ursula Mitchel, QUB, helped to identify individuals.

Matthew and William Robieson - *circa* 1917 – perhaps at Fossoway outside the schoolhouse. Source: From a family album of Mrs. Clare Thomas.

which the Guild Socialists added their own critique and interpretation; the second can be consistent with the so-called materialist conception of history. Marx argued that he understood the unfolding of history and that capitalism was pregnant with the new. He proposed that his understanding was scientific and certain. The third proposition was not strictly consistent with what Marx wrote, though it corresponded with what was said and done by Marxists and socialists. To illustrate the point, there is the Erfurt Program,[7] adopted in 1891 by the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) congress. Under the guidance of Eduard Bernstein, August Bebel and Karl Kautsky, the congress rewrote the party platform, superceding the policy known as the Gotha Program – which had been adopted at the first SPD congress in 1875. The Gotha Program called for universal suffrage, freedom of association, limits on the working day and other laws protecting working people. Although claiming to be explicitly socialist, the Gotha Program stated: "the socialist labor party of Germany endeavors by every lawful means to bring about a free state and a socialistic society, to effect the destruction of the iron law of wages by doing away with the system of wage labour, to abolish exploitation of every kind, and to extinguish all social and political inequality." Karl Marx famously attacked the platform in his *Critique of the Gotha Program*.[8] The Erfurt Program was drafted in more explicit Marxist language declaring the imminent death of capitalism and the necessity of socialist ownership of the means of production. There was an uneasy combination of fiery Marxist rhetoric together with calm statements discerning the inevitability of Marxism by constitutional means. As Robieson put it: "They endure

[7] The Program was named after the city which held the Congress.
[8] Karl Marx *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, *with Commentary and additional material by F. Engels and V.I. Lenin*, Martin Lawrence, London (1933).

in the sure and certain hope of a blessed revolution."[9] His knowledge of contemporary German publications informed his thinking on socialism and current events. Hetherington noted:

> Perhaps I may be allowed to give here one instance of his power; for it can hardly be known to any of his friends but myself. When the German Revolution took place,[10] it happened that I was occupied in one of the large Government offices in forming some kind of estimate of the trend of social movements abroad. The department in which I was engaged was asked one day, at very short notice, for a statement on the position in Germany, and an estimate of the personalities and opinions of the new Socialist Government. There was no time to work through the great mass of material on which such a study would necessarily have to be based. I wrote off at once to Matthew and asked him to send me, for departmental use, his views on the subject. In two days' time I received from him a long memorandum, giving what proved to be an amazingly accurate analysis of the situation, tracing German Socialist movements back to their historic antecedents, indicating the attitudes of different members of the German Government to certain crucial points, pointing out also the questions of principle on which there was a direct cleavage within the German party, and the

[9] M.W. Robieson 'Memorandum on Socialist Theory & Socialist Parties in Germany', typescript record in the UK Foreign Office Archives: FO 371/3224/197811, pp. 296-305, dated November 24, 1918. Typed from the original manuscript, presumed lost, with this document marked 'Confidential' and headed 'Political Intelligence Department, Foreign Office' and beginning: "By Mr. Robieson, Lecturer on Philosophy at Belfast University, who has devoted considerable attention to socialistic thought." The Memo was apparently written in response to a request by Hector Hetherington and then passed on; see reference to the document's origin in: Hector Hetherington [published as H.J.W.H.] 'Matthew Robieson' *The Dollar Magazine* Vol. XVIII, No. 71 (September 1919): p. 121. The document is referred to in: Douglas Newton *British Policy and the Weimar Republic 1918-1919*, Clarendon Press, Oxford (1997): p. 251, fn 324.

[10] The *Novemberrevolution* or German Revolution was the conflict in Germany at the end of World War I, which lasted from late October 1918, when sailors at Kiel refused to obey orders and engage in battle with the British Navy, until in August 1919 the replacement of Germany's imperial government and the formal establishment of the Weimar Republic. See Pierre Broué *The German Revolution, 1917-1923*, Brill Academic Publishers, Amsterdam (2004); and Sebastian Haffner *Failure of a Revolution: Germany 1918-1919*, Andre Deutsch, London (1973).

> possible effect of that cleavage on the policy and stability of the Government. As a mere feat of lucid analysis and detailed exposition, done without special preparation of any sort, and at a moment's notice, the document was sufficiently remarkable. But when it is remembered that for four years no importation of German papers had been allowed, that Matthew had no access to confidential information of any kind, but had simply to rely on ill-judged fragments of news in our own papers, and, therefore, had to draw mainly on his knowledge of pre-war conditions, and on his deductions from that, the detail and the accuracy of his opinions seems little short of miraculous.[11]

Thus was written in November 1918 Robieson's 'Memorandum' on contemporary German Socialism.[12]

The 1891 Erfurt Program pledged the German Social Democrats to pursue its goals through legal political participation rather than by revolutionary activity. Kautsky argued that because capitalism by its very nature must collapse, the immediate task for socialists was to work for the improvement of workers' lives rather than for the revolution, which was inevitable. Karl Kautsky wrote *The Class Struggle*, the official SPD commentary on the program.[13] The simplified Marxism exemplified there is sometimes referred to as 'vulgar Marxism' or the 'Marxism of the Second International'. Interestingly, the popular renderings of Marxism found in the works of Kautsky and Bebel were read and distributed more widely in Europe between the late 1800s and

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[11] Hector Hetherington [published as H.J.W.H] 'Matthew Robieson' *Dollar Magazine* Vol. XVIII, No. 71 (September 1919): pp. 121-122. Hetherington at the time was employed in the UK Labour Office and possibly would have been in correspondence with Thomas Jones, by then deputy head of the Prime Minister's office. But the relevant manuscript is not extant in the letters of and to Jones in the national archives of Wales.

[12] *Loc. Cit.*

[13] Karl Kautsky *The Class Struggle*, Florence Baldwin, translator, Twentieth Century Press, Limited, London (1909).

1914 than Marx's own works. Kautsky's *The Class Struggle* became the accepted popular summation of Marxist theory. This document came to define 'orthodox' socialist theory until the Russian October Revolution of 1917 split the international socialist movement.[14]

According to Robieson, by the materialist conception of history was meant:

> …the doctrine that upon changes in the economic conditions of the life of a community ultimately depend all other changes - in its political history, its legal relations, its morals, its religion, and its thought. Changes in economic conditions mean primarily changes in technological methods.[15]

The Marxian ideas of substructure and superstructure, implying that the substructure determined the superstructure were false. The Marxian analysis could not account for the view that from a single substructure a variety of superstructures were possible. Part of the problem involved faulty ideas in that the Marxists held to a particularly narrow view of the idea of 'history'; Robieson notes that: "The narrowness of this sense of the term 'history' is of some importance. Before a division of classes arises in a society, there can be no history; nor in the future after all classes have been absorbed in the community."[16]

> The Marxian theory of class struggles rests on the 'materialist conception of history'. The essence of this is that economic conditions are fundamental in social life; they determine all the others. All Socialists have repeated this as if

[14] Much of the proceeding analysis is derived from: Carl E. Schorske *German Social Democracy, 1905-1917*, *The Development of the Great Schism*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge (1955).
[15] M.W. Robieson 'The Theory of Morals on a Class Basis' *International Journal of Ethics* Vol. 29, No. 3 (April, 1919): p. 300.
[16] *Ibid*.

> they understood what it meant; but its exact significance was hardly ever quite clear.[17]

In a way, "the materialist conception of history then enshrines the idea of class morality and provides the background for it."[18] "Bolshevism is most usefully regarded as the consequence of taking this ambiguous principle in a very radical sense."[19]

Robieson saw that the Marxist economic theory was particularly dogmatic: "Human beings are mere flies on the wheel of the economic chariot, and all they think and do is a reflection of real changes which take place quite independently of themselves..."[20] *Ipso facto*: "You have in fact a rigid system of economic fatalism."[21] Of historical materialism, Robieson complained that: "[t]he difficulty is that even although their general meaning may be certain enough, a precise statement of it has practically never been formulated."[22] One reason for this was because Marx and Engels were propagandists and loved political agitation. Robieson remarks: "These two writers were throughout chiefly interested in propaganda, and seldom developed their theories beyond the point at which they were serviceable for the campaign."[23] Robieson, too, loved politics and the thinking through of issues and practical means to achieve good causes. But no true philosopher could just concentrate on campaigning. A critical attitude was required. Robieson wrote on the pretensions of Marxist scientific understanding:

> The proof of "historical laws" is simply that they come off. And where the

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[17] M.W. Robieson 'Memorandum on Socialist Theory & Socialist Parties in Germany' *Loc. Cit.*
[18] M.W. Robieson 'The Theory of Morals on a Class Basis', *Loc. Cit.*, pp. 301-302.
[19] M.W. Robieson 'Memorandum on Socialist Theory & Socialist Parties in Germany' *Loc. Cit.*
[20] M.W. Robieson 'The Theory of Morals on a Class Basis', *Loc. Cit.*, p. 311.
[21] *Ibid.*
[22] M.W. Robieson and W. Anderson 'Some Points in the History of Socialist Theory', holograph manuscript, n.d., *circa* 1919 or perhaps earlier, in the John Anderson Papers, University of Sydney Archives, Series 1, Box 7, item 69.
[23] M.W. Robieson 'The Theory of Morals on a Class Basis', *Loc. Cit.*, p. 311. Of course Robieson also notes Marx's extraordinarily complicated economic theories as showing the description as propagandists required qualification; Engels' attention to natural science also showed a mind attention to bigger issues, not just the political campaign.

> statement of the laws, or the predictions made by their means, have to be modified, the idea is not that factors, which though not dominant, are relevant, have been omitted in the formulation of the law, but that the force or tendency in question has been obstructed by other material forces whose incidence is more or less incalculable, which thus postpone the operation of the law, rather than modify its applicability.[24]

Thus, such laws could 'explain' anything; or the deferral of their realisation was due to other, unexpected factors intervening. German Revisionists, however, argued that socialist theory had to abandon certain tenets. Robieson summarised two major points:

(a) Inevitability. The Revisionists denied that the development of capitalism was taking the line that Marx and Engels had declared inevitable. The concentration of capital was not proceeding as they said it would; the working-class had become better and not worse off; there was no reason to expect a collapse, on the occurrence of which the proletariat might seize power and welcome the dawn. Things could not therefore be left to look after themselves, while the Socialists, like other Millenialists, observed their ritualist practices.

(b) They must therefore abandon the *non possusmus* attitude which was the tradition of their party. While preserving their independence, they should co-operate in a detached sort of fashion with the left wing of the middle-class parties. By various measures of reform the promised end might be hastened.[25]

This was the reformist route that was broadly the direction that the German Social Democrats and the UK Labour Party followed.

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[24] W. Anderson and M.W. Robieson 'Some Points in the History of Socialist Theory', *Loc. Cit.*

[25] Matthew Robieson 'Memorandum on Socialist Theory & Socialist Parties in Germany' *Loc. Cit.* A "*non possusmus* attitude" (from the Latin "we cannot") expresses an inability to do something.

The Russian revolution brought clarity to the issues - and, for some minds, submission. Bolshevism, "their main principle", Robieson said, was "the assertion of the supremacy of the 'ideology' of the working class, particularly as it would be stated in opposition to the 'bourgeois' or capitalist tradition. At their heart is the idea that morals rest inevitably on a class basis."[26] Though he saw "Bolshevism through a glass darkly"[27] he wanted to understand the implications of their doctrines.

In thinking through the loose language often used in political discourse, Robieson brought philosophic discipline to the meaning and implications of concepts. A typical phrase bandied about in Marxist polemics is the idea of 'bourgeois morality' which, on examination, usually means "little more than the customs and habits of mind and psychological characteristics generally which the employing class in a capitalist society exhibit."[28] So a sociological phrase denotes habits of a particular social type. Implicit in this use of the word is a view of a morality attached to a class. This was the way Bolsheviks expressed themselves. By this was meant: "… that body of moral rules and standards, the observance of which by all the individuals and groups within a community would secure the dominance of that class[29] whose morality it is."[30] But surely this is to introduce confusion, describing the characteristics of actors rather than of 'morality' itself. Robieson argued for a clear understanding of the concept:

> By a 'morality', we may most satisfactorily mean a body of rules and precepts for the guidance of individual and social conduct – or more generally, a moral

[26] M.W. Robieson 'The Theory of Morals on a Class Basis', *Loc. Cit.*, pp. 294-295.
[27] M.W. Robieson 'Memorandum on Socialist Theory & Socialist Parties in Germany', *Loc. Cit.*
[28] M.W. Robieson 'The Theory of Morals on a Class Basis', *Loc. Cit.*, p. 296.
[29] I have, throughout, used the terms 'class' and 'dominance' in the economic sense which they invariably bear in orthodox Socialist theory. A class is not a function, but an interest. [MWR's footnote in the original]. *Ibid.*, p. 297.
[30] M.W. Robieson 'The Theory of Morals on a Class Basis' *Loc. Cit.*, p. 297.

> standard embodied in rules and customs and conventions. Is it intelligible to talk of a morality in this sense as belonging to a class? To do so may mean two things, and failure to distinguish them has introduced great confusion into the discussion of socialism.[31]

As for the contest between classes it would seem that some unusual consequences follow:

> The generally received moral code in a society, at a given time, represents the interests of the dominant class, and "public opinion" will hold that we ought to obey it. Alongside of it, however, there will also exist another set of moral ideas directly opposed, in at least some important respects, to the first. It will represent the interests of the class which though now oppressed, is, owing to changes in productive methods, about to come into its own. The obvious suggestion that one of these standards must be valid and the other invalid, hardly seems to occur to the Marxist...[32]

In this context, the Bolsheviks' dissolution of the Russian National Assembly provided context for where their thinking could take them.[33] Indeed, the scrapping of any pretence of a representative, democratically elected parliament convulsed the world of socialist debate and strategic thinking. Robieson saw the need for rival traditions to think anew in response and to clarify what they thought worth defending. Apart from a pure lust for absolute power and "apart from the hypothesis of original sin in the Bolsheviks['s worldview]":

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[31] *Ibid.*, pp. 296-297.
[32] *Ibid.*, p. 301.
[33] Lenin dissolved the Russian Constituent Assembly on January 6, 1918 as the Assembly proved an obstacle to the Bolsheviks achieving total power. See Lenin's Speech in support of the Decree of the Central Executive Committee on the Constituent Assembly: V.I. Lenin *Collected Works*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, Vol. 26 (1972): pp. 437-441.

> To dissolve the Constituent Assembly, and to substitute for it the exclusive authority of the Soviets has no meaning …unless two things are granted: in the first place, the …moral right of the Soviets (which represent the peasants, together with the industrial workers of the towns), to control the community and impose their principles on it; and in the second place, the idea that the "interests" of the proletariat[34]

could be discerned and legitimately represented by the Bolsheviks: "They assert that government by delegates is the only really democratic method. Government by representatives they regard as a mere political device of Capitalism."[35] These were obviously radical and far reaching claims begging ethical consideration of the implications. Given such events and the articulation of Bolshevism, it was reasonable to ask where others stood. Some fundamental issues were at stake:

> Socialist theory of every type must come to terms with the political conditions of community, and in particular must consider what the State means, what it does, and what it might do. Is it true that an acceptance of the idea that, in some sense, economic conditions of life are fundamental, involves as a consequence that political institutions have no function of their own, and must either reduplicate or falsify the economic? To admit this is syndicalism,[36] and it may be said to have driven collectivism out of the socialist house. But it will not be permitted to

[34] M.W. Robieson 'The Theory of Morals on a Class Basis', *Loc. Cit.*, pp. 313-314.
[35] *Ibid.*, p. 315.
[36] A curious point of theory emerges here. The Bolsheviks appear to deny that their position coincides with that of Syndicalism, on the ground that they have provided for the interests of consumers as well as of producers. *Vide* the article on 'The Bolsheviks at Work', by M. Meshtcheriakoff, in *The Herald* for August 31, 1918. The text of the decree establishing control of the industry by the work people is given. [MWR's footnote in the original article]. *Ibid*.

> occupy it in solitary state. Guild socialism, for example, shows signs of taking up permanent residence there.[37]

In his response, Robieson returned to the implications for Guild Socialism. He really did see himself as the theorist of a particular movement.

The problem with Marxist historical predestination is that it begs consideration of an apparent absurdity: why bother with political struggle when the result is assured? Logically, an escape is available from this dead-end by arguing that as capitalism – "inevitably" - becomes more exploitative, as the working class grows in numbers, indignant strength and political experience, then the proletariat has every reason to rise up against their oppressors. So, free actions are not exclusive of a preordained plan: The contradictions of capitalism force the oppressed to *want* to overthrow the system. Thus conscious human activity has its place - bringing political change or even revolution about. But the paradox lingers that, in a sense, this activity itself is scripted. The dilemma points to a canard in the bright, red rose of radical, Marxist socialism. Another problem in the Marxist analysis is the answer to the question of what will the revolution bring? Will the oppressed bring zest, spiritual energy and creative dynamism to the societies they 'overthrow'? Are the inheritors of the old able to govern the new? There are many passages in Marx's writings that effectively celebrate the bourgeoisie and the capitalist entrepreneurs as far and away the most revolutionary force in human history, creating value, forging prosperity and harnessing material and spiritual wealth for their own ends. Socialism as a purely negative force looks bankrupt in comparison. It needs to stand for something. This was the 'gap' that Robieson and William Anderson saw.

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[37] M.W. Robieson 'The Theory of Morals on a Class Basis', *Loc. Cit.*, p. 315.

Revolutionary socialism at the end of the second decade of the twentieth century turned out to find root where the holy books of Marxism said it was least possible: in the economic backwater of Russia. Attempted coups in 1919 in Germany and Hungary were bloodily suppressed.[38] The one thing the attempted putsches and the one successful coup d'état had in common was a withering contempt for democracy and bourgeois morality. In what became the Soviet Union, under the leadership of Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin the socialist project turned into a monstrous parody of State regimentation and the murderous, dictatorial thugs and their henchmen.[39]

Robieson spotted a unique, chilling type of moral code: Marxism as a class morality which, as in Bolshevik Russia, amounted to whatever the party leadership said. This was a hard ideological position of quasi theocratic dimensions. Alternative views, in a grand sweep, were dismissed as bourgeois morality. This is what his essay 'The Theory of Morals on a Class Basis' was largely concerned with. Surprisingly, perhaps, this article has been little referred to in the academic literature. For example, in his *The Ethical Foundations of Marxism* Kamenka does not mention it.[40] Perhaps Robieson's mix of contemporary reportage mingled with preliminary assessment of Bolshevism was neither sufficiently history nor philosophy to satisfy specialists in either field.

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[38] The *Novemberrevolution* or German Revolution was the conflict in Germany at the end of World War I, which lasted from late October 1918, when sailors at Kiel refused to obey orders and engage in battle with the British Navy, until in August 1919, with the replacement of Germany's imperial government and the formal establishment of the Weimar Republic. See Pierre Broué *The German Revolution, 1917-1923*, Brill Academic Publishers, Amsterdam (2004); and Sebastian Haffner *Failure of a Revolution: Germany 1918-1919*, Andre Deutsch, London (1973).

[39] See Leszek Kolakowski 'Marxism as the Ideology of the Soviet State' in Leszek Kolakowski *Main Currents of Marxism*, *Vol. 3: The Breakdown*, P.S. Falla, translator, Clarendon Press, Oxford (1978): pp. 77-116.

[40] *Cf.* Eugene Kamenka *The Ethical Foundations of Marxism*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London (first edition, 1962; second edition, 1972.

For the ideologues and the theoretically inclined, there was always the question of Marx. After the October 1917 Russian Bolshevik revolution, class struggle in the UK took on a new hue. No one spoke about syndicalists as such; they were now called communists, or Bolsheviks or sometimes Leninists. As well, many of the so-called Guild Communists joined the nascent CPGB. The revolution in Russia and its impact profoundly affected politics on the left in the UK and around the world. Part of that impact was on the intra-ideological competition on the Left. In an ironical way, Robieson states:

> The world of industry, again, is after all different from what it was, when Marx wrote Capital with the Lancashire cotton trade in mind. The capitalist system, we may be reminded, is yet with us; and capitalism, like the Church of Rome, never changes. To most people the existence of new working-class movements like Syndicalism or Industrial Unionism or National Guilds would be sufficient to suggest that some new thing had come about. But the believer will no doubt wrap himself in his mantle and marvel at the simplicity instead of the strangeness of things; and pass them by as fresh devices of the middle-class devil to entice the saints and corrupt the world. Nevertheless, by various incorruptibles it is now declared and admitted that the Marxist doctrine had been made of little effect in its relation to the reality of things by the development of the joint-stock company, which permits the concentration of capital to proceed without diminishing the number of possessors of the same; that the development of Trade Unionism, especially in its militant and industrial forms, has finally set aside the allied doctrines of Increasing Misery and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat; that capital has shown a capacity for self-preservation quite unprovided for by official Marxism. What should be done in

> the face of co-partnership and State capitalism and collectivist socialism, and all the products of the twentieth century does not appear in it. The building up of the structure of a new society within the old must be largely a conscious process, as yet not much more than begun, and constantly liable to failure on one of its many sides.[41]

Testily, Robieson remarks that:

> The critics of Marx deserve less sympathy than the disciples. Annoyance with them is not tempered by the pity which is naturally felt for men in danger of losing their religious beliefs. It is a curious commentary on the present state of knowledge about Marxism that one seldoms finds a book on the subject which even mentions the cardinal purpose of the theory. Marx's primary purpose is to make Socialism "scientific", to frame a doctrine not open to the objections he brought against the Utopians. ...Marx, besides, could never stand being thought benevolent. Ultimately, to make Socialism scientific meant for him to show that it was inevitable. It was as much a part of the natural order of things as the precession of the equinoxes or the return of spring. His task was to show that the transition from capitalism to socialism followed from the nature of society with the same eternal necessity as the properties of a triangle from its definition. What we believe matters as little as what we would like. We can hardly fail to be reminded that it was another great Israelite who said that it was his business neither to deplore men's actions nor mourn over them nor laugh them to scorn, but only to understand them.[42]

Elsewhere Robieson noted that:

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[41] M.W. Robieson 'An Autopsy of Marxism' *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 23, No. 1 (May 9, 1918): pp. 22-23.
[42] *Ibid*., p. 23.

> Marx wrote a great deal on philosophical and scientific subjects, but everything he had to say on them was meant to lead up to his Socialism. He belonged in philosophy in a school of thought that was very important eighty years ago, but has now almost utterly vanished. Most of his main doctrines are mixed up with ideas and theories which few people can nowadays accept and it is not easy to disentangle what is true and important.[43]

In thinking through advances in the modern workings of society, in philosophy, political theory and economics, Robieson proposed that: "…the most useful thing one can do in estimating Marx's contribution to science and philosophy is to point out to what respects he [made] advance[s from] his predecessors and marked out the main lines which Socialist theory must follow."[44] Robieson criticised those who made a fetish of each and every pronouncement of Marx, including the labour theory of value. Ideas must be seen in their context. He wrote that "The real purpose of the theory of value is only to show or to help to show how the capitalist system must break down and a Socialist society take its place. I think we may say that this will not happen as Marx expected."[45] Capitalism was stronger than ever. About the means to Socialism, and the structure of a future socialist society, Marx only postulated general principles. Robieson quips that "We know what his German followers thought about these things, and we shall disagree with them if we are wise… considerable adaption to varying circumstances is possible, and what the disciples of Marx ought to be doing is discussing these questions in the light of changing conditions, instead of troubling about the letter of Marx and the text of his gospel."[46] Robieson urged serious socialists

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[43] M.W. Robieson 'Marx, Utopia and the Class War' *The Voice of Labour*, new series, Vol. 1, No. 23 (May 4, 1918): p. 245.
[44] *Ibid.*
[45] *Ibid.*
[46] *Ibid.*

interested in Marx's theories to ask if the facts are likely to bear out Marxist predictions about the inevitable collapse of Capitalism. He thought 'no'. He suggests that a theory stuck in time is of limited value.

Being based in Ireland, Robieson noted, could be of value in clarifying matters:

> Socialists [here] are unlikely to become hide-bound pedants. Marx's doctrine was worked out with reference to large scale machine industry, and this is hardly yet common in Ireland, except for the linen industry,[47] which is very much the sort of thing Marx had in mind. The economic problems which are most pressing in this country are those of unskilled or partly skilled labour and of the organisation of agriculture, which are also precisely those to which least thought has generally been given by Socialists.[48]

Robieson urged that this needed to be addressed as: "On neither of them has the orthodox Marxism thrown very much light, while recent Socialist discussion in England (as amongst the advocates of National Guilds) has been carried on mainly with reference to the great industries."[49]

Within the National Guilds League, a major controversy arose as to the right stance with respect to developments in Russia, with Carl Roberts, then known as C.E. Bechhofer, concluding: "The best way in which we can help the Russian workers is by actively opposing the self-styled representatives who have betrayed them, unconsciously and consciously, into the present chaos, and by supporting the

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[47] *Cf*. Conrad Gill *The Rise of the Irish Linen Industry*, The Clarendon Press, Oxford (1925) – which explained why the North of Ireland became the chief centre of linen manufacture in the world.
[48] M.W. Robieson 'Marx, Utopia and the Class War', *Loc. Cit.*, p. 245.
[49] *Ibid.*

Mensheviks, with whom as Guildsmen we are truly allied."[50] Roberts had travelled extensively in Russia, had translated Russian works into English[51] and read of literary and political developments in the language. He was to publish in 1919 a pamphlet on developments in Bolshevik Russia.[52] But his views were dismissed by many erstwhile allies amongst the Guild Socialists to whom he partly addressed his arguments. Yet there is a case for arguing that Roberts deserves honour as the Englishman then of the left who most clearly and intelligently reckoned the new Soviet regime as a great threat to freedom, and that in tactics, actions and slaughter, a new barbarism had been created. It is an interesting question: 'who of the British intellectual class had the most impact early and saw most clearly the brutal reality of Bolshevism?' Such a person, to have had decisive impact, would have to come from the Left. Russell's *The Practice and Theory of Bolshevism*[53] (first published in 1920) would be a strong contender for the prize. But maybe the persistent, wide ranging articles and books by Roberts qualify best. He spoke and read Russian, wrote earlier than Russell, clearly grasped that the coup against Kerensky was a disaster and he urged Labour to side with the Mensheviks. As someone who wrote anonymously and under a plethora of pseudonyms, it is perhaps not surprising that he is relatively unknown. No biography or article has pulled together his writings and presented this kind of assessment. Robert Conquest, the

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[50] C.E. Bechhofer [Roberts] 'National Guilds and The Bolsheviks' *The Guildsman* No. 19, 1918, p. 5.
[51] See Carl Erich Bechhöfer Roberts [published as "C.E. Bechhofer"] *Five Russian Plays with one from the Ukranian*, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd./E.P. Dutton, London/New York (1916) and Carl Erich Bechhofer Roberts [published as C.E. Bechhofer] *A Russian Anthology in English*, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd./E.P. Dutton, London/New York (1917). A survey of Russia, in its pre-revolutionary moment is Carl Erich Bechhöfer Roberts [published as C.E. Bechhofer] *Russia at the Cross-Roads*, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd./E.P. Dutton, London/New York (1916).
[52] See Carl E Bechhofer Roberts [published as "C.E.B."] *The Facts About the Bolsheviks Compiled from the Accounts of Trustworthy Eye-Witnesses and The Russian Press*, Macmillan and Co., Limited, London (1919). See also his *Through Starving Russia Being the Record of a Journey to Moscow and the Volga Provinces in August and September 1921*, Methuen & Co. Ltd., London (1921).
[53] Bertrand Russell *The Practice and Theory of Bolshevism*, George Allen & Unwin, London (1920).

author of *The Great Terror*[54] and *The Harvest of Sorrow*,[55] the doyen of Sovietologists, was once asked about Roberts or Bechhofer and the potential claim for his prescience. But he responded: "You interest me - but raise far too many questions! Alas, I have no time to spare"[56] - an understandable dodge, but also indicating no knowledge of the man.

The debate on Russia among the Guild Socialists reflected a wider debate in the UK labour movement. For example, Maurice Reckitt castigated naïve, uncritical support for the Soviet Union, as for example the statement in the pro-Labour *The Herald* that: "In the fullest implication of the phrase, the war against the Soviet Republic is a war against Socialism."[57] Reckitt pointed out, however, that: "The Bolshevik regime is a dictatorship" with the only candidates for office being 'coupon candidates'[58] endorsed by the Party.[59]

At the Third Annual Conference of the National Guilds League, Miss Margaret Postgate, supported by her future husband, G.D.H. Cole, successfully moved to express support for the Russian revolutionaries, despite opposition from Reckitt and Roberts.[60] She argued her position in an article[61] which drew criticism in subsequent issues of the

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[54] Robert Conquest *The Great Terror*, *Stalin's Purge of the Thirties*, MacMillan, London (1968)
[55] Robert Conquest *The Harvest of Sorrow*, *Soviet Collectivism and the Terror-Famine*, Oxford University Press, New York (1986).
[56] Email: *Robert Conquest, Hoover Institute, Stanford University, to Michael Easson*, August 31, 2010.
[57] [Anonymous] 'The Way of the World' *The Herald*, the national labour weekly, new series, No. 981, January 4, 1919, p. 2.
[58] A reference to the 1918 UK national elections where Coalition candidates received a 'coupon' from both the Liberal and Conservative party leaders as endorsed by both for election or re-election.
[59] Maurice B. Reckitt Letter: 'About the Bolsheviks' *The Herald*, the national labour weekly, new series, No. 986, February 8, 1919, p. 4.
[60] 'Report of the National Guilds League. Third Annual Conference' *The Guildsman* No. 20 (July, 1918): pp. 9-10.
[61] M.I. Postgate 'National Guilds and the Bolsheviks' *The Guildsman* No. 21 (August, 1918): pp. 2-3

journal.[62] This continued to be a controversy for years to come. In April 1920 the Coles editorialised:

> If we understand the present resolution aright, there is in it no object of preventing the unfettered expression of opinion by members of the League, or of expelling the 'unorthodox'. There is, however, the object of formulating more clearly and precisely the attitude of the League, or of a majority in it, on certain vital and fundamental questions. It is easy to see that the promoters of the Soviet and kindred resolutions - that is, the Executive majority - regard them as possessing this fundamental character. At the two last Conferences of the League, resolutions dealing with the Russian Revolution and the Bolsheviks, or with the Soviet form of government, have been brought forward, only to suffer at the hands of the delegates' dismissal on the grounds of irrelevancy by means of the previous question. It is clear from the present agenda paper that there are now two strong groups which agree that the question cannot be regarded as irrelevant. Mr. Reckitt and his fellow-movers repudiate the dictatorship of the proletariat; the Executive majority seek to commit the League to an expression of solidarity with the Soviet Government. Times have changed, and the Soviet issue is one which cannot be ignored.[63]

Indeed it could not be ignored. Reckitt's biographer is highly critical of this shift to sentimental support for developments in the Soviet Union about which nearly all of the delegates knew little.[64] Pro-Bolshevik sympathy seemed against everything the movement had hitherto stood for. There was a lot of ignorant sentiment. Straining

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[62] For example, C.E. Bechhofer [Roberts] Letter: in response to M.I. Postgate 'National Guilds and the Russian Revolutions' *The Guildsman* No. 22 (September, 1918): pp. 9-10.
[63] Notes of the Month *The Guildsman* No. 40 (April, 1920): p. 2.
[64] John S. Peart-Binns *Maurice B. Reckitt, A Life*, Bowerdean Press and Marshall Pickering, Basingstoke (1988): p. 59.

credibility, the Glasgow Branch provided a defence of recent inflammatory remarks by William Gallacher, stating:

> The capitalist Press has made much election capital out of a speech at the recent Labour Conference by Mr. William Gallacher, deputy for John M'Lean in his candidature for Gorbals. Gallacher is reported to have said – "I am a Bolshevik, I am out for revolution, and I believe our best argument is a 6 inch howitzer." Mr. Gallacher declares, however, that what he actually said was - "I am a Bolshevik, I am out for revolution, and in revolution the last argument is a 6 inch howitzer, and the bosses will use it."[65]

Gallacher was to move away from the Guild Socialists, eventually describing his interest in guild ideas as an "infantile disorder."[66]

A major obstacle to evaluating afresh what was living and dead in Marxism were the so-called orthodox Marxists. As Robieson lamented of this type: "Since the death of Marx, at least, if not since a much earlier date, nothing seems to have happened in philosophy or science or history. Nothing, in fact, that was of any moment could happen." Writing on the centenary of Marx's birth, he wrote: "Moreover, no outcome was possible of the capitalist system but its evolution into a socialist society in which all class antagonisms have disappeared. To prepare for the end of our present world was all that remained to be done, and its speedy approach was frequently announced…"[67] He points out why Marx criticised the Utopians: "They did not take account of historical development; the occurrence of the Utopias next week instead of last century remains a deep mystery.

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[65] William Gallacher 'A "Personal explanation"' The Guildsman No. 25 (December, 1918): p. 10.
[66] See the discussion in Branko Pribićević *The Shop Stewards Movement and Workers' Control 1910-1922*, *Loc. Cit.*
[67] M.W. Robieson 'An Autopsy on Marxism' *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 23, No. 2 (May 9, 1918): pp. 22-23.

Moreover, they appealed to people's conceptions of justice and left it open to the possessing classes to say that their intentions were good."[68] But this Marxist critique of utopian theories was itself flawed; it excised the moral critique of capitalism entirely. In prescribing an alternative path, Marxists expressed a hard ideological perspective. Robieson emphasised that Marx's notion of 'inevitability' of the collapse of capitalism was tied up with a view of scientific socialism and a view of capitalism which had become outdated. With respect to the surplus theory of value and the broad corpus of Marxist thought, Robieson suggested:

> In such a scheme the theory of value falls into a quite subordinate place, whatever its influence on those multitudes whose knowledge of it is confined to the first eight chapters of the first volume of *Capital*. There are those who see in the third volume a complete abandonment of the labour theory of value. I think this is unjust to Marx and fails to recognise the extraordinary complexity of his position and the peculiarities of a highly technical method. The real argument against him is rather that, owing to those unfortunate philosophical presuppositions of his, he came to elaborate a method in economic theory which involved a series of hypotheses always complicated and almost incapable of adaptation to the rather rapid changes in capitalist society. It is the old story. The chief cause of the demise of Marxism is its attachment to a philosophy once very important but now perfectly obsolete. It will be said that only the details are gone, and that those ideas which were the real contribution of Marxism to Socialist thought remain. We may agree that they have reappeared in its descendants, but that should not give us an undue reverence for its remains. Filial reverence, however beautiful, may become a public nuisance. And to the

[68] *Ibid.*, p. 23.

> descendants we may say - You have a hereditary tendency to haphazard philosophising. Beware of it![69]

This was a respectful critique, suggesting that, in the light of modern trends, Marxism required adaption and modification rather than worship. The hard ideologists would have none of this criticism. In response, a blistering correspondence was written by J.T. Walton Newbold; his philippic attacking Robieson and the non-Marxists in the guild movement must have stunned everyone. The letter read in its entirety:

> Sir,-I do not quite understand why you and Mr. Robieson should have condescended to notice the centenary of Marx's birth with even an autopsy of his literary remains. It would have been more graceful if, like the *Herald*, you had ignored so pettifogging a materialist and so clumsy a dialectician. When the revolutionary working class stands agape to learn from Orage and Hobson the last words of wisdom concerning Guild Socialism, why bore them with these recollections of an ignoramus who never conceived of the dualism of a consumers' State and a producers' organisation resolving the problem of the ages? Paper is precious in these days, and what with the Ministry of Reconstruction seeking round for ready-made clothes to appropriate, and the leaders of the ILP accepting Guildism as an ideal compromise behind which to conceal the bankruptcy of their previous pronouncements, it is not proper to rake up the corpse of one whose very name is a memory. Let the dead bury the dead while you get on with the work of salving the middle class. Marxism is dead. *The New Age* hath spoken. It is a great pity that so many of the working men should be wasting their time collecting copies of the writings of Marx and

[69] *Ibid*.

Dietzgen[70] It has become a veritable mania with them till, before long, the Cursitor Street[71] high-brows will, if the craze continues unabated, be unable to acquire a solitary copy for autopsy or any other purposes. Perhaps they also have heard that Marxism is dead and, learning that Marx and Dietzgen believed the workers could really do things for themselves without being lectured to by men outside their ranks, have come to reverence and to love them. The workers recognise that the literary dilettantes alone can save them, but they are just collecting a few relics of men who dreamed, poor fools, that the masses would save themselves. We do not know what else can be the explanation, but the demand for Marxian literature is terrific. We accept Mr. Robieson's post mortem bulletin as "this, the last intimation." All the superior papers, all the officially-minded persons, declare, if not that "we are all Guildsmen today," yet that it is worthy of due consideration.

There are lengthy reviews of Guild Socialist books. They are accepted and popularised by the best houses in the publishing trade. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald has blessed the gospel. No one but a Clydeside rebel, a Sheffield shop-steward,[72] or a benighted South Wales miner would care to be seen reading Marx to-day.[73]

This and a follow up letter by Newbold were to have a larger impact than a personal risposte to a political arriviste. A.J. Penty responded with several lengthy articles for

[70] Joseph Dietzgen (1828-1888) was a Marxist socialist who wrote prolifically on dialectical materialism. See references to his influence in: Stuart MacIntyre *A Proletarian Science: Marxism in Britain, 1917-1933*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (1980).
[71] i.e., this was the location of the *The New Age* offices.
[72] A reference to the militant Sheffield shop stewards whose mose famous leader was J.T. Murphy.
[73] J.T. Walton Newbold: Letter: 'Marx' [in response to M.W.Robieson] *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 23, No. 5 (May 30, 1918): p. 79.

The New Age, later incorporated in a book.[74] Newbold was no friend of guildsmen.[75] Earlier, Hobson remarked that: "Mr. Newbold reminds me of those English who go to Ireland and become more Irish than the Irish themselves. He, with an enthusiasm I envy, out-proletariats the proletarians. It is a phase of individual development, by no means unusual."[76] The attack signalled that the Marxist-influenced left saw guild ideas and Guild Socialism as ideological rivals. The contest was on.

Who was the attacker? John Turner Walton Newbold, known as "Walton Newbold", had made his reputation on the left for articles and big-selling pamphlets exposing interests behind the defence industries.[77] Newbold was to become a regular contributor to *Forward*.[78] In *The New Age* Robieson responded to Newbold:

> I object to being required to accept the outlying parts of the theory on the ground that they also are *de fide*. The philosophical basis which Marx gave it, the theory of increasing misery, the disappearance of the farmer class, and so on - these things I should reject, not because I do not like them, but because they seem to me demonstrably false. This, I suppose, has always been the plea of those in danger of excommunication for heresy; and the orthodox, in their righteousness, have never understood it.[79]

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[74] Arthur J. Penty *Guilds and the Social Crisis*, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London (1919). The book includes several articles first published in *The New Age* on the 'class war', in response to Newbold. Interestingly, Penty doesn't refer to Robieson, whose critique of Marxism prompted Newbold's diatribe.
[75] See reference to him, quoting from an articledenouncing guild ideas that Newbold had written for *The Plebs* in 'Press Cuttings' *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 22, No. 7 (December 13, 1917): p. 140.
[76] S.G. Hobson 'Status' *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 21, No. 14 (August 2, 1917): p. 301.
[77] See for example, J. Walton Newbold *How Asquith Helped The Armour Ring*, Foreword by Philip Snowden, National Labour Press, Manchester & London (n.d., *circa* 1914); J. Walton Newbold *How Europe Armed for War 1871-1914*, Blackfriars Press Ltd, London (1916). J. Walton Newbold *The Menace of American Capitalism, or, The Power Behind President Wilson*, International Socialist Library, British Socialist Party, London (1918).
[78] See for example: J.T. Walton Newbold 'The Blockade - Is Capitalism Committing Suicide?' *Forward* [Glasgow, Scotland] Vol. 13, No. 24 (April 26, 1919): p. 6.
[79] M.W. Robieson Letter: 'Marx' [Robieson's first letter in reply to Newbold] *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 23, No. 6 (June 6, 1918): pp. 94-95.

Indeed. Robieson saw politics as more than choosing between belief systems or ideologies like filling a trolley in a super market. Some ideas worked and could be defended. Others needed to be modified and discarded. In response to Newbold's bloviating rhetoric Robieson wrote:

> (1) Why, if, as Marx held, the triumph of the working class is certain, should an incident by the way like the struggle for life of the middle class so perturb and anger him? The middle class is merely acting under a historical necessity of which it is not even conscious. And in any case it can't possibly succeed. Is Mr. J.T. Walton Newbold's temper equally beyond his control, for the same reasons? (2) Does he really think that in the views of Marx, as they can be found - e.g., in the *Communist Manifesto* - no change of any sort is required? A creed which can persist through centuries has been regarded as something to wonder at. But a scientific doctrine which preserves its formulation unchanged since 1874 should arouse even more awe. This is not a question, we may point out, of considering who are the real inheritors of the tradition. Two (or more) could play at that game. And the case that can be made out for the claim of *The New Age* to that honourable position is at least striking. (3) That Mr. J.T. Walton Newbold should object to intellectuals may be natural enough, but that he should do it on the ground of faithfulness to his master Marx is passing strange. Between anything we can justly attribute to Marx himself as to the burden laid on the working class and the position of *The New Age* on the same matter there is little difference in principle, though much in detail. Only when at a later date Marxism began to be an esoteric possession, a mystery jealously to be guarded from the uninitiate did the proscription of the intellectuals take rank as a dogma. A preference for Marx to the writers of *The New Age* might be based on many

> grounds. But does Mr. J. T. Walton Newbold seriously propose to accept as his, that they are intellectuals while Marx was not? Or in the alternative, why does he prefer one of that fraternity to others?[80]

In his second letter to *The New Age*, Robieson wrote that: "His antagonism to us, we are assured, is not based on the fact that we are intellectuals. Nor is it a consequence of our stubbornness in not agreeing with everything in the *Communist Manifesto*, for even Mr. J.T. Walton Newbold does not do that."[81] It seemed that Newbold's animus was due to a hard ideological hostility to any political position opposed to a Bolshevised Marxism; he regarded the National Guilds movement as a middle-class variation of Socialism.[82] He who is not with us is against. Robieson said: "His difference from us, I am forced to conclude, really depends on some philosophical principles. But since I can only conjecture (even with the help of two pamphlets) what they are, I leave their discussion till he cares to state them."[83] But Newbold never got back to addressing Robieson's challenge. The vehemence of Newbold's polemic is a hard example of the Marxists, or a version of Marxism, seeking to discredit the Guild Socialists as muddled, middle class do-gooders, of more harm than good to a miiltant working class movement. The Guild Socialists were locked in battle. Within the Guild Socialist movement, as we have seen, many of the initial cadre of NGL leaders admired the soviets; so the battle with the radical left that championed the Bolshevik revolution was as much within as without.

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[80] *Ibid.*
[81] M.W. Robieson Letter: 'Marx' [Robieson's second letter in reply to Newbold] *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 23, No. 11 (July 11, 1918): p. 175.
[82] *Ibid.*
[83] *Ibid.* I have not been able to decide with certainty which pamphlets by Newbold might have been referred to by Robieson here. Possibly one of those is J. Walton Newbold *Marx and Modern Capitalism*, British Socialist Party, London (1917). I am grateful to Fran Baker, Assistant Archivist, the John Rylands Library, University of Manchester, who has looked through the Newbold papers for the possible pamphlets.

THE GENERAL STRIKE, PAGE 246.

·IRISH OPINION·

The VOICE OF LABOUR

EDITED BY CATHAL O'SHANNON.

NEW SERIES. VOL. 1, No. 23. MAY 4, 1918. ONE PENNY

Industrial Slavery. Glasgow Rebels "Pro-Irish." The Corrupter-General.

:: Marx, Utopia, and The Class War. ::

By M. W. ROBIESON, M.A., QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY

Marx wrote a great deal on philosophical and scientific subjects, but everything he had to say about them was meant to lead up to his Socialism. He belonged in philosophy to a school of thought which was very important eighty years ago but has now almost utterly vanished. Most of his main doctrines are mixed up with ideas and theories which few people can now days accept, and it is not easy to disentangle what is true and important. Yet the most useful thing one can do in estimating Marx's contribution to science and philosophy is to point out in what respects he advanced on his predecessors and marked out the main lines which Socialist theory must follow.

(1) Marx made Utopianism impossible, and did it so completely that we are apt to forget how great a service the doing of it was. The Utopian thought that a new and perfect society might be brought into being at any time if only people would pray their hearts and set about it. Some of them wished to set up new states in distant parts of the world; others proposed insurrections and violence to clear away the ruins of the old society so that they might begin anew. As against both Marx maintained that until the economic basis of the new society had been laid down within the old, all this was useless and doomed to failure. Even if an insurrection were successful the result would only be disaster. No Socialist previously had ever realised that societies develop and change in a regular way, and tried to discover the laws which this development follows.

(2) In studying this development, Marx held also, it is all-important to know how the economic basis of society alters. Political divisions and changes really follow the economic. You know nothing about a society until you have discovered what the relations of classes within it are. When Marx talks of a class, he always means an economic class.

(3) What distinguishes the existing state of things is the conflict between the capitalist class (which owns the means of production) and the working class or proletariat. The interests of these two are fundamentally opposed, and must remain so. This gives us a perfectly clear distinction between theories which are really Socialist and theories which only pretend to be. A theory of the former kind is revolutionary and desires to abolish the wage system, in which labour is a mere commodity, but which is the natural expression of the conflict of capital and labour. On the other hand, reforms only aim at improving the wage system or making it less intolerable.

(4) A further essential point in Marx's doctrine is that in the Socialist society which is to take the place of the capitalist there will be no economic classes at all, because private property in the things we now call capital and in land will have disappeared. This further mark of Socialism enables us to distinguish it from a scheme like that advocated by Mr. Belloc, which also recognises that the wage system is the enemy, but proposes to abolish it and restore the independence of men, by making the possession of some property universal.

These are the main principles which Marx was the first to state quite clearly and connect with one another, though most of them can be traced in one form or another in previous writers. In working them out he connected them with other ideas, some of which, such as the labour theory of value, have attracted too much attention. The real purpose of the theory of value is only to show or to help to show how the capitalist system must break down and a Socialist society take its place. I think we may say that this will not happen as Marx expected, because Capitalism has in various ways gained a new lease of life. This, however, does not show that Marx was wrong in regarding the wage system as the fundamental thing in existing society, in maintaining that so long as it persisted there must be exploitation, or in his view of what ought to replace it. About the means to Socialism and the structure of Socialist society, Marx really laid down nothing but the general principles I have named. We know what the German followers thought about these things, and we shall disagree with them if we are wise. In both respects considerable adaptation to varying circumstances is possible, and what the disciples of Marx ought to be doing is discussing these questions in the light of changing conditions, instead of troubling about the letter of Marx and the text of his gospel.

In Ireland in particular, Socialists are unlikely to become hide-bound pedants. Marx's doctrine was worked out with

(Continued on Page 250.)

M.W. Robieson appears in *The Voice of Labour*. Source: From a copy held in the Trinity College, Dublin, Library.

In early January 1918, Orage offered words of hope for Russian democracy and called for cautious support of the new revolutionary government, writing that: "There is life, we believe, in Russian democracy, which only needs to be encouraged and fostered to

renew in Russia an independence of spirit which even Prussia would find formidable. And it is surely our policy to feed that spirit with faith and hope as well as with Charity."[84] In the middle of 1917, in the Russian summer, the Mensheviks, the moderate socialists, had come to power in coalition with other parties. In contrast, the more extreme socialists, the Bolsheviks, denounced the cautious government led by Kerensky (he supported staying in alliance with the Allies) and Lenin campaigned for the end of Russian participation in the Great War. This lent the Bolsheviks an air of credibility, and dramatically increased their popularity. To Lenin's credit, perhaps, he had articulated a theory of 'Imperialism' that suggested that capitalist powers (countries), in the quest to find, subdue and seize new markets, and find new outlets for investment, were driven to imperialist adventures. He saw, rather darkly, the Great War through the prism of this theory. Lenin was 'genuinely' anti-war.

Once, however, the dictatorial nature of the new regime became more apparent, such as with the abolition of the constituent assembly by the Soviets at the end of that month, Orage came to regard the revolution as a "catastrophe."[85] As the Russian Revolution 'dragged on', an increased scepticism about Bolshevism came to the fore in *The New Age*. One of its main reservations about them concerned the question of democracy. The 'Foreign Affairs' section of the journal for July 11, 1918 begins bluntly with the following assertion: "The case against the Bolsheviks is an exceedingly simple one; and it is that they are not democrats by inclination, by principle, or by conviction, and that they have set up an oligarchy after having thrown down a democratic assembly."[86] This sounded close to C.E. Bechhofer Roberts' critique. For "S. Verdad" (J.M. Kennedy) the

[84] [Alfred Orage] 'Notes of the Week' *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 22, No. 11 (January 10, 1918): p. 201.
[85] [Alfred Orage] 'Notes of the Week' *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 22, No. 15 (February 7, 1918): p. 282.
[86] "S. Verdad" 'Foreign Affairs' *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 23, No. 11 (July 11, 1918): p. 165.

Bolsheviks were "maintaining themselves in power by force and terrorism" and in this respect could not be differentiated "in any way from the Tsardom."[87] Arguing that Russia needed to replace the Soviet system of delegacy with a properly representative constituent assembly, *The New Age* suggested that the Soviet model required delegates to be intelligent and educated; in the absence of these prerequisites, as in post-Tsarist Russia, "delegacy is bound to degenerate into mob-rule."[88] Delegacy was thus deemed to be "inapplicable except to a nation that has passed through representative government. Bolshevism, in short, is premature; and only an abortion of government can be expected of it."[89]

Robieson directly commented in on Bolshevism and its implications. In a letter to *The New Age* on 'The Meaning of Bolshevism' he wrote:

> What seems really to distinguish Bolshevism as a theory is its definite assertion of the complete and universal validity of the point of view of the economic class. Both in ethics and politics, we may suppose it to maintain, to a distinct economic class there corresponds a distinct theory, which you must simply accept or reject, according as you are or are not identified with the class. Moreover, in the case of the proletariat there follows from its historic position the attempt to bring into being a social structure which contains no classes, because the "working class" has absorbed them all into itself. As a corollary we have a proposition which may be taken as central and in terms of which, in fact, Bolshevism may be defined. It is that economic conditions are not merely fundamental in a society; they are the sole factors it is necessary to consider. Therefore to build on them a political

[87] *Ibid.*
[88] [Alfred Orage] 'Notes of the Week' *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 23, No. 15 (August 8, 1918): p. 231.
[89] *Ibid.*

> superstructure is a mere device of a ruling class; from the point of view of the proletariat it has neither reality nor meaning. Political institutions must either copy or falsify the economic; they will be found to be redundant where they are not vicious. And with this appears to be correlated the difference between representation and delegacy. The former, being a political device, is at best a middle-class prejudice; while delegacy is the natural outcome of a society composed of small autonomous economic groups.[90]

He went on to say that:

> The service which Bolshevism has rendered to Socialist thought is to compel it to explain its attitude to political conditions, to consider what the State is, what it has been, and what it might be. Advocates of National Guilds, at least, have in this respect a clear record; for their view of the nature of the State and of its relation to economic organisations has always been perfectly unambiguous.[91] Many Socialists, however, profess to accept the economic interpretation of history in a form which makes it a perfect dogma. From certain forms of it, it seems to follow that politics are a fraud. But those who profess and call themselves Marxists must feel rather uncomfortable when they consider the long political tradition which lies behind them. They usually pretend to support Bolshevism. Yet nothing can be clearer than the affinity of Bolshevism with the Anarchists, and the high probability of their lineal descent from them. Marx himself, it may be remembered, assisted by his trusty Engels, drove the followers of Bakunin out of the old International. The reasons which influenced him had not, perhaps worked themselves quite clear at the time; but in the end they turned out to be that the

[90] M.W. Robieson, Letter: 'The Meaning of Bolshevism' *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 23, No. 22 (September 26, 1918): p. 355.
[91] From the discussion in Chapters 2 and elsewhere in this thesis, however, this claim is highly contestable.

> Anarchists would not agree to a kind of State Socialism.[92]

Baker says that Robieson, like John Anderson, could combine "criticism of orthodox Marxist theory with sympathy for the early Soviet Russia"[93] and cites this letter in support. But Robieson was making a different point. He was teasing the orthodox Marxists with the idea that the Bolsheviks were not orthodox – and that they had more in common with anarchists than what could be comfortably allowed by faithful adherents to the Marxist gospel. In Robieson's case, he never supported the early years of Bolshevik rule in Russia. In A.J. Polan's *Lenin & the End of Politics* there is the clear articulation of a view of politics as irreducibly pluralistic:

> The political realm has to deal with questions to which no answers have so far been found that have the status of absolute truth and can command the assent of an entire populace. Politics, therefore, is fundamentally the contest of conflicting value orientations. The answers to these fundamental issues can never be derived and formulated in the language of rationality and calculability that is the proud possession of the [communist] administrators.[94]

Enforced by the Cheka and the Red Army, Lenin moved quickly to quash any possible opposition. Lenin was incapable of viewing dissent or difference as anything but error. And since the Bolsheviks knew the irrefutable truth, Lenin was incapable of tolerating politics. The ideological presumption was the origin of Leninism. In Bolshevism, Robieson foresaw the threat to the entire socialist project of widening democracy in the political sphere.

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[92] *Ibid.*
[93] A.J. Baker 'Anderson's Intellectual Background and Influences' Part 1 *Heraclitus* No. 33 (October, 1993): p. 11.
[94] A.J. Polan *Lenin & the End of Politics*, University of California Press, Oakland, (1984): p. 105.

John Anderson tried to join the debate. He submitted a letter to *The New Age* on 'National Guilds v. The Class War'.[95] He was critical of A.J. Penty's articles in response to Newbold[96] and Penty's critique of the class war and manifest lack of affinity for radical, revolutionary ideas. Anderson says that "in recognising the Class War, Guildsmen are at one with Marx." But:

> It is on the question of what is the *nature* of the interest of the working-class that the theory of the Guilds differs from Marxism. Marxians, according to Mr. Penty, "envisage the problem primarily in terms of persons and as a warfare between the classes," while Guildsmen are concerned with "ideals of life". They base their objection to Capitalism on the treatment of labour as a "commodity": as entering into the "cost of production". Such a statement of the disabilities of Labour cannot compare in force and precision with that of Marx. Under any conceivable scheme, labour is required and must be rewarded. And the "pay", of which the authors of *National Guilds* speak, is simply the price of the particular service rendered. The *conditions* of labour may be different from those which prevail at present. But in either case we have certain restrictions and thereafter free competition and a market-price for labour. The point, which Guildsmen neglect but which Marx insisted on, is that the working-class has *nothing* to sell *but* its labour. Labour is thus a dispossessed class, and its interest lies in the gaining of possession.[97]

He goes on, mentioning collectivist and Guild Socialist schemes and then saying:

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[95] John Anderson Letter: 'National Guilds v. The Class War' submitted to Alfred Orage, editor of *The New Age*, n.d., but *circa* August 1918. Letter: *Alfred R. Orage to John Anderson*, August 27, 1918, sent a curt letter of rejection and returned the manuscript. Both holograph items can be found in the John Anderson Papers, University of Sydney archives, Acc. No. 1428 P.42, series 1, Box 1, Item 13.
[96] *Cf.* Arthur J. Penty 'National Guilds v. The Class War' *The New Age*, new series Vol. 23, No. 16 (August 15, 1918): pp. 250-253.
[97] John Anderson Letter: 'National Guilds v. The Class War', *Loc. Cit.*

The other method of facing the problem is to fix attention on the notion of revolution and to work out its consequences as has been done, e.g., by M. Sorel. The advantage of this method is that it is undoubtedly revolutionary, while the various "Socialist" schemes are doubtfully so. They do not necessarily imply the emancipation of the proletariat: and as schemes of organisation they can be absorbed by Capitalism without changing its nature.

The theory of National Guilds does not advocate the abolition of the class which has nothing to sell but its labour. Rather, the nature of that labour is to be changed by the introduction of the factor of "control". Ownership is of infinitely less importance. What does this mean but that National Guilds, like Collectivism, is concerned with the *organisation* of industry? Only, instead of State organisation, we have organisation by the workers. And just as Capitalism would welcome, in certain cases, the nationalisation of an industry, so it may welcome its becoming a Guild. In either case Capitalism continues: whether through the State or by private investment the financier maintains his position... Guildsmen may urge that their theory does not imply Capitalism. But the answer is that it does not imply anything else. The "Whitley Report"[98] is to National Guilds as present-day nationalisation is to Collectivism: at once an accusation and a warning. Any scheme of organisation is open to the objections which Guildsmen have brought against collectivism. And the only alternative is a theory of revolution.

[98] John Henry Whitley (1866-1935), known as J.H. Whitley, was a Liberal politician asked in 1917 to Chair a committee to report on 'the Relations of Employers and Employees'. He proposed a system of regular formal consultative meetings between workers and employers, known to this day as "Whitley Councils which would be empowered to cover any issue related to pay and conditions of service, and to take matters through to arbitration if necessary..

Anderson claimed that "the authors of National Guilds advocate something very like State Capitalism, in differentiating their proposals from those of the Syndicalists, who like the Neo-Marxians 'repudiate State-action'." As a critique, this was a particularly under-developed argument, aimed at many targets, and lanced about confusingly on what might be styled a 'straw horse'. Anderson's views were naievely 'leftist'. They were unlike what Robieson and his brother William espoused. It was to take Anderson another twenty five years before he saw his sympathy for 'revolutionary action' as misplaced. His letter or article was returned with a biting letter from Orage:

> Allow me to be frank without offending you. I am literally shocked at the contrast between the intelligence of your method of reasoning & the stupidity of the substance of it. Your version of the economics of National Guilds is not only unjust, it is a manifest caricature & in several cases, a clear perversion. Without tediously examining every mistake of your letter I could not hope to convince you of this; but let me try and point out one or two of your errors. You say (p. 2) that Guildsmen "neglect" to insist that "the working-class has nothing to sell *but* its labour." Any other reader of the *New Age* besides yourself would laugh at your assertions. We have disquieted readers by our illustration of the very point. On the same page you say that the N.G. scheme of organisation can be absorbed by Capitalism without changing its nature: also that N.G. does not advocate the abolition of the class which has nothing to sell but its labour. There again I am under the impression that we have over - rather than under - insisted on the contrary; & once more, I think, readers of the *New Age* would be entitled to laugh at you as either a careless or stupid reader or, perhaps, as no reader at all. At the foot of the same page you suggest that Capitalism might as easily welcome a Guild as Nationalisation; & later, on p. 3 you cite the Whitley Report as evidence

> of the fact. If you are trying to pull my leg, I have nothing to do but apologise for not seeing the joke; but if you are serious, the apology is really due to me & *The New Age*! I have seen no sign that Capitalism favours Guilds. There's plenty that it favours Nationalisation; & as for the Whitley Report, Mr Whitley will assure you that it was drawn up in *opposition* to National Guilds! It is therefore an association only in the sense in which a gas-mask is an association of gas, or an umbrella of rain. It only convicts National Guilds of *not* being to the taste of Capitalism. For the rest I confess that I attach no importance at present to your alternative suggestion of a revolutionary policy. They may be very profound; & there are signs that they might be most interesting. But enveloped as they are, in such gross & unfortunate misrepresentation of National Guilds, their conclusiveness is not seductive.[99]

The damning of the Whitley prescriptions was an article of faith for Orage, Anderson and the Guild Socialists. But there were some voices questioning whether an 'all or nothing' strategy might end up with nothing. In early 1919 *The Clarion*, by now siding with Barnes's NDP, made a case for accepting the Whitley schemes as something better than what went before, arguing that it was a start: "Better late than never. If the Whitley scheme is any good, it is clearly the Government's business to set the example in applying it."[100]

Regardless, Orage was right to thrash such an unsophisticated, sentimentally 'revolutionary' letter. Perhaps this response forced Anderson to eventually think harder about politics and to move beyond sloganeering prejudice. In which case, then,

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[99] Letter: *Alfred R. Orage to John Anderson*, August 27, 1918. *Loc. Cit.*
[100] Alex M. Thompson 'Our Point of View' *The Clarion* No. 1421 (February 28, 1919): p. 9.

Orage's rebuke is more than a clever masterstroke. It had an impact, though this was not to register quickly. The frame of mind, sympathetic to the myth of a revolutionary cleansing, was hard for John Anderson to toss.

Reflecting on developments in economics and society and sieving through the corpus of Marxist literature, enabled Robieson to consider a direct answer to this query: 'What can be kept?' Robieson proposed that a reformed Marxism, socialism capable of rational defence, would think afresh about the issues that had emerged since Marx wrote:

> It would get rid of the abstract simplification from which orthodox Marxism so plainly suffers. Plainly it would differ from most ethical theories by its insistence on the fundamental importance of economic conditions and activities. It would deny, for example, that these could ever be "sublated". In the end a distant resemblance might be detected to the Marxist theory we have been discussing. But that, after all, does little more than provide us with material. As the old Scots cobbler is reported to have said of the boots: "They'll need new soles and new uppers, but the auld whangs 'll dae."[101]

It would be interesting to speculate how Robieson's ideas might have developed. You judge an experiment by its results. Marxism failed. Robieson saw the perils of Bolshevism but John Anderson was slow to reach this understanding. It turns out that Robieson and his cohort, including William Anderson, were then the critical thinkers, who realised that times had changed and that if anything of Marxism was to be salvaged, it had to take this change into account. Hetherington hints of the development

[101] M.W. Robieson 'The Theory of Morals on a Class Basis' *International Journal of Ethics* Vol. 29, No. 3 (April, 1919): pp. 316-317.

of Robieson's political philosophy: "He was always profoundly interested in the history and development of Socialist theory, though (I think) his own political views underwent some substantial modification."[102] But we shall never know the detail of that. For, as earlier mentioned, in July 1919, Robieson drowned on holidays whilst swimming in Constantine Bay, near Padstow, in north Cornwall. The Coroner's examination suggested that his death had been induced from heart failure whilst swimming against a strong current.[103]

[102] Hector Hetherington [published as "H.J.W.H."] 'Matthew Robieson', *Loc. Cit.*, p. 121.
[103] See: 'Sad Fatality in Constantine Bay' *Cornish Guardian* (July 25, 1919).

9. The Thread of Influence

This thesis has outlined the ideas of Matthew Robieson, as well as his close friend William Anderson, and placed those thoughts in the context of the ferment of socialist theory in the period just before, during and immediately after the Great War. Robieson's contribution to ideas was in the Guild Socialist tradition, influenced by *The New Age* journal and the circle around its editor, Alfred Orage. Lest it seem strange, more than ninety years after the event, to postulate that these forgotten figures deserve the attention of posterity and detailed scrutiny, there are several points to make:

First, Robieson wrote clearly and challenged his cohorts in the guild movement and the readership of *The New Age* journal to think from first principles and critically. Never developed into a systematic work, those ideas, even if unfinished, are nonetheless on the workbench. What he was working on called attention to the most important issues in political theory; he was one of the more interesting thinkers of the time, necessarily asking questions provoked by that era.

Second, *prima facie* in the competition for attention and interest, the dullest thinkers disappear from notice. Only the rarest few swim to relevance across the sea of time. The case for Robieson is that his uncollected body of work is worthy of note as a political philosopher who thought hard, tapping away at answers to the important

questions.[1] Had his work, including the pseudonymous articles, been collected and published as was planned by both Anderson brothers, then Robieson's reputation might now be secure. This thesis defends why his thinking deserves recognition.

Third, Guild Socialism got a certain way before it collapsed. Its progress depended on an amazing set of intellectuals, some of them highly educated like Robieson and the Andersons, some coming up from the working class. Each played a role in inspiring or shaping or guiding the movement. This thesis enables the contributions of Robieson – and the Andersons – to be understood in that context.

Fourth, the ideas of Robieson had their greatest impact on two philosophers – the Anderson brothers - and consequently, in particular, on what might be called Sydney Andersonianism. Liberty, pluralism and the critical spirit survived in the broader intellectual life of Sydney. This critical spirit included a scepticism towards authority and also a scepticism towards scepticism; it refuses to agree with an authoritative view *because* it is authoritative, but nor will it embrace a view because it questions authority. It wants to see and examine the case.

There are threads of Robieson's thinking in Anderson's writings. The latter's distinctive contribution to ethics and political philosophy was his understanding that goods and values exist in struggle, and that notions of harmony and avoiding conflict only encourage quietism and the stifling of freedom. In contrast to the relational view of 'the good' as something that our activities should aim at, there is the conception of the good

[1] As a related project, as a companion volume to this thesis, I have edited and annotated the writings of Robieson (adding also those of William Anderson to 1919).

Paul Henry: *Peat Bog*; oil on canvas, signed, painted *circa* 1918-1919, 29.5cm x 41cm. Matthew Robieson's wedding present to his brother and Mabel Robieson in April 1919. See reference in S.B. Kennedy *Paul Henry*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London (2007): p. 204, plate 512. Kennedy thinks it may have been painted from a scene looking south from Lough Acorrymore, Achill, in western Ireland.

as a quality of those activities themselves. In contrast to chatter about the role of the individual and the state, as if that dichotomy were sacred, there is the conception of the value of freedom formed in relation to and in struggle with the complex interplay of movements, institutions and traditions. In John Anderson's case, however, the assimilation of other thinkers' writings into his philosophy sometimes occurred without making clear the points of difference. He had his own code. It is now all past tense. He is no longer taken seriously as a philosopher today. This is probably wrong, but he influenced a generation of students who are now mostly gone.

Conflict, so often considered a flaw, is at the core of Robieson's view. This is not in terms of survival of the strongest ideas. The point is about intentionality: a proper approach to policy, philosophy and belief is to welcome opposition as one might

welcome an opponent in sport. This opponent – contrary to popular opinion even among sportsmen – is not an enemy but a best friend. Only by his strongest exertions can he bring out the best in you. If policy-making emerges from a process of discussion, debate and conciliating, it may be messy or fraught with complications and tussles between players. If it were otherwise it would simply be submission to a ruling interest. Without conflict and debate there is no politics or, such as it would then exist, it would be at a very low level. Crick defined the idea: "Politics is the activity by which differing interests within a given unit of rule are conciliated by giving them a share in power in proportion to their importance to the welfare and the survival of the whole community."[2] Only by the strongest possible opposition in argument can the truth of a belief, a philosophical position or a policy be determined. This is what comes through in the thinking of Robieson and Anderson, not some anodyne Darwinism. On this view, policy-making is necessarily "a process of exchange, transaction and bargaining between different institutions and policy actors."[3] Thus, conflict and opposition are never to be regarded as signs of trouble or confusion; they are the ways of resolving issues. One might say, with Anderson, that a healthy politics depends on the existence of a plurality of movements, which take their chance in the social struggle.[4] This is not to see matters as if, with reason and civility, players would work to a logical conclusion. That would ignore that we all work through different frameworks or viewpoints. Ideological constructs, weak or hard, inform us on what are the important matters to consider as well as what facts count.

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[2] Bernard Crick *In Defence of Politics*, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, first edition (1962): pp. 16-17.
[3] Steven Ney *Resolving Messy Policy Problems: Handling Conflict in Environmental, Transport, Health and Ageing Policy,* Earthscan, London (2009): p. 27.
[4] John Anderson 'The Servile State' in *Studies in Empirical Philosophy*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney (1962): p. 335.

Robieson's account of liberty as the story of "responsibility and adventure" is a concept intricately bound up with an idea of politics. This suggests the idea's fundamental importance. By personal liberty was meant the free and responsible direction of one's own life. Into a connected, orderly and varied social life liberty will enter at every point. In such a society ideas are never settled. There is therefore the presumption of, or the disposition to, favour liberty. And therefore, for example, to oppose instances where the State seeks to suck the life out of autonomous groups by controlling or licensing their affairs. Robieson believed that freedom could never be secure if it was regarded as a gift, unearnt and unattached to personal and political struggle.

We cannot know exactly everything about a person and his or her development. This therefore justifies entrusting the infusion of liberty in every person's life. This is no ends and means. In fact, on this argument, we are dealing with both the intrinsic and the instrumental. Rather than conceiving a derivation of power and responsibility from the State to individuals, it would be better to think the opposite. In Robieson's formulation, liberty is a value realised in a particular sort of democratic society that respects dissent and tolerantly supports freedom of expression. By discussion of particular contrarian views, Plato's Republic and the utilitarian worship of majoritarian rule, for example, liberty can be better understood. This is particularly because to know the complex, historical heritage is to appreciate what the idea of freedom became and why. Liberty is valuable of itself, occurs in conjunction with other values and stimulates the realisation of other goods. Further, its presence stimulates its possessors to endeavour to do better and at their best. There is a very practical consequence: to pen in, to restrict or curtain liberty is to harm the realisation of potential both in a person and in a community.

Improving the world can never settle old battles or bring into being some boring paradise. This because all is in flux. Each individual, group and society generally needs to find out for itself the meaning of precious ideals. In this sense, freedom is always restless. In this worldview, liberty entails the *discovery* of good as opposed to the mere adherence to a set of precepts defined as good. In contrast to the merely traditional, the critical mind, searching for truth and self-awareness, swims against the tide. The contrast is with any political theory of an authoritarian stripe – including those speaking in forked tongues in using, but not living, the language of liberty. Although the defence of liberty is never entirely utilitarian, as discussed in Chapter 7, there are some practical consequences; for example, a sickly 'we know best' intolerance would suppress the creative potential and dynamism of society. All communities need dissenters and challengers of received opinion. Far from being a problem, debate on first principles is essential.

Thus, far from signifying dysfunction, conflict is a feature of any lively movement or social institution. A political theory obsessed with the relationship between the individual citizen and the state, with the duties, obligations, rights and responsibilities of each with respect to the other, misconceives political life. From this rule-obsessed and normative perspective it is easy to move to a position hostile to competing social institutions. The state as an organic, functional whole is fiction. The political sphere is an arena of contesting views, not a cathedral for worshippers united by a settled creed. Talk of the 'common interest', the needs of 'society' and the importance of 'unity' for 'common goals' are standard, oratorical 'stump speech' phrases. Such statements, far from summarising a consensus, beg debate about what exactly is meant and what ideas

are being licensed and what delegitimised. This viewpoint encapsulates the gist of John Anderson's position. This way of thinking echoes and develops what was first stated by Robieson.

If in the tide of human development the Guild Socialists were swept away their influence was not without trace. As a result of their critique and opposition some really bad ideas went under too or were damaged sufficiently to become weaker and less menacing. (But this is not to under-estimate that good ideas and some bad ideas never die!) In striving for meaning in work, in arguing against as well as for particular ideas, in creatively pressing for liberty, these thoughts were absorbed into the mainstream. To have almost zero-influence might have been the ultimate fate of a formal body, the National Guilds' League. Yet that was not the end. In Robieson's thought, in his writings, he sought to extend freedom and defend it in innovative ways. This is something to freshly think hard about. This thesis in a way completes what William and John Anderson began: to tell the story of someone creatively impressive.

In the end we are all - or nearly all - forgotten. The moving telescopic lens running along the rails of time reveal fading images of what once looked vivid. This is an aspect of mortality. In politics and political theory there are two histories: the facts of what happened including the history of interpretation as to why; and, second, the unfolding of the ideas themselves and the development of points of view. With the former, in terms of volume and exposition, the far Left wins on the word count. The reformists and the labourists are outgunned by the revolutionaries and the radical left. Indeed, in the literature, the Left has most of the glamour. Despite the

higher profile in the world of ideas of leftist theory, in contrast, moderate labour suffers from a lack of theory.[5] Robieson wanted to fill the gap. At a high level, the theory implicit in what the ablest of the non-hard ideological Left thought was explicit in what has been discussed in this thesis.

Robieson wanted a political theory that was rooted in Labour values, thoughtful of economics and striving for the greatest possible liberty; not just as some intellectualist ideal, but as something practical and acutely aware that work and economics are basic to the development of freedom. He contested ideas of the Liberals as well as those from the Marxist Left.

In the fierceness of Robieson's attack on the New Liberals there was a strong partisanship. With reservations, as earlier outlined, Robieson respected individual good works of particular Liberals (the COS, etc.), however he called attention to the complacency about the growing power of the state. Robieson feared paternalism and servility in State activity and control. In John Anderson's writings too, such as his essay 'The Servile State', this fear found expression in amplified form.[6] One can caution about dangers and strive against the servile temptation, however, without dismissing entirely State activity.

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[5] See See Michael Easson 'What it Means to be Labor', in Michael Easson, editor, *The Foundation of Labor*, Lloyd Ross Forum/Pluto Press, Leichhardt (1990): pp. 71-80 and Terry Irving 'Labourism: A Political Genealogy' *Labour History* No. 66 (May, 1994): pp. 1-13. *Cf.* M. Easson 'Socialism and the Trade Union Movement' *Labor Forum* Vol. 8, No. 3 (September, 1986): pp. 5-9.

[6] I doubt, however, that Robieson would have been as severe as Anderson in the latter expression of his philosophy, from World War II onwards, in his strictures against State involvement in economic and social issues such as unemployment, health care, and education. One suspects that in the unstitching of John Anderson's earlier views, from infatuation with Bolshevism and then Trotskyism, then to anti-Statist libertarianism, was what most amazed Beilharz. But John Anderson, it seems, was never a Guild Socialist or, if he was, his ideas were of the extreme Left. Anderson's ideas and their development, one might say, are a special case. Peter Beilharz 'John Anderson and the Syndicalist Moment' *Political Theory Newsletter* [ADFA] No. 5 (1993): pp. 5-13.

The creative, non-Marxist left of the labour movement, historically pilloried and traduced as lacking courage, imagination and initiative, has won the electoral and ideological contests within social democratic parties. Where it has not, as for example with the Mensheviks, defeat came by way of coup and terror. Where a radical left has won democratically it usually has temporised its ideological fervour.[7] A point from Freeden is worth noting here: most political movements are fluid. "It's a plastic, changing thing, shaped and reshaped by thought-practices of individuals and groups; and though it needs to have a roughly identifiable pattern for us to call it consistently the same name, 'liberalism', it also presents myriad variations that reflect the questions posed, and positions adopted, by various liberals."[8] As with liberals, so, too, were the variations between the Guild Socialists.

They stood between the trade union reformists and the socialist collectivists. They also stood apart. They were not Fabians, they had a robust perspective. Freeden in one assessment distinguishes between the Fabians, the Ramsay MacDonald type State Socialists and the pluralists - including G.D.H. Cole, R.H. Tawney and, generally, the Guild Socialists. Of the latter, Freeden comments: "… the guild socialists – quite contrary to the Fabians, and more typical of the old liberals than the new – displayed a fear of the state's unadulterated power."[9] This was one of their core, defining

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[7] An arguable exception was in Chile under the government of Allende. See Alec Nove 'The Political Economy of the Allende Regime' in Phillip O'Brien *Allende's Chile*, Praeger Publishers, New York (1976). See also, Anders Stephanson 'Feasible Socialism: A Conversation with Alec Nove' *Social Text* No. 11 (Winter, 1984-1985): pp. 96-109. Salvador Allende (1908-1973) was President of Chile from 1970 to 1973, when he was deposed by a military coup. A strongly contrarian view to Nove's is: James Petras review of Philip O'Brien *Allende's Chile*, *The Hispanic American Historical Review* Vol. 57, No. 4 (November, 1977): pp. 756-758.

[8] Michael Freeden *Liberal Languages*, *Ideological Imaginations and Twentieth-Century Progressive Thought*, Princeton University Press, Princeton and Oxford (2005): p. 20.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 180.

principles. Elsewhere he notes that the ideas of direct control "constructed on a principle closer to the core definition of human beings as actors and producers" set the Guild Socialists apart from the Statist socialists.[10] They constituted one part of the defence of civilisation against the barbarism of unchecked capitalism or state collectivism and that based on syndicalist myopia.

In politics, utopians have a hard time. As we have seen in the discussion in Chapter 8, Marx and Engels rubbished such efforts. Sometimes, as in Robert Owens' detailed concepts and experiments, which consisted in co-opting people to build things together, the effort was admirable, the flaws were manifest. Yet a moderate utopianism is often at the heart of a political movement. In Weberian terms, politics requires both passion and judgement together. As Claeys puts matters: "If we regard utopia as neither religion nor an inner psychic state, but a discourse about voluntary sociability, we may reach a different conclusion. It is possible to create utopic spaces or periods of time without reimagining an entire society recast as utopia."[11] In contrast, there is the messianic tendency of certain political movements. This is where the Soviet Union and the Marxist-Leninists took things. A messiah has a great vision, usually of redemption; the revolution would solve everything; messianism requires following a leader; in pulling everybody into the scheme of the hero-leader this can become extremely intolerant.

In contrast, generally with social movements there is no overall, over-arching, tight ideological scheme. The movement represents a tradition, an ethos, a body of beliefs. The latter does not mean merely muddling through with noble thoughts inspiring

[10] Michael Freeden *Ideologies and Political Theories*: *A Conceptual Approach*, Clarendon Press, Oxford (1996): p. 441.
[11] Gregory Claeys *Searching for Utopia*, *The History of an Idea*, Thames & Hudson, London (2011): p. 204.

adherents. Members of a movement want some ideals, a necessary framework – a moderate utopianism. The Guild Socialists had a cooperative imperative to build something anew; but not entirely. The task they set for themselves was to transform existing institutions.

One does not have to be a conservative to appreciate Edmund Burke's view that politics is the continuation and development of traditions. Although this formulation might sound like cautious thinking, this does not exhaust the argument. Burke, after all, was a Whig, a relative liberal for his time. His polemic against the French revolution and his articulation of institutions as living, dynamic things, malleable, needing constant attention in the never-ending striving for improvement, meant that he was an enemy of 'throw everything out and start again' radicals. He foresaw that the French Revolution would eat its supporters; that from terror would flow dictatorship. Yet, the ideals of liberty fraternity, equality and the lofty rhetoric of the revolutionists have never wanted for a bad press. The 'myth of the French revolution' inspired revolutionary socialists as a prototype of tearing down 'the old', as would surely happen with capitalism. The wearying, hard truth, however, was that Marxism offered no clear guide for revolutionists. For, according to the Marxist theory, out of the bowels of capitalism, from the eviscerating misery of the proletariat, would be borne a new society, the dictatorship of the proletariat. According to the first volume of Karl Marx's *Das Kapital* it was inevitable. But, as Robieson saw, the theory offered no prescription for what socialists were supposed to do in order to usher in this new world. Nor were Marx's or Engels' theories clear as to what happens on the day after the revolution.

Robieson was like Burke amongst the Guild Socialists, warning of the revolutionists that by their acts ye shall know them. The great justification of the hard left was that a better society would 'ultimately' be forged out of the best hopes of the present. Justifying itself with claims or revolutionary necessity, Russian communism continued the supremacy of Tsarist-like autocracy, at the top. As with the divine right of kings theory, the utility of the governance entirely relies on the moral leadership and intellectual sagacity of the leader. Wrong leader, flawed outcome. Yet some of the Guild Socialists were taken in by the talk of worker soviets and worker control of the means of production. Robieson regarded the infatuation with dictatorship as alarming. For the Bolsheviks hated politics, in the way that the moderate utopians and Guild Socialists sought change through persuasion, advocacy and the democratic testing of ideas.

In Chapter 2 several theoretical frameworks were put forward as potentially helpful in interpreting the history of events told here. The Chapter presented perspectives illuminating the failure of Guild Socialism, more than on the problems as Robieson explicitly saw them. (The latter were explicitly addressed later, in Chapters 3 and 7). Mannheim's distinction between a utopian and an all-encompassing, hard ideological perspective is useful. To the extent that political movements become harder in one or other direction, the less democratic and tolerant they become. In Weber's ethic of ultimate ends and ethics of responsibility is the sketch of an argument about a sober politics requiring both. The Guild Socialists were soft utopians, sometimes strident and dogmatic in their rhetoric, but never in a hard sense ideological. Ideas compete and never more so than in political struggle. In the soft sense of ideological, Freeden's writings provide insight on the character of a political movement's beliefs and how they modify in the

context of challenges from competitor political movements. The shock of sweeping, unexpected change that modifies the landscape can be the breaking of a movement. Leadership in the Weberian sense complements what Freeden's analysis suggests is a ceaseless battle of survival, competition and inventiveness in coping with the events of the day. To be persuasive in an intra-ideological struggle requires a cultural understanding of the people you want to influence, as much as a grasp of the ideas that motivate them. Drucker's analysis of the UK Labour movement conveys a living, tangible mix of ethos and ideology of real insight.

The Guild Socialists' idea of craft production, return to hand-made goods (though not a formula for everyone), and an extreme version of democracy could only ever amount to a working method for a small part of modern society. The market, the single most efficient organising tool of economics, was given short shrift. They had not thought enough about the issues. Of the movement, a tough conclusion seems warranted in this respect: Bad ideas lose support because the evidence does not support what they have to say.

The Guild Socialist movement in shifting from worker co-operation, to joint control to worker control became rigid and doctrinaire. Even the Whitley schemes were condemned root and branch as a false temptation. So that potentially promising concept was discarded.[12]

[12] Interestingly, Tawney and later Cole, the latter having fought hard against it, shifted tactically, as Guild Socialism was grinding to oblivion, to embrace worker co-operation and worker participation schemes. See G.D.H. Cole 'The Whitley Report' *The Guildsman* No. 19 (1918): pp. 3-4. R.H. Tawney 'Essay V' in S.J. Chapman, editor, *Labour and Capital After the War*, John Murray, London (1918): pp. 93-128.

Indeed, the Guild Socialists did a lot to kill those first, tentative steps that might have led to other steps along a progressive path. Their temperament was against them. Perhaps, in part, the syndicalist and Marxist challenges drove them to this quicksand, as they sought to distinguish themselves from the weak cups of reformism and the heady brew of revolutionary politics. As we have seen it is intriguing that both Orage and Cole in separate, different ways came to a definitive view in seeing Guild Socialism as something ideal, but unworkable and defective and a relief to shake free of.

In theories of capitalist development there are two streams which have never been worked out completely. One is the idea of capitalism and its dynamism, which comes from Marx. The other is industrialism. The term suggests that instead of capitalism as based upon notions of exploitation, there is industrialism, based on the idea of technology and continuous improvement, in the development of society. The economy is, more or less, a system in which interdependence is established through the different variables of supply and demand. The polity is an order held together, as Partridge once put it, by consent and consensus.[13] The Guild Socialists believed that we only become passive by-standers if we limit our imagination to that simple polity. 'Democratic control' was a way of thinking and a discipline on assessing what society should stand for.[14] Their ideas had much potential, but they were not taken up and dominant in their time because in part they were impractical, several key protagonists died too early, they were ahead of their time and their relevance was not fully perceived and, perhaps most importantly, they were defeated by other, competing political movements.

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[13] P.H. Partridge *Consent and Consensus*, Pall Mall Press Ltd., London (1971).
[14] For a discussion on versions and definitions of participation and democracy including many frustrating imprecisions, see Carole Pateman *Participation and Democratic Theory*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (1970): pp. 67-84.

Perhaps the Guild Socialists were forgotten too soon. They had important things to say. Their voices were drowned out by a cacophony of yells, arguments and movements that became more persuasive, influential and dynamic. To state matters like this sounds like a complaint: As if the meek, mild, precocious talent was bullied off the stage by loud and ignorant shouts. Perhaps there was an element of that. Most of all, however, the Guild Socialist movement failed not because the world was unworthy of their intelligent critique but rather because their diagnosis was flawed to begin with. The dreary reformists civilised capitalism. Society changed dramatically. This has been a slow, hard battle fought over time. It is appropriate to argue that as Robieson and Anderson believed in experiment as the trying of ideas in practice, and because in theory they welcomed conflict and debate, then the fact that they lost on a specific political position, represented by Guild Socialism, is a kind of vindication of their position. Moreover, the philosophical outlook, what might be called 'critical realism', continues to be creatively applicable in understanding and critiquing society. Doing better never means standing still.

Anderson found inspiration in the expression of Croce who wrote about history as the history of the struggle for liberty:

> If anyone needs persuading that liberty cannot exist differently from the way it has lived and always will live in history, a perilous and fighting life,[15] let him for a moment consider a world of liberty without obstacles, without menaces and without oppressions of any kind; immediately he will look

[15] The phrase "a perilous and fighting life" Mark Weblin uses in his titling of a collection of John Anderson's political writings: John Anderson *A Perilous and Fighting Life*: *From Communist to Conservative*: *The Political Writings of Professor John Anderson*, edited by Mark Weblin, Pluto Press, North Melbourne (2003). Anderson quotes this phrase in 'The Servile State' reprinted in John Anderson *Studies in Empirical Philosophy*, *Loc. Cit.*, p. 338.

> away from this picture with horror as being something worse than death, an infinite boredom.[16]

This formulation was consistent with what Robieson had argued also about the need to ceaselessly forge, win and defend freedom. Croce was echoing Hegel's argument that "The history of the world is none other than the progress of the consciousness of freedom" [17] without buying Hegel's philosophical conclusion that history is about the culmination of freedom – the end of history, so to speak. *Au contraire*, writing on the eve of totalitarian dominance over Europe, Croce saw freedom and liberty as engaged in constant battle for survival. He thought that liberty was earnt arising out of continuing historical struggle for its maintenance. Civilisation requires continual vigilance; liberty allows one to experience the full potential of life.

It is intriguing to contemplate how the Guild Socialists might have fared if they had a coherent, theoretical compass to guide them. In Robieson's death in July 1919 and that of John Paton eight months later, the movement lost two of its finest. It did not recover. Perhaps, however, the failure of the Guild Socialist project was inevitable and Guild Socialism needed to become something different. In William Anderson's case, his migration in 1921 to New Zealand corresponded with a lapse of political activity and interest. Perhaps he came to see that the central assumption of the Guild Socialists that the mass of worker-producers could or would come to be actuated by the 'ethic of the producer' was a mistaken assumption.

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[16] Benedetto Croce *History as the Story of Liberty*, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London (originally published in Italian, 1938; this translated edition, 1941): p. 62.
[17] See G.W.F. Hegel *Introduction to the Lectures on the Philosophy of History*, J. Sibree, translator, Henry G. Bohn, London (1857, from the third German edition): pp. 19-20.

John Anderson's thought owed much to Robieson. The latter's salient, fecund writings and literary style appealed. But Anderson's 1918 unpublished letter to *The New Age* showed radical differences between the two. To allude to Beilharz's phrase, that 'certain crimson thread' in Anderson's thinking was a knit of Guild Socialism, ideas from the Glasgow socialist milieu that included his brother William and Robieson, as well as deep hues of red. John Anderson toyed with the concept of revolution. From 1927 to 1937, first as a communist, then as a Trotskyist, he took seriously the dictatorship of the proletariat, romantically focused on the self-realising value of the producers, the workers, while under-emphasising what dictatorship really entailed. Robieson - and William Anderson for that matter - never thought like that. They grasped the political situation better, as for example is illustrated in Robieson's articles on Marxism and the comments he made on the key issues raised by the Bolshevik revolution.

Robieson deserves rescuing from the dustbin of history because his contribution to debate about ethics and the purpose of democratic politics are richly interesting. In the quarter century separating Anderson's letter to Orage, 'National Guilds v. The Class War' (1918), and the publication of the essay 'The Servile State' (1943), he discovered an independent political position, sceptical of authority and favourable to liberty. As Robieson saw too, nothing good comes without struggle. In working it out, some ideas needed revising, shibboleths required casting aside and new thoughts needed grafting to fit – like new boots from the old, so to speak. Every generation needs to be fitted to walk through the world and create a new path; what Robieson tried to do was for his time, and an example for all time.

Appendix 1: John Anderson's Proposed Edit of Robieson's *New Age* Articles

In the John Anderson Archives there are various drafts of Anderson's proposed ordering, corrections and emendations to the writings of Matthew Robieson.[1]

Interestingly, only *The New Age* articles were covered in these notes – notwithstanding that there are bits and pieces in the papers that suggest that he was aware that Robieson had contributed to the *International Journal of Ethics*. For example, a carbon copy of the typescript of 'I Appeal Unto Caesar' appears there.[2]

This summation by Anderson of the collectible pieces for publication included 16 items by "O. Latham", Robieson's pseudonym.[3] In a separate volume to this thesis I have collected and annotated all of Matthew Robieson's and William Anderson's articles to 1919.

<u>Apparent ordering by JA of articles by MW Robieson:</u>

An Apology for the Liberty of the Person

Sept. 27, 1917 An Apology for the Liberty of the Person I
Oct. 11, 1917 An Apology for the Liberty of the Person II
Nov. 1, 1917 III
Nov. 15 IV
Nov. 22 V
Dec. 13 VI
Dec. 27, 1917 VII
Jan 10, 1918 VIII (concl.)

Notes on Political Theory

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[1] See John Anderson Papers, University of Sydney archives, Acc. No. 1428, Group P.42, series 1, Box 5, items 51 & 53.
[2] John Anderson Papers, University of Sydney archives, Acc. No. 1428, Group P.42, series 1, Item 18, roneoed typescript of M.W. Robieson's review of 'I Appeal Unto Ceasar'. It's possible that Anderson only had the carbon copy typescript and no knowledge of where the article was actually published.
[3] There is internal corroboration of this authorship. For example, several of O. Latham's articles refer to his Scottish background and his living in Ireland.

Jul 26; Aug 9 & 23, Sept 13, 1917

On the Reorganisation of University Education

Oct 24 & 31, 1918

Pyscho-Analysis & Conduct

Oct 5, 12, 19 & 26, 1916

List of other articles

May 9.18 The Autopsy of Marxism
May 23.18 The Celebrated Locke (review of Gibson's *Locke*)
May 30.18 Government by Consent (review of K. Richmond's *Education for Liberty*)
June 6.18 (Letter; reply to J.T. Walton Newbold)
June 13.18 The Community of Plain Men (review of McIver's *Community*) (Letter on Control in Education)
July 4.18 Common Sense (review of Moore's …)
July 11.18 (Letter J.T. Walton Newbold)
July 25.18 On Certain First Principles I
August 1. 18 II
August 8.18 III
August 29.18 The Idea of Function
September 12.18 The Functional Principle
September 26.18 Letter (The Meaning of Bolshevism)
Nov.14.18 Letter (University Education – reply to Mrs Townshend)
Nov.28.18 Hegelian Politics (review of Hobhouse's *Metaphysics of the State*)

April 1, 18 & 25 1918 Control in Education

Emendations (omissions and footnotes)

I Omit last sentence: Nationality is as good an example as any other".

Omit "dots" in I & II

II Omit last two sentences: here I suspect I should come in conflict with Mr Ramiro de Maeztu: but he cannot be lightly dismissed at the end of a paragraph. I must therefore leave him over for the moment".

III "Mr Ramiro de Maeztu's discussions of authority and liberty and his advocacy of the functional principle"*

**Authority, Liberty and Function in the Light of the War* by Ramiro de Maetzu (George Allen & Unwin, 4/6: 1916). Appeared as articles in *The New Age*, 1915-16.

V "I gather from an interesting article which Mr de Maeztu wrote in *The New Age* on Liberty and Pleasure * that he accepts this view".

* 'Liberty and Pleasure' *The New Age* June 5th, 1917.

"Therefore it may conceivably be true that an action is good only if we like to perform it"*
* i.e., in the case where the *liking* is part of the act. An act similar in external appearance but without the liking is a different act. Consequently, the one may be good, and the other not. Kant, e.g., does not regard an act we like to perform as good, even if the "same act" without the liking is good.

VI "In this I think it is inconsistent, and I shall try later to point out why"* * This project was never carried out by Mr. Robieson. But cf. articles on "Psycho-Analysis and Conduct" (pp. - : reprinted from the *New Age*, Oct., 1916), esp. IV (Oct. 26, 1916): first [?] & last paragraphs 1 not that what is [not clear]

VII Omit last sentence: "why does he not remember that it is not his function to be no respecter of persons?"

VIII "In a very recent number of the *New Age**, Mr. de Maeztu, in discussing M. Duguit's endeavour to find a basis for society in social solidarity, the interdependence of men with one another, appeals beyond the fact of interdependence to the things which lie behind it, and make it both possible and necessary".

* October 18th, 1917: "The Functional Principle".

X "The fact that Mr. de Maeztu has discussed the principle and value of nationality* makes it easier to discuss that".

* *The New Age*: February 22nd, 1917 (title:

XI "I leave them, understanding to resume their separate discussion, and promising that what I have to say now is therefore subject to an unknown degree of modification". Omit "undertaking…modification": and insert "therefore".

Corrections

III "Hence the familiar remark that Hegel seemed to imagine that the absolute Idea was more fully realized in the Prussian Official of the early part of last century"

Read: most fully realised

"This is where the error – as I term it – of Idealism lies, and the apparent claim to infallibility is a mere bye-product only to be estimated by reference to this".

Read: by-product

IV “The latter commits no such elementary blunder to suppose that what the State wills must always be good”

Read: blunder as to suppose

V “What I am try to show is that from the attempt to maintain the objectivity of values together with a functional view of society and something approximating what Mr. de Maeztu has called the primacy of things, it does not follow that we should condemn liberty or welcome restraint”

Read: approximating to what

VII “you must also confess that it would be impossible to establish such relevant connection, supposing them to exist”.

Read: connections

VII “The product is one: you might as well try to account for the spirit of the Irish nation, which in its weakness has absorbed at least four conquering races by referring to the Celtic twilight”

Comma after races

IX “To maintain that the functional principle is so abstract in character that no information can be obtained from it as to describe social arrangements”

Omit as

XII “Indeed, it is not surprising, when we remember that strange product of the nineteenth century mind, the SDP.”

Read: SDF.

“thanks to the enlightenment of our damned undertakings by Syndicalism, these confusions are now only memories”

Read: darkened understandings

“But it would perhaps be equally indesirable”

Read: undesirable

XIII “To Aristotle, however, a certain dogmatism about the best man was capable of was easier than it is to us”

Read: about what the best men

“The life of the community can always be looked at in these two ways, as developing the souls of its members who compose it, or are willing objects”

Read: as willing objects; Omit: Who compose it

XV: “Its activity must be ordered in view of these values as ends. They are, in a logical sense, functions of the values”

Read: activities

XVI “By the organisation of society on the functional principle he means that no institution or other social unit has any right to exist for its own sense”

Read: sake

Title: “The Idea of Function”

Read: “The Functional Principle, I”

Item 53

Extensive notes and draft introduction

Appendix 2: Robieson in the Anderson Library

Perhaps of interest are the books appearing in the John Anderson library that once belonged to Robieson.[1] They were:

Signed by M.W. Robieson
Robert Adamson *On the Philosophy of Kant*, David Douglas, Edinburgh (1879). Note: Signed M.W. Robison 1911.
Robert Adamson *A Short History of Logic*, William Blackwood, Edinburgh (1911). Note: Signed: M.W. Robieson 1912.
Aristotle *The Works of Aristotle Volume 8: Metaphysica*, J.A. Smith and W.D. Ross, editor, Clarendon Press, Oxford (1908). Note: Signed M.W. Robieson 1909.
Aristotle *The Works of Aristotle Volume 1: Categoriae and de Interpretatione, Analytica Priora, Analytica Posterior, Topica and de Sophisticis Elenchis*, W.D. Ross, editor, Oxford University Press, Oxford (1928). Note: Signed M.W. Robieson 1909.
Henri Bergson *The Philosophy of Change*, H. Wildon Carr, translator, T.C. and E.C. Jack, London (1912). Note: Signed M.W. Robieson 1912.
Bernard Bosanquet *The Value and Destiny of the Individual*, Macmillan, London (1913). Note: Signed M.W. Robieson 1913.
Bernard Bosanquet *The Essentials of Logic*; *Being Ten Lectures on Judgment and Inference*, Macmillan, London (1897). Note: Signed M.W. Robieson Glasgow University 1908.
Edward Caird *The Critical Philosophy of Immanuel Kant* in 2 volumes, James Maclehose and Sons, Glasgow (1909). Signed M.W. Robieson.
G.K. Chesterton *The Man Who Was Thursday: a Nightmare*, J.W. Arrowsmith, Bristol (1912). Note: Signed M.W. Robieson.
Robert A. Duff *Spinoza's Political and Ethical Philosophy*, James Maclehose and Sons, Glasgow (1903). Note: Signed M.W. Robieson 1912.
E.C.K. Gonner *The Social Philosophy of Rodbertus*, Macmillan, London (1899). Note: Signed: M.W. Robieson 1912.
E.S. Haldane *James Frederick Ferrier*, Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier, Edinburgh (1899). Note: Signed M.W. Robieson 1917.
G.W.F. Hegel *Lectures on the History of Philosophy*, Kegan Paul, Trench and Truebner, London (1892). Note: Signed M.W. Robieson 1912.
G.W.F. Hegel *Lectures on the Philosophy of History* London Lectures on the Philosophy of History H.G. Bohn, London (1857). Note: Signed M.W. Robieson 1912.
L.T. Hobhouse, *Morals in Evolution: A Study in Comparative Ethics*, Chapman Hall, London (1915). Note: Signed M.W. Robieson.
Henry Jones *Browning as a Philosophical and Religious Teacher*, James Maclehose and Sons, Glasgow (1902). Note: Signed Matthew W. Robieson 1908.
Immanuel Kant *The Philosophy of Kant as Contained in Extracts from his own Writings*, John Watson, editor, James Maclehose and Sons, Glasgow (1901). Note: Signed M.W. Robieson 1909.
A.D. Lindsay *The Philosophy of Immanuel Kant*, T.C. and E.C. Jack, London n.d. (1914). Note: Signed M.W. Robieson 1915.
Henry Longueville Mansel *An Inquiry into the Psychological Character of Logical Processes,* William Graham, London (1912). Note: Signed M.W. Robieson 1912.

[1] Extracted from a list of nearly 2,000 volumes, compiled by Jim Packer, WEA Librarian (Sydney); minor editorial corrections have been made in this summary of books once belonging to the Robiesons. Donated to Sydney University as part of the Sandy Anderson bequest, these books are now stored in Room 391, Quadrangle Building, University of Sydney.

William McDougall *Physiological Psychology*, Dent, London (1908). Note: Signed M.W. Robieson 1910.
J.P. Mahaffy *Descartes*, William Blackwood, Edinburgh (1902). Note: Signed M.W. Robieson 1910.
Karl Marx *The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, Charles Kerr, Chicago (1914). Note: Signed M.W. Robieson.
Karl Marx *Revolution and Counter Revolution in Germany*, Charles Kerr, Chicago (1913). Note: Signed M.W. Robieson.
John Stuart Mill *System of Logic Ratiocinative and Inductive*, Longmans Green, London (1906). Note: Signed M.W. Robieson 1907.
G.E. Moore *Ethics*, Williams and Norgate, London (1912). Note: Signed M.W. Robieson 1913.
D.L. Murray *Pragmatism*, Constable, London (1912). Note: Signed M.W. Robieson.
Morton Prince *The Dissociation of a Personality*, Longmans Green, London (1906). Note: Signed M.W. Robieson.
Hastings Rashdall *Is Conscience an Emotion?* T. Fisher Unwin, London (1914). Note: Signed M.W. Robieson 1915.
D.G. Ritchie *Plato*, T. and T. Clark, Edinburgh (1902). Note: Signed M.W. Robieson.
George Croom Robertson *Hobbes*, William Blackwood, Edinburgh (1901). Note: Signed M.W. Robieson.
Bertrand Russell *Our Knowledge of the External World*; *as a Field for Scientific Method in Philosophy*, Open Court, Chicago (1914). Note: Signed M.W. Robieson 1914.
Albert Schwegler *Handbook of the History of Philosophy*, Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh, n.d. Note: Signed M. W. Robieson 1910.
A.T. Shearman *The Scope of Formal Logic*, University of London Press, London (1911). Note: Signed M.W. Robieson 1913.
Norman Kemp Smith *Commentary to Kant's Critique of Pure Reason*, Macmillan, London (1918). Note: Signed M.W. Robieson 1918.
Dugald Stewart *The Collected Works*, Volume 5, William Hamilton, editor, T. and T. Clark, Edinburgh (1877). Note: Signed M.W. Robieson.
A.E. Taylor *Elements of Metaphysics*, Methuen London (1903). Note: Signed M.W. Robieson.
A.E. Taylor *The Problem of Conduct*, Macmillan, London (1901). Note: Signed M.W. Robieson.
C.W. Valentine, *Experimental Psychology of Beauty*, T. C. and E. C. Jack, London (1913). Note: Signed M.W. Robieson.
Henry J. Watt *Psychology*, T.C. and E.C. Jack, London n.d. (191?). Note: Signed M.W. Robieson.
A. Wolf *Studies in Logic*: *the Existential Import of Categorical Predication*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (1905). Note: Signed M.W. Robieson.

<u>Signed by W.D. Robieson</u>
Jean-Jacques Rousseau *The Social Contract*, *or Principles of Political Right*, Henry J. Tozer, editor, Swan Sonnenschein, London (1909). Note: Signed William D. Robieson November 1911.

Appendix 3: Dramatis Personæ

The purpose of this appendix is to provide biographical material on the significant persons mentioned. This was done so as to understand the rudiments of the personalities and writers who engaged the minds of the protagonists. As a general rule, a narrative should not be cluttered with footnotes. But unfamiliar names and events can be a hindrance to comprehension; so short summaries of relevant lives are included here. Generally, the better known the less information provided. In the selection of material, connections with Robieson and/or Guild Socialism are highlighted. Through checking this source, a reader has a ready reckoner on the personalities mentioned.

Robert Adamson (1852-1902), philosopher, was Professor of Logic and Rhetoric at Glasgow University from 1895 until his death in 1902. Born in Kingsbarns in Fife, Adamson graduated MA (1871) from the University of Edinburgh with first class honours in Mental Philosophy. He continued his studies at the University of Heidelberg and then returned to the University of Edinburgh as an assistant and as a member of staff of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. He was appointed Professor of Logic and Political Economy at Owen's College, Manchester in 1876 and in 1883 appointed to the Chair of Logic at the University of Aberdeen – prior to taking up the Glasgow Chair. See Henry Jones 'The Late Professor Adamson' *Mind* Vol. 11, No. 43 (1902): pp. 431-435.

William Adamson (1863-1936), miner and politician, was a Scottish trade unionist MP for West Fife 1910 to 1931 and between 1917 and 1921 the Labour Party Leader. See Kenneth O. Morgan *Labour People: Leaders and Lieutenants: Hardie to Kinnock*, Oxford University Press, Oxford (1987) and William Knox, editor, *Scottish Labour Leaders 1918-1939*, Mainstream, Edinburgh (1984).

(Reginald) Clifford Allen (1889-1939), known as "Clifford Allen", pacifist, Labour activist, sometime Guild Socialist, renegade and political idealist, was born into a conservative Anglican family. He converted to leftwing ideology at Cambridge where he was on a scholarship at Peterhouse College having earlier studied at Berkhamstead school and University College, Bristol. Allen became President of the University Fabian Society and helped form the University Socialist Federation, a loose alliance of university socialist and Fabian clubs across Great Britain. He came to know Sidney and Beatrice Webb who encouraged him along with Oxford's G.D.H. Cole to join the Fabian Society Executive. They both resigned in 1915 and became involved in the National Guilds League. After university, between 1911 and 1915, he was Secretary and General Manager of the pro-Labour newspaper, the *Daily Citizen*. Best known for his pacifist views, during World War I with Fenner Brockway, Allen formed the No-Conscription Fellowship (NCF), an organisation that required its members to "refuse from conscientious motives to bear arms because they consider human life to be sacred." Ramsay MacDonald, C.H. Norman, the philosopher Bertrand Russell, the miners' leader Robert Smillie and many others supported the NCF. In 1914 Allen published a subversive pamphlet *Is Germany Right and England Wrong?* pushing the view that Britain should eschew involvement in a European war. Allen supported the Guild Socialists and influenced Russell, his friend from Cambridge and the NCF, to support the National Guilds League. With the passing in 1916 of the *Military Service Act* confrontation with the authorities became inevitable. Three times Allen was imprisoned for conscientious objection serving 16 months in prison; at one point he was placed in solitary confinement and put on a diet of bread and water. Suffering from tuberculosis and close to death, in December 1917 Allen was released but he lost the use of one lung. He was never completely well again. In 1921 he was selected as the ILP candidate in the seat of Gorbals in Glasgow, then held by George Barnes, the Leader of the NDP. Barnes decided not to re-contest; but ill-health in 1922 forced Allen to withdraw from the contest won by Labour later that year. After the War, between 1922 and 1926, Allen was both Treasurer and Chairman of the Independent Labour Party and Chairman of the *New Leader*. From 1925 to 1935 he was a director of the *Daily Herald*. In 1931 Allen surprised his ILP and Labour colleagues when he supported the National Government led by his old friend Ramsay MacDonald, whom he had come to know in his Cambridge and NCF days. In 1932 on the Prime Minister's personal nomination, the King conferred the title Baron Allen of Hurtwood. Allen supported the government in the Lords. As the Government drifted so too did Allen whose new enthusiasm was the League of Nations Union. Allen formed his own political organisation, The Next Five Years Group (NFYG) which strove to formulate policies that might win allegiance from the leaders of the main political parties. Lloyd George lent a sympathetic ear. Sensing the potential for world conflict and seemingly

wanting to appeal to erstwhile colleagues, Allen strove to lead a new peace movement, forming the Anglo-German Fellowship Group, that aimed at dialogue and reducing tensions between Britain and Germany. He met Adolph Hitler. Thereafter Allen made plans to form an organisation to resist military conscription. In late 1938, seriously ill, Allen moved to a Swiss sanatorium where he died a few months later. Allen wrote several books: *Labour's Future at Stake*, G. Allen & Unwin, London (1932) and *Britain's Political Future: Plea for Liberty and Leadership*, Longmans, Green, London (1934). On his life, see: Martin Gilbert, *Plough My Own Furrow. The Story of Lord Allen of Hurtwood as told through his own writings and correspondence*, Longmans, London (1965); Arthur Marwick *Clifford Allen - The Open Conspirator*, Oliver & Boyd, London (1964); David Boulton *Objection Overruled*, Macgibbon & Kee, London (1967); Thomas C Kennedy *The Hound of Conscience: A History of the No-Conscription Fellowship, 1914-1919*, University of Arkansas Press, Fayetteville (1981).

Alexander Anderson (1863-1947), socialist, schoolteacher and schoolmaster, was the son of a shepherd, in the Lammermuir Hills area of south-east Scotland. In 1880 he was apprenticed as a pupil-teacher at Channelkirk Public School and in 1881 entered the Church of Scotland Training College at Edinburgh. In 1884 he entered Edinburgh University where he excelled, winning first prize in Senior Mathematics in 1885 and second prize in 1886. He also won second prize in Natural Philosophy in 1885 and second prize in Moral Philosophy in the same year. Graduating in 1887, he taught at Stenton Public School in East Lothian. It was here that in December, 1888, he married Eliza Brown and moved to Port Logan on the Mull of Galloway in Wigtownshire where he taught at the Northern Public School. Then to Kirkmaiden where in December 1889 their first child, William, was born. In February 1892, Anderson was appointed headmaster of the Cambusnethan School in Stonehouse. Passed over for more senior positions, he held this position until his retirement in 1924. Other children were Katherine (1892), John (1893) and Helen (1897). He was active in the Educational Institute of Scotland (EIS) of which he became a fellow (FEIS). See, for example: '£30 Advance Asked at Hamilton' *The Scotsman* (October 23, 1916): p. 8, which reports: "Mr Alex. Anderson, M.A., submitted a statement on behalf of the local Executive on the salary question and concluded by moving that, in consequence of the hardships teachers were suffering at the present time, School Boards within their area should be requested to give all teachers on their staffs an increase of salary to the extent of £30 per annum." See: [Anonymous] 'Obituary: Mr Alexander Anderson, M.A., F.E.I.S.' *The Scottish Educational Journal*, organ of the Educational Institute of Scotland, Vol. 30, No. 14 (April 18, 1947): p. 213: "…Mr. Anderson could not really retire, but would teach on until the end of his journey. This he did in the political field, ever championing the causes that he had so much heart… For some years he was a member of Committee of the Lanarkshire Local Association and was for a year Vice-President. He was also a member of Council of the Institute. He threw himself with characteristic zeal into the work of both bodies… Among those present at the funeral were Mr. John Summers, J.P., F.E.I.S., and Mr. W. McPheat, M.A., F.E.I.S., both former pupils and assistant teachers of Anderson's, and both now themselves retired." Anderson was active in socialist and other radical causes. In 1912, for example, of the 250 delegates representing 186 branches at the inaugural British Socialist Party (BSP) Conference, 12 came from Scotland and Anderson was the delegate from the Stonehouse branch. He stood as a candidate for a place on the nine member Executive Committee and gained 39 votes (out of 234 cast) coming 18th out of 54 in the ballot. None of the three Scottish candidates were elected; all the successful candidates came from England. Tom Kennedy, a member of the provisional executive and a delegate from the Aberdeen South branch, almost made it, coming 10th in the ballot with 76 votes – only three behind the last placed Executive Committee member. Subsequently, Anderson was successful. The 1912 BSP Conference determined: "The Executive shall consist of nine members, all of whom shall be nominated and elected by grouped areas of branches." In the 1913 elections, the first to be conducted on a territorial basis, he was elected to the national executive, as he was also in 1914 and 1915, the last time after a re-vote following a tie with John Maclean. In 1916 the latter displaced him. Anderson's loss was due to his support of the 'Hyndmanite' position concerning the Great War, the issue which split the BSP. Anderson left the BSP over the War, believing neutrality or opposition to the War was unwarranted. Yet he was no milk and biscuits moderate. He favoured radical socialist measures over 'reform'. For an example of his thinking before the Great War, see: Alexander Anderson 'The Futility of Social Reform' *The Vanguard*, organ of the Scottish Branches of the British Socialist Party, No. 3 (July, 1913): p. 1. (The late Mrs. Nan Milton provided me with a copy of this article.) He was probably one of the genuine radicals who thought Hyndman, whatever his other faults, was right on the war effort. His pro-War attitudes estranged him from erstwhile colleagues, perhaps contributing to his defeat in elections for representatives from Lanarkshire to the Council of the EIS. See a report on those elections at 'Elections' *The Scottish Educational Journal*, organ of the Educational Institute of Scotland, Vol. 11, No. 25 (June 20, 1919): p. 430. Anderson continued to be involved in the Clarion Scouts speaking at several events. See,

for example, the advertisement for Glasgow Clarion Scouts Summer Propaganda [highlights "A. Anderson of Stonehouse" as a future speaker at Radnor Street, West-end Park, Glasgow] *Forward* [Glasgow, Scotland] Vol. 11, No. 39 (Saturday, August 18, 1917): p. 4. After a period of political inactivity, as an old man, he and his wife Eliza joined the Communist Party of Great Britain. Family lore is that Anderson was instructed by the CPGB to infiltrate and report back on various labour, socialist and Church organisations with which he had connections. Appalled, they resigned from the Communist party. Email: *Cath Mayo to Michael Easson*, August 18, 2011; this account relies on conversations between Mayo and her mother, Mrs. Majorie Newhook, née Anderson. See also: *Report of The First Annual Conference of the British Socialist Party*, B.S.P. Publication (1912); Walter Kendall *The Revolutionary Movement in Britain 1900-21*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London (1969): pp. 58-59; p. 325, fn. 97.

Alexander John ("Sandy") Anderson (1923-1995), philosopher, son of Janet and John Anderson, graduated from the University of Sydney in 1952 with first class honours in Philosophy and third class honours in English; after a brief period in the Philosophy Department at Christchurch College, New Zealand, he was a Lecturer in Philosophy at Newcastle University in NSW, Australia (1954-1988) until retirement. His last years were spent at the family home at Turramurra; his papers are in the Archives of the University of Sydney.

Elizabeth Alexander, or "Eliza" as she liked to be known, née Elizabeth Brown, wife of Alexander, mother of William, John, Katherine and Helen, was the eldest of five siblings; she spent her childhood in Fauldhouse, East Lothian. After completing her teacher training at Glasgow Normal School, she taught for some years. A cultured woman, a keen pianist and gardener, in 1918 she contributed several poems to *The New Age*. See: M.E. Brown [apparently Mrs. E. Anderson's maiden name] 'The Grey Wolf' *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 23, No. 6 (June 6, 1918): p. 96. E. Anderson 'Autumn Quiet' *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 29, No. 19 (September 8, 1921): p. 228.

Elizabeth Anderson (1925-), known as "Eppie" Anderson, daughter of Margaret and William Anderson.

Janet Anderson (1893-1988), née Janet Currie Baillie, wife of Professor John Anderson.

John Anderson (1893-1962), brother of William, was born in Stonehouse, Lanarkshire, Scotland. After attending Hamilton Academy, he matriculated at the University of Glasgow. His first concern was with mathematics and physics and he turned primarily to philosophy late in his undergraduate career. He won prizes in many subjects, including political science, Greek, logic and political economy. In 1917 he graduated Master of Arts with first-class honours in philosophy and in mathematics and natural philosophy. That year he was awarded the Ferguson Scholarship in Philosophy and in 1919 the Shaw Philosophical Fellowship, both in open competition with graduates of all four Scottish universities. As holder of the Shaw Fellowship he was required to deliver four public lectures, which he did in February 1925 on 'The Nature of Mind'. Upon graduation from 1917-1919, he lectured at the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire (Cardiff), then as Professor Henry Jones' assistant, from 1919-1920 at the University of Glasgow, then, from 1920-1926, at the University of Edinburgh. In June 1922 he married Janet Currie Baillie, a fellow-student at both Hamilton Academy and the University of Glasgow; their one son was born in Scotland. From 1927 to 1958 Anderson occupied the Challis chair of Philosophy at the University of Sydney, Australia. He taught over a wide range of philosophy at both elementary and advanced levels: logic, metaphysics, the history of ancient and of modern philosophy, ethics and the philosophy of mind.

John Alexander Anderson (1930-), son of Margaret and William Anderson.

Margaret W. Anderson (1892-1962), or "Meg", as she liked to be known, née Summers, daughter of John Summers, married William Anderson in June 1919 and migrated with him to New Zealand and died there. She was the mother of Agnes Marjorie, Elizabeth and John.

William Anderson (1889-1955), philosopher and close friend of Matthew Robieson, was born on December 21, 1889 at Kirkmaiden, Scotland, son of Alexander Anderson, schoolmaster, and his wife, Eliza, née Brown. His father's socialist and anti-clerical convictions exerted a great influence on his children. With first class honours in philosophy in 1911, he graduated contemporaneously with two friends and twins, Matthew Robieson (in Philosophy) and William Robieson (in History). He seems to have had a good working knowledge of German, as did Robieson, publishing book reviews for the *Review*

of Theology and Philosophy. He also published several reviews of German-language philosophy books for *Mind* magazine. See postcard from *William Anderson to John Anderson* from Bonn, Germany, in 1914 in the John Anderson Archives. He became a Lecturer in Logic at Glasgow from 1912-1920. He served in World War I, from 1917 to 1918. On his return, he resumed his post at Glasgow and was also temporary assistant to the Professor of Moral Philosophy at Glasgow in 1919 to 1920. Between 1915 and 1919, he wrote for *The New Age* journal - on guild socialism and other topics. In 1919 he married Margaret W. Summers. That same year, he became literary executor to Matthew Robieson, who had died in July. He looked forward to publishing a collection of Robieson's work, but this never saw publication. He edited and oversaw the publication of Robieson's essay 'On the Reorganisation of University Education' in S.G. Hobson *National Guilds and the State*, G. Bell & Sons, Ltd., London (1920): pp. 363-400. From 1921 to his death in August 1955, just before retirement, he was the inaugural Professor of Philosophy at the Auckland University College, later renamed Auckland University in New Zealand.

John F. Armour, union leader, was one of the founders of the Glasgow Branch of the NGL; he is mentioned in the book: R.W. Postgate *The Builders' History* The National Federation of Building Trade Operatives, London (1923) at p. 400 as General Secretary in 1913 of the Scottish Operative [Stone] Masons' union. Armour served as a member of the Glasgow branch of the National Guilds League, where Matthew Robieson and William Anderson knew him. Armour wrote a paper: John F. Armour 'Organised Trade Unionists, Syndicalists and Guildsmen' in Huntly Carter, editor, *Industrial Reconstruction*, *A Symposium on the Situation After the War and How to Meet It*, T. Fisher Unwin, Ltd., London (1917): pp. 103-109. This reprinted a contribution originally published in *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 21, No. 6 (June 7, 1917): pp. 130-131.

David Malet Armstrong (1926-), philosopher, is considered the most philosophically distinguished of John Anderson's former students. He was born in Melbourne in 1926, educated at Dragon School, Oxford, and Geelong Grammar School. After service with the Royal Australian Navy in 1945-46, he enrolled at the University of Sydney, graduating with an Honours degree in Philosophy in 1950. His philosophical studies continued at Exeter College, Oxford. Afterwards he lectured at London University before returning to Australia in 1955 to take up a post as a Lecturer in Philosophy at the University of Melbourne in 1956, then Senior Lecturer in 1961. In 1964 he returned to the University of Sydney as the Challis Professor of Philosophy, replacing John Mackie; Armstrong held this position until retirement in 1991. Armstrong's main interests were in the areas of the theory of knowledge and perception, the philosophy of mind and metaphysics. He developed an international reputation, perhaps the most considerable of any Australian philosopher. Principal publications were *Berkeley's Theory of Vision: A Critical Examination of Bishop Berkeley's Essay Towards a New Theory of Vision*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne (1960); *Perception and the Physical World* , Routledge & Kegan Paul, London (1961); *Bodily Sensations* Routledge & Kegan Paul, London (1962); *A Materialist Theory of the Mind*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London (1968); *Belief, Truth and Knowledge*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (1973); *Universals and Scientific Realism* in two volumes: *Nominalism and Realism*; and *A Theory of Universals*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (1978); *The Nature of Mind and Other Essays*, Queensland University Press/Cornell University Press, St. Lucia/Ithaca (1980); *What is a Law of Nature?* (1983); *Consciousness and Causality* (1984); *Universals: An Opinionated Introductio* , Westview Press, Boulder (1989); *A Combinatorial Theory of Possibility*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (1989); *A World of States of Affairs* (1997) and *The Mind-body Problem* (1999). For an account of his ideas, see R.J. Bogdan (editor) *D.M. Armstrong*, Reidel, Dordrecht (1984). See also John Bacon, Keith Campbell and Lloyd Reinhardt, editors, *Ontology, Causality and Mind. Essays in Honour of D.M. Armstrong*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (1993). Armstrong's papers are in the National Library of Australia, MS 9363.

Robin Page Arnot (1890-1986) known as "Page Arnot" or as "R. Page Arnot", political activist and miners' historian, was born at Greenock on the Clyde on December 15, 1890, the grandson of a Chartist and son of John Arnot, a self-educated journalist who became editor of *The Greenock Telegraph*. Following schooling at the Greenock Academy, Arnot received a scholarship to study in the Faculty of Arts at Glasgow University, specialising in Ancient Greek. By 1907 a member of the Greenock branch of the Social Democratic Federation (SDF), he became actively involved in socialist politics in Glasgow through the University Fabian Society; he was instrumental in the establishment of the University Socialist Federation in 1912. He knew Matthew Robieson at university and in socialist circles. In 1914 Arnot joined the Fabian (later Labour) Research Department (LRD) as a researcher, based in London. Following the resignation of G.D.H. Cole, he was appointed Secretary, a post which he was to retain until 1927. He

remained on the Executive Committee of the Labour Research Department for over fifty years. This brought him into close contact with members of the trade union and labour movements. Political divisions did not take long to emerge within the Labour Research Department between Collectivists and the Guild Socialists. The latter counted Arnot, Cole and William Mellor as adherents, all influenced by the climate of industrial militancy in pre-war Britain. Arnot was characteristic of many of his Left contemporaries in being a simultaneous member of the Social Democratic Federation, the Fabian Society and the Independent Labour Party (ILP). He had participated in the establishment of the National Guilds League in 1915. Following the outbreak of the First World War, Arnot's political convictions led him to resist military service. He attempted to evade conscription in May 1917 not as a pacifist, but as a self-defined revolutionary socialist. He was charged with refusal to obey military orders and sentenced to two years' hard labour. During and after the war, Arnot developed his specialist knowledge of the miners in Britain and the history of their trade unions. The miners' evidence to the Sankey Commission in 1919 was largely his work, summarised in the publication by the Labour Research Department: *Facts from the Coal Commission*, Labour Research Department, London (1919). Arnot also composed a number of articles under the *nom de plume* of "Jack Cade" during this period, dealing with various aspects of trade unionism. The Russian Revolution in November 1917 exerted a profoundly radical influence on Arnot's political development. He was nominated as a delegate of a grouping of Guild Socialists (who described themselves as Guild Communists) to the founding conference of the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB) in 1920. From there began an unbroken period of faithful service to communism, which included several international roles as well as a long period on the national executive of the CPGB. Bizarrely he stuck with the CPGB through all of the Stalinist and other zig zag shifts of policy. He wrote a number of books on mining and mining union history. For a biographical article that also discusses Arnot's papers desposited at the University of Hull, see: Helen E. Roberts 'Years of Struggle: The Life and Work of Robin Page Arnot' *Labour History Review* Vol. 59, Part 2 (1994): pp. 58-63. A correspondence with Sir W.D. Robieson appears in his Papers at Hull. See also: R. Page Arnot 'A Memoir of G.D.H. Cole' *Labour Monthly* (February, 1959): pp. 66-70.

Herbert Henry Asquith (1852-1928) was Liberal Party Prime Minister 1908 to 1916. Though English, Asquith was a MP from two Scottish seats, East Fife, from 1886 to 1918, then Paisley, 1920 to 1924. See: Roy Jenkins *Asquith: Portrait of a Man and an Era*, Collins, London (1964) and Neal Blewett *The Peers, the Parties, and the People: The British General Elections of 1910*, Macmillan, London (1972).

Alfred Louis Bacharach (1891-1967), scientist, food chemist, socialist and musical historian, was educated at Cambridge and worked at Wellcome Bureau of Scientific Research from 1915 to 1919, then in 1919 moved to Glaxo Laboratories, becoming Chief Scientist, and worked there until retirement in 1956. In 1913 Bacharach was Secretary of the University Socialist Federation, the federation of UK campus socialist societies. See reference in the newsletter: *The University Socialist* (Michaelmas, 1913): p. 97. See W.F.J. Cuthbertson 'Obituary. Alfred Louis Bacharach' *Proceedings of the Society for Analytical Chemistry* Vol. 4 (April, 1967): pp. 67-69.

A.J. ("Jim") Baker (1923-), philosopher, studied under John Anderson at the University of Sydney and was later also educated at Oxford. Baker taught philosophy in Scotland, New Zealand, the United States and Australia, where he was Professor of Philosophy at Macquarie University. Several of his books systematically expound on John Anderson's philosophy: A.J. Baker *Anderson's Social Philosophy*: *The Social Thought & Political Life of Professor John Anderson*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney (1979) and A.J. Baker *Australian Realism: The Systematic Philosophy of John Anderson*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (1986).

George Nicoll Barnes (1859-1940), politician, was elected for the Labour Party in 1906 as MP for Glasgow Blackfiars and Hutchestown. After that constituency was abolished in 1918 he sat for Glasgow Gorbals, defeating the official Labour candidate, John Mclean, until retiring at the 1922 general election. Barnes was Leader of the UK Labour Party from February 14, 1910 to February 6, 1911. He was a particularly conservative Labour man, serving under the War Time Coalition Government as Minister for Pensions, 1916 to 1917, and as Minister without Portfolio, 1917 to 1920. When Labour Party support for the Lloyd George wartime Coalition government was withdrawn prior to the 1918 general election, Barnes decided to remain in the Cabinet. As a result he was expelled from the Labour Party and he co-founded the pro-coalition National Democratic and Labour Party (NDP), nine of whose candidates were elected on the Coalition Coupon. At the 1922 election, only one NDP candidate secured election. The NDP dissolved in 1923. The NDP origins lay in three tributaries: the Labour MPs who preferred to serve under

Lloyd George, the pro-War breakaway from the British Socialist Party (BSP), and, third, the 'patriotic labour' group, the Socialist National Defence Committee, formed around H.G. Wells and Robert Blatchford, who later merged with others to form the British Workers League. Blatchford swung *The Clarion* newspaper in support of the War effort and for the NDP. For details on the NDP, see: Roy Douglas 'The National Democratic Party and the British Workers' League' *The Historical Journal* Vol. 15, No. 3 (September 1972): pp. 543-552. See also: Paul Ward *Red Flag and Union Jack*: *Englishness, Patriotism and the British Left, 1881-1924*, Royal Historical Society, London (1998): pp. 147ff. Note also: Kenneth O. Morgan *Labour People: Leaders and Lieutenants: Hardie to Kinnock*, Oxford University Press, Oxford (1987) and William Knox, editor, *Scottish Labour Leaders 1918-1939*, Mainstream, Edinburgh (1984).

C.E.B. see Carl Eric Bechhofer Roberts

Carl Eric Bechhofer see Carl Eric Bechhofer Roberts

Max Beer (1864-1943) was the historian of British and the European labour movements. Born in Galiciaof Jewish stock, Beer migrated to Germany; in 1895-1896 he moved to England to study at the London School of Economics; returned to Germany in 1915 after classification by the UK government as an enemy alien. Edited *Die Glocke* 1919-1921; worked consecutively at the Marx-Engels Institute in Moscow 1927-1929 and at the *Institut für Sozialforschung* in Frankfurt am Main; moved to London in 1933; died there during the War. Most of his papers are held by the International Institute of Social History (IISH) in Amsterdam, which also has a short biography.

Hilaire Belloc (1870-1953) was an extraordinarily prolific writer, poet, novelist, essayist, historian and historical biographer, and political journalist who wrote for *The New Age* from 1908-1910 and episodically thereafter. He served as a Liberal MP for South Salford in the House of Commons from 1906-1910, but he soon lost interest in party politics. Sometime a member of the Fabian Society, he was keenly interested in economic reform and later, along with his close friend G.K. Chesterton, became an advocate of 'Distributism'. The latter could be described as Guild Socialism with rosary beads! Except that a key difference was the clear distributivist view that private property was the foundation of a free society. (George Bernard Shaw referred to the two men as "Chesterbelloc".) With Belloc, there was a Glasgow connection: In 1899, after a year of touring the United States giving speeches, Belloc lost a fellowship at Oxford and a professorship in history at Glasgow University due to his growing militant views on Catholicism. One book had a profound influence on the Guild Socialists: Hilaire Belloc *The Servile State*, T.N. Foulis, Edinburgh and London (1912). For a good biography, see: A.N. Wilson *Hilaire Belloc*, Hamish Hamilton, London (1984).

Robert Peel Glanville Blatchford (1851-1943), journalist and political activist, launched *The Clarion* newspaper in 1891. His socialist cycling clubs were popular; hundreds of such combined physical exercise and socialist propagandising. The Clarion Clubs, composed of readers and sympathisers of the *Clarion* journal, were formed in the 1890s under the influence of Blatchford: "These groups were largely concerned with the enlargement of the human personality, the intellectual and moral regeneration of the working class was seen as the essential counterpart to any social and economic reorganisation. In order to change society it was necessary, they argued, to transform the individual." David Prynn 'The Clarion Clubs, Rambling and the Holiday Associations in Britain since the l890s' *Journal of Contemporary History* Vol. 11 (1976): p. 65. Alexander Anderson was one such enthusiast. Several memoirs, Robert Blatchford *As I Lay A-Thinking: Some Memories and Reflections of an Ancient and Quiet Watchman*, Hodder & Stoughton, London (1926) and *My Eighty Years*, Cassell & Company Limited, London (1931), shed light on his political outlook including, following the War, a drift to a more conservative, anti-socialist position. He had supported the war effort and sided with Barnes' NDP on its formation in 1918. *Cf.* entry for Robert Blatchford in Joyce M. Bellamy and John Saville (editors) *Dictionary of Labour Biography*, Volume IV, Macmillan, London (1977): pp. 34-42. See also Laurence Thompson *Robert Blatchford: Portrait of a Gentleman*, Victor Gollancz, London (1951).

Archibald Allan Bowman (1883-1936), philosopher, was born in Beith, Ayrshire, Scotland. He studied at Glasgow University graduating in 1905 M.A. with first class honours in Philosophy and second class honours in Classics. Soon after he was appointed assistant to the Professor of Logic at Glasgow University and Lecturer in Logic at Queen Margaret College. In 1912 he accepted a Chair at Princeton University as Stuart Professor of Logic. This cleared the way for William Anderson's appointment as Assistant to

Professor Latta. In 1913 he was a referee for Robieson for his QUB application. Bowman obtained leave of absence to serve in the Highland Light Infantry during the First World War. He was taken prisoner at the Battle of Lys, in April 1918, and spent some months in captivity as a prisoner of war. In 1925 he returned to Glasgow University as Professor of Logic and Rhetoric; then, in 1926, replacing Professor Hector Hetherington, Bowman switched to become Professor of Moral Philosophy (to 1936, when he died). His greatest interest was in the field of the philosophy of religion. Although he died before he was able to complete his major work on the subject, some of his papers were collected in: A.A. Bowman *Studies in the Philosophy of Religion*, in two volumes, edited by Norman Kemp Smith, Macmillan & Co, London, (1938). One of his publications appears in the Anderson Archives: Archibald A. Bowman 'Difference as Ultimate and Dimensional', a paper read to the Scots Philosophical Club, 21 May 1910, offprint from *Mind* Vol. 19, new series, No. 76 (1911): pp. 493-522. ['M.W. Robieson 1911' written at top]. Personal Papers of John Anderson, P 42: Series 1: Material from Scotland, Box 1, folder 1.

Sir John Boyd (1887-1967) MA, 1912; LLB, 1920; LLD, 1958, lawyer and legal academic, was born in Ayrshire in Scotland; at the University of Glasgow he befriended O.H. Mavor, Walter Elliot and other leading lights of the student community. He knew the Robieson twins and William Anderson. Boyd graduated MA (1912) and served in the First World War with the 1st Royal Dublin Fusiliers and the Highland Light Infantry, returning to his studies at the University, graduating LLB (1920). Although active in the Glasgow University Socialist Society and the University Fabian Society, he later supported Walter Elliot and the Unionist cause in Scottish politics. He became a solicitor and a partner in Russell & Duncan. Later at Glasgow University he became Professor of Mercantile Law from 1946 to 1957 and Law Faculty Dean, 1947 to 1949. He was awarded an LLD in 1958. Boyd was Vice-President of the Law Society of Scotland in 1954 to 1955 and Dean of the Royal Faculty of Procurators of Glasgow, 1955. He was knighted in 1961. See "J.B.M." and "C.A.O." Obituary: 'Boyd, Emeritus Professor Sir John' *The College Courant*, the journal of the Glasgow University Graduates Association, Vol. 20, No. 40 (Whitsun, 1968): p. 49.

Francis Herbert Bradley (1846-1924), philosopher, was the leading English idealist. His most famous book was F.H. Bradley *Appearance and Reality* Swan Sonnenschein, London (1893, and subsequent editions). His supporters saw his writings as insightful and as brilliant literary creations. See, for example, T.S. Eliot *Knowledge and Experience in the Philosophy of F.H. Bradley*, Faber and Faber, London (1916; 1964). This was Eliot's 1916 Harvard PhD dissertation written whilst he was in Europe. The war, however, precluded him taking the *viva voce*. Robieson concludes his 1910 essay 'Modern Realism' with a quote from Bradley. See S. Candlish *The Russell/Bradley Dispute and its Significance for Twentieth Century Philosophy*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke (2006).

Henry Noel Brailsford (1873-1958), journalist and Labour activist, graduated in 1894 from Glasgow University as a M.A. with First Class Honours in Logic and Moral Philosophy. Along with Thomas Jones he co-founded the Glasgow University Fabian Society. From 1895-1896 he was assistant to Professor Henry Jones at Glasgow University; in 1907 he joined the ILP and from 1922 to 1926 was editor of the *New Leader* journal. For biographical details see F.M. Leventhal *The Last Dissenter H.N. Brailsford and his World*, Clarendon Press, Oxford (1985) and the entry in: Joyce M. Bellamy and John Saville (editors) *Dictionary of Labour Biography*, Macmillan, London (1974): pp. 46-53. See also: Henry Noel Brailsford *The Russian Workers' Republic*, Allen and Unwin, London (1921).

Charles Brookfarmer, pseudonym, see Carl Erich Bechhöfer Roberts.

Alfred Lawson Brown (1927-2006) was Vice-Principal of Glasgow University, 1985 to 1990. He graduated MA with first class honours from Glasgow in 1948, then served in the RAF before going to Balliol College, Oxford, as a College Exhibitioner and with the Eglinton Fellowship. Four years after his return to Glasgow as a lecturer he was awarded the degree of D.Phil. in 1955. Brown's particular research interests lay in the study of the history of English government in the 14th and 15th centuries. He was Titular Professor of Medieval History at the University from 1973 until 1978, when he succeeded Professor Lionel Stones to the Edwards Chair of Medieval History. With Professor Michael Moss, he wrote a history of the university, *The University of Glasgow: 1451-1996*. Mrs Anne Kahane and Professor A.L. Brown interviewed Sir William Robieson about student life at Glasgow. An edited transcript of part of those conversations is: W.D. Robieson 'An Edwardian Student' *The College Courant*, the journal of the Glasgow University Graduates Association, Vol. 30, No. 60 (Whitsun, 1978): pp. 6-11.

Captain Ralph Seath Stark Brown (-1975), lawyer and Glasgow graduate MA and LLB served on the General List - Royal Air Force and was awarded the Military Cross in World War I. He was a friend of the Robiesons at university. For biographies of many of those who served in World War I, see 'First World War Roll of Honour' on-line details, website of the University of Glasgow, accessed November 2010. See: obituary reference in *The College Courant* Vol. 27, No. 54 (Whitsun 1975): p. 43.

Andrew Browning (1898-1972), historian, in September 1914 he replaced William Robieson as assistant to the Professor in History at Glasgow. Poor eyesight delayed Browning's entry to the Army, which he joined in 1917, serving as 2nd Lieutenant in the Royal Garrison Artillery. After the War, he returned to the University of Glasgow, succeeding Medley as Professor of History in 1931. His best known works were his edition of *English Historical Documents 1660-1714* Vol.VIII, Eyre & Spottiswoode, London (1953) and *Thomas Osborne, Earl of Danby and Duke of Leeds 1632-1712*, Jackson, London (1944-1951).

R.H.C., pseudonym, see Alfred Orage.

Edward Caird (1835-1908), philosopher, was Professor of Moral Philosophy at Glasgow University from 1866 to 1893. Along with F.H. Bradley and T.H. Green he is considered the most influential of the British Idealist philosophers. He gave the Gifford Lectures, 1900-1902 and 1903. Born in Greenock, Scotland, Caird was the younger brother of John Caird (1820-1898) the University's Principal. Educated at Glasgow University and at Balliol College, Oxford, before taking the Moral Philosophy Chair, Edward Caird played a leading role in establishing political science as a subject for study at the University. He returned to Oxford in 1893 as Master of Balliol College, until 1907. A Liberal who held radical views for his day, Caird supported the provision of further education for women and the establishment of university settlement programmes and he opposed Britain's involvement in war against the Boers in South Africa (1899-1902). See Henry Jones and John H. Muirhead *The Life and Philosophy of Edward Caird*, Maclehose, Jackson and Co., Glasgow (1921).

(Charles) Arthur Campbell (1897-1973) was Professor of Logic and Rhetoric at Glasgow University from 1938 to 1961 and Dean of Faculties from 1964 to 1967. He served with the 10th Borders Regiment during the First World War - but was invalided out in 1917. He then studied at Glasgow University and later at Balliol College, Oxford, returning to Glasgow in 1924 as a lecturer in Moral Philosophy. He was Professor of Philosophy at the University of North Wales from 1932 until his appointment to the Chair of Logic and Rhetoric at Glasgow four years later. In publications such as *Scepticism and Construction*: *Bradley's Sceptical Principle as the Basis of Constructive Philosophy*, The Macmillan Company, London (1931) and *In Defence of Free Will with other Philosophical Essays*, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London (1967), Campbell developed his arguments against the prevailing academic fashions for linguisticism and positivism. See D.L.C. Maclachlan 'CAMPBELL, Charles Arthur (1897-1974)' in Stuart Brown, General Editor, *The Dictionary of Twentieth-Century British Philosophers*, *Vol. 1, A-L*, Thoemmes Continuum, Bristol (2005): pp. 145-148.

Rev. Reginald John Campbell (1867-1956), minister of religion, once predicted that: "The time will come when the wider theology and the Socialist gospel will be seen to be one and the same..." He was one of the honorary Vice Presidents of the Glasgow University Socialist Society in 1910-1911. He once had a huge following, saying that Christianity and socialism sprang from the same source. See: Rev. R.J. Campbell 'The Aim of the New Theology Movement' *The Hibbert Journal* Vol. V (1906-1907): pp. 481-493. He spoke at Glasgow; see report on the 'Glasgow University Socialist Society' *Glasgow University Magazine* Vol. 21, No. 6 (December 9, 1908): p. 159. More generally, on his radical theology, see: Peter Jones *The Christian Socialist Revival 1877-1914*, Princeton University Press, Princeton (1958): pp. 421-430. The Rev. R.J. Campbell's autobiography is unfortunately obscure as to his political activities and full of apologies concerning his advocacy of the 'New Theology'. For, by 1916, he had left the Congregational Church, renounced his New Theology, taken Anglican Holy Orders and become Orthodox in his teaching. His autobiography was written in this spirit. See: Rev. R.J. Campbell *A Spiritual Pilgrimage*, Williams and Norgate, London (1916).

Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman (1836-1908), politician, born in Glasgow was the MP for the Scottish constituency of Stirling Burghs from 1868 to 1908, Leader of the Liberal Party from 1898 to his death in 1908. In 1905 he won a landslide election win for the Liberals and served as Prime Minister, dying in office. See Roy Hattersley *Campbell-Bannerman*, Haus Publishing Limited, British Prime Ministers of the 20th Century Series, London (2005).

Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881) was a Scottish essayist, novelist and historian. He coined the phrase that economics is "the dismal science". See Fred Kaplan *Thomas Carlyle: A Biography*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca (1983).

Edward Carpenter (1844-1929) was a mystical socialist and homosexual who had an influence in popularising socialist ideas in intellectual circles. See Chushichi Tsuzuki *Edward Carpenter 1844-1929 - Prophet of Human Fellowship*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (1980).

Edward Henry Carson (1854-1935), the Irish Unionist leader, leading Protestant and barrister, though from Dublin, came to represent the Ulster Unionists. During World War I he was successively Leader of the Opposition, Attorney General, First Lord of the Admiralty, Minister without portfolio and a member of the War Cabinet. See H. Montgomery Hyde *Carson*, Constable, London (1974).

Huntly Carter (-1942) was a journalist, traveller and writer on the arts. Closely associated with *The New Age*, he edited several collections of essays on post World War I reconstruction that featured articles by leading guild socialists. See: Huntly Carter, editor, *Industrial Reconstruction*, *A Symposium on the Situation After the War and How to Meet It*, T. Fisher Unwin Ltd., London (1917) and Huntly Carter, editor, *The Limits of State Control*, *A Symposium on the Present Situation & How to Meet It*, T. Fisher Unwin Ltd., London (1919). The first of those reprints articles that appeared in *The New Age* including by Matthew Robieson and William Anderson. Earlier, Carter wrote *The New Spirit in Art and Drama*, Frank Palmer, London (1912). He edited *Spiritualism: Its Present-Day Meaning*: *A Symposium*, T. Fisher Unwin, London (1920). Later, he wrote about the vitality of the Russian theatre providing a sympathetic account of the innovations in Russian theatre and film as developed after the Revolution. An author and lecturer on Russian theatre, his works include *The New Theatre And Cinema Of Soviet Russia*. *Being an Analysis And Synthesis of the Unified Theatre Produced in Russia by the 1917 Revolution and an Account of Its Growth and Development from 1917 to the Present Day*, Chapman & Dodd, London (1924) and *The New Spirit in the Russian Theatre 1917-28*. *And a Sketch of the Russian Kinema and Radio 1919-28, Showing the new Communal Relationship Between the Three*, Brentano's Ltd., London (1929). The Huntly Carter Collection, part of the Society for Co-operation in Russian and Soviet Studies (SCRSS) Library in Brixton Road, London, is a resource on early Soviet architecture and theatre, including production photographs, set and costume design. This is based on Carter's collection of photographs of original productions in the new Russian theatres, from the Revolution through to the 1930s. The SCRSS Photo Library was established in 1943 and contains some 60,000 colour and black/white photographs, slides, and realia covering all aspects of cultural life in Russia and the former Soviet Union from pre-1917 to the present. See: [Anonymous] 'Obituary' *The Times* [London, England] March 31, 1942, p. 6.

Gilbert Keith Chesterton (1874-1936), English writer, wit and Catholic apologist, authored criticisms, verse, essays, novels and short stories. No one did paradox better. His series about the priest-detective Father Brown appeared in 50 stories. Together with Belloc, Chesterton wrote on the ills of the 20th century, particularly focused on social and moral theories that developed into what became called Distributism. They wanted to create a balanced economy that supported both independent farmers and small industries owned by the workers. The Catholic Church, according to their theory, would provide whatever control, local and international, that would be needed. Their theory was famously debated among Belloc, Chesterton, H.G. Wells, and George Bernard Shaw over a two year period in *The New Age*. The debate dragged, however, and Belloc and Chesterton sought a new outlet for their views. They broke away from *The New Age* in 1911 to begin their own literary journal called *The Eye Witness* in which they more effectively wanted to express their personal and political views, including opposition to socialism. A sympathetic, readable biography is Masie Ward *Gilbert Keith Chesterton*, Sheed and Ward, London (1944).

Joseph Clayton (1868-1943) was a journalist, Christian socialist and prolific author, including Joseph Clayton *The Rise and Decline of Socialism in Great Britain, 1884-1924*, Faber & Gwyer, London (1926). He sold *The New Age* to Orage in 1907.

John Robert Clynes (1869-1949), another trade union leader turned Labour Party politician, was a MP for 35 years, the first Englishman leading the party from 1921 to 1922, including in its breakthrough at the 1922 general election. See Kenneth O. Morgan *Labour People: Leaders and Lieutenants: Hardie to Kinnock*, Oxford University Press, Oxford (1987) and William Knox, editor, *Scottish Labour Leaders 1918-1939*, Mainstream, Edinburgh (1984).

George Douglas Howard Cole (1889-1959) was a political theorist, historian, economist, detective story writer and journalist. His philosophy stressed fellowship and the democratic control of the workplace, placing emphasis on decentralisation and pluralism as essential components of socialism. Active in the peace movement, Cole was a conscientious objector in the First World War. In 1918, the year he became director of the Labour Party's research department, he married Margaret Isabel Postgate, the daughter of Professor J.P. Postgate and sister to R.W. Postgate, a socialist economist. Together, the Coles collaborated on many works of politics, economics, and sociology – as well as twenty-nine detective stories. Cole first came to prominence with his work *The World of Labour*, G. Bell & Sons, Ltd., London (1913), which would evolve into the theory of Guild Socialism and was published in second (1915), third (1917) – which Robieson reviewed for *The Guildsman* - and fourth (1919) editions. Cole co-founded the National Guilds League in 1915. Among his other works are *Labour in Wartime*, G. Bell & Sons, Ltd., London (1915); with R. Page Arnot *Trade Unionism on the Railways*, Fabian Research Department/Allen and Unwin, London (1917); G.D.H. Cole *Self Government in Industry*, G. Bell & Sons, Ltd., London (first edition: 1917, second edition: 1918; third edition: 1919, fourth: 1920); G.D.H.Cole *Social Theory*, Methuen, London (1920); G.D.H. Cole *Chaos and Order in Industry*, Methuen & Co. Ltd., London (1920); G.D.H. Cole *Workshop Organisation*, Clarendon Press, Oxford (1923); *Trade Unionism and Munitions*, Clarendon Press, Oxford and London (1923); *A Short History of the British Working Class Movement*, George Allen & Unwin, London in 3 volumes (1925-1927); *A History of the Labour Party Since 1914*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London (1948). In *The New Age*, Cole wrote nearly fifty contributions, including: 'Nationalisation and the Guilds' in six parts, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 15, No.s 19-24 (September 10- October 15, 1914); 'Guilds and Industrial Change' *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 14, No. 23 (April 9, 1914); 'The Genesis of French Syndicalism and Some Unspoken Morals' in three parts, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 14, No.s 14-16 (February 5–19, 1914); other articles and various letters to the editor. Convinced that it was possible to have a socialist democracy not based on capitalism - an idea explored in *What Marx Really Meant*, Gollancz, London (1934), Cole tried to integrate the practical and the visionary. In 1931 G.D.H. Cole created the Society for Socialist Inquiry and Propaganda (SSIP). This was later renamed the Socialist League. Other members included William Mellor, Charles Trevelyan, Stafford Cripps, H.N. Brailsford, D.N. Pritt, R.H. Tawney, Frank Wise, David Kirkwood, Clement Attlee, Neil Maclean, Frederick Pethick-Lawrence, Alfred Salter, Jennie Lee, Gilbert Mitchison, Harold Laski, Frank Horrabin, Ellen Wilkinson, Aneurin Bevan, Ernest Bevin, Arthur Pugh, Michael Foot and Barbara Betts. Margaret Cole admitted that they got some of the members from the old Guild Socialist movement: "Douglas and I recruited personally its first list drawing upon comrades from all stages of our political lives." The first pamphlet published by the SSIP was G.D.H. Cole and E. Bevin *The Crisis*, New Statesman and Nation, London (1931). According to Ben Pimlott, author of *Labour and the Left in the 1930s*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (1977): "The Socialist League... set up branches, undertook to promote and carry out research, propaganda and discussion, issue pamphlets, reports and books, and organise conferences, meetings, lectures and schools. To this extent it was strongly in the Fabian tradition, and it worked in close conjunction with Cole's other group, the New Fabian Research Bureau." It also mimicked Cole's experiences with guild socialism a decade before. The main objective was to persuade a future Labour government to implement socialist policies. Cole would later become one of the leading figures in the Fabian Society, serving as chairman from 1939 to 1946 and 1948 to 1950 and as president from 1952 to 1959. On the United Front period, see David Blaazer *The Popular Front & The Progressive Tradition Socialists, Liberals, and the Quest for Unity, 1884-1939*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (1992). The best biography of Cole is L.P. Carpenter *G.D.H. Cole An Intellectual Biography*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (1973). Also notable is A.W. Wright *G.D.H.Cole and Socialist Democracy*, Oxford University Press, Oxford (1979).

Margaret Cole (1893-1980), née Postgate, socialist writer and activist, after successfully completing her Arts course at Cambridge, became a classics teacher at a girls' school. During World War I, she supported pacificism and opposed conscription. A brother, Raymond, was jailed for refusing military conscription; he wanted exemption as a socialist. This was denied. As such experiences radicalised them, both brother and sister grew estranged from their Tory father. During her subsequent campaign against conscription, she met G.D.H. Cole. They both became active in the National Guilds League. They married in 1918. See at p. 275 the triptych given by friends, including Robieson, to commemorate the Coles' marriage. The couple moved to Oxford in 1924 where they both taught and wrote. In reaction to the challenges of Fascism and Nazism, both Coles abandoned pacificism. Her memoirs are a vivid, interesting account of the ideas, personalities and political challenges of her time. See: Margaret Cole *Growing up Into Revolution*,

Longmans, Green and Co., London (1949). See also: Betty D. Vernon *Margaret Cole 1893-1980*, Croom Helm, London (1986).

R.H. Congreve, pseudonym, see Alfred Orage.

Countess of Warwick see: Frances Evelyn "Daisy" Greville.

Benedetto Croce (1866-1952), philosopher, critic, and educator, dominated Italian intellectual life in the first half of the 20th century. His many critical and philosophical writings brought Italian letters into the mainstream of European thought. Robieson reviewed several translations of his work. See Jack D'Amico, Dain A. Trafton and Massimo Verdicchio, editors, *The Legacy of Benedetto Croce*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto (1999).

George Nathaniel Curzon, 1st Marquess Curzon of Kedleston, 5th Baron Scarsdale (1859-1925), was a conservative British statesman and former Viceroy of India, educated at Eton and Balliol College, Oxford. At Oxford he was president of the Union, and after a brilliant university career was elected a fellow of All Souls College in 1883. He became assistant private secretary to Lord Salisbury in 1885, and in 1886 entered parliament as member for the Southport division of south-west Lancashire. He served as under-secretary for India in 1891-1892 and for foreign affairs in 1895-1898. In January 1899 he was appointed Governor-General of India. On this appointment he was created an Irish peer and it was understood that he might remain free during his father's lifetime to re-enter the House of Commons. A difference of opinion with the British military commander-in-chief in India, Lord Kitchener, regarding the position of the military in the administration of India, led to a controversy in which Lord Curzon failed to obtain support from the home government. He resigned in August 1905 and returned to England. In 1908 Curzon was elected a representative peer for Ireland, and thus relinquished any idea of returning to the House of Commons. As he was then, Lord Curzon was Glasgow University Rector from 1908 until 1911. Curzon's opponents in the 1908 rectorial election were the Chancellor of the Exchequer, David Lloyd George, and the socialist politician Keir Hardie. Matthew Robieson was active in campaigning for Hardie. Curzon delayed travelling to Glasgow for his installation, resulting in mass meetings of students – at least one of which Robieson spoke at - calling for his resignation. He was finally installed just nine months before the end of his term of office. In 1909-1910 he took an active part in opposing the Liberal government's proposal to abolish the legislative veto of the House of Lords. He served in Lloyd George's War Cabinet as Leader of the House of Lords from December 1916. Despite his continued opposition to votes for women (he had earlier headed the Anti-Suffrage League), the House of Lords voted conclusively in its favour. Appointed Foreign Secretary from January 1919, Curzon gave his name to the British government's proposed Soviet-Polish boundary, the Curzon Line of December 1919. On Andrew Bonar Law's retirement as Prime Minister in May 1923, Curzon was passed over in favour of Stanley Baldwin. Curzon's stance on women voters is often given as the reason. He retired from office as Foreign Secretary and from politics after the government's fall in January 1924. He was created Earl of Kedleston and Marquess Curzon of Kedleston in 1921. Amongst many biographies, see: David Gilmour *Curzon: Imperial Statesman*, John Murray (Publishers) Ltd., London (1994).

Edward Hugh John Neale Dalton (1887-1962), known as "Hugh Dalton", was an economist and British Labour Party politician. Educated at Cambridge, the LSE and Middle Temple (for the bar), during World War I he served as a Lieutenant on the French and Italian Fronts. Like most Labour intellectuals of the time, he took a sympathetic interest in the ideas of the guild socialists. See: Hugh Dalton 'The Meaning of National Guilds' *The Highway* Vol. 11, No. 5 (February, 1919): pp. 43-44. Dalton won election at Peckham in 1924, Bishop Auckland in 1929; defeated in 1931; re-elected 1935; During the World War II coalition, In 1940 Winston Churchill appointed him Minister of Economic Warfare and Dalton established the Special Operations Executive, and was later a member of the executive committee of the Political Warfare Executive. He became President of the Board of Trade in 1942. After the 1945 Labour election victory, Dalton served as Chancellor of the Exchequer from 1945 to 1947, resigning over a Budget leak. In 1948 he returned to the Cabinet as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, then became Minister of Town and Country Planning in 1950, renamed as Minister of Local Government and Planning in 1951. He did not stand at the 1951 General Election. In 1960 he was made a life peer as Baron Dalton, of Forest and Friton in the County Palatine of Durham. For details on Dalton, see Ben Plimott's biography: *Hugh Dalton*, Jonathan Cape Ltd., London (1989); though this well-regarded book fails to mention Dalton's interest in Guild Socialism.

George Davie (1912-2007), philosopher and classicist, was born in Dundee, Scotland and educated at Edinburgh University where, in 1935, he graduated MA with first class honours in classics. After graduation, Davie was appointed assistant to Professor Norman Kemp Smith, later editing some of his works. He served in World War II and was a Lecturer in Philosophy, Queen's University, Belfast, 1946-1959; Lecturer in Philosophy, Edinburgh University, 1959-82, and Reader Emeritus 1987-2007. He is best known for an illuminating, polemical work: George Davie *The Democratic Intellect*: *Scotland and her Universities in the Nineteenth Century*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh (1961). Central to the book is a thesis about liberal education as part of the culture and academic politics of Scotland's universities in the 19th century. The book discussed of the restriction of academic independence by centralisation, inter-university competition for prestige, research versus teaching and even versus scholarship, as well as notions of abandoning moral discourse for ill-examined claims regarding scientific advance. Davie believed that the contribution of Scottish philosophers had been neglected and that the unique, vibrant traditions of Scottish education had been almost snuffed out. For Davie, a major purpose of studying the history of philosophy as a uniquely Scottish tradition was to understand that practical and public questions needful of resolution warranted the more complex technical considerations of academia. His first publication was really a nationalist tract and evoked scathing criticism. Note in particular R.D. Anderson 'G.E. Davie's *The Democratic Intellect*', in R.D. Anderson *Education and Opportunity in Victorian Scotland Schools and Universities*, Clarendon Press, Oxford (1983): pp. 358-361. A mid-1970s sabbatical in Sydney enabled him to work on the archived papers of John Anderson, and this kindled consciousness of John Anderson's thinking. Davie's second published book, George Davie *The Crisis of the Democratic Intellect*: *The Problem of Generalism and Specialism in Twentieth-Century Scotland*, Polygon, Edinburgh (1986), was on liberal education, philosophy and public intellectual life in 20th century Scotland. Several Chapters dealt with John Anderson's thinking. Davie tried to demonstrate with skill, humour and historical grasp the need to reassess and to value the generalist tradition of education in Scotland, a tradition in which philosophy played a key role. Though he sometimes argues insightfully, the book also rambles widely, at times in infuriatingly confused directions. In 1953 Edinburgh awarded Davie a D.Litt. for his thesis *A Scotch Metaphysics - the Theory of Knowledge in the Scottish Universities 1730-1860*. A librarian at QUB, the poet Philip Larkin, recommended the thesis for publication. Routledge, the publisher, accepted the manuscript on condition that an historical introduction be added. That 'introduction' developed into Davie's classic work, his first book. Years later, when Routledge were reminded of their conditional acceptance of the dissertation, it was published by them as *The Scotch Metaphysics: A Century of Enlightenment in Scotland*, Taylor and Francis, Routledge, London (2001). The book was a defence of a generalist view of education and argued that deep knowledge and a general understanding were married. Unfortunately, Davie's prose tended to elide citation and interpretation. The crossing of frontiers is an implication of what Davie understood by the democratic intellect. Davie says that he derived his title from Walter Elliot's phrase 'democratic intellectualism'. That phrase meant the cultivation of a discursive élite from the widest social catchment area, through a widely diffused and open intellectual system, combining methodological rigour with an openness of agenda. Davie posits that from the middle of the nineteenth century the intellectual scene in Scotland was increasingly Anglicist. The "remarkable constitutional compromise" of the Union of 1707 gave way after the Reform Bill of 1832 and the Disruption of 1843 to a provincialism - which saw "the alienation of common sense." By common sense was meant the outcome of the comparison of the data of the special senses that function in the sphere of our experience of the physical world, much as sympathy functions in the sphere of our relationships with other human beings. Common sense and sympathy came together such that the partial knowledge of individuals could be corrected by mutual discussion resulting in "a lay consensus capable of revealing certain of the limitations of interest in the expert's point of view." Hence Davie's regret that over the 20th century the traditional generalist curricula of the Scottish universities were replaced by specialist tendencies, typical of the English universities. When Davie endorses John Burnet's opinion that philosophy should perform a supervisory role in the university, he meant that philosophy itself was the forum for the coöperation of common sense and sympathy. He saw encouragement of criticism as one of the aims of this philosophy of the democratic intellect.

Ramiro de Maeztu (1874-1936), i.e., in the archaic Spanish way, Ramiro de Maeztu y Whitney, was born in Vitoria, the capital of Álava province of northern Spain in the southern part of what is now the Basque Autonomous Community, to an ethnically Basque father, Don Manuel, and an English-French mother, Jeanne, née Whitney, a native of Nice, France, the daughter of Don John Whitney, of Milan, Italy, trader, and Sara Bone, a native of London. The father, Don Manuel de Maeztu, was a plantation owner and a native of Cienfuegos, Cuba, the son of Don Francisco de Maeztu a natural of Alcanadre, province of La Rioja, and Dona Ana Rodriguez-Prieto, born in Cienfuegos, Cuba. Ramiro de Maeztu lived briefly in Paris,

1890 to 1891, then joined his father in Cuba on his family's plantation, where they battled unsuccessfully against financial ruin. Upon his father's death in 1895 he returned to Bilbao, Spain, to live with his mother. He wrote for *El Parvenir Vascongado* ("The Basque Future"), then moved to Madrid, 1897, and wrote for various newspapers and journals. He was among the young Spanish intellectuals deeply affected by their country's humiliating defeat in the Spanish-American War of 1898 when Spain lost its two remaining substantial colonies, Cuba and The Philippines. He became a leader of the Generation of '98, a Spanish literary and cultural movement of the first two decades of the 20th century. He became a foreign correspondent based in London, 1905-1919, reporting from the Allied Front during World War I. He wrote 84 articles for *The New Age* journal and claimed sympathy for the Guild Socialist ideas of the time. Articles he wrote from 1915 to 1916 were included in his book: Ramiro de Maeztu *Authority, Liberty and Function in the Light of the War*, George Allen and Unwin, London (1916). Robieson's series of 8 articles on 'An Apology in Defence of Liberty' was in part a response to de Maeztu's more conservative, Idealist views of 'function'. Back in Spain, from 1919, de Maeztu became a columnist for *El Sol*. In the 1920s he was increasingly involved in opposition to the Left. To fight the corruption of the radically secular, capitalist, or Marxist state, he proposed the creation of a system based on trade unions, which would follow its own independent and professional hierarchies. Professional excellence would be - as in the Middle Ages - rewarded by means of an autonomous and hierarchical structure, rendering unnecessary governmental mediation. In this respect, guildsmen such as Arthur J. Penty saw him as an ally. In the English phase of his life, de Maeztu both influenced and was influenced by Orage and his circle. de Maeztu's own theories of Guild Socialism and the function of society were shaped by *The New Age*'s writers, particularly as articulated by Penty, Orage, and S.G. Hobson. Of particular note were the writings of Penty who first detailed the doctrine of Guild Socialism in his 1906 The Restoration of the Gild System. Penty was important also because of his emphasis on the importance of the soul/spirit, which was crucial to de Maeztu's writings on spirituality and faith and their role in social improvement. Another *New Age* contributor that left a mark was Thomas Ernest Hulme (1883-1917), the translator of George Sorel's *Reflections on Violence*, a text that influenced de Maeztu's philosophy. Already knowing him, travelling in France and Germany, de Maeztu befriended Hulme, who fought in the War. Upon hearing of his death in battle in 1917, de Maeztu declared that Hulme's influence had not been merely doctrinal or philosophical, but as a model of heroism and civic valour. Despite his part English origin and extensive period living there as a correspondent for *La Correspondencia de Espana*, *Nuevo Mundo*, *La Prensa* and other Spanish and South American newspapers, and his marriage to Alice Mabel Hill (1883-1963) in London on December 14, 1916, Spain and Spanish culture increasingly interested him; he envisaged the potential of a revived Spanish culture offering an alternative to rampant capitalism and Marxist socialism. Yet he also had an intense desire to acquaint himself with English life and institutions. He evinced curiosity about all aspects of British and American life, especially the question of their evident, perhaps temporary, superiority over the Spanish-American nations. (In 1925 de Maeztu came to the United States for three months as visiting professor of Hispanic civilization at Middlebury College in Vermont). After 1919, upon his return to Spain, Maeztu questioned his earlier thinking and modified his ideas, rejecting socialism and arguing that human reason alone was not enough to solve social problems. Ultimately his enquiries led him to the world of religious values. The importance of strong authority and tradition, rooted in the Roman Catholic Church, found favour in his writings. In *Don Quijote, Don Juan y la Celestina* (1926; "Don Quixote, Don Juan and Celestina") he claimed that Don Quixote represents the ideal of love, Don Juan the ideal of power, and the Celestina that of wisdom. But none of the three figures can be deemed complete because they lacked what the other two have. Although Don Quixote is the most moral of the three, his love is ineffective because of his lack of wisdom and power. de Maeztu became one of the most prominent defenders of the regime of Miguel Primo de Rivera (in office, 1923-1930) and became Ambassador to Argentina from 1927 to 1930. Along with Pedro Sainz Rodríguez and others, he founded the monarchist *Acción Española* ("Spanish Action") journal in 1931. In 1934 he was elected as representative from Guipúzcoa (Spanish) or Gipuzkoa (Basque) province of the Basque Country, bordering Álava, to the Cortez, the Spanish Parliament. In the same year his final published book was written, *Defensa de la hispanidad* ("In Defense of Hispanity"), advocating "a return to pure Spanishness" and strongly condeming Liberalism and the French Revolution's slogan liberté, égalité, fraternité. He makes the claim that the moral and economic collapse of the Western powers and Russia following World War I clearly implicate the peoples of Hispanic language and culture as the moral reserve of the West. Spain's historical task thus consisted of an acceptance of this type of 'manifest destiny' and a resumption of its role as bearer of Christianity and civilization to both the decadent capitalist world and the brutal communist dictatorship. His ideal became a Catholic, constitutional monarchical regime, where people could have a voice in decision-making; he defended the de Rivera regime as relatively tolerant to what followed. There were no political executions, for example. In July 1936, in the early days

of the Spanish Civil War, de Maeztu was arrested near Madrid by leftist militias and thereafter imprisoned without trial. A report in *The Times* referred to this: "He knows of no charge against him." On October 29, 1936 de Maeztu was executed by a firing squad of Republican soldiers. His wife and teenage only child escaped to England. Because of his murder by the Spanish Republicans and because the Franco Falangists craved political respectability, de Maeztu was posthumously hailed as a brave, fascist intellectual. On July 18, 1974 towards the end of the regime (Franco was to die in November 1975), on the anniversary of the Spanish civil war, Franco honoured Ramiro de Maeztu by creating the title 'Count of Maeztu' - bestowed on his descendents. An only son, Juan Manuel de Maeztu Hill (1918-1999), who returned to Spain during the Civil War to fight the Left and avenge his father's death, therefore became the second Count. Ramiro de Maeztu's life, work, and death are emblematic of the Spanish tragedy of the 1930s. He wrote many foolish things and this contributed to the ruining of his reputation. According to Nozick, he supported the Japanese conquest of Manchuria and made anti-semitic comments. The man who had been a subtle Spanish political theorist, journalist, literary critic, romantic Catholic intellectual, occasional diplomat, politician and member of the literary Generation of '98 died an anachronism. In the cardboard cutout simplicity of Spanish politics, circa 1936, he did not belong. The Left saw him as a renegade, a reactionary. Yet even if he contributed to the ideology of Spanish traditionalism, which had affinities with the 'National Catholicism' of the Franco dictatorship, this did not make him a fascist warrior - even if the Left thought so and Franco decided to honour him as such. He had four siblings, Ángela, Miguel, María de Maeztu Whitney (1882-1948), Spanish educator, feminist, and academic; and Gustavo de Maeztu, the painter (1887-1947). A Museum, the Gustavo de Maeztu Museum, Palacio de los Reyes de Navarra (the Palace of the Kings of Navarre), Estella, in the Navarra region of Spain, exhibits many of the latter's paintings. De Maeztu's grand-daughter assisted on biographical detail: Email: *Almudena de Maeztu to Michael Easson*, January 28, 2012 and subsequent emails. See also: [Anonymous] 'An Uncensored Dispatch: Madrid in War-Time. City of Nerves' *The Times* [London, England] (August 22, 1936): p. 10. Martin Nozick 'An Examination of Ramiro de Maeztu' *PMLA* Vol. 69, No. 4 (September, 1954): pp. 719-740 and Ricardo Landeira *Ramiro de Maeztu*, Twayne Publishers, Boston (1978).

James Denney (1856-1917), theologian and minister, was a Scottish United Free Church theologian and New Testament scholar. He studied at Glasgow University between 1874 and 1879 where he graduated with First Class Honours in Classics and Philosophy, and then, as a student of theology, at the United Free Church College, Glasgow, 1879-1883. He served at the United Free Church College, first as Professor of Systematic Theology and then, from 1900, as Professor of New Testament Language and Literature, a post he held until his death in 1917. In 1913 he was a referee for Robieson for his QUB application. For accounts of Denney's ideas, see: John R. Taylor *God Loves Like That! The Theology of James Denney*, SCM Press, London (1962). James M. Gordon *James Denney (1856-1917) an Intellectual and Contextual Biography*, Paternoster Press, Carlisle (2006).

Helen Dick (1897-1968), née Anderson, sister of William and John, lived in Scotland all of her life; she died in 1968. Letter: *Mrs. Catherine Brown to Michael Easson*, August 22, 1978. Mrs. Brown was Mrs. Dick's daughter.

William Macneile Dixon (1866-1946), poet and literary scholar, was Regius Professor of English Language and Literature at Glasgow University from 1904 until 1935. He was awarded an LLD in 1936 and delivered the Gifford Lectures at Glasgow, 1935-1937. Born in India, Dixon studied at Trinity College, Dublin, and in 1891 became Professor of English Literature in Alexandra College, Dublin. He was Professor of English Literature in the University of Birmingham from 1894 until his appointment to Glasgow. Dixon published popular and academic works of poetry, history, literary criticism and philosophy, and was one of the best-known British authors of his day. In 1913 he was a referee for Robieson for his QUB application. See Dixon's on-line biography 'University People', The Glasgow University Story, University of Glasgow website, accessed February 2011.

Henry Drucker (1942-2002), political scientist and fund-raiser, was born in Paterson, New Jersey, in the United States. Drucker moved to Britain in 1964. He completed a PhD in political philosophy at the London School of Economics in 1967 and was immediately hired by Edinburgh University. He spent 20 years there as an energetic lecturer and was renowned for his ability to teach the most complex issues in a simple and engaging way. Drucker often used contemporary events and historical context to help students connect with abstract political science concepts. His many publications included *Doctrine and Ethos In The Labour Party* (1979) and, with Gordon Brown, *The Politics Of Nationalism And Devolution*, Longmans, London (1980). He and his wife, Nancy, edited the highly influential *Scottish Government Year*

Book, Paul Harris Publishing, Edinburgh (1979-1982). Drucker was a leading commentator on Scottish politics for the BBC, and founding and co-editor of the textbook *Developments In British Politics*. After being passed over for Professorships at Edinburgh and Sydney, Drucker decided on a new career. He became one of the founding fathers of modern fundraising in Britain as leader of the 'Campaign for Oxford'. Drucker was a long-time advocate of universities raising money independently rather than relying on an impoverished centrally controlled budget. He was presented with a daunting task: raise £220 million in seven years. One college head, perhaps knowledgeable of the challenges Drucker faced in his lack of Oxbridge connections and Oxford's lack of benefactors, and volunteers quipped: "If you don't raise the money we'll fire you: if you do raise it, we'll say we'd have done it anyway." Surpassing all possible expectations, by 1994 Drucker had revolutionised the university's archaic fund-raising apparatus. Oxford now had a league of benefactors and up-to-date, professional staff in Oxford, New York, and Tokyo. The £341 million pounds Drucker raised at campaign's close funded many of Oxford University's most highly acclaimed additions, including the Said Business School, the Sheldonian Theatre, and the Sackler wing at the Ashmolean Museum. In 1994, Drucker left Oxford to found his own consultancy firm to help non-profits, universities, and charities fund-raise large sums. Although he had helped Labour raise funds, in 1996 Drucker had a falling out when he argued for public funding and full transparency of donations – unheeded advice that was re-emphasised at his appearance in 1998 before the Neill Committee on Standards in Public Life. Drucker had suffered for many years of various heart-related maladies. A heart attack, several years after a second bypass operation, claimed his life. Perhaps his most significant contribution to political science was his delineation of doctrine and ethos in the UK Labour Party. Biographical details here are derived from personal knowledge, including meetings and correspondence between 1980 to 2000, [Anonymous] 'Henry Drucker' *The Times* [London, England] November 6, 2002, p. 30, and Nick Thorn and Alasdair Steven 'Henry Drucker' *PS: Political Science and Politics* Vol. 36, No. 1 (January, 2003): p. 103.

Robert Alexander Duff (1866-?), D. Phil., graduated with a MA with first class honours in philosophy in 1886. He was Assistant to the Professor of Moral Philosophy in Glasgow University; conducted Logic Class during 1894-95, the session after Professor Veitch's death; he was a Lecturer on Moral Philosophy in Queen Margaret College. In 1909 he was appointed the first Edward Caird Lecturer in Political Philosophy, a post he held until 1926. In 1907 Duff persuaded Robieson to study philosophy, taught him, and, in 1913, was a referee for Robieson's QUB application.

The Rt. Hon. Walter Elliot Elliot (1888-1958) of Harwood, C.H., F.R.S., known as "Walter Elliott", politician, medical practitioner and intellectual, was born in Lanark, Scotland. His father was a tenant farmer and livestock auctioneer; his mother died in childbirth, and Walter, along with his younger brother and two sisters, was brought up by her family in Glasgow. He was a pupil at Lanark High School and Glasgow Academy before going to Glasgow University to study Science and Medicine in 1905. One of his contemporaries at the Academy and at University was Osborne Henry Mavor, who became a lifelong friend. The two embarked on eight years of student life, both graduating in medicine in 1913, both serving as medical officers in the Great War and both surviving to enjoy very distinguished careers. Elliot made the most of his student years to enjoy university life, to debate and socialise and get involved in campus life and literature, becoming prominent in the Socialist and Fabian Societies at Glasgow University. He was a contemporary of and knew the Robieson twins and William Anderson. He was president of the Union in 1911-1912, and editor in 1909-1910 of the *Glasgow University Magazine*, to which he contributed articles and poetry, sometimes under pseudonyms, such as "Parvus". This busy life clashed with his studies. In 1905 he took classes in Natural Philosophy and Chemistry, passing both on a third attempt in 1907. He graduated with a BSc in 1910, by which time he had also settled into the study of Medicine. He graduated with an MB ChB on April 21, 1913. In 1914 Elliot was mobilised to serve with the Royal Army Medical Corps (Special Reserve) attached to the Royal Scots Greys. Serving at the Western Front, he was awarded the Military Cross (MC) in April 1917 for his gallantry at Wancourt, near Arras. A bar was added to this decoration as a result of further action at Cambrai in November 1917. His younger brother Dan was killed at Gallipolli in 1915. Although Captain Elliot was wounded in the leg in October 1918, he returned safely from the war to start in a new direction. While recovering from his wound he was asked to stand for Lanark as a coalition Unionist candidate and he won the seat. He was widowed after an accident nine days after his first marriage in 1919. Elliot remained a MP for Lanark until defeated in 1923. He spoke at a NGL Conference on Guild Socialism in 1919. In May 1924 he stood at a bye-election in Glasgow Kelvingrove, and was returned to Parliament for that constituency until defeated in 1945. Between 1946 and 1950 he was MP for the Scottish Universities seat, then again MP for Glasgow Kelvingrove from 1950-1958. At one time he was tipped as a future Prime Minister. Elliot held

office in turn as Minister of Agriculture (1932-36), Secretary of State for Scotland (1936-38) and as Minister of Health, also responsible for Local Government (1938-40). A centrist who acquired a reputation for progressive politics, Elliot supported devolving powers to Ireland in 1920 in the Ireland Act, was an enthusiast for the Empire Marketing Board, free milk for school children and greater intervention by the state to improve people's lives. He had a reputation of fighting Scotland's corner, especially in housing, where he set up the Scottish Special Housing Association to stimulate more action on building and design. During the 'Appeasement Crisis' Churchill and many of Elliot's friends pleaded with him to resign on a matter of principle. He considered. That thought bubble, however, never burst into action. Qualms were expressed inside Cabinet and to colleagues, but not outside. The public rallied in support of the Prime Minister's Munich deal, an apparent bargain for peace; Elliot's reservations were appeased. Elliot, a key Minister, seemed from the outside part of Chamberlain's core support base. The invasion of Poland in September 1939 weakened the Prime Minister. War was declared. Eventually, when in May 1940 Churchill became the new PM, Elliot was out of the Ministry. Replacing him as Scotland's most influential MP was Labour's Tom Johnston, whom Elliot knew from common membership of the Glasgow University Socialist and Fabian Clubs. Elliot remained a backbencher until his death in 1958, also serving as Rector of Aberdeen and Glasgow Universities and as Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland (1956 and 1957). In April 1934 he married Katharine Tennant (1903-1994), later Baroness Elliot of Harwood. He inherited the estate of Harwood in the Scottish Borders from his father, who had bought this ancient property towards the end of his life. Elliot was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1935 and was made a Companion of Honour in 1952. George Davie credits him with the origin of the phrase 'the democratic intellect'. Elliot's publications include *Toryism and the Twentieth Century*, with an introduction by the Rt. Hon. Stanley Baldwin, P. Allan & Co. Ltd., The Westminster Library, London (1927) and *Long Distance*, Constable & Co., London (1943).

Monica Ewer (1889-1964) née Thompson, wife of W.N. Ewer, became well known as a journalist and writer, composing some 50 novels, mostly of a popular, romantic sort. Her family background stimulated such pursuits; her father, W.M. Thompson had edited of *Reynolds' Newspaper* and her mother's family owned the *Cork Examiner*. She had been active in P.E.N. and other literary associations. See: [Anonymous] 'Mrs. Monica Ewer' *The Times* [London, England] November 24, 1964, p. 14.

William Norman Ewer (1885-1977), CBE, foreign affairs writer and political activist, was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he took the Mathematical Tripos. He married Monica Thompson in 1912. He was a supporter of guild socialism. Some of his articles on freedom in the guilds, published in *The New Age*, were singled out by Robieson for favourable mention. The War seemed to radicalise him and Ewer became identified with the 'guild communists'. Known as 'Trilby Ewer' after a style of hat he wore, from 1919 to retirement in 1964, he worked on the *Daily Herald* as a journalist. As foreign editor of the *Daily Herald* he was able to travel abroad freely; in setting up the Federated Press of America, he controlled many of its activities. In 1924 Ewer came to the attention of MI5, the UK domestic security service, who found that the Soviet Embassy in London were financing Ewer's operation. Under the alias 'Kenneth Milton' and 'QX', Ewer had acquired confidential information from contacts in Scotland Yard, including details of pending actions against communists in the UK. The Ewer network was exposed in 1929 and his Scotland Yard collaborators were identified and dismissed. Ewer himself was not prosecuted and it was judged that his organisation had been successfully dismantled. He renounced his pro-communist sympathies. See MI5 file, The Security Service: Personal (PF Series) Files KV 2/1016-1017 in the UK National Archives. See: Christopher Andrew *The Defence of the Realm*, The Authorised History of MI5, Allen Lane, London (2009): pp. 152ff. See also, for a partial defence, John Callaghan and Kevin Morgan 'The Open Conspiracy of the Communist Party and the Case of W.N. Ewer, Communist and anti-Communist' *The Historical Journal* Vol. 49, No. 2 (2006): pp. 549-564. A study of MI6, the UK international security service, mentions some details of Ewer's international spy activity; see: Keith Jeffrey *MI6*, The History of the Secret Intelligence Service, Bloomsbury Publishing Plc., London (2010): pp. 230-231. See also: [Anonymous] 'Obituary. Mr. W.N. Ewer. Noted Foreign Affairs Writer' *The Times* [London, England] January 31, 1977, p. 14.

Rev. Thomas Aloysius Finlay (1848-1940), Jesuit priest, scholar, philosopher, classicist, political economist, and literary editor, was amongst the most significant Irish intellectuals of his time, as founder of various literary and academic publications, university professor and spiritual guide to the Irish co-operation movement. Finlay was co-founder of the periodical *Catholic Ireland*, which became the influential *Irish Monthly*. He founded and edited the *Lyceum magazine* (1889-1894) and the *New Ireland*

Review (1894-1911), which was succeeded in 1912 by *Studies*, the highly influential Jesuit publication which still continues to this day. At University College, Dublin (UCD), he occupied the chairs of philosophy (1883-1900) and political economy (1900-1930), professing in three different disciplines – classics, philosophy, and political economy. As part of his deep involvement in the Irish cooperative movement, he founded and edited the *Irish Homestead*. He actively supported of the movement winning support among northern unionists as well as southern farmers. Perhaps naturally the guildsmen and guild socialists in Ireland sought his advice and interest. Robieson spoke at the Abbey Theatre on December 15, 1918 on 'Implications of National Guilds' with Rev. T.A. Finlay, SJ, in the chair. See the advertisement: *Irish Independent* (Saturday, December 14, 1918): p. 1. For biographical details on Finlay, see: George O'Brien, 'Father Thomas A. Finlay, S.J., 1848–1940' *Studies* Vol. 29 (1940): pp. 27-40, and Thomas J. Morrissey 'Finlay, Thomas Aloysius (1848-1940)' *Irish Dictionary of Biography* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (2010), online edition accessed, January 2012. A brother, Peter Finlay (1851-1929), was also a Jesuit priest, scholar at UCD, and teacher.

Charles Cooper Penrose Fitzgerald (1841-1921), when a Vice-Admiral in the Royal Navy in 1914 organised a group of thirty women in Folkestone to distribute white feathers, a symbol of cowardice, to men not in uniform. This idea rapidly spread nationwide. See Nicoletta F. Gullace 'White Feathers and Wounded Men: Female Patriotism and the Memory of the Great War' *The Journal of British Studies* Vol. 36, No. 2 (April, 1997): pp: 178-206.

Ford Madox Ford (1873-1939), novelist, editor, poet and cultural critic, was christened Ford Madox Hueffer. In 1919 he settled on the name Ford Madox Ford. In 1908 Ford began the periodical the *English Review* in order to publish Thomas Hardy's *The Sunday Morning Tragedy*, which had been rejected everywhere else. Other contributors included Joseph Conrad, William James, John Galsworthy, T.S. Eliot, Robert Frost, Norman Douglas, Wyndham Lewis, H.G. Wells, D.H. Lawrence, and Anatole France. Ford was involved in the British war propaganda after the outbreak of World War I. He worked for the War Propaganda Bureau with other writers and scholars who were popular in those years, Including Arnold Bennett, John Buchan, G.K. Chesterton, Hilaire Belloc and Gilbert Murray. Ford wrote two propaganda books for the war effort: (co-author) *When Blood is Their Argument: An Analysis of Prussian Culture* (1915) and *Between St. Dennis and St. George: A Sketch of Three Civilizations* (1915). In 1914 Ford published what he intended to be his last novel, *The Good Soldier*. After World War I Ford founded the *Transatlantic Review*, which numbered among its contributors James Joyce and Ernest Hemingway. Out of his experiences in wartime England and service in a Welsh regiment, he then wrote the series of novels that is chiefly responsible for his high reputation: *Some Do Not*, *No More Parades*, and *A Man Could Stand Up*, published in 1924-1926, and the final volume, *The Last Post*, published in 1928. Ford also contributed to *The New Age*. Orage had a high estimate of his worth as a writer. For an account of his life and writings, see Arthur Mizener *The Saddest Story: A Biography of Ford Madox Ford*, The Bodley Head, London (1971).

Rev. Captain Foster Franklin (?-1968) MA, a contemporary of the Robieson twins and William Anderson, edited the *Glasgow University Magazine*, 1911-1912, and served in the 3rd Highland Light Infantry and was wounded in the War. He became a Minister in the Church of Scotland, serving for many years in the parish of Kilmalcolm and Corstorphine, Edinburgh. See obituary reference in *The College Courant* Vol. 21, No. 42 (Whitsun, 1969): p. 59.

James Biggam Galbraith (1894-1984), physician, shown in the Glasgow University *Student Handbook 1910-1911* as one of the Vice Presidents of the Glasgow University Socialist Club, was educated at Stranraer High School in south-west Scotland and then at the University of Glasgow (MB, Ch.B., 1917; MD, 1923). In 1915 he was a surgeon probationer in the Royal Navy Volunteer Reserve, serving in destroyers. Joining the Royal Army Medical Corps in 1917, he was posted to Mesopotamia and Kurdistan before being demobilised in 1920 as a captain. He then worked in Glasgow hospitals until migrating to Australia in 1923, where he had a distinguished career. See Gordon Keys Smith, 'Galbraith, James Biggam Douglas (1894-1984)' *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 17, Melbourne University Press, Parkville (2009): pp. 421-422.

William Gallacher (1881-1965), union activist and communist, in 1915 became Acting Secretary of the Clyde Workers' Committee (CWC). In his role as CWC chairman in 1916 he was sentenced to six months jail for a seditious article in *The Worker*, the organ of the CWC. Together with the guildsman John Paton he wrote a pamphlet on industrial democracy: W. Gallacher and J. Paton *Towards Industrial Democracy A*

Memorandum on Workshop Control, Paisley Trades and Labour Council (n.d., *circa* 1917). He was again imprisoned this time for incitement to riot after the events of Bloody Friday also known as the Battle of George Square and as Black Friday on January 31, 1919. This was one of the most intense riots in the history of Glasgow. Unions were campaigning to reduce the working week to maintain full employment following demobilisation. Strike leaders, including Gallacher, linked the 40-hours movement to the seamen's unions' protests against overseas labour by stressing the common interests of both in preserving the job prospects of (white) labour. As a CWC delegate, Gallacher attended the second Congress of the Communist International, meeting Lenin in 1920. He converted to communism, and on his return to Britain played an influential role in the early development of the Communist Party of Great Britain and became Vice President in 1921. In 1925, on a new charge of sedition, one of five defendants, he was sentenced to 12 months imprisonment. In 1935, after various failed attempts to win election to Parliament, he was elected as a Communist to the House of Commons as the Member for West Fife, eventually losing the seat in elections in 1950. On Bloody Friday, see: Stuart MacIntyre review Iain McLean *The Legend of Red Clydeside*, *Labour History* No. 48 (May, 1985): pp. 113-115 and Jacqueline Jenkinson 'Black Sailors on Red Clydeside: Rioting, Reactionary Trade Unionism and Conflicting Notions of 'Britishness' Following the First World War' *Twentieth Century British History*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (2008): pp. 29-60. Gallacher published four books of memoirs, none of which refer to his erstwhile friend, John Paton. See: William Gallacher *Revolt on the Clyde*, *An Autobiography*, Lawrence and Wishart, London (1936); *The Chosen Few*: *A Sketch of Men and Events in Parliament*, Lawrence and Wishart, London (1940); *Rise Like Lions*, Lawrence and Wishart, London (1951); and, *Last Memoirs*, Lawrence and Wishart, London (1966).

Arthur Eric Rowton Gill (1882-1940), known as "Eric Gill", British sculptor, stonecutter, printmaker and typeface designer was associated with the Arts and Crafts movement. The movement, which flourished under the influence of John Ruskin and William Morris, advocated truth to materials and traditional craftsmanship using simple forms and often medieval, romantic or folk styles of decoration. See Robert Speaight *Life of Eric Gill* M, Methuen, London (1966) and Malcolm Yorke *Eric Gill - Man of Flesh and Spirit*, Constable, London (1981).

Conrad Gill (1883-1968), economic historian, was appointed to the teaching staff at QUB in 1913. Gill secured the WEA's first grant in 1915 when the Finance Committee of the University awarded £10 for books for the use of WEA students. He knew Robieson at QUB; both served on the committee of the QUB Philosophy Club. Gill left Belfast in 1920 becoming Reader in Constitutional History at the University of Birmingham. His *The Rise of the Irish Linen Industry*, The Clarendon Press, Oxford (1925) explained why the North of Ireland became the chief centre of linen manufacture in the world. See: [Anonymous] 'Prof Conrad Gill' *The Times* [London, England] March 13, 1968, p. 12.

Robert Bontine Cunninghame Graham (1852-1936), adventurer, politician, political activist, writer and ratbag, was one of the more mercurial and eccentric characters of his day. He was known as 'Don Roberto' and 'the Modern Don Quixote', because of his impetuous lifestyle, romanticism and frequent travels to Latin America. He was also hailed as 'the Uncrowned King of Scotland', because of his claimed descent from King Robert II. His life was astonishingly varied. He travelled in Morocco disguised as an Arab sheik and prospected for gold in Spain. After an early period as an adventurer, when he worked as a cattle rancher and horse-dealer in South America and Texas, he embarked on a stormy political career. Elected as a Liberal MP, he became the first self-proclaimed socialist in Parliament; he was gaoled after assailing the police at what became known as the Battle of Trafalgar Square, London, on Bloody Sunday, 1887. He later became a founder of the first Labour Party. In 1910-1911 he was listed as one of the honorary Vice Presidents of the Glasgow University Socialist Society, which Tom Johnston had done so much to vitalise. In 1918 as an 'Asquith Liberal', he contested a seat against Johnston; the Unionist candidate got elected. Cunninghame Graham eventually was elected president of the Scottish National Party. He was also a writer of tales, essays, histories and biographies – some set in Mexico and South America. See Cedric Watts and Laurence Davies *Cunninghame Graham: A Critical Biography*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (1979).

Thomas Gratton, pseudonym, see T.E. Hulme.

Albert Victor Grayson (1881-1920), known as "Victor Grayson", was an avowed socialist and an independent Labour member, elected in a by-election in 1907, at the age of 25, as the MP for Colne Valley constituency in Yorkshire. Grayson attacked the leaders of the Independent Labour Party for lack of

socialist principle. For several months, at the end of 1908 and the beginning of 1909, Grayson was appointed to the editorial staff of *The New Age* journal. In 1911, after Grayson lost his seat in the election of 1910, he was appointed joint editor with Orage of *The New Age* journal. Grayson's campaign for a new Socialist Party contributed to the formation, in 1912, of the British Socialist Party. His sudden and still-unexplained disappearance in 1920 was said to have been the result of his intention to reveal evidence of corruption at the highest levels of British political life. See Henry Pelling *Popular Politics and Society in Late Victorian Britain*, Macmillan, London (1968): pp. 136-143. Walter Kendall *The Revolutionary Movement in Britain 1900-21*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London (1969): pp. 278; 329, fn. 67; S.T. Glass *The Responsible Society The Ideas of the English Guild Socialists*, Longmans, London (1966): p. 27. More generally, see: David Clark *Victor Grayson – Labour's Lost Leader*, Quartet Books, London (1985); and, David Howell 'Grayson, (albert) Victor (b. 1881)', H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, editors, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biograph*y, Vol. 23, Oxford University Press, Oxford (2004): pp. 474-475.

Thomas Hill Green (1836-1882) political philosopher and leading member of the British Idealist movement, played an important role in changing liberal assumptions, by moving from a 'negative' conception of freedom, i.e., freedom from action of others, towards a more 'positive' one, including the freedom to act in a certain way. See: T.H. Green *Lectures on the Principles of Political Obligation* (1873) and T.H. Green *Prolegomena to Ethics*, A.C. Bradley, editor, Clarendon Press, Oxford (1883). For an assessment, see: Michael Freeden *The New Liberalism*: *An Ideology of Social Reform*, Clarendon Press, Oxford (1978) and Matt Carter *T.H. Green and the Development of Ethical Socialism*, Imprint Academic, Exeter (2003).

Frances Evelyn "Daisy" Greville, Countess of Warwick (1861-1938), wealthy society beauty, socialist and philanthropist, is now known to have been in the 1890s the mistress to the then Prince of Wales. Robert Blatchford wrote a hostile critique of Warwick's lavish lifestyle in the 1890s, and this led her to seek him out to discuss socialism. Their discussions had a lasting impact, and in 1904 she joined the Social Democratic Federation. She donated large amounts of money to the organisation and in particular supported its campaign for free meals for schoolchildren. As a patron of several parishes, she appointed socialist clergy such as Conrad Noel to their livings. See references to her in Martin Crick *History of the Social-democratic Federation*, Keele University Press, Keele (1994). In 1895, whilst the affair was in full bloom, the future King Edward VII (I841-1910) said: "we are all socialists now" a line widely attributed to him ever since. Pendants point out, however, that the progressive Liberal Sir William Harcourt (1827-1904) used the phrase first, in the House of Commons, on August 12, 1887. See Peter Stansky 'Harcourt, Sir William George Granville Venables Vernon (1827-1904)' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* Oxford University Press, Oxford (2008); Theo Aronson *The King in Love Edward VII's Mistresses: Lillie Langtry, Daisy Warwick, Alice Keppel and Others*, Harper & Row, New York, (1988). In 1910-1911 she was listed as one of the honorary Vice Presidents of the Glasgow University Socialist Society. For a contemporary statement of her views see: Frances Evelyn, The Countess of Warwick, in the series 'Some Church Socialists and Their Views' *The Church Socialist* Vol. 1, No. 7 (July, 1912): pp. 3-4.

George Ivanovich Gurdjieff (1866-1949), religious leader, argued that existing forms of religious and spiritual traditions had mostly lost connection with their original meaning and vitality. Anyone wanting to pursue any of the traditional paths to spiritual knowledge (which Gurdjieff reduced to three - namely the path of the fakir, the path of the monk, and the path of the yogi) were required to renounce life in the world. Gurdjieff developed a 'Fourth Way' supposedly amenable to the requirements of modern people living modern lives. Instead of developing body, mind, or emotions separately, Gurdjieff's discipline worked on all three to promote comprehensive and balanced inner development. He established the Institute for the Harmonious Development of Man at the *Prieuré des Basses Loges* in Fontainebleau-Avon near the famous Chateau de Fontainebleau, south of Paris. Orage became one of his most famous disciples. For an account of his thought, see Margaret Anderson *The Unknowable Gurdjieff*, Penguin, London (1962).

Emily Alice Haigh was the name of the writer known as "Beatrice Hastings".

James Keir Hardie Sr. (1856-1915), known as Keir Hardie, was born and bred in Scotland where he became a union leader and co-founder of the Scottish Labour Party. In April 1888 he unsuccessfully stood as an independent labour candidate in Mid Lanark, Scotland. From 1892 to 1895 he was MP for West Ham South, on the then outskirts of London. In 1893 he co-founded the Independent Labour Party (ILP). He was ILP Party Chairman from 1894 to 1900. Defeated in the general elections of 1895, Hardie

remained politically active. In 1900, he organised a meeting of various trade unions and socialist groups and they agreed to form a Labour Representation Committee (LRC), the forerunner to the Labour Party. From 1900 to 1915, Hardie served as MP for Merthyr Tydfil and Aberdare in the South Wales valleys. In 1906 he became Leader of the UK Labour Party. In 1908 Hardie was succeeded by the Glasgow born Arthur Henderson. Tom Johnston and Matthew Robieson campaigned for Hardie's election as Rector of Glasgow University in 1908. See: Kenneth O. Morgan *Labour People: Leaders and Lieutenants: Hardie to Kinnock*, Oxford University Press, Oxford (1987) and William Knox, editor, *Scottish Labour Leaders 1918-1939*, Mainstream, Edinburgh (1984).

Owen Harries (1930-) was born in Wales in 1930 and educated at the Universities of Wales and Oxford. After serving as a pilot officer in the RAF (1952-54), he taught at the Universities of Sydney in adult education and then in foreign policy and politics at the University of New South Wales from 1956 to 1975. Later he worked for the Australian Government in various foreign policy roles, at first on leave from the University; from 1982-83 he was Australian Ambassador to UNESCO. Based in Washington, from its creation in 1985 until retirement in 2001, he was co-founder and editor-in-chief of the foreign policy magazine *The National Interest*. At the present time, Harries is a Fellow of the Lowy Institute and also a Fellow of the Centre for Independent Studies. See the profile: Andrew Clark 'The Influencer' *Australian Financial Review* December 15, 2006, p. 47.

Beatrice Hastings (1879-1943) was the name adopted by Emily Alice Haigh, writer, poet, theosophist and literary critic who, for a time, was Orage's mistress. Born in London, then raised in Port Elizabeth in the Cape Colony of South Africa, she was sent to boarding school in Pevensey, England. Later she took the name of Beatrice Hastings and developed a career in journalism. A political activist who contributed articles to *The New Age*, Hastings was a member of the Society for Abolition of Capital Punishment, the Social Democratic Federation and the Penal Reform League. She was a strong supporter of Madame Blavatsky, the theosophist spiritualist. Hastings, along with Orage, with whom she lived with at the time, helped to discover Katherine Mansfield and arranged for her work to be published. In 1914 Hastings moved to France and shared an apartment in Montparnasse with Amadeo Modigliani, the painter. Under the by-line "Alice Morning", Hastings wrote regularly from France for *The New Age*. Towards the end of her life, bitter about the lack of literary recognition she felt her due, she accused Orage of conspiring to keep her out of literary circles in Britain. Hastings published a pamphlet fiercely criticising him. In 1943, probably suffering from cancer, she killed herself with gas from a domestic cooker. See: Beatrice Hastings *The Old "New Age" - Orage and Others*, Blue Moon Press, London (1935); see also: Beatrice Hastings *Defence of Madame Blavatsky*, volumes 1 and 2, Hastings Press, Worthing (1937) and the chapter in John Carswell *Lives and Letters A.R. Orage, Katherine Mansfield, Beatrice Hastings, John Middleton Murray, S.S. Koteliansky, 1906-1957*, New Directions, New York (1978).

Arthur Henderson (1863-1935), Labour party official parliamentarian, was born in Glasgow and served three short terms as the Leader of the Labour Party from 1908-10, 1914-17 and 1931-32. He was the 1934 Nobel Peace Prize Laureate. See the biography Chris Wrigley *Arthur Henderson*, University of Wales Press, Cardiff (1990) and the chapter on Henderson in Margaret Cole *Makers of the Labour Movement*, Longmans, Green and Co., London (1948).

Robert Mitchell Henry (1873-1950) was Professor of Latin at Queen's University Belfast (1907-1938), then Professor of Humanities at the University of St. Andrews, Edinburgh (1939-1947) and honorary Chair of Classical Literature at Trinity College, Dublin (1947-1950). He was born in Belfast, the eldest of the four sons of the Revd. Robert Mitchell and Kate Anne Henry; a brother was the painter Paul Henry (1876-1958). Henry was appointed to a junior fellowship in 1900, a readership in 1906 and as Professor of Latin in 1907. Earlier he was senior classics master at the Royal Belfast Academical Institution from 1899 to 1905. When Queen's College became Queen's University in 1908, he occupied the chair of Latin. In 1933, due to his political views, he was passed over for the appointment of Vice Chancellor. An Irish nationalist, in sympathy with the aims of the Gaelic League, with its emphasis on Irish language and culture, Henry supported Home Rule for Ireland. In *The Evolution of Sinn Féin*, Talbot Press, Dublin (1920), he argued that full independence would be impossible in the foreseeable future. Besides writing the *Sinn Féin* book he published editions of Livy, Cicero and Virgil. He knew Robieson well and they were both involved in actively supporting the Belfast Branch of the Workers' Educational Association (WEA). A pamphlet on the education of teachers in Northern Ireland was jointly authored: Robert Mitchell Henry and Matthew Walker Robieson *University Training for Primary Teachers*: *with Special Reference to the Position in Ulster*, Mayne, Boyd, Belfast (1918). See Linde Lunney 'HENRY, Robert Mitchell (1873-1950)'

in the *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, Vol. 4, Royal Irish Academy/Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (2009): pp. 633-634.

Hector J.W. Hetherington (1888-1965), philosopher and university administrator, a few years ahead of the Robiesons, was educated at Dollar Academy and the University of Glasgow (1905-1910). Appointed in 1910 as a Lecturer in Moral Philosophy at Glasgow, he won a Ferguson scholarship in philosophy in 1911. He was secretary, then warden, of the Glasgow University Settlement. In 1913 he was a referee for Robieson's QUB application, writing: "... I cannot but speak most cordially of the strongest and most promising of the recent graduates of the philosophic school of this University… He is thoroughly well informed, not only in the history of philosophy, but also in economics and politics, in the history of social movements and in literature. He is, too, a mathematician of parts... I have met no one of his age who is at all comparable with him in breadth and variety and exactness of knowledge. But he is much more than a voracious reader endowed with a retentive memory. His critical power is very striking, and he has the faculty of ordering his knowledge and of making it extremely relevant and telling. He has fine insight, great logical acumen, and strong dialectical skill. I have frequently had the advantage of discussing with him some of the most difficult philosophical problems: and I have never failed to learn much from his power of penetrating and illuminating analysis. ...In his under-graduate days he was almost the best speaker in the Union: and he brought to his teaching work a readiness of expression and a power of thinking on his feet which are quite invaluable. Mr. Robieson is the best pupil I have had, and since his election to the staff he has been a source of strength to the department. He has, I believe, speculative talent of the highest order..." In 1914 Hetherington was appointed Lecturer in Philosophy at Sheffield; from 1915-1920, he was Professor of Logic and Philosophy at University College, Cardiff. Then, in 1920, aged thirty two, he was appointed Principal and Professor of Philosophy at University College in Exeter. He returned to more mainstream academic life in 1924, returning to Glasgow as Chair of the Department of Moral Philosophy, the successor but one (A.D. Lindsay) to Sir Henry Jones. In 1927, his interest in University administration saw his appointment as Vice-Chancellor of the University of Liverpool, a post he held until 1936, the same year he was knighted, when appointed Principal of the University of Glasgow (1936-1961). His principal works were: with J. H. Muirhead *Social Purpose*, *A Contribution to a Philosophy of Civic Society*, George Allen & Unwin Ltd , London (1918); *International Labour Legislation* Methuen, London (1920); *The Life and Letters of Sir Henry Jones*: Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow, Hodder and Stoughton Ltd., London (1924). For a racy account of his early skills in university administration and successful efforts to secure funding and save a fledging university college, see his pamphlet *The University College at Exeter 1920-1925*, Exeter University Press, Exeter (1963). For biographical detail see: James Mountford 'Hetherington, Sir Hector James Wright (1888-1965)', H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, editors, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biograph*y, Vol. 26, Oxford University Press, Oxford (2004): pp. 892-894. A sympathetic though uninspired biography is Charles Illingworth *University Statesman: Sir Hector Hetherington G.B.E.*, George Outram & Company Ltd., Glasgow and London (1971). Hetherington wrote a powerfully memorable obituary to Robieson; see: Hector Hetherington [published as H.J.W.H.] 'Matthew Robieson' *The Dollar Magazine* Vol. XVIII, No. 71 (September 1919): pp. 119-122.

Samuel George Hobson (1870-1940), usually published as S.G. Hobson, businessman and writer, was a major theorist of guild ideas and of guild socialism. Born of North Irish Quaker parents, he was close to the inside of Labour intellectual circles. In 1900 was elected to the Fabian Society's executive, serving there for a decade; he stood for Bristol East as an ILP candidate in 1895 and Rochdale as an 'independent Labour candidate' in 1896. He eventually lost interest in the ideas of state socialism which he saw as bureaucratic and a potential disaster for ordinary folk. He contributed various articles to *The New Age* from 1912 which were collected into: S.G. Hobson *National Guilds: an Inquiry into the Wage System and a Way Out*. The first edition showed only Orage as the editor, but Hobson, whose name appeared as author in subsequent editions, claimed Orage only had a minor editorial role. A founder of the National Guilds League, he dropped out over disagreements with Cole. He also disagreed with Orage's and *The New Age*'s support for the Douglas social credit schemes. Throughout his political involvement, he had also been involved in various profitable activities, including managing a banana plantation and editing an investment journal. He attempted to organise a builders' guild in Manchester and also London, but they failed in the early 1920s. His memoir, written with humour and the regret of a scorned prophet was: S.G. Hobson *Pilgrim to the Left - Memoirs of a Modern Revolutionist*, Longmans, Green & Co., London (1938). See: Marc Stears 'Hobson, Samuel George (1870–1940)', H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, editors, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biograph*y, Vol. 27, Oxford University Press, Oxford (2004): pp. 432-433.

Frank Hodges (1887-1947) was a miner, trade unionist and Member of Parliament. He studied at Ruskin College, Oxford, from 1909-1911. In 1919 he became the Secretary of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain. He argued for the nationalisation of the mines. In 1923 Hodges won election as Member for Lichfield and joined the first Labour Government under Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald, as First Lord of the Admiralty. He lost support in the union, where he was seen as too moderate, and he left political life in 1926. See Frank Hodges *Nationalisation of the Mines* Parsons, London (1920); Frank Hodges *My Adventures as a Labour Leader*, George Newnes, Ltd., London (1925).

John Hodge (1855-1937), a moderate to conservative trade unionist and Labour Party politician, was first elected to the House of Commons in 1906. Earlier, in 1885 he had co-formed the British Steel Smelters' Association (BSSA). In 1892 Hodge was President of the Trades Union Congress. In 1901 and again in 1904 Hodge was Chairman of the Annual Conference of the Labour Representation Committee, the forerunner of the UK Labour Party. In many ways, Hodge epitomised the success of the labour movement in a life moving from hard iron foundry work to sitting at the Cabinet table. But his extreme antipathy to strike action was a nightmare for many Labour supporters. Hodge represented a credible, authentic and tough voice. After Asquith relinquished the Prime Ministership to Lloyd George, Hodge was invited to serve in the Coalition Government. In 1916, following several amalgamations to form the British Iron, Steel and Kindred Trades Association (BISTA), Hodge was elected president of the new union. From December 1916 to August 1917, he was the first Labour MP to hold ministerial office, as the first Minister for Labour and as the second Minister of Pensions. Hodge claimed that all strikes during war-time were acts of treason and in one instant successfully made striking boilermakers in Liverpool go back to work by threatening to charge them under the Defence of the Realm Act (DORA). From August, 1917 to January, 1919, Hodge was Minister of Pensions. In 1918, the local Labour Party in Gorton, a constituency in Manchester, was unhappy with the way Hodge had behaved in government and selected another candidate instead. Hodge now used his negotiating skills to persuade the constituency party to change its mind in return for promises about future behaviour. Hodge therefore avoided joining the NDP, though the Conservatives did not put up a candidate against him. He easily won re-election at the December 1918 election; an independent socialist, J.T. Murphy, ran but achieved less than 15% of the vote. Hodge was back in the official Labour fold and wrote for official publications. See John Hodge 'War Pensions and Labour' in G.D.H. Cole and J.S. Middleton, joint editors, *The Labour Year Book 1919*, George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., Ruskin House & the Labour Party, London (1919): pp. 78-80. Hodge won Gorton again in the 1922 general elections, but decided not to re-contest at the subsequent general election in 1923. Hodge argued against industrial action during the 1926 General Strike. He retired from the presidency of BISTA in 1931, having held the position for 15 years, including when serving in Cabinet. See references in Paul Brigden *The Labour Party and the Politics of War and Peace 1900–1924*, The Royal Historical Society, The Boydell Press, Woodbridge (2009).

Donald Horne (1921-2005) was an Australian writer, journalist, social critic and academic who became one of Australia's best known public intellectuals. His book *The Lucky Country*: *Australia in the Sixties*, Penguin Books, Ringwood (1964) is one of the classics of Australian essay writing. The first volume of his autobiography, *The Education of Young Donald*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney (1967), memorialised life at the University of Sydney in the late 1930s and early World War II period, including the inspiring teaching, example and influence of Professor John Anderson. In different periods Horne edited *The Observer*, *Quadrant* and *The Bulletin* before McCallum appointed him in 1973 a Lecturer (he rose to become a Professor) of Political Science at the University of NSW. See Tony Stephens [Obituary] 'The Rousing Moods of a Vigorous Thinker. Donald Horne: Academic, author, 1921-2005' *Sydney Morning Herald* September 9, 2005.

Thomas Ernest Hulme (1883-1917), British critic, poet, philosopher and soldier, contributed to *The New Age*, translated Sorel and other writers, served in the Great War, having volunteered as an artilleryman in 1914. He was injured in 1916 and returned to battle, dying in action in Nieuport, Belgium, in 1917. In *The New Age* his 'Notebooks', being a collection of diary entries, thinking aloud thoughts on philosophy and side notes on the war, published pseudonymously, were widely read. For a collection of his *oeuvre*, some published as "North Staff" and "Thomas Gratton", see: *The Collected Writings of T.E. Hulme*, edited and with an introduction by Karen Csengeri, Oxford University Press, Oxford (1994). For a survey of his life and intellectual significance, see: Edward P. Comentale and Andrzej Gasiorek, editors, *T.E. Hulme and the Question of Modernism*, Ashgate, Aldershot (2006).

Francis Hutcheson (1694-1746), philosopher, born in the north of Ireland of Scottish parents, took his MA from the University of Glasgow in 1712. Hutcheson returned to Ireland in 1718 where he was licensed as a minister and accepted an invitation to start a dissenting academy in Dublin, where he remained for the next ten years. In 1725 he published his best-known work, *An Inquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue*, revised editions of which appeared in 1726, 1729 and 1738. In 1728, he completed *An Essay on the Nature and Conduct of the Passions and Affections*, with Illustrations upon the Moral Sense - which was issued in a revised form in 1742. The widespread interest in these works led to Hutcheson's election in 1729 as Professor of Moral Philosophy at Glasgow, a position he held unto death on a visit to Dublin in 1746. See Alexander Broadie, editor, *The Cambridge Companion to the Scottish Enlightenment*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (2003).

George Holbrook Jackson (1874-1948), known as "Holbrook Jackson", was co-founder with Orage of the relaunch of *The New Age* in 1907 left after the first year, eventually becoming a well-known writer. He founded and edited a monthly called *To-day*, which ran from 1917 to 1924. For pen portraits of certain writers he admired – Carlyle, Ruskin, William Morris, Emerson, Thoreau and Whitman - see Holbrook Jackson *Dreamers of Dreams The Rise and Fall of 19th Century Idealism*, Faber and Faber Limited, London (1948). Jackson wrote prolifically on literary matters and on book collecting; see, for example: Holbrook Jackson *The Fear of Books*, Soncino Press, London (1932).

George Alexander Johnston (1888-1983), philosopher and international labour bureaucrat, graduated from Glasgow with first class honours in classics and philosophy in 1912 and, for his study of Berkeley was awarded in 1918 a D.Phil. from Glasgow. He was a Lecturer in Moral Philosophy at Glasgow, but sometime during the War joined the Ministry of Labour in the UK. He spent the rest of his working life as a public servant in labour relations, joining the International Labour Office (ILO) in 1920, returning to the UK sometime thereafter, returning to the ILO as Assistant Director-General in 1945. From 1948 to retirement in 1953 he was Treasurer and Financial Comptroller of the ILO. Thereafter he continued to work as a consultant or adviser to the ILO. Amongst his philosophy publications were *An Introduction to Ethics for Training Colleges*, Macmillan and Co., Limited, London (1915); *Scottish Philosophy of Common Sense*, Open Court Publishing Co., Chicago (1915) and *The Development of Berkeley's Philosophy*, Macmillan and Co., Limited, London (1923), which was based on his Shaw Fellowship lectures delivered at the University of Edinburgh in 1920. In 1913 Johnston beat Robieson and Hetherington to win the Shaw Fellowship. Oddly, Johnston is not mentioned by Hetherington in his book on Jones, which lists the prominent, former philosophy students of Sir Henry Jones. See Philip Rose 'JOHNSTON, George Alexander (1888-1983)' in Stuart Brown, General Editor, *The Dictionary of Twentieth-Century British Philosophers*, *Vol. 1, A-L*, Thoemmes Continuum, Bristol (2005): pp. 486-487.

Tom Johnston (1881-1965), journalist, Labour politician and administrator, the son of a Kirkintilloch grocer, his politics were influenced by Fabian pamphlets and experiences at Glasgow University in 1908 and 1909, where he was a contemporary of the Robiesons, William Anderson, Walter Elliot, James Maxton - the radical ILP member and later MP, and others. In 1902 Johnston was elected to Stirlingshire County Council at the age of 21. Johnston's practical approach to politics was immediately apparent. Given the evening classes committee to look after, he made them a sensational success by including dancing classes in the programme! In 1906, he founded *Forward*, a socialist tabloid which he continued to edit for 27 years, and which included serialisation of *Our Scots Noble Families*, a series of furious essays by Johnston denouncing Scotland's gentry and their stewardship of the land. In 1909 he published this in pamphlet form, selling 120,000 copies. In 1918, on a first attempt to enter the House of Commons, Johnston faced a three-way contest, standing for Stirling and Clackmannan Western. He came second, with Robert Bontine Cunninghame Graham standing for the Asquith Liberals. Johnston was elected as a MP for Stirling and Clackmannan Western in the November 1922 general election; but he lost his seat at the October 1924 general election; though he quickly returned to Parliament by winning the Dundee by-election in December 1924. This was Churchill's old seat which, until 1922, he had held for the Liberals. Johnston was re-elected for Stirling and Clackmannan Western at the 1929 general election and appointed Under Secretary of State for Scotland by Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald. This troubled administration was relatively short-lived; only a handful of Labour ministers supported MacDonald's proposal of a coalition government, with Johnston and the Clydesiders among the strong opponents. Johnston lost his seat at the 1931 general election and failed to be returned at a by-election in Dumbartonshire in 1932; but he returned, again representing Stirling and Clackmannan Western at the 1935 general election and remained an MP until retiring at the 1945 elections. In April 1939, during the build-up to World War II, John Anderson, the Home Secretary, appointed Johnston as Commissioner for

Civil Defence in Scotland. In this role Johnston over-saw preparations for aerial bombardment and possible invasion, and the organisation of shelter and relief work. In 1941, Johnston became Scottish Secretary in Winston Churchill's wartime coalition cabinet. A long-standing supporter of the Home Rule movement, he was able to persuade Churchill of the need to counter the nationalist threat by creating a Scottish Council of State, comprising five former Scottish Secretaries, including Walter Elliot, and a Council of Industry as institutions to devolve some power away from Whitehall. Johnston remained Scottish Secretary to May 1945. Post-war, Johnston served as chairman of various Scottish organisations, including the Scottish National Forestry Commission (1945-1948) and the North of Scotland Hydro-Electric Board (1946–19...) of Aberdeen University from 1951 until his death in 1965. Perhaps his greatest legacy was the creation of the Hydro-Electric Board. Until the 1940s, many rural areas of Scotland had little or no electricity supply. There was no widespread distribution of electricity through an electric power transmission system such as the present National Grid. Inspired by the Tennessee Valley Authority initiative of the 'New Deal' President Franklin Roosevelt administration, and determined in the immediate post-war period to drive for a more equitable distribution of the resources and benefits of a modern economy, Johnston strove hard and successfully to win over all interested parties, including generally-reluctant landowners, to the goal of harnessing the (then) scarcely-developed but naturally well-suited geography and climate of the Scottish Highlands to the generation of electricity by water power. The Hydro Board's teams of planners, engineers, architects and labourers succeeded in creating in epic succession electricity generation and distribution schemes that were world-renowned not only for successfully achieving their technical aims and for often doing so in an aesthetically-inspiring manner. See: Russell Galbraith *Without Quarter: A Biography of Tom Johnston*, Mainstream Publishing, Edinburgh and London (1995); see feature article: [Anonymous] 'Great Scots: Tom Johnston 1881-1965' *The Sunday Herald* (December 19, 1999). Alas, his memoirs are more adonyne than informative: Thomas Johnston *Memories*, Collins, London (1952).

Sir Henry Jones (1852-1922) was Professor of Moral Philosophy at Glasgow, 1894 to1922. Born in Llangernyw in Denbighshire, the son of a cobbler, Jones left school at the age of 12 but, after night classes, qualified for college and became a teacher. He studied Philosophy at Glasgow, at Oxford and in Germany. He was Lecturer on Logic and Mental and Moral Philosophy in the University College, Aberystwyth, Wales, then the first Professor of Logic and Political Economy at the University College of North Wales, Bangor. In 1891, he was elected to the Chair of Logic, Rhetoric and Metaphysics at St. Andrews. Following the departure of Edward Caird from Glasgow to Balliol College Oxford, in 1894 Jones succeeded him. Jones was one of Scotland's most influential philosophers of the early 20th century and was knighted in 1912. He taught the Robieson and Anderson brothers. In 1913 he was a referee for Robieson's QUB application. His childhood home was opened as a museum in 1934. Lindsay remembered that: "He was intensely alive, radiating enthusiasm on all sorts of subjects. He would move "from passages of abstract argument to soaring oratory and quotations of prophets and poets." See his article, referenced below. For an account of Jones' politics, ideas and influence, see: David Boucher and Andrew Vincent *A Radical Hegelian* The Political and Social Philosophy of Henry Jones, University of Wales Press, Cardiff (1993); [Alastair D. Campbell] 'Obituary: Sir Henry Jones' *Glasgow University Magazine*, Bol. 33, No. 6 (February 15, 1922): p. 217; A.D. Lindsay 'On Sir Henry Jones' *Glasgow University Magazine*, Bol. 34, No. 1 (October 18, 1922): pp. 13-14.

John Harry Jones (1881-1973) was professor of economics at Leeds from 1919 to 1946. He graduated at Cardiff in 1903. He subsequently obtained a research fellowship and visited Leipzig and Berlin. In 1914 he published a book on the tin-plate industry, developed from his MA thesis. He was an assistant lecturer at Liverpool from 1907 to 1909; then a lecturer in political economy at Glasgow from 1909 to 1913 where he knew Robieson first as a student then, from 1912-1913, as a colleague in the School of Social Study and Training associated with Glasgow University. In 1913 Jones was a referee for Robieson's QUB application. During the First World War he was seconded to work in the Ministries of Munitions and of Labour. Jones wrote several contemporary articles on labour unrest in Glasgow during World War I. This biographical sketch is derived from the 'Introduction' to the 'Summary of the Papers of Professor J.H. Jones', Special Collections MS 497, Leeds University Library.

Thomas Jones (1870-1955), civil servant, academic and benefactor, a native of Rhymney, Wales, was educated at Rhymney Board School and Lewis School, Pengam, before beginning work as a timekeeper-clerk at the Rhymney Iron Company. In 1890 he entered the University of Wales, Aberystwyth, moved to Glasgow University in 1895 where he came heavily under the influence of Henry Jones, the Professor of Moral Philosophy, and from where he graduated with First Class Honours in economic science in 1901. In

1895 Jones joined the Independent Labour Party and devoted much time to an intensive study of the problems of poverty, living and working at social settlements at Glasgow and Cardiff. At Glasgow University along with Noel Brailsford he helped found the local Fabian Society. From 1899, he was a part-time assistant in political economy, within the Moral Philosophy Department at Glasgow University. From 1904 to 1905 he was lecturing in Ireland under the Barrington Trust and from 1906 to 1909 he was an assistant commissioner (research) to the Royal Commission on the Poor Law, working with Professor William Smart. He applied his mind to many issues of the day – even the temperance question. See, for example, 'Glasgow University Temperance Society' *Glasgow University Magazine* Vol. 21, No. 16 (March 3, 1909): p. 457. For one academic session, 1909-1910, he was Professor of Economics at Queen's University, Belfast (QUB), where he co-founded a local branch of the Workers' Educational Association. He returned to Wales in 1910 as Secretary of the Welsh National Campaign against Tuberculosis. In 1912 he was appointed Secretary of the National Health Insurance Commission (Wales). In 1913 he wrote in support of Robieson's application to join the staff of QUB. In 1916 Jones was transferred to London as first assistant secretary (later Deputy Secretary) to the Cabinet from 1916 until 1930. In the Cabinet Secretariat he was immersed in the negotiations that led to the 1921 Irish settlement and likewise during the General Strike crisis in 1926. Three of the Prime Ministers whom he served, *viz*., Lloyd George, Bonar Law and Stanley Baldwin placed great confidence on his judgement. His relations with Ramsay MacDonald were unhappy. He was made a Companion of Honour in 1929. In 1930 Jones retired from the civil service to become the full-time Secretary of the Pilgrim Trust, a public charity. From 1934 to 1940 he was a member of the Unemployment Assistance Board. In 1936 Jones accompanied Lloyd George on his infamous visit to Hitler at the Berghof. This would prove to be a moment of extraordinary naïve and complacent judgement about Nazi Germany. *Cf*. Kenneth O. Morgan 'Lloyd George and Germany' *The Historical Journal* Vol. 39, No. 3 (September, 1996): pp. 755-766. Arguably, more than any other person, he was responsible in 1939 for the establishment of the Arts Council - or the Council for the Management of Music and the Arts as it was first known. On retirement from full-time employment, Jones became a Trustee in 1945 and Chairman from 1952 to 1954 of the Pilgrim Trust. Jones wrote and published many articles and pamphlets. His books include editions of works of his past teachers and mentors, including William Smart *Second Thoughts of an Economist*, edited by Thomas Jones, Macmillan and Co., Limited, London (1916); and Sir Henry Jones *Old Memories*, the Autobiography of Henry Jones, edited by Thomas Jones, Hodder & Stroughton, London (1922). His diaries were collected into three volumes, covering the period he worked in the Cabinet Office. His only daughter, Mrs Eirene White, served as Labour MP for Flintshire from 1950 until 1970, and subsequently entered the House of Lords as Baroness White of Rhymney. Jones' extensive collection of papers, the 'Dr Thomas Jones CH Papers', reference 'GB 0210 TOMJONES', are held at the National Library of Wales. Detailed biographical notes held there were drawn upon for this portrait. See: Rodney Lowe 'Jones, Thomas (1870–1955)', H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, editors, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biograph*y, Vol. 30, Oxford University Press, Oxford (2004): pp. 648-652.

Frederick William Jowett (1864-1944) was a Christian socialist and left wing Labour MP, elected MP for Bradford West in 1908 and 1910, defeated 1918; elected in 1922 for Bradford East, defeated 1924, re-elected 1929, defeated in 1931. As a member of the ILP, he supported disaffiliation from the Labour Party and even opposed Britain's involvement in World War II. See 'Obituary to Mr. F.W. Jowett' *The Times* (February 3, 1944): p. 7.

Mrs. Anne Kahane MBE, MA, FSA Scot (1923-2011), née Anne Merrilees Robieson, was the only child of William Dunkeld Robieson Jnr., Matthew's brother, and Mrs. Mabel Robieson. In 1946 Anne Robieson married Jacques Kahane. Biographical details from Email: *Clare Thomas to Michael Easson*, June 5, 2011.

Jacques Kahane (1900-1969), husband of Anne Kahane, was the Romanian-born, Austro-Hungarian Jewish emigré economist and translator. See, for example, Ludwig von Mises *Socialism*: *An Economic and Sociological Analysis*, translated by J. Kahane, Jonathan Cape, London (1936). Biographical details from Email: *Clare Thomas to Michael Easson*, June 5, 2011.

Eugene Kamenka (1928-1994), philosopher, was born in Cologne and, aged 9, taken by Nazi fleeing Jewish parents to Australia. He studied philosophy under John Anderson and obtained a PhD from the Australian National University in 1962. From 1969 to his death, he was the founder and Head of the History of Ideas Unit of the ANU. His best-known scholarly work was *The Ethical Foundations of Marxism*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London (1962). Other works include *Marxism and Ethics*, Macmillan, London (1969); and *The Philosophy of Ludwig Feuerbach***,** Routledge and Kegan Paul, London (1970). For a brief

account of his life, see [Anonymous] Obituary: 'Eugene Kamenka, 65, An Australian Thinker' *New York Times* January 26, 1994.

John McFarland Kennedy (1886-1918), writer, was a prolific contributor to, and helped Orage edit, *The New Age*. He wrote under the pen names of "Leighton Warnock" and "S. Verdad". (After his death, Orage continued with the S. Verdad pseudonym for some of his foreign policy articles). On his unexpected death due to influenza, Orage wrote: "I allow myself the melancholy privilege of recording here the sudden death of my valued colleague, Mr. Leighton J. Warnock, whose other name, Mr. J.M. Kennedy, was even better known to my readers. Not only has he contributed many articles upon many topics to this journal, but I may confess that upon many occasions he has acted as deputy for me in these Notes - I shall miss him sadly. His knowledge of languages was extraordinary. He had travelled extensively, and his reading was almost universal. For a young man of only thirty-two, his accumulation of learning was prodigious; and I have never known his equal for industry. His library, of which he gave me the run, was a collection to be envied by a professional diplomat; and he was always supplementing it by the purchase of every work of reference that came upon the market. What he might have done if he had only worked less I do not care to speculate; but I grieve to think that so much talent has been prematurely taken from us. Wanting - and wanted - another colleague like him. Any offers?" [Alfred Orage] 'Notes of the Week' *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 24, No. 1 (November 7, 1918): p. 4. See J.M. Kennedy *How The War Begun*, Hodder & Stoughton, London (1914).

Thomas Kennedy (1876-1954), politician, was appointed Scottish Organiser for the SDF in 1903 and was an executive member of SDF from 1906-1911. He left the BSP in 1916 with the 'Hyndmanites'. He was elected Labour MP for Kirkcaldy in 1921 and was chief Labour Whip in the 1929-1931 Labour Government.

Preston Theodore King (1936-) political philosopher, educated at Morehouse College, the LSE and the Sorbonne, was Professor of Political Science at the University of New South Wales from 1976-1986, having earlier served as a Professor at the University of Nairobi from 1972-1976 and earlier still as an academic at various American and UK universities. He later was Professor at the University of Lancaster from 1986-2001, then Distinguished Professor of Political Philosophy at Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia, from 2002–2005. His many books include Preston King *Toleration*, George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London (1976).

Antonio Labriola (1843-1904) was a Marxist influenced theorist and philosopher, a Professor at the University of Rome, who interpreted Marxism not as a final, self-sufficient schematisation of history, but rather as a collection of pointers to the understanding of human affairs. See: Antonio Labriola *Essays on the Materialistic Conception of History*, Charles H. Kerr, translator, Charles H. Kerr & Company, Chicago (1896, translated in 1908) and Antonio Labriola *Socialism and Philosophy*, Ernest Untermann, translator, first published in Italian in 1897; in this translation, from the third edition of 1906, Charles H. Kerr & Company, Chicago (1918). Labriola's description of Marxism as a 'philosophy of praxis' would re-appear in the writings of Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937). See: Antonio Gramsci *Selections From the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*, edited and translated by Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith, Lawrence & Wishart, London (1971). See also: Leszek Kolakowski 'Antonio Labriola: An Attempt at an Open Orthodoxy' in Leszek Kolakowski *Main Currents of Marxism*, *Vol. 2: The Golden Age*, P.S. Falla, translator, Clarendon Press, Oxford (1978): pp. 175-192.

John Laird (1887-1946), philosopher, was born at Durris, Kincardineshire, on May 17, 1887. His father, Rev. D.M.W. Laird, was a third-generation Church of Scotland minister. Laird graduated MA in 1908 at Edinburgh with first class honours in philosophy. Thereafter he was a senior scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge University – encountering the realist, anti-idealist ideas of G.E. Moore. Laird graduated BA in 1911 and MA in 1920. After a year as an assistant in St. Andrews University and a brief spell as Professor of Philosophy at Dalhousie University, Nova Scotia, Canada, Laird came to Queen's University, Belfast, in 1913 as Professor of Logic and Metaphysics. In early 1919 Robieson was to join him on the philosophy staff. In 1924 Laird was appointed as Regius Professor of Moral Philosophy at the University of Aberdeen, a position he held until his death. In 1914 he presented the Shaw Lectures at the University of Edinburgh, later turned into his first book, *Problems of the Self*, *An Essay based on the Shaw Lectures given in the University of Edinburgh, March 1914*, Macmillan and Co., Limited, London (1917) – in which he thanks Robieson in the preface. See Obituary: 'Noted Scottish Philosopher. Death of Professor John Laird' *The Scotsman* (August 6, 1946): p. 4.

Robert Latta (1865-1932), philosopher, was Professor of Logic and Rhetoric at Glasgow from 1902 to 1925. He was awarded a LLD in 1926. Born in Edinburgh, Latta graduated MA with first class honours (1886) and D.Phil (1897) from that city's University. He was an Assistant and Lecturer in Logic and Metaphysics at the University of St Andrews, 1892-1898, and a lecturer in Logic and Moral Philosophy at University College, Dundee, until 1900. After spending two years at the University of Aberdeen as Professor of Moral Philosophy, he came to Glasgow in 1902 on the death of Professor Robert Adamson. An ardent Liberal, Latta was Chairman of the College Division Liberal Association in Glasgow. His - co-written with Alexander Macbeath - *Elements of Logic*, Macmillan & Co, Limited, London (1929 and in many subsequent editions) was a hugely popular text. He taught Robieson and the Anderson brothers and in 1913 he was a referee for Robieson's QUB application, stating that: "I have again and again been impressed by the power he has shown in discussing difficult philosophical problems and by the range and accuracy of his knowledge of the subject, as well by his alertness and penetration in oral discussion..." See Stuart Brown 'LATTA, Robert (1865-1932)' in Stuart Brown, General Editor, *Dictionary of Twentieth-Century British Philosophers*, *Vol. 1*, Thoemmes Continuum, Bristol (2005): pp. 935-936.

Andrew Bonar Law (1858-1923), Conservative politician and banker, a child of Ulster immigrants of Scots descent, was born in New Brunswick, Canada. He moved to Scotland as a child, was educated at the University of Glasgow, won election as MP for Glasgow Blackfriars and Hutchesontown in 1900 and lost the seat in the 1906 election; the same year, winning a by-election, he served as MP for Dulwich, a London constituency, until defeat in the December 1910 general election. Another by-election, this time in 1911 for the then safe seat of Bootle in Merseyside, northern England, was won; he held the seat to 1918. In the general election of that year, Law returned to Glasgow and was elected as member for Glasgow Central, which he held to his death in 1923. Law was Conservative Party Leader, 1911 to 1921 and again in 1922 to 1923 and Prime Minister for 222 days. In May 1923 he retired dying of throat cancer in October 1923. See Robert Blake *The Unknown Prime Minister: The Life and Times of Andrew Bonar Law 1858-1923*, Eyre & Spottiswode London (1953) and the biography R.J.Q. Adams *Bonar Law*, Stanford University Press, Stanford (1999).

Percy Wyndham Lewis (1882-1957), known as Wyndham Lewis, was an English author and painter. See Jeffrey Meyers *The Enemy: A Biography of Wyndham Lewis*, Routledge, Kegan & Paul, London (1980).

Alexander Dunlop ("Sandy") Lindsay (1879-1952), philosopher, was educated at Glasgow University obtaining a double first degree in classics and philosophy in 1899. He was president of the student union. He taught philosophy at Glasgow (1902-1904), then Edinburgh University (1904-09) and then at Balliol, Oxford. Along with his friend, William Temple, he became a tutor at the Workers' Educational Association. During World War I, Lindsay served on the front and was promoted to deputy controller of labour in France. After the war Lindsay was Professor of Moral Philosophy at Glasgow University (1922-1924) before returning to Oxford as Master of Balliol (1924-1949). A socialist, Lindsay became a national figure in 1926 in urging the government to seek a negotiated agreement to the General Strike. He was elevated to the peerage in November 1945 as Baron Lindsay of Birker, of Low Ground in the County of Cumberland. For details of his life, see: Drusilla Scott *A.D. Lindsay: A Biography*, Blackwell Publishers, Oxford (1971); D.M.M. 'Lindsay, Alexander Dunlop' *The College Courant*, Vol. 4, No. 8 (Whitsun, 1952): pp. 135-136.

Maxim Litvinov (1876-1951), born in Białystok as Meir Henoch Mojszewicz Wallach-Finkelstein, was a Soviet diplomat and communist intellectual. After the October Revolution he was a roving Ambassador for the Soviets and deeply involved in key areas of diplomacy. Litvinov's appointment by Lenin in 1917 as 'Ambassador' to Britain was not officially recognised by the UK government and he was expelled from the country in 1918. Robieson in several places refers to his book: Maxim Litvinov [published as "Litvinoff"] *The Bolshevik Revolution - What It is and What It Means*, British Socialist Party, London (1918). From 1930 to 1939 Litnivov was People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs (effectively, Foreign Minister). To make things easier for negotiations with Nazi Germany, Litvinov was dismissed from all offices by Stalin in May 1939 and replaced by Vyacheslav Mikhailovich Molotov. Litvinov was arrested and the Foreign Ministry was purged of many of his supporters including many senior personnel of Jewish background. During the Great Patriotic War, after Hitler invaded the Soviet Union, Litvinov was rehabilitated. He briefly served as Ambassador to Washington from 1941 to 1943. See Geoffrey Roberts 'The Fall of Litvinov: A Revisionist View' *Journal of Contemporary History* Vol. 27, No. 4 (October, 1992): pp. 639-657.

Lord Rhondda (1856-1918), later Baron, then 1st Viscount Rhondda, born David Thomas, was a Welsh industrialist and liberal politician. See Kenneth O. Morgan 'D.A. Thomas: The Industrialist as Politician' in Kenneth O. Morgan *Modern Wales: Politics Places and People*, University of Wales Press, Cardiff (1995): pp. 425-426.

Sir Donald MacAlister (1854-1934), medical practitioner, scholar and administrator, was Principal of Glasgow University from 1907 to 1929 and Chancellor from 1929 until his death. He presided over a period of spectacular growth in academic departments and embarked on an ambitious building programme and the establishment of more than twenty new chairs. The University Chapel was one of several important new buildings completed during his time in office. Born in Perth, Scotland, MacAlister attended the Liverpool Institute. From 1873 to 1877 he studied Mathematics at St John's College, Cambridge, where he became a member of the Cambridge Apostles and, in 1877, a Fellow of St John's. After a brief period teaching Mathematics at Harrow School, he studied Medicine at Cambridge, St Bartholomew's Hospital and, for a short time, at Leipzig. In 1881 he became Linacre Lecturer and deputy to the Regius Professor of Physics. He graduated MD in 1884 and became Senior Tutor at St John's from 1893 to 1904. McAlister was appointed Principal of Glasgow University in 1907. He was a member of the General Medical Council for forty-four years and President from 1904 until 1931. He was appointed KCB in 1908 and created a Baronet in 1924. In 1913 he was a referee for Robieson's QUB application. See Edith F.B. MacAlister *Sir Donald MacAlister of Tarbert*, Macmillan, London (1935).

Alexander MacBeath (1888-1964), philosopher, graduated MA in 1916 from Glasgow when on leave from wartime military service, 1915-1919; from 1919 to 1920 he was Secretary to the Glasgow Council of Charity Organisations; from 1920-1923, Lecturer in Moral Philosophy, then from 1923-1924, Senior Lecturer in Logic and Metaphysics. From 1925 to retirement in 1954 he was Professor of Logic and Metaphysics at QUB. His Gifford Lectures were delivered in 1948-1949. He was co-author with Latta of a popular text on Logic. See Robert R. Calder 'MACBEATH, Alexander (1888-1964)' in Stuart Brown *et. al.* , editors, *The Dictionary of Twentieth Century British Philosophers*, *Vol. 2, M-Z*, Thoemmes Continuum, Bristol (2005): pp. 597-598.

Douglas McCallum (1922-1998), political philosopher and political scientist, was Professor of Political Science and Head of the School of Political Science at the University of New South Wales, 1964-1987. He majored in Moral and Political Philosophy at Sydney University under the influence of Professor John Anderson. Following postgraduate studies and teaching at Oxford, McCallum returned to Sydney in the mid-1950s where he taught in the Government Department and then the Department of Moral and Political Philosophy at the University of Sydney. His interest in politics was intense – his father, John Archibald McCallum (1892-1973) was a former President of the ALP in NSW (1931), later a founder of the Liberal Party and a Liberal Senator from 1949 to 1962. See Michael Easson: 'McCallum, John Archibald (1892-1973)' *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 15, Melbourne University Press, Parkville (2000): pp. 164-165. Doug McCallum was briefly a member of the Australian Communist Party, 1941-1942, but later became strongly anti-communist and active in the Australian Association for Cultural Freedom, the publishers since 1956 of *Quadrant* magazine. His papers, the Douglas McCallum papers, 1931-1998, are in the State Library of NSW, MLMSS 7755.

John MacCunn (1846-1929) was Professor of Philosophy in University College, Liverpool. His book *The Making of Character*: *Some Educational Aspects of Ethics*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (1900) was published in The Cambridge Series for Schools and Training Colleges.

James Ramsay MacDonald (1866-1937), known as Ramsay MacDonald, socialist and politician, was born at Lossiemouth, Scotland. He became well known as a propagandist of socialist ideas and, in 1893, together with Keir Hardie, founded the Independent Labour Party of which he remained a member until 1930. He became an MP in 1906 and leader of the Labour Party in 1911 but resigned in 1914 on account of his pacifism. In January 1909, when MacDonald spoke at a meeting of the Glasgow University Socialist Society, Robieson presided. MacDonald was MP for Leicester from 1906 to 1918, losing his seat in the post War election. Between 1922 and 1929 he was MP for the Welsh constituency of Aberavon, then held an electorate in Durham in northern England. MacDonald was Labour Party Leader from 1911 to 1914 and again from 1922 to 1931, serving as Labour Prime Minister in 1924 and again from 1929 to 1931, thereafter as a National Coalition leader and PM to 1935. In 1922 he became leader of the opposition and in 1924 Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary of the first Labour government which depended upon Liberal support for a working majority. The election of 1924 put him out of office but he returned to

power in 1929. He responded to the economic crisis of 1931 by leading a minority of the right-wing Labour MPs into a coalition with the Conservatives on the basis of so-called 'national' economic policies. He was Prime Minister of this 'National' government until 1935; later, until his death, he was Lord President under Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin. See the biography: David Marquand *Ramsay MacDonald* Jonathan Cape, London (1977).

James D. MacDougall (1891-1963), socialist, joined the SDF in 1906, was dismissed from his job as a clerk at the Clydesdale Bank in 1910 for political activities and, in 1912, was appointed Scottish Organiser for the BSP. In 1915 MacDougall formed the Miners' Reform Committee in Lanarkshire. From 1916 to 1917, during World War I he was imprisoned for sedition. MacDougall was John Maclean's closest political ally. See William Knox 'MacDOUGALL, James Dunlop (1891-1963)' in William Knox, editor, *Scottish Labour Leaders 1918-1939*, Mainstream Publishing, Edinburgh (1984): pp. 170-175.

John Stuart Mackenzie (1860-1935), idealist philosopher, studied philosophy at Glasgow and Trinity College, Cambridge University. Robieson's article on university reform in Hobson's book is referenced in an updated *Outlines of Social Philosophy* (1918; updated, 1921). See: W.J. Mander 'Mackenzie, John Stuart (1860-1935)' in Stuart Brown, General Editor, *Dictionary of Twentieth-Century British Philosophers*, Vol. 2, Thoemmes Continuum, Bristol (2005): pp. 618-621.

John Leslie Mackie (1917-1981), philosopher, studied under John Anderson at Sydney, though he mainly specialised in Greek and Latin obtaining first class honours in classics; later, from 1938, he continued philosophy studies at Oxford. After service in World War II, in 1946 Mackie was appointed Lecturer in Moral and Political Philosophy at the University of Sydney, becoming a Senior lecturer in 1951. Then he was Professor of Philosophy at the University of Otago from 1955 to 1959; Challis Professor of Philosophy – John Anderson's former Chair - at the University of Sydney from 1959 to 1963, then at the University of York from 1963 to 1967. From 1967 to his death he was a Fellow at University College, Oxford. Mackie authored six books. His most widely known, *Ethics: Inventing Right and Wrong*, Penguin, Harmonsworth (1977), opens by boldly stating that: "There are no objective values." He argues that because of this claim ethics must be invented, rather than discovered. Other books were *Truth Probability and Paradox - Studies in Philosophical Logic*, Clarendon Press, Oxford (1973); *Cement of the Universe – a Study of Causation*, Clarendon Library of Logic and Philosophy, Oxford University Press, Oxford (1974); *Problems from Locke*, Clarendon Press, Oxford (1976); *Hume's Moral Theory*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London (1980); *The Miracle of Theism Arguments for and against the Existence of God*, Oxford University Press, Oxford (1981).

John Maclean (1879-1923), socialist, school teacher and radical, joined the SDF in 1902 having earlier graduated with a MA from Glasgow University and becoming a school teacher in Glasgow. Maclean led the opposition to the World War I policies of the Hyndmanites in the BSP. He forced Alexander Anderson to a revote following a draw in the 1915 elections to the BSP executive. Maclean displaced Anderson from the executive in 1916. During World War I Maclean was imprisoned for sedition in 1915, 1916 and 1918. Lenin appointed him Bolshevik Consul to Britain in 1917. Lee and Archbold comment: "of the many attempts made by various socialist groups to run 'economic classes', Maclean's was easily the most successful and continued longest without interruption. His activities were not confined to socialist propaganda. He did a lot of work in Trade Union and Co-operative circles, always as a Socialist for Socialist education." See: H.W. Lee and E. Archbold, Herbert Tracey, editor, *Social-Democracy in Britain Fifty Years of the Socialist Movement*, The Social Democratic Federation, London (1935): p. 141. For assessments of Maclean's influence see: Nan Milton *John Maclean*, Pluto Press, Bristol (1973) *supra*, and Kendall, Walter Walter Kendall *The Revolutionary Movement in Britain 1900-21*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London (1969).

John Macmurray (1891-1976), moral philosopher, was educated at the University of Glasgow where he earned an honours degree in Classics 1913 and then was awarded a Snell Exhibition to attend Balliol College, Oxford. He saw service in World War I, including with the Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders, was wounded, and received the Military Cross in 1918. After the War, Macmurray returned to Balliol College and to history and philosophy under A.D. Lindsay. His professional academic career began in 1919 with a lectureship in Philosophy at Manchester University, and in 1921 he became Professor of Philosophy at Witwatersrand University in Johannesburg, South Africa. After only eighteen months in this position, he returned to his alma mater Balliol as Jowett Lecturer and Classical Tutor, a position he held from 1923 until the summer of 1928. In September 1928 Macmurray was made Professor and

Department Head of the Philosophical Faculty at University College, London. He remained in London at University College until October 1944 when he finally returned to Scotland as Professor and Chair in Moral Philosophy at the University of Edinburgh in succession to A.E. Taylor (who preceded him at Manchester). Macmurray's training in the Scottish tradition at Glasgow, as developed by Sir Henry Jones, instilled in him the belief that philosophy should address itself to the broader human situation and should be practised in a wider cultural context than simply that of professional academia. The most authoritative biography to date, including accounts of his writings, is John E. Costello *John Macmurray: A Biography*, Floris Books, Edinburgh (2002).

John McNabb (1732-1802), merchant and shipowner, bequeathed half his considerable fortune to the Minister and Kirk-Session of Dollar, who decided to build a school – which was completed in 1821 and became known as The Dollar Academy. McNabb's bequest was for "a charity or school, for the poor of the parish of Dollar." Email: *Janet Carolan, Dollar School archivist, to Michael Easson*, May 27, 2011.

Katherine Mansfield (1888-1923), the New Zealand-born novelist, was introduced to *The New Age* by her first husband George Bowden, during the brief period when they lived together in London. It was the perfect outlet for her talent for mockery and mimicry. She made friends with Beatrice Hastings. Mansfield credited Orage with teaching what she knew about editing and shaping her stories. The discussions of *The New Age* group, which met often in the basement of an ABC café near the office, were an important part of Mansfield's education. See Angela Smith *Katherine Mansfield: A Literary Life*, Palgrave Macmillan, London (2000).

Mrs. Catherine Mayo (1954-), née Newhook, daughter of Marjorie Newhook.

Dudley Julius Medley (1861-1953), historian, born in London, was the son of a Major-General. In 1883, at Keble College, Oxford, he took first-class honours in the School of Modern History. After teaching at Oxford, Medley in 1899 was appointed the Chair of History in Glasgow University (Professor, 1899 to 1931). He taught William Robieson and appointed him as his assistant from 1912 to 1913. Medley took a great interest in the Officer Training Corps and he was Chairman of the Military Education Committee at the University and of the Central Organisation Military Education Committees. Regarded as an outstanding teacher, he published few works of length. He was the author of *A Students' Manual of Constitutional History*, first published in 1894 (with various editions thereafter).

William Mellor (1888-1942), Labour Party supporting journalist, was the son of a Unitarian minister, attended Manchester College, Oxford, in preparation for the ministry as a Unitarian Minister. He lost his religious faith, joining the Independent Labour Party. After moving to London, in 1913 he joined the *Daily Herald* developing a close friendship with the newspaper's cartoonist, Will Dyson. Other friends included G.D.H. Cole and Robin Page Arnot, the then Secretary of the Fabian Research Department (FRD). In 1912 Mellor became the new secretary of the FDR; Mellor and G.D.H. Cole, in April 1913 and March 1914 led two attempts to disaffiliate the Fabian Society from the Labour Party. They failed, but when Cole resigned from the Society in 1915 he took the FRD with him together with the Society's most talented younger members, weakening the Fabians. Mellor and Cole played an active role in campaigning against Britain's participation in the First World War. A mutual friend, Margaret Postgate, the future Margaret Cole, said they formed "an almost perfect pamphleteering partnership" with Mellor's "greater natural understanding of the working-man's mind... and gift for straightforward eloquence." Their pamphlet, G.D.H. Cole and W. Mellor *The Meaning of Industrial Freedom*, The Herald, London (1918) sold many thousands of copies. In their stance, Mellor and Cole belonged to a minority of socialists who regarded all war as contrary to socialist principles. In contrast, Arnot, it seems, specifically opposed capitalist wars, not necessarily all wars. Both Mellor and Arnot were imprisoned as conscientious objectors. On Mellor's release he returned to the *Daily Herald* as its industrial correspondent. In 1919, Mellor married Edna, also a socialist and pacifist, who had lost a brother on the Western Front during the First World War. She was financially independent with money from her family's successful brass foundry in Rotherham. In 1920 Mellor became a founder member of the Communist Party of Great Britain, together with Arnot. Mellor, however, resigned from the CPGB in 1924, whereas Arnot stayed a lifetime. See references in Ben Pimlott 'The Socialist League: Intellectuals and the Labour Left in the 1930s' *Journal of Contemporary History* Vol. 6, No. 3 (1971): pp. 12-38.

Nikolai Leonidovich Meshcheriakov (1865-1942), mathematician, journalist, editor and leader of the People's Commissariat for Education, was a prominent figure in Soviet publishing. His name was

sometimes spelt as Meshtcheriakoff, though the normal transliteration is Meshcheriakov (Library of Congress) or Meshcheryakov (British style) – usually no 't'. Robieson in a few places refers to N.L. Meshtcheriakov [published as "M. Meshtcheriakoff, editor, *Pravda*"] 'The Bolsheviks at Work' *The Herald*, new series, No. 962 (August 31, 1918): p. 13. A member of the Communist Party from 1901, Meshcheriakov was the son of an agronomist. As a student at the St. Petersburg Technological Institute he joined the People's Will organization in 1885. In 1893 he emigrated to Belgium. He graduated from the technological faculty of the University of Liege becoming a Marxist in 1894. In 1901 he was a member of the League of Russian Revolutionary Social Democracy Abroad and in 1902, an *Iskra* agent in Moscow and a member of the Moscow committee of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party (RSDLP). A member of the Moscow district committee and regional bureau of the Bolshevik Party in 1906, he was arrested in October of that year and exiled to Eastern Siberia. In February 1917 he was a member of the Krasnoiarsk committee of the RSDLP and editor of the newspaper *Krasnoiarskii rabochii*. Returning to Moscow, Meshcheriakov served as chairman of the provincial soviet and as a member of the provincial committee of the RSDLP (Bolshevik). In October 1917 he was the editor *of lzvestiia Moskovskogo voenno-revoliutsionnogo komiteta* and a member of the editorial board of *Izvestiia Moskovskogo gubernskogo soveta*. From 1918 to 1924 he was a member of *Pravda's* editorial board and a member of the board of Tsentrosoiuz (the Central Union of Consumers' Cooperatives). From 1924, he was editor of the journal *Nauka i zhizn* (Science and Life). Subsequently, he was made chairman of the editorial board and director of Gosizdat (the State Publishing House). From 1924 to 1927 he was also a member of the Presidium, organizational secretary of the Peasant International, and editor of the magazine *Krest'ianskii Internatsional*. From the late 1920s to the late 1930s, he was deputy editor of the *Bol'shaia sovetskaia entsiklopediia* (the *Great Soviet Encyclopedia*), the official Soviet encyclopedia as well as editor in chief of the first and second editions of the *Small Soviet Encyclopedia* (1927-1931 and 1933-1938). From 1929 to 1931, Meshcheriakov was a member of the Presidium of the Cooperatives' Section of the Comintern. He participated in debates in literary circles in the 1920s, wrote extensively on such questions as the intelligentsia and revolution and fascism. He became a corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR (1939). There is a brief biographical reference to Meshcheriakov in the 3rd edition of the *Great Soviet Encyclopedia*, (1970-1979). Meshcheriakov is mentioned in the book by Arthur Ransome (1884-1967) *Russia in 1919*, George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London (1919). See references in Sheila Fitzpatrick *The Commissariat of Enlightenment*, *Soviet Organisation of Education and the Arts under Lunacharsky, October 1917-1921*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (1970). Also note: James D. White 'The First *Pravda* and the Russian Marxist Tradition' *Soviet Studies* Vol. 26, Issue 2 (April, 1974): pp. 181-204.

Alice Morning, pseudonym, see Beatrice Hastings.

Edward Moore, pseudonym, see Edwin Muir.

George Edward Moore, known as "G.E. Moore" (1873-1958), was the influential Cambridge philosopher who also taught at the University of Cambridge. Along with Bertrand Russell, Ludwig Wittgenstein, and (before them) Gottlob Frege, (1848-1925) the German mathematician, logician and philosopher, Moore was one of the founders of the analytic tradition in philosophy, which came to predominate in the English-speaking world. Well known for his defense of ethical non-naturalism, Moore argued for common sense in philosophical method. He famously opposed philosophical Idealism. Moore's most famous work is *Principia Ethica* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (1903). See: Paul Levy *Moore: G.E. Moore and the Cambridge Apostles*, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, New York (1979).

Edwin Muir (1887-1959), poet, critic, novelist and translator, was born in a remote croft on the main island of Orkney, in Scotland. The family moved to Glasgow in 1902 and to increasing poverty. His father died early and his brother and mother too. He worked in a variety of jobs including beer-bottling, a bone factory and a ship-building office. Whilst working as an assistant draughtsman he befriended George Walker Thomson and was persuaded by socialist literature. He joined the Clarion Scouts. With John Paton and Thomson he was one of the trio of self-educated working class intellectuals attracted to *The New Age* and drawn to the ideas of guild socialism. He assisted with the writing and editing of *The Guildsman*. After a correspondence Orage encouraged him to write and, under the pseudonymn "Edward Moore", published articles in *The New Age* later turned into his first book: Edward Moore *We Moderns*: *Enigmas and Guesses*, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London (1918). In his article 'Common Sense' (1918) Robieson made comments on the vagueness of Muir's writing, yet appreciating much of its content. Muir married Willa Anderson in 1919. The Muirs translated many works of German and Czech literature. For

example their translation of Lion Feuchtwanger *Jew Süss*, Martin Secker & Warburg Ltd, London, England (1927). The Muirs virtually created Kafka's literary reputation in the Anglo world. They translated many works including: *The Castle*, Martin Secker, London (1930), *The Trial*, Gollancz, London (1937), *Amerika*, George Routledge, London (1938). After World War II, the Muirs returned to Prague, with Edwin head of the British Institute there. Many honours and appointments followed. In 1955 Edwin Muir was appointed Charles Eliot Norton Visiting Professor at Harvard. See 'Obituary. Mr. Edwin Muir. Poetic Serenity' *The Times* (January 5, 1959): p. 10. T.S. Eliot commented that Muir's "literary criticism had always seemed to me of the best of our time." See: T.S. Eliot Letter: 'Mr. Edwin Muir. Triumph of the Human Spirit' *The Times* (January 7, 1959): p. 14.

Kate Murdoch (1892-), née Katherine Anderson, sister of William and John, was from 1917 a teacher at the Cambusnethan School until her marriage in 1919 to George Murdoch, the son of Mr. Thomas Murdoch a handloom weaver and violin maker who was a member of the British Socialist Party branch in Stonehouse. Sometime, she and her husband migrated to the United States. Letter: *Mr. W.J. McGhie to Michael Easson*, August 9, 1979 and Letter: *Mrs. Catherine Brown to Michael Easson*, August 22, 1978.

J.T. ("Jack") Murphy (1888-1965), unionist and shop committee activist, became prominent in the Sheffield wing of the Shops' Stewards Movement and the Amalgamated Engineering Union before and during World War I. In 1917 Murphy was elected to the national leadership of the Workers' Committees and Shop Stewards' Movement, the National Administrative Council (NAC), along with Arthur MacManus, who ultimately recruited Murphy to the Socialist Labour Party (SLP). His political thought evolved from De Leonist syndicalism to Bolshevism. In 1918 he unsuccessfully ran against conservative Labour MP John Hodge in Gorton, in Manchester. At its formation in 1920, he joined the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB). He became a member of the Central Committee. At the Communist International (the Comintern), Murphy became a member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International (ECCI) and in 1927 moved the resolution expelling Trotsky from the Comintern. In 1932, Murphy clashed with the Dutt-Pollitt leadership when he advanced the idea that the Party should mount a campaign to pressure employers and the British government to give credits for industrial products to the Soviet Union. In the mad world of UK communism, however, the then 'official line' was that this could help solve the UK's market crisis and undermine current campaigns. Harry Pollitt, the then CPGB General Secretary, demanded that Murphy publicly admit his mistake. Murphy refused, and resigned from the Party. He went on to join the Socialist League. See Ralph Darlington *The Political Trajectory of J.T. Murphy*, Liverpool University Press, Liverpool (1998).

John Turner Walton Newbold (1888-1943), known as "Walton Newbold", journalist, propagandist and politician, was born in Culceth, Lancashire and educated at Buxton College and the University of Manchester (eventually graduating with a BA in 1910 and a MA in 1912). Newbold passed through nearly all phases of the Left (though not guild socialism) from Fabian Society (1908), Independent Labour Party (1910), the University Socialist Federation (1912), the British Socialist Party (1917), the Communist Party of Great Britain (1921), the Labour Party (1924), the Social Democratic Federation (1928), the MacDonaldite National Labour Party (1931) and back to the Labour Party again (1934). During 1913-1914, as an investigative journalist with the ILP weekly *Labour Leader*, he produced articles and big-selling pamphlets exposing interests behind the defence industries. See for example: J. Walton Newbold *How Asquith Helped The Armour Ring*, foreword by Philip Snowden, National Labour Press, Manchester & London (n.d., *circa* 1914). Other pamphlets include: J. Walton Newbold *How Europe Armed for War 1871-1914*, Blackfriars Press Ltd, London (1916). J. Walton Newbold *The Menace of American Capitalism, or, The Power Behind President Wilson*, International Socialist Library, British Socialist Party, London (1918). During the Great War he joined the No Conscription Fellowship and was a conscientious objector. In 1916 his resistance to military service was cut short by rejection on health grounds! By early 1917 Newbold became a Marxist, joining the left wing of the British Socialist Party and contributing extensively to the left-wing press. From the beginning he championed the Bolshevik Revolution. Newbold's letters to the New Age in May and June 1918, in response to Robieson's assessment of Marx, excoriated the Guild Socialists and Orage. His first parliamentary venture was in 1918, when he unsuccessfully stood for Labour in Motherwell, in Lanarkshire, Scotland. For the 1922 UK general election, Newbold was re-endorsed as the Labour candidate but then decided to stand on an avowedly communist platform and won. Unlike other Communist candidates, including Shapurji Saklatvala who was elected in the same general election, Newbold explicitly stood under the label 'Communist'. After election, Newbold was refused permission to sit with the Labour group. Thus, he is counted as the first Communist MP in the United Kingdom, although others claim Cecil John L'Estrange Malone (1890-1965),

who converted from the Liberal Party in 1920 and proclaimed his allegiance as the first Communist MP. Newbold lost his seat in 1923, rejoining the Labour Party a year later. In 1929 Newbold ran and lost as the Labour candidate for Epping, a safe Conservative seat then held by Winston Churchill. In November 1929 Newbold was appointed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Philip Snowden, as a member of the Macmillan committee on finance and industry, where he adopted a dissenting stance opposing proposals to bail out ailing capitalists. In the 1931 crisis he supported the National Government, finally abandoning the strident socialist commitments of his past. Thereafter he made limited impact on the political scene. In his final years Newbold's politics are difficult to unravel. He converted to Catholicism. Always something of an eccentric, Newbold's career never fulfilled early high expectations - either in politics, journalism or as an economic historian. See: R. Duncan, 'The papers of John Turner Walton Newbold, 1888–1943: an Introductory Guide' *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library*, No. 76 (1994): pp. 195–203; Robert Duncan '"Motherwell for Moscow". Walton Newbold, Revolutionary Politics and the Labour Movement in a Lanarkshire Constituency 1918-1922' *The Journal of the Scottish Labour History Society* No. 28 (1993): pp. 47-70. K. Morgan and R. Duncan, 'Loitering on the Party Line: the Unpublished Memoirs of J.T. Walton Newbold' *Labour History Review* Vol. 60, No. 1 (Spring, 1995): pp. 35-51. Robert Duncan '(John Turner) Walton Newbold (1888-1943)' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Oxford (2004) and Betty D. Vernon 'Walton Newbold - 'The Ishmael of Westminster' in Betty D. Vernon *Ellen Wilkinson 1891-1947*, Croom Helm, London (1982): pp. 33-38.

Agnes Marjorie Newhook (1921-), known as Marjorie Newhook, née Anderson, daughter of Margaret and William Anderson

Clarence Henry Norman (1886-1974), political activist, pamphleteer and writer, was in the SDF, later the ILP and was active in fighting conscription during World War I. He was a conscientious objector and Secretary of the 'Stop the War' Committee.

North Staff, pseudonym, see T.E. Hulme

Alec Nove (1915-1994), the son of Mensheviks who fled Soviet Russia, was a Professor of Economics at the University of Glasgow. He was one of the leading authorities on the Soviet economy. For an appreciation and assessment of his ideas, see: Archie Brown and Alec Cairncross 'Alec Nove, 1915-1994: An Appreciation' *Europe-Asia Studies* Vol. 49, No. 3 (1997): pp. 627-641.

William Matthew (Bill) O'Neil (1912-1991), academic psychologist, was briefly a student of John Anderson. Rather than specialising in philosophy he concentrated on psychology, graduating in 1933 from the University of Sydney as Bachelor of Arts with Hons. Class 1 and the University Medal in Psychology; he repeated this performance in 1935 as Master of Arts. In 1945 he was appointed to the chair of Psychology at Sydney, only the second occupant of that chair, at that stage the only chair of Psychology in Australia. In 1965 O'Neil became Deputy Vice-Chancellor at Sydney. His best-known books are *The Beginnings of Modern Psychology*, Penguin Books, Aylesbury (1968), (2nd edition, 1982); *Time and the Calendars*, University of Sydney Press, Sydney (1972) and *A Century of Psychology in Australia*, Sydney University Press, Sydney (1987). He fostered a tough-mindedness and critical analytic rigour - an influence which was felt across a generation of Australian psychologists. Biographical details from the School of Psychology, the University of Sydney website, accessed September 2010. The author of this thesis served with O'Neil on the NSW Secondary Schools Board in the early 1980s.

Alfred Richard Orage (1873-1934), editor, journalist, political iconoclast and literary critic, was born in Yorkshire, where his father died when he was one year old. His mother, left penniless, brought her four children home to her own mother in Fenstanton, Huntingdonshire, where the two women worked to bring in enough money to support the family. In Sunday school the young Orage caught the attention of his teacher, Howard Coote, the local squire's son. Given the run of Coote's library, Orage "was rescued from his class destiny as a plough-boy and sent to Culham training college in Oxfordshire." From there he obtained his first teaching job at an elementary school in his native Yorkshire. He was twenty years old. At some point during these early years as a teacher, Orage copied a quotation from Kipling into a notebook: "Any fool can write but it takes a god-given genius to be an editor." (Tom Steele *Alfred Orage and the Leeds Arts Club 1893-1923*, Scolar Press, Aldershot (1990): p. 25; Steele was quoting from a Notebook entitled 'Leeds School Board, Daily Notes, VI, A' in a collection of his father's papers then in the possession of Richard Orage.) Already, it would seem, he had an idea of a vocation beyond teaching; but

he tried many other things in the meantime. Orage joined the Independent Labour Party and then a Theosophical group, becoming, in both of those domains, a formidable orator, who could hold the attention of a large audience and speak on a wide range of subjects. With Holbrook Jackson he took over and edited the new series of *The New Age* and turned it into the literary and political 'must read' intellectual journal of his time. Shaw wrote of Orage: "His plan was to keep the first three or four pages to himself as his pulpit and leave the rest to anyone who could and would write an article for nothing, no matter what his politics or fads were, provided only the ginger was hot in the mouth. Orage's success in getting copy on these terms was astonishing." (George Bernard Shaw quoted in Michael Holroyd's biography: *Bernard Shaw. The Pursuit of Power*, volume two of a series of three, Chatto & Windus, London (1989): p. 192.) Carswell suggests something similar in stating that "part of [Orage's] success as an editor was due to his willingness to print almost anyone who seemed to him original." John Carswell *Lives and Letters* 1906-1957: *AR Orage. Katherine Mansfield. Beatrice Hastings. John Middleton Murry. S.S. Koteliansky*, New Directions, New York (1978): p. 146. Amongst those who contributed to the journal were Matthew Robieson and William Anderson. Orage sold *The New Age*, which he edited from 1907 to 1922, to then become a factotum for a Russian religious cult leader, George Ivanovich Gurdjieff (1866-1949). Orage subsequently went to America, where in 1927 after his first wife, Jean Walker, granted a divorce, Orage married for a second time: Jessie Richards Dwight, daughter of a dealer in building supplies, from Albany. He returned to England in 1930 to found and edit *The New English Weekly*. He died unexpectedly in 1934. T.S. Eliot remarked that: "Many people will remember Orage as the tireless and wholly disinterested evangelist of monetary reform; many will remember him as the best leader-writer in London - on Wednesday mornings I always read through the first part of the *New English Weekly* before attending to any other work. A smaller number will remember him, as R.H.C. of the *New Age*, as the best literary critic of that time in London. Some will remember him as the benevolent editor who encouraged merit and (what is still rarer) tolerated genius. He was something more than the sum of these…." *The New English Weekly* Vol. VI, No. 5 (November 15, 1934): p. 100. With his panache for posing the paradoxical question, G.K. Chesterton asked: "Why is English as good as that stacked away in the files of the old *New Age*; and why will it probably never appear in any anthology of English prose?" *Ibid.*, p. 99. Chesterton's question suggests that the writing required context to be properly appreciated; no anthology could do the job properly.

Alfred O'Rahilly, see Alfred Rahilly.

Percy Herbert 'Perc' Partridge (1910-1988), philosopher and political scientist, studying under John Anderson, graduated with first class honours in Philosophy in 1930; appointed tutor in the Philosophy Department at Sydney in 1934; MA in 1937; he joined the Department of Moral and Political Philosophy in 1939 at Sydney; after a year in Melbourne he became Professor of Government and Public Administration, University of Sydney, 1947-1951; then Professor of Social Philosophy, Australian National University (ANU), 1951-1975, including as a Director of the Research School of Social Sciences at the ANU. Partridge was Chancellor of Macquarie University, 1978-1984. Partridge's books include *Politics, Philosophy, Ideology*, Clarendon Press, Oxford (1961) and *Consent and Consensus*, Pall Mall Press, London (1971).

John Passmore (1914-2004), philosopher and historian of philosophy, from 1931-1934 studied under John Anderson at the University of Sydney where he graduated with first class honours in Philosophy and English literature. From 1935-1949 he was successively Tutor, Lecturer and Senior Lecturer in Philosophy at the University of Sydney. From 1950-1954 he was Professor of Philosophy at Otago University, Dunedin, New Zealand; then from 1955-1958, Reader in Philosophy, Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University; then Professor from 1959. His memoirs refer to a very active record as a professional philosopher and as an historian of ideas. See John Passmore *Memoirs of a Semi-Detached Australian*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton South (1997). His papers are in the National Library of Australia, MS 7613.

Herbert James Paton (1887-1969), philosopher and Kant scholar, graduated MA in Philosophy at Glasgow in 1908, then to Balliol, where he obtained a MA in 1914. Appointed a Fellow and pra-elector at Queen's College, Oxford, from 1911 to 1927; he returned to Glasgow as Professor of Logic and Rhetoric, 1927 to 1937, then went back to Oxford as White's Professor of Philosophy at Corpus Christi College, 1937 to 1952; thereafter he was an emeritus Professor at Oxford and held visiting and other posts. It is as a translator and expositor of the thought of Kant that he is largely remembered. See Enrique Chávez-Arvizo 'PATON, Herbert James (1887-1969)' in Stuart Brown, General Editor, *Dictionary of Twentieth-*

Century British Philosophers, Vol. 2, Thoemmes Continuum, Bristol (2005): pp. 750-753. See also [Anonymous] 'Paton, Professor Herbert James' *The College Courant*, the journal of the Glasgow University Graduates' Association, Vol. 21, No. 43 (Martinmas, 1969): p. 55.

John Shearer Paton (1886-1920), unionist and guildsman, was the leader of the Glasgow branch of the National Guilds League and the first editor of the journal *The Guildsman*. Trained as a draughtsman he switched trades to become a shop steward of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers (ASE). Together with George Walker Thomson and Edwin Muir he was the leader of the trio of unionists at the centre of the Glasgow branch of the National Guilds League (NGL). From 1919 he was the trade union organiser of the NGL. Paton died young, leaving a widow, Mary, née Mortimer. There were two causes of death on March 16, 1920: tubercular meningitis and pleuro pneumonia. Arthur J. Penty, mentioned on the death certificate, was present when Paton died at 66 Strand on the Green, Chiswick, at Penty's then address, in the then outskirts of London. See: *Death Certificate of John Shearer Paton*, DYC 810777, U.K. General Registers Office (registered March 18, 1920). G.W. Thomson notes: "[An] aspect of Paton's life, which it is necessary to mention, because it is the very foundation of the man we knew was his fine culture and feeling for those things which were beautiful, either in nature or in art. The present writer will always treasure the memory of those early Sunday morning walks over Gleniffes Braes and Paton's delight at his first peep of the cuckoo or the sight of sunlight falling through the tracery of the spring leaves at Tannahills Well; nor will he forget the long discussions, the interminable smokings, his joy in reading aloud a passage from Heine, or the Sunday evening music at Glenview, whether we lifted voice in border ballad or Elizabethan lyric, or as happened not infrequently some grand old Scots psalm tune. Alas, for sunlight and music and the brave sights of the world, the most loveable and truest of friends is dead, and lies dreaming, who knows what dreams, in Chiswick Cemetery." Some words Thomson also used about John Paton conveyed much about himself, as well: "…many who knew Paton only as a fighter and propagandist, did not know Paton, the thinker, nor appreciate his greatest virtue, his tremendous intellectual honesty. Had he been more self-seeking, a panderer to demagogy, a political charlatan or simply a careerist, he might have done almost anything in the labour world these last six years. But from this he always turned with nausea. He founded the Reformer's Bookstall in Paisley when he might have stood for Parliament. His only contest in public life was for Education Authority a year or so ago, which he just failed to get on." See: George Thomson 'John Paton', *The Guildsman* No. 40 (April, 1920): p. 3. Also, the death notice *The Glasgow Herald* (March 19, 1920): p. 1.

John Paton (1886–1976), ILP official and politician, not to be confused with the Guildsman of the same name, was born in Aberdeen, spent his formative years in Scotland where he joined the ILP in 1904. During the 1914-1918 War, which he vigorously opposed, ran his own hairdressing business in Aberdeen. In 1919 he became a full-time ILP organiser, initially for the north of Scotland, and a year later for the whole country. He unsuccessfully stood twice for parliament in North Ayrshire and Bute in 1922, and at South Aberdeen the following year. At the end of 1924 Paton became the London-based national organiser for the ILP, becoming the party's general secretary in 1927 and editor of its newspaper, *New Leader*, in 1930. Many of his international contacts were with left socialists outside the Third International. At the ILP's 1933 conference, despite Paton's objections, delegates voted narrowly to approach the Comintern for affiliation. Paton resigned as general secretary with effect at the end of 1933 and shortly afterwards he left the party. Later he joined the Labour Party and ran as the Labour candidate for Norwich in December 1938 and finally won election as MP for Norwich in 1945; he held the seat until retirement in 1964. See David Howell 'Paton, John (1886–1976)', H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, editors, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biograph*y, Vol. 43, Oxford University Press, Oxford (2004): pp. 55-56.

Arthur J. Penty (1875-1937), architect and an influential writer on guild ideas, hoped to transform socio-economic life by advocating a return to medieval guilds. Penty's self-funded book *The Restoration of the Gild System* (1906) was especially influential in developing this line of thought, which was later developed in different directions by figures such as S.G. Hobson, A.R. Orage and G.D.H. Cole. He married the Vassar College educated Violet Pike, a former official in New York of the International Ladies Garment Workers, in 1915. An architect, medievalist, and political activist, Penty wrote a number of key books on his conception of the guild idea. He articulated an ethically informed socialism combined with Christian spirituality. Yet his politics took odd directions. It was claimed he had fascist and nazi sympathies. See [Anonymous] Obituary: 'Mr. A.J. Penty' *The Times* (January 23, 1937): p. 17; David Thistlewood 'A.J. Penty (1875-1937) and the Legacy of 19th Century English Domestic Architecture' *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* Vol. 46, No. 4, (December, 1987): pp. 327-347; and, P.C.

Grosvenor A Medieval Future: the Social, Economic and Aesthetic Thought of A.J. Penty (1875–1937), PhD diss., London School of Economics (1997).

Peter Petrov (1884-1947), socialist, also known as "Peter Petroff" was arrested in the 1905 Russian Revolution but escaped to reach Glasgow in 1907. He was subsequently a leading member of the SDF, SDP and BSP and was one of John Maclean's closest allies during the struggle against the 'pro World War I' policies of the 'Hyndmanites' in the BSP. See Murdoch Rodgers and James J. Smyth 'PETROFF, Peter (1884-1947)' in William Knox, editor, *Scottish Labour Leaders 1918-1939*, Mainstream Publishing, Edinburgh (1984): pp. 224-230.

Raymond William Postgate (1896-1971), brother of Margaret Cole, was an English socialist journalist and editor, social historian, mystery novelist and gourmet. He was a founding member of the British Communist Party in 1920. See R.W. Postgate *The Bolshevik Theory*, Grant Richards, London (1920). Always interested in food and wine, after World War II, Postgate assembled a band of volunteers to visit and report on UK restaurants. He edited the results into the *Good Food Guide*, first published in 1951. For an account of his life see John and Mary Postgate *A Stomach For Dissent: The Life Of Raymond Postgate*, Keele University Press (1994).

Erza Pound (1885-1972), American poet, writer, fascist sympathiser and eventual exile in Italy, considered his most important work, the 120-section epic *The Cantos*, composed from 1917 to 1969. In a personal communication in 1991, the Australian poet Harold Stewart (1916-1995) called the effort 'The Rantos'. For a period Pound was close to Orage and the *New Age*. See A. David Moody *Erza Pound: Poet*, *A Portrait of the Man and his Work, Vol. 1, The Young Genius 1885-1920*, Oxford University Press, Oxford (2007) and Tim Redman *Erza Pound and Italian Fascism*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (1991).

Alfred Rahilly (1884-1954), also known as "Alfred O'Rahilly", polymath, academic, adult educator and, after the death of his wife, priest, was a prolific author on Irish history and culture. Robieson refers to him in his article on adult education in Ireland. See Kathleen O'Flaherty 'Professor Alfred O'Rahilly: An Appreciation' *Irish University Review* Vol. 1, No. 4 (Spring, 1955): pp. 13-20. See the relevant entry in the *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, Royal Irish Academy/Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (2009).

Maurice Reckitt (1888-1980) was a Christian socialist, journalist, editor and writer. He read history at St. John's College, Oxford. Rejected as unfit for war service in 1914, his interests were in the Anglo-Catholic tradition and guild socialism. Reckitt wrote for *The New Age*, *G.K.'s Weekly*, *The New Witness* and many other publications. In 1913 he declared for guild socialism. See M.B. Reckitt 'Guild Socialism' *The Church Socialist* Vol. 2, No. 20 (August, 1913): pp. 8-15. He wrote with Carl Eric Bechhofer Roberts *The Meaning of National Guilds* (published in two editions, in 1918 and 1920). A sister, Eva, was a founding member of the Communist Party of Great Britain. His papers are in the Archives of the University of Sussex Library. See: C.J.N.M. Obituary: 'Mr. Maurice Reckitt' *The Times* January 14, 1980, p. 14; John S. Peart-Binns *Maurice B. Reckitt, A Life*, Bowerdean Press and Marshall Pickering, Basingstoke (1988).

William Lindsay Renwick (1889-1970), a contemporary of the Robieson twins, English academic and writer, studied at Glasgow from 1907, graduating with First Class Honours in English in 1911. He wrote verse and prose for the *Glasgow University Magazine*, of which he was sub-editor from 1909 to 1910, the year Walter Elliot edited the magazine. He served in the War; afterwards studying for a B.Litt. at Oxford. He secured consecutive appointments at the Universities of Glasgow, Newcastle, Durham and Edinburgh – the latter as Regius Professor of Rhetoric and English Literature. Renwick published widely on Spenser, Kipling, Burns and others. An interesting work is his *The Rise of the Romantics 1789-1815: Wordsworth, Coleridge and Jane Austen*, Clarendon Press, Oxford (1990). See Winifred Maynard 'William Lindsay Renwick, 1889–1970' *Proceedings of the British Academy* Vol. 57 (1971): pp. 477-485. In a note to her article Maynard acknowledges information and recollection from Sir William Robieson.

Hugh Adam Reyburn (1886-1950), philosopher, graduated MA with first class honours in mental philosophy in 1909, becoming Assistant to Professor Henry Jones the same year. In 1911 he resigned (creating the vacancy and opportunity for M.W. Robieson's first academic appointment) to start the next year as Professor of Philosophy at Cape Town, 1912 to 1920, then following a reorganisation of the Department, from 1920 until his death, as Professor of Logic and Psychology there. His D.Phil (1914) at Glasgow was revised and turned into a book *The Ethical Theory of Hegel: A Study of the Philosophy of Right*, Clarendon Press, Oxford (1921). See William Sweet 'REYBURN, Hugh Adam (1886-1950)' in Stuart

Brown, General Editor, *Dictionary of Twentieth-Century British Philosophers*, Vol. 2, Thoemmes Continuum, Bristol (2005): pp. pp. 870-871.

Kenneth Forbes Richmond (1882-1945) was a Scottish writer and educational psychologist who assisted the Society for Psychical Research (SPR), London. He edited the *Journal of the SPR* (1939-1945) and served as the Society's part-time secretary, 1944-1945. His interest in psychical research was stimulated by Sir Oliver Lodge's book *Raymond: Or Life After Death*, Methuen, London (1916), which Richmond reviewed. He became a member of the SPR and investigated the phenomena of mediumship, especially the medium Gladys Osborne Leonard (1882-1968) and her control, "Feda." He wrote a number of popular articles which appeared in newspapers and magazines and articles in the *Proceedings of the SPR*. Richmond was a Jungian psychoanalyst, whose clients included D.H. Lawrence and Graham Greene. He moved in literary circles, wrote poetry and reviews, was a friend of Walter de la Mare and other well-known writers of the time, cast astrological charts, and was an alcoholic. His wife Zoë was a suffragette and spiritualist medium; she and Kenneth both joined The Society for Psychical Research, in which they played a major role. A picture of the Richmond household in 1921 is painted by Norman Sherry in the chapter 'Psychoanalysed' in *The Life of Graham Greene*, *Volume I: 1904–1939* Jonathan Cape, London (1989): pp. 92-108. Greene was sent to Kenneth Richmond at the age of 16 after attempting to poison himself. He lived with the Richmonds for six months and received psychoanalysis at eleven o'clock every morning, which mostly consisted of him recounting his dreams while Richmond held a stopwatch to time his associations. Greene wrote in his autobiography *A Sort of Life*, The Bodley Head, London (1971) that this period was "perhaps the happiest six months of my life" (p. 96). He describes Kenneth Richmond as having "the appearance of an eccentric musician" and it seems Greene had a boyhood crush on "his beautiful wife Zoë", who was 32 at the time. One account of this period in Greene's life says: "Some kind of breakdown occurred at sixteen, perhaps the result of tension at school. He lived for six months with self-proclaimed Jungian analyst Kenneth Richmond and his attractive wife, Zoë. Richmond was a quack with no formal training. And something happened between Greene and Zoë. Rumors circulated that one of the Richmond children was Greene's - an unpromising start for a man prone to impossible romantic longings." See: Robert Royal 'The (Mis)Guided Dream of Graham Greene' *First Things* No. 91 (November, 1999): pp. 16-18. At the time of death, Richmond was secretary of The Society for Psychical Research, a post that came with a flat above the Society's offices in Tavistock Square, Bloomsbury. Both Kenneth and Zoë believed passionately in survival after death. Richmond wrote a book about psychic experiences entitled *Evidence of Identity*: Psychical Experiences, G. Bell & Sons Ltd, London (1939) and Zoë wrote *Evidence of Purpose* (Psychical Experiences), G. Bell & Sons Ltd, London (1938), which deals with spontaneous apparitions in dreams and other mediumistic phenomena, based on case files held by the Society. Kenneth had earlier written a novel with the science fiction writer J.D. Beresford entitled *W.E. Ford: A Biography*, Collins/George H. Doran Company, London /New York (1917), loosely based on Richmond's own life in the guise of fictional alterego 'William Elphinstone Ford'. He also wrote: *The Permanent Values in Education*, Constable & Co., London (1917) and *Education for Liberty*, W. Collins Sons & Co., Glasgow (1918) – both works reviewed by Robieson in *The New Age*. Robieson was staying with the Richmonds on holidays in Cornwall when he drowned in 1919. For details on the Richmonds, see relevant entry in Arthur S. Berger and Joyce Berger *The Encyclopedia of Parapsychology and Psychical Research*, Paragon House, New York (1991).

Zoë Blanche Russell Richmond (1888-1986) was an honorary associate of the Society for Psychical Research (SPR), London. In 1914 she married Kenneth Forbes Richmond, whom she assisted in investigations of mediumship, in particular the phenomena of the celebrated trance medium Gladys Osborne Leonard. Zoë Richmond joined the Society for Psychical Research (SPP) in 1922. Subsequently she claimed to have developed the faculty of automatic writing and was herself the subject of SPR experiments. She contributed a number of articles to *Light* (published by the London Spiritualist Alliance), and published the above-mentioned *Evidence of Purpose* (1938), in which she reviewed purposive messages through mediums from deceased individuals. See relevant entry in Arthur S. Berger and Joyce Berger *The Encyclopedia of Parapsychology and Psychical Research*, Paragon House, New York (1991).

David George Ritchie (1853-1903) was the Scottish liberal and Idealist philosopher, who taught at Edinburgh, Oxford and St Andrews. See his posthumously published David G. Ritchie *Philosophical Studies*, edited with a memoir by Robert Latta, Macmillan, London (1905).

James B. Ritchie (1889-1945), mathematician, teacher and school principal, a native of Arbroath (possibly related to William B. Ritchie), was briefly involved in the Glasgow Branch of the National Guilds League. He was educated in mathematics and science at St Andrews University and obtained a D.Sc from Edinburgh in 1916; in 1912 he was principal teacher of mathematics in Edinburgh Institution, then in 1914 principal teacher of mathematics and science at Kelvinside Academy, then in 1922 rector of Forbes Academy, then from 1932 to his death, rector of Ayr Academy. See: [Anonymous] 'Education News: Rector of Ayr Academy Dead' *The Scotsman*, (April 6, 1945): p. 3; [Anonymous] 'Obituary: Dr. James B. Ritchie' *The Scottish Educational Journal*, organ of the Scottish Educational Institute, Vol. 38, No. 15 (April 13, 1945): p. 194. John Strawhorn *750 Years of A Scottish School. Ayr Academy 1233-1983*, Alloway Publishing, Ayr [Scotland] (1983): pp. 86-94.

William D. Ritchie (1886-1967), teacher and education authority bureaucrat, was active in the Glasgow Branch of the National Guilds League, playing a leading role, attending meetings at Glasgow University and elsewhere, prosyletising for the cause. A native of Arbroath (possibly related to James B. Ritchie), he graduated M.A. from Edinburgh University with first class honours in history; he briefly taught at Bellshill Secondary School, Lanarkshire and in 1906 was appointed principal teacher of English at Selkirk High School and, in 1919, became Selkirkshire's first director of education, retiring from this post in 1950. He was a contribuotor to the journal of the Scottish Educational Institute and active in its affairs, becoming a Fellow in 1947 and was honoured with an O.B.E. in 1949. Over the years he played important roles in adult education and various reviews of Scottish education. Perhaps most significantly, in 1957 he was President of the Scottish Cricket Union. See: [Anonymous] 'William D. Ritchie, M.A., F.E.I.S.' *Scottish Educational Journal*, organ of the Scottish Educational Institute, Vol. 50, No. 26 (June 30, 1967): p. 674.

Carl Erich Bechhöfer Roberts (1894-1949) was a linguist, translator, biographer, writer, barrister and, for a time, a member of the National Guilds League. Born and raised in London, he was educated at St. Paul's School. His father, disapproving of his unworldly direction into classical studies, sent him to Germany at the age of 15: "where, it was understood, a good beginning would be made towards knocking the nonsense out of me" (*A Wanderer's Log* p. 13). But he persisted in his classical interests, studying in the Classical-Philological faculty at Berlin University, and adding rowing, drinking, and duelling to his agenda. While still a student he began sending articles to *The New Age*, where he became one of its most prolific authors - publishing parodies, verse, reports and articles on politics. Returning home for his holidays in 1911, his father and he agreed that: "only a trip round the world would really knock the nonsense out of me" (*A Wanderer's Log* p. 14). He left on a ship headed for 'the East' in November that year. He published books on Russian literature: Carl Erich Bechhöfer Roberts [published as "C.E. Bechhofer"] *Five Russian Plays with one from the Ukranian*, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd./E.P. Dutton, London/New York (1916) and Carl Erich Bechhöfer Roberts [published as "C.E. Bechhofer"] *A Russian Anthology in English*, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd./E.P. Dutton, London/New York (1917). His travels - which included India, China, Russia before and after the revolution, and many other places in the Northern Hemisphere - were recorded in several books: *Russia at the Crossroads,* Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., London (1916), *Denikin's Russia and the Caucasus, 1919-1920*: *Being the Record of a Journey to South Russia, the Crimea, Armenia, Georgia and Baku in 1919 and 1920*, with an introduction by Alfred E. Zimmern, Collins, London (1921), *Through Starving Russia*, *Being the Record of a Journey to Moscow and the Volga Provinces in August and September 1921*, Methuen & Co. Ltd., London (1921), and *A Wanderer's Log: Being Some Memories of Travel in India, the Far East, Russia, the Mediterranean & Elsewhere*, Mills & Boon, London (1922). In 1914, having enlisted as a trooper in the 9th Lancers, he went to Russia with the express purpose of learning the language and qualifying as a military interpreter. During 1917-1919 he was a member of the Russian Government Committee set up by the UK Board of Trade. A novel, *Let's Begin Again*, is an autobiographical romp in which he satirised Orage and *The New Age* under the names of "Whitworth" and "The New Endeavour" (Wallace Martin *The* 'New Age' *Under Orage*: Chapters in English Cultural History, Manchester University Press, Manchester (1967): p. 50). Roberts was good at languages, picking up Russian along with German on his travels. He spent time at the offices of *The New Age* and their informal extension to the Chancery Lane ABC Tea Room. Paul Selver found him there and described him as one of the followers of Orage: "Of the others [regular contributors to the journal] I discern, very much in the foreground, a fattish, red-faced youth who, when I entered the circle, was about eighteen. In those days he still signed himself Carl Bechhöfer (sometimes thinly disguised as Charles Brookfarmer). After the war of 1914-18, in which he served in the Lancers and later made an adventurous trip to Soviet Russia, he shed his umlaut and became Bechhofer-Roberts. Before his umlaut vanished he had a knack of writing lampoons which bubbled with undergraduatish fun. One of his happiest efforts in this manner was a set of skits on the leading London periodicals, and

we all felt that when he, so to speak, had graduated as a writer, he ought to accomplish something considerable." Paul Selver *Orage and the New Age Circle*, Allen and Unwin, London (1959): pp. 29-30. In a prodigious output, Bechhöfer/Roberts wrote various biographies – including studies of political figures such as Stanley Baldwin and Winston Churchill. He became private secretary to the first Lord Birkenhead, writing for the *Daily Express* from 1926 to 1929. He also wrote two books about spiritualism, *The Mysterious Madame: A Life of Madame Blavatsky*, John Lane, The Bodley Head, London (1931) and *The Truth About Spiritualism*, Eyre and Spottiswoode, London (1932). He also wrote: with M.B. Reckitt *The Meaning of National Guilds*, C. Palmer & Hayward, London (first edition, 1918; second edition, 1920). His *The Literary Renaissance in America*, William Heinemann Ltd., London (1923), in which he praised the work of such contemporary writers as Sinclair Lewis, H.L. Mencken, Sherwood Anderson, Willa Cather, Theodore Dreiser, Eugene O'Neill, and others. Referring to the articles Bechhofer had originally written for the *London Times* the American literary critic H.L. Mencken wrote that: "...Bechhofer reprinted them in 1923, considerably expanded, as *The Literary Renaissance in America*. He was a London Jew who had spent some time in youth in the United States. I met him in London in 1922, and we had a couple of boozy evenings together. He hung about the fringes of English letters for many years, but never got very far. He also held various minor political jobs and tried his hand as a newspaper correspondent in Russia. In 1936 he brought out an extraordinarily vituperative biography of Stanley Baldwin. Some time after World War I he attached his mother's surname to his own, and became C.E. Bechhofer-Roberts. Later on he dropped the hyphen and became Carl Eric Bechhofer Roberts." H.L. Mencken 'My Life as Author and Editor' in H.L. Mencken *Prejudices First, Second and Third Series*, The Library of America, New York (2010): p. 514, fn.*. In 1941 Roberts was called to the Bar at Gray's Inn. His most popular body of work from the thirties was a series of books on actual crimes and trials plus some crime fiction of his own. He lived the life of a professional writer, producing works of travel, biography, criminology, fiction, translation, and some drama; the latter included a play, written with C.S. Forrester, on Edith Cavell, the British nurse executed in 1915 by the Germans for alleged spying; the play later became the basis of a movie made in 1939. His pseudonyms including in books, pamphlets and articles included "Carl Erich", "C.E.B.", "Ephesian", "Carl Eric Bechhofer," "Carl Eric Bechhöfer" and "Charles Brook-farmer". The latter is the name William Anderson heard when he met Orage and others in the *New Age* offices in 1919. One aspect of Robert's life and work and his connection to Orage was his relationship to the spiritual leader G.I. Gurdjieff. A current web page devoted to Gurdjieff summarises this history as follows: "Journalist Carl Eric Bechhofer Roberts first met Gurdjieff in Tiflis in 1919. His *In Denikin's Russia and the Caucasus, 1919-1920*, contains the first description of Gurdjieff published in English. He warmly recounts being guided by Gurdjieff on an unusual tour of Tiflis, especially the baths and restaurants. Roberts notes that this "curious individual named Georgi Ivanovitch Gurdjieff... was still surrounded by this strange entourage of philosophers, doctors, poets and dancers. He was not exploiting them; on the contrary, several of them were living on his diminishing means." Later in this journey, Roberts describes listening to Gurdjieff's long-time journalistic acquaintance, P.D. Ouspensky's engaging renditions of light-hearted Moscow and Essentuki adventures while they shared a bottle of vodka that Ouspensky prepared from pure white spirit and orange peel. Out of curiosity, he made several visits to Gurdjieff's Institute at the Prieuré. Roberts died in a car accident on December 15, 1949, which injured his wife and another passenger. See 'Barrister Killed in Car' *The Times* December 16, 1949, p. 2. This biographical material relies on Robert Sullivan 'Carl Erich Bechhöfer (Roberts) (1894-1949)' on-line biography published as part of the *Modernists Journals Project* Brown University and the University of Tulsa, accessed in August, 2010, Robert's books as well as [Anonymous] 'Obituary. Mr. C.E. Bechhofer Roberts. Politics, Literature and the Law' *The Times* [London, England] (December 16, 1949): p. 7.

R. Chisholm Robertson, a miner from Stirlingshire, and a rival of Hardie, was appointed as Secretary of The Scottish United Trades Councils Labour Party (SUTCLP), also known as the Scottish Trades Councils Independent Labour Party. The party originated from a meeting held in Edinburgh on August 8, 1891 with representatives of various trades councils and local labour organisations. The executive attempted to form local labour representation committees, based on the membership of the trades councils. Its platform included calls for an eight-hour day, universal suffrage, land nationalisation and limited industrial nationalisation, and a local option on temperance. The new party agreed not to sponsor any candidates where there was a chance that a Conservative might beat a Liberal or a radical. At the 1892 general election, the party sponsored four candidates: John Wilson in Edinburgh Central, Robert Brodie in Glasgow College, R. Chisholm Robertson in Stirlingshire and Robert Cunninghame-Graham in Glasgow Camlachie. The party also actively supported nine left-wing Liberal candidates, including one crofter. With the formation of the Independent Labour Party, in March 1893 the SUTCLP dissolved, advising

members and branches to affiliate to the new organisation. See W. Hamish Fraser *Scottish Popular Politics: From Radicalism to Labour*, Polygon, Edinburgh (2000): pp. 129-133.

Eliza Robieson (1864-1934), née Eliza Rankin Walker, wife of William Dunkeld Robieson Snr, mother of Matthew, William and Jessie, was born in Rutherglen, Glasgow and died in Giffnock in 1934.

Margaret Graham Robieson (1893-1984), née MacKenzie, married William Robieson in 1919; a radical and free-thinker, she had a daughter, the future Anne Kahane in 1923.

Matthew Walker Robieson (1890-1919), philosopher, and his twin brother, William, were born in May 1890 at Fossoway, Kinross-shire, to their schoolmaster father William and mother Eliza. The local school was located in the Crook of Devon. The foot bridge over the River Devon leads to a path to the Back Crook. This connects to a 6.5 mile track around Crook of Devon, Drum and Rumbling Bridge, about a mile below the Crook of Devon, a particularly picturesque spot, built over a steep drop of the river. The Devon passes over some rocky stages and a massive waterfall called Caudron Linn before emerging from this, it pursues a gentle and placid course. Robbie Burns, in his song, 'The Banks of the Devon' (1787) celebrated the beauty of the river and the flowers along its banks, saying that "the bonniest flow'r on the banks of the Devon/Was once a sweet bud on the braes of the Ayr." Burns wrote: "Let Bourbon exult in his gay gilded lilies, /And England triumphant display her proud rose:/ A fairer than either adorns the green valleys, /Where Devon, sweet Devon, meandering flows." This flower is probably the globeflower - which has its habitat in mountainous shady places - as well as blooming every June and July in yellow fields sloping down to the Devon. Home life at Fossoway may have been strict. A grand-niece commented on homelife: "Now to recollections: Matthew was always 'Matth' and William 'Bill'. …WDR junior, told me that he had very happy memories of life in the schoolhouse: 'Matth and I were favoured beyond most people in being brought up in a house which had at its command a mill lade, sluices and miles of a very pleasant river.' ...Dollar brought a certain amount of freedom from WDR senior's strict supervision - they travelled daily by train. Then Glasgow University brought much more freedom, especially as the bursaries meant that they were probably financially independent of their father. They lived in lodgings. I think that Grandfather had his laundry done in Glasgow, but Matth sent his home. It was returned with the occasional comment from their mother that Twa socks don't make a couple'." Email: *Clare Thomas to Michael Easson*, March 5, 2010. From 1903 to 1907 the brothers attended Dollar Academy, a Scots private school. Dollar is a small town on the southern slopes of the Ochil Hills. The school motto is *Juventutis Veho Fortunas* (in the Latin: "I bear the fortunes of youth.") and academic studies, along with fitness, is encouraged. For the Robieson boys, Dollar was a few stops away on the local rail line from the station at Crook of Devon. From Dollar there were connections to Edinburgh (90 minutes), Glasgow (70 minutes), Perth (55 minutes), Stirling (30 minutes) and Kinross (20 minutes). Amusingly, Hetherington recalled that: "The two brothers were extraordinarily like one another, and I suppose all their contemporaries have memories of the way in which one used to suffer for the delinquencies of the other. Most of the masters were able to distinguish them in time; but I doubt if Dr Butchart was ever able to say with any certainty which was which. At any rate, more than once, Matthew, who was rather good at French, was heard to receive a reproof for his alleged sins with the remark: 'But, sir, I am not W.D.' And I rather think that at the latter end, W.D. found himself, to his great astonishment, the heir to the Silver Medal in French, to which his only claim was that he was indistinguishably the twin of the boy who had really won it. Hector Hetherington [published as H.J.W.H] 'Matthew Robieson' *Dollar Magazine* Vol. XVIII, No. 71 (September 1919): p. 120. Matthew, known at home as "Matth", took third place in the 1907 Glasgow University Bursary competition and William took fourth. They chose to go to Glasgow rather than follow the Dollar tradition of going to St. Andrews, perhaps due to family connections at Glasgow. There they were contemporaries of William Anderson and Anderson's younger brother, John. Arnot recalled visiting the twins on vacations: "I presume as the approach of old age that my interest in the memories of the most recent years lapses that the little memorettes of 55 to 60 years ago recur with great vividness. One is of the schoolhouse of Devon during a vacation and of you and Matthew in singularly similar clothing pursuing in the fields a dog which had run off with something - *qui ont voulu rattraper* [i.e., that they wanted to catch up with]..." Letter: *R. Page Arnot to W.D. Robieson*, undated, circa 1969/1970, Robin Page Arnot papers, DAR/2/54 Archives, Hull University Library. (There is also a separate letter to William Robieson, also undated, possibly another draft of the above. It starts, "When I wrote [to] you recalling the loss of Matthew by drowning, a loss which I felt after fifty years, I wrote at the same time or shortly thereafter to the only other person who would know him, Professor Benjamin Farrington, who was I think a junior Lecturer in Classics when Matthew was at Queen's University, Belfast..." Apparently Arnot intended to enclose Farrington's letter; perhaps he did. It apparently has not

survived). At University Matthew was active in and President of the University Socialist Club and pursued wide interests - extending to golf. See the brief report on M.W. Robieson being a club sweepstake winner in a golfing competition: *The Scotsman* (August 29, 1910). Both twins excelled academically and both graduated MA with First Class Honours in 1911, Matt in Philosophy. He was awarded the Eglinton Fellowship in Mental Philosophy open to students and graduates of the University, and the Logan Gold Medal, adjudged by the University Senate to the most distinguished graduate of the year in the Faculty of Arts. He then became Assistant to the Professor of Moral Philosophy in Glasgow University and Lecturer in Ethics to the Glasgow Provincial Committee for the Training of Teachers. Robieson appears to have studied in Germany before the War. He and his close friend and contemporary (both graduating in the same year), William Anderson reviewed in 1914-1915 various philosophy books written in German – which suggests a deep affinity with the language. See the bibliography to this thesis, which includes book reviews of Matthew Walker Robieson and William Anderson for the *Review of Theology and Philosophy*. In September 1913, he gained the Ferguson Scholarship open to graduates of all the Scotch Universities. Successfully applying in 1913, in early 1914 he started as a Lecturer in Moral Philosophy and History of Philosophy at Queen's University, Belfast (QUB). On medical grounds he was rejected for military service. Between 1914 and 1919, he wrote on Guild Socialism and other topics for *The New Age* journal. He also published in *The Hibbert Journal* and the *International Journal of Ethics*. At Belfast he was regarded as a very promising thinker but died whilst swiming on holidays in Cornwall in July 1919. He was buried at Fossoway: "He was laid to rest… in the sunlit valley which he loved, in the village where his early years were spent. As the simple words were spoken which marked the closing of his earthly life, one felt, in dimness and shadow… that his confidence was not displaced, and that he was at home. Hector Hetherington, 'Matthew Robieson', *Loc. Cit.*, p. 122. Robieson's literary executor was William Anderson. See: [Anonymous]'In Memoriam – Matthew W. Robieson, M.A.' *The Scottish Educational Journal*, organ of the Scottish Educational Institute, Vol. 11, No. 31 (August 1, 1919): p. 1.

William Dunkeld Robieson Snr (1861-1941), schoolteacher and schoolmaster, the youngest of six children, was born in Larkhall, attended Glasgow University, 1880 to 1881, then the Dundas Vale Training College in Glasgow, 1881 to 1882. His eldest brother and his mother both died in 1881. Thereafter he immediately concentrated on becoming a teacher (in a shorter qualifying period): He taught first at Tillicoultry, then at Fossoway School, Kinross-Shire, 1889 to 1917, where he was head teacher; the family lived next to the school in the schoolhouse cottage. In 1889 he married Eliza. All three children were born at Fossoway – including a daughter, Jessie Rankin Robieson (1900-1982). In 1917 he left Fossoway for Coalsnaughton, Tillicoultry, eventually retiring in 1925 to Giffnock, near Glasgow, where he died. He was interested in and wrote on education reform initiatives. See, for example, W.D. Robieson 'The New Code in Relation to Rural Schools' in *Papers Read at Educational Conference Under the Auspices of Stirling Branch of Educational Institute of Scotland, at Stirling, on April 22nd, 1899*, Educational Institute of Scotland, Stirling Branch, The Stirling Journal and Advertiser, Stirling (1899): pp. 12-20. The Robieson family followed the United Free Church. An influential Minister was the Rev. Alexander Murray, who left Fossoway in 1902 when the boys were twelve. He evangelised the parish, instigating more Sunday Church services, Christian endeavour meetings during the week, Saturday night meetings for prayer, Band of Hope and Scripture Union meetings (the last held in the manse dining room). There was a particular effort directed to young children. See: D. Leighton 'The Fossoway Ministry' in Mrs. Murray and others *In Remembrance Rev. Alexander Murray, M.A.*, MacNiven & Wallace, Edinburgh (1921): pp. 49-62. Robieson was active in the EIS, the Scottish education union, becoming a Fellow in 1900. In 1917, he was posted to a new appointment as school principal at Coalsnaughton. At the time it was reported: "Mr. Robieson said that he could only inadequately give utterance to the heart-felt thanks of his wife and himself for the far too kind words spoken … he could never forget the important section of his life spent at the Crook. When the call to leave Fossoway came to him in an unexpected and unusual way, it was far from easy to make a decision. The wrench however was made, as the quotation runs: "I slept and dreamed that life is beauty, I woke and found that life is duty." [Anonymous] 'Leaving Fossoway', clipping from local press. Source: provided by Clare Thomas (n.d., not sourced, but *circa*, 1917). The last is a reference to the much anthologised Ellen Sturgis Hooper's poem 'I Slept, and Dreamed that Life was Beauty' *The Dial* (July 1840) p. 123, which went on "Was thy dream then a shadowy lie?/Toil on, sad heart, courageously,/ And thou shalt find thy dream to be/A noonday light and truth to thee." The newspaper clipping also has him saying, "He feared that he had fallen far short of his aims and ideals, but he was glad to know that his efforts had not been in vain and had been greatly appreciated… As a loyal member of the Church Mr. Robieson had ever been ready to do all he could in the interests of the United Free Church, and the cause of Christ, and he was glad that the office-bearers and congregation were associated in the gifts that had been made." See: 'Leaving Fossoway', *Loc. Cit.* Such statements are a

reminder of the affinity of Kirk and State in rural locations in Scotland at that time. At some point he wrote *Every Day Composition, Hints and Helps in Letter and Essay Writing*, McDougall's Educational Co. Ltd., London and Edinburgh (1918 and reprinted in 1929 and subsequently). (Clare Thomas helped date the publication in 1918, as no publication date appears in the book. Her copy includes an inscription: "with the writer's compliments 12:12:18." Email: *Clare Thomas to Michael Easson*, June 4, 2011.) The original of this publication showed the author as Wm. D. Robieson, with 'Wm' short for 'William'. Some reprints mistakenly show the author as 'W.M.D. Robieson'. The book was a style and grammar guide to letter writing and compositions in different contexts: "The book is primarily meant for the use of – (1) students in Continuation Classes, (2) senior pupils in Day Schools, and (3) private students at similar stages of advancement, - and the aim is the cultivation of the power of speaking and writing plain English without serious fault." Wm.D. Robieson *Everyday Composition*, *Loc. Cit.*, p. 3. The book covered sentences, letters, essays, use of punctuation and capitals. One example is that of a son, on military service in Africa, to his mother. This was based on an actual letter that William Jnr. wrote home whilst on service in World War I. (See the example: 'From a son on military service in Africa to his mother, 20th August, 1917'; *Ibid.*, pp. 34-5. Clare Thomas for pointed out this example. Email: *Clare Thomas to Michael Easson*, March 5, 2010.) For general, biographical details, see: [Anonymous] 'Mr. W.D. Robieson, F.E.I.S.' *The Scottish Educational Journal*, organ of the Educational Institute of Scotland, Vol. 24, No. 4 (January 24, 1941): p. 56.

Sir William Dunkeld Robieson (1890-1977), newspaper editor, Matthew's twin, played a major role in the business and public life of Scotland. He was schooled locally at Fossoway and at Dollar Academy. In his last years, he recalled happy childhood memories including that a family friend, Mr. David Ellis, operated a saw mill on the Devon River and also a small farm called the Poplars, "three fields away from my father's schoolhouse. As boys it was the duty of my brother and/or myself to take the path across the fields every evening to fetch the next day's supply of milk from the Ellis house…"W.D. Robieson 'Class Comment' *Dollar Magazine* Vol. LXV, No. 270 (June 1976): p. 7. At Glasgow University he was active in and President of the Liberal Club and at one time active in the Temperance Society. As with his brother, Matthew, he excelled at languages and studied abroad for parts of their studies. He is listed in 1909 as the 'Agent' for the International Academic Committee at the University Union, Glasgow, for a publication on study abroad. See: H.J. Darnton-Fraser, editor and compiler, *A Handbook on Foreign Study*, issued in the name and by the authority of the S.R.C.s of all the Universities of Great Britain and Ireland represented at the British Universities Students' Congress, The Darien Press, Edinburgh (1909) p. 146. After graduating with first class honours in history in 1911, he won the Watson prize, which funded his travels in Italy to learn the language. In 1913 he became an assistant to the Professor of History at Glasgow. Whilst at Glasgow University, he edited a book of readings: W.D. Robieson *The Growth of Parliament and the War with Scotland (1216-1307),* G. Bell and Sons, Ltd., London (1914). In 1914 he joined the staff of the Glasgow *Herald* as a sub-editor. War enforced a career break. He enlisted with the 6th Cameron Highlanders and served with the Gold Coast Regiment in West Africa. There's just one surviving item of correspondence from William to his brother Matt, a postcard, wherein he wrote: "We arrived here on Tuesday after a joyful but hard march. This is an excellent camp, but Swindon is out of London." See: Postcard: *W.D. Robieson to M.W. Robieson*, n.d., *circa* early 1915. MS Gen 1376/11/7, Glasgow University Archives. Bill included a photograph of troops taken at Basingstoke (a town in northeast Hampshire, in south-central England). In 1973 William wrote some notes on the origin of his enlistment. See: W.D. Robieson, President, 6th Cameron Highlanders Reunion Club, 'Glasgow University and the 6th Cameron Highlanders' holograph notes, MS Gen 1376, Glasgow University Archives – hereafter referred to as W.D. Robieson 'Notes' (1973). See also [Anonymous] 'The Cameron Men' *The College Courant* Vol. 26, No. 53 (Martinmas, 1974): p. 33. Commemorating his regiment, Robieson co-wrote, edited and published as "W.D.R." *The Sixth Cameron Highlanders Souvenir Book*, published for the Sixth Cameron Highlanders by Spottiswoode & Co. Ltd., London and The Glasgow Herald, Glasgow (February, 1916). In September 1914, Colonel D.W. Cameron of Lochiel obtained permission from the War Office to appeal in Glasgow for groups of young men to come forward and enlist together on the understanding that they would be trained and go overseas as units. So receptive was the response that there were enough volunteers to produce the 5th, 6th and 7th battalions of the Regiment. "The glamour of the kilt was irresistible," *The Sixth Cameron Highlanders Souvenir Book*, p. 11. The 200 students who volunteered from Glasgow University in 1915 formed B Company of the 6th: "...the fact that they all shared a similar background gave the 6th special characteristics and a cohesion which it never lost, in spite of the fact that at Loos its commanding officer, adjudant and three out of four company commanders were killed (including the Commander of B company, Captain Francis John MacCunn, in 1914 a Lecturer in the Department of History at the University)." W.D. Robieson 'Notes' (1973), *Loc. Cit.* Friends thought that the posting of William to West

Africa was better than serving in France. John Anderson asked his brother, "How is Matthew getting on? Is he in Ireland at present? Bill will have a hell of a time in the Gold Coast, I expect. But it is perhaps better than France." Letter: *John Anderson to William Anderson*, September 25, 1917, University of Sydney Archives, P.42 Papers of John Anderson and family, Series 19, Acc. No.1428, item 1. This probably alludes to the fact that William was wounded in 1916. See: 'Cameron Highlanders Officer Wounded' *The Scotsman* (February 18, 1916): p. 6). Casualties were enormous as contending armies in Europe tried to fight their way out of stalemate. On August 8, 1914, the Gold Coast, now Ghana, had German settlements to the east. That territory, as well as the German colony of Togoland, now known as Togo, were invaded by British and French troops and occupied until 1919. Robieson was with the Gold Coast Regiment of the West African Frontier Force. For certain factual information see entry: [Anonymous] 'ROBIESON, Sir William' in *Who Was Who Vol. VII, 1971-1980*, A. & C. Black, London (1989): p. 676. By the end of the war over 4,400 members of the University, including 1,500 undergraduates, had served and nearly 750 had died. (A.L. Brown and Michael Moss *The University of Glasgow: 1451-1996*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh (1996): p. 74.) The war had a profound influence not only in the sorrow of losing friends but also in ending his belief in the inevitability of progress. This line was used in the biographical profile of Robieson, published in the World War I alumni series on the University of Glasgow website. Accessed June, 2010. He survived the war, however, and returned in 1919 to work in Glasgow at the *Herald*. That year his brother Matthew drowned. A close friend of both said at the time, "I am sure that to the many who knew the boys in Dollar and in Glasgow, almost the saddest thing about Matthew's death is the thought of Bill's sorrow in the loss of the brother whom, so justly and so finely, he honoured and loved." Hector Hetherington [published as H.J.W.H] 'Matthew Robieson' *Dollar Magazine* Vol. XVIII, No. 71 (September 1919): p. 120. Also in 1919, before a United Free Church minister, he married Mabel Graham Mackenzie, with whom they had a daughter, Anne, later Anne Kahane (1923-2011). Email: *Clare Thomas to Michael Easson*, March 5, 2010. In 1921 he became lead-writer and in 1926 assistant editor to Sir Robert Bruce. In 1937 he stepped into the editor's chair at a very interesting time in national and international politics. The paper under his leadership took a strong anti-appeasement line. He had a high public profile and many honours followed. The University of Glasgow conferred an Honorary LLD in 1943. He served as a member of the Royal Commission on Population, from 1944 to 1949. He was knighted for services to public life in 1948. At the time of his knighthood he discovered that the middle name "Dunkeld" had not been registered at birth, but he was always known by his three initials. In retirement he became a director of MacBrayne's Ltd West Coast steamers, and trustee for the National Galleries of Scotland. From 1956 to 1972 he served the University of Glasgow as Chancellor's Assessor. He died on 19th July 1977. Robieson's granddaughter recalled "Grandfather I think retained religious beliefs; he used to attend a church (Church of Scotland) nearby though not necessarily the nearest. That last summer there were visits to the flat from the minister, a rather unctuous chap whom my grandmother in particular could not abide. But then Gran couldn't stand any form of organised religion." Email: *Clare Thomas to Michael Easson*, March 5, 2010. He died on 19th July 1977, aged 87. His funeral was religious at Clydebank Crematorium. Clare Thomas remembers that family and friends sang the 'Old Hundredth' Psalm "All People That on Earth do Dwell" (i.e., from Psalm 100) and another hymn which contained the line "now Israel may say" (i.e., from Psalm 124.): "If that the Lord/had not our right sustain'd,/When cruel men/against us furiously/Rose up in wrath,/to make of us their prey;/Then certainly/they had devour'd us all,/And swallow'd quick,/for ought that we could deem;/Such was their rage,/as we might well esteem..." The first was Glasgow University's hymn (no longer); the second as his daughter remembered her father saying that it was very popular in WWI among the Cameron Highlanders. Email: *Clare Thomas to Michael Easson*, March 5, 2010. His ashes were buried at Fossoway Church cemetery in the family grave first marked by Matthew. The family tombstone now reads: "Matthew Walker Robieson, M.A., born Fossoway Schoolhouse, 29 May 1890, Drowned While Bathing in Constantine Bay, North Cornwall, 16 July 1919. Eliza Rankin Robieson, his mother who died at Giffnock on 6 May 1934 aged 69 years & 10 months, his father William Dunkeld Robieson, Schoolmaster at Fossoway, 1889-1917, died at Giffnock 21st January 1941 aged 79 years. In memory and hope Jessie Rankin Robieson Born Fossoway 15th October 1900 died Glasgow 1st January 1982. Also Sir William Robieson twin brother of Matthew, who died in Glasgow 19th July 1977 and was cremated there." The family tombstone now has an additional half tablet which reads: "Anne Merrilees Kahane née Robieson 24th Sept 1923 - 21st Jan 2011; Jacques Kahane 25th Sept 1900 - 28th July 1969." See: [Anonymous] 'Sir William D. Robieson' *The College Courant*, Vol. 29, No. 59 (Martinmas, 1977): pp. 31-32, and, Sir Charles Williams 'Sir William D. Robieson' *The College Courant*, Vol. 29, No. 59 (Martinmas, 1977): p. 32.

Sir William Rothenstein (1872-1945), English painter and writer, became an official war artist during both world wars. He was Principal of the Royal College of Art from 1920 to 1935. See Robert Speaight *William Rothenstein: The Portrait of an Artist in His Time*, Eyre & Spottiswoode, London (1962).

Bertrand Russell (1872-1970), British philosopher, logician, essayist, and social critic, obtained a First Class degree with distinction in philosophy from Trinity College, Cambridge and was elected a fellow of his college in 1895. He left Cambridge in the summer of 1894 and for some months was attaché at the British embassy at Paris. He spent some months in Berlin studying social democracy then went to live near Haslemere, where he devoted his time to the study of philosophy. In 1900 he visited the Mathematical Congress at Paris. He was impressed with the ability of the Italian mathematician Peano and his pupils, and studied Peano's works. In 1903 he wrote his first important book: *The Principles of Mathematics* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (1903), and with his friend Dr. Alfred Whitehead proceeded to develop and extend the mathematical logic of Peano and Frege. In 1910 he was appointed lecturer at Trinity College. After the World War I broke out he took an active part in the No Conscription Fellowship and was fined £100 as the author of a leaflet criticising a sentence of two years on a conscientious objector. Trinity College deprived him of his lectureship in 1916. Offered a post at Harvard University, he was refused a passport. In 1918 he was sentenced to six months' imprisonment for a pacifist article he had written. His *Introduction to Mathematical Philosophy* George Allen & Unwin, London (1919) was written in prison. His *Analysis of Mind* George Allen & Unwin, London (1921) was based on lectures he had given in London. In 1920 Russell paid a short visit to Russia to study the Russian revolution on the spot. His *Practice and Theory of Bolshevism* George Allen & Unwin, London (1920), a very critical work, followed. Becoming the third Earl Russell – a hereditary title - upon the death of his brother in 1931, Russell's radicalism made him a controversial figure. But there is doubt whether he carefully considered the issues and implications associated with the political philosophies he associated with. While teaching in the United States in the late 1930s, he was offered a teaching appointment at City College, New York. But the appointment was revoked following a large number of public protests and due to a 1940 judicial decision which declared him morally unfit to teach at the College. After teaching and lecturing in the United States, Russell was re-elected a fellow of Trinity College in 1944. He won the Nobel Prize for Literature, 1950. Russell remained a prominent public figure until his death at the age of 97. His most influential contributions include his defense of logicism - (the view that mathematics is in some important sense reducible to logic), and his theories of definite descriptions and logical atomism. Along with Kurt Gödel, Russell is also regularly credited with being one of the two most important logicians of the twentieth century. Among Russell's best selling works are *The Problems of Philosophy*, Home University Library, London (1912) and *A History of Western Philosophy*, Allen and Unwin, London (1945). Russell is famous for suggesting that a widespread reliance upon evidence, rather than upon superstition, would have enormous social consequences: "I wish to propose for the reader's favorable consideration," says Russell, "a doctrine which may, I fear, appear wildly paradoxical and subversive. The doctrine in question is this: that it is undesirable to believe a proposition when there is no ground whatever for supposing it true." Russell also wrote many of the books that brought him to the attention of popular audiences. These include his *A Free Man's Worship*, George Allen & Unwin, London (1923), *On Education*, George Allen & Unwin, London (1926), *Why I Am Not a Christian*, George Allen & Unwin, London (1927), *Marriage and Morals*, George Allen & Unwin, London (1929), *The Conquest of Happiness*, *Especially in Early Childhood*, George Allen & Unwin, London (1930), *The Scientific Outlook* (1931), and *Power*: A New Social Analysis, George Allen & Unwin, London (1938). Of relevance to Guild Socialism, Russell wrote *The Principles of Social Reconstruction*, George Allen & Unwin, London (1916) *Proposed Roads to Freedom*: *Socialism, Anarchism and Syndicalism*, George Allen & Unwin, London (1918) and, with Dora Russell, *The Prospects of Industrial Civilisation*, George Allen & Unwin, London (1923). He declared himself for Guild Socialism: Bertrand Russell 'Why I am A Guildsman' *The Guildsman* No. 33 (September, 1919): p. 3. Eccentricly, J.W. Scott saw Russell as representative both of the new realism and the new radicalism represented by syndicalism. For an intellectual biography see Ray Monk *Bertrand Russell - The Spirit of Solitude*, *Vol. 1*, Jonathan Cape Ltd., London (1996) and *Bertrand Russell: 1921-70 The Ghost of Madness*, *Vol. 2*, Jonathan Cape Ltd., London (2000).

Leonard James Russell (1884-1971), philosopher, studied mathematics and natural philosophy at Glasgow and philosophy at Cambridge. From 1910 to 1923 he was Lecturer in Logic at Glasgow, obtaining a D.Phil. degree there. He taught Robieson and the Anderson brothers. In 1913 he was a referee for Robieson's QUB application. Russell was Professor of Philosophy at the University of Bristol, 1923-1925, then Professor of Philosophy at the University of Birmingham, 1925-1950. In retirement he held visiting appointments at Stanford and other universities. He was an emeritus Professor at Birmingham

and visited Australia in 1951 on a Nuffield Foundation Visiting Lectureship. See David Scott 'RUSSELL, Leonard James (1884-1971)' in Stuart Brown, General Editor, *Dictionary of Twentieth-Century British Philosophers*, Vol. 2, Thoemmes Continuum, Bristol (2005): pp. 913-917. See also the biographical entry in H.D.Lewis, editor, *Contemporary British Philosophy,* Series Three, Routledge, London (1956): p. 496.

Shapurji Saklatvala (1874-1936), businessman, barrister and communist politician, was born to a wealthy Parsi family in Bombay - now known as Mumbai. He moved to England in 1905 and almost immediately became involved in left wing causes. At the 1922 general election he was elected as the Communist candidate for the constituency of Battersea North, with the support of the Labour Party. Saklatvala lost his seat at the 1923 general election, but was re-elected without official Labour support in the same seat in 1924 election - the first Communist to achieve this feat, although he did not face a Labour opponent. He again lost the seat in the 1929 general election. See Sehri Saklatvala *The Fifth Commandment: Biography of Shapurji Saklatvala*, Miranda Press, Salford (1991); William Gallacher 'Shapurji Saklatvala, 1874-1936' *The Labour Monthly* Vol. 19, No. 1 (January, 1937): pp. 51-53.

John Sankey (1866-1948) lawyer and politician, was appointed to the High Court in 1914; in 1919, commissioned by Prime Minister Lloyd George, he conducted an inquiry into the coal industry and became convinced of the merits of coal nationalisation. In 1929 he was appointed Lord Chancellor in MacDonald's Labour Government and followed MacDonald into National coalition in 1931. He was raised to the peerage in 1932. See Graham D. Goodlad 'Lord Sankey and Labour: The Radicalisation of a Conservative' *Labour History Review* Vol. 59, Part 1 (1994): pp. 16-26 and Robert Stevens 'Sankey, John, Viscount Sankey (1866-1948), H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, editors, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biograph*y, Vol. 48, Oxford University Press, Oxford (2004): pp. 946-948.

Henry Herman Schloesser, see Henry Herman Slesser

John Waugh Scott (1878-1974), philosopher, was born in Lesmahagow, 8 miles from Stonehouse, and was educated at Hamilton Academy as, a decade later, were William and John Anderson. Scott graduated from Glasgow MA with first class honours in mental philosophy in 1903. He lectured at Glasgow in moral philosophy. He taught Robieson and the Anderson brothers in philosophy. In 1913 he was a referee for Robieson's QUB application. Scott was to disagree with Robieson on the significance and implications of political movements, such as syndicalism. Whilst still at Glasgow University he published two books on political philosophy: J.W. Scott *Syndicalism and Philosophical Realism A Study in the Correlation of Contemporary Social Tendencies*, A. & C. Black, Ltd., London (1919) and J.W. Scott *Karl Marx on Value*, A. & C. Black, Ltd., London (1920). From 1920 to 1944 he was Professor of Philosophy at Cardiff, thereafter Emeritus Professor. Calder says that several times he contributed to *The New Age* journal under the pseudonym 'W.D. Law', but nothing appears there under that name. Noting the initials, see: "W.D.L" Obituary: 'Scott, John Waugh' *The College Courant*, Vol. 26, No. 53 (Martinmas, 1974): p. 57, and Robert R. Calder 'SCOTT, John Waugh (1878-1974)' in Stuart Brown, General Editor, *Dictionary of Twentieth-Century British Philosophers*, Vol. 2, Thoemmes Continuum, Bristol (2005): pp. 548-549. See also the brief *Times* obituary (July 15, 1974): p. 14.

Professor Andrew Seth Pringle-Pattison (1856-1931), philosopher, born Andrew Seth, graduated from Edinburgh University with first class honours in classics and philosophy in 1878, and was awarded a Hibbert travel scholarship to study for two years in Berlin, Jena and Göttingen. Among his teachers in Germany was R.H. Lotze, to whom he frequently refers in his writings. In 1880 Seth became class assistant to Campbell Fraser. In 1883 he was appointed Professor of Logic and Philosophy at the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire, Cardiff. From there he took up the Chair of Logic, Rhetoric and Metaphysics at St. Andrews University, succeeded by Henry Jones in 1891. He left to achieve his ambition of succeeding his old professor, Campbell Fraser, as Professor of Logic and Metaphysics at Edinburgh. In 1898, on the death of Mrs Pringle Pattison, Seth was informed that as a promising young man and distant relative of her husband he was named in her will to succeed to the family fortune and estate of The Haining, Selkirk in the Scottish Borders, on condition that he the adopted her surname. He did - changing his name to Andrew Seth Pringle-Pattison. Ernest Northcroft Merrington (1876–1953), the Australian Presbyterian theologian, from 1929 to 1940 Master of Knox College at the University of Otago, New Zealand, wrote an interesting assessment of his philosophy. See E.N. Merrington 'A Scottish Thinker: Andrew Seth Pringle-Pattison' *The Australasian Journal of Psychology and Philosophy* Vol. 9, No. 4 (December, 1931): pp. 241-245.

George Bernard Shaw (1856-1950) was the Irish-born playwright, author, Fabian activist, socialist and wit. An early biography and criticism was G.K. Chesterton *George Bernard Shaw* The Bodley Head, London (1910).

Henry Herman Slesser (1883-1979) was a barrister, Labour politician and judge. Born and baptised in London of German-Jewish stock as Henry Herman Schloesser, the son of a leather merchant and a concert pianist, he changed his name in 1914, preferring an Anglicised form when Britain went to war with Germany. After an apprenticeship in railway engineering, his health collapsed. He recovered to train for the law. He became very active in the Fabian Society, serving on the Executive from 1910-1914. He published three Fabian pamphlets. His legal and political careers became entwined; much of his casework involved acting for and defending trade unions and workers. In 1912 Schloesser was appointed standing counsel to the Labour Party. Slesser ran unsuccessfully for the Labour Party for Leeds Central at the 1922 general elections, at a by-election in 1923 and again at the December 1923 general election. He became a supporter of the National Guilds movement and participated in meetings of the National Guilds League. He grew wary of collectivist socialism. In Ramsay MacDonald's first Government, despite not being a M.P., Slesser was appointed Solicitor General. On 24 January, on the eve of this appointment, he was made a K.C. and knighted. After the government fell in October 1924, at the elections he was elected MP for Leeds South East from October 29, 1924 and re-elected at the 1929 general election. In MacDonald's second Labour Government, in 1929, the Lord Chancellor appointed Slesser a judge in the Appeals Court. He retired there in 1940, on grounds of ill-health, but lived almost another forty years. In his 1941 memoir, *Judgement Reserved* The Reminiscenses of The Rt. Hon. Sir Henry Slesser, Hutchinson & Co. (Publishers) Ltd., London and Melbourne (1941), Slesser said he based his electoral campaigns on what he described as the 'medieval economics' principles drawn from his Anglo-Catholic religious faith. He would have been at home with Arthur J. Penty. In retirement he wrote *A History of the Liberal Party*, Hutchinson & Co., London (1944) – a work of no particular originality. His Fabian pamphlets were Henry H. Schloesser and Clement Game *Machinery: It's Masters and Servants*, Fabian Tract 144, The Fabian Society, London (July, 1909); Henry H. Schloesser *The Twentieth Century Reform Bill*, Fabian Tract 153, The Fabian Society, London (January, 1911); Henry H. Schloesser *The Nationalization of Mines and Minerals Bill*, Fabian Tract 171, The Fabian Society, London (July, 1913). In 1919 William Anderson wrote a review for *The New Age* of a book Slesser wrote on philosophy - Henry H. Slesser *The Nature of Being*, George Allen & Unwin Ltd, London (1919). For a brief profile, see Greville Janner and Derek Taylor *Jewish Parliamentarians*, Valentine Mitchell, London (2008): p. 73. *Cf*. William Anderson 'What's What and What Is' review of Henry H. Slesser's *The Nature of Being: An Essay in Ontology*, *The New Age*, new series, Vol. 25, No. 20 (September 11, 1919): pp. 328-330.

Gladstone Lothian Rosebery Small (1884-) was born in Cambuslang on August 31, 1884, the son of the secretary to a miners' union, William Small, who died before Lothian, as he came to be known, matriculated – aged 22 - at the University of Glasgow to begin his Arts degree in 1906. Small graduated MA with 2nd Class Honours in both Philosophy (in 1911) and English (in 1912). He became a very well known figure on campus. He certainly knew Robieson, perhaps as a political rival in student socialist politics. He became president of the Fabian Society, an active member of the Student Representative Council, editor and co-author of the *Student Handbook* and a contributor to the *Glasgow University Magazine*. During term-time he lived at the University Settlement, 10 Possil Road. William Robieson remembered him as a strange character and someone who was "always getting distracted to other things and not working," but that would not have made him unique among his peers. He was commissioned as a 2nd Lieutenant to the 3rd Battalion of the South Staffordshire Regiment in 1915 and served as a Staff Officer. After the war he continued to be interested in politics and unsuccessfully stood as a Labour candidate in a number of seats, including Exeter. The last address the University had for him was at 1 Belsize Square, London, in the 1950s but there is no record of the date of his death. (The immediately preceding information is mostly derived from the Glasgow University World War I alumni list and commentary, which is on the university website, accessed, November, 2010.) He served as Secretary of the Federation of League of Nations Societies. The first Mrs Lothia Small was Frieda "Fritzi" (1902-1939), born in Salonika of Hungarian parentage; they married in 1931. She was the Delegate-General of the Save the Chidren International and championed the draft 'International Convention on the Protection of Children in Time of Armed Conflict'. Peter Gill notes that "It is recorded that when Save the Children Fund first set foot in Ethiopia at the time of Mussolini's war in 1936, the locals could not for the life of them understand what all the fuss was about. The fund's initiative there had been entrusted to a formidable woman by the name of Mrs. Lothian Small, who set about the establishment of what was described as a combined child welfare centre and emergency feeding canteen. The need was evidently great. Statistics

were very inadequately prepared, she declared to the March 1936 issue of *The World's Children*, but she estimated that the infant mortality rate was as high as 600 per 1000 - i.e. of every ten babies born, six never see their first birthday." See: Peter Gill *A Year in the* Death of Africa, Politics, Bureaucracy and the Famine, Paladin Grafton Books, London (1986): p. 16. [Anonymous] 'Mrs. Lothian Small.' *Times* [London, England] 28 Sept. 1939: p. 10. It seems that Lothian Small made a living as a translator of mostly French and Italian works and as a dramatist and art writer. Small translated plays by Jean Anouilh (1910-1987), the French dramatist best known for his play *Antigone*, an adaptation of a Sophocles drama to attack Pétain's Vichy government; Henri-Rene Lenormand (1882-1951), the symbolist, French playwright and Ephraim Kishon (1924-2005), the Israeli-Hungarian born writer and satirist. See Jean Anouilh *Antigone and Eurydice Two Plays*, Lewis Galantiere and Lothian Small, translators, Methuen & Co. Ltd., London (1951); H.R. Lenormand *The Rising*, Lothian Small, translator, Thames and Hudson, London (1952); Jean Anouilh *Medea*, Lothian Small, translator, in J.C. Trewin, editor, *Plays Of The Year,* Vol .15, Elek Books, London (1957). In 1958, for the left wing Unity Theatre in London, Small produced Kishon's *The Ganzer Macher*, translated from the Yiddish as *His Friend at Court*. See *The Jewish Chronicle* April 18, 1958, p. 26. Other translations include Jean de Beucken *Cézanne. A Pictorial Biography*, translated and adapted by Lothian Small, Thames and Hudson, London (1962) and Mario Bussagli *Central Asian Painting, From Afghanistan to Sinkiang*, translated from the Italian by Lothian Small, Rizzoli International Publications, Inc., New York (1978). The second Mrs. Small, Mrs Jeanne-Marie Small (-1959), was a member of the Genevese patrician family of De Morsier, and also involved in child welfare and refugee causes. In 1925 she joined the International Union of Child Welfare, becoming editor of the *Child Welfare Review*, Deputy Secretary General and Acting Secretary General. Note: [Our Own Correspondent] Lifetime Devoted To Child Welfare' *Times* [London, England] March 20, 1959. p. 10.

William Smart (1853-1915), economist and businessman, was appointed in 1892 as a specialised Lecturer in Political Economy, located within the Department of Moral Philosophy. The Adam Smith Chair of Political Economy was founded in 1896 with an endowment of fifteen thousand pounds sterling, given by Mr. Andrew Stewart, merchant, Glasgow. The patronage was vested in the University Court, conjointly with one representative from time to time elected by the Merchants' House of the City of Glasgow, one representative from time to time elected by the Trades' House of the City of Glasgow, and one representative from time to time elected by the Chamber of Commerce of the City of Glasgow. The professor was initially a professor in the Faculties of Arts and Law. Smart was appointed the inaugural Adam Smith Chair in Political Economy. A strong Liberal, he opposed tariffs, was interested in housing reform and served on the royal commission on the poor law. Matthew Robieson enrolled in a number of his classes. In 1913 Smart was a referee for Robieson's QUB application and he wrote: "My acquaintance with Mr. Robieson was made when he attended my classes for three years, and when my only regret was that he did not specialise in my subject. Mr. Robieson is one of the most brilliant men our University has ever turned out." It was mutual admiration: Robieson was to describe Smart as "one of the very greatest teachers of economics the country ever produced." For biographical details, see: M.C. Curthoys 'Smart, William (1853-1915)' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Oxford (2004). See also the 'Introduction' by former student Thomas Jones to William Smart *Second Thoughts of an Economist* Macmillan and Co., Limited, London (1916). See also: M.W. Robieson, Review of William Smart *Second Thoughts of an Economist*, *with a biographical sketch by Thomas Jones*, Macmillan and Company Ltd., London (1916), in the *International Journal of Ethics* Vol. 27, No. 2 (January 1917): pp. 244-248.

Timothy Smiddy (1875-1962), Irish academic, economist, and diplomat, was close to the assasinated Irish political leader and patriot Michael Collins (1890-1922) whom he advised at the talks in London in December 1921, which led to Irish independence. Timothy Anthony Smiddy studied at Queen's College, Cork (as it was then called) and in Paris and Cologne. He was Professor of Economics and Commerce from 1903 to 1924 at University College, Cork. His involvement in adult education brought him to the attention of Robieson who refers to him in his article on adult education in Ireland. After independence, he was Ireland's first Ambassador/overseas Minister, serving as Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary to the United States of America for the Irish Free State from 1924 to 1929. See the relevant entry in the *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, Royal Irish Academy/Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (2009) and [Anonymous] 'Prof. Timothy A. Smiddy' *The Times* [London, England] February 10, 1962, p. 10.

Robert Smillie (1857-1940), the miners' leader and politician, was born in Belfast, received little schooling before, at the age of nine, starting work as an errand boy. Two years later he found

employment in a local spinning mill. At fifteen with his brother James they moved to Glasgow and worked in a brass foundry. Then, before reaching the age of seventeen, he became a miner at Larkhall. He progressed from being a pump man to a drawer of coal tubs. Finally, he became a hewer at the coal face. He was self-educated and schooled in evening classes. In 1885 Smillie agreed to chair a meeting of local miners and, as a result, a branch of the Lanarkshire Miners' Association was formed in Larkhall. Smillie was elected secretary of the branch and this involved him attending national union meetings. Smillie in 1888 helped Keir Hardie when he unsuccessfully stood as the Independent Labour candidate for the constituency of Mid-Lanark. In 1894 he was elected president of the Scottish Miners' Federation, assisting a few years later in the formation of the Scottish Trade Union Congress. In 1912 Smillie was elected President of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain (MFGB). Opposed to Britain's involvement in World War I, he warned against forcing men to join the British armed forces. In 1915 Robert Smillie became president of the National Council Against Conscription (after 1917, the National Council for Civil Liberties). He was also a supporter of the No-Conscription Fellowship. In 1919 Smillie called for the nationalisation and workers' control of Britain mines. Prime Minister David Lloyd George responded by setting up a Royal Commission under the chairmanship of Lord Sankey. The Sankey Royal Commission failed to agree about the solutions to these problems, but the majority of the members did support the idea of the mines being nationalised. Smillie was furious when Lloyd George refused to nationalise the mines, however, and allowed them to go back into private ownership. Smillie tried to enter Parliament. He was defeated at by-elections in 1895 (Glasgow) and 1901 (N.E. Lanarkshire) and at General Elections held in 1906 (Paisley) and 1910 (Glasgow). Smillie was finally elected MP for Morpeth in the 1923 election, holding the seat until 1928 when, as a result of poor health, he resigned. See Alan Campbell *The Scottish Miners, 1874-1939* Volume 2: *Trade Unions and Politics*, Ashgate Publishing, Limited, Aldershot, (2000).

John Alexander Smith (1863-1939), philosopher and classical scholar, was Waynflete Professor of Moral Philosophy at Magdalen College, Oxford, from 1910 to 1936. Educated at Edinburgh, he won a Ferguson scholarship, then studied at Balliol, Oxford. Smith returned to Balliol College as Fellow in 1891 and, from 1892, as tutor in philosophy. In his inaugural lecture as a professor he professed himself a disciple of Benedetto Croce. Smith was one of Robieson's referees for the 1913 application for the post at QUB. A former student, Harold Macmillan (1894-1986), recalled Smith opening a lecture in 1914: "Nothing that you will learn in the course of your studies will be of the slightest possible use to you in afterlife – save only this – if you work hard and diligently you should be able to detect when a man is talking rot, and that, in my view, is the main, if not the sole, purpose of education." See: Sir Alistair Horne *Macmillan* Vol. 1, 1894-1956, Macmillan, London (1988): p. 27. The *Times* obituary noted that: "It is said that from 1891 onwards hardly a single work on philosophy was written in Oxford without an acknowledgement of Smith's assistance, yet there is no book that bears his name." *Cf.* [Anonymous] 'Professor J.A. Smith Obituary' *The Times* (December 20, 1939): p. 11. See also, David Ross, revised C.A. Creffield 'Smith, John Alexander (1863-1939)', H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, editors, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. 51, Oxford University Press, Oxford (2004): pp. 217-218, and Patrick James *Magdalen Metaphysicals: Idealism and Orthodoxy at Oxford, 1901-1945*, Mercer University Press, Macon (1985).

Philip Snowden (1864-1937), politician, was an outstanding representative of the Christian socialist type who did much to popularise the UK Labour Party in its early days; he wrote widely for the Labour press and published numerous pamphlets and books. In 1906 he was elected MP for Blackburn in northern England. A pacifist, during the Great War he joined the Union for Democratic Control (UDC) and co-founded the No Conscription Fellowship. He was defeated in the 1918 elections, won a new seat, the Colne Valley, in northern England in 1922. In the short-lived first Labour Government in January, 1924, Prime Minister MacDonald appointed Snowden as his Chancellor of the Exchequer. He returned to this office in 1929. Believing extreme austerity measures were required to face the economic crisis, in 1931 Snowden suggested that the Labour government should introduce new measures including a reduction in unemployment pay. This precipitated a crisis, the resignation of Ministers and the formation of a new, national government. Snowden and MacDonald were expelled from the Labour Party. Snowden continued as Chancellor to the 1931 election which he did not contest. He was enobled, becoming Viscount Snowden and sat in the House of Lords until his death in 1937. He set out his philosophy in: Rt. Hon. Philip Snowden *The Faith of a Democrat*, Ernest Benn, London (1928), but those philosophical foundations were unequal to the challenge of the Great Depression. A biography was written by C.E. Bechhofer Roberts [published as "Ephesian"] *Philip Snowden: An Impartial Portrait*, Cassell & Co., London (1929). See also: Keith Laybourn *Philip Snowden: A Biography, 1864–1937*, Temple Smith, Aldershot (1988).

Werner Sombart (1863-1941), German political economist and sociologist, was one of the most famous and influential social scientists in Imperial Germany and the Weimar Republic, known for his studies of socialism and capitalism. Beginning as an admirer of Marxian socialism, he ended as a Nazi apologist. Sombart's work on the history of capitalism is spread over a large number of volumes, beginning with his classic *Der Moderne Kapitalismus* (1902-1927; translated as *Modern Capitalism*) and includes a number of ancillary studies of which *The Jews and Modern Capitalism*, Mortimer Epstein, translator (original, 1911; translated, 1913) is probably the best known. In several of their articles Matthew Robieson and William Anderson refer to Werner Sombart's *The Quintessence of Capitalism*, *A Study of the History and Psychology of the Modern Business Man*, translated and edited by Mortimer Epstein, T. Fisher Unwin Ltd., London (1915). In contrast to Marx, instead of presenting history as the resolution of a universal law, Sombart presents it as the outcome of unique social forms and forces. Whereas Marx would stress the role of the material in establishing the ethos of an age, Sombart explains material developments as the result of the ethos, for instance, the role of Judaism in the development of capitalism. Although the detailed accuracy of much of Sombart's work has been questioned, his overall conception of the history of modern capitalism has been widely influential among economic historians. For a selection of translations of his work, including, in full, his *Why is There no Socialism in the United States?* (1906), a famous account of American exceptionalism, see Werner Sombart *Economic Life in the Modern Age*, Nico Stehr and Reiner Grundmann, editors, Transaction Publishers, New Brunswick (2001). In several articles both Robieson and William Anderson refer to Sombart's analysis of economic development. For an account of his thought, see: Friedrich Lenger *Werner Sombart 1863-1941. Eine Biographie*, C.H. Beck, Munich (1994). See also, Paul R. Mendes-Flohr 'Werner Sombart's The Jews and Modern Capitalism, An Analysis of its Ideological Premises' *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* Vol. 21, No. 1 (1976): pp. 87-101.

Georges Sorel (1847-1922), the French social philosopher, was an engineer before devoting himself to writing. Sorel found in the political and social life of bourgeois democracy the triumph of mediocrity; he espoused various forms of socialism, chiefly revolutionary syndicalism. In his best-known work, *Reflections on Violence* (1908, translated by T.E. Hulme into English, 1912), which became the basic text of syndicalism, Sorel expounded his 'theory of violence' as the creative power of the proletariat that could overcome 'force', the coercive economic power of the bourgeoisie. He supported belief in myths about future social developments, arguing that such belief promoted social progress. Sorel supported at various times such disparate alternatives to the existing order as extreme French monarchism and the Bolshevik Revolution. Both William and John Anderson borrowed from and reinterpreted his ideas.

David Stove (1927-1994), philosopher, a former student of John Anderson, was a Lecturer in Philosophy at the University of NSW from 1952, then from 1960 a Lecturer, then Associate Professor of Philosophy at the University of Sydney. His many books include: *Probability and Hume's Inductive Scepticism*, Clarendon, Oxford (1973); *Popper and After: Four Modern Irrationalists*, Pergamon, Sydney (1982); *The Rationality of Induction* Oxford University Press, Oxford (1986); *Cricket Versus Republicanism and Other Essays*, J. Franklin and R. Stove, editors, Quakers Hill Press, Sydney (1995); *The Plato Cult and Other Philosophical Follies*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford (1991); and, *Against the Idols of the Age*, Roger Kimball, editor, Transaction Publishers, New Brunswick (1999). See Roger Kimball 'Who was David Stove?' *New Criterion* Vol. 15, No. 7 (March, 1997): pp. 21-29.

John Summers (1867-1950), teacher and socialist, had been a pupil at Stonehouse and joined the staff of Cambusnethan School in 1898; in September 1902 he left to attend the Glasgow United Free Church Training College from where he completed his studies to return as a certified assistant teacher to Alexander Anderson. Jean T. Leishman 'Strap much used at the Dominie as Head Lecturers Pupils on Notoriety' *Stonehouse/Larkham Gazette* (April 17, 1973). John Summers was listed as the Secretary of the Stonehouse Branch of the BSP in the Report of The First Annual Conference of the British Socialist Party BSP Publication (1912): p. 68. For many years he was active in the Educational Institute of Scotland serving on its Council for most of the period from 1914 to 1935, becoming the Vice President of the Institute in 1920 and becoming a Fellow the next year. He taught at the Larhall Academy Higher Grade School, then promoted headmaster of Tarbray and subsequently to Airdrie Junior Scondary School from where he retired in 1946. See A.J. Belford *Centenary Handbook of the Educational Institute of Scotland* The Educational Institute of Scotland, Edinburgh (1946): p. 420. In 1919, his daughter, Margaret, married William Anderson, the philosopher. See: W. M'P. 'Obituary: John Summers, J.P., F.E.I.S., An Appreciation' *The Scottish Educational Journal*, organ of the Scottish Educational Institute, Vol. 33, No. 19 (May 12, 1950): p. 319, and death notice *The Glasgow Herald* (May 2, 1950): p. 1.

Richard Henry Tawney (1880-1962), English economic historian and Christian socialist intellectual, studied at Oxford, graduating in classics in 1903; thereafter he lived and worked at the Toynbee Hall settlement in London. From 1906 to 1908, under Professor William Smart, he lectured in economics at Glasgow University. Almost certainly, as a freshman student, Robieson would have known him, just before Tawney's departure from Scotland. Later Tawney became a pioneer teacher for the Oxford University Tutorial Classes Committee from 1908 until the outbreak of war in 1914. He was wounded at the Battle of the Somme in 1916. Briefly, Tawney was a member of the National Guilds League. He was a great supporter of the Workers' Educational Association, serving as a member of its executive from 1905 and as President, 1928 to 1944. In 1918 Tawney became a fellow of Balliol College; in 1919 he was appointed Reader in Economic History at the London School of Economics (LSE). From 1931 to 1949 he was Professor of Economic History at the LSE. In 1919 he was a leading figure on the Sankey Coal Commission, and subsequently he served as adviser on educational matters to the Labour party; he was Labour attaché at the British embassy in Washington during World War II. His ideas exerted a profound influence on the philosophy of the British left. His books include: R.H. Tawney *The Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth Century* Longmans, Green & Co., London (1912), dedicated to his tutorial classes, in which he traced the impact of commercialism on English agriculture and society; R.H. Tawney *Studies in the Minimum Wage No 1 The Establishment of Minimum Rates in the Chain Making Industry Under the Trade Boards Act of 1909*, G. Bell & Sons Ltd, London (1914), a study which led to his presidency of the Chain-Making Trade Board from 1919 to 1922; R.H. Tawney *The Establishment of Minimum Rates in the Tailoring Industry under the Trade Boards Act of 1909* [Studies in the Minimum Wage, No. 2], G. Bell & Sons Ltd, London (1915); R.H. Tawney *The Sickness of an Acquisitive Society*, George Allen and Unwin for the Fabian Society, London (1920), expanded to R.H. Tawney *The Acquisitive Society,* G. Bell and Sons, London (1921), which argued that the acquisitiveness of capitalist society was a morally wrong motivating principle; and R.H. Tawney *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, John Murray, London (1926), which developed some of the themes of Max Weber's work. For biographical assessments, see Ross Terrill *R.H. Tawney and His Times: Socialism as Fellowship*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge (1973); Anthony Wright *R.H. Tawney*, Manchester University Press, Manchester (1987) and Gary Armstrong and Tim Gray 'Three Fallacies in the Essentialist Interpretation of the Political Thought of R.H. Tawney' *Journal of Political Ideologies* Vol. 15, No. 2 (2010): pp. 161-174.

George Robert Stirling Taylor (-1939), lawyer and historian, usually published as "G.R. Stirling Taylor", was close to Orage and expounded his thinking on guild thought in *The New Age*. He wrote several books on guild theory: *The Guild State* George Allen and Unwin, London (1919) and *Guild Politics A Practical Programme for the Labour Party & the Co-operators*, Cecil Palmer, London (1921). He fiercely contested confusing "real Guild theory with the sham counterfeit article called Guild Socialism." He diagnosed that "The National Guilds League was, in fact, never nothing but a little clique of political amateurs, who became the sport and victims of the first set of Communists who passed their way." See: G.R. Stirling Taylor Letter: 'Labour As Capitalist' *The Times* [London, England] June 27, 1924, p. 20. Other books include: *Mary Wollstonecraft*; *a Study in Economics and Romance*, M. Secker, London (1911) and *Oliver Cromwell* Jonathan Cape, London (1928). See: [Anonymous] 'Mr. G.R. Stirling Taylor' *The Times* [London, England] November 7, 1939, p. 10.

Mrs. Clare Thomas (1951-), née Kahane, daughter of Jacques and Anne Kahane.

David Thomas, see: Lord Rhondda

George Derwent Thomson (1903-1987), classical scholar, Marxist polemicist and scholar of the Irish language, was the other George Thomson prominent in socialist circles in the UK. He wrote numerous pamphlets and articles articulating an uncompromising communist perspective. His classics studies at King's College, Cambridge, led to a scholarship to Trinity College, Dublin. Thereafter he became lecturer and then Professor of Greek at the National University of Ireland, Galway. After moving back to England in 1934, he lectured in Greek at King's College; in 1936 he became a professor at Birmingham University, the same year he joined the Communist Party of Great Britain. Thomson pioneered a Marxist interpretation of Greek drama. His books include *Marxism and Poetry* (1945) and several polemics from a Maoist perspective in the 1970s. See Tim Enright 'Obituary: George Derwent Thomson (1903-1987)' *History Workshop Journal* Vol. 24, No. 1 (1987): pp. 213-215.

George Walker Thomson (1883-1949), union leader and guildsman, along with John Paton and Edwin Muir was one of the trio of Scots activists who dominated the Glasgow based branch of the National Guilds League. A native of Glasgow, he was educated at Allan Glen's school in that city, starting his industrial career as a wood carver and modeller; he attended the Glasgow School of Art for two years under a bursary. Instead of continuing this vocation he switched to engineering, serving his apprenticeship with Ross & Duncan, a marine engineering firm. His father, a chief engineer, was for some time in charge of a fleet of trawlers, and as a youngster Thomson frequently sailed with the fishing fleet, learning that this was a difficult, unromantic life. Whilst serving his apprenticeship he attended classes at the Royal Technical College, Glasgow, gaining a diploma. Thereafter for a considerable time in the Preston area, Thomson was employed as a draughtsman. He then returned to Glasgow becoming the leading boiler draughtsman with Barclay Curled & Co., and was so employed until he became full-time editor of *The Draughtsman* in June, 1920. Earlier, in 1918, the Executive Committee of his union, the Association of Engineering & Shipbuilding Draughtsmen, decided to revive *The Draughtsman*, two issues of which had previously been published. Thomson became honorary editor with *The Draughtsman* issued monthly Thomson was full-time editor – a position he held to 1948. Thomson's introduction to the socialist and labour movement apparently took place whilst he was attending the Glasgow School of Art. One of his friends there obtained some socialist pamphlets and three of them became interested and active members of the labour movement. Later, several of that cohort became Labour councillors in the city of Glasgow, while Thomson became active in the industrial side of the movement. In his late teens and early twenties he was active in the Clarion Scouts and was for a period the secretary of the Glasgow branch. At an AESD general meeting in 1916, Thomson played an active part in defeating a proposal to try to get the Association accepted as an approved society - instead of registration as a trade union. (So-called 'approved societies' were registered as non-for-profit bodies under UK legislation. *Cf*. Geoffrey Findlayson 'A Moving Frontier: Voluntarism and the State in British Social Welfare 1911–1949' *Journal of Twentieth Century British History* Vol. 1, No. 2 (1990): pp. 183-206. See also Roy and Kay MacLeod 'The Contradictions of Professionalism: Scientists, Trade Unionism and the First World War' *Social Studies of Science* Vol. 9 (1979): pp. 1-32.). Thomson came to occupy many important posts in the trade union movement. Elected to the General Council of the TUC in 1935, he later became chairman of the General Council and presided over the 1947 Congress. His work during that year took a heavy toll on his health. He took a prominent part in the work of the National Federation of Professional Workers, and he was honorary secretary of the Science Advisory Committee of the Labour Party. In this formative period of the post-World War II international labour movement, Thomson became active in the International Labour Organisation (the ILO), the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (the ICFTU) – which opposed the communist controlled World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) - and he was elected chairman of the technical section of the International Federation of Commercial, Clerical and Technical Employees (known by its French acronym FIET - Fédération internationale des employés, techniciens et cadres.). Such roles required extensive travel both in Europe and to America. Thomson retired in 1948 and died in 1949. As the *Times* noted: "he had been for many years one of the most respected, if unobstrusive, leaders of the trade union movement. He was one of those who served the movement by quiet work in the background, by a loyalty and integrity which no one ever thought of questioning and by wisdom based not only on experience but also on wide reading." Thomson authored several books that exemplify his literary and political interests. See his: *Apprenticeship in Modern Industry* (pamphlet), The National Guilds League, London (1923); *The Grammar of Power*, Labour Publishing Co., London (1924); *The Technican Under Socialism* (pamphlet), Society for Socialist Inquiry and Propaganda, London (1932), and *Mirrors of Modernity*, Draughtsman Publishing Co., London (1933). The latter includes essays on Balzac, Dostoieffsky, Tolstoy, Whitman and others. See: James Young 'The Life of George Thomson' *The Draughtsman* (August, 1949): p. 147 and [Anonymous] Obituary: 'Mr. G.W. Thomson' *The Times* July 9, 1949, p. 7.

Mrs. Emily Caroline Townshend (1849-1934), suffragette, political activist and philanthropist, née Gibson, was the daughter of an industrialist. In 1873 she married Chambré Corker Townshend (1838-1897), the sometime architect student and property owner. Planning to read mathematics at Girton College, Cambridge, she never completed her studies. After the death of her husband Mrs. Townshend became politically active, joining The Fabian Society and writing three tracts. A pamphlet on the Charity Service Organisation was an acute critique of welfare philanthropy – as a sop to the poor; she argued the need was for whole-scale changes to society along socialist lines. A supporter of the suffragette movement, Mrs. Townshend spent two weeks in Holloway prison for her activities. She read and contributed to *The New Age*, including several letters commenting on M.W. Robieson's articles on education. She edited the letters of her son in law, Frederic Keeling who was killed in the battle of the

Somme on August 18, 1916. Up to her last days, she maintained an insatiable intellectual curiosity, but this was sometimes undisciplined. In the early 1920s, she evinced strong support for Mussolini-like Fascism; in her last days she wrote to friends wondering if communism might be the 'answer'. But such meanderings, written late in life, should not obscure her earlier work and contributions. G.D.H. Cole warmly noted that she had served on the executive of the NGL (from its inception to mid 1919) and had added voice, colour and enthusiasm to the labour movement; her death meant for him "the snapping of a valued link of friendship." 'Guild Socialist Pioneer. Mr Cole's Tribute to Mrs. Townshend' *Daily Herald* (June 2, 1934). One daughter, Caroline Townshend (1878-1944) in 1910 according to Shaw's design, created 'the Fabian window'. Besides Shaw and Townshend included in the glass mosaic were the prominent Fabians. The window is now on display at the LSE. Her other daughter, Rachel Susannah Townshend (1885-1965), widowed to Keeling, was a suffragette and spent a month in prison for demonstrating. During the period 1934 to 1940 Rachel Keeling, representing the Labour Party, was the North East Bethnal Green Member of the London County Council; she also ran a nursery school, which was later named after her, as was a block of flats in Bethnal Green during her later years. For publications see: Mrs. Townshend *The Case for School Nurseries*, Fabian Tract 145, The Fabian Society, London (September, 1909); Mrs. Townshend *The Case Against the Charity Organization Society*, Fabian Tract 158, The Fabian Society, London (July, 1911); Mrs. Townshend *William Morris and the Communist Idea* , Fabian Tract 167, The Fabian Society, London (December, 1912); Mrs. Emily Townshend [published as "E.T."], editor, *The Keeling Letters and Recollections*, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London (1918); Mrs. Emily Townshend *Creative Socialism*, J.M. Dent & Sons, London (1924). Odin Pors, E. Townshend translator and editor, *Fascism*, Labour Publishing Company Limited, London (1923). A memoir of some of her writings together with contributions by friends was published in 1936. See: [Unknown, but probably Caroline C. Townshend as editor] *Emily Townshend 1849-1934*, *Some Memories for Her Friends*, privately printed at the Curwen Press, London (1936). For biographical information see [Anonymous] Obituary: 'Mrs. Chambrey [*sic*.] Townshend' *The Times* May 29, 1934.

Charles Wilfred Valentine (1879-1964), education academic, was Professor of Education at QUB from 1914 to 1919. He knew Robieson and both were interested in education reform issues. In 1919 he was appointed to the Chair at Birmingham, which he held for 27 years. See T.H. Pear 'Charles Wilfred Valentine, 1879-1964' *British Journal of Psychology* Vol. 55 (November, 1964): pp. 385-90.

John Veitch (1829-1894) was Professor of Logic and Rhetoric at Glasgow University from 1864 to 1894. He had held the same post at the University of St. Andrews, from 1860. He had little patience for idealist theories of the time. He is known for his work on the history and poetry of the Scottish Borders. Born near Peebles, Veitch studied at the University of Edinburgh and New College, Edinburgh. Veitch's original intention was to study divinity for eventual ordination in the Free Church, and it was customary for divinity students to take several classes in philosophy. While he attended lectures at Edinburgh University given by Sir William Hamilton, the Professor of Logic and Metaphysics, and Christopher North, Professor of Moral Philosophy, he also attended the lectures of their Free Church rivals. He remained deeply religious and for a time worked as a private tutor in the north of Scotland. He returned to Edinburgh in 1856 to become assistant to Sir William Hamilton. Five months later Hamilton died. Alexander Campbell Fraser, Hamilton's successor in the Logic chair, retained him as assistant. In 1860 Veitch was appointed Professor of Logic, Metaphysics and Rhetoric at the University of St Andrews, and thus a colleague to James Frederick Ferrier, the Professor of Moral Philosophy. At St Andrews the role required him to teach literature, a task which he relished. Veitch published several memoirs of Hamilton: *Hamilton - Philosophical Classics for English Readers*, William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London (1882), and the next year published a further two lectures on *Sir William Hamilton, the Man and his Philosophy*, William Blackwood, Edinburgh and London (1883). These works inevitably identified him as Hamilton's post-mortem amanuensis. Veitch published a number of volumes of philosophical criticism and biographies and bibliographies of famous philosophers, as well as several collections of his own poems. He is remembered for his enthusiastic and self-conscious exposition of the old 'Scottish school' to another generation of Scottish philosophers. These included Henry Laurie, appointed Lecturer in Logic to the University of Melbourne. Laurie wrote one of the books that sympathetically highlighted the Scottish tradition in philosophy. See Henry Laurie *Scottish Philosophy in its National Development*, James Maclehose and Sons, Glasgow (1902).

S. Verdad, pseudonym, to November, 1918 of J.M. Kennedy; after November, 1918 pseudonym of A.R. Orage. In Spanish "Si Verdad" meant to say the truth.

Alfred Russel Wallace (1823-1913), English naturalist and traveller, independently of Darwin, discerned the mechanism of evolution by natural selection. In 1910-1911 Wallace was listed as one of the honorary Vice Presidents of the Glasgow University Socialist Society. See Arnold C. Brackman *A Delicate Arrangement: the Strange Case of Charles Darwin and Alfred Russel Wallace*, Times Books, New York (1980).

Lewis Alexander Wallace (18..-1929), theosophist and banker, financially supported Alfred Orage start and continue *The New Age* journal. With his brothers, he co-founded in London in 1862 Wallace Brothers and Company (Holdings) Ltd., East India Merchants, bankers and London agents; the company remained in business until 1989. See: A.C. Pointon *Wallace Brothers*, Oxford University Press, Oxford (1974).

Leighton Warnock, pseudonym, see J.M. Kennedy

John Watson (1847-1939), philosopher, in 1866 entered Glasgow University to study theology. His mentor was the philosopher Edward Caird. Watson won numerous prizes graduating MA with the highest honours in mental and moral philosophy. Due to Caird's recommendation, in 1872, Watson was appointed to the Chair of Logic, Metaphysics, and Ethics at Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, Canada, later, from 1889 until retirement in 1924, he was Professor of Moral Philosophy at the same university. When in 1908 Henry Jones was off in the Antipodes lecturing Australians on the moral life, Watson was back in Glasgow University, where Robieson encountered his teaching. Through his concept of 'rational religion' Watson was influential in liberalising the Presbyterian Church in Canada. His work contributed to the general tendency in ideas that led to the creation of the United Church in Canada. Watson was appointed Gifford Lecturer at the University of Glasgow for the session 1910-1912 and his lectures were published in two volumes under the title *The Interpretation of Religious Experience. Part First, Historical*, James Maclehose & Sons, Glasgow (1912) and *The Interpretation of Religious Experience. Part Second, Constructive*, James Maclehose & Sons, Glasgow (1912). Much of Watson's reputation rests on his *Philosophy of Kant Explained*, James Maclehose and Sons, Glasgow (1908) and *Kant and his English Critics: a Comparison of Critical and Empirical Philosophy*, James Maclehose, Glasgow (1881). His introductory texts, *Comte, Mill & Spencer, an Outline of Philosophy*, James Maclehose & Sons, Glasgow (1895), later adapted as *An Outline of Philosophy*, James Maclehose & Sons, Glasgow (1908), helped shape the minds of several generations of students. His *The State in Peace and War*, James Maclehose and Sons, Glasgow (1919) was a treatise devoted to the ideal of a world government based on the principles of tolerance and the integral development of national cultures. For biographical, philosophical and historical context, see the festschrift: *Philosophical Essays Presented to John Watson*, Queens University, Kingston (1922), John A. Irving 'The Development of Philosophy in Central Canada From 1850 to 1900' *Canadian Historical Review* Vol. 31, No. 3 (1950): pp. 252-287 and John A. Irving 'Philosophical Trends in Canada Between 1850 and 1950' *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research* Vol. 12, No. 2 (December, 1951): pp. 224-245.

Henry Jackson Watt (1879-1925), academic psychologist, graduated from the University of Aberdeen with Master's degree in philosophy in 1900. He studied at the Wurzburg School and practised in Germany. The Department of Psychology at the University of Glasgow was founded in 1907 with his appointment to the Laboratory of Experimental Psychology. Watt's work on audition, cognitive processes and music made him an international figure. He pioneered the importance of mental set in problem solving, what he referred to as *einstellung* or 'task mental set'. This refers to an obstinate inability to yield – a refusal to appreciate another person's viewpoint or emotions; the mental situation is characterised by a lack of empathy. Watt also proposed alternatives to certain Freudian theories. In one academic journal article, William Anderson and Matthew Robieson are mentioned as participants in experiments conducted at the Department on eyesight, perception and memory. See: See Shepherd Dawson 'Binocular and Uniocular Discrimination of Brightness' *British Journal of Psychology* Vol. 6, No.1 (June, 1913): p. 78; for details on the author of this experiment, see article F.C. Bartlett 'Dr Shepherd Dawson (1880-1935)' *The British Journal of Psychology* Vol. 26 (1936): pp. 117-119. Watt was a referee for Robieson's QUB post, stating: "Mr. Robieson attended my class of Experimental Psychology during the session 1908-9, and returned in the following year to a special course of quantitative experimental work. During this time he acquired a thorough knowledge of the experimental methods of modern Psychology, indispensable in the now numerous experimental investigations of the emotions and of judgements of value, and like matters that bear closely upon Ethics. Mr. Robieson also attended a *privatissime* class conducted by me, in which questions connecting Psychology and general Philosophy were discussed in the manner of a German 'Seminar'. An abstract of an article was prepared for each meeting by one of the students, and a general discussion followed. On these and on various more informal occasions I formed a

very good opinion of Mr. Robieson's philosophical attainments and interests." Watt was interned in Germany on the outbreak of war, his health weakened, he returned to Glasgow in 1915. He died a decade later. For several works, see: H. J. Watt 'Experimental Contribution to a Theory of Thinking' *Journal of Anatomy and Physiology* Vol. 40, Vol. 3 (1906): pp. 257-266; and, H.J. Watt *The Commonsense of Dreams*, International University Series in Psychology, Oxford University Press, London (1929). The Henry J Watt Prize was founded in 1969 and awarded annually on the recommendation of the Professor of Psychology to the most distinguished student in Experimental Psychology at the University of Glasgow.

Herbert George Wells (1866-1946), novelist, is best known for his science fiction and dystopian novels including: *The Time Machine* , William Heinemann, London (1895); *The Island of Doctor Moreau*, Heinemann Stone & Kimball, London (1896); *The Invisible Man* C. Arthur Pearson, London (1897); *The War of the Worlds*, William Heinemann, London (1898); *The Sleeper Awakes*, William Heinemann, London (1899) – rewritten to *When the Sleeper Wakes* (1910); *The First Men in the Moon*, George Newnes, London (1901). He ran as a UK Labour Party candidate for London University at both the 1922 and 1923 general elections. See Margaret Cole 'H.G. Wells and the Fabian Society' in A.J. Anthony Morris *Edwardian Radicalism, 1900-1914: Some Aspects of British Radicalism*, Routledge, London (1974): pp. 97-114. In a few of his articles for *The New Age* Robieson alludes to some of the Wellsian novels. An excellent biography covers his literary and political outlook: Anthony West *H.G. Wells: Aspects of a Life*, Hutchinson, London (1984).

James C. Welsh (1880-1954), mining unionist and politician, was born in Haywood, Lanarkshire. Welsh went down the 'pits' aged 12. He published books of poetry and other works. He won election as a M.P. holding, from 1922 to 1931 the Coatbridge constituency in Scotland, where he was re-elected in 1923, 1924 and 1929, but defeated at the 1931 general election by the Conservative Party candidate. He was returned to the House of Commons at the 1935 general election as MP for Bothwell, holding the seat until retirement at the 1945 general election. See: Tom Dickson review of James Welsh *The Underworld* [The Story of Robert Sinclair, Miner, Herbert Jenkins, London (1919)] *Forward* [Glasgow, Scotland] 14, No. 19 (March 20, 1920): p. 4 and [Obituary] 'Mr. James C. Welsh' *The Times* (November 5, 1954): p. 6.

Richard Whiteing (1840-1928), English novelist and journalist, wrote for the *Evening Star* in 1866, and printed a collection of his pieces in *Mr Sprouts, His Opinions* John Camden Hotten, London (1867). He became leader-writer and correspondent on the *Morning Star*, and was subsequently on the staff of the *Manchester Guradian* and other papers. His first novel *The Democracy*, in three volumes (1876), was published under the pseudonym of Whyte Thorne. His second novel *The Island*, Charles H. Sergel Co., Chicago (first published in 1888; this edition 1899) was about a utopian life on Pitcairn. A novel, *No. 5 John Street*, J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd., London (1902), describes the low-life of London. Later works were *The Yellow Van*, Hutchinson and Co., London (1903), *Ring in the New*, Hutchinson & Co., London (1906), *All Moonshine*, Hurst & Blackett Limited, London (1907). In Robieson's days as a student, Whiteing was one of the honorary Vice Presidents of the Glasgow University Socialist Society. Whiteing published an autobiography, *My Harvest*, in 1915. See the obituary: [Anonymous] 'Mr. Richard Whiteing' *The Times* [London, England] June 30, 1928, p. 16.

John Henry Whitley (1866-1935), known as J.H. Whitley, was a Liberal politician, elected as MP for Halifax in 1900; he served as Speaker from 1921-1928. In 1917 Prime Minister Lloyd George asked him to Chair a committee to report on 'the Relations of Employers and Employees'. He proposed a system of regular formal consultative meetings between workers and employers, known to this day as 'Whitley Councils' which would be empowered to cover any issue related to pay and conditions of service, and to take matters through to arbitration if necessary. This model was furiously opposed by the shop stewards' movement (who thought that control, not consultation, wasthe issue), by Orage (who saw Whitley as undermining the movement to reorganise industry on guild lines) and by Conservatives (who feared bureaucratic fetters on capitalist efficiency, by which they meant restrictions on managerial *fiat*). See Whitley's introduction to S.J. Chapman, editor, *Labour and Capital After the War* John Murray, London (1918): pp. ix-x. See the obituary: [Anonymous] 'Mr. J. H. Whitley' *The Times* [London, England] February 4, 1935, p. 17; H.J. Wilson, revised Mark Pottle 'Whitley, John Henry (1866-1935)', H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, editors, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biograph*y, Vol. 58, Oxford University Press, Oxford (2004): pp. 734-736.

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The Herald (a weekly, the wartime *Daily Herald*)
Heraclitus
The Highway
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Justice

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New Statesman

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The Socialist Torch (Glasgow University Socialist Society, 1908)

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3. Principal Authors

Matthew Robieson

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M.W. Robieson [attributed; though published anonymously] 'A Scottish Rectorial' *The University Socialist* [Journal of the University Socialist Federation] No. 2 (Michaelmas Term, 1913): pp. 98-103.

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