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European Labor Aristocracies

Trade Unionism, the Hierarchy of Skill, and the Stratification of the Manual Working Class before the First World War

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Chapter 11
Results

He that puts not constantly the same sign for the same idea, but uses the same words sometimes in one and sometimes in another signification, ought to pass in the schools and conversation for as fair a man, as he does in the market and exchange, who sells several things under the same name. (1)

In a number of crucial areas the present study has arrived at conclusions that diverge sharply from the postulates of the Marxist and non-Marxist political and scholarly literature.

1. The basis upon which the peculiar position, role, privileges and power of national labor aristocracies rested was the possession and control, that is, the access to the acquisition and monopolization, of relatively complex manual industrial skills.

2. Although this skill-base in some instances coincided or overlapped with ethnic (Austria-Hungary), racial (South Africa), religious (Ireland) or regional (Italy) proximate sources of working class divisiveness, the latter functioned authoritatively only insofar as they served to circumscribe the success of those segments of the class which might realistically have aspired to the status of the skilled. Skill was, in other words, the element common and essential to all national labor aristocracies, whereas the other, chiefly ascribed, characteristics were, with reference to the capitalist mode of production, accidental. (2) Being an unskilled Irish Protestant, Northern Italian or German-speaking Austrian was associated with certain superior social and often political and economic conditions by virtue of the power residing in these larger groups to withhold vital skills. (3)

3. The skill structure itself underwent dramatic changes in accordance with the qualitative and quantitative requirements of varying rates, conditions and forms of capital accumulation. The concomitant intersecting processes of skilling and de-skilling involved on-going restratification of the working class, which threatened and ultimately dissolved numerous preserves of proletarian privilege while elevating new groups into new...
positions of authority. With very few exceptions, no superordinate proletarian positions were free of considerable insecurity during the lifetime of their occupants let alone during that of the particular trades to which they were attached.

4. The skill hierarchy was subject to an overriding tendency toward greater compression and compactness. Although certain forms of technological progress thwarted this general trend toward increased homogeneity during some periods, and although the deteriorating conditions and growing insecurity associated with de-skilling often exacerbated intra-working class tensions, the tendential equalization of working and living conditions provided an effective basis for organizational and political unification. (4)

5. The upper stratum of skilled workers itself comprehended disparate sectors: traditional craftsmen and artisans, such as jewelers, watchmakers and saddlers, working in very small units and producing entire commodities; carpenters and masons working at many different sites with many different men, building dissimilar structures, some of which however would have been familiar to distant ancestors; machinists in medium-sized shops performing precision work with relatively new tools and outside longstanding traditions; and skilled iron and steel workers, massed in hundreds and thousands, earning the highest working class wages—in part by coexploiting the unskilled—under highly unsanitary and dangerous conditions. Thus although their living conditions may have borne a tolerable resemblance to one another's, their work routines and rhythms, their relations to employers and co-workers, their traditions, organizations and futures set them apart from one another. In this important sense they constituted not a unified but an asynchronous stratum—rooted in production processes antedating and destined to be swept away by capitalism as well as in those of the most advanced industrial sectors.

6. The peculiar unity of this stratum derived, in the first instance, not from their common front over against the less skilled, but rather from their resistance in their individual trades and occupations to the new form of industrial heteronomy which was obscured by contractual autonomy: they were the first workers to struggle for and to secure, in a systematic and institutionalized manner, a modicum of substantive protection against the imperative of self-expanding capital. Through their trade unions they initiated a permanent process of undermining "the passive society of workers" (5) which the capitalist organization of labor had created out of formerly self-conscious agents of production. At their inception, then, the organiza-
tions of the skilled performed a progressive, that is, future-oriented, potentially classwide role of which employers and the state took a dim view. Such a stratum was not artificially created by the bourgeoisie for ideological reasons, but arose spontaneously within the framework of developing industrial capitalism.

7. Although the exclusion of the less skilled from these organizations reflected and deepened an already existing dichotomy within the working class, the gap between the corresponding standards of living was not unique in the history of dependant classes. What proved to be new was the differential scope of public and, more particularly, political expression associated with this organizational stratification. But as long as formally undemocratic political procedures discriminated against the entire working class indiscriminately, and as long as trade unions were outlawed, subject to rigorous restrictions and vigorous prosecution, or merely randomly tolerated without formal recognition, socio-economic fissures found little politically relevant room for expansion. In Britain this situation was not fundamentally altered until the passage of the Second Reform Bill and the legalization of trade unions in the 1860s and 1870s. The partial enfranchisement and organization of the working class created the possibility of a politically efficacious autonomization of the interests of one stratum of the working class to the neglect or even at the expense of the whole class in the name of which politics were being conducted.

8. There is some evidence that during the period between this juncture and the rise of unions of the unskilled and a socialist movement in the 1880s and 1890s, British employers and the British state on the one hand and trade union leaders, with at least the tacit approval of many members, on the other hand, engaged in a form of quid pro quo that did not substantiate the unions' self-proclaimed role as the representative of aggregate labor power. That the extent of this active class collaboration remained limited can be explained by the distinction between a labor aristocracy surrounded by an otherwise politically inert working class (such as was the case in Britain from the 1850s through the 1870s) and one confronted with and hostile to a radical movement of the less skilled.

9. Little doubt can, however, attach to the conclusion that the pronounced gap in economic conditions between the labor aristocracy and the remainder of the working class also served to bifurcate this class socially both at the point of production and in major spheres of daily reproduction. The self-image of the labor aristocrats as the respectable segment of the
manual working class, poised midway between the unskilled and the petty bourgeoisie, was confirmed by their interaction with these strata and the latter's attitudes toward them. (9)

10. In contradistinction to the foregoing socio-historically specified conception of the labor aristocracy, that used by Marx and Engels—and more emphatically by many in their school and parties—referred, superficially, to any body of comparatively well-paid workers devoid of radical, socialist or revolutionary leanings. Such usage not only deprived the notion of any meaningful applicability as a research tool, but was, as an abstraction, false; elevated to an inflexible dogma, guiding political practice, it contributed to catastrophic class alignments. (10)

11. Where, as in most of Europe, the aforementioned specific political framework was absent—chiefly because the proletariat as a whole was openly disadvantaged—, no labor aristocracy in control of national working class politics emerged. On the contrary, the better-situated workers in many countries formed the core of the leading left-wing movements; firm-level or localized attempts to cultivate patronal relations of loyalty were not coordinated horizontally or vertically to forge national or class-wide links. (11) In other instances, moreover, entire work forces proved to be the target of such tactics, which were thus deprived of a stratum-specific dimension. (12)

12. The world market did not fulfill an overriding causal role—attributed to it by Engels, Lenin and others—in fostering a British (or any other) national labor aristocracy. Britain's international industrial dominance coincided in part with a prominent phase in the career of the British labor aristocracy. Yet the obvious interconnections must not be allowed to mask the fact that the essential preconditions of the latter were given independently of the former. To be sure, some plausibility attaches to the argument that the accrual of world market-mediated "extra-profits" enabled the British capitalist class to seek an accommodation with a thin upper stratum of workers, whereas the loss of these gains enforced an abandonment of such a strategy. But it is, a priori, also reasonable to conclude that the attainment of high rates of profitability and accumulation, in part without reference to the conditions of exploitation of the domestic working class, dispensed the bourgeoisie from the need to pursue any concerted policy at all towards the British proletariat; analogously, the disappearance of such a favorable international constellation may have necessitated a more cautious and conciliatory class policy designed to avoid the socio-political instability associated with the requirements of intensified forms of compensatory domestic
exploitation. Empirical evidence lends little credence to either of these arguments.

13. Apart from Britain, the only zones in which the existence of societally significant national labor aristocracies was verified were the British-settled colonies of South Africa and North America. There the superimposition of racial and ethnic dimensions gave rise to markedly variant mechanisms of privilege and accommodation that called for the elaboration of alternative explanations. Only one of these national labor aristocracies was examined at length.

14. The indiscriminate journalistic, scholarly and political use of a diluted and ahistorical version of the notion of an aristocracy of labor has proved to be misleading and pernicious. As the present study of the nineteenth century has illustrated, each putative national labor aristocracy must be considered as a highly complex phenomenon sui generis. In light of the vast shifts in class structure, economic relations and national and international forms of political struggle since that time, such a caveat would seem almost gratuitous today.
List of Abbreviations

HMSO  Her/His Majesty's Stationery Office
P.P.   Parliamentary Papers. The volume number, which is necessary for locating the publication cited, refers to the year preceding it; the page number refers to the individual publication and not to the whole column.
Notes to the Preface


3 The appearance of a number of British doctoral dissertations in the 1970s, devoted to intensive studies of local labor aristocracies, represented an empirical breakthrough.
Notes to Chapter 1


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11 Minssen and Sauerborn, "Der Massenarbeiter", p. 156.

12 Ibid.

13 Kadritzke, Angestellte, pp. 130, 137.

14 Cf. the critical observations by Christel Neusiöss, Imperialismus und Weltmarktbewegung des Kapitals (Erlangen: Politladen, 1972), pp. 78-93.


16 Marc Linder, Der Anti-Samuelson, I (Gaiganz: Politladen, 1974), 131-58.


19 See James W. Thompson, An Economic and Social History of the Middle Ages (300-1300) (New York: Century, 1928), p. 791.

20 The distinction between productive and unproductive labor within the manual working class was empirically of minor significance during the period under review. Moreover, the progressive subsumption of unproductive labor under capitalist forms of management makes it doubtful whether this division is directly relevant to the issue of intra-working class stratification.
Notes to Chapter 1


24 See the very suggestive work by Rudolf Bahro, *Die Alternative* (Frank­furt/Main: Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 1977).
Notes to Part I

1 "Capital and Labour", recited at a public dinner, also attended by employers, of the Boiler Makers' Society in Hull on September 28, 1872, was cited approvingly by a general secretary and historian of the union, D.C. Cummings, A Historical Survey of the Boiler Makers' and Iron and Steel Ship Builders' Society from August, 1834, to August, 1904 (Newcastle: Robinson, 1905), pp. 86-87.
Notes to Chapter 2


4 See the discussion of the theories of equalizing differences and non-competing groups in Chap. 5.

5 Thompson, Labour Rewarded, p. 22.

6 Ibid., p. 32.


9 Thompson, Labour Rewarded, pp. 27, 81.

10 Ibid., p. 81.

11 Ibid.


17 See Hammond and Hammond, Town Labourer, pp. 112-42.


20 Ibid., p. 58. Cf. The corroborative remarks by Daniel Guile, corresponding secretary of the Ironfounders' Society, on the role performed by artisans in inhibiting the success of continental-type revolutions or even...
Notes to Chapter 2


23 "To the Members of the Unions," The Pioneer, 1, 3 (September 21, 1833), 17.


25 "Remarks on the Late Meeting at the Mechanics' Institute," The Poor Man's Guardian, No. 172, September 20, 1834, p. 257.


29 L. Pumiansky, "Zur Geschichte der Anfänge des englischen Trade Unionismus. Organisationen und Kämpfe der englischen Arbeiter in der ersten Hälfte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts," Ergänzungshefte zur Neuen Zeit, No. 13, August 9, 1912, pp. 2, 4, 52. See however the remarks on the polarization of classes in Britain, France and Germany in chaps. 5, 7-9 below.


33 Cole, Attempts, passim, provides a running account of anti-trade union struggles during the period through 1834.


37 The Man, 1, 24 (December 22, 1833), 190-91.

Notes to Chapter 2

39 Ibid., p. 86. Cf. First Report from the Select Committee on Combinations of Workmen, Q. 2122 at p. 131. Owenites feared that the successes of hostile strikes would cause the Unions, "like aristocracy," to become devoted to bad purposes. See A Mechanic, "Unions and Strikes." The Crisis, and National Co-operative Trades' Union Gazette, IV, 6 (May 17, 1834), 46.


42 Thompson, Making, p. 522.


45 Thompson, Making, pp. 239, 262; Webb, History of Trade Unionism, 1902 ed., pp. 76-77.

46 The fact that a stable, intergenerational, "hereditary" stratum of unskilled laborers had not yet been consolidated, contributed to the convergence of political aims. See William Thornton, Over-Population (London: Longman, 1846), p. 56.

47 For an illuminating socio-economic overview of this period, see Adolf Held, Zwei Bücher zur sozialen Geschichte Englands (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1881).
Notes to Chapter 3


4 Max Beer, A History of British Socialism, II (London: Bell, 1929 (1919)), 25. cf. ibid., I, 313. See also the speech made by Thomas Attwood before the House of Commons on July 12, 1839 as reported in Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, Third Series, Vol. XLIX, col. 226.


6 "The New World, A Democratic Poem, Dedicated to the People of the United Queendom, and of the United States," Notes to the People, I (1851), 2.


8 Groves, But We Shall Rise Again, p. 20.


13 Ibid., p. 306.

14 See Northern Star, March 31, 1838, p. 4 cols. 2-3; ibid., July 7, 1838, p. 3 cols. 5-6; see however ibid., February 24, 1838, p 4 col. 3.

15 Cited by Dolléans, Chartisme, I, 379, without a source.

16 Ibid., I, 388.

Notes to Chapter 3


19 Beer, History, II, 139.


24 See Gayer et al., Growth, I, 354-55.


27 See David Jones, Chartism and the Chartists (New York: St. Martin's, 1975), Table 1 at pp. 30-32.

28 Ibid., Table 4 at pp. 134-37.


31 Ibid., p. 174.

32 "The Trades' Conference," Northern Star, X, 447 (June 6, 1846), 4 cols. 5-6; see also p. 6 cols. 3-6, p. 7 cols. 1-3.

33 Northern Star, X, 495 (April 17, 1847), 8 col. 5.

34 Ibid.

35 Carpenters, plumbers, painters and stonemasons were among the most overrepresented occupational groups in the membership of the Manchester Unity of Oddfellows in the years 1846-1848, one of the most important friendly societies of the period. See P.H.J.H. Gosden, The Friendly Societies in England 1815-1875 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1961), Tables 11 and 12 at pp. 74-75.


37 William Peel, "Labour and Trade," The People's Paper, No. 15, August 14, 1852, p. 3 col. 4.

38 See below chap. 4. The trade unionist environment that Jones challenged in the 1850s differed from that which prevailed during the Chartist era. As an example of the changing perception of trade unions, J.S. Mill added to the third edition of his Principles, which appeared in 1852, four years after the first edition, a passage in which he chided unions of the skilled, such as the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, for hindering the "emancipation of the working classes at large" by means of their...

39 Ernest Jones, "The Middle-Class Franchise--Why Will It Injure The Democratic Cause?" Notes to the People, I (1851), 31-32.


42 F.C. Mather, Public Order in the Age of the Chartists (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1959), p. 82, delimits this role even further: "It is true that working-class special constables were enrolled in large numbers, especially in 1848," but this often took place at the instigation "of their employers, who did not scruple to hold the threat of dismissal over the heads of those who refused to be sworn in." The major motive on the part of employers was to secure the good behavior of their employees, whose jurisdiction as special constables was often restricted to their workplaces. For specific instances of coercion or attempted coercion by employers, see Northern Star, XI, 544 (March 25, 1848), 2 col. 5; ibid., XI, 548 (April 22, 1848), 6 cols. 1-2; ibid., p. 6 cols. 5-6.


44 A contemporary observer ranged the higher order of mechanics ("skilled laborers") together with shopkeepers as a class situated between professionals, clerics and tradespeople on the one hand and the remaining laborers on the other. Although this author considered the earnings of the skilled sufficient to insure respectability and to maintain comfort in old age, he ranked the skilled among the non-privileged classes, of which they formed the highest order. See William Dodd (An Englishman), The Laboring Classes of England (2nd ed.; Boston: Putnam, 1848 (1847?)), pp. 9-11.


46 See Mayhew, London Labour, III, 221-33.

47 Two distinct cases must be recognized here: 1. technological transformations that substituted unskilled for skilled labor by means of machinery and further division of labor; and 2. the employment of unapprenticed, less skilled workers who performed low-quality "slop" work. Although artisans of this period were threatened mainly by the latter, mechanization also effected some displacement. See Pioneer, No. 4, September 28, 1833, pp. 28-29; The Builder, XII, 570 (May 27, 1854), 281-82; ibid., XVI, 796 (May 8, 1858), 317. See however Hermione Hobhouse, Thomas Cubitt, Master Builder (London: Macmillan, 1971), p. 292.

48 See the discussion of William thompson, chap. 2 above.

49 G. Kitson Clark, The Making of Victorian England (Cambridge, Mass.: Havard University Press, 1962), p. 132, offers no evidence for the claim that in the first half of the nineteenth century the "aristocracy of labour should be grouped with the middle class many of whose prejudices about keeping down the rates and maintaining social order they probably shared..."
Notes to Chapter 3


52 "The Trades' Union Conference With Mr. Gladstone," Beehive, February 22, 1868, p. 5 col. 3.
Notes to Chapter 4

1 The title of this chapter is taken from the two studies by J.L. Hammond and Barbara Hammond, The Age of the Chartists 1832-1854 (London: Longmans, Green, 1930); and E.J. Hobsbawm, The Age of Capital 1848-1875 (London: Abacus, 1975).


7 See below.

8 See Marx's comments at the "Sitzung der Zentralbehörde vom 15. September 1850," MEW, VIII, 598.

9 Even in the 1880s, when Engels made the Labor aristocracy a key to his analyses of the British working class, he emphasized that only the fear of trade unions compelled capitalists to pay workers the full market value of their labor power. See the series of unsigned editorials written for The Labour Standard, No. 3, May 21, 1881; No. 4, May 28, 1881; and No. 5, June 4, 1881; cited here according to the German translation in MEW, XIX, 251-60.

10 See Marx's strong views on the importance of strikes for working class independence as expressed in his article on strikes in Britain for the New-York Daily Tribune, July 14, 1853; cited here according to the translation in MEW, IX, 169-75. Cf. Marx, "Bericht des Generalrats der Internationalen Arbeiter-Assoziation an den IV. allgemeinen Kongress in Basel," ibid., XVI, 370. For Jones's contrasting view, see "The National Trades' Union," Notes to the People, II (1852), 762.


12 "Three to One; or, the strength of the working-classes," Notes to the People, I (1851), 511.

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14 See Jones’s prediction of deskilling in the building trades in "The Building Trade," Notes to the People, II (1852), 543; cf. however "The National Trades' Union," ibid., II (1852), 763.

15 See "The Iron Trades," ibid., II (1852), 976.


18 See Jones, "The Amalgamated Iron Trades," Notes to the People, II (1852), 830.


22 See Webb, History of Trade Unionism, 1902 ed., pp. 199-200. For an earlier example of exclusionary trade unionism, see the testimony by Archibald Alison, sheriff of Lanarkshire, First Report from the Select Committee on Combinations of Workmen; Together With the Minutes of Evidence and Appendix, Ordered, by the House of Commons, to be Printed, 14 June 1838, Q. 2268 at p. 149 and Q. 2297 at p. 153.


27 On William Newton's decision to become a candidate for the House of Commons in 1852, see A.R. Schoyen, The Chartist Challenge: A Portrait of George Julian Harney (London: Heinemann, 1958), p. 224: "Newton's entry into the arena of politics and his broad social views were in fact a refutation of Jones' attacks on" the selfishness of the labor aristocracy.

28 See Brentano, Arbeitergilden, I, 191.


30 As late as the 1890s, Platt Brothers of Oldham, employing 10,000 workers and possessing a unique domination of certain product markets internationally, negotiated with no unions. See Paul de Rousiers, The Labour Question in France, tr. F.L.D. Herbertson (London: Macmillan, 1896 (original French ed 1895)), pp. 254-56.


32 Jones's animosity toward the Amalgamated Society of Engineers was partly attributable to the latter's--and, in particular, Newton's--refusal to permit him to address a meeting on December 30, 1851. See "The Operative Engineers and Their Employers," The Times (London), December 31, 1851, p. 5 col. 6; "To the London Executive Committee of the Amalgamated Iron Trades," Notes to the People, II (1852), 724-25.
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For Engels' assessment of the strike, see his letter to Marx of March 2, 1852; MEW, XXVIII, 35.
33 "Three to One," p. 511.
34 Ibid.
35 "1852 and the Franchise," Notes to the People, II (1852), 838.
36 "Fresh Falsehood of the Financials. The Middle-Class Franchise and the Census," ibid., I (1851), 187. Several of Engels' references to the labor aristocracy during these years were, in tone and substance, not far removed from Jones's. See below chap. 5. Marx and Engels also claimed that the "petty bourgeois" and the "aristocracy of the workers" within the Chartist movement formed a purely democratic faction, limiting themselves to the Charter and other petty bourgeois reforms; at the same time they believed that, "The mass of workers living in really proletarian conditions belong to the revolutionary Chartist fraction." See Marx and Engels, "Revue. Mai bis Oktober (1850)," MEW, VII, 445. For a similarly exaggerated judgment, see Engels' letter of April 15, 1848 to Emil Blank, ibid., XXVII, 481.
38 "The Times' and the Wolverhampton Tinplate-Workers," p. 422.
39 Jones's notes to the letter by Crawford, Notes to the People, II (1852), 521 n. (1.).
41 For an early statement of Marx's position on trade unions, see his Misère de la philosophie (1847); cited here according to the German translation in MEW, IV, 175-82.
42 See Engels' letter of March 18, 1852 to Marx, MEW, XXVIII, 40.
43 See Marx's report in the New-York Daily Tribune of October 17, 1853; cited here according to the translation in MEW, IX, 346.
44 See Marx's articles in the New-York Daily Tribune of July 1, 1853 and November 18, 1853; cited according to the translations in MEW, IX, 136 and IX, 460-61, respectively.
46 See Marx's report for the New-York Daily Tribune of December 16, 1853; cited according to the translation in MEW, IX, 535-36.
47 See Marx's report in the New-York Daily Tribune of July 14, 1853; cited according to the translation in MEW, IX, 170.
49 Ibid., p. 208.
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51 T. Young, "Strike of the Operative Stone Masons of Leicester," People's Paper, No. 54, May 14, 1853, p. 3 col. 3.


55 See the editorial note, MEW, XXIX, 688 n. 225; and Marx's letter to Engels of November 24, 1857, ibid., p. 218.

56 Marx's letter to Engels, written about January 16, 1858, ibid., p. 260.

57 Letter from Marx to Engels of September 21, 1858, ibid., p. 356. Marx wrote this sentence in English.

58 Letter from Engels to Marx of October 7, 1858, ibid., p. 358.


60 See Roberto Michels, La Teoria di C. Marx sulla miseria crescente e le sue origini (Torino: Bocca, 1922), passim.


63 See below chap. 5.

64 Compare the claim by L.A. Mendel'son Teoriia i istoriia ekonomicheskikh krizisov i tsiklov, I (Moscow: IS-EL, 1959), 577.

65 "The Building Trades," Cabinet Newspaper, August 6, 1859; cited here according to the reprint In Ernest Jones, ed. Saville, pp. 209-10.

66 The former refers to the relation between labor and capital, the latter to that between money wages and the prices of wage goods; see Marx, "Lohnarbeit und Kapital," MEW, VI, 413.


Notes to Chapter 5

1 As claimed, for example, by V.E. Kunina, "Karl Marx ob angliiskom rabochem dvizhenii," Marx-istorik, ed. E.A. Zhelubovskaja (Moscow: Nauka, 1968), pp. 509-10.

2 See Chapter 4 above.

3 Cf. Engels' letter of October 7, 1858 to Marx, MEW, XXIX, 358.

4 Letter of February 5, 1851, MEW, XXVII, 180.

5 See Asa Briggs, "Social Background," The System of Industrial Relations in Great Britain, ed. Allan Flanders and H.A. Clegg (Oxford: Blackwell, 1954), p. 14; Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, Third Series, XLIX, 226 (House of Commons for July 12, 1839). Attempts to influence workers ideologically were also undertaken by individual employers. Thomas Cubitt, for example, perhaps the largest employer in the building trades in mid-century London, provided evening technical lectures and a lending library for his employees; see The Builder, X, 472 (February 21, 1852), 126; X, 475 (March 13, 1852), 174; XII, 673 (December 29, 1855), 629-30. Cubitt's biographer notes that such measures were "extremely important to the ambitious workman" since the first free public library in London was not opened until 1854; see Hermione Hobhouse, Thomas Cubitt (London: Macmillan, 1971), pp. 296-97. This particular case assumes a wider significance because it casts doubt on Engels' subsequent claim that factory owners protected trade unions as extremely beneficial institutions after 1848; see Engels, "England 1845 und 1885," Die Neue Zeit, III, 6 (1885); this article first appeared in English in Commonweal and was translated into German by Engels; cited here according to MEW, XXI, 192-93. On Cubitt, see also Report from the Select Committee on Masters and Operatives; together with the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, Appendix and Index, House of Commons, May 15, 1860, C.-3071, Q. 923 at XXII, 76.


7 Cf. Marx's view of savings banks, which split the working class into savers—and hence those with an interest in the preservation of the social status quo—and non-savers; "Arbeitslohn," MEW, VI, 545. Several years after Marx expressed these views a British watchmaker told a Parliamentary committee that capitalists' immediate interests in effect thwarted the formation of such a division within the working class by providing a worker with a disincentive to save: "the fact of his being able to save money is used as a pretense why his wages should be reduced." Report from the Select Committee on Investments for the Savings of the Middle and Working Classes, July 5, 1850, Parliamentary Papers, 1850, Q. 546 at XIX, 50. See also Karl Marx, Grundrisse der Kritik der politischen Ökonomie (Berlin (DDR): Dietz, 1953), p. 197; Thomas Wright ("The Journeyman Engineer"), Our New Masters (London: Strahan, 1873), pp. 101-102.

8 "Revue. Mai bis Oktober (1850)," p. 440.

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11 Das Kapital, I (Hamburg: Meissner, 1867; reprint: Tokyo: Aoki-Shoten, 1959), 333. The expression "Arbeitskraft," the plural of which has been translated as "workers," can mean "labor power" as well as the person who expends it.

12 ibid.

13 ibid., p. 334.

14 ibid., pp. 334, 354.

15 ibid., pp. 353-54.

16 ibid., pp. 411-12.

17 ibid., pp. 345-47.

18 ibid., 355-496. Wolf Wagner, Verelendungstheorie—die hilflose Kapitalismuskritik (Frankfurt/Main: Fischer, 1976), p. 20, points out that these factors were uppermost in Marx's mind when he spoke of the immiseration of employed workers, whereas income-related aspects were stressed with regard to the reserve army of the unemployed, paupers and others.


20 ibid.

21 In that year, 10,629 men above the age of twenty were reported as goldsmiths, silversmiths, jewelers; see Census of England and Wales for the Year 1861, Volume III: General Report (London: HMSO, 1863), P.P. 1863, Vol. LIII, Pt. 1, Table XIX at p. liv. W.A. Armstrong, the author of a careful reworking of Charles Booth's census summary manuscripts estimates that half of this number represented manufacturers, half dealers; see W.A. Armstrong, "The use of information about occupation," Nineteenth-century Society, ed. E.A. Wrigley (London: Cambridge University Press, 1972), p. 260 and n. (xiv).

22 Kapital, I, 164 n. 18.

23 See the report of a committee of master spinners cited by Marx in ibid., p. 415 n. 188.


25 Kapital, I, 164 n. 18; the expression "'skilled'" and "'unskilled labour'" appears in English in the original.

26 Alfred Marshall, Principles of Economics (8th ed.; London: Macmillan, 1969 (1890)), p. 568, appears to confirm the persistence of such customs in his time although his position is ambiguous.

27 Within the tripartite typology advanced by Gerhard Beier, labor aristocrats in such unions formed a feudal value-elite; see his contribution, "Das Problem der Arbeiteraristokratie im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert," Herkunft und Mandat (Frankfurt/Main: Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 1976), pp. 15-18.


30 This line of reasoning extends one step further a recent criticism of Marx—namely, that his thesis of the leveling of the skill structure was conditioned by the peculiar historical circumstances characteristic of the wave of industrialization that occurred during his creative years; on this basis critics have stated or implied that Marx was unable to foresee the changes in that structure in the course of the twentieth century. See Udo Ludwig et al., Bildung als ökonomische Potenz im Sozialismus (Berlin (DDR): Dietz, 1972), p. 80; V.-M. Bader et al., Krise und Kapitalismus bei Marx, I (Frankfurt/Main: Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 1975), 244 n. 166. The present argument questions the extent to which Marx judged his own period adequately.


32 Palgrave, Dictionary, II, 527.


34 Interestingly enough, the Department of Labor defines semi-skilled and unskilled occupations chiefly in terms of the absence of the characteristics of the skilled occupations; see ibid., pp. 115, 241.

35 On the distinction between the average level of qualification required of various occupations and the individual levels within occupations, see I.I. Rubin, Ocherki po teorii stoimosti Marksa (3rd ed.; Moscow-Leningrad: Gosudarstvennoe Izdatel' stvo, 1928 (1923)), pp. 178-79.


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40 See Abstract of the Answers and Returns... Occupation Abstract


42 Ibid., p. 52.

43 Marx left this passage unaltered in the second edition; see Das Kapital (2nd ed.; Hamburg: Meissner, 1872), pp. 186-87 n. 18.

44 Calculated according to the data in Armstrong, "The use," pp. 264, 268; in particular the number of weavers, spinners and factory hands fell from 99,000 in 1841 to 13,400 in 1851; see ibid., p. 264.

45 National Distress, p. 22.

46 Ibid., pp. 25, 19.

47 Ibid., p. 27.

48 Interestingly, a committee of delegates studying the destitution of London's artisans and mechanics in 1848 reported on a tripartite division of which the highest third was employed at wages "wholly inadequate" to provide themselves and their families with the necessities of life. See "Aggregate Meeting of the Trades of London," Northern Star, XI, 549 (April 29, 1848), 1 col. 4. Cf. R.S. Neale, "Class and Class Consciousness in Early Nineteenth Century England: Three Classes or Five?," Victorian Studies, XII, 1 (September, 1968), 5-32.

49 National Distress, p. 49.

50 Ibid., n.

51 Ibid.

52 Ibid., p. 51.

53 Remarkably enough, even the most orthodox Marxist-Leninists do not notice the inconsistency involved in locating the rise of the labor aristocracy in mid-nineteenth century Britain in the context of a development of the forces of production that required additional levels of skill within a part of the working class. See Horst Bartel et al, ed. Sachworterbuch der Geschichte Deutschlands und der Arbeiterbewegung, I (Berlin (DDR): Dietz, 1969), 104. Jürgen Kuczynski, Die Geschichte der Lage der Arbeiter unter dem Kapitalismus, Volume 24: Darstellung der Lage der Arbeiter in England von 1832 bis 1900 (Berlin (DDR):, Akademie, 1965), pp. 115-16, refers to the formation of a broad "hereditary stratum of the skilled."

54 The Webbs pointed out that economists were surprised by the results of Charles Booth's survey of London, which confirmed socialists' claims about the prevalence of poverty; see Sidney and Beatrice Webb, History of Trade Unionism, 1902 ed., pp. 360-68. For an analogous incident regarding an investigation of land ownership designed to refute claims by radicals, see S.G. Checkland, The Rise of Industrial Society in England 1815-1885 (London: Longman, 1971 (1964)), pp. 183-84.


56 See, for example, J. Shield Nicholson, Principles of Political Economy, I (London: Macmillan, 1893), 120; Palgrave's Dictionary, cited above, also relied heavily on Giffen's word. In his testimony before the Royal Commission on Labour, however, Giffen conceded that definitional problems had rendered it uncertain whether the skilled had increased in relation
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60 Calculated according to data in Charles Booth, "Occupations of the People of the United Kingdom, 1801-81," Journal of the Statistical Society, XLIX (June 1886), 355-59. Women and children were, to be sure, underestimated in 1841; see Phyllis Deane and W.A. Cole, British Economic Growth 1688-1959 (2nd ed.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969 (1962)), p. 139. In addition, the number of general laborers rose strongly during these years although classificatory changes in census enumeration procedures render precise comparisons impossible. Giffen was, in any event, not warranted in drawing his conclusions from the minuscule decline in the number of laborers—deriving almost exclusively from the fall in the number of agricultural laborers—from 1871 to 1881; see Robert Giffen, "Some General Uses of Statistical Knowledge," idem, Essays in Finance, Second Series (3rd ed.; London: Bell, 1890 (1886)), p. 342. See also Booth, "Occupations," p. 363; Armstrong, "The use," p. 274 and n. (xxxiv).
62 Bader et al., Krise, I, 256-58, point out that this process is accompanied by an elevation of the average educational level necessitated by the increased need for basic technological knowledge; as a result, real wages rise.
65 For Germany, which in the mid-nineteenth century lagged several decades behind Britain industrially, Kuczynski has argued that by 1850 the price of skilled labor power had already lost its "Kunstwert"; that is, it had
already become a commodity that was readily reproducible and exchangeable. See Kuczynski, Geschichte, Vol. 1: Darstellung der Lage der Arbeiter in Deutschland von 1789 bis 1849 (Berlin (DDR): Akademie, 1961), p. 352. In other words, the period was long past in Britain in which it could be maintained that skilled labor had not yet been subjected to the law of value.


67 In this important substantive sense, then, Marx was concerned with the political consequences of a putative labor aristocracy. The rigid semantic approach of Gunnar Olofsson, "Teorier om arbetararistokrati och reformism hos Engels och Lenin," Arkiv (Stockholm), No. 6 (1974), p. 86, leads to a denial of this interest.

68 Engels did specify the one motivation that a recent critic has termed the only "rational" one--namely, that paying one group more enabled capitalists to pay another group "substantially less." See Edna Bonacich, "Advanced Capitalism and Black/White Relations in the United States: A Split Labor Market Interpretation," American Sociological Review, XLI, 1 (February 1976), 44.

69 It was first published in the Bee-Hive, No. 160, November 5, 1864; here it is cited according to Marx's own translation: "Inauguraladresse der Internationalen Arbeiter-Assoziation," MEW, XVI, 5-13.

70 Ibid., p. 5.
71 Ibid., p. 9.
74 Kapital, I, 1st ed., 641.
75 See Gladstone's speech on April 16, 1863 in the House of Commons as cited in ibid., p. 639 n. 103. On the controversy surrounding this quotation, see Karl Marx, "(Antwort auf den ersten Artikel Brentanos)," MEW, XVIII, 89-92; "(Antwort auf den zweiten Artikel Brentanos)," ibid., 109-15; F. Engels, In Sachen Brentano contra Marx wegen angeblicher Zitatsfälschung, MEW, XXII, 93-185. Cf. "How Far Have Our Working Classes Benefited by the Increase of Our Wealth," Economist, XXXII, 1587 (January 24, 1874), 93-95; Henry Fawcett, "The Effect of an Increased Production of Wealth on Wages," Fortnightly Review, N.S., XV, LXXV (January 1, 1874), 75-81. In 1866 one of the largest building employers stated "that it does not appear that, as a class, they (building operatives) are better off now than they were many years ago." See "The Condition of Building Operatives," The Builder, XXIV, 1237 (October 20, 1866), 776.
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Vol. 4 (London: Chapman and Hall, 1899; reprint: New York: AMS, 1969), p. 126, who states that well-being is indicated not only by wages and steady employment, but also by relations to the employers. This essay first appeared in 1839. Cf. Marx's detailed questionnaire for workers, first published anonymously in Revue socialiste, April 20, 1880; cited here according to the German translation of the original English MS in MEW, XIX, 230-37.

77 Sternberg, Imperialismus, pp. 60-61.
79 The data for 1851—which are incomplete—refer to size classes, the largest of which is open-ended, covering concentrations of more than 350 men; the data for 1871 provide accurate numbers for establishments and those employed, but represent incomplete returns. See Census of Great Britain, 1851, Table XXX at pp. ccxxvi-ccxxix; Factories and Workshops, August 9, 1871, P.P. 1871, Vol. LXII, pp. 163-64.
80 A similar pattern prevailed in the United States. See National Industrial Conference Board, A Graphic Analysis of the Census of Manufactures of the United States 1849 to 1919 (New York: NICB, 1923), Chart 48 at p. 96 and Table 48 at p. 97.
81 Calculated according to Deane and Cole, British Economic Growth, Table 31 at p. 143.
82 Calculated according to data in Werner Schlote, British Overseas Trade. From 1700 to the 1930s, tr. W.O. Henderson and W.H. Chaloner (Oxford: Blackwell, 1952 (German ed. 1938)), Table 16 at pp. 452-53; the data are stated in current prices.
84 Ibid., pp. 64-65.
87 Source: Statistical Abstract for the United Kingdom, In each of the last Fifteen Years, from 1844 to 1859, (London: HMSO, 1859), p. 44; Statistical Abstract for the United Kingdom, In each of the last Fifteen Years, from 1856 to 1870, C. 395 (London: HMSO, 1871), p. 126.
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92 See Joan Robinson, "Marx and Keynes," Collected Economic Papers (Oxford: Blackwell, 1951), p. 142. A partially compensating factor may have resulted from this deceleration of accumulation insofar as the latter assumed the form of a lower organic composition of capital than would have otherwise been the case. See Keith Burgess, The Origins of British Industrial Relations (London: Croom Helm, 1975), p.v.

93 Calculated according to data in C.H. Feinstein, National Income, Expenditure and Output of the United Kingdom 1855-1965 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), Table 1 at p. T4. During the same period, net property income from abroad rose from 2.1 per cent to 5.1 per cent of gross national product; calculated according to data in ibid., Table 18 at p. T44.


95 Fawcett, "The Effect," pp. 80-81.


98 Wood, "Real Wages," Table I at p. 93; Bowley, Wages in the United Kingdom, pp. 130-33.


101 Calculated according to data in Feinstein, National Income, Table 18 at p. T44.


103 "Inauguraladresse," p. 9.


106 In the second edition of Kapital Marx entitled this section, "Effect of the Crises on the Best-Paid Part of the Working Class"; Kapital, I, 2nd ed., 697.

107 Kapital, I, 1st ed., 657. Although relatively well paid, iron shipbuilders did not fall within the category of the highest paid workers. See R.
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112 Cf. Engels' letter to Bernstein of May 22, 1886, MEW, XXXVI, 487; see also his letter of May 23, 1886 to Laura Lafargue, ibid., p. 489.

113 R.S. Neale, Class and Ideology in the Nineteenth Century (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972), p. 70, states that building tradesmen resembled an urban free peasantry more than any other group did.

114 "Politische Rundschau," Das Volk, No. 16, August 20, 1859; cited according to MEW, XIII, 487-88.

115 See "The Nine Hours Movement," The Times (London), August 23, 1859, p. 5 col. 4; "The Nine Hours Movement," ibid., September 6, 1859, p. 9 col. 1; "Proceedings In Connection With The Strike," The Builder, XVII, 864 (August 27, 1859), 565. The skilled and unskilled workers received different levels of support.


117 Frederick Harrison, Autobiographic Memoirs, I (London: Macmillan, 1911), 250-54, recreates the state of hardship during the strike.


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123 It must be emphasized that both within Britain and between Britain and Ireland Marx conceived of the antagonism between British and Irish proletarians, which he characterized as analogous to that obtaining between the "poor whites" and the "niggers" in the post-bellum South, as "the secret of the maintenance of power of the capitalist class." See his letter of April 9, 1870 to August Vogt and Sigfrid Meyer, MEW, XXXII, 668-69. Arthur Redford, Labour Migration in England, 1800-1850 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1928), pp. 130-42, describes some important aspects of English-Irish working class relations.

124 "Inauguraladresse," p. 10.


127 "Instruktionen für die Delegierten des Provisorischen Zentralrats zu den einzelnen Fragen," MEW, XVI, 197-98.

128 See Collins and Abramsky, Karl Marx, pp. 162, 176, for a more sober account.


130 Letter to Marx of December 9, 1869, MEW, XXXII, 411.

131 As early as 1866 Marx spoke of betrayal with regard to two trade union leaders who were accused of concluding compromises with the bourgeoisie; see his letter of August 31, 1866 to Johann Phillip Becker, MEW, XXXI, 524. Several weeks later Marx appears to have changed his mind; see his letter of October 13, 1866 to Ludwig Kugelmann, ibid., p. 534.


133 "(Aufzeichnung der Reden von Karl Marx über die Trade-Unions)," MEW, XVII, 649; the record of this speech, which was made on September 20, 1871, is taken from the French language minutes.

134 Ibid.

135 See the editorial notes, ibid., p. 750.

136 Mikhail Bakunin, Gosudarstvennost' i anarkhiia (1873), Izbrannye sochineniia, ed. V. Cherkezoyna, T (2nd ed.; Petersburg-Moscow: "Golos Truda," 1922), 49-50. Marx excerpted this passage without comment in
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1874-1875; see his "(Konspekt von Bakunins Buch 'Staatlichkeit und Anarchie')," MEW, XVIII, 599. Although Bakunin himself wrote a typology of labor aristocrats, whom he saw as created by the patriarchal relations of the old skilled crafts, he formed a favorable impression of British trade unions. See his Vsesvietnyi revoliutsionnyi soiuz sotsial'noi demokratii (Berlin: Steinitz, 1904 (1870)), pp. 60-67, 70-74.

137 "(Aufzeichnung der Ausführungen von Marx über das Mandat Barrys)," MEW, XVIII, 685. This incident contradicts the interpretation of Marx's attitude presented by Siegfried Bünger, Friedrich Engels und die britische sozialistische Bewegung 1881-1895 (Berlin (DDR): Rüttig & Loening, 1962), p. 64 n. 42 cont. on p. 65.

138 Letter to Wilhelm Liebknecht of February 11, 1878, MEW, XXXIV, 320; see also Marx's letter of September 27, 1877 to F.A. Sorge, ibid., p. 295, in which Marx pointed to the new paternalistic attitude that certain large capitalists had adopted toward trade unions.

139 See, for example, Engels' letter of November 8, 1867 to Kugelmann, ibid., XXXI, 568.

140 See, for example, Engels, "Die englischen Wahlen," Der Volksstaat, No. 26, March 4, 1874; cited here according to MEW, XVIII, 494-99. Paradoxically, Engels made the granting of certain democratic reforms, which had been demanded by the Chartists, responsible for working class passivity; he also re-introduced the issue of the effects of England's world market dominance and of the corruption of labor leaders. He and Marx returned to this theme again and again during the 1870s. See the following correspondence: Marx to Paul and Laura Lafargue of July 28, 1870, ibid., XXXIII, 126; Engels to Wilhelm Liebknecht of May 27-28, 1872, ibid., p. 475; Engels to Sorge of September 21, 1872, ibid., p. 524.

141 The Webbs also, however, pointed out that the trade unions aided the organizational efforts of agricultural workers from 1872 onwards; see History of Trade Unionism, 1902 ed., pp. 315-18.

142 Ibid., pp. 276-82.

143 Ibid., pp. 303-307.

144 Ibid., pp. 311-12, 322-23. The Webbs noted that as late as 1883 the Trades Union Congress, by a large majority, rejected amendments supporting manhood suffrage; ibid., p. 354.


146 "England 1845 und 1885," MEW, XXI, 194. Engels translated this article into German after having published it in The Commonweal, March 1, 1885; it was subsequently absorbed in its entirety into the appendix of the 1887 American edition of Die Lage der arbeitenden Klasse in England and of later editions.


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154 The only sectoral exceptions were the much larger armed forces in Germany and France and the much greater representation of the clergy in the latter country. See Armstrong, "The use," pp. 275-78; Hoffmann, Wachstum, Tables 19-20 at pp. 203-205; Résultats statistiques, IV, xvi.
155 The first complete British census to ascertain these two pieces of information was not conducted until 1891. Although Hoffmann estimated the number of independently employed for the latter half of the century, the only two years for which accurate data are available for Germany are 1882 and 1895. Similarly, the French data prior to 1896 are based on estimates. See Census of England and Wales, 1891. Ages, Conditions as to Marriage, Occupations, Birth-Places and Infirmities, Vol. III (London: HMSO, 1893), pp. xiv-xcv; Statistik des Deutschen Reiches, ed. Kaiserlichen Statistischen Amt, N.S., Vol. 119 (Berlin, 1899), p. 60. See also Gustav Schmoller, Zur Geschichte der deutschen Klein gewerbe im 19. Jahrhundert (Halle: Verlag der Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1870).
156 Although Engels spoke of a change in the "mutual attitude of both classes," he described all initiatives as having been taken by the bourgeoisie; see "England 1845 und 1885," pp. 192-93.
162 See, for example, the editorial in The Times (London), July 8, 1869, p. 8 cols. 5-6.
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167 V.E. Kunina, Karl Marks i angliiskoe rabochie dvizhenie (Moscow: Mysl', 1968), p. 275, exaggerates this point.


170 Letter of August 30, 1883, MEW, XXXVI, 58.


172 Letter of February 3, 1886 to Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky, ibid., XXXVI, 443.

173 See, for example, his letter of August 30, 1892 to V. Adler, ibid., XXXVIII, 445. The next year, to be sure, Engels conceded that American workers were still enjoying a kind of prosperity no longer known in Europe; in this context he referred to racial and ethnic cleavages as barriers to socialist development in the United States. See his letter of December 2, 1893 to Sorge, ibid., XXXIX, 173.

174 "Appendix" to The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844 (New York, 1887); cited according to MEW, XXI, 250-51. It should be noted that the text refers to Engels' depiction of the course of events; in reality, the truck system, for example, continued to be employed for decades; see G.W. Hilton, The Truck System (Cambridge: Heffer, 1960).

175 MEW, XXI, 251.

176 Ibid., pp. 251-52. See however Engels' letter of June 17, 1879 to Bernstein, ibid., XXXIV, 379.


178 Ibid., pp. 196-97.

179 Ibid., p. 197.

180 Letter of October 28, 1885, MEW, XXXVI, 376-77. Engels used the term "Trades Unions" in English.

181 In addition to the literature already cited, see Postgate, Builders' History, pp. 190-91, 220-21; George Howell, The Conflicts of Capital and Labour (London: Chatto and Windus, 1878), pp. 250-54; testimony of Edwin Coulson, secretary of the Operative Bricklayers Society before the Royal Commission on Trade Unions, First Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Inquire into the Organization and Rules of Trade Unions and Other Associations (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1867), Q. 1496 at p. 59 and QQ. 1568-70 at p. 61; see, however, the question posed by Commissioner Thomas Hughes, Third Report, QQ. 4923-30 at p. 42; "Notes on the History and Condition of the Building Trades. Masons," The Builder, XI, 569 (December 24, 1853), 777; a letter to ibid., XX, 992 (February 8, 1862), 102, does contain a proposal for the training of convicts in order to break the control of the supply of labor by trade unions; Pelling, Popular Politics, pp. 44-51; John Platt, an M.P. and owner of the Oldham cotton machinery works, called for the abolition of apprenticeship on the grounds that it encouraged workers to think in terms of a vested interest in their trades; see Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, Third Series, CXCVII, 1365 for July 7, 1869; H.A. Clegg et
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al., A History of British Trade Unions since 1889, Vol. I: 1889-1910 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1964), pp. 140-41, 145-46, 156-59, indicate a greater scope for apprenticeship in engineering, printing and building than conceded by the Webbs; it should be borne in mind, however, that the Webbs did not deny the existence of apprenticeship systems but merely that they restricted employers.

182 Source: Schlote, British Overseas Trade, Table 16 at pp. 152-54.


185 Deane and Cole, British Economic Growth, Table 56 at p. 225.


193 Jefferys, Story, p. 166.


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200 William Allen, secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, stated in 1867 that two-thirds to three-quarters of the men in his trade belonged to his union; see Royal Commission on Trade Unions, First Report, Q. 576 at p. 28. Since such figures correspond to a much smaller number of employed than indicated by the censuses of 1861 and 1871, Allen may have been referring to the skilled only.

201 Clegg, History, I, Table 6 at 468.


204 Factories and Workshops, pp. 271-72.

205 Ibid. Data calculated by author.

206 Jefferys, Story, pp. 15-16.

207 Ibid., p. 57.


209 Jefferys, Story, p. 207, estimates that sixty per cent were still skilled in 1914. For estimates for earlier years, see M. and J.B. Jefferys, "The Wages, Hours and Trade Customs of the Skilled Engineer in 1861," Economic History Review, XVII, 1 (1947), 27-42; Labour Statistics. Returns of Wages Published between 1830 and 1886, pp. 186, 188-89.


212 Ibid., p. 490.

213 Calculated according to data in Labour Statistics. Returns of Wages Published between 1830 and 1886, pp. 210-12, 218-19.

214 Ibid., pp. 149, 151-52, 176.


218 See however J. Ward, Workmen and Wages at Home and Abroad or the Effects of Strikes, Combinations and Trades' Unions (London: Longmans, 1868), p. 9.
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220 E.g., iron puddlers; see Milward and Saul, Economic Development, pp. 198-99.

221 Robert Torrens, On Wages and Combination (Shannon: Irish University Press, 1971 (1834)), pp. 73-80.


223 Ibid., pp. 292-93.

224 See, for example, Derek Aldcroft and Harry Richardson, The British Economy 1870-1939 (London: Macmillan, 1969).


228 Sources for 1880 and 1890: S.B. Saul, "The Export Economy 1870-1914," Yorkshire Bulletin of Economic and Social Research, XVII, 1 (May 1965), Table V at 12; for 1899 and 1913: H. Tyszynski, "World Trade in Manufactured Commodities, 1899-1950," The Manchester School of Economic and Social Studies, XIX, 3 (September 1951), 277-78.


231 Calculated according to data in Schlote, British Overseas Trade, Table 16 at pp. 152-53.

232 Source: Saul, "Export Economy," Table VI at p. 13.

233 Aldcroft and Richardson, British Economy, pp. 72-73; see also Saul, "Engineering Industry," pp. 205-11.

234 Schlote, British Overseas Trade, Table 16 at p. 153.

235 Factories and Workshops, pp. 271, 299, 314.

236 Marx cites an example from cotton spinning, which was also a world market dominated by British firms; in this instance gross profits amounted to about 15.7 per cent of the selling price in 1871; see Capital, I, 2nd ed., pp. 209-10.


238 Bowley, Wages in the United Kingdom, pp. 122-23.


240 See the data for the latter half of the 1860s in Baxter, National Income, passim; Leone, Wages and Earnings, passim.

241 See Labour Statistics. Returns of Wages Published between 1830 and 1886, pp. 148-49; Bowley, Wages in the United Kingdom, p. 70; Carr and Taplin, British Steel, p. 146.

242 Burn, Steelmaking 1867-1939, does point out, however, that wages at the beginning of the twentieth century were more evenly distributed in German iron and steel works than in those of the United Kingdom.
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244 Burgess, Origins, p. 5.

245 Payne, "Iron and Steel Manufactures," Table IV at p. 82.


251 The other countries are the United States, France and Germany; see Kuczynski, England von 1832 bis 1900, pp. 197-99; idem, Die Entwicklung der Lage der Arbeiterschaft in Europa und Amerika 1870-1933 (Basel: Philologischer Verlag, 1934), passim; L.A. Mendelson, Teoriia i istoriia ekonomicheskikh krizisov i tsiklov, II (Moscow: IS-EL, 1959), 526-27.


255 Calculated according to Feinstein, National Income, Table 1 at pp. T4-T5. Non-employment incomes comprehend: income from self-employment; gross trading profits of companies; gross trading surplus of public corporations and of other public enterprises; and rent. Cf. J.B. Askew, "Der britische Imperialismus," Ergänzungshefte zur Neuen Zeit, No. 19, July 24, 1914, pp. 37, 39, 41.

256 Baxter, National Income, p. 50.

257 Feinstein, National Income, Table 1 at p. T4.

258 Baxter, National Income, p. 50.

259 See Levi, Wages and Earnings, p. 9, who estimated weekly family income to be thirty-one shillings in 1865; the annual estimate mentioned in the text applies to the 1870s and 1880s as well.


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263 Large numbers of British workmen were exported along with the capital to construct some foreign railways. See Report from the Select Committee on Railway Labourers, House of Commons, July 28, 1846, P.P. 1846, (530) Vol. XIII, QQ. 327-28 at p. 19.


265 See Baxter, National Income, pp. 91-92; Thomas Brassey, On Work and Wages (New York: Putman’s, 1883 (1872)), pp. 38, 197-98.

266 Select Committee on Railway Labourers, Q. 1041 at p. 63. Testimony to the effect that navvies’ wages were double those of ordinary laborers was unsubstantiated; see ibid., QQ. 331-32 at p. 20. Navvies were compelled in some seasons to work seventy hours weekly; ibid., QQ. 1274-75 at p. 75.

267 See Hansard’s Parliamentary Debates, Third Series, CXCVII, 1357-64 for July 7, 1869; Arthur Helps, Life and Labours of Mr Brassey (London, 1969 (1872)), p. 78; Select Committee on Railway Labourers, Q. 1302 at p. 77.


269 Select Committee on Railway Labourers, Q. 2278 at p. 157.


276 See Karl Kautsky, "Der Krieg in Sudafrika," Neue Zeit, XVII, I (1899-1900), 196-203. See also chap. 7 below.

277 Collins and Abramsky, Karl Marx, pp. 76-77, 289-90; cf. however, ibid., p. 219.


280 Ibid., p. 194.

281 Ibid., p. 195.

282 Factories and Workshops, pp. 271-72, 298-300, 314-15.
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283 Ibid. Wage comparisons have been taken from Baxter, National Income, pp. 88-90.
285 See ibid., pp. 311-12, 492-95.
289 Ibid., p. 73.
290 Foster, Class Struggle, p. 229.
294 Ibid.
295 Source: ibid., Table 2 at p. 97. For operatives of unchanged economic grade the decline was even more marked; see ibid.
296 Royden Harrison, Before the Socialists. Studies in Labour and Politics 1861-1881 (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1965), p. 25, asserts but does not substantiate the claim of "the absolute impoverishment in the standards of the masses." Kuczynski's empirical study is methodologically flawed: the fact that he includes among the labor aristocracy all workers of strata with rising standards of living tautologically reduces the mass of workers to a residuum with declining wages. See Kuczynski, Entwicklung der Lage, pp. 14-15, 21.
297 Baxter, National Income, p. 48, pointed out that many workers, reluctant to accept relief because of the attendant humiliation, preferred to "die of starvation."
298 Source: Statistical Abstract for the United Kingdom, In each of the Last Fifteen Years. From 1867 to 1881, C.-3266 (London: HMSO, 1882), Table No. 91 at p. 166; Statistical Abstract for the United Kingdom, In each of the Last Fifteen Years. From 1876 to 1890, C.-6457 (London: HMSO, 1891), Table No. 112 at p. 221.
300 See Porter, Progress, ed. Hirst, pp. 70, 72.
303 See W. Thorp, Business Annals (New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1926), Table 10 at p. 78.
304 Wood, "Real Wages," Table 1 at p. 93 and Appendix at pp. 102-103; Bowley, Wages in the United Kingdom, Appendix 1, Table I at pp. 130-31.
305 See Booth, "Occupations," p. 354.
306 See G.T. Jones, Increasing Returns (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1933), pp. 94-95, 97, on the introduction of machinery in construction. Jones refers to worker discontent that led to additional supervisory costs which, in turn, acted as a drag on productivity.
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308 Calculated according to data in ibid. and in Wood, "Real Wages," pp. 102-103.
313 Bowley, "Changes," Table II at p. 234.
315 See Kuczynski, England von 1832 bis 1900, pp. 203-205.
316 See Bowley, Wages in the United Kingdom, Table facing p. 94.
318 W. Hamish Fraser, Trade Unions and Society. The Struggle for Acceptance, 1850-1890 (Totowa: Rowman and Littlefield, 1974), p. 213, argues that as early as the 1850s the middle class "began to see significance in the divisions within the working class." Even on the political plane this division did not become relevant until the late 1860s; see Gillespie, Labor and Politics, pp. 8-9, 37-38, 46, 56. Cf. David Kynaston, King Labour. The British Working Class 1850-1914 (London: Allen & Unwin, 1976), p. 19.
319 Burn, Glimpse, p. 30.
320 (Fleeming Jenkin), "Trade Unions: How Far Legitimate?," The North British Review, XLVII, XCV (March 1868), 33.
321 Leone Levi appears to have been an exception; see his "Discussion," Journal of the Statistical Society, XLIX (March 1886), 94. See also the recantation by James E. Thorold Rogers, Six Centuries of Work and Wages (new edition, revised; London: Sonnenschein, 1886), p. 656.
322 See Mitchell, Abstract, p. 64.
324 Kynaston, King Labour, p. 67.
327 Edith Simcox, "Loss or Gain of the Working Class during the Nineteenth Century," ibid., p. 85.
328 See the comments by George Hines, ibid., p. 122.
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330 Hobsbawm, Labouring Men, p. 346.
331 Ibid., p. 343.
332 Males over the age of twenty as a share of those employed in manufacturing rose from 48.6 per cent in 1851 to 49.8 per cent in 1881; calculated according to data in Booth, "Occupations," pp. 355-59.
333 From 1833 to 1867 to 1897 the excess of the former over the latter declined from 100 per cent to eighty per cent to sixty per cent respectively; calculated according to data in Bowley, Wages in the United Kingdom, p. 70. The differential between provincial artisans and town laborers stabilized after 1867; ibid. See also idem, Wages and Income in the United Kingdom since 1860 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1937), p. 46.
335 See Postgate, Builders' History, p. 455; Jones, Increasing Returns, pp. 261-62; Bowley, Wages in the United Kingdom, p. 60, chart facing p. 90.
336 See Labour Statistics. Returns of Wages Published between 1830 and 1886, pp. 208-19; cf. however Hobsbawm, Labouring Men, p. 347.
337 Bowley, Wages in the United Kingdom, Table facing p. T22; Hobsbawm, Labouring Men, p. 347, contradicts this.
338 Bowley, Wages in the United Kingdom, Table facing p. 119.
339 Hobsbawm, Labouring Men, pp. 86-87.
342 Lloyd Jones, "Profits of Industry and the Workers," ibid., p. 34.
343 Simcox, "Loss or Gain," p. 90.
348 Ibid., pp. xiv, xxviii; the data for the building trades were constructed by using weights for winter and summer rates as indicated in ibid., p. xxviii.
349 Ibid., p. xiv.
350 Ibid., p. 471.
351 Ibid., p. xiv.
353 Ibid., Table E at p. 317.
355 Royal Commission on Trade Unions, First Report, QQ. 2584-85 at pp. 92-93. Comparative occupational mortality rates for 1861 and 1871 do not, on the other hand, point to any clear-cut patterns. See Supplement
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357 Ibid., pp. 174-80; Supplement to the Twenty-Fifth Annual Report of the Registrar-General, pp. xxxiii-xxxv.


360 Ibid., p. 49; Postgate, Builders' History, pp. 295-98.


363 "The Trades' Union Congress," Economist, XLI (September 15, 1883), 1076.


365 Bauman, Klasa, p. 94.


367 Kuczynski, England von 1832 bis 1900, pp. 218-20, is constrained to concede this point in implicit contradiction of Engels.


369 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, Third Series, CLXXXVI (1867), 637.
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manual labour"; they represented 26.3 per cent of the electors in cities
and boroughs and 62.3 per cent of male occupiers paying a gross estimated
rental ranging between seven and ten pounds sterling annually. See
Electoral Statistics, House Parliamentary Representation Returns, P.P.
1866, Vol. LXII, pp. 1-5.
378 Testimony by Baxter in Report from the Select Committee of the House
of Lords, Q. 1693 at p. 178.
379 Ibid., Q. 1684 at p. 177.
380 Ibid., Q. 1694 at p. 178.
381 A Daughter of the People, The Working Classes (London: Murray, 1869),
pp. 8-9.
382 Maurice Cowling, 1867. Disraeli, Gladstone and Revolution. The Passing
of the second Reform Bill (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,
1867), p. 51. Bright believed only "the residuum" to be venal, whereas
Lowe extended this judgment to the whole working class.
383 See Homersham Cox, A History of the Reform Bills of 1866 and 1867
(London: Longmans, 1868), p. 205. On the extension of suffrage, see
R. Dudley Baxter, The Results of the General Election (London: Bush,
1869), p. 17. More generally, see John Lambert, "Parliamentary Franchise,
Past and Present," The Nineteenth Century, XXVII (December 1889),
942-62; Charles Seymour, Electoral Reform in England and Wales. The
Development and Operation of the Parliamentary Franchise, 1832-1885
(New Haven: Yale University Press, 1915), passim.
384 See Joseph H. Park, The English Reform Bill of 1867 (New York: Columbia
385 In 1866 Gladstone declared that a workman paying rates of seven pounds
sterling earned twenty-six shillings per week; when lowered to five
pounds sterling, as in 1867, such a limit could be attained by a worker
earning about 18.5 shillings weekly. According to Baxter, National
Income, pp. 50-51, even a large segment of urban unskilled labor earned
more than eighteen shillings weekly.
386 See J.R. Vincent, Pollbooks. How Victorians Voted (Cambridge: Cam­
387 See Briggs, Making, pp. 496-523. Ursula Herrmann, Der Kampf von Karl
Marx um eine revolutionäre Gewerkschaftspolitik in der 1. Internationale
1864 bis 1868 (Berlin (DDR): Tribüne, 1968), p. 168, misinterprets this
course of events.
388 See Gillespie, Labor and Politics, p. 188.
389 Secretary Allan of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers informed the
Royal Commission on Trade Unions that his union was cautious about
expending funds on strikes whereas "the man who has not got a shilling
in his pocket has not much to be afraid of." First Report, Q. 827 at p.
37.
390 See Brentano, Geschichte der wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung Englands,
III: 1, 552-53.
391 F.B. Smith, The Making of the Second Reform Bill (Cambridge: Cambridge
University Press, 1966), p. 9, maintains that in the 1850s and 1860s the
terms "artisan" and "workingman" assumed the meaning of skilled as
opposed to unskilled worker; for philological refutation, see Statement
392 In the building trades, for example, Robert Applegarth assisted in the
formation of the short-lived General Amalgamated Labourers' Union in
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1872; by the end of the 1880s, however, such support was no longer forthcoming. See Postgate, Builders' History, pp. 298, 345. The organizational aid offered the unskilled in the building trades took the form of segregating the unskilled in separate unions. For a poignant illustration of the relations between the skilled and the unskilled in building, see A Working Man, Reminiscences of a Stonemason (London: Murray, 1908), p. 76.


394 It is curious that in the 1860s Wright had characterized the trade unions as progressive; see Thomas Wright, The Great Unwashed (London: Tinsley, 1868), pp. 97-124.


397 As Ure emphasized, "the more skilful the workman, the more self-willed and intractable he is apt to become, and, of course, the less fit a component of a mechanical system." Ure, Philosophy of Manufactures, 3rd ed., p. 20; cf. ibid., p. 23. Cf. A.E. Musson, "Class Struggle and the labour aristocracy, 1830-60," Social History, 1, 3 (October 1976), 335-56.

398 Fraser, Trade Unions, p. 217.


400 On the anti-union practices of large engineering firms, see Musson, "Class Struggle," p. 352.

401 Hermann Schütter, The Brewing Industry and the Brewery Workers' Movement in America (Cincinnati: International Union of United Brewery Workmen of America, 1910), p. 95, confused this issue by supposing that industries characterized by a higher organic composition of capital employed fewer workers, who therefore found it difficult to conceive of themselves as a distinct class from their employers.

402 Harrison, Before the Socialists, p. 39.


404 Letter of October 17, 1889 to Laura Lafargue, ibid., XXXVII, 288; retranslated from the German translation of the English original.

405 "Foreword" to the 1892 ed. of The Condition of the Working-Class in England in 1844; cited according to MEW, XXII, 277-78.

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407 Engels' letter to Laura Lafargue of September 1, 1889, MEW, XXXVII, 268-69; Engels to Kautsky, September 15, 1889, ibid., p. 275.
408 Engels' letter to Sorge of April 19, 1890, ibid., p. 393.
409 Engels to Sorge, December 7, 1889, ibid., p. 321.
410 Engels to Sorge, April 19, 1890, ibid., pp. 393-94; Engels to Sorge, August 9-11, 1891, ibid., XXXVIII, 143.
411 Engels to Sorge, March 4, 1891, ibid., p. 46.
413 Engels did concede that racism and immigration policy had created a labor aristocracy among the white American-born workers that was consciously nurtured by the bourgeoisie in order to divide and conquer the working class. See Engels' letter of March 30, 1892 to Schlüter, MEW, XXXVIII, 313-14.
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1 Stefano Merli, Proletariato di fabbrica e capitalismo industriale. Il caso italiano: 1880-1900 (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1972), p. 21, overlooks this point in his critique of "pseudo-concepts" such as that of the labor aristocracy.

2 Paul Mattick's view according to which Engels' and Lenin's conceptions of the labor aristocracy referred to the aggregate working class--in the sense of a counterpart to aggregate capital as a magnitude of social class—is untenable; see Mattick's review of Karl Heinz Roth, Die "andere" Arbeiterbewegung, MS, 1975, passim.


4 See Lenin, Imperialism, kak noveishii etap kapitalizma, PSS, XXVII, 423.

5 Lenin, "Tselyi desiatok 'sotsialisticheskikh' ministrov," PSS, XXX, 194-95, derived the super-profits of Danish imperialism from the latter's monopoly of the London milk and meat product market.

6 Lenin characterized this as a secondary issue; see "Imperializm i raskol sotsializma," p. 174. Elsewhere he referred to direct and indirect methods without further analysis; see Imperialism, kak noveishii etap kapitalizma, p. 308.

7 Thus in 1914 Lenin hypothesized that higher pay and liberalism-opportunism were everywhere highly correlated with each other; see "Rabochii klass i rabochaia pechat,'" PSS, XXV, 230-31. Four years later he spoke of labor aristocrats as having "sold their right to socialist revolution in order to enter into a union with their capitalists against the huge majority of workers..." See "Zakluchitel'noe slovo po dokladu o tekshchem momente 28 iiunia," PSS, XXXVI, 483.


10 Foster, Class Struggle, pp. 212-13.


12 Lenin remarked in his Notebooks on Imperialism that workers in New Zealand had been bought by social reforms granted by the "imperialist bourgeoisie"; see Tetradi po imperialismu, PSS, XXVIII, 512.


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16 The example mentioned in the text is not meant to imply that so-called paternalistic relations inevitably obscure the consciousness of capitalist relations of production. As Eduard Bernstein, Die Voraussetzungen des Sozialismus und die Aufgaben der Sozialdemokratie (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1970 (1899)), p. 67 n., pointed out, the journeyman employed by a small master mason will know exactly how much labor, materials and other items cost his employer and how much the latter is charging his customer; in other words, surplus labor lies exposed.


18 See, for example, Gray, Labour Aristocracy, p. 145. It must be noted, however, that the capitalist class as represented by employers' organizations and the state has been known to support quasi-universal organization of a national working class. See Walter Galenson, The Danish System of Labor Relations (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1952). Within individual branches employers have often encouraged labor organizations as a means of subjecting competitors to uniform cost pressures. See Gordon W. Bertram and Sherman J. Maisel, Industrial Relations in the Construction Industry (Berkeley: University of California, 1955), pp. 26-27, 32-33, 40.

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7 Phyllis Deane, "New Estimates of Gross National Product for the United Kingdom," Review of Income and Wealth, Series 14, No. 2 (June 1968), Table 2 at p. 98.


11 Calculated according to data in Feinstein, National Income, Table 20 at pp. T 51-52. Cf. Porter, Progress, ed. Hirst, pp. 698-703.

12 Feinstein, National Income, Table 20 at pp. T 51-52; Phelps Brown, Century of Pay, Figure 17 at p. 123.

13 Feinstein, National Income, Table 18 at pp. T 44-45; "total income" includes net property income from abroad. Cf. Deane and Cole, British Economic Growth, Table 65 at p. 247; Phelps Brown, Century of Pay, Figure 20 at p. 135 and Appendix Table, not paginated (at pp. 444-45).
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14 For manufactured goods, see Werner Schlote, British Overseas Trade (Oxford: Blackwell, 1952 (1938)), Table 16 at pp. 152-54; for all exports, see Feinstein, National Income, Table 7 at p. T 21.


16 For an exception, see A. Sartorius Freiherr von Waltershausen, Das volkswirtschaftliche System der Kapitalanlage im Auslande (Berlin: Reimer, 1907), pp. 388-89.

17 For an exception, see the undocumented claim by Bernard Semmel, Imperialism and Social Reform (Garden City: Doubleday, 1968 (1960)), p. 13.

18 As late as 1891 Pope Leo XIII described the largest part of the people of "infimae sortis" as "in misera calamitosae fortuna indigne versentur." "Rerum novarum, par. 2. In England and Wales pauperism and vagrancy were on the rise during the quarter-century preceding the war. See Porter, Progress, ed. Hirst, pp. 67-83; W.H. Beveridge, Unemployment (new ed.; London: Longmans, 1930 (1909)), pp. 42-44, 443.


21 Source: Kuczynski, England von 1900 bis zur Gegenwart, p. 27.


23 Deane and Cole, British Economic Growth, Figure 7; Kondratieff, "Die langen Wellen," Fig. 1 at p. 579.


27 Landes, Prometheus, chap. 5.

28 Schlote, British Overseas Trade, Table 17 at pp. 154-55; John Clapham, An Economic History of Modern Britain. Machines and National rivalries (1887-1914) with an Epilogue (1914-1929) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968 (1938)), p. 3. Characteristically, the share of exports destined for the colonies rose; see Aldcroft and Richardson, British Economy, pp. 67-77.

29 For an overview, see S.B. Saul, "The Export Economy 1870-1914," Yorkshire Bulletin of Economic and Social Research, XVIII, 1 (May 1965),
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32 One of the ramifications of this pattern of investment was the retardation of monopolization in British industry; see Hermann Levy, *Monopole, Kartelle und Trusts* (Jena: Fischer, 1909).


37 Ibid., p. 425. This kind of argument is not stratum-specific; to the extent that rates of profit were equalized among branches, it is not even restricted to export industries.

38 Ibid., p. 425. The examples of Germany and the United States show that a rising national industrial bourgeoisie may also pursue anti-union policies.

39 Cf. the poem, "Capital and Labour," cited at the beginning of Part I above.

39 Further modifications in the censuses of 1901 and 1911 permitted the collection of information concerning those who worked at home.

40 "Industry" has been defined to include transport, construction, mining, gas, water and electricity supply and general laborers—that is, sectors VI and IX-XXII of the censuses of 1901 and 1911. Wherever "dealers" were enumerated separately, they have been eliminated from "industry."


42 In 1911, 70.2 per cent of female employers and 93.1 per cent of female self-employed were occupied in the clothing industry; calculated according to *Census, 1911*, Vol. X, Pt. 1, Table 3 at p. 23. The bulk of these women were in fact "dependent outworkers"; see Clapham, *Machines and National Rivalries*, p. 183; Porter, *Progress*, ed. Hirst, pp. 32-34. Cf. Report of the War Cabinet Committee on Women in Industry, Cnd. 135 (London: HMSO, 1919), pp. 8-28.

43 Calculated according to *Census, 1911*, Vol. X, Pt. 1, Table 27 at p. 552.


45 See the sources mentioned in n. 40.


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48 This category, which is not differentiated according to employee, employer and self-employed, includes dealers.


53 Calculated according to Census, 1911, Vol. X, Pt. I, Table 27 at pp. 552-57. The discussion in the text of employers and self-employed persons is based on the sources referred to in n. 40.

54 See also the discussion in chaps. 5, 8 and 9.


56 See Women in Industry, pp. 18-20.

57 See Bowley, Wages and Income, pp. 128-29. The linear interpolation and extrapolation for intercensal years carried out by E.H. Phelps Brown and P.E. Hart, "The Share of Wages in National Income," Economic Journal, LXII (June 1952), Table 1 at 276, is constructed on the basis of an uncritical acceptance of Bowley's categorization.


61 C. Wright Mills, White Collar (London: Oxford University Press, 1967 (1951)).


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66 The position of self-employed artisans was a contradictory one inasmuch as they were formally property owners, independent of employers, yet in their work routines resembled skilled semi-autonomous wage workers; the latter in turn occupied a contradictory position between capitalists and wage laborers in the class structure. Erik Olin Wright, Class, Crisis and the State (London: New Left Books, 1978), pp. 63, 82, 86, fails to analyze these two aspects as a whole.


68 The vast majority of girls were employed in textiles and clothing or as domestics.


71 Unless otherwise indicated, the discussion of the labor force is based on data previously cited in the text or derived from the sources mentioned in n. 40. The term "occupied population" excludes housewives.


73 British Labour Statistics, Table 196 at p. 395.

74 Clegg, Fox and Thompson, History, I, 469-70.


76 Census, 1901, Table XXXV at p. 187.

77 Ibid.

78 In 1901, 78.8 per cent of all women over the age of twenty-five were married or widowed; ibid.

79 On the reasons that motivated married women to work outside the home, see Women in Industry, p. 24. The labor force participation rate of married women varied widely from region to region and from town to town: it reached two-fifths in some towns with a heavy concentration of textile and clothing manufacturing plants. See Porter, Progress, ed. Hirst, pp. 34-35.

80 The proportion of men aged twenty-five to thirty-five engaged in occupations in 1901 was 98.3 per cent; Census, 1901, Table XI at p. 36.


83 Porter, Progress, ed. Hirst, p. 32.

84 Ibid., p. 30.

85 As early as 1871 cotton factories in England and Wales employed on the average 175 workers most of whom were women; see Factories and Workshops, P.P. 1871, Vol. LXII, p. 271.


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90 Weber, Growth, Table XIX at p. 47; Porter, Progress, ed. Hirst, p. 19.


93 Mitchell and Deane, Abstract, pp. 24-27.

94 Of the two remaining cities, Newcastle formed the center of the northern English industrial region; only Bristol lay outside the main manufacturing areas. See the map, reproduced from the census of 1851, at the end of the volume of Clapham, Free Trade and Steel; cf. T.W. Freeman, The Conurbations of Great Britain (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1959).

95 Calculated according to Mitchell and Deane, Abstract, pp. 24-27; Census, 1911, Vol. I, Table N at pp. xx-xxi and Table I at p. 1.


97 Webb, History of Trade Unionism, 1902 ed., pp. 411-14 and the map following p. 478. The allegedly "provincial and smalltown atmosphere of German prewar labor politics" may be traced in part to the lower degree of urbanization in Germany; in part, however, this claim is misleading since industrial workers and especially trade unionists were more heavily concentrated in the large cities than the population at large. See Barrington Moore, Jr., Injustice (White Plains: Sharpe, 1978), pp. 179-80; Statistik des Deutschen Reiches, Vol. 210, 2 (Berlin: Puttkammer & Muhlbrecht, 1910), passim; Wilhelm Heinz Schröder, Arbeitergeschichte und Arbeiterbewegung (Frankfurt/Main: Campus, 1978), pp. 38-40, 49-54; Georg Neumann, Die deutsche Volkswirtschaft und ihre Wandlungen im letzten Vierteljahrhundert, II (M. Gladbach: Volksverein, 1913), 253-61; Dieter Groh, Negative Integration und revolutionärer Attentismus (Frankfurt/Main: Ullstein, 1973), pp. 272-85. On England, see Census, 1911, Vol. I, Table L at p. xvii; Vol. X, Pt. I, Table L at p. cxxxii.


99 See Karl Marx, Das Kapital, III, MEW, XXV, 399-400.

100 See chap. 8 below.

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102 Report of an Inquiry by the Board of Trade into the Earnings and Hours of Labour of Workpeople of the United Kingdom, conducted in 1906-1907 and published between 1909 and 1913; see n. 250.

103 Routh, Occupation, p. 27.

104 Women accounted for a very small share of such workers; ibid., Table 1 at p. 4.

105 Ibid., Table 11 at p. 28. Routh's data have been adjusted to exclude Scotland.

106 Ibid., Table 2 at p. 7.


108 Routh, Occupation, Table 11 at p. 28.

109 Cf. chap. 8 sect. D.4 below.


111 In the United States this point coincided with the appearance of unused capacity during the depression of the 1870s; see Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., The Visible Hand (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1978 (1977)), p. 272.

112 Ibid., p. 281.


114 Chandler, Visible Hand, pp. 274-75.


116 Ibid., pp. 98-99.


118 Booth, ed., Labour and Life of the People, I, 53.

119 Taylor, Shop Management, p. 105.


121 Wright, Class, Crisis and State, p. 78.


123 This organizational change both reflected and fostered a higher degree of "real subsumption" of labor under capital; see Karl Marx, Resultate des unmittelbaren Produktionsprozesses (Frankfurt/Main: Neue Kritik, 1970), passim.

124 Calculated according to data in British Labour Statistics, Table 196 at p. 395. The entire increase took place during the years 1895-1900, 1905-1907 and 1910-1913.


126 Cf. Webb, History of Trade Unionism, 1902 ed., p. 411; Clegg, Fox and Thompson, History, I, 466-67. The figures mentioned in the text have been adjusted to exclude nonindustrial trade unionists as well as members in Ireland and Scotland.
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128 Clegg, Fox and Thompson, History, Table VI at I, 468.


131 Census of England and Wales, 1911, Vol. IX: Birthplaces of Persons Enumerated..., P.P. 1913, Vol. LXXVIII, Cd. 7017 (London: HMSO, 1913), Table II at p. v. In 1861 the corresponding figure was 95.3 per cent. Strictly speaking, these data relate to the relative decline in immigrants and do not preclude the possibility, for example, that previous Irish immigrants reproduced more rapidly than non-immigrants; it is unlikely that such an increase compensated for the very large absolute decline in the number of immigrants.

132 Ibid. and ibid., Table I at p. iv; Porter, Progress, ed. Hirst, Table XIV at p. 16.

133 Census, 1911, Vol. IX, Table XI at p. xvi.

134 Ibid.


136 Perry Anderson, "Origin of the present crisis," New Left Review, No. 23, January-February 1964, p. 35, argues that English outmigration to British colonies functioned, by draining off many independent working class elements, as a more important safety valve than colonial super-profits inasmuch as it deflected the working class from confronting capitalism. Although this may have been the case, the mechanism was not peculiar to British colonialism since it applied to German emigration to the United States as well. Moreover, three-quarters of English emigrants were destined for the United States and not for the British Empire; see R.C.K. Ensor, England 1870-1914 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1936), p. 271.


139 A sharp decline in the number of those receiving relief followed in the wake of the introduction of old age pensions in 1908: see Statistical Abstract for the United Kingdom... From 1901 to 1915, p. 407 n.

140 Porter, Progress, ed. Hirst, Table V at p. 70.

141 Excluding casuals and the insane.

142 Porter, Progress, ed. Hirst, p. 74, notes that the total yearly pauperism of 1,709,436 in 1906 was almost one-half million greater than the figure for 1844.

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144 Beveridge, Unemployment, pp. 71-75, 143-49.
145 Porter, Progress, ed. Hirst, Table XV at p. 81.
146 Ibid., Table XI at p. 76.
149 See chap. 5 sect A above.
150 Routh Occupation, pp. 28-38, does not describe the procedures he used to arrive at his analysis of manual workers into skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled for the period under review.
152 Ibid., p. cxxii.
153 See, for example. G.T. Jones, Increasing Return (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1933), pp. 84-85, on building tradesmen.
155 These manual industrial occupations have been selected according to descriptive criteria contained in various studies of individual trades alluded to in the notes.
156 Sources: Calculated according to data in: Census, 1891, Vol. IV, Table 5 at pp. xii-xxv; Census, 1911, Vol. X, Pt. I, Table 3 at pp. 15-25.
157 This rubric, which includes many unskilled workers, functions as a substitute for the occupation of ironfounding, for which no separate returns were made in 1891. For 1911 this rubric includes all iron and steel manufacturing workers, ironfounders (excluding foundry laborers), stove grate and bedstead makers and iron workers undefined.
158 Includes metal machinists, patternmakers, workers in textile machinery fittings and others.
159 This category includes palters, riveters, painters and others, a small proportion of whom worked on wooden ships.
160 Includes French polishers.
161 Includes furniture dealers.
162 Includes railway coach/wagon makers.
163 Includes sheet, plate, bottle and other glassmakers.
164 Excludes straw hatmakers.
165 Includes other instruments.
166 Includes dealers.
167 Source: Table 15.
168 See Table 9 above.
169 By 1911, two-thirds of these employees were working on railway coaches.
170 If blacksmiths are transferred from the metal to the traditional trades, the growth of the former rises to 54.2 per cent whereas that of the latter declines to 8.3 per cent.
171 This exclusion refers to carpenters, bricklayers, masons, plasterers, erectors, shipwrights, machinists and iron and steel manufacture workers.
172 Calculated according to data in Labour Statistics. Returns of Wages published between 1830 and 1886, pp. 356, 359, 361, 373-74, 386.
174 Clapham, Machines and National Rivalries, p. 324.
175 A Working Man, Working Men and Women (London: Tinsley, 1879), p. 108. A decade prior to the period under review this anonymous author--whose
work resembles that of Thomas Wright—concluded that the skilled were able to fix the work "of slogging, fetching, hauling, pulling" as "the very highest verge to which the harder manual work can be carried without giving those doing it a too great insight into the trade...." Ibid. The fact that men without formal technical training or "detail mastery" of the "minutiae" of a trade increasingly could enter the lower ends of the various skilled building trades indicated that neither machine-age nor pre-industrial skills were being imparted. See Thorstein Veblen, The Instinct of Workmanship (New York: Norton, 1964 (1914)), pp. 307-308. Cf. Charles Booth, ed. Life and Labour of the People in London (9 vols.; London: Macmillan, 1892-1897), V, 100-105.


179 Eighteen traditional trades result from the transfer of cabinetmaking to the retail and engineering trades and the transfer of blacksmiths, cutlers, millwrights and wheelwrights to those practicing traditional trades. According to this classification, the number of traditionally skilled rose by 42,434 from 1891 to 1911.

195 Source: Table 15 above.
197 Ibid., VII, 334-49; Clegg, Fox and Thompson, History, I, 32.
200 See however ibid., Q. 20,531 at p. 27.
201 Ibid., QQ. 20,676-21,154 at pp. 33-62.
203 Brandt, Gewerkschaftliche Interessenvertretung, pp. 52-62.
204 Ibid., pp. 62-63. For a comparison with the situation in the 1870s, see Williams, "Iron" and "Steel," pp. 1-76; G. Phillips Bevan, The Industrial Classes and Industrial Statistics (London: Stanford, 1876), pp. 40, 45.
205 The discussion of the rise of the semi-skilled is resumed below.
206 On the poor quality of employment data in the iron and steel industry, see Brandt, Gewerkschaftliche Interessenvertretung, pp. 48-49, 407 n. 19. Tin plate workers should be included among the skilled, but definitional changes between 1891 and 1911 precluded comparability.
211 Jefferys, Story of the Engineers, p. 124.
214 Jefferys, Story of the Engineers, p. 207, estimates that in 1914 sixty per cent of engineers were skilled with the remainder equally divided between the semi-skilled and the unskilled.
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218 E. Llewelyn Lewis, The Children of the Unskilled (London: King, 1924), p.xv. This criterion must be distinguished from that which defines skill according to whether it enables its possessor to produce a whole product; see Anna Bezanson, "Skill," Quarterly Journal of Economics, XXXVI (1922), 626-45.

219 Rowe, Wages, p. 157; Clegg, Fox and Thompson, History, I, 429.


222 Dahrendorf, Class, pp. 49-51.


224 It would, moreover, be necessary to determine whether semi-skilled positions were situated closer to skilled or unskilled ones.

225 E.g., in boot and shoemaking; see David F. Schloss, "Bootmaking," Labour and Life of the People, ed. Booth, I, 241-308.

226 Margo Anderson Conk, "Occupational Classification in the United States Census: 1870-1940," Journal of Interdisciplinary History, IX, 1 (Summer 1978), 111-30, correctly criticizes Alba Edwards for having created a tautological American occupational schema by having introduced social criteria (such as sex, wage-level, age, etc.) into his definition of the skill structure instead of having derived social criteria from that structure. Although Edwards' procedure was clearly inferior to one based on a trade by trade analysis of technological developments, there can be no doubt that traditionally the correlation between wage-level, sex and age on the hand and skill-level on the other was so highly positive that it functioned as an adequate indicator in the absence of hundreds of detailed industrial surveys. Cf. Women in Industry, pp. 21-22.

227 Calculated according to data in Census, 1891, Table 5 at IV, xiv; Census, 1911, Table 3 at X: I, 16.

228 Calculated according to data in Census, 1891, Table 5 at IV, xii, xxiii; Census, 1911, Table 3 at X: I, 14, 24. Cf. Hobsbawm, Labouring Men, pp. 185-271.

229 Booth, ed., Life and Labour, VI, 100-102.


231 Changes in census classifications make precise temporal comparisons impossible.

232 As a result of the growth of occupations requiring physical strength, men may have come to constitute a greater proportion of the unskilled.

233 See, however, Lewis, Children of the Unskilled, passim; S.J. Chapman and W. Abbott, "The Tendency of Children to Enter their Fathers'
Notes to Chapter 7

234 The fact that the proportion of skilled workers above the age of fifty-five rose from 1891 to 1911 is consistent with this reasoning, but a similar phenomenon also occurred among the unskilled. See Census, 1891, Table V at IV, x-xxv; Census, 1911, Table 3 at X: T, 14-25.


236 Dahrendorf, Class, pp. 50-51, overlooks this possibility in his critique of Marx.


238 The field of most intense conflict between the skilled and the semi-skilled embraced the industries of advanced mechanization which were also largely those of the greatest concentration of capital and labor. Significantly, the most concerted radical labor offensive of the period, the so-called triple Alliance of unions representing miners, railway workers and transportation workers, was based in industries dominated by the semi-skilled and unskilled without any tradition of formal or informal subordination or subservience to a stratum of highly skilled workers.

239 H.F. Moorhouse, "The Marxist Theory of the Labour Aristocracy," Social History, III, 1 (January 1978), 63, levels the charge of "naive economic determinism" at Hobsbawm because the latter relied on wage rates in his study of the labor aristocracy. Yet Hobsbawm did not set himself the task of theorizing about the labor aristocracy but rather, taking as his point of departure a modified Leninist version, of providing an empirical survey of material traits. In this respect he broke ground. See chap. 1 above.

240 See, e.g., Routh, Occupation, p. 96 n. 1. Routh fails to mention that this caveat applies to other tables as well.


244 The report of 1906 covered about 3,000,000 altogether, or about five times as many as surveyed in 1886.

245 Bowley, Wages and Income, p. 42.

246 Agricultural laborers were surveyed in 1907, but the report was constructed along different lines so that its results cannot be integrated into the aggregate data; see P.P. 1910, Cd. 5460.


248 Bowley, Wages and Income, pp. 48-49; cf. ibid., p. 41.

249 Twenty shillings, the lower limit in Table 18, constituted the weekly income of the "poor"—that is, "those whose means may be sufficient, but are barely sufficient, for decent independent life...." Labour and Life of the People, ed. Booth, I, 33. At the other extreme, forty shillings approximated the average weekly income of clerical workers. See Routh, Occupation, Table 37 at p. 79 and Table 47 at p. 104; Cannan et al., "Amount and Distribution," p. 66.
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251 The turning point is thirty shillings.

252 See Bowley, Wages and Income, Table VII at p. 30.

253 Source: ibid., p. 42; the percentages of the median were published in British Labour Statistics, Table 79 at p. 156.

254 Bowley, Wages and Income, pp. 41-42.

255 Ibid., pp. 46-47. Cf. W.D. Mackenzie, "Changes in the Standard of Living in the United Kingdom, 1860-1914," Economica, N.S., I, 3 (October, 1921), 211-30. The shift alluded to in the text is revealed even more dramatically when the absolute diminution in the number of agricultural laborers is taken into consideration.

256 The implied relative decline of the unskilled contradicts the findings, based on occupational data, summarized in sect. B.2 above.

257 The very high shares of low-paid men and very low shares of high-paid men recorded in 1886 in branches characterized by a relatively high wage-level—e.g., shipbuilding, engineering and iron and steel manufacture—suggest that part of the difference between the results of 1886 and 1906 is attributable to non-real factors. See Wages.—General Report, p. xiv; Labour Statistics. Returns of Wages published between 1830 and 1886, pp. 210, 219. That 1886 was a year of depression and 1906 one of prosperity also contributed to the discrepancy. See Thorp, Business Annals, pp. 170, 174; Hobsbawm, Labouring Men, p. 331 n. *.

258 These rubrics include boys and girls, who earned about two-thirds and one-half respectively of the adult female wage level. See Wages.—General Report, pp. xxxii, 476; Routh, Occupation, Table 27 at p. 57; Bowley, Wages and Income, Table X at p. 50.

259 Jürgen Kuczynski, Die Entwicklung der Lage der Arbeiterchaft in Europa und Amerika 1870-1933 (Basel: Philographischer Verlag, 1934), pp. 121-13; idem, England von 1832 bis 1900, pp. 200-201; idem, England von 1900 bis zur Gegenwart, p. 28, presents data purporting to capture the differential movements of real wages of the labor aristocracy and the "great mass of workers." The validity of the data is vitiated by Kuczynski's arbitrary definitional operations which transform the composition of the two sectors over time. He thus renders it impossible to trace the pattern of intra-working class income distribution as experienced by real individuals as opposed to statistical groupings. Cf. the objections raised by A. Fogarasi, "Lenins Lehre von der Arbeiteraristokratie und ihre Anwendung auf Fragen der Gegenwart," Unter dem Banner des Marxismus, IX, 4 (November 1935), 352-53.


261 Charles Booth, ed., Labour and Life of the People, Vol. II: London Continued (London: Williams & Norgate, 1891), pp. 20-24. The "middle class and above" have been excluded and the institutionalized population
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has been reapporitioned in accordance with Booth's guidelines; ibid., p. 23.

262 Calculated according to ibid., I, Table I (pp. 34-35). 51. Booth's classes 1-19 have been used as the best approximation of the industrial proletariat. The data include Hackney.

263 Booth, ed. Life and Labour, IX, 371-72.

264 Calculated according to Bowley, Wages and Income, p. 44.


268 Source: "Memorandum on the Consumption and Cost of Food in Workmen's Families," British and Foreign Trade and Industry (Second Series). Second Series of Memoranda, Statistical Tables and Charts, prepared by the Board of Trade, P.P. 1905, Vol. LXXXIV, Cd. 2337, p. 5 and chart facing p. 3. The distribution of returns among income groups was not representative of the working class population at large because the response rate to the questionnaires was higher among the better paid; ibid., p. 4. The total sample included 1,944 families.

269 Except for milk which was measured in pints.

270 The inquiry did not collect data on the consumption of alcohol and tobacco.

271 These data on meat exclude sheep's heads, tripe, heart, liver, pig's fry, tinned meats and rabbits.

272 The data have been converted to American measures, the British pint being equivalent to twenty fluid ounces.

273 Thompson, Edwardians, passim. On the considerably higher levels of consumption among contemporary American workers, see Cost of Living in American Towns, P.P. 1911, Vol. LXXXVIII, Cd. 5609, pp. lxxv-lxix.

274 Source: Calculated according to data in Routh, Occupation, Table 47 at p. 104. Routh's data for manual employees are extrapolations from the survey of 1906; ibid., p. 103. The data on clerks' wages stem from a survey taken in 1910 and are apparently not adjusted for the passage of time; ibid., p. 78. The annual data for manual workers are merely the arithmetic product of the weekly average wage and fifty-two weeks; ibid., p. 96 n. 1, 167-68. Employers and proprietors are not covered by the data.

275 Women's earnings were roughly half those of men at every level; ibid., p. 105.

276 Ibid., p. 167, estimates that the unemployment rate among the unskilled was almost four times greater than among the skilled.

277 See Condition of the Working Classes. Tabulation of the Statements made by Men Living in Certain Selected Districts of London in March 1887, P.P. 1887, Vol. LXXI, C. 5228 (London: HMSO, 1887), Table D at p. 316, which indicates that clerks earning 29s. 7d. weekly could afford to pay rent of 7s. 5d. whereas carpenters, masons and bricklayers earning about thirty-one shillings paid less than seven shillings weekly in rent. Even if clerks' rental expenditures were dictated solely by the status requirements of residing in certain neighborhoods—and were made possible by scrimping on other outlays--, the resultant geographic and status segregation from the working class underscored the gap between skilled manual workers and the lower non-manual salariat.
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278 Other income losses, discussed below, may be assumed to have been
greater among the skilled than among clerks.
279 Beveridge, Unemployment, Table XIV at p. 74 and pp. 140-41.
280 Ibid., pp. 71-75.
282 Cannan et al., "Amount and Distribution," p. 66; Routh, Occupation,
Table 37 at p. 79.
283 Enquiry... Building and Woodworking Trades in 1906, pp. 24-27;
284 Routh, Occupation, Table 47 at p. 104 and Table 48 at p. 107, provides
some insight into the subsequent compression of the earnings hierarchy.
285 See however Feinstein, National Income, Table 1 at p. 167 and Table 18
at pp. 44-45.
286 Booth, ed., Labour and Life of the People, I, 156-71.
287 Source: Calculated according to ibid., Table I (pp. 34-35). Although
Booth's data were based on weekly incomes, Booth incorporated regularity
of earnings into his classificatory scheme. The data refer to Hackney
as well.
288 The "well-to-do" encompassed the "Lower Middle Class" and the "Upper
Middle Class"; ibid., p. 60.
289 This proportion varied from 2.1 per cent in food preparation to 22.5
per cent among sundry artisans.
290 This overlap was smaller in the more affluent parts of London: See
Booth, ed., Labour and Life of the People, II, 18-43.
291 See n. 250 for sources; 309,530 or 16.2 per cent of the total of
1,907,973 men covered earned less than twenty shillings.
292 The report of 1906 covered approximately two-fifths of the workers
employed in the branches surveyed; this estimate is based on the census
returns of 1901 and 1911 and preliminary reports on the earnings survey
published in Board of Trade Labour Gazette, XVII, 4 (April 1909), 111;
XVII, 9 (September 1909), 291; XVIII, 4 (April 1910), 117; XIX, 9
(September 1911), 328. If this coverage was representative, the number
earning more than forty shillings weekly was about 680,000 for these
trades. Half of the remaining gap between the number employed in these
trades and that included in the male industrial proletariat is accounted
for by miners, who, to be sure, received high wages, but whose working
and living conditions assigned them to the sphere of the negatively
privileged. See Routh, Occupation, p. 86. A large part of the remaining
difference is attributable to laborers, virtually none of whom earned
more than two pounds weekly. The total of 900,000 mentioned in the
text should, then, be regarded as an exaggerated upper limit.
293 Routh, Occupation, p. 167.
295 Unions of the most highly skilled workers paid ten to fourteen shillings
weekly; see Board of Trade (Labour Department), Report by the Chief
Labour Correspondent of the Board of Trade on Trade Unions in 1899
with Comparative Statistics for 1892-1898, Cd. 422 (London: HMSO,
1900), pp. 240-51.
296 Based on Routh, Occupation, Table 24 at pp. 52-53.
297 See the sources mentioned in n. 255.
298 Routh, Occupation, Table 32 at p. 68, Table 33 at p. 69 and Table 47
at p. 104.
299 K.G.J.C. Knowles and D.J. Robertson, "Differences between the Wages
of Skilled and Unskilled Workers, 1880-1950," Bulletin of Oxford Uni-
Notes to Chapter 7

300 Jones, Increasing Return, pp. 262-63. A major exception was Belfast, where in the 1890s, for example, bricklayers' wage rates were 2.25 times as great as those of their laborers on account of the latter's extraordinarily low level. The fact that Protestants were overrepresented in the skilled trades while Catholics were overrepresented in unskilled jobs contributed to this most explicit instance of a religion-mediated labor aristocracy in the United Kingdom—albeit outside England. See Geoffrey Bell, The Protestants of Ulster (London: Pluto, 1976), pp. 16-23; Michael Farrell, Northern Ireland: The Orange State (London: Pluto, 1976), p. 16.

301 Rowe, Wages, pp. 42-49.


303 The data were not analyzed by occupation within these branches in the published materials.

304 Source: Calculated according to the data in the sources mentioned in n. 250. The branches are ranked according to the percentage of full-time men earning forty shillings or more. The published data on railway employees do not distinguish between full-time and other schedules.

305 Source: Calculated according to data in Enquiry... Textile Trades in 1906, p. xvi; Enquiry... Clothing Trades in 1906, p. 4.

306 Wages.--General Report, p. 475. One-quarter of the approximately 1,400 women who in 1906 were classified as fitters or cutters, "living out" and receiving time wages in workshops earned at least forty shillings weekly while 6.7 per cent earned in excess of sixty shillings; Enquiry... Clothing Trades in 1906, p. 41.

307 Less upward shifting was recorded among children. See Enquiry... Textile Trades in 1906, pp. 6-7; Wages.--General Report, pp. 472-75.

308 See British Labour Statistics, Table 36 at pp. 94-95; Bowley, Wages and Income, Table XI at p. 51.

309 This disparity was compressed somewhat among all men since the large number of short-time workers with low earnings shifted the distribution downward.

310 For full-time men the Spearman rank correlation is -0.72.


312 Brandt, Gewerkschaftliche Interessenvertretung, pp. 63-72, 121-33, 241-54.

313 See the convenient synopsis in Clegg, Fox and Thompson, History, I, 480-82.

314 Bowley, Wages and Income, Table X at p. 50. Cf. Enquiry... Agriculture in 1907, p. xii; Clapham, Machines and National Rivalries, pp. 97-100. The wage data include the value of room and board.

315 Sources: British Labour Statistics, Table 36 at pp. 94-95; Bowley, Wages and Income, p. 42. The aggregate distributive shares were calculated on the basis of the data in the Earnings Enquiry. The average for Food/drink/tobacco was taken from Clegg, Fox and Thompson, History, I, 482. The men earning sixty shillings and above are included among those earning forty shillings and above.

316 13.2 per cent and 10.6 per cent earned forty shillings or more and less than twenty shillings respectively. Cf. Enquiry... Clothing Trades in 1906, p. 152.
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317 The exclusion of women, children and discriminated ethnic and racial minorities is crucial to the validity of this proposition.

318 These data refer to all men—not merely to those working full-time; see Enquiry... Metals in 1906, pp. 118-19, 121; Enquiry... Textile Trades in 1906, pp. 60-61, 181.


320 Calculated according to the data in Table 19 above.

321 Enquiry... Textile Trades in 1906, pp. 26-27. See however Enquiry... Metals... in 1906, p. 34.

322 Towns of more than 100,000 inhabitants were defined as "large." See Enquiry... Building and Woodworking Trades in 1906, pp. 19-20; cf. ibid., pp. 47-48, on bricklayers.

323 It may have been a peculiarity of the building trades that the differential between large and small towns was greater for unskilled than for skilled labor; this circumstance may have been due to the fact that unskilled building labor was not far removed in nature from the work agricultural laborers were accustomed to performing. Such labor was in surplus not only in non-harvest periods. See ibid., pp. 24-27; Weber, Cities, p. 41. Cf. Eric Hopkins, "Small Town Aristocrats of Labour and their Standard of Living, 1840-1914," Economic History Review, Second Series, XXVIII, 2 (May 1975), 222-42.

324 Regularity must be distinguished from representativeness.


326 British Labour Statistics, Table 159 at p. 305 and Table 196 at p. 395.


328 Beveridge, Unemployment, pp. 19-23; idem, Full Employment, pp. 43-44; Royal Commission on the Poor Law, Report, pp. 1131-78.

329 Mitchell and Deane, Abstract, pp. 64-65.

330 Beveridge, Unemployment, pp. 263-72.

331 Calculated according to British Labour Statistics, Table 159 at p. 305 and Table 160 at p. 306.

332 See however Beveridge, Unemployment, p. 21.

333 Ibid., pp. 162-91, especially Table XXVII at p. 168.

334 Booth, ed., Life and Labour, IX, 374-79.

335 Beveridge, Unemployment, p. 267. The benefit could be received for up to fifteen weeks annually.

336 Report by the Chief Labour Correspondent... 1899, pp. 240-49.

337 Clapham, Machines and National Rivalries, pp. 504-507; A Working Man, Working Men and Women, pp. 36-37; J.M. Baernreither, Die englischen Arbeiterverbände und ihr Recht, I (Tübingen: Verlag der Laupp'schen Buchhandlung, 1886), passim.

338 Acceptance of public assistance, which was designed to keep the recipient below the level of "the lowest class" of laborer, brought disfranchisement with it. See Royal Commission on the Poor Law, Report, passim; Sidney and Beatrice Webb, English Poor Law Policy (London: Longmans, Green, 1910), passim; Beveridge, Unemployment, pp. 150-62.
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342 A private pension amounting to approximately eight shillings weekly qualified a pensioner for the full state pension.

343 Baernreither, Die englischen Arbeiterverbände, I, 385-93.

344 Halévy, History, VI, 352-58.

345 Ibid., pp. 99-102; idem, ibid., V, 232-33, 237. Therefore only members of unions or friendly societies could be compensated indirectly.

346 This differential also applied to losses owing to strikes. Cf. Kerr, Labor and Management, pp. 105-47.

347 Source: Census, 1911, X: I, Table XLIV at cxxv. Navy and army officers were excluded in both years, clergymen and doctors in 1901. The data on females have been deleted since spurious reporting grossly undercounted the number of retired females; ibid., p. cxxv.

348 The share of unoccupied men over the age of sixty-five had also risen between 1891 and 1901; see Beveridge, Unemployment, p. 121; Census, 1891, Vol. IV, Table 5 at pp. x-xxv.

349 Cf. Beveridge, Unemployment, pp. 121-23.


351 Source: Census, 1911, X: I, cxxv and Table XLV at cxxvi. Laborers are included among the fitters, turners and erectors; laborers, plateayers, clerks and officials are not included among the railway servants.

352 Cf. Hobsbawm, Labouring Men, pp. 333-34.

353 Significantly, the more modern trade of plumbing showed one of the lowest rates.

354 Dearie, Problems of Unemployment, passim.

355 This factor may also have contributed to the low rates among miners. See Kerr, Labor and Management, p. 109; John Foster, Class Struggle and the Industrial Revolution (London: Methuen, 1977 (1974)), passim.

356 Census, 1911, X: I, cxxv.

357 As an American worker described the situation in the United States prior to the introduction of old age pensions within the national social security system: "Back in those days, the word retirement really wasn't part of our vocabulary." Wall Street Journal, November 26, 1979, p. 21 col. 2.


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361 Ibid., VI, 210-11.
363 Cf. the caveats in W.S. Woytinsky and E.S. Woytinsky, World Population and Production (New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1963), pp. 177-79.
364 This age-group is used because males born in the latter half of the nineteenth century who reached their twentieth year had, on the average, a life expectancy falling within this range. See Annuaire statistique, Vol. 38-1922, p. 203*.
365 Calculated according to Supplement to the Fifty-Fifth Annual Report of the Registrar-General, Pt. II, pp. cxx-cxxvii.
366 E.g., filemakers and leadmakers; ibid., pp. cxxvi-cxxvii.
369 Ibid., Table 28A at pp. 78, 80.
370 Ibid., Table 28A at p. 77.
373 See, for example, British Labour Statistics, Tables 2 and 3 at pp. 30-33. For a counter-example from mining, see Clegg, Fox and Thompson, History, I, 104-105.
374 Brandt, Gewerbliche Interessenvertretung, pp. 115-18, 232-37, also documents the gradual reduction.
375 Booth, ed., Life and Labour, IX, 298-311.
376 Ibid.; Clapham, Machines and National Rivalries, pp. 477-79.
377 In addition to the sources mentioned in the two-preceding notes, see Hans von Nostitz, Das Aufsteigen des Arbeiterstandes in England (Jena: Fischer, 1900), p. 499; Gustav Steffen, Studier öfver lönssystemets historia i England, Second Part (Stockholm, Lorenska Stiftelsen, 1899), Table XXXVIII at pp. 483-86.
380 Booth, ed., Life and Labour, Vol. IX, Table I at p. 8, Table II at p. 10 and Table III at p. 16.
381 A.L. Bowley, "Earners and Dependents in English Towns in 1911," Economica, I (1921), 101-12. The data were derived from a special tabulation of unpublished census data.
382
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382 Calculated according to ibid., Table V at p. 107 and Table VI at p. 108. Households without an adult male worker have been excluded.


384 Bowley, "Earners," Table IV at p. 106.


387 The last claim cannot be documented without the kind of analysis of local labor contracts that falls outside the framework of the present work.

388 Hobsbawm, Labouring Men, p. 336, estimates that fifteen per cent of the working class were labor aristocrats. Cf. Th. Rothstein, "Das proletarische Elend in England und Deutschland," Die Neue Zeit, XXVII, I (1908-1909), 326. For a recent restatement of the criteria for excluding certain high-paid workers from a labor aristocracy, see John H. Goldthorpe et al., The Affluent Worker in the Class Structure (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), p. 34.


390 Men earning three pounds weekly would have ranked above clerical employees and foremen and alongside lower professionals among the upper three per cent of all earned income recipients. See Routh, Occupation, Table 47 at p. 104 and Table 24 at p. 52. If only 1.7 per cent of males covered by the Earnings Enquiry of 1906 attained this level, a very small proportion earned three pounds week-in week-out. A considerable number of these men were subcontractors in the iron and steel industry, who only with some conceptual violence may be included in the working class. "Superaristocrats" were also employed in printing, engineering, boilermaking, shipbuilding, cotton manufacture and on the railways.


394 Giddens, Class Structure, p. 107.

395 This segregation extended to the residential sphere as well; see Crossick, Artisan Elite, pp. 144-45, 248-50; Booth, ed., Labour and Life of the People, II, passim.


398 Nostitz, Aufsteigen des Arbeiterstandes, p. 770.


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402 Royal Commission on Labour, Minutes of Evidence... before Group "A" Vol. III, Q. 20,804 at p. 44.

403 Ibid., Q. 20,801 at p. 44.

404 Ibid., QQ. 20,808-20,810 at p. 44.


410 Hobsbawm, Labouring Men, pp. 349-51.

411 Crossick, "Emergence of the Lower Middle Class," pp. 12-13, 48-49.


413 Meacham, Life Apart, pp. 26, 143, superimposes contradictions of thought on real ones by denying on the one hand that threats to skills and wages might have persuaded labor aristocrats to join with other workers and yet admitting on the other hand that the same "threat...compelled them to rethink their situation and their strategies."


415 A Working Man, Working Men and Women, p. 113.


418 T.J. Dunning, Trades' Union and Strikes (2nd ed.; London: Consolidated Society of Bookbinders, 1873 (1860)), p. 51. The reference was to an incident involving a mason in 1841.

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422 Women in industry, p. 85.
423 On the parallel situation in the United States, see n. 101 above.
425 Wright, Class, Crisis and the State, pp. 79-83, loses sight of the complexity of this contradiction by virtue of excluding semi-autonomous manual workers from his typology of "contradictory locations between the petty bourgeoisie and the proletariat." At the other extreme, the sociohistorical specificity of the relationship between the skilled and unskilled proletarian is effaced by subsuming the medieval journeyman under the rubric of labor aristocrat. See, e.g., Karl A. Wittfogel, Geschichte der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft (Berlin: Malik, n.d. (1924)), p. 97; cf. however Douglas Knoop and G.P. Jones, The Mediaeval Mason (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1933), pp. 4, 94; idem, "The rise of the Mason Contractor," Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects, Third Series, Vol. 43, No. 20 (October 17, 1936), p. 1061; Fritz Paeplow, Bauarbeit, Bauarbeiter und Bauarbeiterorganisationen im Altertum, im Mittelalter und in der Jetztzeit, Part I (n.p.: Deutscher Baugewerksbund, 1929), p. 75.
426 Taylor, Shop Management, pp. 56-57.
429 Royal Commission on Labour, Minutes of Evidence... before Group "A," Vol. III, QQ. 20,801-20,802 at p. 44.
433 Brandt, Gewerkschaftliche Interessenvertretung, pp. 121-33.
434 Ibid., pp. 243-54.
435 Symbolized by the results of the dispute and strike at Haward Bridge in 1909-1910; ibid., pp. 347-71.
436 Ibid., pp. 128, 393.
437 Even the most sophisticated Leninist authors, such as Foster, accept some form of this basic dogma; for an egregious example, see H.W. Edwards, Labor Aristocracy: Mass Base of Social Democracy (Stockholm: Aurora, 1978).
439 See Hobsbawn, Labouring Men, p. 353.
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441 Schloss, Methods of Industrial Remuneration, pp. 169-226.

442 Most commonly they were semi-autonomous workers and de facto foremen as well as wage workers.

443 A Contractor, "Communications on the Strike," The Builder, XVII, 862 (August 13, 1859), 530.


447 Clegg, Fox and Thompson, History, I, 132, 457.


450 Mortimer, History of the Boilermakers' Society, I, 109. On the more progressive position of the Steel Smelters, see Brandt, Gewerkschaftliche Interessenvertretung, pp. 282-85.


452 Royal Commission on Labour, Minutes of Evidence... before Group "A," Vol. III, Q. 20,531 at p. 27, Q. 20,805 at p. 44.

453 In 1899, the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners collected more than three pounds in fees and dues from new members compared to less than two pounds collected by the Navvies', Bricklayers' Labourers' and General Labourers' Union; calculated according to data in Report by the Chief Labour Correspondent... 1899, pp. 242, 246. Other unions, such as the Engineers, exacted even higher fees; ibid., pp. 240-99.

454 The Cotton Spinners were particularly protective of their traditions; Clegg, Fox and Thompson, History, I, 112. The Steel Smelters proved to be unusually adaptive; Brandt, Gewerkschaftliche Interessenvertretung, p. 390, explains this development in part by reference to the origins of the labor aristocrats in the steel union: not only were they recruited from the ranks of the unskilled, they were also subject to discrimination on the part of the traditional labor aristocrats in the iron industry.

455 Eric Hobsbawm, in his review of Pelling, Popular Politics, in Society for the Study of Labour History Bulletin, No. 18, Spring 1969, p. 53, denies that between the Chartist period and World War I the labor aristocracy envisaged "anything except the improvement of labour's conditions within and as part of British liberal capitalism." The crux is whether labor aristocrats differed radically from non-aristocrats in this regard.
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456 See chap. 5 sect. H above.
458 Hobsbawm, Labouring Men, p. 225.
459 Ibid., p. 217.
460 Ibid., p. 224.
462 Clegg, Fox and Thompson, History, I, 54.
467 Pelling, Origins of the Labour Party, p. 199. Cf. Poirier, Advent of the British Labour Party, pp. 139-40; Hobsbawm, Labouring Men, p. 341. It is noteworthy that the unions of the semi-skilled, such as the Cotton Spinners and Miners, which had succeeded in obtaining the "ponderable and imponderable perquisites of the 'aristocrat of labour'" by assimilating their "position to that of the 'craftsman'," were among the last to affiliate. See ibid., p. 216; Poirier, Advent of the British Labour Party, pp. 140-42. See R. Page Arnot, The Miners. A History of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain 1884-1910 (London: Allen & Unwin, 1949), passim. S.J. Chapman, "Some Policies of the Cotton Spinners' Trade Unions," Economic Journal, X (December 1900), 467-73, noted that piecers acquiesced in the spinners' domination because they aspired to the latter's position. Clegg, Fox and Thompson, History, I, 297, characterize socialist movements within some craft unions as quasi-opportunist campaigns against the unskilled.
471 Clegg, Fox and Thompson, History, I, 471.
473 See Clegg, Fox and Thompson, History, I, 471-73, on the "failure of collective bargaining."
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474 Even prior to the advent of New Unionism and the mass organization of the unskilled, some unemployed artisans participated in the demonstrations and riots during the depression of the 1880s; see "The Unemployed in London," (London) Times, February 9, 1886, p. 6; "The Riots in London," ibid., February 11, 1886, p. 6. Booth, ed., Labour and Life of the People, I, 597-98, saw "the springs of Socialism and Revolution" in the conditions confronting the regularly employed semi-skilled and unskilled workers.
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(1905), p. 73.

I. Jack London, War of the Classes (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1908)
Notes to Chapter 8

1 Wolfram Fischer, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft im Zeitalter der Industrialisierung (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972), pp. 258-84.

2 In 1871 one-half of the occupied population in Germany was found in agricultural pursuits compared to one-seventh in England and Wales. See Hoffmann, Wachstum, Table 20 at pp. 204-205; Booth, "Occupations," pp. 426-27; calculations by author. Cf. Walter Hoffmann, Stadien und Typen der Industrialisierung (Jena: Fischer, 1931), passim.


4 Friedrich Engels, "Germany. Revolution and Counter-Revolution," New-York Daily Tribune, October 25, 1851; cited here according to the German translation, Revolution und Konterrevolution in Deutschland, MEW, VIII, 10-11. Although it originally appeared over Marx's name, this series of articles, which was published in book form in 1896, was written by Engels.


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For a different view of the advances that the antagonism between labor and capital had made by 1848, see "Die sozialen Bewegungen der Gegenwart," Die Gegenwart. Eine encyclopädische Darstellung der neuesten Zeitgeschichte für alle Stande, I (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1848), p. 88. The anonymous author of this article may have been Lorenz von Stein to judge by the similar language and concepts used by him in his Geschichte der sozialen Bewegung in Frankreich von 1789 bis auf unsere Tage (3 vols.; Hildesheim: Olms, 1850).


10 The contemporary political figure, Stephan Born, Erinnerungen eines Achtundvierzigers (2nd ed.; Leipzig: Meyer, 1898), p. 122, singled out the machinists and printers of Berlin.


14 Mottek, Wirtschaftsgeschichte Deutschlands, II, 230.

15 Empirically, the record of political militancy among artisans and industrial workers during the revolution of 1848 is controversial. See Hamerow, Restoration, pp. 79-80; Noyes, Organization, p. 265; Obermann, Die deutschen Arbeiter, pp. 175, 320; idem, Deutschland von 1815 bis 1849 (Berlin (DDR): VEB Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1967), pp. 311-12.


18 Schmoller, Zur Geschichte der deutschen Kleingewerbe, passim; idem, Grundrisse der allgemeinen Volkswirtschaftslehre (erster, größere Teil; Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1901 (1900)), p. 421.

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19 Schmoller, Zur Geschichte der deutschen Kleingewerbe, p. 350. For an exaggerated literary account of the reaction of a small master and his employees to the onslaught of Industrial competition, see Max Kretzer, Meister Timpe (Berlin: Fischer, 1888).


21 See however Born, Erinnerungen, pp. 134-35.


26 Lenin often argued in this undifferentiated manner. See, for example, "Mezhdunarodnyi sotsialisticheskii kongress v Shtutgarte," PSS, XVI, 72.

27 Todt and Radandt, Zur Frühgeschichte, passim.


29 The data were compiled by August Geib and first published in Pionier, January 26, 1878; cited here according to the reproduction in Korrespondenzblatt der Generalkommission der Gewerkschaften Deutschlands, III, 30 (December 18, 1893), 1-5.
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30 Alfred Förster, Die Gewerkschaftspolitik der deutschen Sozialdemokratie während des Sozialistengesetzes (Berlin (DDR): Tribüne, 1971), p. 174, attributes the article, which is discussed below, to Eduard Bernstein; on the latter's editorship, see Pierre Angel, Eduard Bernstein et l'évolution du socialisme allemand (Paris: Didier, 1961), pp. 72-79.


32 Ibid., p. 2.

33 Data from 1896, however, cast some doubt on this claim. Although the Printers collected more than fifty-three marks per member in dues that year, most unions exacted annual dues totaling five to ten marks while the Miners paid less than two marks. See C. Legien, "Die Gewerkschaftsbewegung in Deutschland im Jahre 1896," Die Neue Zeit, XVI, I (1897-1898), 54. Given an annual average labor income of 758 marks in the industrial and craft sectors in 1896, dues constituted about one per cent of a worker's income. See Hoffmann, Wachstum, Table 108 at pp. 470-71. See also Paul Umbreit, 25 Jahre Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbewegung 1890-1915 (Berlin: Generalkommission der Gewerkschaften Deutschlands, 1915), p. 30.


35 See Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei, MEW, IV, 469-72.

36 See Engels, Revolution und Konterrevolution in Deutschland, MEW, VIII, 11.


39 Mehring, Geschichte, II, 469.


41 Ibid., p. 137.


43 This was particularly the case in the building trades. See Dieterici, Handbuch, pp. 381, 405-406; Karl Heinrich Kaufhold, "Das preussische Handwerk in der Zeit der Frühindustrialisierung. Eine Untersuchung nach den Preussischen Gewerbetabellen 1815-1858," Beiträge zu Wirtschaftswachstum und Wirtschaftsstruktur im 16. und 19. Jahrhundert, ed. Wolf- ram Fischer ((West) Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1971), Table 1 at p. 172 and Table 2 at p. 175; Hamerow, Social Foundations. Ideas and Institutions, pp. 44-83, especially pp. 70-72. See also Preussische Statistik, XXX: Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung und Volksbeschreibung im preussischen Staate vom 1. Dezember 1871 (Berlin: Königliches Statistisches Bureau, 1875), 237.
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44 See Mottek, Wirtschaftsgeschichte Deutschlands, II, 45-46; for a later period, see Theodor Geiger, Die soziale Schichtung des deutschen Volkes (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1972 (1932)), p. 92. See also J. Wernicke, Kapitalismus und Mittelstandspolitik (2nd ed.; Jena: Fischer, 1922 (1907)). For a theoretical treatment, see Emil Grünberg, Der Mittelstand in der kapitalistischen Gesellschaft (Leipzig: Hirschfeld, 1932); Annette Leppert-Fügen, Die deklassierte Klasse (Frankfurt/Main: Fischer, 1974).


47 See Engelberg, Rote Feldpost, p. 138.

48 See Fritz Paeplow, Die Organisation der Maurer Deutschlands von 1869 bis 1899 (Hamburg: Bömelburg, 1900), p. 301; Schröder, Klassenkämpfe, p. 29; "Karl Marx und die Gewerkschaften," Der Grundstein, XXVI, 16 (April 19, 1913), 186-87.


50 Marx, "Inauguraladresse," MEW, XVI, 12.

51 Although the leading German industrial enterprises had, by 1900, exceeded their British competitors in size, the work force in the chemical and electrical industries, which formed the basis of Germany's science-based sector, was largely unorganized. See Knut Borchard, "The Industrial Revolution in Germany 1700-1914," The Fontana Economic History of Europe, ed. Carlo M. Cipolla, Vol. 4: The Emergence of Industrial Societies, Part 1 (Glasgow: Fontana, 1975 (1973)), pp. 133-35. Cf. Schröder, Klassenkämpfe, p. 66.


53 In the 1840s, guild members represented the bulk of those belonging to artisans' education societies; some of these were criticized at the time for nurturing an "aristocracy of mama's boys." See Ernst Dronke, Berlin, II (Frankfurt/Main: Rütten, 1846), 161.


55 On the specific capitalist costs of industrialization, see Barrington Moore, Jr., Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy (Boston: Beacon, 1967 (1966)).

56 In addition to the literature on Britain cited above in chaps. 2-5, see Arnold Toynbee, The Industrial Revolution (Boston: Beacon, 1956 (1884)); J.L. Hammond and Barbara Hammond, The Village Labourer (new ed.; London: Longmans, 1913 (1911)); Karl Polanyi, The Great Transformation (Boston: Beacon, 1971 (1944)).

57 Mehring, Geschichte, II, 19.

58 Hermann Müller, Geschichte der deutschen Gewerkschaften bis zum Jahre 1878 (Berlin: Vorwärts, 1918), pp. 27-30, 47-55.


60 See Ettelt and Krause, Kampf, pp. 253-54. For data on wage differentials between skilled and unskilled workers after 1870, see Gerhard Bry, Wages
Notes to Chapter 8


63 Ashok V. Desai, Real Wages in Germany 1871-1913 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968), Table 4.1 at p. 36.

64 Hoffmann, Wachstum, Table 23 at p. 87.

65 Müller, Geschichte der deutschen Gewerkschaften, pp. 155-61.

66 Mehring, Geschichte, II, 304. The Socialist Labor party, which was the product of the merger of the two major socialist parties in 1875, counted fewer than 25,000 members that year. Fricke, Die deutsche Arbeiterbewegung, pp. 92. In 1878, the British Amalgamated Society of Engineers alone could boast of almost as many members (45,408) as the entire German trade union movement (49,055). See Amalgamated Society of Engineers, Jubilee Souvenir, 1901 (London: Co-Operative, 1901). p. 126; Fricke, Die deutsche Arbeiterbewegung, pp. 650-52.

67 Fricke, Die deutsche Arbeiterbewegung, pp. 653-54; Umbreit, 25 Jahre, pp. 3-4.

68 The Printers appear to have been an exception; Fricke, Die deutsche Arbeiterbewegung, pp. 654-55.


70 Ibid., p. 2.

71 For a latter-day restatement of this view, see Ralf Dahrendorf, Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975 (1959)), p. 62.

72 Dieter Groh, Negative Integration und revolutionärer Attentismus (Frankfurt/Main: Ullstein, 1973), p. 35.


75 Cf. Alexander Helphand (Parvus), Gewerkschaften und die Sozialdemokratie (Dresden: Kaden, 1896).


80 Born, "Strukturwandel," pp. 274-75; Gerhard A. Ritter and Klaus Tenzfeld, "Der Durchbruch der Freien Gewerkschaften Deutschlands zur Mas-
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senbewegung im letzten Viertel des 19. Jahrhunderts," Vom Sozialistenge-
satz zur Mitbestimmung, ed. Heinz O. Vetter (Cologne: Bund, 1975),
pp. 61-120; Wolfgang Schröder, Partei und Gewerkschaft. Die Gewerk-
schaftsbewegung in der Konzeption der revolutionären Sozialdemokratie
1868/69 bis 1893 (Berlin (DDR): Tribüne, 1975); Barbara Klaus, Zur Ent-
wicklung von Organisation und Konzeption der freien Gewerkschaften

81 Rudolf Schlesinger, Central European Democracy and its Background (Lon-

82 Calculated according to the data presented by B.R. Mitchell, "Statistical
Appendix," Fontana Economic History of Europe, Vol. 4, Table 1 at p. 747.

83 Sources: Deane and Cole, British Economic Growth, Table 20 and at
pp. 142-43; Hoffmann, Wachstum, Table 20 at p. 205. Calculations by
author.

84 Hoffmann, Wachstum, p. 205; Deane and Cole, British Economic Growth,
p. 142. The data in the text refer to 1907 for Germany and to 1911 for
Britain.

85 As late as the 1890s guild membership exceeded that of the trade unions.
See Noyes, Organization, p. 374.

86 Sources: (United Kingdom), Department of Employment and Productivity,
British Labour Statistics. Historical Abstract 1886-1968 (London: HMSO,
1971), Table 196 at p. 395; Umbreit, 25 Jahre, Appendix Table 5 at p. 172.
In 1913 the free trade unions accounted for more than two-thirds of total
German trade union membership. See Emil Lederer and Jakob Marschak,
"Die Klassen auf dem Arbeitsmarkt und ihre Organisationen," Grundriß
der Sozialökonomik. IX. Abteilung: Das soziale System des Kapitalismus,
Pt. II. Die autonome und staatliche Binnenpolitik im Kapitalismus (Tübingen:
Mohr, 1927), p. 143.

87 British Labour Statistics, Table 197 at p. 396; Umbreit, 25 Jahre, Ap-
pendix Table 6 at p. 173.

88 H.A. Clegg, Alan Fox and A.F. Thompson, A History of British Trade
67. Webb, History of Trade Unionism, 1902 ed., p. 411, estimated that
one fifth of adult male manual workers was organized in 1892.

89 The figure mentioned in the text was arrived at in the following way.
The 6,697 female members of central unions were deducted, leaving
252,478 males; see Umbreit, 25 Jahre, Appendix Table 5 at p. 172. Ac-
cording to the census of 1895, 4,710,480 males sixteen years and older
were employed in industry as journeymen and workers; see Kaiserliches
Statistisches Amt, Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich, Vol. 31,
1910 (Berlin, 1910), p. 68. Then the 35,271 males sixteen years and
older who were related to their employers were deducted; see Georg Neu-
haus, Die deutsche Volkswirtschaft und ihre Wandlungen im letzten Vie-
teljahrhundert, Vol. II: Landwirtschaft und Gewerbe (M. Gladbach: Volks-
vereins-Verlag, 1913), Table 42 at p. 182. There thus remained 4,675,209
adult males. For historical and critical methodological accounts of the Ger-
man censuses, see Die Statistik in Deutschland nach ihrem heutigen Stand,
ed. Friedrich Zahn II (Munich and Berlin: Schweitzer, 1911), 3-44, 181-
234. Legien, "Die Gewerkschafts-Bewegung," pp. 52-53, estimated that
6.24 per cent of occupied males were organized in 1896.

90 The sources and procedures duplicate those of the preceding note. Cf.
Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften, 3rd ed., s.v. "Die Gewerkver-
eine in Deutschland," IV, 1175.

91 Census of England and Wales, 1911, Vol. X: Occupations and Industries,
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92 Neuhaus, Die deutsche Volkswirtschaft, II, 72, Table 28.
95 "Die deutschen Gewerkschaftsorganisationen im Jahre 1902," Correspondenzblatt, XIII, 33 (August 15, 1903), 516-17. Alexander Helphand (Parvus), Die große Aussperrung und die Zukunft der Arbeiterkämpfe im Reiche (Dresden: Kaden, n.d. (1910)), p. 58, maintained that industries operating large units with many unskilled workers (such as the chemical industry) were the most difficult to organize, but that trades with a large proportion of craft workers employed in small units (such as baking) were also difficult to organize. The building trades contradicted this latter pattern. See Jürgen Kuczynski, Die Geschichte der Lage der Arbeiter unter dem Kapitalismus, Vol. 3: Darstellung der Lage der Arbeiter in Deutschland von 1871 bis 1900 (Berlin (DDR): Akademie, 1962), pp. 287-88; Lederer and Marschak, "Die Klassen auf dem Arbeitsmarkt," p. 162; Fritz Paeplow, Zur Geschichte der deutschen Bauarbeiterbewegung (Berlin: Deutscher Baugewerkbund, n.d. (1932)), pp. 462-64; Gerhard A. Ritter, Die Arbeiterbewegung im Wilhelmischen Reich (2nd ed.; (West) Berlin: Colloquium, 1963 (1959)), p. 112; Heinrich Schild, Das Lohn- und Arbeitsverhältnis im deutschen Malergewerbe des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts unter dem Einfluß der Arbeitnehmer- und Arbeitgeberverbände (Hannover: Georgi, n.d. (1922)), p. 89.
98 Ibid., pp. 198-202. A resolution that would have obligated members to join trade unions was voted down; ibid., pp. 221-22.
103 See the references to Denmark in chapter 10 below.
105 The party could, according to Kautsky, make a revolution as little as the bourgeoisie could prevent one. See Karl Kautsky, "Ein sozialdemo-
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106 Although Legien told a party convention that no trade union leader had ever claimed that unions were anything but palliatives within bourgeois society, this view did not always guide union policy. See Protokoll, 1893, p. 184; John Anthony Moses, "Carl Legiens Interpretation des demokratischen Sozialismus,' Ein Beitrag zur sozialistischen Ideengeschichte" (Inaugural-Dissertation, Erlangen University, 1965), pp. 186-89.


108 At the time of the amalgamation of the Construction Workers and the Masons it was pointed out that the largely unskilled and low-paid workers in the former organization had been paying higher dues than the organized masons. See Deutscher Bauarbeiterverband, Protokoll über die Verhandlungen des konstituierenden Verbandtages. Abgehalten vom 10. bis 12. Februar 1910 in Leipzig (Hamburg: Bömelburg, 1910), p. 176.


110 See Bernstein, "Die soziale Differenzierung," pp. 306-307; Brandt, Gewerkschaftliche Interessenvertretung, pp. 63-72; cf. chap. 7 above.

111 Schlesinger, Central European Democracy, pp. 63-64.


114 Roth, Die "andere" Arbeiterbewegung, p. 22.

115 Calculated according to data in Fricke, Die deutsche Arbeiterbewegung, Table 102 at p. 672 and Table 105 at p. 698.


117 In 1895, for example, 57,709 persons were employed in twenty-nine such mills; see Statistik des Deutschen Reiches, N.S., Vol. 119 (Berlin: Puttkammer & Mühlbrecht, 1899), p. 50.

118 In 1895, 140,404 persons were employed in 51,950 such shops; see Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich, Vol. 19, 1898 (Berlin, 1898), p. 33.
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120 Sources: Neuhaus, Die deutsche Volkswirtschaft, II, 119-20, Table 13a, 122-23, Table 13b; Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich, Vol. 30, 1909 (Berlin, 1909), p. 76. Calculations by author.
121 Calculated according to data in Neuhaus, Die deutsche Volkswirtschaft, II, 119-20, Table 13a.
122 Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich, Vol. 30, pp. 77-79.
124 Roth, Die "andere" Arbeiterbewegung, p. 22.
128 Ibid., p. 323.
130 See Alexander Wende, "Die Konzentrationsbewegung bei den deutschen Gewerkschaften" (Inaugural-Dissertation, Marburg University, 1912), p. 15.
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136 This dichotomy is reminiscent of the description of the medieval guild journeymen and of the rabble by Marx and Engels, Die deutsche Ideologie, MEW, III, 52.

137 Heilborn, Die "Freien" Gewerkschaften, p. 189.


140 See, for example, Boris Goldenberg, "Beiträge zur Soziologie der deutschen Vorkriegssozialdemokratie" (Inaugural-Dissertation, Heidelberg University, n.d. (ca. 1930)), p. 33.


142 Rosa Luxemburg, Massenstreik, Partei und Gewerkschaften, idem, Gesammelte Werke, II, 156.

143 Ibid.

144 Ibid., pp. 163-64.

145 Ibid., p. 158.

146 Ibid., p. 157.

147 Ibid., pp. 162-63.

148 T. Bömberg, the leader of the Masons, declared at the fourth German Trade Union Congress in Stuttgart in 1902 that, "The German trade


150 Luxemburg, Massenstreik, p. 169.

151 Cited by Umbreit, 25 Jahre, p. 77; no date given.

152 See chapter 7 above.

153 See, for example, N. Auerbach, Marx und die Gewerkschaften (Berlin: Frankes, 1922), p. 122.


155 Ibid., pp. 90-115.

156 Ibid., pp. 109-10. The general strike and obligatory May Day strikes were two chief points of contention.


158 Luxemburg, Massenstreik, p. 159.


160 Claims concerning the growing "trade-unionization" of the party based on global data that show that trade union membership grew more rapidly than party members or voters remain ecological fallacies unless it can be documented that trade union members were specifically represented in ever larger numbers among party members or voters. See Schorske, German Social Democracy, pp. 12-13; Groh, Negative Integration, pp. 71-72. Trade union leaders, however, formed an increasing share of Social Democratic members of the Reichstag. See Heinz Josef Varain, Freie Gewerkschaften, Sozialdemokratie und Staat (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1956), p. 45; cf. ibid., p. 30.


162 Statistische Erhebungen über die Partei-Organisation Groß-Berlins 1906 (Berlin, 1907), pp. 138-39; cited by Fricke, Die deutsche Arbeiterbewegung, Table 114 at pp. 730-32.

163 This statement applies, for example, to masons, carpenters, potters, stuccoworkers and bakers; ibid.

164 Ibid. The average shop employing a smith or an upholsterer employed only two to three persons in 1907; see Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich, Vol. 30, pp. 78-81.

165 Fricke, Die deutsche Arbeiterbewegung, pp. 731-32; calculations by author.

166 The Textile Workers in Greater Berlin formed the only major exception to this finding; the Construction Laborers showed a marginally above-average degree of party membership. Ibid., pp. 730-32.

167 Robert Michels, "Die deutsche Sozialdemokratie. I. Parteimitgliedschaft und soziale Zusammensetzung," Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik, N.S., XXIII (1906), 513-14. Michels excepted the Book Printers from his generalization that it was more difficult to organize low-paid workers than the "labor aristocracy"; ibid., p. 514 n. 65 and p. 517.
168 Ibid., p. 515.

169 Source: Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich, Vol. 31, pp. 64-67; calculations by author.

170 In 1882 the census revealed that 34.2 per cent of those in industrial occupations were proprietors; calculated according to data in Statistik des Deutschen Reiches, N.S., Vol. 119, pp. 62-63.

171 The census data which distinguish between workers with and without "preparatory training" must be treated with circumspection; see n. 116 above.


174 See the last two columns of Table 32. Neuhaus, Die deutsche Volkswirtschaft, II, 113-14, Table 9, provides a comparative summary for 1882, 1895 and 1907.

175 The proletarianization of these Alleinmeister is confirmed by their concentration at the low end of Voigt's prosperity index, which expresses the number of house servants per one thousand proprietors and self-employed. Building tradesmen, tailors, shoemakers and cottage-industrial weavers and spinners registered the lowest ratings. See Voigt, "Das deutsche Handwerk," pp. 659-62. For the raw data, see Vierteljahrshefte zur Statistik des Deutschen Reiches, Vol. V (1896), Ergänzung zum dritten Heft (Berlin: Puttkammer & Mühlbrecht, 1896), pp. 7-109; Statistik des Deutschen Reiches, N.S., Vol. 202, pp. 4-120.

176 If only production units with at least one employee are examined, the high negative correlation between the share of proprietors in the total number of those occupied and the size of units, by branch, becomes clear. See Neuhaus, Die deutsche Volkswirtschaft, Table 29b at II, 158.

177 See the overview in Thissen, Beiträge.


180 Neuhaus, Die deutsche Volkswirtschaft, Table 47a at II, 196-97.

181 Help hand, Die große Aussperrung, pp. 10-11, 39.


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186 On the rise in the share of supervisory personnel as a function of increasing firm size, see Neuhaus, Die deutsche Volkswirtschaft, Tables 25-28b at II, 147-54. In 1907, unskilled workers constituted thirty-eight per cent of machinists, eighty-nine per cent of chemical workers and ninety-seven per cent of those employed by general construction contractors, who employed more than half of all construction employees; calculated according to data in Statistik des Deutschen Reiches, N.S., Vol. 202, pp. 10, 106; Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich, Vol. 30, pp. 76, 83.


188 Calculated according to data in Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich, Vol. 31, pp. 64-67.

189 See Cassau, Gewerkschaftsbewegung, p. 125.


194 Fülberrth and Harrer, Arbeiterbewegung und SPD, I, 118, speak of the creation of a "yellow labor aristocracy," separate from and outside of the Social Democratic labor movement. Yet the very fact that employers found it necessary to by-pass the outstanding representative organs of the German working class underscored the fundamentally different political outlook of the proletariat in Germany and in England. Cf. Kautsky, "Neutralisierung," p. 394; idem, "Klassenkampf und Ethik," Die Neue Zeit, XIX, I (1900-1901), 241.

fact that the much more extensive immigration of Eastern and Southern Europeans to the United States resulted in "the elevation of the English-speaking workers to the status of an aristocracy of labor," it is unlikely that contemporary migration to and within Germany could have affected the upper stratum of native German workers so adversely as Cassau maintained. See Isaac A. Hourwich, Immigration and Labor (New York: Putnam's Sons, 1912), p. 12; cf. ibid., p. 395. In 1907, foreign-born workers accounted for approximately one-sixth of agricultural laborers, one-tenth of unskilled and one-sixteenth of skilled miners, one-seventh of unskilled and one-twenty-third of skilled construction laborers and one-fourteenth of all unskilled industrial workers. See Georg Neuhaus, Die deutsche Volkswirtschaft und ihre Wandlungen im letzten Vierteljahrhundert, Vol. I: Die berufliche und soziale Gliederung des deutschen Volkes (M. Gladbach: Volksvereins-Verlag, 1911), pp. 205, 208; Schröder, Arbeitergeschichte, p. 69. In the forty-two German cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants in 1907, those born in East Prussia accounted for 5.1 per cent of industrial workers while those born outside Germany accounted for 4.7 per cent; the corresponding figures for Berlin were 5.8 per cent and 3.8 per cent. The data on urban areas refer to males only. Calculated according to the data in Statistik des Deutschen Reiches, Vol. 210, 2: Berufs- und Betriebszählung vom 12. Juni 1907, Berufsstatistik, Abteilung IX: Die Bevölkerung nach Hauptberuf und Geburtsort, Part 2: Großstädt (Berlin: Puttkammer & Mühlbrecht, 1910), pp. 2-3, 54-55. The relevant data for the United States may be consulted in Bureau of the Census, Thirteenth Census of the United States taken in the Year 1910, Vol. IV: Population, 1910, Occupation Statistics (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1914).

196 See Carl Legien, "Ziele und Mittel der deutschen Gewerkschaftsbewegung," Sozialistische Monatshefte, IV, 3 (March 1900), 110.

197 Kautsky, Das Erfurter Programm, pp. 213-14.


200 Bry, Wages in Germany, Table A-14 at p. 363; mining proved to be an exception.


202 Bry, Wages in Germany, Table A-14 at p. 363.
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204 Paul Umbreit, Der Krieg und die Arbeitsverhältnisse. Die deutschen Gewerkschaften im Kriege (Stuttgart: DVA, 1928), pp. 33-34.


209 The aggregate average is based on data in Hoffmann, Wachstum, Table 108 at pp. 470-71.


211 The effects of such insecurity on unskilled machinists, more than one-third of whom earned from 900 to 1,200 marks annually, were more severe; ibid., p. 394.

212 Unemployment in the building trades had a greater impact on the skilled than on the unskilled because the former, being more specialized, found it more difficult to locate other employment; see Liebich, Organisations- und Arbeitsverhältnisse im Baugewerbe, p. 125.


216 See, for example, Zentral-Verband der Maurer Deutschlands, Der Kampf um die Arbeitsbedingungen (Hamburg: Zentral-Verband der Maurer Deutschlands, 1909), pp. 22-23.


218 Protokoll über die Verhandlungen des Parteitages der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands. Abgehalten zu Berlin vom 14. bis 21. November 1892 (Berlin: Vorwärts, 1892), p. 122. It is unclear whether Legien's protest against Bebel's defense of high salaries for editors of party organs--Bebel had pleaded that they would return to bourgeois organs if their idealism were taxed too heavily--was motivated by egalitarianism or by hostility toward the presence of intellectuals in the labor movement; see Protokoll über die Verhandlungen des Parteitages der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands. Abgehalten zu Frankfurt a.M. vom 21. bis 27. Oktober 1894 (Berlin: Vorwärts, 1894), pp. 71, 73.

219 Legien in Protokoll, 1893, p. 183.


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222 Zwing, Geschichte, p. 60; "Die Gewerkschaften," Die Neue Zeit, III (1885), 525.

223 Zwing, Geschichte, p. 62.

224 Umbreit, 25 Jahre, p. 113.

225 See Gustav Brüggerhoff, "Statistisches über das Unterstützungs- 
    wesen der deutschen 'Freien' Gewerkschaften" (Inaugural-Dissertation, Marburg 
    University, 1908), pp. 43-49; cf. Schlesinger, Central European Demo-
    cracy, pp. 56-57. The Printers paid 1.5 marks per diem for 1 to 280 
    days to members who had been in good standing for 750 weeks; members 
    who had paid dues for seventy-five weeks received a smaller sum for up 
    to seventy days. See Robert Michels and Gisela Michels-Lindner, "Das 
    Problem der Arbeitslosigkeit und ihre Bekämpfung durch die deutschen 
    freien Gewerkschaften," Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpoliti-
    k, XXXI (1910), 457. At this time the average annual labor income in the 
    printing industry amounted to about 1,400 marks; see Hoffmann, Wachs-
    tum, Table 108 at p. 470.

226 See Umbreit, 25 Jahre, pp. 112-15; Armin Michaelsen, "Die Reichsanstalt 
    für Arbeitsvermittlung und Arbeitslosenversicherung" (Inaugural-Disser-
    tation, Marburg University, 1929), pp. 2-4; Mollie Ray Carroll, Unemploy-
    ment Insurance in Germany (Washington, D.C.: Brookings, 1929), pp. 6-
    11.


228 Ibid. Cf. Lederer and Marschak, "Die Klassen auf dem Arbeitsmarkt," 
    p. 145.

229 Cited by Michels and Michels-Lindner, "Das Problem der Arbeitslosigkeit," 
    p. 481.

230 See the analogous argument adduced by Kautsky in connection with the 
    attempt on the part of some trade unions to "neutralize" themselves 
    politically in order to overcome objections to membership by Catholic 
    workers; Kautsky, "Neutralisierung," pp. 391-94. On the denominalional 
    trade unions, see Ludwig Frey, "Die Stellung der christlichen Gewerk-
    schaftlichen Deutschlands zu den politischen Parteien" (Inaugural-Diss-
   ertation, Würzburg University, 1931): Max Prager, "Grenzen der Ge-
    werkschaftsbewegung," Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpoliti-
    k, XX (1905), 280-86; William H. Dawson, The Evolution of Modern Germany 

231 Jens Warming, Danmarks erhvervs- og samfundsliv (Copenhagen: Gads, 
    employment Insurance."

232 Schröder, Arbeitergeschichte, p. 147, approaches this issue ahistorically 
    and schematically.

233 Beier, Schwarze Kunst, I, 141-48, is not convincing in his attempt to 
    refute the charge of aristocratic behavior.

234 See Umbreit, Der Krieg, passim; Friedrich Thimme and Carl Legien, eds., 
    Die Arbeiterchaft im neuen Deutschland (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1915); Werner 
    Raase, Zur Geschichte der deutschen Gewerkschaftsbewegung 1914-1917 

235 See Lenin, 'Chto delat'?, PSS, VI, 30, 56. For an overview of the his-
    torical development of German trade unionism from the standpoint of 
    French reformist socialism, see Albert Thomas, Le Syndicalisme allemand 
    (Paris: Société nouvelle, 1903); cf. Hedwig Wachenheim, Die deutsche 
    Arbeiterbewegung 1844 bis 1914 (Cologne: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1967).

236 Even the extremely orthodox Marxist-Leninist, Mikhailovskii, "o rabochei 
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237 Ibid., pp. 104-105, fixes the wage level at twice that of a worker of average skill.

238 See, for example, Jürgen Kuczynski, Zurück zu Marx (Leipzig: Hirschfeld, 1926), pp. 128-29.


241 Ibid., pp. 104-107.

242 See, for example, the unproven claim that labor aristocrats received wages in excess of the value of their labor power; ibid., p. 105.


246 Ibid., p. 107.


249 Employers began to organize yellow unions in 1905; their membership rose from about 59,000 in 1907 to about 280,000 in 1913 at which time they accounted for one-fourteenth of total union membership. See Hans-Alexander Apolant, "Die wirtschaftsfriedliche nationale Arbeiterbewegung (Gelbe Gewerkschaften) in Deutschland" (Inaugural-Dissertation, Leipzig University, 1926), pp. 13-15, 41.

250 On the politically "neutral" Hirsch-Duncker unions, the membership of which exceeded 100,000 by the early years of the twentieth century, see "Die Stärke und Tendenz der Hirsch-Duncker'schen Gewerkvereine," CorRESPondenzblatt, VII, 52 (December 27, 1897), 321-23; Dawson, Evolution, pp. 112, 114; Lederer and Marschak, "Die Klassen auf dem Arbeitsmarkt," p. 142.


254 Although universal manhood suffrage accompanied the founding of the German Empire in 1871, the Reichstag was from the outset enfeebled in relation to the Prussian Landtag, which remained a formally undemocratic institution during the prewar period. Léon Duguit, Manuel de droit constitutionnel (3rd ed.; Paris: Boccard, 1918 (1911)), pp. 327-44, provides an overview of suffrage restrictions in Europe. Cf. Hamerow, Social Foundations. Ideas and Institutions, chaps. 4-5, 7; idem, Social Foundations. Struggles and Accomplishments, chaps. 4-7; Schorske, German Social Democracy, pp. 45-49, 171-87; Groh, Negative Integration, pp. 128-60; Ernst Engelberg, Deutschland von 1871-1897 (Berlin (DDR): VEB Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1967), pp. 11-23.

255 See however Mikhaelevskii, "O rabochei aristokratii," pp. 103-104.
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1 This view has continued to prevail during the post-World War I period. Although radical syndicalists charged, toward the end of the 1920s, that industrial rationalization would result in a bifurcation of the working class into a minority of well-paid labor aristocrats and a majority of unemployed, studies of the Fourth and Fifth Republic have not confirmed the existence of a politically relevant labor aristocracy. See Marjorie Ruth Clark, A History of the French Labor Movement (1910-1928), University of California Publications in Economics, VIII, 1 (April 15, 1930), 148; Richard F. Hamilton, Affluence and the French Workers in the Fourth Republic (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), pp. 130-33; Alain Lipietz, Le Tribut foncier urbain (Paris: Maspero, 1974), p. 64 n. 9.

2 For a similar, Spanish example, see Raymond Carr, Spain 1808-1939 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1966), p. 447.


6 Calculated according to data in ibid., pp. xxii-xxi.

7 Ibid.

8 See Bernard Moss, The Origins of the French Labor Movement 1830-1914. The Socialism of Skilled Workers (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), pp. 17-18, 171 n. 46. It is unclear whether this author uses the expression "semiartisanal mode of Parisian production" in a literary or rigorous Marxist conceptual manner.


11 As Moss, Origins, pp. 8-20, notes, the labor movement in France--and here France proved to be no exception--arose among the skilled rather than among unskilled factory workers. Although it is Moss's merit to have analyzed the peculiarities of "trade socialism" of the skilled, he throughout confuses the traditional skilled, who were undergoing de-skilling, with the new industrial skilled.


13 In 1852 about fifty-five per cent of the employed were located in agriculture and twenty-five per cent in mining, industry and crafts; calculated according to data in Hoffmann, Wachstum, Table 20 at p. 204.

14 See Deane and Cole, British Economic Growth, Table 30 at p. 142.

15 Hoffmann, Wachstum, Table 20 at p. 205.

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17 Roger Price, The Economic Modernisation of France (New York: Wiley, 1975), argues that the ancien régime was not overcome until about 1880.

18 This appears to have been the case in any event after the decline of the French guild system. See E. Levasseur, Histoire des classes ouvrières et de l’industrie en France de 1789 à 1870, II (2nd ed.; Paris: Rousseau, 1904 (1867)), 237.

19 Source: League of Nations, Industrialization and Foreign Trade, Table 1 at p. 13.


23 Duveau, La Vie ouvrière, pp. 306, 396-98, mentions watchmakers, printers, some building tradesmen, bakers, puddlers, forgers, some mechanics, spinners and engravers.

24 See Moss, Origins, pp. 8-12.


27 For a further example of such neutral designations, see Edmond About, Le Progrès (4th ed.; Paris: Hachette, 1867 (1864)), p. 48, who speaks of printers as an "aristocratic" category of the working class whereas ragpickers and sewer men "bring up the rear." Cf. Georges Renard, Les Travailleurs du livre et du journal, III (Paris: Doin, 1926), 52.

28 Duveau, La Vie ouvrière, pp. 482-83.


30 Moss, Origins, p. 49.

31 See J.S. Mill’s enthusiastic description in his Principles of Political Economy, pp. 779-80 n.

32 See Republique Francaise, Ministère du commerce, de l’industrie, des postes et des télégraphes, Office du Travail, Les Associations professionnelles ouvrières, Vol. IV: Industries du bâtiment.--Transports.--Industries diverses (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1904), p. 223. Although Duveau, La Vie ouvrière, p. 306, characterizes masonry as one "des professions plus humbles," the wage differential between masons and their helpers amounted to approximately sixty per cent during the Second Empire; see Levasseur, Histoire, II, 713. The low prestige associated with bricklaying may have derived from the fact that the mason was "le paysan devenu
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36 Kuczynski, Frankreich seit 1848, p. 157, merely confirms this distinction for the period 1871-1918 without any attempt at causal explanation.

37 Sternberg, Imperialismus, p. 517.

38 Ibid., pp. 517, 520-21, 529-32. With 1871 as the base year, real wages of the employed rose more in France by 1900 than in Germany, England or the United States; such comparisons vary according to the years selected. See Mendelson, Teoria i istoria, II, 526-27. Cf. the radically different conclusions reached by Élaine Mossé, Marx et le problème de la croissance dans une économie capitaliste (Paris: Colin, 1956), pp. 178-77.

39 Sternberg, Imperialismus, p. 532.


41 Moss, Origins, p. 15.

42 Ibid., p. 19. Moss argues in a self-contradictory fashion here since he previously pointed to joint action by such workers and their employers against larger capitalist manufacturers or contractors; ibid., p. 18. The attitudes of workers toward their immediate employers were obviously shaped in large part by the size of the shop and, derivatively, by the function and income of the employer.

43 Ibid., p. 43.


46 The purpose of this approach is to isolate the wage labor sector although even establishments employing merely several workers may be only
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47 Calculated according to data in Neuhaus, Die deutsche Volkswirtschaft, II, 113, 116-17, 124.

48 See Recensement générale 1906, 1:2, 119. These data include the transport and state industrial sectors which raise the average slightly. The fact that two sets of data on employees were included detracts from the usefulness of the French data; see ibid., pp. 182-83 and n. 7. The foregoing averages are based on the less inclusive set of data; use of the more inclusive data raises the average somewhat but not to the German level. Similarly, the German averages are inflated by the fact that they include owners whereas the French data refer to employees and workers alone; adjustment of the German data for 1907 reduces the average number of employees and wage earners per establishment to 8.1—still about one-third greater than the corresponding figure for France.


50 Recensement générale 1906, 1:2, 182.

51 Ibid., p. 120. For an international comparison, see Peter N. Stearns, Lives of Labor (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1975), Tables I-III at pp. 155-58. Cf. Levasseur, Questions, p. 279.


53 In 1906, 680,542 industrial employees, accounting for 18.2 per cent of all such employees, were employed in establishments with more than 500 employees; calculated according to data in Recensement générale 1906, 1:2, 182.

54 As, however, David J. Saposs, The Labor Movement in Post-War France (New York: Columbia University Press, 1931), p. 135, notes, many of the unorganized were "class conscious' in the continental European radical labor sense." A relatively low degree of organization still characterizes French workers; see the international comparison in Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, July 18, 1974, p. 10.


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The extent of industrialization may, as a result of the extremely strenuous and dangerous aspects of production processes associated with some stages of industrialization, not be accurately measured by the development of the share of female and child employment in various branches; see the data for the 1860s and 1890s in Annuaire statistique de la France, Vol. 18, 1898 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1898), Table 264 at p. 230.

64 For monographic insight into this area of consciousness, see P. Du Maroussem, La Question ouvrière, I: Charpentiers de Paris. Compagnons et indépendants (Paris: Rousseau, 1891), 226-29, 242-46 and passim.

65 Moss, Origins, pp. 25-26, 109-10, 113, 120.


67 As Theodore Zeldin, France 1848-1945. I: Ambition, Love and Politics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973), 230, notes, the radical building tradesmen were in retrospect not so menacing as they appeared during the years prior to World War I. None the less, the strike record underscores the seriousness with which workers and employers conducted their struggles; see Louis, Histoire, I, 221-22.


69 Especially since France was the destination of a large sub-stratum of low-paid immigrant workers from Italy, Poland, Spain and North Africa; the number of foreigners in France almost tripled between 1851 and 1881, exceeding one million before World War I. See Werner Sombart, Der moderne Kapitalismus, III:1 (Munich-Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1927), 397; Saposs, Labor Movement, pp. 119-21; Sée, Französische Wirtschaftsgeschichte, II, 439-40; Die Wirtschaft des Auslandes 1900-1927, ed. Statistischen Reichsamt, Einzelschriften zur Statistik des Deutschen Reiches, No. 5 (Berlin: Hobbing, 1928), pp. 69-71. It is noteworthy that, since most of the immigrant wage earners occupied unskilled positions, opposition to immigration stemmed not so much from a putative labor aristocracy as from unskilled French laborers. See Peter N. Stearns, Revolutionary
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72 The situation in Paris differed from that in the rest of France: in Paris almost four-fifths of the employed male population were wage and salary workers in 1901 and 1906. But Paris accounted for but one-fourteenth of the French population in 1910-1911 and but one-ninth of all males in manufacturing industry, so that national class politics were determined by the composition of the French "desert" and not in the metropolis. The foregoing figures were calculated on the basis of data in Recensement générale 1906, II: Population présente (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1909), 18; ibid., I:2, 182; Mitchell, "Statistical Appendix 1700-1914," pp. 747, 750; Willard, Le Mouvement socialiste, p. 250.
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3 Ibid., p. 277.

4 Ibid., p. 278.

5 For a rehearsal of historical examples of the lack of solidarity between skilled and unskilled workers, see Otto Rühle, Illustrierte Kultur- und Sittengeschichte des Proletariats, I (Frankfurt/Main: Neue Kritik, 1930), pp. 258-68.

6 Robert Michels, Political Parties, tr. Eden and Cedar Paul (New York: Dover, 1959 (1915)), pp. 290-91. Part of this passage was not included in the original German edition.

7 Michels, Zur Soziologie des Parteiwesens, pp. 283-84.

8 The notion of a labor aristocracy has recently been applied to the independent developing nations of Africa with the modification, inter alia, that labor aristocrats are said to be situated in the most advanced sector of the economy rather than in the artisanal trades. This privileged stratum is seen, moreover, as one elite among several competing for consumption advantages rather than as a social stratum involved in a contradictory position within two classes. See Giovanni Arrighi and John S. Saul, "Socialism and Economic Development in Tropical Africa," Journal of Modern African Studies, VI, 2 (August 1968), 141-69, especially 149, 151, 162; cf. the critical articles by Keith Hinchliffe, "Labour Aristocracy--Northern Nigeria Case Study," ibid., XII (1974), 57-67, and P. Waterman, "The 'Labour Aristocracy' in Africa--Introduction to a Debate," Development and Change, VI, 3 (July 1975), 57-73.

9 See Galenson, Danish System, pp. 18, 22.


11 Calculated according to the data in the semi-official trade union publication, Oversigt over fagforenings-bevægelsen i Danmark i tiden fra 1871 til 1900, ed. J. Jensen and C.M. Olsen (Copenhagen: Bording, 1901), table at pp. 296-97. On the union of the unskilled, see Axel Olsen, Dansk Arbejdsmands Forbund gennem 50 aar 1897-1947 (Copenhagen: Grafisk Institut, 1947).

12 Hansson, Den svenska fackföreningsrörelsen, p. 51.

13 In 1900, 76.6 per cent of adult male industrial and handicraft workers in Denmark were organized; the 21.7 per cent degree of organization among women above the age of eighteen exceeded that among males in many contemporary countries. See Oversigt, ed. Jensen and Olsen, pp. 173-74; two-fifths of the males between the ages of eighteen and twenty-two were excluded as apprentices. The aggregate number of male workers on which these figures were based amounted to 100,000. Building tradesmen in Copenhagen were almost one hundred per cent organized by 1885; by 1901 eighty-five per cent of all male and thirty per cent of all female workers in Copenhagen were unionists. See Georg Nørregaard, Arbejdsforhold indenfor dansk haandværk og industri 1857-1899 (Copenhagen, 1943), pp. 357-58. For an earlier period, see Henry Bruun, Den faglige arbejder-bevægelse i Danmark indtil aar 1900, Part 1: Til ca.
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1880 (Copenhagen: Selskabet for Udgivelse af Kilder til Dansk Historie, 1977 (1938)), passim.


15 See the journal of the First International in Switzerland, L'Egalité, 1, 9 (March 20, 1869), 1.


18 See Karl Marx, "Die Aussperrung der Bauarbeiter in Genf," MEW, XVI, 431-33.

19 Préadeau, Bakounine, pp. 143-44; Gruner, Arbeiter in der Schweiz, pp. 615-16.

20 For the post-World War II period one author has tried to show that native Swiss bank employees have enjoyed relatively high salaries as a result of bank profits stemming from the large amounts of "capital in flight" deposited in Swiss banks. See Jean Ziegler, Une Suisse au-dessus de tout soupçon (Paris: Seuil, 1976), p. 91. Although this economic mechanism is plausible, Ziegler has not even pretended to have demonstrated that Swiss bank employees have therefore become ardent supporters of Swiss "secondary imperialism."


23 See Merli, Proletariato, pp. 456-57.


26 See the masterful overview by Otto Bauer, Die österreichische Revolution (Vienna: Wiener Volksbuchhandlung, 1923).


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29 On the specific conditions of the heterogeneity of the Hungarian working class, see Cole, Second International, pp. 568-70.

30 See Whiteside, Austrian National Socialism, passim. Although the German speaking workers may have viewed ethnic Slav workers as "coolie"-like competitors, the situation in Austria differed radically from that prevailing on the West Coast of the United States in the 1870s and 1880s where the introduction of Chinese labor not only permitted white workers to abandon unskilled positions in favor of skilled ones, but also induced trade unions to form alliances with employers. See Alexander Saxton, The Indispensable Enemy. Labor and the Anti-Chinese Movement in California (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971).


35 Lenin also recurred to the argument that labor aristocracies could be cultivated by the "bribing" of a part of an autochthonous working class and the simultaneous "boundless and shameless exploitation" of low-wage immigrants who were deprived of political rights. See Lenin, "K peresmotru partiinoi programmy," PSS, XXIV, 371.


37 Cf. A.G. Rashin, Formirovanie rabochego klassa Rossii (Moscow, 1958), passim.

38 See Liuben Berov, Polozhenieto na rabotnicheskata klasa v Bulgariia, mimeo (Sofia: VII "Karl Marx," 1965), pp. 19-20, 33, 47.

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45 The factors underlying the expansion of the labor force are objective economic ones over which capitalists exercised little control. The issue under discussion concerns the nature of the labor to be recruited as well as the mode of recruitment.
49 Arendt, Origins of Totalitarianism, p. 204.
50 Ibid., p. 206.
51 Ibid., p. 204.
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56 The wage differentials were, however, much larger; at the turn of the century skilled white immigrant miners received as much per day as unskilled blacks received per week. See Van der Horst, "Effects," p. 114; cf. Kuczynski, Dominions, p. 471.


58 Even Kuczynski, Dominions, p. 468, interprets the miners' strike of 1907--which, he fails to mention, was directed against the employment of Asian contract laborers--as against the deterioration of working conditions. For an example of European socialist opposition to immigration, see the discussion contribution by Fritz Paeplow at the Internationaler Sozialisten-Kongress zu Stuttgart. 18. bis 24. August 1907 (Berlin: Vorwärts, 1907), p. 119.

59 Doxey, Industrial Colour Bar, p. 23.


61 A decade later the State Mining Commission stated that given wage differentials, employment of whites instead of blacks would wipe out profits in half of the mines; see Doxey, Industrial Colour Bar, p. 122. For a similar claim with reference to higher minimum wages for blacks, see the speech by Mr. Marwick in Union of South Africa, Debates of the House of Assembly, Second Session, Fifth Parliament. 13th February to 25th July, 1925. Vol. 3 (13th February to 15th April.) (Cape Town: Cape Times, n.d.), col. 1720.


64 de Kiewiet, History of South Africa, p. 146.


66 Even Kuczynski, perhaps the most dogmatic modern exponent of the Leninist conception of the labor aristocracy as a creature of the bourgeoisie, is compelled to speak of the "complexity of employment problems from the standpoint of the ruling class," which is torn between "status" and profit requirements. See Kuczynski, Dominions, p. 445.

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68 In the 1920s it was claimed that virtually all white workers were "in the position more or less of foremen"; ibid., col. 1591.

69 Ibid., p. 122.

70 Doxey, Industrial Colour Bar, p. 120.

71 See Robert Davies, The White Working-Class in South Africa, New Left Review, No. 82, November-December 1973, pp. 40-59. Davies' article is vitiated by the fact that the author concentrates on differential changes in productivity over time as proof of the increasing super-exploitation of blacks without considering differential skill levels between blacks and whites at one point in time or over time. For recent occupational data by race, see F.E. Radel, Progress or Exploitation? (n.p. (Capetown): Miller, 1978), Table 4 at p. 23. For a more cautious restatement, see Robert Davies, "Mining Capital, The State and Unskilled White Workers in South Africa, 1901-1913," Journal of Southern Africa Studies, III, 1 (October 1976), 41-69.


73 This was particularly the case during the 1920s and 1930s in connection with the so-called civilized wage policy, which was enforced by the government by means of wage regulations, tariff manipulation, direct subsidies and government contract discrimination. See Van der Horst, Native Labour, pp. 252-66. On the crucial election of 1902, see Halevy, History, VI, 34.

74 South Africa accounted for seventy-six per cent of the world's diamond production in 1919; in 1913 it accounted for thirty-eight per cent of world gold output--a share which rose in the following years. See Wirtschaft des Auslandes 1900-1927, pp. 808-10.

75 See Union of South Africa, Union Office of Census and Statistics, Official Year Book of the Union, No. 6--1923 (Pretoria: Government Printing and Stationery Office, 1924), p. 688, for data on gross profits and fixed capital for various manufacturing sectors from 1915 to 1921. For more recent data on mining profits, see Linder, Der Anti-Samuelson, IV, 132 n. 165.

76 For a more generalized treatment of the racial aspects of capital-labor relations, see E. Franklin Frazier, Race and Culture Contacts in the Modern World (Boston: Beacon, 1968 (1957)), pp. 127-74.
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1 John Locke, An Essay concerning Human Understanding, ed. A.C. Fraser, II (New York: Dover, 1959 (1690)), 143-44.

2 The sexual division of the working class has received little attention in this study as a result of the virtual exclusion of women from the ranks of the skilled. An examination of the capitalist transformation of the sexual division of labor—as it pertains to the issues raised here—constitutes an important desideratum of research.

3 To some degree the situation among unskilled whites in the ante-bellum American South and in South Africa differed: as a result of the necessities of mere political survival in the context of a large enslaved or numerically dominant conquered race, whites of all classes acted on ostensibly non-economic grounds to distribute formal political power more democratically among themselves. Even in these zones, however, economic advantage and exploitation ultimately underlay such considerations. See however the remarks attributed to Lord Milner by Beatrice Webb, Our Partnership, ed. Barbara Drake and Margaret I. Cole (New York: Longmans, Green, 1948), p. 352.

4 Cf. the discussion of the interaction between intra-class inequalities and the distance between adjacent classes by Stanisław Ossowski, Struktura klasowa w społecznej świadomości (Lodz: Zakład narodowy im. ososławskich we wrocławiu, 1957), pp. 85-88. On the rational "class-oriented action" symbolized by some national working class movements, see Mancur Olson, Jr., The Logic of Collective Action (rev. ed.; New York: Schoken, 1971 (1965)), pp. 102-10.

5 Karl Renner, Die Rechtsinstitute des Privatrechts und ihre soziale Funktion (Tübingen: Mohr, 1929 (1904)), p. 47.

6 See, for example, the description in P.A. Brunt, Social Conflicts in the Roman Republic (London: Chatto & Windus, 1971).


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10 The most glaring example was the Weimar Republic. See Karl Dietrich Bracher, Die Auflösung der Weimarer Republik (2nd ed.; Stuttgart: Ring, 1957 (1955)); A. Enderle et al., Das rote Gewerkschaftsbuch (Hamburg: Association, 1973 (1932)); Eva Cornelia Schöck, Arbeitslosigkeit und Rationalisierung. Die Lage der Arbeiter und die kommunistische Gewerkschaftspolitik 1920-28 (Frankfurt/Main: Campus, 1977).

11 On the ultimately unsuccessful attempt in Germany in the 1860s, see R. Meyer, Der Emancipationskampf des vierten Stands, 1 (2nd ed.; Berlin: Bahr, 1882 (1872)), 199.

12 See David I. Kulstein, Napoleon III and the Working Class (n.p. (Sacramento?): The California State Colleges, 1969); cf. however Meyer, Emancipationskampf, I, 30; Friedrich Engels, Die preussische Militärfrage und die deutsche Arbeiterpartei (1865), MEW, XVI, 71-72. These latter two contemporaries stressed the stratum-specific component of the attempt by Napoleon III to create an "artificial" proletariat in the luxury goods-producing industries.