

Contemporary Thought on Nineteenth Century Socialism

Volume I, Owenism

Edited by
Ophélie Siméon



ROUTLEDGE


CONTEMPORARY THOUGHT ON
NINETEENTH CENTURY SOCIALISM



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

CONTEMPORARY
THOUGHT ON
NINETEENTH CENTURY
SOCIALISM

General Editors
Peter Gurney and Kevin Morgan

Volume I
Owenism

Edited by
Ophélie Siméon

 **Routledge**
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 2021
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge
52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2021 selection and editorial matter, Ophélie Siméon; individual owners retain copyright in their own material.

The right of Ophélie Siméon to be identified as the author of the editorial material, and of the authors for their individual chapters, has been asserted in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Trademark notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

A catalog record for this book has been requested

ISBN: 978-1-138-49019-2 (set)

eISBN: 978-1-351-03570-5 (set)

ISBN: 978-1-138-32104-5 (volume I)

eISBN: 978-0-429-45237-6 (volume I)

Typeset in Times New Roman
by Apex CoVantage, LLC

Publisher's Note

References within each chapter are as they appear in the original complete work

CONTENTS

| | |
|--|-----------|
| <i>Preface</i> | xxxi |
| General introduction: socialism before the age of party | 1 |
| PETER GURNEY AND KEVIN MORGAN | |
| Volume I Owenism | |
| EDITED BY OPHÉLIE SIMÉON | |
| Introduction | 13 |
| OPHÉLIE SIMÉON | |
| PART 1 | |
| Work as it was and how it might be | 27 |
| 1 “An Address to the Superintendents of Manufactories, and to those Individuals generally, who, by giving Employment to an aggregated Population, may easily adopt the Means to form the Sentiments and Manners of such a Population”, in <i>A New View of Society, or, Essays on the Formation of the Human Character: Preparatory to the Development of a Plan for Gradually Ameliorating the Condition of Mankind</i> , III (London: printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, [1814] 1816), 71–77. | 29 |
| ROBERT OWEN | |
| 2 “Evidence of Robert Owen on his New Lanark Experiment”, in <i>Report of Minutes of Evidence, taken before the Select Committee on the State of Children employed in the Manufactories of the United Kingdom</i> (London: Hansard, 1816), 20–28. | 33 |
| HOUSE OF COMMONS | |

CONTENTS

- 3 “Letter, dated July 25 and 16, 1817, containing a Further Development of the Plan contained in the Report to the Committee of the Association for the Relief of the Manufacturing and Labouring Poor, with Answers and Objections” (1817), in *A Supplementary Appendix to the First Volume of The Life of Robert Owen, Containing a Series of Reports, Addresses, Memorials, and Other Documents, Referred to in That Volume. 1803–1820* (London: Effingham Wilson, 1858) Appendix I.2, 65–78. 38
ROBERT OWEN
- 4 *Remarks on the Practicability of Mr. Robert Owen’s Plan to Improve the Condition of the Lower Classes* (London: S. Leigh, 1819), 25–28. 43
PHILANTHROPOS [JOHN MINTER MORGAN]
- 5 “On the Causes of the Distress Prevalent in Great Britain”, in *Report of the Committee appointed at a Meeting of Journeymen, Chiefly Printers, to take into Consideration Certain Propositions, Submitted to Them by Mr. George Mudie, Having for their Object a System of Social Arrangement, Calculated to Effect Essential Improvements in the Condition of the Working Classes* (London: The Medallie Cabinet, 1821), 4–5. 45
GEORGE MUDIE
- 6 “Rights of Industry. Founding of the National Regeneration Society in Favour of the Eight-Hour Day”, *Crisis*, 7 December 1833, 117. 48
JOSHUA MILNE
- 7 “Master v. Slave. On Paid Labour in Communities”, *New Moral World*, 2 February 1839, 228–229. 51
BENJAMIN WARDEN
- PART 2
- Visions of the future 55
- 8 *Address Delivered to the Inhabitants of New Lanark, on January 1st, 1816, on the Opening of the Institution Established for the Formation of Character* (London: Hatchard, 1816). 57
ROBERT OWEN

CONTENTS

- 9 “Prospectus”, *Economist*, 19 January 1821, viii–xii. 79
 GEORGE MUDIE
- 10 *The Revolt of the Bees* (London: printed for Longman, Rees, Orme, Browne and Greene [1826] 1839), 22–27. 86
 JOHN MINTER MORGAN
- 11 “The Social System, Chapter V [continued], Constitutions, Laws and Regulations of a Community”, *New Harmony Gazette*, 21 February 1827. 89
 ROBERT OWEN
- 12 “One of ‘the People’”, “To the Wealth-Producing Classes of England”, *Magazine of Useful Knowledge and Co-operative Miscellany*, n°1, January 1830, 7–10. 96
 WILLIAM LOVETT
- 13 “To the Socialists of Great Britain. Letter from Tytherly Community”, *New Moral World*, 30 November 1839, 920–922. 100
 GEORGE FLEMING
- PART 3
 Concepts of political change 105
- 14 *A New View of Society, or, Essays on the Formation of the Human Character: Preparatory to the Development of a Plan for Gradually Ameliorating the Condition of Mankind* (London: printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1816), Fourth Essay, 143–170. 107
 ROBERT OWEN
- 15 “Motion Respecting Mr. Owen’s Plan”, *Parliamentary Debates* (London: Hansard), 16 December 1819. 119
 HOUSE OF COMMONS
- 16 *Lectures on an Entire New State of Society: Comprehending an Analysis of British Society, Relative to the Production and Distribution of Wealth, the Formation of Character, and Government, Domestic and Foreign* (London: J. Brooks, 1830) III, 42–45. 141
 ROBERT OWEN

CONTENTS

- 17 *An Address, Delivered to the Members of the New Mechanics' Institution, Manchester, on Friday Evening, March 25, 1831: On the Necessity of an Extension of Moral and Political Instruction among the Working Classes* (Manchester: W. Strange, 1831). 143
ROWLAND DETROSIER
- 18 *The First Trumpet. An Address to the Disciples of Robert Owen, on the Importance and Necessity of Speedily Accomplishing a Bond of Union of Mutual Interest, for Gradually carrying into Operation the New Science of Society* (London: J. Brooks, 1832). 156
WILLIAM CAMERON
- 19 "Liverpool - First Public Social Festival and Ball", letter to the editor of the *Liverpool Chronicle*, 29 November 1838, reprinted in the *New Moral World*, 1 December 1838, 91. 174
JOHN FINCH
- 20 "Progress of Moral Reform. Mr. Campbell's Missionary Tour", *New Moral World*, 30 March 1839, 362. 177
ALEXANDER CAMPBELL
- PART 4
- Political economy 179
- 21 *Report to the County of Lanark, of a Plan for Relieving Public Distress* (Glasgow: Wardlaw & Cunninghame [1820] 1821), 1–7. 181
ROBERT OWEN
- 22 *Labour Defended against the Claims of Capital or the Unproductiveness of Capital Proved with Reference to the Present Combinations Amongst Journeymen* (London: Knight and Lacey, 1825), 83–92. 187
THOMAS HODGSKIN
- 23 *Labor Rewarded. The Claims of Labor and Capital Conciliated: or, How to Secure to Labor the Whole Products of its Exertions. By One of the Idle Classes* (London: printed for Hunt and Clarke, 1827), 75–88. 191
WILLIAM THOMPSON

CONTENTS

- 24 “Laws of the Birmingham Co-operative Society, and Trading Fund Association”, in *An Address Delivered at the Opening of the Birmingham Cooperative Society* (Birmingham: printed for W. Plastans, and published by the Society, 1828), 27–32. 203
WILLIAM PARE
- 25 “Sketch of a Commercial Constitution”, in *The Social System: a Treatise on the Principle of Exchange* (Edinburgh: William Tait, 1831), 30–39. 210
JOHN GRAY
- 26 *Gazette of the Exchange Bazaars, and Practical Guide to the Rapid Establishment of the Public Prosperity*, 20 October 1832, n°5. 215
GEORGE MUDIE
- 27 “An Outline of a Social Movement”, in *Labour’s Wrongs and Labour’s Remedy; or, The Age of Might and the Age of Right* (Leeds: David Green, 1839), 154–176. 219
JOHN FRANCIS BRAY
- PART 5
- Ways of organising 237
- 28 “Articles of Agreement of the Establishment at Orbiston”, *Register for the First Society of Adherents to Divine Revelation, at Orbiston*, n°1, 10 November 1825. 239
- 29 “Proceedings of the London Co-operative Society. An Address Delivered before the Society, on New Year’s-Day”, *Co-operative Magazine and Monthly Herald*, n°2, February 1826, 54–59. 242
- 30 “Rules and Regulations of the Equitable Labour Exchange, Gray’s Inn Road, London, for the Purpose of Relieving the Productive Classes from Poverty, by their Own Industry, and for the Mutual Exchange of Labour for Equal Value of Labour”, *Crisis*, n°27, 8 September 1832, 105–106. 248
- 31 “Incipient Community” in *Proceedings of the Third Cooperative Congress, held in London* (London: W. Strange, 1832), 85–95. 254

CONTENTS

- 32 *Rules and Regulations of the Grand National Consolidated Trades' Union of Great Britain and Ireland: instituted for the Purpose of More Effectually Enabling the Working Classes to Secure, Protect, and Establish the Rights of Industry* (London: Harjette and Saville, 1834). 266
- 33 "Progress of Social Reform", *New Moral World*, 6 August 1843, 46–47. 274
- 34 *Universal Community of Rational Religionists, The Constitution and Laws of the Rational Society: as Agreed to at the Annual Congress, held at Harmony Hall, Hants., May 10, 1843* (London: printed and published for the Society by W. Johnston, 1843). 277
- PART 6
- Democracy and the State 291
- 35 *An Address to the Working Classes* (1819), reprinted in *A Supplementary Appendix to the First Volume of the Life of Robert Owen . . .* (London: Effingham Wilson, 1858), 225–231. 295
ROBERT OWEN
- 36 *Fanny Wright Unmasked by her Own Pen. Explanatory Notes, Respecting the Nature and Objects of the Institution of Nashoba, and of the Principles Upon Which It is Founded, Addressed to the Friends of Human Improvement, in All Countries and of All Nations* (New York: printed for the purchasers [1827] 1830). 302
FRANCES WRIGHT
- 37 "Mr. Owen's Memorial to the Republic of Mexico, and a Narrative of the Proceedings Thereon", in *Robert Owen's Opening Speech, and His Reply to the Rev. Alex. Campbell . . .* (Cincinnati: published for R. Owen, 1829), 184–190. 317
ROBERT OWEN
- 38 *An Address to the Working Classes on the Reform Bill* (London: W. Strange, 1831), 13–16. 322
WILLIAM CARPENTER

CONTENTS

- 39 *Poor Man's Guardian*, 14 January 1832, 245–246. 328
HENRY HETHERINGTON
- 40 *Model Republic: a Monthly Journal of Politics, Literature, and
Theology*, n°1, 1 January 1843, 1–4. 332
JAMES NAPIER BAILEY
- 41 “Meeting of Congress, Friday, May 10, 1844”, *New Moral World*,
8 June 1844, 402–404. 336
- PART 7
- The new religion and the old 341
- 42 *Economist*, n°51, 2 March 1821, 399–408. 343
“PHILADELPHUS” [BENJAMIN SCOTT JONES]
- 43 *The Religious Creed of the New System* (Edinburgh: printed by
D. Schaw, 1824), 3–6. 351
ABRAM COMBE
- 44 “Address Delivered at the Annual Congress of the Association
of All Classes of All Nations, held in Manchester, from the 10th
to the 30th of May, 1837”, in *Six Lectures Delivered in Manchester
previously to the Discussion between Mr. Robert Owen and the
Rev. J.H. Roebuck* (Manchester: A. Heywood, 1837), 102–112. 355
ROBERT OWEN
- 45 “Policy versus Principle. To the Socialists of England. Letter V”,
Oracle of Reason; Or, Philosophy Vindicated, n°11, 5 March 1842,
89–91. 363
CHARLES SOUTHWELL
- 46 *Religion Superseded, or the Moral Code of Nature Sufficient for
the Guidance of Man* (London: Watson, 1844). 369
EMMA MARTIN
- 47 “Account of an Owenite Nuptial Ceremony”, *New Moral World*,
29 March 1845, 319. 382
“T.B.”

| | | |
|---------------|---|------------|
| PART 8 | | |
| | Gender, sexuality and family relations | 385 |
| 48 | “Conclusion, in which some Thoughts on Female Education are Offered”, in <i>An Astronomical Catechism, Or, Dialogues Between a Mother and her Daughter</i> (London: printed for and sold by the author, 1818), 345–359. | 387 |
| | CATHERINE VALE WHITWELL | |
| 49 | <i>Appeal to One Half of the Human Race, Women, Against the Pretensions of the Other Half, Men: to Retain in Political, and Thence in Civil and Domestic Slavery; in Reply to a Paragraph of Mr. Mill’s Celebrated “Article on Government”</i> (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green, 1825), 198–206. | 395 |
| | WILLIAM THOMPSON AND ANNA DOYLE WHEELER | |
| 50 | “Rights of Women. A Lecture delivered by Mrs. Wheeler, last year, in a Chapel near Finsbury Square”, <i>British Co-operator</i>, 1830, 12–15. | 401 |
| | ANNA DOYLE WHEELER | |
| 51 | <i>Moral Physiology; or, A Brief and Plain Treatise on the Population Question</i> (New York: Wright and Owen, 1830), 13–18. | 406 |
| | ROBERT DALE OWEN | |
| 52 | “To Robert Owen, Esq.”, <i>Crisis</i>, 22 June 1833, 189–190. | 410 |
| | “CONCORDIA” | |
| 53 | <i>Lectures on the Marriages of the Priesthood of the old Immoral World, Delivered in the year 1835, before the passing of the new Marriage Act</i> (Leeds: J. Hobson [1835] 1840), 3–14. | 414 |
| | ROBERT OWEN | |
| 54 | “On the Necessary Co-operation of Both Sexes for Human Advancement”, <i>New Moral World</i>, 26 August 1843, 65. | 423 |
| | “M.A.S.” | |

CONTENTS

PART 9

War, peace and internationalism 427

- 55 “Memorial of Robert Owen, of New Lanark, in Scotland, to the Allied Powers Assembled in Congress, at Aix-la-Chapelle, on Behalf of the Working Classes, 1818”, reprinted in *Manifesto of Robert Owen . . .* (London: Effingham Wilson, 1840), 31–41. 429

ROBERT OWEN

- 56 Constitution of the Blue Spring Community for the Promotion of Science and Industry (1826). 440

- 57 “Ralahine (Ireland); or Human Improvement and Human Happiness”, Letters I–IV, *New Moral World*, 31 March–21 April 1838. 446

JOHN FINCH

- 58 “Proceedings of Congress, Saturday, May 16, 1840”, *New Moral World*, 13 June 1840, 1314–1316. 457

- 59 *Report to a Meeting of Intending Emigrants: Comprehending a Practical Plan for Founding Co-operative Colonies of United Interests in the North-Western Territories of the United States* (London: W. Ostell, 1843), 2–10. 465

THOMAS HUNT

- 60 “Progress of Social Reform on the Continent. N° II. Germany and Switzerland”, *New Moral World*, 18 November 1843, 161–162. 470

FRIEDRICH ENGELS

- 61 “Meeting of English and Foreign Communists”, *New Moral World*, 28 September 1844, 109–111. 477

Bibliography 492

Volume II Socialism and Co-operation in Britain, 1850–1918

EDITED BY PETER GURNEY

- Introduction: socialism and co-operation in Britain, 1850–1918 1

PETER GURNEY

CONTENTS

| | | |
|-----------------------------|--|-----------|
| PART 1 | | |
| Redefining socialism | | 21 |
| 1 | “Labour and the Poor”, <i>Fraser’s Magazine</i>, January 1850, 13–18. | 23 |
| | J.M. LUDLOW | |
| 2 | <i>Report of the 2nd Co-operative Conference held at Manchester . . . 1853</i> (London: E. Lumley, 1853), 3–7. | 28 |
| | E.V. NEALE | |
| 3 | <i>Life and Last days of Robert Owen, of New Lanark</i> (London: Holyoake & Co., 1859), 17–24. | 33 |
| | G.J. HOLYOAKE | |
| 4 | “Industrial Co-operation”, <i>Fortnightly Review</i>, January 1866, 479–488, 491–493, 497–499. | 40 |
| | FREDERIC HARRISON | |
| 5 | “The Land! The Land!”, <i>Co-operative News</i>, 5 October 1872, 505–506. | 53 |
| | WILLIAM PARE | |
| 6 | “Co-operative Villages – Co-operation and Communism”, <i>Co-operative News</i>, 12 February 1876; 19 February 1876, 81, 93. | 58 |
| | GEORGE DAWSON | |
| 7 | “Modern English Communism”, <i>Co-operative News</i>, 25 August 1877, 448. | 65 |
| | W.H.C. | |
| 8 | “Advanced Co-operation, the Socialism of England”, <i>English Socialism</i> (Manchester: Abel Heywood, 1879), 1–7. | 71 |
| | HENRY TRAVIS | |
| PART 2 | | |
| Political economy | | 77 |
| 9 | <i>The Economic Advantages of Co-operation Substantiated. A letter addressed to the Rev. Norman Macleod, D.D., proving the truth of the large profits from co-operative economy, as stated at the</i> | |

CONTENTS

| | | |
|--------|--|-----|
| | <i>Glasgow meeting of the Association for the Promotion of Social Science</i> (Leeds: David Green, 1860), 12–18, 21–23, 25–26, 29–30. | 79 |
| | JOHN HOLMES | |
| 10 | “Land, Free Trade, and Reciprocity”, <i>Co-operator</i> , 4 December 1869, 836–837. | 85 |
| | JOHN PARKER | |
| 11 | <i>The Logic of Co-operation</i> (Manchester: Co-op Printing Society, 1873), 6–11. | 89 |
| | G.J. HOLYOAKE | |
| 12 | “Suggestions for Carrying out the Proposals for the Education of Co-operators”, <i>Co-operative News</i> , 4 November 1882, 743–744. | 94 |
| | BEN JONES | |
| 13 | <i>Inaugural address delivered at the twenty-first annual Co-operative Congress . . . 1889</i> (Manchester: Central Co-operative Board, 1889), 3–5, 7–13, 28–30. | 99 |
| | ALFRED MARSHALL | |
| 14 | <i>The Marriage of Labour and Capital</i> (London: The Labour Association, 1896), 1–3, 6–8. | 106 |
| | HODGSON PRATT | |
| 15 | Resolution and Discussion on Trusts, <i>The 35th Annual Co-operative Congress, 1903</i> (Manchester: Co-op Union, 1903), 345–347. | 111 |
| PART 3 | | |
| | Class, democracy and the State | 115 |
| 16 | “Discussion at Halifax”, <i>Notes to the People</i> , Vol. 2, 1852, 793–806, 823–829. | 117 |
| | ERNEST JONES AND LLOYD JONES | |
| 17 | <i>Co-operation v. Socialism: Being a Report of a Debate between Mr H. H. Champion and Mr Ben Jones</i> (Manchester: Central Co-op Board, 1887), 6–23. | 148 |

CONTENTS

- 18 *Trade Unionism, Co-operation, and Social Democracy* (London: Twentieth Century Press, 1892), 10–16. 158
HARRY QUELCH
- 19 *Co-operation is Reasonable Socialism* (Manchester: Co-op Union, 1894), 1–8. 165
W.T. CARTER
- 20 *The Co-operative Movement in Great Britain* (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 3rd edn, 1895), 224–241. 172
BEATRICE WEBB
- 21 “Trade Unionism and Co-operation”, in Edward Carpenter (ed), *Forecasts of the Coming Century* (Manchester: Labour Press, 1897), 31–36, 40. 181
TOM MANN
- 22 *Co-operative News*, 29 April 1905, 493. 186
PHILIP SNOWDEN
- 23 “The Conflict of Capitalism and Democracy”, *CWS Annual* (Manchester: CWS, 1910), 191–192, 196–198, 201–218. 189
PERCY REDFERN
- 24 *Justice*, 10 May 1913, 7. 208
JOHN MACLEAN
- PART 4
- Utopianism and the religion of co-operation 211
- 25 J.T.W. Mitchell’s presidential address, *The 24th Annual Co-operative Congress, 1892* (Manchester: Co-op Union, 1892), 6–8. 213
J.T.W. MITCHELL
- 26 *Co-operative Production* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1894), 730–732, 809–815. 222
BEN JONES

CONTENTS

| | | |
|---------------|---|-----|
| 27 | <i>Co-operation as a Democratic Force: Being a Sermon Preached before the Delegates at the Co-operative Congress, Huddersfield on June 9th, 1895, in Fitzwilliam Street Unitarian Church (London: The Labour Association, 1895), 1–7.</i> | 229 |
| | RAMSDEN BALMFORTH | |
| 28 | “The ‘Community Idea’”, <i>Millgate Monthly</i> , November 1908, 87–91. | 236 |
| | CATHERINE WEBB | |
| 29 | <i>Co-operation for All</i> (Manchester: Co-op Union, 1914), 115–124. | 243 |
| | PERCY REDFERN | |
| PART 5 | | |
| | Gender and consumer organising | 251 |
| 30 | “Vice President’s Address”, Miss Greenwood on women’s position, <i>Report of the 17th Annual Congress of Delegates from Co-operative Societies . . . 1885</i> (Manchester: Co-op Union, 1885), 71–72. | 253 |
| 31 | <i>The Marcroft Family and the Inner Circle of Human Life</i> (Rochdale: E. Wrigley & Sons Ltd., 1888), 50–52. | 256 |
| | WILLIAM MARCROFT | |
| 32 | <i>The Relations between Co-operation and Socialistic Aspirations</i> (Manchester: Co-op Union, 1890), 12–13. | 259 |
| | MARGARET LLEWELYN DAVIES | |
| 33 | <i>The Women’s Guild and Store Life</i> (London: 1892), 1–8. | 266 |
| | CATHERINE WEBB | |
| 34 | <i>The Women’s Co-operative Guild, 1883–1904</i> (Kirkby Lonsdale: WCG, 1904), 141–147, 161–163. | 273 |
| | MARGARET LLEWELYN DAVIES | |
| 35 | “The Efforts of Women in the Co-operative Movement”, <i>Bolton Co-operative Record</i> , January 1916, 8–9. | 279 |
| | SARAH REDDISH | |

CONTENTS

| | | |
|---|---|------------|
| PART 6 | | |
| Internationalism, empire and war | 283 | |
| 36 | <i>International Co-operation and the Constitution of the International Co-operative Alliance</i> (London: Co-op Printing Society, 1895), 1–8. | 285 |
| | EDWARD OWEN GREENING | |
| 37 | <i>Wheatsheaf</i>, October 1902, 52–53. | 291 |
| | ÉDOUARD DE BOYVE | |
| 38 | T.W. Allen’s speech, <i>The 40th Annual Co-operative Congress, 1908</i> (Manchester: Co-op Union, 1908), 359–360. | 295 |
| | T.W. ALLEN | |
| 39 | “Co-operation and Socialism”, <i>Co-operative News</i>, 14 January 1911, 46–47. | 298 |
| | HANS MÜLLER | |
| 40 | “Mr W. Lander’s Visit to West Africa”, <i>Bolton Co-operative Record</i>, November 1914, 3–4. | 302 |
| | WILLIAM LANDER | |
| 41 | W.J. Douse’s presidential address, <i>The 47th Annual Co-operative Congress, 1915</i> (Manchester: Co-op Union, 1915), 54–55. | 306 |
| | W.J. DOUSE | |
| PART 7 | | |
| The sense of the past | | 309 |
| 42 | “History of the Rochdale Pioneers”, <i>Daily News</i>, 6 July 1857. | 311 |
| | G.J. HOLYOAKE | |
| 43 | <i>Our Story: The Co-operative Movement</i> (Manchester: Co-op Union, 1903), 7–28. | 317 |
| | ISA NICHOLSON | |
| 44 | “The Great Miners’ Lock-out. £67,000 Withdrawn from the Society, 1893”, in <i>The Coronation History of the Barnsley</i> | |

CONTENTS

- British Co-operative Society Limited. 1862–1902* (Manchester: Co-operative Wholesale Society, 1903), 93–99. 325
- 45 “Industrial Accrington: Historical Sketch of its Development”, in *A History of Fifty Years of Progress of Accrington and Church Industrial Co-operative Society Ltd., 1860–1910* (Manchester: Co-op Newspaper Society, 1910), 194–205, 208. 329
JASMES HASLAM
- 46 *The Men who Fought for us in the “Hungry Forties”: a Tale of Pioneers and Beginnings* (Manchester: Co-operative Newspaper Society, 1914), 58–74, 167–172 337
ALLEN CLARKE
- 47 “An Irish Utopia”, in *Labour in Ireland. Labour in Irish History. The Re-conquest of Ireland* (Dublin: Maunsel & Co., 1917), 129–144. 349
JAMES CONNOLLY
- Bibliography* 357

Volume III Fabians, the ILP and the Labour Party

EDITED BY PETER LAMB

- Introduction: the birth of British parliamentary socialism** 1
PETER LAMB

PART 1

- Work as it was and how it might be** 15
- 1 *Land Lessons for Town Folk* (London: Clarion, 1896), 1–12. 17
WILLIAM JAMESON
- 2 “Dealing with the Unemployed: A Hint from the Past”, *Nineteenth Century*, December, 1904, 1–14. 30
J. KEIR HARDIE
- 3 *The Right to Work* (London: Independent Labour Party, c. 1908), 3–15. 44
H. RUSSELL SMART

CONTENTS

| | |
|--|------------|
| PART 2 | |
| Visions of the future | 59 |
| 4 <i>The Progress of Socialism: A Lecture</i> (London: Modern Press, William Reeves and Freethought Publishing Company, c. 1888), 3–18. | 61 |
| SIDNEY WEBB | |
| 5 <i>The Claims and Progress of Labour Representation</i> (Newcastle-on-Tyne: Labour Literature Society [North England], c. 1894), 3–16. | 75 |
| FRED HAMMILL | |
| 6 “The Need for a Labour Party”, in <i>Britain for the British</i> (London: Clarion Press, 1902), 148–155. | 90 |
| ROBERT BLATCHFORD | |
| 7 <i>The Individual under Socialism: A Lecture</i> (London: ILP, c. 1908), 3–14. | 96 |
| PHILIP SNOWDEN | |
| PART 3 | |
| Concepts of political change | 109 |
| 8 <i>What Socialism Means: A Call to the Unconverted – A Lecture Delivered for the Fabian Society</i> , 3 rd ed (London: William Reeves, c. 1888), 2. | 111 |
| SIDNEY WEBB | |
| 9 <i>What Socialism Is</i> (London: Fabian Society, 1890), 1–3. | 113 |
| FABIAN SOCIETY | |
| 10 <i>Poster for Socialism!: The First of a Course of Four Lectures Will be Given in the Co-operative Hall, High Street, on Tuesday, Nov. 4, 1890 by Sidney Webb</i> , 1890. | 118 |
| SIDNEY WEBB | |
| 11 <i>On the Importance of Right Methods in Teaching Socialism: A Paper Read to the Manchester and District Fabian Society, February 10th, 1891</i> (Manchester: R.J. Derfel, 1891), 1–15. | 120 |
| R.J. DERFEL | |

CONTENTS

| | | |
|---------------|--|------------|
| 12 | What is Socialism? A Discussion between Mrs. Annie Besant and Mr W. J. Nairn (Glasgow: SDF, 1892), 1–8. | 130 |
| | ANNIE BESANT AND W.J. NAIRN | |
| | | |
| PART 4 | | |
| | Political economy | 137 |
| | | |
| 13 | <i>Miners' Eight Hours Bill. Speech by J. Keir Hardie, MP, in the House of Commons, reprinted from <i>The Labour Leader</i> (London: John Penny, 1902).</i> | 139 |
| | KEIR HARDIE | |
| | | |
| 14 | <i>The New Unemployed Bill of the Labour Party (London: Independent Labour Party, c. 1907), 3–15.</i> | 142 |
| | J. RAMSAY MACDONALD | |
| | | |
| 15 | <i>Socialism and Agriculture (London: Independent Labour Party 1908), 3–15.</i> | 155 |
| | RICHARD HIGGS | |
| | | |
| PART 5 | | |
| | Ways of organising | 169 |
| | | |
| 16 | <i>Manifesto of the Joint Committee of Socialist Bodies (London: Twentieth Century Press, 1893), 1–8.</i> | 171 |
| | JOINT COMMITTEE OF SOCIALIST BODIES | |
| | | |
| 17 | <i>Why We Are Independent (London: Labour Representation Committee, 1903), 1–4.</i> | 177 |
| | LABOUR REPRESENTATION COMMITTEE | |
| | | |
| 18 | <i>Why is the L.R.C. Independent? (London: Labour Representation Committee, c. 1905).</i> | 183 |
| | LABOUR REPRESENTATION COMMITTEE | |
| | | |
| 19 | <i>Labour and Politics: Why Trade Unionists Should Support the Labour Party (London: Labour Party, c. 1907).</i> | 187 |
| | LABOUR PARTY | |

CONTENTS

| | | |
|---------------|--|------------|
| 20 | <i>The Party Pledge and the Osborne Judgement</i> (Manchester: The National Press Ltd, 1910), 1–16. | 192 |
| | KEIR HARDIE | |
| | | |
| PART 6 | | |
| | Democracy and the State | 209 |
| | | |
| 21 | <i>The Law and Trade Union Funds. A Plea for “Ante-Taff Vale”</i> (London: Independent Labour Party, 1903), 3–15. | 211 |
| | J. RAMSAY MACDONALD | |
| | | |
| 22 | <i>The Women’s Suffrage Controversy</i> (London: Adult Suffrage Society, 1905), 1–4. | 222 |
| | MARGARET BONDFIELD | |
| | | |
| 23 | <i>The Citizenship of Women: A Plea for Women’s Suffrage</i>, third edition (London: Independent Labour Party, 1906), 5–15. | 227 |
| | KEIR HARDIE | |
| | | |
| PART 7 | | |
| | The new religion and the old | 239 |
| | | |
| 24 | <i>A Socialist’s View of Religion and the Churches</i> (London: Clarion, 1896), 1–16. | 241 |
| | TOM MANN | |
| | | |
| 25 | <i>The New Religion</i>, 2nd edition (London: Clarion, 1897), 1–12. | 254 |
| | ROBERT BLATCHFORD | |
| | | |
| PART 8 | | |
| | Gender, sexuality and family relations | 265 |
| | | |
| 26 | <i>Women and the Factory Acts</i> (London: Fabian Society, 1896), 3–15. | 267 |
| | BEATRICE WEBB | |
| | | |
| 27 | <i>Socialism and the Family</i> (London: A.C. Fifield, 1906), 43–60. | 281 |
| | H.G. WELLS | |
| | | |
| 28 | <i>Will Socialism Destroy the Home?</i> (London: Independent Labour Party, c. 1907), 1–14. | 288 |
| | H.G. WELLS | |

CONTENTS

- 29 *Socialism and the Home* (London: Independent Labour Party, c. 1909), 1–11. 296

KATHARINE BRUCE GLASIER

- 30 *The New Children's Charter* (London: Independent Labour Party and Fabian Society, 1912), 3, 6–20. 307

C.M. LLOYD

PART 9

- War, peace and internationalism 321

- 31 *Hands Across the Sea: Labour's Pleas for International Peace* (Manchester: The National Labour Press, c. 1910), 1–16. 323

G.H. PERRIS

- 32 *A Labour Case Against Conscription* (Manchester: National Labour Press, c. 1913), 3–14. 339

HARRY DUBERY

- 33 *The Origins of the Great War* (London: Union of Democratic Control, 1914), 3–17. 350

HENRY NOEL BRAILSFORD

- Bibliography* 363

Volume IV Anglo-Marxists

EDITED BY KEVIN MORGAN

- Introduction: the Anglo-Marxists 1

KEVIN MORGAN

PART 1

- The idea of socialism 17

- 1 *Socialism Made Plain. Being the Social and Political Manifesto of the Democratic Federation* (Democratic Federation, 1883) 19

- 2 "The Manifesto of the Socialist League", *Commonweal*, February 1885, 1–2. 24

CONTENTS

| | | |
|---------------|--|-----------|
| 3 | “Anarchism”, <i>Justice</i>, 8, 22, 29 November and 6 December 1884. | 29 |
| | CHARLOTTE WILSON | |
| 4 | “Why Not?”, <i>Justice</i>, 12 April 1884. | 38 |
| | WILLIAM MORRIS | |
| 5 | <i>The Man with the Red Flag</i> (London: Twentieth Century Press, 1886), 3–12. | 42 |
| | JOHN BURNS | |
| 6 | “How I became a Socialist”, <i>Justice</i>, 30 June 1894. | 51 |
| | WALTER CRANE | |
| 7 | <i>Social Democracy or Democratic Socialism</i> (Social Democratic Federation: Salford District Council, 1895), 3–6, 15–16. | 55 |
| | H.W. HOBART | |
| 8 | “Social-democrat or socialist?”, <i>Social Democrat</i>, August 1897, 228–231. | 59 |
| | H.M. HYNDMAN | |
| 9 | <i>Socialism and Art</i> (Social Democratic Federation, 1907), 5–16. | 65 |
| | JACK C. SQUIRE | |
| PART 2 | | |
| | Concepts of political change | 75 |
| 10 | “How the Change Came” from <i>News from Nowhere</i>, chapter 17, reprinted in <i>Commonweal</i>, 17, 24 and 31 May 1890. | 77 |
| | WILLIAM MORRIS | |
| 11 | <i>An Anti-Statist, Communist Manifesto</i>, International Revolutionary Library, 1887, 2–22. | 86 |
| | JOSEPH LANE | |
| 12 | <i>The Co-Partnership Snare</i> (Twentieth Century Press, c. 1913), 1–3, 14–16. | 101 |
| | HARRY QUELCH | |

CONTENTS

- 13 “Social-Democrats and the Administration of the Poor Law”, *Social Democrat*, January 1897, 14–18. 106
GEORGE LANSBURY
- 14 “Long Live Syndicalism!”, *The Syndicalist*, May 1912. 112
EDWARD CARPENTER
- PART 3**
- Political economy 115**
- 15 “The Iron Law of Wages”, *Justice*, 15 March 1884, 3. 117
H.M. HYNDMAN
- 16 *Socialism and Slavery* (1884), Social Democratic Federation (London: Twentieth Century Press, 1899 edn), 3–15. 120
H.M. HYNDMAN
- 17 *Useful Work Versus Useless Toil* (1885), Hammersmith Socialist Society, 1893 edn, 3–12, 19. 132
WILLIAM MORRIS
- 18 “The Reward of ‘Genius’”, *Commonweal*, 25 September 1886, 205–206. 142
WILLIAM MORRIS
- 19 “The Great Money Trick” from *The Ragged Trousered Philanthropists* (1914), ch. 21. 146
ROBERT TRESSELL
- PART 4**
- Work and social conditions 155**
- 20 *What a Compulsory Eight-hour Day Means to the Workers* (London: Modern Press, 1886). 157
TOM MANN
- 21 *Unemployment: Its Causes and Consequences* (London: Twentieth Century Press, 1906), 5–16. 168
COUNTESS OF WARWICK

CONTENTS

| | | |
|---------------|---|------------|
| 22 | <i>Prison Reform from a Social-Democratic Point of View</i> (London: Twentieth Century Press, 1909), 1–14. | 177 |
| | DORA B. MONTEFIORE | |
| 23 | <i>Social-Democracy and the Housing Problem</i> (London: Twentieth Century Press, 1900), 3–4, 6–7, 22–24. | 189 |
| | F.O. PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE | |
| PART 5 | | |
| | Ways of organising | 197 |
| 24 | “Organised Labour. The Duty of the Trades Unions in Relation to Socialism”, <i>Commonweal</i> , 14, 21 and 28 August 1886. | 199 |
| | THOMAS BINNING | |
| 25 | “Social Democracy and Industrial Organisation”, <i>Social Democrat</i> , 15 April 1910. | 211 |
| | HARRY QUELCH | |
| 26 | “Prepare for Action”, <i>Industrial Syndicalist</i> , July 1910, 31–54. | 216 |
| | TOM MANN | |
| 27 | “Leadermania”, <i>Justice</i> , 13 November 1897, 2. | 229 |
| | T. HUNTER | |
| PART 6 | | |
| | Democracy and the state | 235 |
| 28 | “The Will of the Majority”, in <i>The Ethics of Socialism</i> (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1889), 120–128. | 237 |
| | ERNEST BELFORD BAX | |
| 29 | “Workmen’s Jubilee Ode”, <i>Social Democrat</i> , February 1897. | 243 |
| | HENRY SALT | |
| 30 | “After the Jubilee”, <i>Justice</i> , 16 October 1897, 2. | 246 |
| 31 | “The ‘Monstrous Regiment’ of Womanhood”, in <i>Essays in Socialism New and Old</i> (London: Grant Richards, 1906), 276–279, 282–294. | 248 |
| | ERNEST BELFORD BAX | |

CONTENTS

- 32 “Why I Am Opposed to Female Suffrage”, *Social Democrat*,
April 1909. 257
DORA MONTEFIORE

PART 7

The new religion and the old 263

- 33 “The Socialist Conception of Ethics”, in *A New Catechism
of Socialism* (London: Twentieth Century Press, 1902),
22–30. 265
E. BELFORT BAX AND H. QUELCH

- 34 “A Christmas Sermon which the Bishop of London has been
asked to Preach in Westminster Abbey on Sunday,
December 25”, *Justice*, 24 December 1887, 4. 273
HERBERT BURROWS

- 35 *Socialism and the Survival of the Fittest* (London: Twentieth
Century Press [c. 1891], third edition, 1910), 1–17. 277
J. CONNELL

- 36 *Was Jesus a Socialist?* ([1891], Huddersfield: Worker Office,
c. 1908), 1–15. 294
JAMES LEATHAM

- 37 “Simplification of Life”, in *England’s Ideal* (Swan
Sonnenschein, Lowrey & Co, 1887), 79–99. 309
EDWARD CARPENTER

PART 8

Gender, sexuality, family and personal relations 323

- 38 “The Commercial Hearth”, *Commonweal*, 8 May 1886,
42 and 15 May 1886, 50. 325
ERNEST BELFORT BAX

- 39 *Some Words to Socialist Women*, Social Democratic Party
Women’s Committee (London: Twentieth Century Press,
1908), 5–16. 333
DORA B. MONTEFIORE

CONTENTS

| | | |
|--------|---|------------|
| 40 | <i>The Future of Woman</i> (London: Twentieth Century Press, 1909), 1–14. | 345 |
| | HERBERT BURROWS | |
| 41 | <i>Socialism and Eugenics</i> (London: Twentieth Century Press, 1911), 1–15. | 359 |
| | GEORGE WHITEHEAD | |
| PART 9 | | |
| | War, peace and internationalism | 375 |
| 42 | <i>Manifesto of the Socialist League on the Soudan War</i> , Socialist League, 1885. | 377 |
| 43 | <i>The Imperial Kailyard. Being a Biting Satire on English Colonisation</i> (London: Twentieth Century Press, 1896), 3–15. | 381 |
| | R.B. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM | |
| 44 | <i>The Approaching Catastrophe in India</i> (London: Twentieth Century Press, 1897), 3–16. | 389 |
| | H.M. HYNDMAN | |
| 45 | “Socialism and Colonial Development”, <i>Social Democrat</i> , July 1898, 208–211. | 406 |
| | JOHN R. WIDDUP | |
| 46 | <i>Social-Democracy and the Armed Nation</i> (London: Twentieth Century Press, 1900), 3–14, 16. | 412 |
| | HARRY QUELCH | |
| 47 | <i>Anti-militarism from the workers’ point of view: why every working man and woman should be an anti-militarist</i> , Workers’ Anti-Militarist Committee, 1913, 1–7. | 424 |
| | DORA MONTEFIORE | |
| 48 | “A Continental Revolution”, <i>Forward</i> , 15 August 1914, 38–42. | 431 |
| | JAMES CONNOLLY | |

CONTENTS

| | | |
|------------------------------|---|------------|
| PART 10 | | |
| The sense of the past | | 435 |
| 49 | “George Julian Harney: A Straggler of 1848”, <i>Social Democrat</i>, January 1897, 3–8. | 437 |
| | EDWARD AVELING | |
| 50 | “Bloody Niggers”, <i>Social Democrat</i>, April 1897, 104–109. | 444 |
| | R.B. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM | |
| 51 | “Why is Socialism in England at a Discount?”, <i>Social Democrat</i>, March 1898, 69–74 and April 1898, 112–117. | 451 |
| | THEODORE ROTHSTEIN | |
| 52 | <i>The First of May: The International Labour Day (1900)</i> (London: Twentieth Century Press, 1904), 3–16. | 464 |
| | H.W. LEE | |
| | <i>Bibliography</i> | 478 |



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

PREFACE

“The most encouraging fact about revolutionary activity is that, although it always fails, it always continues. The vision of a world of free and equal human beings . . . never materialises, but the belief in it never dies out”. The words are George Orwell’s, introducing a compilation of British political writings from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries. *Contemporary Thought on Nineteenth Century Socialism* is a project devoted to one of the most fascinating, prolific and politically consequential phases in this longer tradition. Not all the authors selected would have described themselves as revolutionary. Most did, however, subscribe to some or other vision of that “state of brotherhood” or classless society which Orwell identified with socialism. The overall scope of the project is described in the general introduction at the start of Volume I. Though no treatment can be fully comprehensive, we believe that the four volumes together do reflect the richness and diversity of socialist thinking in one of the principal countries (along with France) in which it originated. From Robert Owen in 1814 to James Connolly on the outbreak of the First World War, the volumes document precisely a century of socialist activity. Many times it may have ebbed away or been diverted into other channels, but without belief in its basic ideals ever dying out.

Each volume is organised around a series of thematic headings, loosely adapted to its contents. Within this broad approach, each volume editor has had complete discretion regarding the selection of materials and the overall scope of each volume. Many of the texts are reproduced in full, others are substantial extracts. Each chapter comprises the selected text prefaced by an editorial introduction providing context, evaluation and a clarification of references that may now be obscure. At the beginning of each volume there is also an introductory overview by the editor.

There has been no modernisation of spellings or other editorial conventions. Offensive or taboo terms remain as in the original text, and the use of the universal male pronoun (like Orwell’s state of brotherhood) is reproduced without comment unless it is that of the original author. Where notes from the original text are reproduced, these will be found within each chapter with the document they derive from. Where editorial notes are provided, these are collected at the end of that part of the volume.

PREFACE

The sources of the texts reproduced include the British Library, Hathi Trust, British Library of Political and Economic Science and the Co-operative Archive. The great majority of the documents in Volumes III–IV have been reproduced from originals in the Working Class Movement Library in Manchester, which has one of the finest collections in the world of print materials relating to British nineteenth-century socialism. Our thanks and grateful acknowledgements to all of these.

P.G.
K.M.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Socialism before the age of party

Peter Gurney and Kevin Morgan

Socialism was a movement and a body of ideas long before it became a party. The boundaries of this movement were fluid. It ebbed and flowed over time. It had no single organisational focus, no commonly accepted programme, no seer or recognised founder, least of all a single leader as some said Ferdinand Lassalle briefly was in Germany. Nevertheless, it is easy to describe it as a movement because socialists themselves described it that way; and as they so identified themselves, they had some clear sense of who the socialists were, and who were not. “At last, I am a socialist!”, recorded one famous convert in her journal in 1890.¹ Not every socialist had to cross William Morris’s “river of fire” to get there. But for a great many socialists there was this sense of something to be crossed, as fluid as it may have been, and of socialism as both the answer to the challenge of their times and the future that would supersede them.

As the modern socialist movement took shape from the 1880s, there were multiple attempts to celebrate its origins, plot its course over time and conjure up the sense of the past that defined its world-view almost as much as its sense of the future. Socialists were disputatious of their very nature. There could no more have been a single narrative of their history than a single guiding text or leader’s portrait image. Socialism was pluralistic, and socialisms (plural) has some force as the looser term that acknowledges what were sometimes fundamental differences. Nevertheless, it is striking how far socialists of different persuasions had some common notion of the movement’s limits, both temporal and political. They also had a surprisingly distinct sense of who and what belonged, and who did not. The Fabian socialist Sidney Webb, the marxists William Morris and Belfort Bax, the future Labour Party leader Ramsay MacDonald: all provided accounts in which socialism was both the general direction in which society as a whole was necessarily heading and the movement of those who sought to guide it there.

All acknowledged continental forbears, from Henri de Saint-Simon and Charles Fourier to Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. Most found space for Thomas Spence (1750–1814), whose lecture on land reform, *The Real Rights of Man* (1775) was one of the first historical documents to be reissued as the socialist movement revived in the late nineteenth century. Nevertheless, in its own collective memory socialism was a movement that first appeared in Britain around the end of the Napoleonic

Wars and proceeded thereafter in two distinct, somewhat loosely connected phases. In leading the way in the first phase, socialism's most important early advocate was Robert Owen and the first true organised movement of socialists was the Owenites. The mass Chartist movement of the 1830s–50s could not itself be described as socialist, but contained a socialist current within it that was most commonly associated with James Bronterre O'Brien and regarded by later socialists as Chartism's most forward-looking section. With Chartism's protracted decline after the crisis year of 1848, socialism as a self-conscious movement of opinion more or less ceased to exist. According to its later advocates, the socialist leaven was still at work, but at work in more labyrinthine ways, through movements that were not themselves avowedly socialist. When a new wave of socialist societies were formed in the 1880s and 90s, these were at once boldly modern in their self-perception and conscious of a longer lineage that had never completely died away.

What made socialism possible from the early nineteenth century, initially to conceptualise and talk about, later to organise and think of as a movement? It had not always been possible: we have to go back to the Diggers in the 1640s to get something close, and the experiment on St George's Hill was limited and soon extinguished. It was the long revolution in ideas usually referred to and simplified as the Enlightenment that made socialism thinkable in a modern sense. The development of the notion of "society" as something existing in its own right and not merely an agglomeration of individuals was crucial, as was fuller appreciation of different kinds of "societies". Critics of early industrial capitalism frequently conjured up images of "organic societies" that were supposed to have existed in the past as a way of berating the present. Classical political economy in which a labour theory of value played a key role also constituted a fecund source of critical ideas and did not serve only as rationalisations for a rising bourgeoisie.² Natural rights' arguments culminating in Tom Paine's *Rights of Man* was another necessary foundation for the full flowering of socialist ideology in the 1820s, especially the second part Paine published in 1792 that contained a blueprint for a "welfare state".³ Most important was the continuing influence of Christianity: the legacy of religious dissent stretched back to the 1640s and although the observation that the British labour movement owed more to Methodism than Marx is a cliché it is no less true for that. The desire for working-class independence of thought and action was essential for the spread of nonconformity. Methodism was not a symptomatic expression of the "chiliasm of despair" either. Individual moral improvement was a vital aspect of both socialism and working-class association more generally from the very outset, not merely a sign of "bourgeois" indoctrination.⁴ Christianity had traditionally helped keep the majority down, certainly, but it also provided much of the language and mental furniture that enabled a far-reaching critique of capitalism: Spence imagined the general strike as a "Jubilee"; Chartists called it the "Sacred Month".

The noun "socialist" first appeared in English in the *Co-operative Magazine and Monthly Herald* in 1827 to describe Owen's communitarian schemes. The diffusion of the term was slow and the next example is not found until six years later, when it was used in the *Poor Man's Guardian*, the most important

newspaper in the so-called war of the unstamped press. “Socialism” itself did not appear until 1837.⁵ It developed in opposition to another early nineteenth century neologism, “individualism”, which stressed the primacy of abstract individuals in the whole social and economic order, against the claims of society.⁶ Significantly, before Owenism and Chartism collapsed as mass movements in the late 1840s, the key word “socialism” was used synonymously with “communism” and “co-operation”. Capitalist development did not make socialism inevitable in any straightforward sense during this early phase, though its revolutionary effects did create fertile ground, especially in the new urban environments, for the dissemination of radical ideas and the growth of radical organisations.

Popular literacy was central: the tools of literacy and socialist criticism were inextricably intertwined and conversion to socialism depended always on reading and sometimes on writing texts. The (usually male) artisan autodidact poring over his books and teaching himself Latin and Greek classics by candlelight is a stock image and easily overdone, but it captures important elements. George Jacob Holyoake who quit the engineering workshop to pursue a life as a “propagandist” and who was employed for a time as a “Social Missionary” by the Owenite movement in the early 1840s, actively cultivated the outsider identity that public profession of socialist belief frequently conferred. As with plebeian intellectuals generally, his autodidacticism was not a lonely affair, however. He knew very well that reading and writing were social acts and he did what he could to share the skills he had acquired: his *Practical Grammar* published in 1844 had run to eight editions by 1870, the *Spectator* noting that it was “written in the conjoint style of *Punch* and an Ultra-Radical setting the world to rights”.⁷ Education and persuasion were regarded as the best means of achieving the New Moral World by this as well as later generations of socialists. Even those Owenites and Chartists who employed the most combative language and contemplated the necessity for armed confrontation believed that education was the real key to social and economic transformation. Organic intellectuals such as Holyoake spoke to a wide audience: recent studies have demonstrated the reach of literacy skills before the coming of a national state controlled system of education in the late nineteenth century, which found various rich expressions, from pauper letters to poor law authorities to working-class writing in the popular press and a veritable explosion of working-class autobiography.⁸

Although Chartism should not be understood as a socialist movement in either embryo or disguise, the socialist current within it was influential and did not run in a confined channel. Indeed, many socialists called themselves Chartists and vice versa, not only figures such as Holyoake and William Lovett who have often been labelled moderates but also revolutionary firebrands such as Bronterre O’Brien and George Julian Harney. For sure, Chartism was deeply rooted in earlier movements for political reform and its leaders often employed the language of constitutionalism to attack “Old Corruption” – what William Cobbett (no socialist but a fierce critic of capitalism) called “the Thing”. But this aspect has been much overplayed by historians during recent decades with damaging results: the threat posed by Chartism to the emerging economic and social order has been obscured,

including the reach of socialist ideas. Robert Owen may have had an empty space in his head where most people had political responses but many others whose outlook had been shaped by his work thought deeply about political power and often used a much more threatening, overtly democratic discourse. O'Brien's nickname as "the schoolmaster of Chartism" was significant surely, gained after his work as editor of the *Poor Man's Guardian* that was established by the radical London printer Henry Hetherington, another Owenite-Chartist.

Clearly, Owenites as well as Chartists thought politically, and they were also frequently far more practical than Owen was, establishing hundreds of co-operative stores as well as scores of local organisations in towns and cities across the country from the 1820s. In these branches, women and men drawn mainly from the artisan stratum of the working class built an alternative culture from below, one that was democratic and family-centred. Such people were as passionate about individual moral change as they were about collective transformation, enthusiastically taking up a host of alternative practices and ideas, including phrenology, temperance and vegetarianism.⁹ Henceforth, making a new culture was a distinctive feature of the socialist project in Britain.¹⁰ George Orwell's dismissive swipe at socialist faddists in the 1930s was merely yet another iteration of a common jibe that can be traced back to the Owenite phase, via later figures in the same tradition such as Edward Carpenter. The emphasis on practical change was invariably mixed with a great deal of utopian longing, within Chartism as well as Owenism. Another socialist democrat, the radical printer Thomas Frost, wanted nothing more than to quit the Old Immoral World in the early 1840s. He tried unsuccessfully to establish a community himself, attempted to join Owen's settlement at Queenwood, again with no luck, and contemplated enlisting in the Concordists that had set up a community at Ham Common. Their regime of strict vegetarianism, teetotalism and sexual abstinence proved too much even for Frost, who went on to edit the *Communist Chronicle* for John Goodwyn Barmby, the individual responsible for introducing the term "communism" to England from France after a visit to Paris in 1840. Barmby established a Communist Church on his return that attempted to combine communism with Christianity, much to the dismay of most Owenite socialists. Like many other radicals, Frost liked to call himself "a Chartist and something more", a description he used both at the time and throughout later life.¹¹

After mid-century, with radicals scattered and liberal free trade in triumphant mode, anti-capitalist utopianism understandably became more difficult to sustain. It was not fully extinguished, however. Historians used to accept uncritically the views of the "Red Republican" Chartist Ernest Jones who, like his mentor Karl Marx, considered consumer co-operation that attracted so much working-class energy from this time as dominated by those motivated mainly by narrow material gain made possible by the success of shopkeeping. This was a simplistic reading: Owenites and Chartists were instrumental in establishing many local co-operative societies, including the Rochdale Society of Equitable Pioneers in 1844, which has often been regarded, erroneously, as originator of the modern movement. The press helped transmit the socialist legacy, first through the pages

of Henry Pitman's *Co-operator* during the 1860s, then by means of a national weekly established in 1871 by a growing movement, the *Co-operative News and Journal of Associated Industry*. These publications featured many articles by old Owenites such as William Pare, Henry Travis and J.C. Farn and also reported continuing if isolated attempts at community life. Co-operators in the second half of the nineteenth century were as keen on building an alternative culture as socialists had been in the first, this time around the social nexus of the store. Hence, they invested a percentage of the "surplus" (not profit) from trade on education, including formal classes and an extensive network of libraries and newsrooms, and also sought to cater to the desire for sociality and fellowship among members, organising tea parties, soirees, excursions, exhibitions, festivals and so on. The culture building associated with socialists that rallied round Robert Blatchford's weekly *Clarion* newspaper was writ large in the co-operative movement: here was the British equivalent to the alternative culture constructed by the Social Democratic Party of Germany before the First World War.

The influence of Christian socialism was also important after 1850, as a group of clerics and bourgeois intellectuals concerned about class polarisation sought to Christianise economy and society. E.V. Neale and J.M. Ludlow in particular worked to remove some of the legal disabilities that were constraining co-operation, though not without trying to impose a straightjacket of their own. They much preferred co-operatives to trade unions, as the former they believed tended to harmonise relations between capital and labour, helping to render class conflict redundant. Although it is unlikely that this group had much influence on the majority of co-operators in the industrial north – the co-operative movement's heartland – Christian Socialist involvement did facilitate better communication across classes. The widely read text, *Progress of the Working Class*, published in 1867 by Ludlow and the ex-fustian cutter and Owenite "Social Missionary", Patrick Lloyd Jones, illustrated this dialogue. As the title suggested, the work painted an optimistic picture, once workers had rejected visionary schemes. Admitting that the influence of Owenite socialists had been "far from inconsiderable" in manufacturing districts, Ludlow and Jones went on to assert that "their views as to 'community of property' were regarded by themselves as matters for private experiment rather than general acceptance".¹² This rejection of the Owenite past and emphasis on class harmony helped leaders such as Holyoake form alliances with sympathetic members of the liberal middle class, including John Bright, J.S. Mill and William Gladstone. Those modern historians keen to highlight the popular bases and tenacity of liberalism have made much of such links, which were undoubtedly significant, though they also conceal a great deal.¹³

Socialism as an ethic and ideal of social organisation was nevertheless a presence that is continuously discernible across the later decades of the nineteenth century. If ever a text summed up the spirit of an age, it was John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty* (1859), which according to A.V. Dicey provided its thousands of admiring disciples, of whom he was one, with the "final and conclusive demonstration of the absolute truth of individualism".¹⁴ Nevertheless, under Harriet Taylor's influence

Mill was much attracted to socialism – co-operators often drew attention to the fact – and when he died in 1873 he was working on a study of socialism of which only a handful of chapters were ever completed. The scope of his study was international, and Mill had no doubt that it was on the continent that “anti-property doctrines” were now most actively promulgated. Nevertheless, he also opined that “even in England the more prominent and active leaders of the working classes are usually in their private creed Socialists of one order or another, though . . . better aware than their continental brethren that great and permanent changes in the fundamental ideas of mankind are not to be accomplished by a *coup de main*”.¹⁵ Nearly forty years later, the Fabian socialists Sidney and Beatrice Webb would write that in Britain as elsewhere there was “far more Socialism than there are Socialists”, and it was a basic precept of the Fabians that across the nineteenth century this socialism that did not call itself socialism had been relentlessly advancing. What better evidence than Mill himself, who in his autobiography had described his “ideal of ultimate improvement” as one that could only be rightly classed as socialist. In the Fabian view looking back, the first edition of Mill’s *Principles of Political Economy* (1848) had marked the boundary of the old individualist economics, and every other one that followed the further advance of socialism.¹⁶

Socialism, however, could not yet be described as a political movement. In the articles they wrote in 1913, the Webbs wrote of socialism, not just as an aspiration or trend of thought, but as the revolt against oppression which gave the socialist movement “its halo of martyrdom, its unrecorded lives of silent heroism, its comradeship in privation and endurance and the strenuous unpaid work of millions of members”. It was socialism in this sense that marked its reappearance in Britain from the 1880s. Honour was paid to surviving Chartists like the “straggler” Harney.¹⁷ Owen and O’Brien were regarded as forbears; some even looked to the coming together of the co-operators and political socialists as the “two distinct bodies of social reformers” whose founding father Owen was.¹⁸ In the founding texts of Britain’s socialist revival of the 1880s the sense of this inheritance was strongly marked. In H.M. Hyndman’s *England for All* (1881) and *Historical Basis of Socialism in England* (1883), the very titles gave it away. Nevertheless, even Hyndman, while delicately avoiding any direct reference to Marx, was conscious from the start that the socialism he now embraced signified the assimilation into the long course of English history of what he called “theories now gaining ground all over the Continent”.¹⁹

Socialism as a body of ideas had never been confined within national boundaries. It was, moreover, on British soil and among British workers that the idea of an international labour organisation first took root. Already, the Chartist William Lovett has been described as the “first working man of modern times with an international outlook”.²⁰ When Marx in 1864 took the lead in establishing the International Workingmen’s Association, this too was launched from London with trade unionists like George Odger amongst its most important advocates. In the inaugural address which he wrote for it, Marx not only invoked the political economy of labour, but also described the “great social experiments” of the

co-operative movement as the greatest victory it had yet recorded.²¹ Even so, the socialist ideal did not yet provide a sufficient basis for such a movement. Marx's address did not refer to it. Following the defeat of the Paris Commune of 1871, British trade unionists were among the first to make their exit as the International disintegrated. The theories gaining ground elsewhere now took the shape of national parties: Marx in 1878 mentioned those of Germany, Switzerland, Denmark, Portugal, Italy, Belgium, Holland and North America.²² Beginning with Hyndman and the Democratic Federation (later the Social Democratic Federation or SDF), socialists in Britain set about forming their own additions to the list. Hyndman described it as the dawn of a revolutionary epoch in which the ideas of Fourier, Owen and Marx were everywhere in Europe being "taken down from the closet of the Utopian investigator into the street".²³ From Belgium had come the initiatives for the international socialist congresses held at Ghent in 1877 and Chur in 1881. The idea of the International was in the air and in 1889 it for the first time took the relatively stable organisational form that came to be known as the Second International. All of Britain's principal socialist bodies affiliated as a matter of course. In 1904, even the Labour Party was admitted on the basis that it practised the class war even if it did not preach it. Co-operators for their part practised as well as preached internationalism before the First World War, more so than did trade unionists. They felt an affinity between their ambitions and the Owenite goal of universal brotherhood. The picture is complicated, however, by the fact that some bourgeois supporters saw in international co-operation a bulwark against international socialism in the 1890s, and that the British co-operative movement itself was deeply implicated in the growth of empire owing to its expanding trading operations.

An age of organisation might be thought to have simplified the search for socialist ideas and the places where these were documented. In reality, it was in many ways harder than ever. As a figurehead for socialism, Hyndman was at once indefatigable and disinterested and at the same time flamboyantly self-opinionated and erratic in his judgment. Like the organisation which he founded, he was also a Londoner by origin and affinity, and counted it among the principal weaknesses of Chartism that it had had so little impact on that crucible of any conceivable revolution which was the capital.²⁴ Though Hyndman could hardly have borne the sole responsibility, he was at least a symbol of the failure to establish in Britain any single socialist organisation enjoying a clear ascendancy over its rivals. The Fabian Society, founded in 1884, was as strongly rooted in the capital as the marxist groupings of the SDF and breakaway Socialist League. Nevertheless, the Fabians for the time being rejected the very premise of a separate socialist party. Instead, they saw their role as one of guiding forward the tendencies to socialism they believed to be at work in all parts of British society, and more particularly those parts committed to some notion of social progress. Following some years later in 1893, the Independent Labour Party (ILP) combined the SDF's approach to popular campaigning with the pragmatic constitutionalism of the Fabians, but from a basis in Britain's industrial heartlands in which the SDF and Fabians had alike been deficient. According to the

proceedings of its second annual conference in 1894, a proposal that the ILP have its headquarters in the capital was received “with laughter”.²⁵

Socialists were therefore scattered across a range of organisations. They moved through them and between them and not infrequently, in a spirit of inclusiveness or indecision, belonged to two or more of them simultaneously. Others gave voice to socialist ideas without becoming a member of any of them, and sometimes did so within the socialist press itself. Even party organs did not for the most part have the exclusive character of the fortress parties of the continent.²⁶ With the extension of a basic education, the size of Britain’s reading public had increased significantly since the years of the Owenites and Chartists. Socialism had to mark its territory as part of the “long revolution” whose more conspicuous manifestations included the explosion of a mass-circulation commercial press. Socialists continued to have faith in education and the power of the printed word. They addressed each other through the “graphosphere” that for decades to come would remain such a characteristic feature of the international left.²⁷ Nevertheless, the limitations of a purely factional press were impossible to overlook in a country like Britain in which it faced such an uphill battle. Moreover, for Labour’s emerging political class, commercial journalism was one of the few obvious ways of underwriting a political career, as the ILPers Hardie, MacDonald and Snowden would all at some point demonstrate.

Socialism in consequence was not a respecter of boundaries. From the penny dreadfuls to respectable weeklies and monthlies of no particular socialist bias, there were sometimes opportunities for socialists to reach a wider public and even get paid for it. At the same time, there were justified warnings from the outset that a socialist press could never achieve a mass circulation without making some provision for the diversion and entertainment of its readers in the manner now identified with Fleet Street. If this were the criterion, then the most influential socialist of the day was not Hardie, MacDonald or Hyndman but Robert Blatchford. Blatchford had no stable party affiliation. He had an instinct for socialist unity and a sort of openhearted and hedonistic irreverence that aroused considerable mistrust among some ILP leaders in particular. Nevertheless, through the *Clarion* and pamphlets like *Merrie England*, Blatchford by common consent made more converts to the socialist cause than any of his contemporaries.

It was not just that there was more socialism than socialists. For those who would seek to document them, it is also a matter of some delicacy to determine just who the socialists were. “The Fabian Society consists of socialists”, declared the society’s “Basis” without apparent ambiguity. Nevertheless, the society freely admitted Liberals and even Tories, while Sidney Webb worked closely with collectivist “progressives” on the London County Council. The “new liberalism” of the day was clearly not a section of the socialist movement. Nevertheless, it did clearly influence the policies of the first Labour governments, and did so moreover through the direct agency of the former Liberals who sat within them. In the case of the anarchists, there was almost a reverse of this converging movement, and a clearer delineation of a movement of activists and ideas that could

not simply be assimilated within the broader socialist movement. Nevertheless, as the example of Charlotte Wilson shows in these volumes, in the early years of the socialist revival the connections could hardly have been closer.

The concept of the labour movement meant a further blurring of boundaries. Entering into wider currency in the early 1890s, this implied some notion of solidarity and shared objectives extending to any or all of the movements of co-operators, trade unionists and political socialists. In all three cases there remained instincts of fierce independence and often mutual antagonism or mistrust. There was certainly no common programme or consensus on either ends or means. Nevertheless, there was a sufficient basis for the labour alliance strategy which from 1900 saw the ILP and Fabian Society combine with the mass of non-socialist trade unionists to form the Labour Representation Committee, which later became the Labour Party. Activists of more militant outlook saw the unions themselves as possible instruments of social transformation, and lingering notions of a general strike re-emerged as a central strategic objective for the syndicalists of the immediate pre-1914 period.

The co-operative movement was also caught up in the widening of horizons and quickening anticipation of a new social order. Crucially, its liberal middle-class sympathisers were in this period increasingly marginalised. The movement sloughed off patrons and asserted its independence as a working-class organisation. Outsiders like the Russian anarchist Peter Kropotkin embraced co-operation as a total alternative to capitalism, a system of mutual aid writ large, while insiders often described it as “practical socialism”, regardless of whether all its members acknowledged this or not. Although they were wary of equating socialism with co-operation – owing to the rise of “state socialism” – influential figures like the chairman of the English Co-operative Wholesale Society, J.T.W. Mitchell, believed that the movement would eventually supplant capitalism entirely. So too did other leaders of the wholesaling operations such as William Maxwell of the Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society, whose uncle had been an Owenite. The discourse these co-operators articulated was neo-Owenite in its ambition, although now community building had to take place within the existing urban environment.

From the 1890s in particular, co-operators used a new term, “Co-operative Commonwealth”, to describe their ultimate goal. This was a term they shared with socialists from Walter Crane to Keir Hardie. Its most famous exponent was the Danish-American Laurence Gronlund, who had used it to describe the statist ideals of the German socialist school which the great majority of co-operators would not have recognised as their own. Many of them also remained suspicious of the politics of class and class struggle, preferring instead the peaceful mode of social and economic transformation effected by co-operation. The break with liberalism was therefore protracted, made more difficult by the fact that for co-operators the state was more often regarded as a source of anxiety rather than salvation. Co-operators’ views on this shifted over time as consumption became more overtly politicised from the turn of the century, a trend that greatly accelerated during the First World War. Increasingly, boundaries between the co-operative and socialist movement

became more porous: co-operators permeated socialist bodies and vice versa, just as activists within Chartism and Owenism had worked together generations before.

In the spring of 1905, Ramsay MacDonald launched the Socialist Library for the ILP. His reasoning in doing so was that Britain's socialist literature, as compared with those of other European countries, was mainly ephemeral in nature and devoid of any endeavour to deal in a more substantial way with the social, economic, political and ethical aspects of socialism. One of the principal objects of the series was therefore to introduce readers to those writings in other European languages which MacDonald held to have a less ephemeral character. It is indeed difficult to overstate how far socialism as a political ideal now represented an engagement with movements and ideas that sought to link up in a common cause that overreached national boundaries. From their earliest publications in the 1880s, the SDF and its successors had consistently aimed at providing its readers with both texts and reports of events originating overseas. So renowned a figure as Eleanor Marx figures chiefly in the socialist press as a translator and compiler of reports on the socialist movement internationally. Gronlund's *Co-operative Commonwealth* was among those foreign texts now largely forgotten that exercised an enormous influence at this time. For the generation of the early 1900s, the productions of Charles H. Kerr & Co of Chicago were a crucial element in the library of the self-educating worker turning to marxism. The Bostonian Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward* was also read by as many British socialists as any but a handful of home-produced writings of comparable scope. Only the Fabian Society tracts, which MacDonald had presumably had in his sights, were determinedly resistant to any taint of external influence.

The documents collected here are for the most part of just that ephemeral character that MacDonald seemed to rate so lowly. This is partly because texts and authors deemed to be of more enduring interest tend to be more familiar and easily accessible to readers. Doubtless to MacDonald's posthumous chagrin, it is also true that his and others' more substantial writings have not in practice proved any less ephemeral than their slighter productions of the moment. The documents are not intended as a socialist canon, or even as an alternative to one, but as a representation of a movement and tradition which, for all their divergences, were always interested in ideas as a way of understanding the world and collectively acting upon that understanding. With a few exceptions, the documents are restricted to original texts by British socialists and co-operators mostly published independently or under socialist auspices in the broader sense. The international character of many of these publications is therefore registered only through the British interlocutors in a wider debate: so that Bellamy's *Looking Backward*, for example, appears here only indirectly through the extract of William Morris's counter-utopia *News From Nowhere*. Though the best-known socialists like Morris are not excluded, they appear here in the context of the wider movements of which they were part, including even the most ephemeral of their productions where these give insight into the political culture of which they are the surviving traces.

It has become commonplace to refer to the short twentieth century inaugurated by the outbreak of war in 1914. Eric Hobsbawm, among the most eminent of those

to have done so, also referred to it as an age of extremes. Within the context of the movements represented in these volumes, it may also be considered as an age of party. In 1918, the Labour Party for the first time became a national mass membership party with a programme and constitution that included the socialist commitment of its famous Clause IV. Two years later, Britain's marxist parties, sects and fragments mostly sunk their identity in the Communist Party of Great Britain, formed as a section of the new Communist International. The ILP and smaller left parties found themselves relentlessly squeezed. The anarchist movement for a period almost disappeared. Co-operation went from strength to strength but with its political horizons narrowed. Even the Fabian Society, though continuing its work even today, seemed so closely identified with the Labour Party as to lose its identity within it. With Labour on the one side and the CPGB on the other, some historians have described the effect of a synchronised pincer movement that forced into the shadows the myriad variants of left-wing politics that had hitherto coexisted and cross-fertilised each other. Ethical, feminist, revolutionary and anti-statist socialisms have all been portrayed as the victims of this so-called double close of the warring leviathans.

This is an over-simplification and should not be taken at face value. Each generation has its own complexity and historical agency and cannot just be used as a backdrop for those that followed or came before. In any case, observers of these movements continued to remark upon what the Austrian secretary of the reborn Second International described as the "very English" trait of disorganisation. With all these caveats, it is nevertheless the case that socialists in Britain were entering into a new age of party. The ideas they expressed were structured by party loyalties and subject to party disciplines in a way only dimly prefigured before the war. They were informed by research departments or the first of the new breed of academic socialists who before the 1920s were an exclusively continental phenomenon. Going far beyond the communists' ranks, many were also drawn by Soviet communism, and its purported realisation of socialist ideals would necessarily figure prominently in any collection of socialist documents after 1917. Whatever the undoubted continuities that existed, the period of the First World War was therefore a political watershed and marked the onset of a new set of debates, institutions and party alignments, and new languages to describe them. Though it begins here a little later than in some other historical contexts, the long nineteenth century that is covered in these volumes has a logic and a rationale that did not survive the larger crisis that centred on the years of the First World War.

Notes

- 1 Beatrice Webb, 1950 ed. *My Apprenticeship*. London: Longman & Green Co, 348–349.
- 2 William Stafford, 1987. *Socialism, Radicalism and Nostalgia: Social Criticism in Britain, 1775–1830*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 31–90; Noel Thompson, 1984. *The People's Science: The Popular Political Economy of Exploitation and Crisis, 1816–34*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 3 See Mark Philp, 1989. *Paine*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- 4 E.P. Thompson, 1963. *The Making of the English Working Class*. London: Gollancz; J.A. Jaffe, 1989. "The 'Chiliasm of Despair' Reconsidered: Revivalism and Working-Class Agitation in County Durham". *Journal of British Studies* 28 (1): 23–42; Tom Scriven, 2017. *Popular Virtue. Continuity and Change in Radical Moral Politics, 1820–70*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- 5 A.E. Bestor, 1948. "The Evolution of the Socialist Vocabulary". *Journal of the History of Ideas* 9 (3): 277–278.
- 6 See Raymond Williams, 1983. *Keywords: a vocabulary of culture and society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 164–165.
- 7 Sophia Collett, 1855. *George Jacob Holyoake and Modern Atheism*. London: Trübner & Co, 15.
- 8 David Vincent, 1989. *Literacy and Popular Culture: England, 1750–1914*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Jonathan Rose, 2001. *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes*. New Haven: Yale University Press; Steven King, 2019. *Writing the Lives of the English Poor, 1750s–1830s*. Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press.
- 9 Eileen Yeo, 1971. "Robert Owen and Radical Culture". In *Robert Owen, Prophet of the Poor: Essays in the Honour of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of His Birth*, edited by Sidney Pollard and John Salt. London: Macmillan.
- 10 Chris Waters, 1990. *British Socialists and the Politics of Popular Culture, 1884–1914*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- 11 Bestor, "The Evolution of the Socialist Vocabulary", 280; Thomas Frost, 1880. *Forty Years Recollections, Literary and Political*. London: Sampson Low, 41–49, 54–60.
- 12 J.M. Ludlow and Patrick Lloyd Jones, 1867. *The Progress of the Working Class, 1832–1867*. London: Alexander Strahan, 296–297.
- 13 See especially Eugenio Biagini, 1990. *Liberty, Retrenchment and Reform: Popular Liberalism in the Age of Gladstone, 1860–1880*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 14 A.V. Dicey, 1905. *Law and Public Opinion in the Nineteenth Century*. Cited by Stefan Collini, 1991. *Public Moralists: Political Thought and Intellectual Life in Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 326–327.
- 15 John Stuart Mill ed. W.D. Bliss, 1891. *Socialism: A Collection of his Writings on Socialism, with Chapters on Democracy, the Right of Property in Land and the Enfranchisement of Women*. New York: Humboldt.
- 16 Sidney and Beatrice Webb, "What is socialism?", *New Statesman*, 1 April 1913, 13; Sidney Webb, 1889. "Historic". In *Fabian Essays in Socialism*, ed. G. Bernard Shaw. London: Walter Scott, 58.
- 17 See Vol. IV, Part 10, Chapter 49, below.
- 18 Beatrice Potter (Webb), 1930 edn. *The Co-operative Movement in Great Britain*. London: Allen & Unwin, 240.
- 19 H.M. Hyndman, 1881. *England for All*. London: Gilbert & Rivington, 6.
- 20 Lewis L. Lorwin, 1929. *Labor and Internationalism*. New York: Macmillan, 17.
- 21 The address is reproduced in G.M. Stekloff, 1927. *History of the First International*. Martin Lawrence, 439–449.
- 22 Franz Mehring, 1936. *Karl Marx: The Story of his Life*. London: Allen & Unwin, 483.
- 23 Henry Hyndman, "The dawn of a revolutionary epoch", *The Nineteenth Century*, Jan. 1881: 2.
- 24 Henry Hyndman, "The Revolution of Today", *Today*, Jan. 1884: 23.
- 25 Independent Labour Party second national conference *Report*, February 1894, 10–11.
- 26 Kevin Morgan, 2006. *Labour Legends and Moscow Gold: Bolshevism and the British Left part 1*. London: Lawrence & Wishart, ch. 4.
- 27 See Régis Debray, "Socialism: A Life-Cycle", *New Left Review* 46 (July–August 2007): 5–28.

INTRODUCTION

Ophélie Siméon

As the “Father of British Socialism”, Robert Owen (1771–1858) has often come across as a paradox. Though he was born into modest circumstances, his aspiration to raise the condition of the working classes was not informed by traditional radicalism, but by his life experience as a self-made factory owner. Additionally, while he successfully federated his supporters from the late 1820s onwards, the first British socialist movement – also known as Owenism – had already collapsed by 1845. Owen is also associated with Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels’s *Communist Manifesto*, which disparaged his philosophies as an idealistic, “utopian” forerunner to their own, “scientific” socialism ([1848] 1992, 34–37). Notwithstanding, in a later text, Engels conceded that despite Owenism’s millenarian overtones, “every social movement, every real advance in England on behalf of the workers links itself to the name of Robert Owen” ([1880] 1970, 95). As a result, “The enigma – and charm – of Owen, which so attracted his contemporaries, casts its spell on succeeding generations of reformers. [. . .] A good part of the English socialist tradition is in fact a series of reinterpretations of enigmatic figures from the past. For each age there is a new view of Mr. Owen” (Harrison 1971, 1).

Long seen as merely “utopian”, early socialism is now studied as a strand of economic and political thought in its own right. Following on from J.F.C. Harrison’s (1969) seminal study of Owenism in Britain and the United States, Gareth Stedman Jones (1983), Maxine Berg (1980), Jonathan Beecher (1986) and Gregory Claeys (1987; 1989) broke away from earlier, dominant teleological approaches. In doing so, they acknowledged the works of Charles Fourier, Henri de Saint-Simon and Robert Owen by setting them within their own time, and in their own terms. More specifically, these studies explored how socialism emerged in early nineteenth-century Europe as a response to the challenges of the new industrial age and the threat of rising distress in the midst of unprecedented abundance. In contrast to classical political economy, socialist thought denounced the economic status quo and refused to rationalise the depreciation of labour (Thompson 1984, 21; Claeys 1987). Furthermore, the early socialists were not content with the piecemeal nature of traditional methods of social relief, and sought to design universal reform schemes in a bid to provide a definitive answer to the social

question. Far from being “utopian” in the negative sense of the word, i.e. a mere fiction or chimera, this vision leaned on Enlightenment-era rationalism and the subsequent belief in limitless human perfectibility. The force of imagination was used to conjure up a better future, but the new world was to be built here and now, through brick-and-mortar experiments, not in a distant future. Acknowledging the overlap of millenarian discourses and pragmatic methods has therefore challenged the classical distinction between “utopian” and “scientific” socialism.

Aside from the renewed focus on early socialist thought, recent research has also provided a complementary social history perspective, in the vein of Eileen Yeo’s (1971) pathbreaking account of radical culture in the Owenite movement. In dealing with grassroots initiatives, beliefs and activism, studies by Simon Gunn, Robert J. Morris, Katrina Navickas and others have shown that in crafting a political vision for the future, the often overlooked minutiae of everyday life matters just as much the epic of well-known political events (Gunn and Morris 2001; Navickas 2016, 12–13).

This book is informed by and builds on these renewed approaches in the history of early socialism. Blending political, economic, intellectual and social history, it showcases the richness and diversity of the Owenite movement. Spanning from Robert Owen’s first seminal works in 1813–1816 to the late 1840s, it encompasses political allegiances, genders and epochs.

This volume therefore draws on an unprecedented wide variety of sources that have never before been brought together and that are not easily accessible. The formats include books, pamphlets, archival sources and newspaper articles – and a variety of often overlapping voices – from Chartists to early co-operators, secularists, non-British Owenites and proponents of women’s rights. The sheer range of Owenite ventures – intentional communities, co-operatives, labour exchanges, Halls of Science and experiments in popular education – are all covered. This mapping of the Owenite movement draws out the identification of its shared, core principles and values: internationalism, co-operation, concepts of political change, and above all, the ideal of community.

Robert Owen: from philanthropy to socialism (1771–1825)

Robert Owen was born on 14 May 1771 in Newtown, Wales, the youngest but one of seven children. His father, Robert Senior, was a saddler, ironmonger and churchwarden, while his mother, Anne, came from an impoverished gentry family. At the age of ten, after a short stint at the local school where, according to his own account, he showed great proficiency, Owen was sent to work with a Lincolnshire master clothier (Owen 1857–1858, 42; Donnachie 1998). By 1788, the young Welshman had relocated to Manchester, then already the capital of Britain’s booming textile sector. The next few years were marked by his rapid upward social mobility. After working for a firm of drapers, Owen set up his own business as a spinning-machine builder and yarn dealer. In 1792, he was appointed under-manager at Peter Drinkwater’s Piccadilly factory, one of the biggest Mancunian

spinning mills. Four years later, at the age of twenty-five, he established his own firm, the Chorlton Twist Company, thus becoming part of Britain's industrial elite. Unlike most of his fellow factory owners, he had also established a reputation as a progressive employer, with a strong interest in poor relief, no doubt helped by his own humble beginnings. The 1790s saw him join both the prestigious Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, one of the country's biggest learned societies, and the Manchester Board of Health, a group of local philanthropists determined to improve the conditions of factory workers, and which would later play a key role in the passing of the 1802 Health and Morals of Apprentices Act (Chaloner 1954; Innes 2002).

In 1798, while on a business trip to Glasgow, Robert Owen met his future wife, Anne Caroline Dale. Her father, David, had established the factory village of New Lanark as a joint venture with Richard Arkwright in 1785, and he had already found national fame as a progressive entrepreneur and philanthropist. On Anne Caroline's advice, Owen called at New Lanark on 15 June 1798 where he made acquaintance with her father. At first glance, it would seem that the two men had little in common. Dale was a staunch Evangelical Dissenter and a Tory, while Owen harboured deist opinions and less conservative political views. Yet both had been born into modest circumstances and they shared an interest in charitable management. It soon became obvious that the founder of New Lanark, already in his old age, was looking to sell, but struggled to find potential buyers who were as keen as he was. In his own words, he hoped to find successors willing to "unite the things which [. . .] have been thought impossible to go on together, the prosperity of the works and the health, morals [. . .] of the people" (Dale 1792, cited in Currie 1831, 132). Owen, in comparison, seemed like a suitable candidate, as his Manchester years had convinced him that benevolent management of the workers' material, moral and intellectual environment held the key to the social and economic upheavals of the new industrial age (Siméon 2017, 1). David Dale thus sold New Lanark in September 1799 to Owen, who married Anne Caroline Dale the very same month. The young entrepreneur was officially appointed mill manager on the first of January 1800.

Though Owen believed that industrialisation and the advent of the factory system held tremendous economic promise, he also feared that they had widened social divisions – between employer and worker, town and country, men and women – thus posing an unprecedented threat on the nation's peace and long-term prosperity. His proposed solution was essentially deterministic. As a deist, he thought that individual character was not predetermined by the stain of original sin, but that it was formed by a combination of environmental factors defined as "whatever you see, or feel, or know to exist around you" (1824). This "doctrine of circumstances" was in his eyes the most fundamental law of nature, and therefore the only rule upon which to build effective social reform. This he called a "science of society", or "social system" (Owen 1826–1827). To eradicate the vices of society, it was necessary to create an environment where the nefarious impact of industrialisation could be mitigated, thus reconciling the potential of the new

economic order with an ancestral sense of community. In keeping with Enlightenment thinking, Owen wished to turn the chaotic world in which he lived into a state of order, and was also deeply confident in the perfectibility of human beings. He accordingly placed particular importance on education and experimentation as vehicles of social change. Lastly, Owen believed that the rich and powerful had a moral duty to provide for their dependents' welfare; as symbols of the new industrial age, factories were seen as the ideal testing ground, and his budding theories were thus tried out at New Lanark.

He had to endure a difficult start. While David Dale had been a mostly absentee proprietor, Robert Owen, Anne Caroline and their seven children took up residence at Braxfield House, a manor adjoining the factory village. This enabled closer surveillance of the workforce, but many employees resented the new director's management style. Owen also faced great hostility from his Mancunian business partners, who did not share his enthusiasm for factory reform. This, in addition to Owen's carelessness in money matters,¹ meant that he was unable to put his plan to the test until a decade later. Indeed, in 1813, he secured backing from a group of new associates which included Jeremy Bentham and the Quaker philanthropists William Allen, Joseph Fox and John Walker (Siméon 2017, 45). Thanks to this new latitude, Owen progressively reduced the day's work to ten hours. With the Institute for the Formation of Character (IFC) that he inaugurated in 1816, he also developed the Dale-era infant, day and evening schools well beyond the educational practices of the time, without sacrificing the factory's profitability. Thanks to his new business partners, Owen also gained entry into London's reformist circles, and this encouraged him to write his first major political treatise, *A New View of Society*.²

Published between 1813 and 1816, the four-volume book first arranged into a coherent whole the pillars of Owen's thought: determinism, education as the means and end of true change, and the superiority of community life as a form of social organisation. Most of these ideas were quite certainly formed in the 1790s when Owen came into contact with Manchester's enlightened and philanthropic circles; however, the details of his intellectual journey remain a mystery. Throughout his public career, Owen strategically insisted that his system was entirely derived from personal experience, thus setting himself apart from classic social and political thinkers, whom he saw as "mere closet theorists" ([1820] 1991, 271). Even though these claims were sincere, Owen also deliberately used his empiricist conception to establish himself – the low-born, self-taught reformer and philanthropist – as a *bona fide* social scientist in the learned and influential spheres of his day. In this way, his autobiography offers scant evidence of his formative readings, with the notable exception of *Treatise on the Wealth, Power and Resources of the British Empire* by Patrick Colquhoun (1814), whose blend of statistical data and social observation was reminiscent of his own works. Historians have nevertheless rightly pointed out that Owen's ideas, interests and methods were profoundly informed by late-Enlightenment thought, which he applied to the tide of rising industrialisation (Harrison 1969, 7–33; O'Brien and Quinault

1993). More specifically, many have remarked upon Owen's indebtedness to William Godwin. In the years 1812–1813, while writing his *New View of Society*, Owen spent most of that time in London, where he met Godwin at least fifty times according to the latter's diary (1788–1836). While its characteristically terse tone reveals nothing of the nature of these conversations, Godwin's influence, especially his deterministic theory of character formation and his support for popular education as an agent of social change, can be felt throughout Owen's *New View* (Harrison 1969, 84–85; Seed 1982, 4; Siméon 2017, 24).

In keeping with Owen's wish to build a "science of society", the seemingly positive results of the New Lanark experiment were given pride of place in *A New View of Society* (1813–1816). As the book became immensely successful, this pragmatic stance brought legitimacy to Owen's growing forays into factory and social reform. New Lanark became a popular tourist attraction for reformers, philanthropists and curious travellers generally, with the schools receiving special attention. Though the village was run along paternalistic, not socialist lines, the experiment foreshadowed some of Owenism's later developments, including the will to embrace all-encompassing reform schemes. Owen's willingness to join the national debate was encouraged by the fact that he had now attracted a small group of middle- and upper-class supporters that included the Duke of Kent (father of the future Queen Victoria), Sir Robert Peel the Elder, Whig MP William Champion de Crespigny, Henry Brougham and Alexander Hamilton of Dalzell, a Scottish radical and improving landowner. Beyond their political differences, Owen and his allies shared an interest in philanthropic endeavour, and a fear that rampant, unchecked industrialisation might wreak havoc on the United Kingdom's social fabric. Moreover, Owen knew that the success of his plans depended on his ability to secure backing from "those who have influence in the affairs of men" ([1813–1816] 1991, 10). This, however, he was unable to achieve, a fact that fuelled his transition from philanthropy to socialism in the years 1815–1820.

In the context of Britain's post-Waterloo crisis, Owen became active in two reform campaigns. In 1815, with the support of Robert Peel, he drafted a bill advocating the regulation of child labour in textile factories, as a means to amend the 1802 Health and Morals of Apprentices Act. That same year, Owen also championed the creation of "Villages of Co-operation" as an improvement upon the Old Poor Law system. Partly modelled on New Lanark, these communities on the land were meant to combine industrial and agricultural work to counter both rampant unemployment and the rural exodus that had soared in the wake of the enclosure movement. Both projects were met with great hostility. Owen's communitarian schemes, especially, were criticised by Tories and Radicals alike, who saw it respectively as a misguided utopia, and as an instance of enlightened despotism (Malthus [1798] 1817, vol. 2: 40–48, 395–99; Cobbett 1817; Siméon 2014, 22).

Owen's public response showed a shift in his intellectual approach. In August 1817, during a series of public speeches at the City of London Tavern, he expressed his conviction that all established institutions – be it organised religion, private

property, and traditional, outdoor relief schemes – encouraged unnecessary divisions, thereby standing in the way of progress. “Villages of Co-operation” were now advocated, not only as a remedy to the woes of the labouring classes, but as the foundation of the ultimate regeneration and emancipation of mankind. With increasingly universalist and prophetic overtones, what had originated as a scheme for unemployment relief turned, in just a few years, into a blueprint for the reorganisation of society on a communitarian basis. This “Plan”, as Owen’s reform schemes were now colloquially known, was further refined in the *Report to the County of Lanark* (1820), a book which cemented Owen’s move away from classical philanthropy. Calling for communities to usher in a “New Moral World”, he now rejected all traditional means of political action, private property and the search for profit as an end in itself, advocating instead a fair wage system benefiting producers, not capitalists and their middlemen. This set of principles, which Owen called “social science” or “science of society” would be popularised by his followers under the name of “socialism” from the late 1820s onwards (Claeys 1986).

Starting in 1817, support within and outside New Lanark declined dramatically. In 1823, disagreeing with Owen’s religious scepticism, his Quaker partners fired most of the IFC’s teaching staff and increased the amount of Bible study classes. Tired of being considered objects of curiosity, Owen’s labour force also campaigned to have New Lanark closed to the public, and their demands were finally met in March 1824 (Owen 1824). Finally, Owen’s radicalisation had put a strain on his marriage, as his wife disagreed both with her husband’s “Plan” and with his freethinking opinions. Family rifts came into full view in 1824, when Owen brought his business career to an end and set out to establish his now fully-formed communitarian plans. Those were put to the test one year later, when he and the Scottish-American reformer William Maclure acquired the village of New Harmony (Indiana, USA) from Wilhelm Rapp, a German-American Pietist pastor. Owen moved to North America with his four sons Robert Dale, William, Richard and David Dale, while Anne Caroline remained in Scotland with their daughters Mary, Anne and Jane (though only Mary shared her mother’s disagreement with Owen’s notions). Anne Caroline Owen passed away in 1832, without seemingly having resumed contact with her estranged husband (Siméon 2017, 128).

Early Owenism (1820–1834): co-operators and trade unionists

The word “socialist” first appeared in print in the July 1827 issue of the *Co-operative Magazine and Monthly Herald*,³ in relation to Owen’s communitarian schemes. “Socialism” and “Owenism” thus became synonymous in Britain until 1848, when the movement started to collapse after the rise of Chartism and Communism. The origins of Owenism can be traced to the early 1820s, following the publication of the *Report to the County of Lanark*. Especially after his anti-religious diatribe of 1817, many of Owen’s former allies, his business partners

included, had turned their backs on him. The Duke of Kent's death in 1820 was another dent in Owen's reputation, as he had now lost one of his most powerful allies. In 1822, Owen founded a subscription group to establish a "Village of Co-operation" at Motherwell, near New Lanark, but he failed to attract support from aristocratic and middle-class backers. Even among those who respected Owen's philanthropic endeavours, like Henry Brougham and William de Crespigny, few were ready to align with his more "visionary" notions.

Yet at the same time, Owen's ideas began to find favour among a new band of mostly working-class disciples. Starting in 1821, the first attempts to establish such "Villages of Co-operation" were pioneered by Abram Combe's Edinburgh Practical Society and George Mudie's Co-operative and Economical Society at Spa Fields, London. In 1825, after their respective experiments had failed, both men joined forces with Archibald Hamilton to create a community in Orbiston (Lanarkshire). Though these early ventures were short-lived, interest in the "social system" grew in British radical circles while Owen was still residing in America. Some early middle- and upper-class followers, like Archibald Hamilton, William Thompson and Anna Doyle Wheeler, had remained faithful to the "new views", but the bulk of new supporters now hailed from the skilled, artisan classes across the country's main industrial regions, especially London, the Scottish Lowlands and the North of England. Ideological variation was considerable, and major rifts gradually emerged around three main issues: the compatibility between the "new views" and religion, the means to achieve community and working-class agency, especially in the context of the Great Reform Act, 1832.

Nevertheless, the likes of Christian Socialist John Minter Morgan, feminist Anna Doyle Wheeler and future Chartist William Lovett somewhat found common ground in Owen's thought. First of all, there was a broad consensus over his insistence that workers alone had the right to control production, trading relationships and the wage system, a stance known as his "labour theory of value", which he had first developed in the *Report to the County of Lanark*. This critique of capitalism and classical political economy was expanded upon in the writings of early supporters like George Mudie and William Thompson, who gained tremendous popularity within the emerging Owenite movement. Second, in contrast to earlier strands of radicalism, the Owenites eschewed agrarian conceptions of community building. Though farming was an essential part of their reform plans, in the vein of Owen's 1817 "Villages of Co-operation", they insisted that only a rational use of machinery would harness the economic potential of the labouring classes, thus securing the fruits of abundance for all (Claeys 1987, 148; Chase 1988, 139; Langdon 2000, 12).

Lastly, Owen's emphasis on community resonated with long-established working-class traditions of mutuality and self-help (Harrison 1969, 50; Kumar 1990, 12). In 1769, the earliest recorded consumer co-operative was established in Scotland by the Fenwick Weavers' Society, a local corporation. To create an additional stream of revenue and guarantee relief in times of need, they pooled part of their funds to buy food in bulk and sell it to members and outsiders alike at a fair price

(Fenwick Weavers' Society Records, 1761–1873). Similar initiatives followed throughout the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth centuries, notably with the founding of co-operative corn mills at Woolwich, Chatham and in Yorkshire (Harrison 1969, 254–255). Under the aegis of Abram Combe and George Mudie, the first Owenite associations had formed with the belief that workers needed to take matters into their own hands if they were to achieve “the complete emancipation of the labouring class from the tyranny of capital and monopoly” (*To Unionists* 1834, 13, cited in Taylor 1983, 93). Due to the failure of the Orbiston and Spa Fields communities, and faced with a lack of resources and political connections, subsequent groups like the London Co-operative Society (LCS) took cues from the earliest grassroots initiatives and gradually opted to invest in consumer and producer co-operatives. Setting up shop would circumvent the lack of capital and political connections that had plagued earlier ventures, as profits would be redirected to the funding of intentional communities instead of going to capitalists and middlemen. The strategy proved highly successful. In 1827, the LCS established its own outlet, the London Co-operative Trading Association. By 1830, nearly 300 of such institutions had been founded throughout the United Kingdom, with branches in London, Manchester, Glasgow, Belfast and elsewhere. Nearly a dozen publications, including the LCS-edited *Co-operative Magazine and Monthly Herald* (1826–1830) attested to the growing popularity of Socialist ideals.⁴

Meanwhile, attempts to bring the same “science of society” to the United States of America failed to materialise. Upon his arrival in the New World, Owen embarked on a lecture tour to promote his views that culminated with two addresses given to the President and Members of Congress in early 1825. Following this wave of enthusiasm, a motley crew of some 800 reformers, freethinkers, radicals, millenarians and scientists flocked to New Harmony (Claeys 1991, xvi). Most had trouble adapting to community life, due to a lack of farming skills and to disagreements with Owen’s leadership, and the venture folded in less than three years. Several other Owenite communities were founded in the United States and Canada over the same period, but all met with a similar fate.⁵ Owen left for Europe in 1828 but travelled back to North America in November of the same year, hoping to establish a community in Texas, then part of the newly independent state of Mexico. When that project failed, he returned to Britain for good in 1829.

Now settled in London, Owen found himself the *de facto* leader of a budding workers’ movement with links to radical and trade unionist circles (Claeys 1982, 170). At first, he treated his new band of disciples with contempt, as he felt that co-operative shops were but a pale imitation of his all-encompassing “science of society”. Retail co-operatives, in particular, amounted in his eyes to “a mere pawnbroker’s shop” unless they were submitted to the broader ideals of community life (*Proceedings of the Sixth Co-operative Congress*, 8 October 1833, cited in Royle 1998, 54). But after witnessing the growing popularity of co-operation as a vehicle for his communitarian schemes, Owen agreed to take part in the movement that bore his name, federating it and steering it closer to his own universalist principles. (Lovett [1876] 1967, 35; Taylor 1983, 93–94).

Owenism was officially launched in May 1831, when the First Co-operative Congress brought together the delegates from 250 co-operative societies who publicly declared their support for Owen's social system. Following a resolution from the First Birmingham Co-operative Society, they agreed to pool their action and resources on a national scale to establish a community which would prove by the virtue of example the truth of their co-operative ideals (*Carpenter's Political Letters and Pamphlets*, 30 April 1831, cited in Langdon 2000, 37). The following year, Owen formed his own co-operative workshop and store, the National Equitable Labour Exchange, which was located on the premises of the movement's headquarters off Gray's Inn Road, London. Labour exchanges had been launched in London and Birmingham by three of his disciples, William Pare, William King and James Tucker, and several of these institutions were created in Britain in the years 1832–1833.

But by now, Owen was turning his attention towards the growing trades' union movement, which had been on the rise following the repeal of the Combination Acts in 1825. Having witnessed rising support for his ideas among unionists, he now believed that syndicalism would usher in a "New Moral World" more effectively than co-operative trading alone. Ideally, a union of all trades under Socialist principles would help create a comprehensive system of political and economic co-operation that would supersede the present system based on unrestrained competition and individual interest (Siméon 2018, 23). The Co-operative Congress approved this change in strategy in November 1833, and the Grand National Consolidated Trades' Union (GNCTU) was founded in February 1834. Launched in 1833, the *Crisis, and National Co-operative Trades' Union Gazette*, became the official Owenite newspaper, and reported on the progress of social reform. But just like earlier community experiments, these attempts at political and economic co-operation were short-lived. Plagued by economic difficulties, Owen's Labour Exchange closed down in 1834 after only two years in operation. Despite widespread popular support, the GNCTU also collapsed that same year due to a combination of infighting, organisational inadequacies and political repression in the wake of the trial and deportation of the Tolpuddle Martyrs, who had been affiliated with the union. This added to the general feeling of frustration that pervaded working-class politics in the wake of the Reform Act 1832. Deeming that working men were as yet too uneducated to be given the vote, Owen had favoured co-operation and unionism in part as alternatives to an extended franchise. Unsurprisingly, the demise of early Owenite institutions was mirrored by a surge of support for universal male suffrage, while future Chartist leaders like William Lovett and Henry Hetherington gradually distanced themselves from Owen's top-down leadership.

Late Owenism (1834–1845): the age of communities

In spite of these obstacles, the Owenite movement managed to reinvent itself over the next decade. For most early British socialists, the collapse of specific institutions did not hinder their faith in community and Owenism as a whole (Harrison