

CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS	xii
1 Why was there no Marxism in Great Britain?	1
2 Arthur Henderson as Labour Leader	42
3 The Franchise Factor in the Rise of the Labour Party	66
4 Working-class Gambling in Britain, 1880–1939	101
5 Work and Hobbies in Britain, 1880–1950	139
6 Class and Poverty in Edwardian England	167
7 The Economic Policy of the Second Labour Government, 1929–1931	197
8 The ‘Social Psychology’ of Unemployment in Inter-war Britain	228
9 Class and Conventional Wisdom: The Conservative Party and the ‘Public’ in Inter-war Britain	259
Conclusion	294
INDEX	303

INDEX

- Acland, Sir F. Dyke 241
 Adler, Fritz 60
 Aldiss, Brian 273 n
 Allen, Sir Thomas 214
 allotments 145-6
 Anti-Waste 268
 Archer, Fred 133-5
 Arndt, Heinz 204, 207
 Askwith, Sir George 53
 Astor, J. J. 238
 Asquith, H. H. 96, 279
 Attlee, C. R. 19
 Australia 21, 36, 199-200, 206-7, 209, 295
 Australian Labour Party 21, 199-200

 Bagehot, Walter 17, 26, 27, 32
 Baldwin, Stanley 8, 265, 268-9, 282
 Bakke, E. Wight 234, 236, 239, 242-3, 247, 281-2
 Barnard Castle by-election 46-7
 Barnes, George 40
 Bauer, Otto 254
 Beales, Lance 231-2, 242, 245
 Bell, Florence, Lady 10, 116, 118, 160, 167-96
 Bell, Sir H. Lowthian 170
 Bell, Richard 47
 Bergtheil, A. 139
 betting 28, 65, 101-38; *see also* working classes, unemployed
 Beveridge, Sir William 233-4
 Bevin, Ernest 214, 222
 Blewett, Neal 71, 79
 bingo 119
Bitter Cry of Outcast London, The 127
 Blanesburgh Committee, *see* Select Committee on Unemployment Insurance (1925-7)
 Board of Film Censors 275
 Bodley, J. E. C. 80 n.
 Bonar Law, Andrew 265
 Bondfield, Margaret 246
 Bonham, John 271
 Booth, Charles 103, 114-15, 125, 167-8, 188-9, 193, 195
 Bosanquet, C. B. P. 169
 Bosanquet, Helen 30, 114, 117, 167-96
 Bowley, A. L. 168, 188, 190, 195
 Brassworkers 16, 31, 140
 Branford, Victor 169
 Bray, R. A. 9, 144
 Brittain, Sir Harry 298-9
 Brierley, Walter 245
 Brown, E. Cary 202
 Brown, R. *et al.* 156-7
 Brown, W. Adams 283
 Burnett Hurst, A. R. 168
 Burns, Eveline 252
 Burns, John 49
 Business House Sports 16
 Butler, D. E. 81, 84, 261 n.

 Callaghan, James 260
 Caillois, Roger 124
 Cambridgeshire (handicap) 102
 Campagnac, E. T. 104
Can Lloyd George do It? 209
 Canada 207
 Caradog Jones, David 161, 239
 Carnegie UK Trust 237, 249, 251
 Cesarewitch 102
 Chamberlain, Chris 81, 84
 Chamberlain, Joseph 8, 31-2, 68
 Chamberlain, Neville 270
 Channon, Sir Henry 300
 Chapman, S. J. 236
 Charity Organization Society 30, 169-70, 172, 175, 177
 Chester Cup 102
 Chesterton, G. K. 40, 43
 Churchill, Winston 25, 260, 300
 Citrine, Walter 65, 222-3
 City and Suburban 102
 Clark, Colin 211
 Clarke, P. F. 66, 73, 83, 91, 98-9
Class Struggles in France, The 26
 Clay, Sir Henry 205
 Clay Cross 9
 Clegg, Hugh 81
 Clynes, J. R. 25-6, 35, 42, 71
 Cohen, John 141, 150, 159

- Cohen, Max 155, 232, 237, 244
 Cole, G. D. H. 287
 Conservative Party
 and electoral system 262-3
 and franchise 66-100
 and inflation 268-9
 and labour-cost doctrine 283
 and Labour Party 281
 and loss of electoral hegemony 299-300
 and middle-class pressure 267-9
 and performance in general elections 260
 and preferred vote 262
 and Scotland 264
 and Second World War 290-3
 and tariff reform 282
 and the 'public' 284-5
 and working-class Conservatism 288-90
 Co-operative societies 5, 30, 174
 COS, *see* Charity Organization Society
 Crewe, Ivor 81
 Cripps, Sir Stafford 47 n.
 Croll, J. A. (bookmaker) 108-9, 111
 Crompton, Richmal 276
 Crooks, Will 19, 40 n., 52
 'Curzon, L. H.' (J. G. Bertram) 103, 135
 Czechoslovakia 253

Daily Citizen 34 n.
Daily Express 268, 284
Daily Herald 34 n., 220, 242
Daily Mail 268
 Dalton, Hugh 45 n., 52, 60-1
 Davidson, Sir Ronald 215
 Davis, W. J. 16, 31, 139
 Dendy, Mary 169
 Dennis, Norman *et al.* 146, 153, 155
 Deeping, Warwick 272, 298
 Derby, The 102, 109, 134
 Dilke, Sir Charles 71, 80 n.
 Downes, D. M. 126
 Dückerschoff, Ernst 14, 28, 144, 146, 153
 Dumazedier, Jacques 143, 159, 161
 Dunbabin, J. P. D. 66 n.
 Durant, Henry 148-9, 159
 Durant, Ruth 233

 'Economic Club' 171
Economist 107, 217

 Edward VII, King 19
 Eisenberg, P. 228-9, 242
 Elibank, Master of 93, 98 n.
 Emerson, R. W. 139, 143
 Engels, Frederick 26
 Engineers, Amalgamated Society of 3
 Escott, T. H. S. 143
Esther Waters 127

 firms, size of 6-7
 First Labour Government 19
Five Families 191
 football pools 110, 121, 122
 Fox, Alan 81
 franchise, franchise reform 66-100; *see also* Conservative Party, Labour Party, Liberal Party, working classes
 free trade 31-2, 47, 51, 292
 Freeman, Arnold 147
 Friedmann, Georges 150, 159, 161

 Gallup Polls 286
 gambling, *see* betting
General Theory, The 283
 George V, King 19, 224
 Germany 1, 8, 16, 29, 158, 207, 279-80
 Giblin, L. F. 209-10
 Gilbert, Bentley B. 221, 223
 Ginsburg, David 109-10, 122
 Gladstone, Herbert 89, 95
 Gladstone, W. E. 28, 31, 68, 133
 Glasier, J. Bruce 47 n., 59
 Glazer, Nathan 191
 Glynn, Sean 269-70
 Göhre, Paul 156, 158
 Goldstone, Frank 33
 Goldthorpe, John 39 n.
 Graham, William 214
 Grand National 109
 Grayson, Victor 48
 Grazia, S. de 157
 Green, Canon Peter 129
 Gregory, T. E. 286
 greyhound-racing 110

Hall's Tips 119
 Hallsworth, H. M. 236
Handloom Weaver's Daughter, The 120
 Hannington, Wal 252
 Harcourt, Lewis 92
 Hardie, J. Keir 19, 47 n., 60, 68, 70 n., 95

- Hart, M. W. 66 n.
 Haslam, James 120
 Hastings, Elizabeth, Lady 134
 Hatton, S. F. 233
 Harvey, Sir Ernest 274
 Hawkins, C. B. 140-1
 Hawtrey, R. G. 212-3
 Haxey, Simon 268
 Henderson, Arthur 7, 15-16, 25, 33, 42-65, 80 n., 92, 221, 297
 and Campbell Bannerman 50
 and drinking and gambling 65
 and fall of Second Labour Government 224
 and Fascism 62
 and League of Nations 50
 and Russia 54
 and Wesleyan Methodism 43, 62
 and Whitley Councils 54-5
 Henderson, H. H. 209
 Hennock, E. P. 167
 Hicks, Sir William Joynson 275
 Hilary, Richard 291
 Hilton, John 105, 106, 107, 115, 117
 hobbies 123, 139-66, 239; *see also*
 working classes, unemployed
Hobbies 142-2, 144
 Hobson, J. A. 118-19
 Hodge, John 22
 Holman Gregory Commission, *see*
 Royal Commission on Unemployment Insurance (1930-2)
 Hoover, H. H. 201
 Hopkins, Sir Richard 216, 274
 Horne, Sir Robert 265
 House of Commons Select Committee
 on Betting Duty (1923) 105, 127, 129
 House of Lord Select Committee on
 Betting (1902) 104
 Hudson, Sir Robert 89 n., 90
 Humphris, E. M. 135
 Hyman, H. H. 190
- Illustrated Police Budget* 185
 ILP, *see* Independent Labour Party
 Independent Labour Party 34, 36, 59
 Ironfounders, Federated Society of 46, 52
Is the Parliamentary Labour Party a Failure? 48
- Jackson, Brian 163
- Jahoda, Marie 228-30, 242-3; *see also*
 unemployment, 'social psychology' of
 Jarrett, Joanna 230, 255-6
 Jebb, Eglantyne 10
 Jennings, Hilda 235, 242, 247, 250
 Johnson, P. A. 194
 Johnson, Walter 4-5, 159
 Jones, Gareth Stedman 13, 14, 15, 295-6
 Jowett, Fred 40
- Kahn, R. F. 210
 Kelvin, Peter 230, 241, 255, 256
 Kemsley, W. F. F. 113, 117, 131
 Kenyon, Barnett 7
 Keynes, J. M. 197, 209, 211, 213, 214, 217, 219, 266, 283, 284
 Kinnear, Michael 276
- La Vida* 193
Labour Leader 62
 Labour Party 1, 2, 3, 14, 15, 33, 36, 37, 38, 40, 41, 42-65, 245, 261, 262-3, 264, 267, 276, 281, 286-7, 289, 290, 298-9
 and franchise 66-100
 and Second Labour Government 197-227
 see also Conservative Party; unemployed
 Labour Representation Committee 47, 296
 Lambert, George 279
 Lambert, R. S. 231, 232, 242, 245
 Lasker, Bruno 232, 240
Last Enemy, The 291
 Latham, Charles 220
 Lawson, Jack 20, 35
 Lazarsfeld, P. F. 228-30, 236, 238, 242-3, 245, 250-3, 254-4, 257
 Leigh, J. G. 142
 Leverhulme, Lord 266
 Levi, Leone 167
 Lewis, Oscar 191-3
 Liberal Party 45, 63, 65, 260, 264, 276-81
 and franchise 66-100
 Lincolnshire (handicap) 102
 Llewellyn Smith, Sir Hubert 117, 249
 Lloyd George, David 5, 50, 92, 94, 266-7, 279, 283, 299

- Loane, M. E. (Margaret) 9, 24, 115, 116, 125, 140, 167-96
 local parliaments 21-3
 Loch, Sir Charles 169
Love on the Dole 275
 Lowell, A. L. 69, 91, 92
 Lukes, Steven 18, 21
 LRC, *see* Labour Representation Committee
 Lynd, R. S. and H. M. 231
- McCallum, R. B. 96
 MacDonald, J. Ramsay 22, 25, 33, 34, 49, 58, 60, 65, 92, 132-3, 136, 197, 199, 217, 220-1, 222, 297
 McKenna, Reginald 265
 McKenzie, R. T. 81, 267
 Mackerras, Malcolm 260 n.
 Macmillan Committee 205, 212-14, 219, 274
 Maddison, Fred 45-6, 52
 Maine, Sir Henry 68
 Maingueneau, Dominique 24
 Mann, Tom 36
 Mariantal 229-53
Mariantal, Die Arbeitslosen von 228-9, 230, 235, 241-2, 245
 Markham, A. G. 125-6
 Marshall, Alfred 29
 Marshall, T. H. 23, 39 n.
 Marx, Karl 17, 33, 37, 39, 139, 150
 Marxism, Marxist 1, 2, 7, 26, 32, 33, 38
 Mass-Observation 156, 286
 Masterman, C. F. G. 11, 168, 189, 271, 298
 Matthew, Colin, 67 n.
 Matthews, R. C. O. 225
 Mawdsley, James 25, 155
 May Committee 217-18, 220-1
 Mearns, Andrew 167
Memoirs of the Unemployed 231
 Michels, Robert 35, 59, 65
 Middle Class Union 298
 middle classes
 and Conservative voting 287
 and inflation 268-9
 and Labour voting 287
 and middle-class unemployment 273
 and Second World War 290-2
 and sense of time 115-16, 176-7
 and stereotypes of the working class 270-1
 and support for the Conservative Party 267-9
 and tax system 269-70
 and working-class knowledge of sport 14
 - role of 17-20, 32
 Moggridge, Donald 215, 217, 267
 Mond, Sir Alfred 265, 283
 Money, Sir Leo 168
 Moore, George 127
 Morley, John 45, 49
 Mosley, Sir Oswald 62, 198
 Moynihan, D. P. 191
 Mundella, A. J. 25
- National Council for Social Service 249
 National Insurance Act (1911) 5
 National Sporting League 109
 Newcastle Programme 90
 New Deal 200-3
 New Liberalism 90
 Newman, Otto 116, 126
 Newrick, A. J. 235
 Newsom, John 245
 New Zealand 295
 Nicolson, Sir Harold 290
 Noel-Baker, P. J. 45 n.
 Norman, Montagu 274
- Oaks, The 102
 One Thousand Guineas, The 102
 Osborne Judgement 3
 Ostrogorski, Moise 23, 69, 81, 90
Outlines of Routine in District Nursing 17
 Owen, A. D. K. 233
 Oxborrow, J. 269-70
- Paris, Count of 29
 Parkin, Frank 35, 262, 293
 Paterson, Alexander 147, 164
 Paton, J. L. 106
 Patterson, J. T. 190
 Pease, J. A. 71, 79, 89, 91-2, 97
 Pease, Sir Joseph 46
 Peel, Sir Robert 31
 Pelling, H. M. 69, 79
 Pember Reeves, Mrs M. S. 115, 168
 Perkins, Revd E. G. 109
 Phillips, Margaret 141
 Pilgrim Trust 123, 124, 243, 249, 255-7
 Poplarism 9
 Price, J. F. G. 246

- Price, Richard 23
 Pugh, Arthur 220
- Ragged Trousered Philanthropist, The*
 34 n.
- Ramsden, John 262–3, 292
 Representation of the People Act
 (1918) 66–100
 Reynolds, Stephen 69
Rich and Poor 178
 Roberts, Robert 11, 69, 120, 132
 Rodman, Hyman 195
 Roper Power, E. R. 277
 Rosenbaum, Samuel 70
 Rothermere, Lord 268
 Rothschild, Baron de 121
 Rousiers, P. de 155, 158
 Routh, Guy 78
 Rowntree, B. S. 103, 127, 189, 190,
 232, 240
 Royal Commission on Betting,
 Lotteries and Gaming (1949–51),
 128, 130
 Royal Commission on Labour
 (1891–4), 5, 25, 29, 144, 159
 Royal Commission on Unemployment
 Insurance (1930–2), 216–17, 233,
 274
 Rubinstein, W. D. 282
Ruff's Guide to the Turf 119
 Runciman, Walter 61, 274
 Runciman, W. G. 250–3, 289, 292
 Russell, A. K. 72
 Russell, Bertrand 170
 Russell, C. E. B. 104, 141, 147, 162
- St Leger, The 102, 109, 133, 134
 Samuel, Herbert 97
 Sankey, Lord 221, 224
 Save the Children Fund 233
 Schultze-Gaevernitz, G. von 8, 153,
 194, 301
 Schumpeter, J. A. 202, 217
 Scullin, J. H. 199–200
 SDF, *see* Social Democratic Federation
 Seager, J. R. 71, 93
 Second International 1, 51
 Second Labour Government 197–227,
 270, 302
 Shackleton, David 19, 48
 Shadwell, Arthur 30, 140–1, 150, 159,
 160
 Sherwell, Arthur 189
- Shils, Edward 18, 301
 Silver, A. 81
 Sims, George 187
 Simon, Sir John 279
 Sinfield, Adrian 237
 Skidelsky, Robert 198, 220
 Small Holdings Act (1892) 145
 Snowden, Philip 33, 35, 40, 48, 95,
 216–17, 220, 269
 Social Democratic Federation 2, 7, 16
 socialism 1, 296
 Sombart, Werner 1, 13, 83
Sorrell and Son 272
 SPD 16
 Spence Watson, Robert 45
 sport, metaphors borrowed from 21; *see*
also hobbies, working classes
Sporting Chronicle 120
Sporting Life 120
Sportsman 107, 120
 Sprague, Oliver 213
 Stamp, Sir Josiah 212
 state, importance of 300–2
 Stead, W. T. 43
 Stevenson, John 119 n.
 Stoddarts (bookmakers) 131
 Stokes, Donald 81, 84
 Stone, Richard 211
 Stone, W. M. 211
Study of Slum Culture, A 193
 Sweden 203–4, 207
 syndicalism 7, 36
- Tanner, Duncan 66 n.
 tariff reform 31, 32
 Taylor, A. J. P. 244 n.
 Taylorism 158
 Tec, Nechama 126
The Times 107
 Theodore, E. G. 199
 Third Republic 23
 Thomas, J. H. 25, 61
 Thompson, A. F. 81
 Tillett, Ben 15, 48
 trades unions
 and employers' attitudes to 30
 General Federation of 52
 and labour law 28
 and Labour Party 42–65
 and membership 2, 4
 and unemployed 245
 Trades Union Congress 16, 53, 64, 65,
 219, 220–1, 222, 224

- Transport Workers' Federation 56
 Tressell, Robert 34 n., 68-9, 121
 TUC, *see* Trades Union Congress
 Turner, John 66 n., 289
 Two Thousand Guineas, *The* 102
 unemployed
 and allotments 239-41
 and associational capacity 257
 and betting 243-4, 257
 and cinema 242-3
 demoralization of 232-6
 and hobbies 239
 and labour exchanges 243-4, 246-9
 and Labour Party 245
 and luck 243-4
 politics of 250-3
 and rabbit-breeding 239
 and routines 236-8
 and sexual relations 244, 244 n.
 and trade unions 245
 unemployed women 239-40
Unemployed Man, The 256
 unemployment
 'social psychology' of 228-58
 'stage'-theory of 228-31
 see also unemployed
 Unemployment Insurance Act (1934)
 250
 Unemployment Insurance Fund 215
 United States 1, 3, 199, 200-3, 204,
 206-9, 225-6, 279
 Valentine, C. A. 193
 Valon, W. A. 150
 Vamplew, Wray 134
 Veblen, Thorstein 119
 Victoria, Queen 17, 24, 27, 133
 Viteles, M. 154
 Wald, Kenneth 67 n.
 Webb, Sidney 214
 Webb, Mrs S. (Beatrice) 234
 Weber, Max 58
 Webster and Topping (bookmakers)
 119
Westminster Review 107
Why I go in for the Pools 117
 Williams, Alfred 7, 23, 152-3, 154, 157,
 158
 Williams, Robert 56-7
 Winch, Donald 224
 Winter, Jay 294-5
 Woolley, B. and T. 69
 working classes
 and associational culture 2, 14
 and betting 13, 46 n., 101-38
 and burial insurance 114
 and canary breeding 162
 and ceremony 32
 character of 24
 and cinema 15
 and clubs 14, 38
 and community 11
 consciousness and culture of 294-7
 and Conservatism 288-90
 and dog-breeding 162
 and franchise 9, 66-100
 and hobbies 12, 13, 38, 139-66
 and middle-class tutelage 36
 and music-hall 13, 15
 and pigeon-breeding 15, 162
 and religious affiliation 12, 14
 and sense of time 115-16, 176-7
 and service sector 4
 and sports 12, 13, 14, 38
 stereotypes of 27
 and tallyman 174
 and thrift 114
 world wars, importance of 297-300, 302
 Wylie, Alexander 157
 Young, Michael 118, 301
 Young, Terence 241
 Zawadowski, B. 229-30, 243, 245, 254
 Zeisel, Hans 229
 Zola, I. K. 121
 Zweig, Ferdynand 29, 148-9, 154, 157,
 160-1, 165