

SHEFFIELD MUNICIPAL POLITICS

1893 - 1926.

Parties, Personalities and the Rise of Labour

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Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, December 1979.

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SHEFFIELD MUNICIPAL POLITICS 1893-1926.

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Helen Elisa Mathers

The years 1893-1926 saw the complete development of the Labour party in Sheffield, from the first branches of the Independent Labour Party to a city-wide organisation which captured its first majority on the City Council in November 1926. Some emphasis is given to the post-war period of Labour's greatest success, and developments across the spectrum of Labour politics described - the Social Democratic Federation, the Communist Party and the Co-operative Party, for example, are given attention.

The ruling Conservative group on the City Council during the 1890s was committed to a degree of "municipal socialism" to which the Liberal party was only converted slowly and only espoused for a short time. During the 1900s the majority of its leaders strongly supported the imperialist policies of the Liberal League, and by 1907 it had become anti-socialist. In 1919 it combined with a Conservative party under new leadership to form an anti-socialist alliance. With a strong commitment to municipal "economy", this alliance was unable to deal adequately with the social problems of post-war Sheffield and was unsuccessful at the polls.

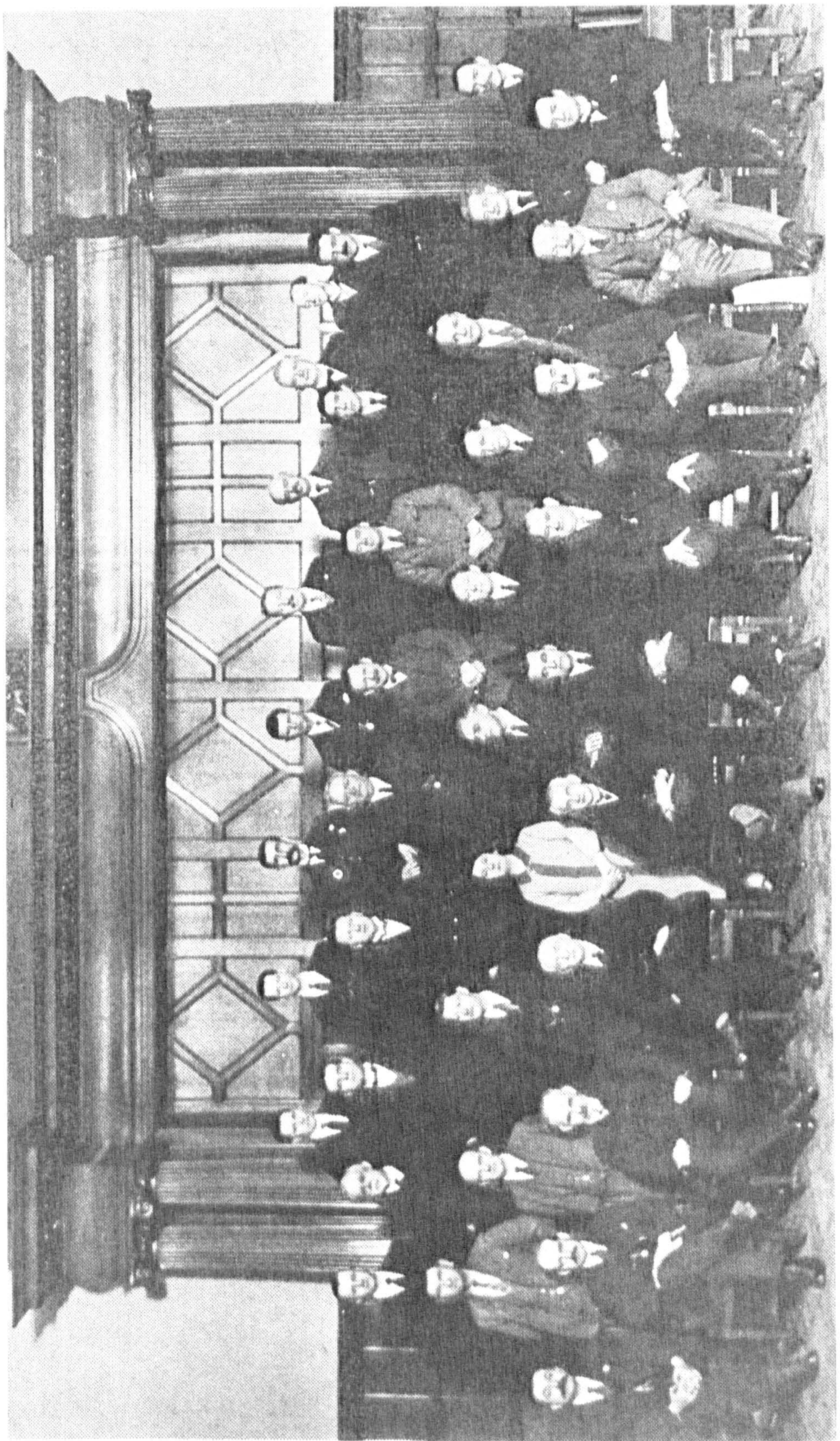
The study is concerned with municipal politics and so the main area of interest is the City Council. The first chapter is devoted to an analysis of its general character, while another deals with politics at ward level. Since a high degree of party politicisation of local government is argued, the remaining chapters are devoted to the characters and policies of the political parties, including the anti-socialist alliance. Biographical material relating to leading and characteristic members of the parties is included and the study concludes with an assessment of the reasons for the Labour victory in 1926.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My greatest debt is to my supervisor, Dr. J.C.G.Binfield, who has been unflinching interested and helpful, and constructively critical. His support, and that of my husband, Dr. N.J.Mathers, has been of great value to me. Dr. Michael J.Bentley has given me much useful advice, the staff of Sheffield Central Library Local Studies and Archives Collections have found an enormous amount of information for me and the librarians at Sheffield University, Transport House, the Trades Union Congress and the British Library of Political & Economic Science have been most helpful. Mr. Vernon Thornes of Sheffield Trades and Labour Council, Mr. R.E.Wilson and Mr. Bill Moore gladly found material for me and Mr. T.F.Johnston of Central United Reformed Church advised me on the records of the congregational churches and gave friendly and courteous help beyond the call of duty.

My parents, Mr. and Mrs. T.K.Robinson, gave me a great deal of encouragement and willingly devoted much time to helping me. My mother typed the whole of the initial typescript and my father gave guidance and advice, especially at the final editing stage. I can only hope that the completed work rewards their efforts.

Helen Mathers.
Department of Medieval &
Modern History,
University of Sheffield,
December 1979.



ABBREVIATIONS USED IN FOOT-NOTES.

<u>S.A.R.</u>	<u>Sheffield Annual Record</u> (contained in S.Y.B after 1905).
<u>S.C.L.</u>	Sheffield Central Library
<u>S.D.T.</u>	<u>Sheffield Daily Telegraph</u>
<u>S.F.</u>	<u>Sheffield Forward</u>
<u>S.G.</u>	<u>Sheffield Guardian</u>
<u>S.I.</u>	<u>Sheffield Independent</u> (earlier <u>S.R.I.</u> - <u>Sheffield & Rotherham Independent</u>).
<u>S.L.R.</u>	<u>Sheffield Local Register</u>
<u>S.R.B.</u>	<u>Sheffield & Rotherham Red Book</u>
<u>S.U.L.</u>	Sheffield University Library
<u>S.Y.B.</u>	<u>Sheffield Year Book and Record</u>
<u>W.W.1902</u>	<u>Who's Who in Sheffield: Jottings about People,</u> cuttings from <u>S.I.</u> Aug 8-20 1902.
<u>W.W.1905</u>	<u>Sheffield Daily Telegraph, Sheffield & District</u> <u>Who's Who - 1905, Sheffield, 1905.</u>

Typing Note

Round brackets () in quotations stand in almost every case for square brackets.

FRONTISPIECE

THE FIRST SHEFFIELD CITY COUNCIL RULING LABOUR GROUP, NOVEMBER 1926

EXECUTIVE: Coun J.Cobley, Aldermen E.Atkin, W.Bancroft, W.F.Wardley, M.Humberstone (secretary and whip), Coun E.G. Rowlinson (chairman), Aldermen C.W.Beardsley (vice-chairman), T.H.Watkin (assistant whip), F.Womersley, and F.Marshall.

Councillors W.E.Yorke, A.Oates, C.J.Mitchell, W.G.Robinson, F.Thraves, C.W.Gascoigne, J.Hawnt, A.Spencer, S.H.Marshall, E.Snelgrove, J.Curtis, A.Smith, W.Furniss, G.H.Rowland, J.H. Skelton, E.Gandy, W.Asbury, J.Sweeney, A.Robinson, J.A.Longden, Mrs. Cheetham, E.S.Nicholson, J.Whittington, A.Ward, T.Garnett, A.Barton, R.H.Minshall.

(Photograph: Sheffield Trades & Labour Council).

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PREFACE

"Sheffield is perhaps the largest purely manufacturing town in the country"¹ wrote Professor Abercrombie in 1924. Sheffield in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries had, and still has, to a large extent, very little concern with commerce and distribution. As a "hilly side-track"², it had no facilities or advantages to offer such enterprises, and the town sprang up purely as a result of its geographical and geological advantages for the development of a cutlery and steel industry³.

Sheffield's original industry was the cutlery trade, well established by the fifteenth century in settlements and isolated workshops along the river valleys, and congregated increasingly within the township itself during the nineteenth century. The "heavy" steel and engineering works of the Don valley were established from 1850 onwards. Unlike the "light" cutlery trades, composed of workshops and small factories,⁴ the "heavy" trades employed thousands of men in forges and engineering plants. Most of the labour came from outside the town, and Sheffield's population more than doubled - from 135,000 in 1851 to 324,000 in 1891⁵.

The population was of sturdy and independent character, and this "mass inheritance", the product of the "survival of the fittest" in the complicated and strenuous processes of the steel industry, was retained in an isolated community and sustained in the later nineteenth century by the influx of an equally fit population from outside⁶. Professor Abercrombie called Sheffield "perhaps the largest example of Mass Heredity in an English town".⁷

1. P. Abercrombie, Sheffield. A Civic Survey, Liverpool, 1924, p.6.
2. W. Hampton, Democracy and Community, Oxford, 1970, p.27.
3. Cf. Abercrombie, op. cit., pp.7-8.
4. S.Pollard in J. Mendelson, W.Owen, S. Pollard and V. M. Thornes, The Sheffield Trades and Labour Council 1858-1958, Sheffield, 1958, p.20. See also S. Pollard, History of Labour in Sheffield, Liverpool, 1959, pp. 54-59.
5. Statistics of Sheffield's population 1801 and 1851-1931:-
1801 : 45,755 1871 : 230,946 1901 : 380,717 1931 : 511,742
1851 : 135,310 1881 : 284,508 1911 : 454,653
1861 : 185,172 1891 : 324,200 1921 : 511,696
(Source: S.Y.B. 1913, p. 282; S.Y.B. 1933, p.183).
6. P. Abercrombie, op. cit., p. 9.
7. Ibid., p. 10

The industrial Sheffield of the period 1897-1914 was, Mary Walton suggests, at "its most confident, self-sufficient, (and to be frank, at its ugliest)"⁸. The largest city in Yorkshire in 1911 and the fifth largest provincial city in Great Britain, Sheffield was a nineteenth century "conglomeration of narrow streets and factories"⁹ which only emerged during the early years of the twentieth century into a "city of some display"¹⁰. A journalist writing in 1904 likened the place to "an untidy house; it has been enlarged several times, but the entrance is still through the kitchen"¹¹.

Even in the late nineteenth century there was only a very small middle-class in Sheffield - Mathew Arnold spoke of it as the "upper ten thousand"¹² and very limited concern with "culture" in a traditional sense. Few public buildings of any distinction were erected, and provision for the arts was limited. Although Sheffield had the first public library in Yorkshire, opened in 1853, its library system was "the worst in any town of importance"¹³ in the late nineteenth century. The city did, nevertheless, have a strong musical tradition, with a well-known triennial musical festival from 1896 to 1911¹⁴, and an outstanding record for the provision of primary and technical, although not secondary, education¹⁵.

8. Foreword to J. Derry, The Story of Sheffield, 1915, Wakefield, 1971 edition p.vii.

9. Quoted in Mary Walton, Sheffield: its story and its achievements, Sheffield, 1948, p.243.

10. Ibid., p. 243.

11. Quoted ibid., p. 222.

12. Quoted in Helen E. Meller, Leisure and the Changing City 1870-1914, London, 1976, p.39. The proportion of workers engaged in professional and commercial occupations (a loose means of identification of some sections of the middle-class) in Sheffield and two cities of comparable size in 1908 was as follows:-

	<u>Professional: per</u> <u>1,000 population</u>	<u>Commercial: per</u> <u>1,000 population</u>
Sheffield	14 : 1,000	19 : 1,000
Bristol	21 : 1,000	25 : 1,000
Bradford	16 : 1,000	20 : 1,000

(Source: Board of Trade Report, 1908, quoted ibid., p. 38.)

13. M. Walton, op. cit., p. 230.

14. For Sheffield's musical history, see E. D. Mackerness, Somewhere Farther North: a history of music in Sheffield, London, 1974.

15. Cf. Sheffield Independent, Queen Victoria's Visit to Sheffield and the opening of the new town hall, Sheffield 1897, pp.18-19; Professor Anderson, "The Educational Position in Sheffield", in Sheffield Daily Telegraph, Sheffield in 1902, Sheffield, 1902, pp.30-3; Professor W. Ripper, "Technical Education in Sheffield: Progress and Present Position", ibid., pp. 33-8.

The greatest skills of the population were practical rather than aesthetic. "The skill and strength of the workers themselves", Mary Walton says, was "the very core of Sheffield"¹⁶. One contemporary remarked that Sheffield in the late nineteenth century did not need to be beautiful because she was "pledged to other ends".¹⁷ Aesthetic appreciation emerged, along with civic pride, (another concept slow to develop in Sheffield), during the period with which this study deals - a thirty year span which can be regarded as one of the most crucial to the city's social and political development.

Sheffield became a city in 1893 and the development of the Labour party as we know it, from its origins as the Independent Labour Party, is included within the period under review, along with the development of the Liberal and Conservative parties' commitment to a limited form of municipal collectivism. This "responsibility for the general welfare of the community", was, Derek Fraser argues, "the ultimate social purpose that late Victorian Councils acknowledged"¹⁸, and it developed gradually, through a commitment to environmental control, to include the provision of leisure facilities, education and housing¹⁹.

The study ends with the Labour party's assumption of municipal power, on attaining its first majority, in November 1926. This was the conclusion of one stage of the party political battle and the signal for the commencement of a new one, since the Labour party has retained its majority ever since, with two single, year-long exceptions.

The study is concerned with municipal politics and not national politics, and with local politics rather than local government. The area of interest is therefore local political institutions, particularly the City Council, and the results of local elections, rather than general elections.

16. Op. cit., p. 223

17. Quoted ibid., p. 222.

18. D. Fraser, Power and Authority in the Victorian City, Oxford, 1979, p.167.

19. Ibid., pp. 168-170.

It is generally accepted that after the 1914-18 war local politics became increasingly influenced by national politics, for example, in the importance of national issues at local election campaigns, and in the interference of national government in the activities of local councils. It is, however, possible to write for the early twentieth century a history of municipal politics, dealing with the activities of the institutions of local government and with issues raised at municipal elections, and find national issues to be of subsidiary importance to local ones, and local issues in one city to be different to those of others. This is particularly true of an isolated community like Sheffield which even today retains a very individual local political life²⁰.

"Municipal politics" may be defined as:-

"discussion of, and the making of decisions on, matters affecting the municipality by those local groups and individuals with the greatest power to put them into practice".

The study assumes a strong degree of politicisation even in Victorian town councils²¹, and its major focus is therefore the party organisations, within which policy decisions were arrived at, and through which, increasingly during the period, City Council majorities for particular policies were created. The assumption that the local party representatives on the City Council, the Boards of Guardians and the School Board possessed de facto the political power which was de jure theirs may be a dangerous one. There is a strong argument to be made for the political power, even in Victorian times, of salaried officials, who were often co-opted onto committees and to whose expertise Councillors often deferred²². This is a legitimate and an increasing concern of historians of municipal politics, but it is believed that during the period under consideration those with the greatest power to put political decisions into practice were still those who triennially faced the

20. For example, the 1970s commitment by the Sheffield City Council and the South Yorkshire County Council to a "cheap bus fares" transport policy.

21. The reasons for this are fully discussed in Chapter 1, section C.

22. Professor S. Pollard discussed this at a Victorian Studies Seminar, Sheffield University, 31 Jan 1978.

electorate, hammered out policies despite intra-party conflict, and fought for them on the floor of the Council Chamber. It is with these men and women that this study is primarily concerned²³.

The sources available for a historical study of municipal politics dictate much of its style. The details of intra-party politics and individual opinion do not often emerge from local newspaper reports or City Council minutes, and the picture has therefore to be built up from surviving party records (scarce in the case of the Conservative and Liberal parties), and personal documentation of all kinds. Particularly valuable, as G. W. Jones has also noticed²⁴, are biographies, contained in Whos Whos, obituary columns, trade directories and the like, and the survival of a large number of these has made possible an attempt, especially useful in the case of the Conservative and Liberal parties, to build up a sociology of the local parties' leadership. Chapter 1 includes an attempt to construct an occupational sociology of the City Council membership.

Printed biographical sources mainly concentrate on "worthies"²⁵ and newspaper accounts on the activities of local parties at civic, rather than ward, level. It would be attractive to attempt to build up a "popular municipal politics", detailing views and activities at rank and file level, but documentation problems would make it an extended study in its own right. Chapter 2, "Politics at Ward Level", has the more limited aim of linking facts about the social composition of the various wards with information about election campaigns and their results in order to suggest reasons for their particular political orientation.

23. Professor E. P. Hennock argues that the American writer A.L. Lowell's assertions about the political importance of officialdom are fruitful when applied to the twentieth century, but that their relevance to the nineteenth century is "less clear", Fit and Proper Persons, London, 1973, p. 7.

24. G. W. Jones, Borough Politics, a study of the Wolverhampton Town Council 1888-1964, London, 1969, pp. 13-17.

25. It is for this reason that they are not so useful in the case of the Labour party, (for which other kinds of documentation survive in far larger amounts).

Subsequent chapters deal with the three major political parties, sources again indicating the avenue of approach. The most interesting aspect of the Conservative party during the period was its distinctive attitudes towards both local administration and national affairs, and the existence of the Wilson papers facilitates consideration of the intra-party politics of the Liberal party. While the Conservatives presented a reasonably united front during the period, the Liberals were unsuccessful in persuading their various factions to adopt a united policy for any considerable period of time. The rank and file of the Labour party is given more consideration than that of the Conservative or Liberal parties but detailed discussion of the internal politics of trades unions has been omitted.

"The first English marxist" was a Sheffielder²⁶, and Sheffield fostered a reputation for radicalism which coexisted uneasily with the high level of late Victorian "Lib-Labism" in the city, which remained strong until the first world war, and with the Conservative majority on the City Council from 1883 to 1901. The Sheffield Conservative party was stronger than, say, that of Leeds or Birmingham during the 1880s and early 1890s. Yet radical orators drew crowds to the Monolith and Paradise Square in the 1890s and the founding of the Independent Labour Party was of even more long term significance than the Chartist developments in the city sixty years earlier²⁷. A superficial view might suggest that Sheffield "proved" its radicalism in 1926, following the 1918 enfranchisement of the total adult male, and part of the female, population but the truth is more complex. The Labour party which triumphed in the post-war period was a coalition containing both conservative Lib-Lab and radical elements, and drawing on a tradition of municipal collectivism which the Conservative party had done much to create.

26. Harney - cf. W. H. G. Armytage, A. J. Mundella, the Liberal background to the Labour movement, London, 1951, p. 322.

27. For Sheffield Chartism, see S. Pollard, History of Labour in Sheffield, op. cit., pp. 40-49; J.L.Baxter, "Early Chartism and Labour Class Struggle: South Yorkshire 1837-1840", in S. Pollard and C. Holmes (ed), Essays in the Economic and Social History of South Yorkshire, South Yorkshire, 1976, pp. 135-158, passim.

Such paradoxes are fascinating to the national, as well as the local, political historian, and it is in the belief that local history, inherently interesting to those who know the area, has also much to contribute to national history, that this study is presented.

CHAPTER 1.

SHEFFIELD CITY COUNCIL.

A. Introduction.

1) The Council in the Nineteenth Century

Even today Sheffield, surrounded as it is by hills, is often regarded as parochial. The charge would have been justified a century ago when in political terms the town¹, for all its early radical tradition, was unenlightened and behind the times. The 'municipal gospel' did not reach Sheffield until the late 1880s. In 1889 Town Councillors and ratepayers finally agreed to build a new Town Hall, symbolic of pride in the municipality of Sheffield. Despite the total inadequacy of the various corporation offices, ratepayers had refused to spend the £80,000 needed to erect a new Town Hall, convincing themselves that:-

"the various departments had become so accustomed to having premises of their own, away from the other departments, that the troubles and difficulties met with in communicating with other Corporation officials were forgotten. Thus when the business of the town had been conducted without any great hitch, although under such disadvantages, it was argued by the objectors to the new scheme that it would be a waste of time and money to attempt to improve on a system which, so far, had worked well". 2

In Leeds the campaign for a Town Hall was successful in the 1850s, despite ratepayers' pressure for economy which affected all Victorian urban Councils³. There the Utilitarianism which was to prevent Sheffield's Town Hall being built until the 1890s was swept aside, and the decision made to erect the most beautiful building possible, with a tower, a great organ, a raised approach and an ornately adorned interior. The Hall was to be the symbol of civic pride in Leeds - a monument to the public spirit of the people of Leeds and their "generous pride in the possession of their municipal privileges".⁴

1. Sheffield became a city in 1893.

2. Sheffield Independent; Queen Victoria's visit to Sheffield and the opening of the new Town Hall on 21 May 1897, Sheffield, 1897, p.2.

3. The population of Sheffield, Leeds and other cities mentioned in this Chapter in 1895 is as follows:-

Sheffield	338,316	Leeds	388,761	Birmingham	492,301
Manchester	520,211	Cardiff	148,890	Nottingham	223,584

Source: Whittakers's Almanac 1895, p.416.

4. Asa Briggs: Victorian Cities, London, 1963, p.164. For an account of the building of Leeds Town Hall and its symbolic attributes, see Ibid., pp156-83.

The Leeds Town Council moreover was quick to adopt local government acts which would give itself more power to change the state of the municipality - such as the 1844 Health of Towns Act and those acts allowing it to purchase and run gas and water undertakings.

In the 1870s Birmingham became the leader of municipal enterprise when, led by Joseph Chamberlain, the Town Council bought out the local gas and water companies, cleared a large central slum area and created in its stead Corporation Street - a central civic thoroughfare flanked by good quality shops.⁵

Birmingham and Sheffield were cities of a similar economic character - the major industry being conducted in small workshops - and of independent and radical, political character in early Victorian times. As far as the town council was concerned, Sheffield was at a greater political disadvantage because of the division of its valleys into townships, each with its own political structure fiercely resisting incorporation into a central Town Council. The Town Council itself was often farsighted in its advocacy of improvement schemes but they were resisted by the townships.

Conflict began as soon as the Municipal Corporations Act was passed in 1835. The acquisition of a charter was seen by ratepayers as a prelude both to "raising up an aristocracy" which would destroy the egalitarian political structure of the town, and to the raising of rates.⁶ The final delayed adoption of the charter in 1843 was due more to the activities of some local J.P.s than to the convictions of the townspeople.⁷

The power of the newly-formed Town Council was greatly restricted for two decades by that of the Highway Boards. They had not only been in existence for longer but had their power-base in the townships. Led by an

5. E.P.Hennock; Fit and Proper Persons, London, 1973, p.128. For an account of the Birmingham improvements, cf Ibid, pp 97-130, A. Briggs History of Birmingham Vol II: Borough and City 1865-1938, Oxford, 1952, Chapter IV; D. Read, The English Provinces 1760-1960. A Study in Influence, London, 1964, pp. 173-5.

6. Derek Fraser: Power and Authority in the Victorian City, Oxford, 1979, p.139. I am grateful to Dr. Fraser for making a typescript of pp 139-48 available to me in advance of publication.

7. G. P. Jones and J. E. Tyler, A Century of Progress in Sheffield, Sheffield, 1935, pp 14-15.

energetic and idiosyncratic Democrat⁸, Isaac Ironside, they sought to create an alternative local government at township level - the 'wardmotes'. Ironside's activities made it impossible for the Council to adopt the 1848 Public Health Act which allowed Town Councils to levy rates to administer water, drainage, street management and burial grounds and to regulate offensive trades. Such powers would have limited those of the Highway Boards, and Ironside's influence is evident in the Council's motion on the occasion:-

"Undoubtedly it contains many excellent provisions suitable to the exigencies of this and other large towns, but the controlling power which it gives to the general Board of Health over some of the most important acts which local boards have to perform, and the distrust which it manifests as to their capacity or integrity to carry its provisions into proper effect, are alike objectionable and offensive and opposed to those principles of free local self-government, so congenial to the spirit and feelings of Englishmen". 9

The Council's attempt to sponsor an Improvement Bill incorporating municipal control of gas and water in 1851 was foiled by Isaac Ironside and other Chartist members of the Council, despite their belief in sanitary reform. The Council lapsed into lassitude so profound that the following year expenditure was not high enough to warrant the levying of a borough rate. In 1853 Councillors assembled for one meeting to find the agenda blank. The number of Councillors on the Health Committee was reduced "Because its duties were so light".¹⁰ The Highway Boards were at the same time very active, laying sewers and running their own gas company.

In 1858, at the time of the completion of the Leeds Town Hall, the Democrats scotched a second Improvement Bill which included plans for a Sheffield Town Hall. Ironside raised

"The hue and cry that (the council) contemplates only a needless and outrageous expenditure, crushing the poor and driving them from their cottages that the town may be adorned with costly and splendid town halls". 11

8. The Democratic Party, organised by Ironside, supported the demands of the Chartists and had 22 seats on the Council in 1849. D.E.Fletcher, Aspects of Liberalism in Sheffield 1849-86, University of Sheffield Ph.D.Thesis, 1972 pp. 24-5
9. Quoted M.Walton; Sheffield its Story and its Achievements, Sheffield, 1948, p. 186.
10. Ibid, p. 187
11. S.R.I 16 Oct 1858, quoted D. Frazer; Power and Authority in the Victorian City, op. cit., p. 144.

A third attempt at an Improvement Bill in 1864 was successful. Hostile public meetings were again held but the Democrats no longer influenced the Council from within. The Highway Boards and Improvement Commission were abolished by a large majority vote.

After such prolonged teething troubles the Council did not become an immediately forward-looking and progressive administration. Major new improvement schemes were not advanced until the late 1880s and '90s. In 1871 A. J. Mundella, the Liberal M.P. for Sheffield, wrote to Robert Leader (editor of the Liberal Sheffield Independent):

"I see a pretty state of things in your Municipality. Everything is mean, petty and narrow in the extreme.....Sheffield would do well to spend half a million in Improvements. A better Town Hall might be followed by better Town Councillors, and more public spirit....I wish you would preach the duty of the wealthy intellects of Sheffield taking their share in the elevation of the Town". 12

Before 1864 the Town Council had not the power or the prestige to attract the 'wealthy intellects' of Sheffield. It was popularly held that "there was no-one so ignorant or incompetent but he might become a town councillor".¹³ This was partly due to the lack of a large, culturally separate, middle class. During this period many leading members of industry and the professions were preoccupied with establishing their businesses, and entered the Council only during the late 1870s and '80s. The building of the Sheffield Town Hall symbolised the awakening of their feelings of civic responsibility. In the 1870s, as Asa Briggs has said, "Sheffield lacked the social and political leadership which gave Birmingham a civic gospel".¹⁴

The opening of the Sheffield Town Hall by Queen Victoria in 1897 created the same excitement and celebration as the opening of the Leeds Town Hall by the Queen in 1858. There were triumphal arches, streamers, massed children singing in Norfolk Park and huge crowds lining the route from the station.

12. Mundella/Leader Correspondence, 15 Oct 1871. Quoted D. Fletcher, op.cit., p. 91.

13. SRI 7 May 1864, quoted D. Fraser, Power and Authority in the Victorian City, op. cit., p. 147; See also Table 1.1 (Section B below) for occupational composition of Council 1843-93.

14. Briggs, Ibid, p.34.

Forty years on from the Leeds visit the Queen was old and unable to leave her carriage, she stayed for three hours rather than two days, and, to be frank, the Town Hall she had come to see had not quite the architectural distinction, the commanding position or the place in the hearts of the citizens of that previous pioneering and eminent building. But it was an occasion for celebration that Sheffield had caught up and reversed at least a little of the past.

ii) Towards "municipal socialism"

The development of "municipal socialism", an increase in the powers of town councils and in the revenues and services provided, has been seen by Helen Meller,¹⁵ the historian of nineteenth century Bristol, as a two-stage improvement campaign, embracing first necessary and immediate changes in housing, lighting and sanitation, and secondly provision of libraries, sports and other leisure facilities. It was a gradual broadening of the concept of the "civilised city" which in each city had a different chronology - Birmingham, under Joseph Chamberlain, was the undoubted progenitor of gas and water municipalisation schemes in the 1870s.

Although Sheffield had a public library in 1856,¹⁶ a public park in 1873 and an infectious disease hospital in 1881, the real period of progress towards "municipal socialism" began in the late 1880s, under a Conservative Council. A main drainage scheme and sewage disposal works was completed in 1886, and the following year the decision was taken to purchase the water companies, an acquisition which had been contemplated for twenty years.¹⁷ In 1893 Sheffield's rates were the fifth highest in the country - more than Leeds, Liverpool or Leicester¹⁸ - high rates being a good sign of an active rather than a narrowly "Economist"¹⁹ Council.

15. Leisure and the Changing City, 1870-1914, London, 1976, p.237.

16. Jones and Tyler, op. cit., p.46.

17. For details, cf Hawson, Sheffield, The Growth of a City 1893-1926, Sheffield, 1968, pp.3-12.

18. Ibid, p.27.

19. The term "Economist" is now widely used by 19th century municipal historians to indicate a group advocating policies of retrenchment in order to keep rates as low as possible.

The period of expansion slowed down in the late 1890's following the acquisition of the tramways, the markets and the electricity undertaking. In 1895 the Liberal Sheffield Independent upbraided the Council for not taking seriously a scheme to build a new Central Library. The Council debate, it said,

".....showed that our councillors have not grasped the idea of such an institution generously and wisely planned and administered. Some of them looked upon such a library as a superfluity; some thought of it as only helping the few; some regarded it as in rivalry with lending branches; nearly all thought it dear at a farthing rate, and only Sir Henry Stephenson touched on the higher aspects of the question".²⁰

Parsimony and credulity characterised the Council's treatment, for example, of the sanitation problem. An agreement was reached in 1889 to adopt the water carriage system of sewage disposal in preference to privy middens. Early in 1895, after an exceptionally severe frost, a serious debate took place on the superiority of privies over water closets which were occasionally liable to freeze in very cold weather.²¹ The Council was swayed for over a year, and the conversion of privy middens continued to be an agonizingly slow process, providing grounds for criticism by other local authorities and newspapers, and fuel for the political fires of, first, the Association for the Better Housing of the Poor, and later, the Labour Party.²² In 1915, 11,000 privies were still unconverted and the process stopped completely, to be resumed at the previous rate only after the war.

Sewage disposal efforts were scarcely better. Two destructors were agreed to, in 1896 and 1900, but the conventional tipping of nightsoil at two sites at Crookes and the Park continued, even when nearby residents complained. The destructors never operated to full satisfaction, and the only solution offered by a prestigious Committee, which was accepted by all the Council with "acclamation",²³ was to build a tip outside the Sheffield boundary, with a railway connection. The huge increase in Sheffield's population during the

20. S.I. 15 Aug 1895.

21. Hawson, op. cit., p. 52.

22. For a year-by-year compilation of conversion statistics, see Hawson, ibid., p. 55.

23. Cf Ibid., p.59.

First World War and the cessation of privy conversion caused another crisis, with tips exhausted and destructors obsolete. It was to no-one's credit, except that of John Howarth, the originator of the scheme, that when Sheffield City Council in 1920 finally adopted a 'bio-aeration' treatment for sewage, it became the foremost local authority in the country in this particular field.²⁴

Prevarication, parsimony, shortsightedness and snobbery in dealing with the needs of working-class residents characterised too many of the Council's actions during the period 1900-1926 - particularly in the fields of education and housing - the exception being the far-sighted attempts to develop a properly-planned suburb at High Wincobank in the 1900s.²⁵ Despite Labour party criticisms, further collectivism was not seriously envisaged - the milk supply, for example, municipalised in the aftermath of war in 1918, was resold in 1922.²⁶ The municipal utilities already acquired were well administered - the tramways consistently made a large profit and the electricity committee, under the enthusiastic chairmanship of Robert Styring, increased its sale of units ten-fold during the period 1909-1919. The water committee,²⁷ run as a public service rather than to make a profit, built several reservoirs in Derbyshire immediately after purchase of the undertaking - enough to fulfil projected needs for forty years. Looking even farther ahead, the Council agreed in 1898 to a long-term scheme to obtain water, along with Derby, Leicester and Nottingham, from the Derwent valley. Six impounding reservoirs, with mains to Sheffield, were constructed - the final one, Ladybower Reservoir, being completed in 1945.

Plans for a bright Sheffield future were contemplated by the Council during the 1914-18 War, when, because of the huge demand for armaments, the city was unusually prosperous. Councillor Oliver Wilson, in an article in 1915, suggested that the stimulus created by municipal development in Sheffield

24. Cf Ibid, p. 179.

25. Cf S.M.Gaskell, "Sheffield City Council and the Development of Suburban areas prior to World War I", S.Pollard & C.Holmes (ed.), Essays in the Economic and Social History of South Yorkshire, S.Yorkshire, 1976, p.188.

Housing and education are discussed in detail below, Chapters 3-7, passim.

26. For details, see Hawson, op.cit., pp 63-5.

27. See Ibid, pp 206-210.

in the late nineteenth century "had not been exhausted", and emphasised the need for "the further development of the City on broader lines than had up to that time been contemplated".²⁸ An Improvement Committee introduced municipal advertising of Sheffield's commercial and industrial potential, and authorised the preparation of a plan for the future development of the City. A leading town planner, Professor Abercrombie, was appointed for this task, and was reported as saying that so far as he knew Sheffield was the only city co-ordinating its contemplated improvements and carrying out a comprehensive plan.²⁹ The improvements schemes were financed through tramway profits, since no powers existed to utilise revenue from rates.

In 1921, because of the post-war slump and Corporation retrenchment, the Improvement Committee was disbanded. Professor Abercrombie published his excellent and farsighted survey in 1924, but its recommendations were never adopted by the Council. During the period 1921-26 it concentrated on limiting "municipal socialism" schemes in order to prevent rate rises and it was only after 1926, and under a Labour majority, that the role of the Council was expanded once again.

B. The Social Composition of the City Council 1892-1926.

"His business abilities and progressive tendencies would make a capital combination in a City Councillor". 30

A strong, popular and active City Council in the Victorian period contained the "cream" of the city's business and professional men, with some representation of the local landed gentry. The composition of a council is therefore a good guide to its prestige during any particular period and to the progressiveness of its policies - small businessmen and shopkeepers were liable to be the instigators of policies of retrenchment and "economy".³¹ The occupational composition of the political parties on the Council indicates

28. Cited W.E.Hart, Foreword to P.Abercrombie: Sheffield: a Civic Survey and suggestions towards a development plan, Liverpool and London, 1924, p iii.

29. Hawson, op.cit., p 156.

30. John Derry, W.W.1902 p.17.

31. Cf. discussion of Prof. Hennock's views below, section C, p40, but note the disagreement of Dr. M.J.Daunton.

the reasons for some of their policies. A period of intense political conflict with majorities fluctuating between the parties often deterred leading men from joining the Council - their preference was for uncontested elections and they were unprepared "to wade through dirt to dignities".³²

Like other cities which have been studied,³³ Sheffield's Victorian Councils were dominated by local businessmen, with shopkeepers being strongly represented (see Table 1.1). The numbers of members of the professions appreciably grew during the period, and on a larger scale than Birmingham, for example, where lawyers formed 4.7% of the Council in 1882 and 6.9% in 1892, (the year when they formed 18.46% of the Sheffield Council), or Leeds, which had no professional men on its Council in the 1870s.³⁴

Manufacturers in the 'light' trades, Sheffield's staple industry, dominated the reformed corporation from its earliest days, while 'heavy' trades manufacturers were a growing group, reflecting the enormous expansion of this industry during the second half of the nineteenth century. Manufacturers in general formed over half of the Council from the 1840s to 1893, with the exception of the years 1863-73.

The "shopocracy", wholesale and retailing merchants, formed a rather smaller section of the Council which temporarily declined in importance from 1873 to '93. The rest of the Council was composed of a small number of landed gentry, builders and, except between 1883 and 1893, brewers, and a growing group of non-legal professional men.

The more detailed information compiled for the period 1892-1926 (see Table 1.2) shows a substantial decline in the number of manufacturers in the twentieth century - in 1900 37.78% of the Council, in 1910 30.77% and in 1920 20.58%. The reduction is most noticeable in the case of 'light' trades manufacturers, who formed 20% of the Council in 1892-3 and steadily declined

32. Quoted Hennock, op.cit. p 259

33. Notably in E.P.Hennock, op.cit. pp 17-57; 179-227; 350-60, Birmingham & Leeds; M.J.Daunton, Coal Metropolis, Cardiff 1870-1914, Leicester 1977, esp. chapters 9 & 10; G.W.Jones, Borough Politics, a study of the Wolverhampton Town Council 1888-1964, London 1969.

34. E.P.Hennock, op.cit., Figure 2 p.44; Figure 6, p.206.

TABLE 1.1 Occupational Composition of Sheffield City Council 1843-93.¹
(at decennial intervals)

Occupation	Nov-Oct 1843-53	Nov-Oct 1853-63	Nov-Oct 1863-73	Nov-Oct 1873-83	Nov-Oct 1883-93
Percentage of total membership					
1. Manufacturer (Heavy Trades) ²	6.38	9.60	11.11	9.35	11.71
2. Manufacturer (Light Trades) ²	22.70	20.00	13.50	21.50	23.42
3. Manufacturer (Other) ³	9.93	8.00	9.52	8.41	6.31
4. Manufacturer ⁴	11.35	8.80	4.76	6.54	4.50
5. Merchant (Wholesale/Retail)	25.53	31.20	28.57	18.70	16.22
6. Builder	2.84	2.40	2.38	4.67	2.70
7. Brewer	2.84	2.40	3.97	2.80	-
8. Law	2.84	5.60	6.35	10.28	12.61
9. Medicine	5.67	3.20	1.59	0.93	3.60
10. White-Collar Responsible ⁵	4.26	5.60	10.32	10.28	8.11
11. Clerks	1.82	0.80	-	-	0.90
12. Trade Union Official	-	-	-	-	0.90
13. Manual Worker	-	-	-	-	3.60
14. Gentleman	4.26	2.40	7.94	6.54	5.41
<u>Total Membership</u>	<u>141</u>	<u>125</u>	<u>126</u>	<u>107</u>	<u>111</u>

NOTES TO TABLE 1.1

1. Compiled from information in J.M.Furness Record of the Municipal Affairs in Sheffield since the incorporation of the Borough, in 1843, to the celebration of the Jubilee in 1893, Sheffield 1893, pp63-74.
The occupational classifications are as far as possible the same as those described in Appendix 1; the categorisation method described in the appendix has not however been rigorously applied to Furness' data.
2. Defined as in Appendix 1, except that where definition was doubtful, the first activity named by Furness (e.g. 'steel' in 'steel and files manufacturer') was taken as definitive without further investigation.
3. Manufacturers not engaged in the steel industry, excluding 'Brewers'.
4. No further information given by Furness.
5. Defined in Appendix 1, paragraph 7, section i).

TABLE 1.2

Occupational Composition of Sheffield City Council, November 1892 - November 1926.
(at annual intervals)

Municipal Session (Nov - Oct)	Occupational Group						Occupational Group						Total Councillors
	Heavy Trades (a) M'frs.	Light Trades (b) M'frs.	'Other' M'frs. (c)	Small Merchants (d)	Large Merchants (d)	Builders (f)	Law (g)	Medicine (h)	White-Collar Responsible (i)	Clerk (j)	Trades Union Official/ Manual worker (k)	Gentleman (l)	
	Percentage Total Council Membership						Percentage Total Council Membership						
1892-93	12.31	20.00	4.62	16.92	7.69	3.08	18.46	1.54	7.69	-	4.62	3.08	65
1893-94	12.12	19.70	6.06	16.67	7.58	3.03	18.18	1.52	7.58	-	4.55	3.03	66
1894-95	13.64	19.70	6.06	16.67	7.58	3.03	16.67	3.03	6.06	-	4.55	3.03	66
1895-96	16.67	19.70	9.09	15.15	7.58	3.03	13.64	4.55	3.03	-	6.06	1.52	66
1896-97	12.31	20.00	9.23	15.38	9.23	3.08	13.85	3.08	3.08	-	7.69	3.08	65
1897-98	12.12	19.70	9.09	15.15	7.58	3.03	13.64	3.03	4.55	-	9.09	3.03	66
1898-99	12.12	19.70	7.58	16.67	7.58	3.03	13.64	3.03	6.06	-	7.58	3.03	66
1899-1900	12.12	18.18	7.58	16.67	7.58	3.03	13.64	3.03	7.58	-	7.58	3.03	66
1900-1	13.64	18.18	6.06	16.67	7.58	3.03	13.64	3.03	7.58	-	9.09	1.52	66
1901-2	11.94	16.42	7.46	19.4	8.96	4.48	11.94	2.99	7.46	-	8.96	-	67
1902-3	10.45	14.93	11.94	17.91	5.97	4.48	11.94	2.99	10.45	-	8.96	-	67
1903-4	8.82	16.18	11.76	19.12	7.35	2.94	13.24	1.47	10.29	-	8.82	-	68
1904-5	7.69	12.31	13.85	21.54	6.15	1.54	15.38	3.08	9.23	-	9.23	-	65
1905-6	7.46	14.93	10.45	23.88	5.97	-	13.43	2.99	8.96	1.49	10.45	-	67
1906-7	9.09	13.64	12.12	24.20	4.55	-	13.64	3.03	7.58	1.52	10.60	-	66
1907-8	9.36	12.50	14.06	25.00	3.13	-	12.50	1.56	9.36	3.13	9.36	-	64
1908-9	8.96	10.45	16.42	22.39	2.99	1.49	13.43	2.99	10.45	2.99	7.46	-	67
1909-10	6.94	12.50	15.28	19.44	1.39	1.39	16.67	2.78	11.11	2.78	8.33	1.39	72
1910-11	7.69	12.31	10.77	20.00	3.08	3.08	16.92	3.08	10.77	1.54	9.23	1.54	65
1911-12	7.81	12.50	9.36	15.63	2.13	1.56	17.19	4.69	14.06	1.56	9.36	2.13	64
1912-13	8.82	10.29	7.35	16.18	4.41	1.47	17.65	4.41	14.71	-	10.29	4.41	68
1913-19 *	12.66	8.86	6.33	12.66	5.06	5.06	15.19	3.80	15.19	2.53	10.13	2.53	79
1919-20	12.50	6.25	2.13	12.50	7.81	6.25	12.50	1.56	9.36	4.69	21.88	1.56	64
1920-21	10.29	7.35	2.94	14.71	5.88	5.88	13.24	1.47	8.82	4.41	23.53	1.47	68
1921-22	7.35	7.35	2.94	10.29	5.88	7.35	10.29	2.94	8.82	7.35	27.94	1.47	68
1922-23	10.29	7.35	4.41	11.76	5.88	7.35	10.29	2.94	5.88	7.35	25.00	1.47	68
1923-24	11.11	6.94	5.55	11.11	5.55	6.94	9.72	1.39	8.33	5.55	27.78	-	72
1924-25	12.12	6.06	3.03	12.12	4.55	6.06	12.12	-	10.60	4.55	28.79	-	66
1925-26	12.12	4.55	4.55	12.12	4.55	6.06	12.12	-	10.60	4.55	28.79	-	66
1926 (Nov)	7.46	2.99	4.48	11.94	2.99	4.48	5.97	-	8.96	7.46	43.28	-	67

* No municipal elections between these dates.

NOTE For details of the method of classification used in this and subsequent tables, see Appendix 1.

in numbers thereafter. The numbers of heavy trades manufacturers remained between 7 and 13% of the Council, with a high point of 16.67% in 1895-6, and a strong increase during the first world war.

Merchants formed on average about a quarter of the Council until around 1911, from which date their numbers declined. The proportion of shopkeepers (small merchants) rose appreciably during the 1900s, to become a quarter of the Council during 1907-8, but fell away after 1913. The number of lawyers on the Council reached its highest point in 1892-3, with an average representation of 15% until 1919. A temporary increase in the number of lawyers during the years 1909 until 1913 was paralleled by a similar increase in the number of other professional white collar workers.

The largest number of those engaged in the building industry came onto the Council immediately after the first world war, as did manual workers and trades union officials. These latter groups joined the Council after the abolition of the property qualification for membership³⁵ and because of the electoral success of the Labour party in the post-war period.

How many of Sheffield's leading commercial and professional men were members of the City Council? The definition of any "elite" is difficult to make, and especially within the category of "heavy and light trades manufacturers". Enterprises in both industries could greatly vary in size and prestige, and their owners and directors are difficult to categorise. There were only two self-employed "small mesters" on the Council during the period - a silversmith, George Milnes, from 1901-11, and a blacksmith, Samuel Walker, from 1905-18. Among the very largest (in terms of numbers employed) and most prestigious firms mentioned by Professor Pollard³⁶, eight were represented on the Sheffield City Council during 1892-1926, as follows:-

35. Ownership of real or personal property worth £1,000 or the occupation of property with a rateable value of at least £30. It was abolished for most purposes in 1882.

36. S.Pollard; History of Labour in Sheffield, Liverpool, 1959, pp.162, 226.

Jonas and Colver	- one partner	(1890-96; 1901-5)
Thomas Firth	- one partner	(1895-1901)
Samuel Osborn	- two partners	(1895-1901; 1903-26)
Edgar Allen	- two directors	(1913-19; 1919-21)
Hadfield	- one director	(1922-25)
J.H.Andrews	- one director	(1923-26)
Wm. Jessop	- one director	(1923-26)

Contemporary comments suggest that the representation of the "elite" fell in the early 20th century. In 1906 the Sheffield Year Book spoke of "the gradual lowering of the type of candidate for municipal honours" and of the difficulty of "securing the services in its good government of some of the ablest manufacturers and others with a big stake in the town".³⁷ This was the period when a lower middle-class group of shopkeepers and self-employed, and, most notably, some manual workers of the Labour Party were joining the Council. The representation of Sheffield's steel manufacturers on the Council declined by 10% during the 1900s, but it was still 17% in 1910 and still an important register of industrial concern in the political arena. The representation of lawyers, on the other hand, was very high (compared with that of Birmingham Council, for example, see Table 1.3³⁸) and they were almost without exception members of important legal firms, with practices in Sheffield's legal quarter - in and adjacent to Paradise Square.

TABLE 1.3 Representation of Lawyers on the Birmingham and Greater Birmingham Councils 1892-1925.

<u>Birmingham City Council</u>		<u>Greater Birmingham Council</u>	
1892	6.9%	1912	14.2%
1896	8.3%	1920	9.2%
1902	11.1%	1925	5.8%
1912	16.7%		

Source: Hennock, op.cit., pp. 44-45.

37. Quoted H.K.Hawson; Op.cit., p.290.

38. Legal representation on Leeds Town Council was lower than that for Sheffield and Birmingham, Hennock, Op.cit., p.206.

TABLE 1.4: Occupational Composition of Sheffield City Council 1892-93,
and Occupations of New Councillors 1893-1926.
(5 periods: 1892-93, 1893-1900, 1900-10, 1910-19, 1919-26).

Occupation	Percentage of Total New Councillors*				
	Percentage of total Councillors Nov 1892- Oct 1893	Nov 1893- Oct 1900	Nov 1900- Oct 1910	Nov 1910- Oct 1919	Nov 1919- Nov 1926
a) 'Heavy' Trades Manufacturers	12.5	11.76	6.15	14.63	10.53
b) 'Light' Trades Manufacturers	20.31	14.71	10.77	7.32	2.63
c) 'Other' Manufacturers	4.69	17.65	18.46	2.44	5.26
d) Small Merchants	15.63	20.59	16.92	14.63	9.21
e) Large Merchants	7.81	5.88	6.15	7.32	1.32
f) Builders	3.13	-	3.08	9.76	2.63
g) Law	18.75	2.94	7.69	12.20	3.95
h) Medicine	1.56	5.88	3.08	2.44	1.32
i) White Collar Responsible	7.81	8.82	15.38	9.76	5.26
j) Clerks	-	-	3.08	2.44	6.58
k) Manual Workers/ Trades Union Officials	4.69	8.82	7.69	12.20	50.00
l) Gentlemen	3.13	2.94	1.54	4.88	1.32
Total	64	34	65	41	76

* Five Councillors counted as 'New' twice, because of changes in occupation at decennial intervals.

Lawyers derived particular professional advantage from membership of a local council³⁹, and the city had a number of lawyers⁴⁰, with a tradition dating back to the seventeenth century of service on the earliest form of local government, the Town Trustees. Solicitors were also prominent among the Church Burgesses⁴¹ and on the Magistrates Bench, and their numbers on the Sheffield 'reformed' Corporation grew with the increase in its power and reputation.

Solicitors and manufacturers worked together both politically and professionally. A great deal of legal work was generated by the Cutlers' Company, for example the hard-fought nineteenth century campaign to establish the 'Sheffield Steel' trademark. The Cutlers' Hall, headquarters of the Company, was very near to the legal quarter (and indeed to the pre-1897 Council offices) and a picture of a closely-knit working community of solicitors and steel and cutlery manufacturers emerges.

Solicitors often entered the Council comparatively young, and gave the longest average service of any occupational group on the Council - 12.4 years. Four Councillors served for the entire period 1892-1926, and two of these were solicitors - W.E.Clegg and Robert Styring. Table 1.4 shows that after the large initial influx of lawyers on to the Council in the early 1890s, few new lawyers joined until the years 1910-19. Lawyers on Sheffield City Council were therefore a large group whose members joined at a similar time, and then continued to serve for many years. As they retired or died, they were inadequately replaced, especially after 1919, by younger members of the profession.

Within the Council an elite which excluded small shopkeepers carried off most of the "glittering prizes" afforded by municipal service. Professional and manufacturing men held the chairmanships of the two most prestigious committees, General Purposes and Finance⁴², with the exception of

39. See below, Section C pp.45,48.

40. More than the national average, according to W.Hampton: Democracy and Community: a study of politics in Sheffield, London, 1970, pp42-43.

41. Set up in 1554 to administer glebe lands given by Mary I to Sheffield churches.

42. G.W.Jones points out that these committees had a considerable amount of independent power, with the chairman normally being given lengthy tenure of office. Normally the "leading and most able men" on the Council were chosen as chairman of Finance Committee, and the General Purposes Committee was the "inner circle" of the Council where the spending of the various committees was scrutinised and names to be submitted to the Council for election as aldermen decided. op.cit., pp 232-4, 248, 261.

TABLE 1.5:

Occupational Composition of Aldermanic Bench 1892-93
and Occupations of New Aldermen, 1893-1926.

(5 periods: 1892-93, 1893-1900, 1900-10, 1910-19, 1919-26)

Occupation	Percentage	Percentage of Total New Aldermen				
	of total Aldermen	Nov 1892- Oct 1893	Nov 1893- Oct 1900	Nov 1900 Oct 1910	Nov 1910 Oct 1919	Nov 1919- Nov 1926
a) 'Heavy' Trades Manufacturers	12.50	-	16.60	11.11	-	
b) 'Light' Trades Manufacturers	31.25	33.33	11.11	11.11	-	
c) 'Other' Manufacturers	6.25	-	5.55	11.11	5.88	
d) Small Merchants	-	-	22.20	33.30	5.88	
e) Large Merchants	12.50	11.11	-	-	17.65	
f) Builders	-	-	5.55	-	-	
g) Law	25.00	33.30	16.60	11.11	5.88	
h) Medicine	-	-	5.55	-	-	
i) White Collar Responsible	12.5	-	-	22.22	11.76	
j) Clerks	-	-	-	-	11.76	
k) Manual Workers/ Trades Union Officials	-	-	11.11	-	35.30	
l) Gentlemen	-	22.22	5.55	-	5.88	
Total	16	9	18	9	17	

a single year, until after the war and dominated the aldermanic bench throughout the 1890s, shopkeepers being elected during the 1900s mainly because of length of service (see Tables 1.5 & 1.6). Even in 1925 when there were more shopkeepers on the bench, there were only two manual workers, despite their far greater numbers on the Council as a whole. Proportional representation, it appears, had very little to do with choice of aldermen.

Aldermen were elected triennially by vote of the whole Council, half the bench retiring at each election. Questions of party were the first considerations at such elections, since the number of aldermen could determine a party's overall majority on the Council⁴³. The only three members of the bench ejected at triennial elections between 1892 and 1925 were ousted for party reasons - Frederick Brittain in 1898 and W.W.Harrison and Hamer Chalmer in 1901⁴⁴. After the party choice came choice related to wealth, status or seniority. It was customary for previous or present Lord Mayors who were still Councillors to be elevated to the aldermanic bench at the first opportunity. Lord Mayors had to be prosperous, since a mayoral allowance of £1,000 was introduced only in 1915. John Wycliffe Wilson in a letter to his nephew, Cecil Henry Wilson, in 1914⁴⁵ gave his total expenditure as Lord Mayor in 1902-3 as £1,778.18.4d. This included contributions to charities, banquets and other hospitalities, clothes and servants' liveries. Since Wycliffe Wilson was frugal to the point of meanness, and a temperance advocate who held teetotal banquets, his expenditure was unusually low. Before 1914, all the mayors were manufacturers, large merchants, landed gentlemen or professionals. Two trades union officials and one shopkeeper became mayor during the period 1914-26.

The predominance of an elite on the aldermanic bench was therefore partly the result of the possession of wealth. This could override considerations of seniority, as could outstanding business prestige, social position or family

43. No indications were given of the reasons why certain councillors were chosen as Aldermen in newspaper reports, or Council Minutes.

44. Seven Councillors were ousted for party reasons in November 1926.

45. John Wycliffe Wilson/Cecil Henry Wilson, 31 Aug 1914 and C.H.Wilson, MS, 1 Sep 1914, (in the possession of R.E.Wilson).

TABLE 1.6: Average Years served as Councillor by Aldermen
Appointed to the Bench November 1892-November 1926.

Occupation	Total Aldermen	Average Years served as Councillor
a) 'Heavy' Trades Manufacturers	4	12.25
b) 'Light' Trades Manufacturers	6	10
c) 'Other' Manufacturers	3	12.33
d) 'Small' Merchants	8	15
e) 'Large' Merchants	4	18
f) Builders	1	21
g) Law	8	13.5
h) Medicine	1	15
i) White Collar Responsible	4	11.75
j) Clerks	2	7
k) Trades Union Officials/ Manual Workers	8	11
l) Gentlemen	4	6

connections. In 1896 and 1910, the Duke of Norfolk and Earl Fitzwilliam were elected to the aldermanic bench, by vote of the Council, without becoming Councillors - the former in order to become Lord Mayor at the time of the Queen's visit to open the Town Hall. In 1911 A.J.Hobson, partner in Thomas Turner's and chairman of the large engineering firm, Jessop's, was offered a safe seat, chosen Lord Mayor in the same year, and elected an alderman in 1913⁴⁶. J.B.Jackson, of the large and highly reputable tool-making firm, Spear and Jackson, became an alderman after three years service as a Councillor. Henry Stephenson, founder of the type-founding firm of Stephenson, Blake and Company, became an alderman after four years, and his son Henry Kenyon Stephenson, after three. W.E.Clegg followed his solicitor father on to the aldermanic bench after six years as a Councillor. Having had an initially unopposed return for Attercliffe, he was said in later years to be the only member of the Council never to have fought a municipal election.

Membership of the elite was not in itself sufficient qualification for advancement. Certain standards of good behaviour and respectability were demanded. Arnold Muir Wilson, a solicitor who served twenty-one years on the Council, was a brilliant maverick who caused several scandals and not a few major Council disruptions, and who quarrelled violently with both fellow-Councillors and professional colleagues⁴⁷. Cecil Henry Wilson, a 'light' trades manufacturer, resigned in 1924, after twenty years service, to become Labour Member of Parliament for Attercliffe. He was nominated five times for aldermanic preferment and his failure to be elected was due to his desertion of the Liberal Party for Labour in 1918.

Why did the representation of an "elite" decline during the period? The presence of shopkeepers and builders on the Council in greater numbers in the 1900s was part of a cycle of political involvement. Shopkeepers were the strongest element on the Councils of 1843-73, partly as a result of their strong connections with the Chartist Movement, and with the Liberal Party.

46. He was also the son of a former alderman and grandson of two members of Sheffield's first Council in 1843. H.K.Hawson, op.cit., p.323.

47. Ibid., biography, pp.336-338.

Half the Chartist Councillors in Sheffield were members of the "shopocracy",⁴⁸ and in Newcastle, where their activities have been studied in detail⁴⁹, they were, in the late 1850s, the leaders of a radical Ratepayers Association formed to oppose the Whig/Tory policy at local elections. The Liberal party gained a majority on the Sheffield Council in 1901. Those who were members of the Council in the period 1893-1926 included pawnbrokers, auctioneers and hotel landlords as well as chemists, butchers and clothing salesmen. A group of shopkeepers with interests very directly related to Council work - department store managers - emerged around 1910. Shopkeepers were often small property-owners, and, as G.W.Jones points out,

"Their daily contact with customers gives them a knowledge of local gossip and events, anxieties and hopes, a channel for their own opinions, an unrivalled opportunity for meeting and influencing people and a fund of electoral support". 50

They contributed administrative skills to Council work and found it easier than manual workers to take time off for Council duties.

G.W.Jones has shown that in Wolverhampton the slow decline in the number of manufacturers, merchants and professional men on the Council (as in Sheffield) from a peak in the 1890s was ^{partly} due to the conversion of family firms into 'limited liability' companies which required a manager to submit to the demands of board meetings, thus reducing his independence of action and the possibility of his engaging in political work. Greater mobility among this social group resulted in reduced identification with the problems of any particular Borough⁵¹.

The most important reason for the declining social status of Councillors, especially after 1919, was the development of the Labour Party, and its expansion of the political role played on the Council by the Lib-Labs (see Table 1.7 for information concerning the manual workers on Sheffield Council, 1892-1926).

48. V.Thornes, op. cit., pp 21-2.

49. T.J.Nossiter, "Shopkeeper Radicalism in the Nineteenth Century" /ⁱⁿ edited T.J.Nossiter, A.H.Hanson and Stein Rokkan, Imagination and Precision in the Social Sciences, London, 1972, pp.407-38.

50. G.W.Jones: op. cit., pp.119-120.

51. Cf. Ibid., pp.116-117; D.Read, op.cit., pp 237-9. Prof.Read points out that the increasing centralisation of local government gave less incentive to businessmen to become involved in local politics - ibid., pp.239-40.

Until 1882 property qualifications for those wishing to be elected to borough councils meant that even Radical Councillors before this date almost invariably came from the ranks of small masters and shopkeepers. In Sheffield, out of thirty-eight Chartist Councillors elected between 1843 and 1865, only two can definitely be identified as manual workers⁵². After 1882, and the formation of the Sheffield Labour Association to promote the candidature of working men as Lib-Labs at municipal and national elections, several leaders of the Federated Trades Council were elected to the City Council - Edward Memmott of the File Hardeners in 1884, Stuart Uttley of the File-Cutters in 1886, Charles Hobson, a Britannia Metalsmith in 1887, and W.F.Wardley, a table-blade forger (later leader of the Table Blade Forgers' and Strikers' Union) in 1890. The Federated Trades Council was almost entirely representative of the old-established, small and somewhat conservative cutlery trades societies. It was only in the 1890s that Trades Council members representative of the 'heavy' trades unions joined the Council - J.C.Whiteley of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers in 1895 and John Davison of the Ironfounders in 1897. Some workingmen on the Council had no connection with the Federated Trades Council and sat as Liberals - William Llewellyn (elected 1884) and John Wilson (1874) for example - both of whom were 'light' trades workers⁵³.

In the 1900s, the 'Lib-Labs' elected to the Council were 'light' trades members of the Federated Trades Council (Robert Holmshaw of the Scissor-Grinders and A.J.Bailey of the National Amalgamated Union of Labour⁵⁴). The first Labour representatives on the Council came from the 'heavy' trades, the railways and the Gasworkers' Union. In 1920, Lib-Labs and Labour united and the distribution of trades represented on the Council after 1919 can be seen from Table 1.7(B).

52. One other Chartist Councillor, R.Otley, a newsagent, was later unseated for lack of the property qualification. Cf V.Thornes, The Impact of Chartism Reformers on the life of Sheffield, Unpublished T/S(in the author's possession), pp.21-2.
53. Cf. Furness, op.cit., p.73. S.Pollard, J.Mendelson, V.Thornes and W.Owen: Sheffield Trades and Labour Council, Sheffield, 1958,p.24.
54. The N.A.U.L. became the main union for the Amalgamated 'light' trades societies in the post-first world war period - Cf. S.Pollard - History of Labour in Sheffield, op.cit., p.217.

In strong comparison to the predominance of the 'heavy' trades and the 'light' trades before 1919, the industries of transport, building and mining were more strongly represented, along with the general trades unions. Representation of the 'light' trades is obscured by the amalgamation of many 'light' trades societies within the general unions during the years 1915 to 1919.

The level of skill among these representatives of the working-classes was very high (see Table 1.7 A). Apart from a labourer, two miners and a porter in the 1919-26 period all were either full-time salaried trade union officials, formen or skilled workers. Skilled work was the Sheffield tradition, particularly in the 'light' trades. The 'heavy' trades, had less need of skilled men, but they were nevertheless not represented on the pre-1927 Council by unskilled men.

Comparisons of the type of manual workers on Sheffield Council can be made with those on Leeds and Birmingham Councils using the statistics of Professor Hennock. It is particularly instructive to be able to compare Birmingham with Sheffield, since the organisation of Birmingham metal trades into small workshops was very similar to the structure of the 'light' trades in Sheffield. Table 1.7 C shows that Sheffield and Birmingham Councils were almost exactly alike in their proportions of manual workers in 1896, while in 1902 Sheffield had a greater number of skilled workers on the Council and in 1912 Birmingham had the larger number. In contrast, Leeds lagged behind Birmingham in all three years, but outstripped Sheffield by 1912. This decline on Sheffield's part was primarily due to Labour's failure at the polls, 1910-12. Professor Hennock does not carry his story further than 1914, but figures he has obtained for the post-war situation in Birmingham may be quoted here⁵⁵. In 1920 Birmingham had 15.8% manual workers and in 1925, 9.1%. These may be compared with the Sheffield figures of 21.88% in 1920 and 28.79% in 1925 to indicate the extent of the Labour Party's post-war success in Sheffield. While the Labour Party

55. Prof. Hennock has obtained them from D.S.Morris and K.Newton: The Occupational Composition of Party Groups on Birmingham City Council 1920-66, Unpublished Discussion Paper, Series F, No.3, Jan 1969, University of Birmingham Faculty of Commerce and Social Science.

TABLE 1.7 Trades Union Officials & Manual Workers on Sheffield City Council, November 1892 - November 1926.

A - By Skill*

Percentage of total Trades Union Officials & Manual workers on Council.			
	Full-time Trade Union Official	Skilled	Semi-skilled/Unskilled
k) Trades Union Officials			
Manual Workers	24.1	68.52	7.41
Number of Individuals	13	37	4

* for basis of classification see appendix 1, paragraph 10.

B - By Industry

Percentage of total Trades Union Officials & Manual workers on Council.		
	Nov 1892-Oct 1919.	Nov 1919-Nov 1926.
'Heavy' Trades	43.75	32.56
'Light' Trades	31.25	6.70
Railways/Tramways	6.25	18.60
Building	6.25	9.30
Coal-mining	-	11.63
Printing	6.25	-
General*	6.25	20.93
Number of Individuals	16	43

* This category contains full-time officials of 'general' trades unions, and one non-specified manual worker.

TABLE 1.7: C Comparison with Leeds and Birmingham Councils*,
1896, 1902, 1912*.

Percentage of Total Councillors

YEAR	LEEDS			BIRMINGHAM			SHEFFIELD		
	Union Offi- cials	Skilled/ Foremen	Semi/ Un- Skilled	Union Offi- cials	Skilled/ Foremen	Semi/ Un- Skilled	Union Offi- cials	Skilled/ Foremen	Semi Un- Skilled
1896	-	1.5	-	1.4	4.2	-	1.5	4.7	-
1902	1.5	3.1	-	2.8	2.8	-	1.5	7.8	-
1912	4.7	4.7	1.6	7.7	3.0	-	3.1	3.1	-

* Figures for Leeds and Birmingham taken from Hennock, op.cit., pp 52,271.

gained a majority in Sheffield City Council in 1926, they did not do so in Birmingham until 1945.

The distribution of party seats on Sheffield Council 1892-1926 is shown in Table 1.8. No contemporary source gives election results which include references to all party affiliations (and not just those of candidates at contested elections) before 1900, and no table for the period 1843-93 has been compiled. Studies of Sheffield Victorian politics by David Fletcher and K.G.March⁵⁶ suggest that the Liberals (in alliance with the Democrats, 1849-53) formed the most powerful group on the Council until about 1859 and that thereafter the Conservatives came to the fore. By November 1884 there were thirty-six Conservative Members of the Council and twenty-eight Liberals; in 1885 there were thirty-four Conservatives and thirty Liberals⁵⁷. The majorities after 1892 were as follows:-

1892-1901 : Conservative and Unionist

1901-1902 : Liberal

1902-1911 : Conservative

1911-1913 : Liberal

1913-1919 : Conservative

1919-1926: Citizens' Association

From 1926 : Labour

It should be added, since this more directly reflects the opinion of the electorate than does the occupation of the aldermanic bench, that the Liberals had conciliar, not aldermanic, majorities in 1892-93, 1897-99, 1902-4, and 1905-07.

The Citizens' Association was formed in November 1919 as a municipal alliance between Liberals and Conservatives in the face of a Labour Party electorally far stronger than before the war. Other parties put candidates forward at the 1919 election, including the Discharged Soldiers' and Sailors' Federation, (whose Council representatives worked closely with the Labour party),

56. D.E.Fletcher, op.cit.; K.G.March: The Life and Career of W.C.Leng, University of Sheffield, M.A.Thesis, 1966, passim.

57. Fletcher, op.cit., pp 47, 92, 171, 172.

TABLE 1.8 : Balance of Party Seats on Sheffield City Council:
November 1892 - November 1926.¹

Council Session (November- November)	Aldermen					Councillors						
	Con	Lib	Lib Lab	Lab	Cit	Other	Con	Lib	Lib Lab	Lab	Cit	Other
1892-93	13	3					23	22	3			
1893-94	13	3					24	21	3			
1894-95	13	3					26	19	3			
1895-96	13	3					26	18	4			
1896-97	13	3					25	19	4			
1897-98	13	3					23	20	6			
1898-99	10	5					22	20	5			(2 vacs)
1899-1900	10	6					24	19	5			
1900-1	10	6					25	17	6			
1901-2	8	7	1				21	22	5			
1902-3	9	6	1				23	20	5			
1903-4	9	6	1				23	20	4			(1 vac)
1904-5	9	6	1				25	18	5			
1905-6	9	6	1				21	20	6	1		
1906-7	9	6	1				21	19	5	3		
1907-8	9	6	1				22	18	4	4		
1908-9	9	6	1				26	16	3	3		
1909-10	8	6	2				27	16	2	3		
1910-11	8	6	2				25	17	3	2		(1 vac)
1911-12	8	6	2				21	24	2	1		
1912-13	8	7	1				23	23	2	-		
1913-19 ²	8	7	1				24	20	2	2		
1919-20	8	7	-	1			18	15	-	12		3
1920-21 ³	8	7	-	1			16	14	-	12	1	5
							Ind	Ind	Lib			
							Con	Lib	Lab	Lab	Cit	Other
1921-22 ⁴	7	8	-	1		1	1	2	-	18	23	7
1922-23	7	8	-	1		1	-	2	-	19	25	5
1923-24	7	8	-	2		-	1	3	-	20	25	2
1924-25	7	8	-	2		-	3	3	-	22	23	-
1925-26	-	-	-	2	15	-	3	2	-	22	24	-
1926-27	-	-	-	9	7	1	3	1	-	29	18	-

1. Table compiled from:

1. Listing of Council Members in Sheffield City Council Year Book for appropriate year.

2. Party - J.Keeble Hawson: List of City Councillors 1893-1926
(unpublished T/S, SCL)

Sheffield Red Book (published annually, 1900-1923)

Sheffield Annual Year Book and Record (published annually 1900-1927)

Sheffield Independent

Sheffield Daily Telegraph

2. Retiring Councillors were replaced during these years by members of their own party.

3. Although Liberals and Conservatives sat as members of the Citizens' Association during this session, statistics giving these details were not published until the following year.

4. The inclusion of Handsworth ward within the city boundaries in November 1921 increased the number of Councillors to 51 and Aldermen to 17.

the National Democratic Party and the Middle Classes Union. Certain Liberals and Conservatives refused to recognise the municipal alliance and stood from 1920 onwards as Independent Liberals or Conservatives. In 1923 Councillors from the Middle Classes Union joined the Citizens Association (members of the National Democratic Party having done so in 1920).

The occupational composition of each of the parties on the Council is shown in Table 1.9. Dr. Derek Fraser has pointed out for the Conservative and Liberal parties, from an analysis of municipal voting in various cities in the 1830s, '40s and '50s, that while the majority of an occupational group was likely to favour one party or the other, there was always a minority of about one-third which supported the opposing party. Relating this to political leadership, he writes:-

"Since inevitably these minorities would produce some prominent activists, the social analysis of urban political leadership does not produce so marked a connection between occupation and politics....Among political leaders there is no clear difference in the social composition of the respective parties". 58

Table 1.9 provides at least in relation to the Conservative and Liberal parties, a glimpse of tendencies rather than absolutes.

The Conservative party was strongly supported by 'heavy' trades manufacturers, 'Other manufacturers', lawyers and 'gentlemen', and appears to have been gaining more support from large merchants, builders and responsible white collar workers after 1910.

Shopkeepers, large merchants, responsible white collar workers, builders, manual workers and clerks were very much more likely to support the Liberal party than the Conservative party. The most important elements in the party of the 1890s were the 'light' trades manufacturers and the shopkeepers. After 1900, the shopkeepers declined relatively in importance to both manual workers and responsible white collar workers, and from 1910 to 1919 the party had a broader base and included shopkeepers, 'light' trades manufacturers, solicitors, responsible white-collar workers and manual workers.

TABLE 1.9 : Occupation and Party of Sheffield City Councillors,
November 1892- November 1926.

(4 periods: 1892-1900; 1900-1910; 1910-1919; 1919-1926)

A. The Liberal Party.

Occupation	Percentage Total Party Membership on Council		
	Nov 1892- Oct 1900	Nov 1900- Oct 1910	Nov 1910- Oct. 1919
a) 'Heavy' Trades Manufacturers	7.14	5.55	2.17
b) 'Light' Trades Manufacturers	14.29	20.37	15.22
c) 'Other' Manufacturers	7.14	7.41	6.52
d) Small Merchants	26.2	14.81	17.39
e) Large Merchants	11.9	9.26	4.35
f) Builders	4.76	5.55	4.35
g) Law	7.14	7.41	13.04
h) Medicine	2.38	1.81	2.17
i) White Collar Responsible	9.52	12.96	13.04
j) Clerks	-	-	2.17
k) Manual Workers/ Trades Union Officials	9.52	14.81	17.39
l) Gentlemen	-	-	2.17
Totals	42	54	46

TABLE 1.9 : B. The Conservative and Unionist Party.

Occupation	Percentage Total Party Membership on Council		
	Nov 1892- Oct 1900	Nov 1900- Oct 1910	Nov 1910- Oct 1919
a) 'Heavy' Trades Manufacturers	16.66	15.71	18
b) 'Light' Trades Manufacturers	22.22	11.43	6
c) 'Other' Manufacturers	11.11	17.14	10
d) Small Merchants	11.11	15.71	14
e) Large Merchants	3.70	5.72	6
f) Builders	-	1.43	6
g) Law	18.52	14.29	14
h) Medicine	3.70	4.29	4
i) White Collar Responsible	7.41	11.43	16
j) Clerks	-	-	-
k) Manual Workers/ Trades Union Officials	-	-	2
l) Gentlemen	5.55	2.86	4
Totals	54	70	50

Such occupational distribution was not necessarily accidental. The Conservatives imported prestigious manufacturers and aristocrats into the Council on several occasions, and there was plenty of scope for 'social engineering' through candidate-selection committees, especially in safe seats. The Conservatives, at least partly by choice, appear to have been the predominant party of the Council elite. The Liberals were mainly the party of the lower middle-classes - small builders, shopkeepers and small masters. These findings are not unexpected and are in line with those of Martin Daunton for Cardiff, who found in a study covering 1884-1911 that Conservatives were more likely to have a majority of members of the elite shipping & coal interest and of the medical and legal profession, and Liberals to have a majority of tradesmen and non-legal white collar workers⁵⁹.

Changes in the composition of the Conservative and Liberal parties are obliterated after 1919 within the Citizen's Association (see Table 1.9 D). During this period there was a preponderance of 'heavy' trades manufacturers and shopkeepers, and a higher proportion than before of those concerned with large-scale enterprises - managers of the largest engineering firms and of department stores.

The early Labour Party on Sheffield Council had greater proportion of manual workers and Trades Union officials than might be expected. Members of the upper, middle and professional classes did not become involved until after 1919. Cecil Henry Wilson, a 'light' trades manufacturer who left the Liberal party for Labour in 1918 became leader of the party on the Council soon afterwards. The one Labour lawyer was a 'Discharged soldier' who joined the Citizens' Association in 1923, and there were two teachers and one civil servant - the former the only members of the teaching profession to become Councillors between 1892 and 1926. Both had strong connections with the National Union of Teachers. A consistently powerful element in the party were clerks and insurance agents (the latter enumerated under 'clerks'). Most of these insurance

59. Daunton, op.cit., pp 171-172.

TABLE 1.9 : C The Labour Party¹

Occupation	Percentage Total Party Members on Council		
	Nov 1900- Oct 1910	Nov 1910- Oct 1919	Nov 1919- Nov 1926
a) 'Heavy' Trades Manufacturers	-	-	-
b) 'Light' Trades Manufacturers	-	-	1.89
c) 'Other' Manufacturers	-	-	-
d) Small Merchants	20.00	-	1.89
e) Large Merchants	-	-	-
f) Builders	-	-	1.89
g) Law	-	-	1.89 ²
h) Medicine	-	-	-
i) White Collar Responsible	-	-	5.66
j) Clerks	40.00	50.00	11.32
k) Manual Workers/ Trades Union Officials	40.00	50.00	75.47
l) Gentlemen	-	-	-
Totals	5	4	53

1. This table includes members of the Discharged Soldiers' and Sailors' Federation and two Lib-Labs counted as Labour from November 1919.

2. H.Morris became a Citizen in 1923 and is also enumerated in Table 1.9 (D).

TABLE 1.9 : D The Citizens' Association¹ and Independents.

Occupation	November 1919- November 1926			
	Percentage Total Party Membership on Council.			
	Citizen Conservative	Independent	Independent Liberal	Independent
a) 'Heavy' Trades Manufacturers	18.58	25.00	-	-
b) 'Light' Trades Manufacturers	8.57	-	25.00	-
c) 'Other' Manufactuærs	10.00	-	-	-
d) Small Merchants	17.14	25.00	-	-
e) Large Merchants	5.72	-	25.00	-
f) Builders	7.14	-	25.00	-
g) Law	12.86 ^{2,3}	50.00 ³	25.00	-
h) Medicine	2.86	-	-	-
i) White Collar Responsible	10.00	-	-	-
j) Clerks	1.43	-	-	-
k) Manual Workers/ Trade Union Officials	4.29	-	-	-
l) Gentlemen	1.43	-	-	100.00
Totals	70	4	4	1

1. This category includes members of the Liberal Party, Conservative Party, National Democratic Party and Middle Classes' Union.
2. H.Morris was a member of the Discharged Soldiers' and Sailors' Federation from 1919-23, and is also enumerated in Table 1.9 (C).
3. W.I.Mitchell was a member of the Middle Classes' Union until 1923 and then became an Independent Conservative, and therefore is enumerated in Columns 1 and 2.

agents worked for the Co-operative Insurance Society and among working-class clients, the freelance nature of the work allowing them time for Labour politics. The Labour Party had three women Councillors while the Citizens Association had one. Women were allowed by law to become Borough Councillors in 1907, but none appeared on the Sheffield Council until 1919.

C. The Political Process: the operation of vested interest and party.

In an important paper of 1963⁶⁰, Professor E.P.Hennock pointed out that because the only major source of income of Town Councils before 1880 was rates derived from real property, property holders were pushed into membership of the Council in order to protect their own interests. These property-holders were often small-scale investors - for instance Chadwick's "dirty-party" of slum owners - a lower middle-class section of the population which often had more to gain from Council membership than professional or large businessmen.

Small property owners were a conservative force, often standing for election in order to oppose expensive schemes of reform put forward by more prosperous members. Only after Joseph Chamberlain had shown that municipal reform schemes could be financed through the profits from Corporation property (land, gas and water undertakings, for example) and a separate Exchequer grant was made to local authorities, did the expenditure/retrenchment cycle common to many Victorian town councils cease something of its relentless operation.

There is general agreement among the historians of late Victorian municipal politics that the operation of interest alone cannot explain the decisions or the composition of urban councils. Martin Daunton has shown that in Cardiff the activities of the Council were dictated by party conflict - not simply between Liberal and Conservative, but also between two groups within the Liberal Party - one an economist 'structural' reforming group and the other a 'social' reforming group committed to expenditure⁶¹. In contrast to Professor Hennock's

60. "Finance and Politics in urban local government in England 1835-1900", Historical Journal VI, 1963, pp.212-25.

61. M.J.Daunton, op.cit., chapter 9, passim. Dr. Daunton also shows that no class distinctions can be made between property-owners and non-property owners on Cardiff Town Council. The use of the terms "structural" and "social" reform is confusing. "Structural" reform usually has the Marxist sense of reform of the total structure, but it is used here to mean piecemeal change within an existing structure.

thesis, this latter group was predominantly working-class and "non-trading middle-class", while the elite (merchants and professional men) were to be found within the "structural" reforming group⁶². Derek Fraser, H.J.Hanham and Ken Young⁶³ have also stressed the importance of party politics at the municipal level - Ken Young quoting Geoffrey Block as saying that party political conflict in the early Victorian corporations was "more acute and more abusive than anything we know today"⁶⁴.

There is no necessary contradiction between the operation of interest and party in municipal politics. Parties became in some respects representative of the ambitions of particular interest groups; the individual interest in patronage was often mediated by party. The right to choose magistrates, aldermen and Mayors lay with the majority party and Derek Fraser concludes that "the role of party in the distribution of spoils was a powerful factor in ensuring that Councils would be overtly political institutions".⁶⁵

Officially, the Conservative Party believed for over a hundred years after the Municipal Corporations Act that municipal councils were not appropriate arenas for the operation of party politics⁶⁶. The view of the Radical framers of the act was that each borough should have a 'real and legal political union'.⁶⁷ The curious result was that while party was an indubitable factor in Victorian municipal politics, particularly at elections, attempts were made to conceal its operation in many boroughs, either by denial of its existence (except perhaps at election-time) or by adoption of different labels. So the Sheffield Independent claimed in 1893 that:-

62. Ibid., p.177.

63. D.Fraser, Urban Politics in Victorian England, op.cit., H.J.Hanham, Elections and Party Management. Politics in the time of Disraeli and Gladstone, London, 1959; M.J.Daunton, Coal Metropolis: Cardiff 1870-1914, op.cit.; Ken Young, Local Politics and the Rise of Party, the London Municipal Society and the Conservative intervention in local elections, 1894-1963, Leicester, 1975; One exception is G.W.Jones, who stresses vested interest almost to the exclusion of party politics, op.cit., esp.pp 283-4.

64. Ibid., p.29. Block was writing in 1962.

65. D.Fraser, op.cit., p.151.

66. In fact, until the creation of the Local Government Department at Conservative Central Office in 1946 - cf Ken Young, op.cit., p.29.

67. R.Cobden, (citing Thomas Attwood), quoted D.Fraser, op.cit., p.123.

"Those who are at all familiar with the inner working of the Council know that whatever hard things may be said of men during the heat of a municipal contest, party feeling enters very little into the routine work of the Corporation".⁶⁸

George Franklin, the Conservative leader, objected in 1892 to men being ejected from the aldermanic bench for purely party reasons:

"If that step were to be taken because these gentlemen had been found wanting in the discharge of their duties; if they had neglected their duty to the ratepayers and to the town, there would be perhaps valid reasons why they should be sent to the rightabout. But they had given their time and their money for the advancement of the town and the town's work, and they had done good service".⁶⁹

In the same year, the Conservative William Grafton's election address at Brightside objected to the Liberal party's "forcing" a municipal election upon the ward for purely party reasons⁷⁰, and in 1900 the Liberal Weston recommended himself to the Nether Hallam electors with a mixture of opposition to the claims of interest groups, disavowal of party motive and claims to a disinterested concern for the welfare of the ward. The chairman at his election meeting was reported as saying,

"Mr. Weston would make an exceedingly plodding and painstaking Councillor. He was seeking election not with the idea of self-advertisement, but with a genuine desire to serve the city. While he (the chairman) had no objection to make to the Tory candidate personally, his return would be undesirable as increasing the already large number of professional men on the Council. The professions were already sufficiently well represented and too often those representatives were found opposing the best interests of the city, through following their professional interests".⁷¹

In 1906 the Conservative Sheffield Annual Year Book and Record, perhaps referring to the recent decision to alternate the appointment of mayor between the two major parties and to place the Finance Committee chairmanship 'above' party, commented:

"Political divisions are growing fewer every year. There are still Party whips and Party organisations, but upon most subjects which come before the Council members are increasingly inclined to vote according to the merits of the question".⁷²

68. S.I. 10 November 1893.

69. S.D.T Oct 25 1892.

70. W.Grafton, Election Address, Brightside Ward Nov 1892, Wilson MSS 5982.

71. S.I. May 29 1900.

72. S.Y.B. 1906, p.199.

Printed evidence as to the party allegiance of municipal councillors is scarce in the nineteenth century. The Sheffield Independent and Sheffield Daily Telegraph only printed a candidate's party in the case of a contested election.

In Manchester the Conservative Party refused official association with the reformed Corporation. Elections were fought on passing municipal issues and party labels were not used during the nineteenth century⁷³. A cry of 'no-party', however, as Dr. Derek Fraser points out, was a predictable Conservative stratagem in the face of a Liberal Act and probable Liberal majorities in the reformed Corporations. The first elections of the new Councils did indeed produce almost invariable Liberal control⁷⁴. The partisanship of the Liberals forced Conservatives in almost all towns into municipal politics. Where it did not, as in Manchester, Liberals had overwhelming ascendancy on the Council for the whole of the nineteenth century⁷⁵.

Although Liberals faltered a little in their commitment to the ideal of the 'real and legal political union in every borough' in the mid-Victorian period, the prevailing view was summed up by a Leeds alderman in 1866 who believed that the municipal council

"...was a political body: the very first act that was done in sending gentlemen into the Council was a political act and the Councillors were elected because they had certain political opinions.....To suppose that gentlemen were sent there merely to make sewers, to light lamps and to cleanse the town was to take a very poor view of the duties devolving upon the Council."⁷⁶

Leeds, Liverpool, Birmingham and Nottingham all had overtly political Councils⁷⁷. Political rivalry was often, Dr. Fraser suggests, the result of traditional and strongly developed political identities from pre-municipal reform days, as in Liverpool where the Liberal party was strongly identified with support for Catholics and opposition to slavery⁷⁸. The politicisation of Sheffield's Town Council from the time of its incorporation is indicated by the number of con-

73. Cf. Fraser, op.cit., pp 143-45.

74. Cf Fraser's analysis of eight boroughs, Ibid., Table 3, p.124.

75. Ibid., p.151.

76. Quoted, ibid., p.124.

77. Cf. Ibid., pp 124-34, Leeds; 134-42, Liverpool; 142-43, Birmingham; and 143, Nottingham.

78. Cf. Ibid., p.145.

tested elections - all nine wards were fought by at least two parties in 1843 and the proportion of contested seats between then and 1867 was 53.7%. This is comparable with 58.1% in Liverpool and 61.1% in Leeds; the percentage in Manchester during the same period was 29.5⁷⁹.

Politicisation of the Council co-existed with the operation of vested interest. Professor Hennock⁸⁰ concludes that the main motives for undertaking the arduous and often thankless job of Victorian Town Councillor were first, the desire to influence decisions or initiate policy within personal areas of interest, for example shopkeepers interested in the level of the rates or builders interested in contracts, and secondly, the social prestige which was possible through association with the Council (like elevation to the Magistrates' Bench, and the fact that, as in Barking, the Town Hall was 'the best social club'). Tradition also played a part - it was customary in many commercial and professional families for male members to engage in municipal politics.

The 'municipal gospel' of the 1870s in Birmingham was a quite deliberate attempt to raise the Town Council's reputation above that of the "stamping ground of corrupt vested interests" and above a crude party political battle. Chamberlain's appeal was for "a new vision of the function and nature of the corporation".⁸¹ He wrote in 1877 of the 'nobility' of the sphere of municipal work, with its responsibility for the lives of four hundred thousand people.⁸² R.W.Dale and George Dawson preached from Birmingham the virtues of Christian service through municipal work. The rhetoric achieved Chamberlain's two ambitions - an increase in the responsibilities and functions of the Corporation, and the recruitment as Town Councillors of the large-scale manufacturers and professional men of Birmingham.

The municipal reformation came twenty years later in Leeds and in Sheffield. Unlike Birmingham, it was in large part the result of a party political battle⁸³.

79. Ibid., Table 12, p.146.

80. Hennock, op.cit., Book I, esp. pp 170-76.

81. Hennock, op.cit., p.172.

82. Ibid., p.171.

83. The 'Woodman' regime which the Chamberlainites replaced was Liberal, but there had been a strong reaction against it by temperance Liberals - Cf Hennock, op.cit., pp 150-3.

In Leeds the 'New Era' was the result of Conservative victory in 1895 after decades of Liberal majority. The functions of the Council were expanded and men of 'calibre' were induced to join, often through being offered direct election to the Aldermanic bench⁸⁴. The result was that the numbers of professional and large businessmen on the Council rose from 23.4% in 1892 (the height of the Liberal regime) to 41.6% by 1902 (the height of the Conservative regime). In Sheffield the late 1880s proved the crucial turning-point, again after a Conservative victory.

The nobility of the 'municipal gospel' cannot obscure the operation of vested interest on these councils during their respective periods of development. Information about the membership of some 'interest groups' of the Council is given in Table 1.10. The 'men of calibre' who joined Sheffield Town Council between 1887 and 1901 were partly attracted by the increased opportunities an active and powerful Corporation would provide for them. Lawyers, for example, were attracted by the Council's patronage of offices like that of Borough Coroner and its influence in the appointment of the Clerk to the Borough Magistrates⁸⁵. In 1916 the City's Elective Auditor (a member of the Labour Party) called the legal profession "one of the strongest trade unions in the country" because of the high charges it made to ratepayers for work on the committees and briefs for Parliamentary Bills, and the way in which it gained support for the promotion of further, perhaps unnecessary, Bills by use of its bloc vote on the Council⁸⁶. Doctors were attracted to the Council in order to participate in hospital administration⁸⁷, and to work for better public health.

84. This also happened in Birmingham in the 1870s.

85. Jones, op.cit., pp 292-93.

86. Sheffield Trades and Labour Council, Annual Report No.12 (1915-16), p.10.

Parliamentary Bills were required by law to be sponsored for all proposed major additions to the Corporations' power. Some lawyers may also have seen the City Council as a pathway to Parliament, although this is doubtful. For the professional advantages to a lawyer of a Parliamentary seat, see John Vincent, The Formation of the British Liberal Party 1857-68, 1966, Penguin Edition 1972, pp 76-84.

87. G.W.Jones points out that when powers of hospital administration were transferred from Borough Councils to Regional Hospital Boards, there was little incentive for doctors to remain on the Councils - op.cit., p.295.

Manufacturers had a strong interest in the level of rates, in cheap electricity, in railway rates and in Council attempts to control smoke and waste products. Their vested interest increased strongly in 1919 when the large number of Labour members, drawn almost entirely from manufacturing industry, called for higher wages and unemployment benefit at a time of industrial recession.

Among the other occupational groups on the Council, the shopkeepers had a strong interest in low rates, in the price of electricity and in the question of municipalisation of the gas company⁸⁸. One section, the market-holders were directly concerned in administration of the markets after the Corporation purchase in 1899. The possible banning of private slaughter-houses (discussed especially after the first war) was of interest to butchers. Publicans, beer and spirit merchants and brewers needed not only to have representation on the Watch Committee (which controlled licensing) but also generally to defend themselves against the campaigns of temperance reformers on the Council⁸⁹. Table 1.10B shows that in both Leeds and Sheffield the drink interest, first organised as a political force in the 1860s, was most strongly represented on the Councils of the period 1892-1912 during the early 1900s. After the war the formation of the National Restaurant and Kitchens (under Corporation control) proved a threat to restaurant-owners. Councillor Hunter, the manager of a restaurant, successfully moved its closure in 1922⁹⁰.

Corporation-owned housing in which the Corporation had a greater stake after the first world war, provided an opportunity for those engaged in the building industry. The Estates Committee refused to support the Labour policy of building working-class housing by direct labour⁹¹, and tenders were accepted for the building of houses on the Manor Estate from three private firms - directors of all of which were represented on the Council⁹².

88. See Hennock's discussion of this (for Leeds) - op.cit., p.278.

89. Jones concludes that "the drink interest was on the (Wolverhampton) Council largely to protect itself", op.cit., p.302. Specific election campaigns involving the temperance and drink interests discussed in Chap.4,sect.B.

90. Sheffield Forward, November 1922.

91. 9 Feb 1924, Cf. S.Y.B.1925, p.56.

92. For the decisions to accept these tenders, Cf. S.Y.B.1925, pp.60,63. The Councillors were Mrs. A.E.Longden and Charles Boot (both Citizen) and Reeves Charlesworth (Independent Liberal).

TABLE 1.10 A : Representation of the Drink, Markets and Building Interests on Sheffield City Council 1893-1926.

Period	Drink ¹		Markets		Building ²	
	No.	Percentage of total Councillors	No.	Percentage of total Councillors	No.	Percentage of total Councillors
Nov 1892-Oct 1900	11	11.46	3	3.12	4	4.17
Nov 1900-Oct 1910	18	13.96	4	3.10	10	7.75
Nov 1910-Oct 1919	5	5.00	4	4.00	8	8.00
Nov 1919-Nov 1926	3	2.27	2	1.52	10	7.58

1. Brewers, landlords of licensed premises, off-licence proprietors, directors of Public House Trust Company, Solicitors to Off-Licences Association.
2. Managers of Building, painting and decorating and plumbing firms, architects, consulting engineers and accountants with building interests.

TABLE 1.10 B : Representation of Drink Interest on Leeds and Birmingham Councils, 1892, 1896, 1902, 1912.

Figures as percentage of whole Council.

Year	Leeds			Birmingham		
	Councillors in drink Trade Profession	Councillors with Professional Interest	Total	Councillors in drink Trade Profession	Councillors with Professional Interest	Total
1892	6.2	3.2	9.4	1.4	-	1.4
1896	10.8	1.5	12.3	-	-	-
1902	15.4	1.5	16.9	1.4	-	1.4
1912	1.5	1.6	3.1	0.8	-	0.8

1. Accountant, auctioneer and valuer, and two architects.

Source: E.P.Hennock, op.cit., p.36.

Table 1.11 gives information about the representation of five interest groups on Committees in which they might be expected to have a special interest. This shows that doctors were most likely to become members of their 'relevant' committees⁹³, and lawyers very likely to become members of the Parliamentary Committee. The representation of the drink interest on the Watch Committee was low, suggesting that Liberal campaigns during the 1890s to exclude it from this and the Sheffield Licensing Committee had been successful. The number of brewers and landlords on the Council declined sharply during the early 20th Century. Market-holders were very poorly represented on the Markets Committee, being members only of the Rearrangement of Markets Committee in the 1920s, but builders were rather more likely to join the Estates or Works Construction Committees.

Many Councillors had a vested interest in some aspect of the Council's work through shareholdings, and through membership of Boards - those, for example (including the Lord Mayor) who were members of the Electric Light Company at the time of the decision to purchase it⁹⁴. Alderman George Franklin, the Chairman of the Finance Committee resigned this position when in 1902 he was accused of showing favour to a city bank of which he was chairman⁹⁵. Early in 1903 the Lib-Lab alderman, Charles Hobson, was accused of receiving £100 from a landowner as an inducement to vote for the Corporation purchase of his land, and he was imprisoned, later resigning his position on the Council and other public bodies⁹⁶. After this affair, a campaign for 'purity' in municipal life began. J.C.Whiteley, a Lib-Lab, put forward a successful motion for a report on payments received by members of the Council over the previous seven years, for the sale of land or goods or legal or professional services to the Corporation. A special Committee considered six cases of possibly irregular

93. Doctors were the most likely Council group to work purely for the committees of their interest and to take very little part in general Council debates. Dr. W.T.D.Mart, who was elected for Burngreave ward in 1921 was said to have been run by the British Medical Association, although he denied it. S.D.T 26 & 28 Oct 1921.

94. Cf. H.K. Hawson, op.cit., p.19.

95. S.A.R. (City Council Section), 14 May 1902.

96. S.A.R. (City Council Section), 11 Feb, 8 April, 15 April, 8,13,26 May, 4 July, 12 Aug, 28 Sep, 2,14 Oct, 1903.

TABLE 1.11 : Representation of the Medicine, Law, Markets, Drink and Building Interests on Committees important to their Interests, Sheffield City Council, 1892-1926.*

Interest	Total Councillors in interest group	Total on one or more relevant committees for one or more years	Percentage of Total Councillors in group
Medicine	7	7	100.00
Law	26	16	61.54
Markets	5	2	40.00
Drink	19	5 ²	26.32
Building	17	10 ¹	58.82

* Committees included in analysis:-

Medicine: Borough Hospital (until 1893); Health; City Hospital (1893-1919); King Edward VII Hospital (from 1915); Tuberculosis (1918-1919); Hospitals (from 1919); Highways and Sewerage.

Law: Parliamentary.

Markets: Markets (from 1902); Rearrangement of Markets (from 1924).

Drink: Watch.

Building: Works Construction (1901-3); Estates (from 1906); Building Bye-Laws (1919-21).

1. Some other members of the building interest, particularly the Architects, served on the Highways and Sewerage Committee.
2. One Lib-Lab Councillor, John Davison, resigned from the Watch Committee on becoming a landlord.

payments, including commissions to Alderman Styring's legal firm for negotiating loans on mortgage and to Alderman Franklin's insurance company for fire and guarantee insurance, but only indicted one Councillor, a builder, George Carr, who had sold stone to his foreman in order for it to be resold to the Corporation⁹⁷ at a profit. A later enquiry into the shareholdings of members was accepted without comment, and never published⁹⁸. Accusations the following year against Councillor Derry, the editor of the Sheffield Independent, of using committee information in writing for the press were not proceeded with.⁹⁹ The Council had closed its ranks, and did not again publish findings such as those of the enquiry of 1903.

How does party operate in this climate of vested interest? It is commonplace to regard modern American political parties as coalitions of interest groups, forming and reforming in response to social change¹⁰⁰, and there is some justification for regarding local Conservative and Liberal parties during this period as something similar. It has been noticed already that one party was often almost wholly representative of a particular interest - Conservatives of the drink interest, for example, and Liberals of the builders. In addition, the Sheffield Conservative Party was overwhelmingly Anglican and the Liberal Party as strongly Nonconformist¹⁰¹. Parties in the contemporary British sense are distinguished by coherent ideologies. But urban municipal parties in the Edwardian years were often conspicuous for their lack of coherent policies. J.Bulpitt points out¹⁰² that in Manchester the Conservative party tended to promote ideas of economy, while in Liverpool it was the party of improvement and municipal expansion¹⁰³. In Wolverhampton the Liberals were the party of municipal economy, while in London in the 1900s the Conservatives

fulfilled that role¹⁰⁴. Professor Hennock has shown that in Leeds the exigencies

97. Sheffield City Council, Minutes, 13 May 1903; S.D.T 30 July 1903; S.A.R (City Council Section) 30 July 1903, SDT Oct 21 1903.
98. S.I. 10 Mar 1904. The newspaper called it a 'fiasco'.
99. For the accusations, see S.Y.B. 1906, pp65, 68.
100. See for example S.Lubell, The Future of American Politics, New York 1951, passim
102. Party Politics in English Local Government, London, 1967.
101. See Chapter 3, Section A and Chapter 4, Section A.
103. Chamberlain in Birmingham in the 1870s brilliantly showed that the ideals of improvement and low rates were not incompatible, but obsession with the dichotomy continued to dog the progress of many other urban Councils for at least the following twenty years.
104. K.Young, op.cit., pp 88-89, 110-11; G.P.Jones, op.cit., pp 40-1

of party rivalry caused Liberals to espouse formerly unacceptable Conservative policies¹⁰⁵.

In Sheffield the Conservatives tended to be the party of municipal expansion¹⁰⁶, the Liberals that of economy. But so unwilling to adopt a thoroughgoing political stand on these issues were both parties that their members were usually left to make up their own minds. An analysis of voting on clear-cut 'economy' issues in the Council of the 1890s and 1900s does not produce a straight party vote¹⁰⁷. In the 1890s the majority of Liberals voted in favour of 'economy' motions; the majority of Conservatives against. Municipalisation was increasingly uncontentious - the final vote on municipalisation of the tramways, for example, was almost unanimously favourable. For a short period between 1901 and 1905 many Liberals were opposed to economy but after this date, partly because of the activities of Ratepayers' Associations, the period of municipal expansion generated in the 1880s was over, Conservatives opposed further municipal expansion, finance had been placed 'above' party, and economy had "permeated both parties".¹⁰⁸

As Derek Fraser has pointed out, it was perfectly possible in municipal politics for "divisions to be both along and across party lines"¹⁰⁹. This was very largely because parties based their identity on the national, Parliamentary party, but municipal issues were not of the same character as those dealt with by the Parliamentary party. There was no 'right' and 'wrong' stand or national partyline on the issues of improvement, and therefore in most places no coherent local party ideology. Strong divisions within a local party often occurred when a majority for one party became so large as to make the two-party battle very little of a challenge, and they were often precipitated by economy issues¹¹⁰.

105. Hennock, op.cit., pp 275-6.

106. Although Dr D.Fraser points out that even this was opportunist; the Conservatives began campaigning for water municipalisation after the flooding of the Dale Dyke Dam in 1866 because many of the prominent shareholders in the Water Company were Liberal, op.cit., pp 174-5.

107. See Appendix 2 for details of the analysis.

108. Hawson, op.cit., p.31.

109. Fraser, op.cit., p.175.

110. Ibid., p.151.

Parties were much more distinctive at the municipal level when they were dealing with issues on which the national party had a definite view. The voting on Sheffield Council, for example, shows most Liberals in favour of, and Conservatives against, radical 'labour' measures put forward by Lib-Lab Councilors (for example, a motion of October, 1897 against employing mounted police in the vicinity of firms with locked-out workmen)¹¹¹.

Religious questions often divided the Council on party lines; J. Bulpitt has commented that this was a "much more explosive issue than any of the party divisions in local government today".¹¹² The Sheffield School Board fought the battle of denominational v unsectarian education for many years¹¹³. On the Council by 1902 education lost its explosive impact when the majority of the Liberal party agreed to the implementation of the 1902 Balfour Education Act¹¹⁴. A decision was later made not to allow education to become the subject of party political debate, and, according to H.K. Hawson, the promise was kept until 1926.¹¹⁵

Parties become internally united in the face of electoral challenge, and there was more voting on party lines in Sheffield Council in the early 1900s when majorities were smaller. When in the 1890s the Leeds Liberals were forced to adopt the Tory improvement policy because it was electorally successful, Professor Hennock suggests that an important shift took place from party politics based on prestige and patronage to party politics based on policy. A similar change, later consolidated by the Liberal/Conservative response to the rise of Labour, seems to have taken place in Sheffield in the early 1900s.

In the 1890s, as the majority party, the Conservatives assumed their full rights to a high proportion of aldermen and committee chairmen, and were on

111. Sheffield City Council, 13 Oct 1897, Minutes.

112. Bulpitt, op.cit., p.6.

113. D.E. Fletcher believes that party politics was visibly present earlier at School Board Elections than at those for the City Council - op.cit., p.171; For details of the members of the Board, 1870-1902, with sectarian affiliations, cf. J.H. Bingham, The Period of the Sheffield School Board, 1870-1903, Sheffield, 1949, pp.3, 310-2.

114. See below, Chapter 4, pp. A vote before the decision was taken showed that the two parties were exactly divided over the issue - cf. Sheffield City Council, Minutes, 8 Oct 1902.

115. Op.cit., p.72.

several occasions accused of putting party feeling above the claims of worthy Liberals¹¹⁶. Despite the conventional alternation between the two parties, three Conservatives in a row occupied the mayoral chair from 1895-98. When the Liberals gained a majority in 1901 they proposed the principle of equal aldermanic seats and equal division of committee chairmanships for both parties (although they took a majority on nearly all committees, sometimes removing Conservatives from their places without their consent)¹¹⁷. The new convention was more or less followed by the Conservatives when they regained the majority, and there was growing agreement as to areas which were to be 'above' party. It was agreed that the right to nominate the Lord Mayor should alternate between the two parties, and that finance should not be a party political issue. By 1906 the first Labour electoral successes in Sheffield had taken place. Although it was 1919 before the Liberals and Conservatives formed an anti-socialist alliance, they were already tentatively banding together against the common foe¹¹⁸.

The post-war years up to 1926 were the occasion of the most bitter and prolonged patronage disputes between the Liberal/Conservative alliance and the Labour party. The only two Labour Aldermen and one Labour Mayor agreed to by the Liberal/Conservative alliance were former Lib-Labs. After the 1921 election, when Labour had nineteen Councillors, and again in 1925, a mass Committee resignation was staged as a protest against the refusal to give Labour its rightful representation on Committees and the aldermanic bench.

116. See for example Sheffield City Council, Minutes, 3 April 1895; Sheffield Independent 15 Aug 1895. Helen Meller suggests from her work on Bristol that it was more important to be a member of the elite than of a particular party, when choice of mayor or committee members was being made, op.cit., p.88. Except in the case of the elevation of the Duke of Norfolk and Earl Fitzwilliam, I have found little evidence to support this view in Sheffield.
117. Hawson, op.cit., pp 287-88, S.A.R. (City Council Section), 9 Nov 1901. John Derry, the editor of the Liberal Sheffield Independent, said that the Liberals proposed the equal distribution of aldermanic seats "so that the ratepayers might directly hold the balance of power at the November elections", A Farewell Address to the Burngreave Electors, Sheffield, 1906.
118. R.G.Murray was laughed at in 1906 when he complained about the Committee allocation given to Labour members - Hawson, op.cit., p.290.

The Labour group was the first party on the Council to hold 'caucus' meetings to prepare for Council meetings, and to take 'whipping' seriously. The atmosphere of the Council in the post-war years was dominated by party as it had never been before. But, as J.Bulpitt has pointed out, it would be neither correct nor fair to accuse the Labour party of 'introducing' party politics into local government. What the party's entry into local politics did was to "place party politics on a new footing"¹¹⁹. It created anti-socialist alliances in many places¹²⁰, and increased the apparent incidence of partisan elections by insistence on contesting every ward¹²¹.

Party conflict was present from the earliest days of the reformed Corporations. Patronage, policy and the interests of both groups and individuals were identified with it, but the relationship was dynamic rather than static. Policies could change, and personnel could change in the search for majorities. Such politics could produce vibrant progressivism, as well as stagnant conservatism.

119. Bulpitt, op.cit., p.9.

120. Incidentally, as Ken Young has pointed out, creating the illusion that there had been no Liberal/Conservative battle in the first place - cf. op.cit., p.31.

121. Ibid., p.31. Young points out that in many areas, like Cheshire, Liberal and Conservative parties had each had their separate and mutually recognised 'spheres of influence' where the other party did not interfere.

CHAPTER 2.

POLITICS AT WARD LEVEL

A. A Social Geography of the Municipal Wards.

The Liberal Government's Redistribution of Seats Act of 1885 benefited the Conservative Party in Sheffield. The previous single two-member constituency usually had a Liberal majority, but the division into five seats created two predominantly Radical constituencies, Brightside and Attercliffe, and three where Conservatism was popular - the central business area and the middle class residential suburbs, Ecclesall and Hallam. "Where Conservative supporters had formerly been swamped in huge constituencies", J.P.Cornford comments, "they were now high and dry on islands of their own".¹ Henry Pelling and John Vincent agree that Sheffield in 1885 became "the first clear case of political division following from class housing patterns"².

While Vincent and Pelling's generalisation is helpful, it begs too many questions for the historian of local politics, concerned with social and political divisions within constituencies, and in particular with the unit of municipal electoral organisation, the ward. Psephological historians have been able to use census data to pinpoint certain sociological characteristics for constituencies³ but no such precise data exists for wards⁴. In Sheffield, statistics of housing and health, for example, were based on "registration sub-districts" rather than wards. Ward divisions themselves were redrawn in 1901, making comparison with the 1890s rather difficult.

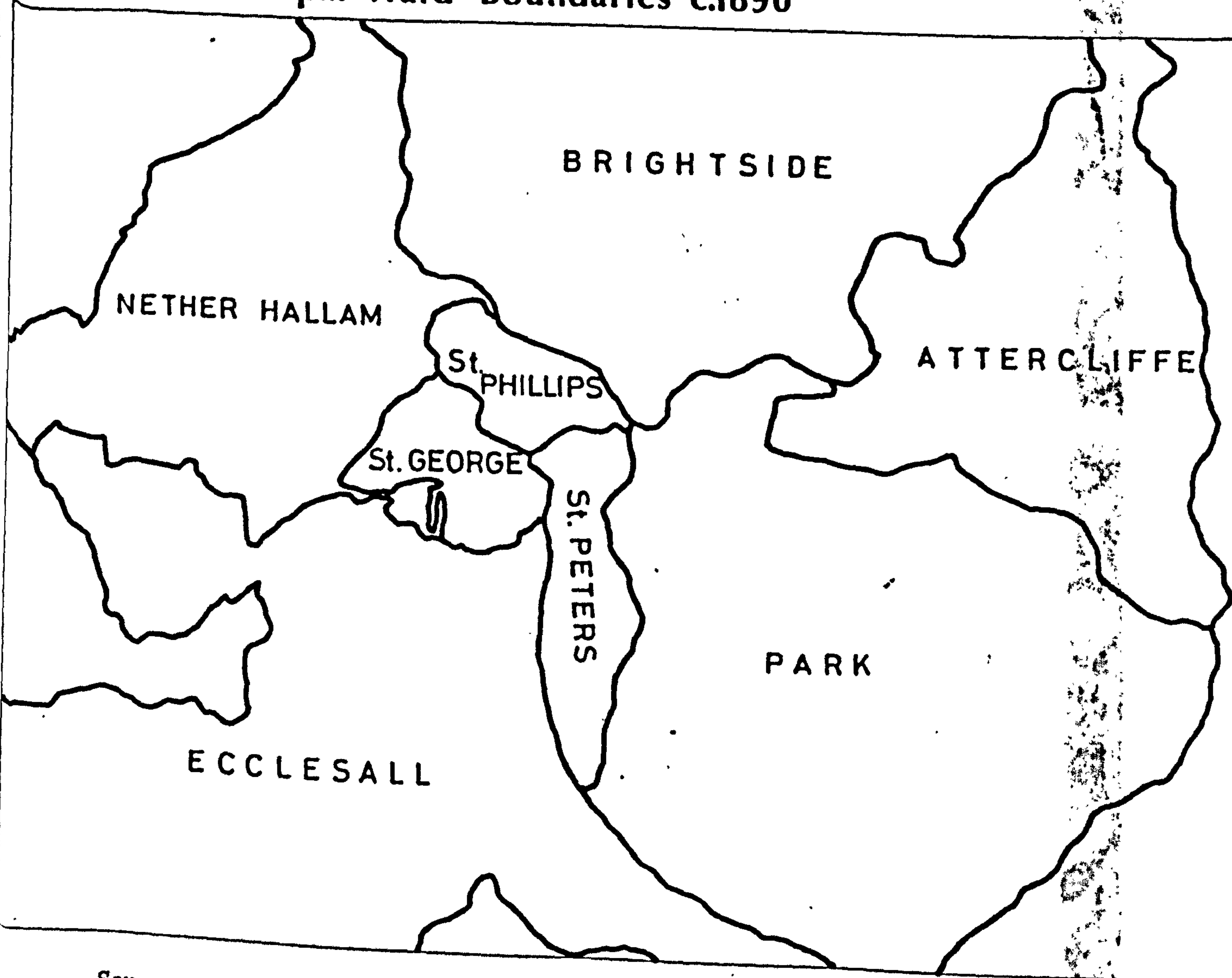
What follows brings together the diverse and rather fragmentary information available about the various wards in an attempt to construct the sociological picture necessary for a study of politics at ward level. The main sources comprise statistics relating to poverty and health, and the proportion of the

1. J.P.Cornford, "The transformation of Conservatism in the late nineteenth century", Victorian Studies VII (1963), p.58.
2. John Vincent, The Formation of the British Liberal Party 1857-68, London, 1966, Penguin 1972, p.23; See also Henry Pelling, Social Geography of British Elections 1885-1910, New York 1967, p.231.
3. Henry Pelling, for example, has used the number of maids as a guide to the number of middle-class households in each constituency - op.cit., pp22-23.
4. It would be possible to build it up by painstaking work on the original census enumerators' returns but only up until 1871, the last census which has so far been released in its entirety.

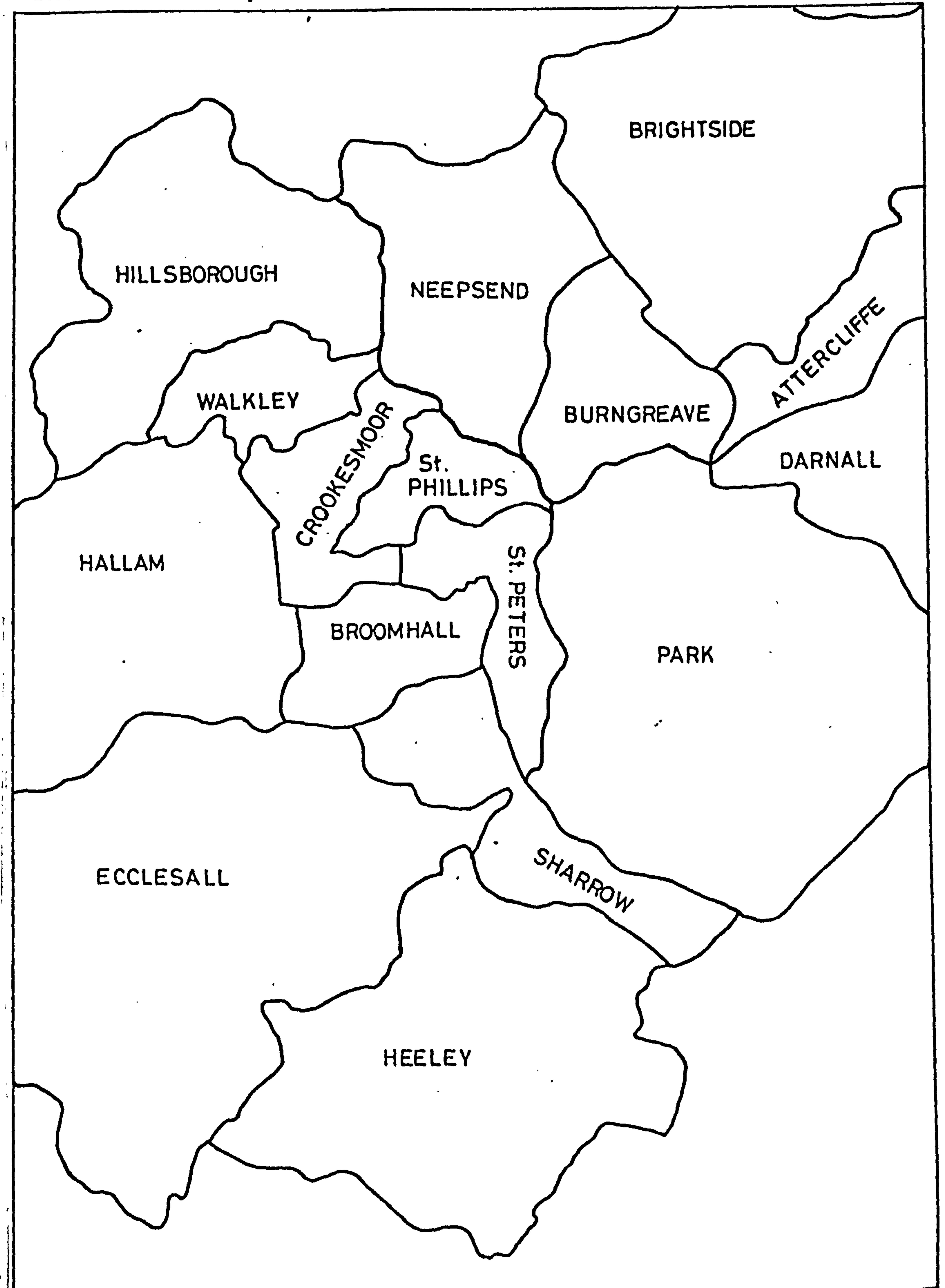
Sheffield Municipal Ward Boundaries c.1901

MAP A

Sheffield Municipal Ward Boundaries c.1890



Source: Sheffield Brewster Sessions Committee,
 Map of the town of Sheffield, with the licenses,
 public-houses, beer-shops, grocers and other
 licenses, marked thereon, 1890.



Source: The City Surveyor, City of Sheffield: Plan showing new wards, 1901.

population eligible to vote before and after 1918, information about the industrial geography of the region, and miscellaneous surveys, histories of housing and antiquarian accounts of particular areas.

By the end of the nineteenth century Sheffield was characterised by a central closely built-up area straddling an almost ninety-degree curve in the River Don, with industrial development spanning the valley in both directions for several miles. On the surrounding hill-sides less closely built areas comprised housing and other businesses. During the period 1892-1926 development of these suburban areas proceeded rapidly, while some of the oldest housing in the most densely-populated central area was cleared.

That this central area was the poorest in terms of health and general living conditions is indicated by statistics from the Medical Officer of Health's Annual Reports. Those for the Tuberculosis death rate, the infant mortality rate and for the density of occupation are given in Table 2.1.

Dr. Robertson, the Medical Officer of Health remarked in 1899 that a high tuberculosis death rate indicated not only hereditary disposition, but also "overcrowding, damp and ill-ventilated houses and workshops, intemperance, insufficient food, fevers and other debilitating illnesses"⁵. Professor Abercrombie in 1924 found a "remarkable correspondence" between standards of public health, as measured, for example, by general death rates, infant mortality and tuberculosis death rates, and housing conditions, as measured by density of population, the juxtaposition of industry and housing and the number of back-to-back houses⁶.

By these criteria, the poorest people in Sheffield appear to have been living in St. Philip's ward (North district). The other city centre wards of St. Peter's and St. George's (part of South district in 1913) were also poor; the relatively low density of housing was probably due to the number of business

5. Annual Report, op.cit., 1899, p.8.

6. Sheffield: civic survey and development plan, London, 1924, pp.29-31.

TABLE 2.1 : Tuberculosis death rate, infant mortality rate and numbers of persons per acre in Sheffield Registration Sub-Districts.

A. 1899

Registration Sub-District	Ward(s covered (approximately)*	T.B. Death Rate per 1000 living persons (1894-8 Average)	Children under 1 year: Death rate per 1000	Persons per acre
West	St. Peter's/St. George's	2.12	220.5	67.3
North	St. George's/St. Philip's	2.34	343.3	225.9
South	St. Peter's	1.65	254.6	73.9
Park	Park	1.31	253.4	9.3
Brightside	Brightside	1.11	215.5	26.9
Attercliffe	Attercliffe	1.11	292.8	34.9
Nether Hallam	Nether Hallam	1.25	224.6	34.5
Upper Hallam	Upper Hallam	0.85	47.6	0.5
Ecclesall	Ecclesall	1.24	164.3	20.1

* Estimated from map (not suitable for reproduction) and description, Medical Officer of Health, Annual Report on the Health of the City of Sheffield, 1899, pp.90-91, and map facing p.90.

B. 1913 and 1921

Registration Sub-District ¹	Section	T.B. Death Rate per 1000 living persons ³		Deaths under 1 per 1000 live births ⁴		Persons per Acre	
		1913	1913	1913	1921	1913	1921
North	A	2.05	153	125	54	56	
	B	3.28	188	128	174	179	
	C	2.15	129	89	130	134	
South	A	2.32	179	96	89	92	
	B	2.90	181	123	76	78	
	C	0.92	119	100	64	66	
Park	A	1.14	164	170	98	102	
	B	0.53	85	103	6	6	
Brightside West	A	1.12	153	105	71	74	
	B	0.29	90	83	14	15	
Brightside East	A	1.33	198	177	54	57	
	B	0.98	150	89	20	21	
Attercliffe	A	1.18	157	105	69	72	
	B	1.06	141	113	40	72	
Darnall ²		-	-	89	-	37	
Handsworth ²		-	-	73	-	5	
Tinsley ²		-	-	62	-	5	
Hillsborough		0.76	115	84	20	14	
Ecclesfield ²		-	-	63	-	2	
Ecclesall N.	A	1.66	160	84	52	54	
	B	1.27	104	78	58	61	
Ecclesall West Central		1.08	80	85	7	7	
Ecclesall S.		1.04	65	65	13	14	
Norton		-	100	97	12	13	
Broomhall	A	1.99	117	112	140	146	
	B	1.30	72	103	43	44	
Sharrow		1.48	108	102	94	97	

Sources: Medical Officer of Health, Special Report on the Prevalence of Tuberculosis and the measures for its prevention, Sheffield, May 1899, p.8. (Table VII). Medical Officer of Health, Annual Report 1899, op.cit., p.19 (Table XIII), p.11 (Table II).
Notes. on following page.

1. Corresponding Wards (approx).

- North - St. Philip's.
- South - St. Peter's .
- Park - Park.
- Brightside West - Brightside (part), Burngreave (part), Neepsend.
- Brightside East - Brightside (part), Burngreave (part).
- Attercliffe - Attercliffe (part), Darnall (1913).
- Darnall - Darnall (1921).
- Handsworth - Handsworth.
- Tinsley - Attercliffe (part).
- Hillsborough - Hillsborough (part)*
- Ecclesfield - Hillsborough (part)*, Neepsend (part) Brightside (part).
- Ecclesall North - Walkley, Hillsborough (part)*.
- Ecclesall West Central - Crookesmoor, Hallam.
- Ecclesall South - Ecclesall.
- Norton - Heeley, Sharrow (part).
- Sharrow - Sharrow (part).
- Broomhall - Broomhall.

* NOTE: Part of Hillsborough ward was also in Bradfield, for which no figures were given in the reports of the Medical Officer of Health during the '20s.

(Source: Medical Officer of Health, Annual Report, op.cit., 1923, p.30. (with adjustments made for the exclusion, presumably mistaken, of Sharrow ward).

2. These areas became separate districts in the early '20s. The figures for Tinsley, Handsworth and Ecclesfield are for 1922, and not 1921.
3. Figures not available in 1921 Report of Medical Officer for Health.
4. I.E. the Infant Mortality Rate.

Sources: Medical Officer of Health, Annual Report, Op.cit., 1913, pp.6-8. (Table IX); 1921, p.13, (Table I); 1922, pp.21,24 (Table II).

premises in those wards. The other wards bordering on the city centre, Park A, Broomhall A and Sharrow were also poor, and appear to have been growing poorer. Figures produced by J.N.Reedman in 1931⁷ showed a high correlation between the number of licensed premises in an area and the incidence of poverty. The highest proportions of licensed premises per head of population were in St. Philips and St. Peter's wards - 57.1% in the worst part of St. Philip's and 76% in one part of St. Peter's. Reedman's figures confirm the impression of an unskilled, low income population in the central wards.

The juxtaposition of industry and housing was a feature of the poor social conditions in the central areas. The original light trades workshops in this part of the town were often part of the owners' houses and workers' houses were within walking distance. A small area of land thus quickly became a cramped warren of back-to-back houses and workshops, with the most primitive sanitary arrangements and facing on to tiny alleys or backyards. Buildings were erected on a totally unplanned basis, as in the Park, for example, where the Duke of Norfolk allowed speculators to operate unchecked, the only criterion being that the town of Sheffield remain "compact"⁸. A survey by the Sheffield Independent in 1872 concluded that throughout the area: "working-class families (were) struggling to lead decent lives in conditions of unimaginable dirt and neglect"⁹. The most notorious of the central slums, the 'Crofts' in St. Peter's ward, was cleared in 1903 and the tenants rehoused on the same site in tenement-style buildings. Little was done at that time about the slums of St. Philip's and in 1920 the city still contained many unpaved courts, privy middens and choked drains¹⁰.

Density is not the only guide to social conditions. In the industrial area along the Don Valley the number of large engineering works made overall density low, but poor social conditions were generated by the proximity of

7. J.N.Reedman, Report on a survey of licensing in Sheffield, Sheffield, 1931, pp. 25-28.

8. For development of Norfolk estate, Park, see Donald Olsen "House upon House", H.J.Dyces and Wolff (ed.), The Victorian City: Images and Realities, Vol 1, London & Boston, 1973, pp.333-57.

9. Quoted S.Pollard, History of Labour in Sheffield, Liverpool, 1959, p.94.

10. Ibid., p.256.

smoke-producing factories. A comparison of sunshine records at Weston Park (Crookesmoor Ward) and Attercliffe Baths in the early 1920s showed that the latter had 25% less sunshine¹¹. The infant mortality rate was highest in Burngreave ward (Brightside East A) in 1913 and 1919, and was also high in 1913 in Brightside West A (the lower part of Burngreave and Neepsend Wards), Ecclesall North A, part of the Upper Don industrialised region, and Attercliffe. Abercrombie concluded this was due to the smoke, rather than to housing conditions¹². The area contained the slums of the fifties and sixties, rather than of the twenties and thirties. Even in the thirties comparison of the Attercliffe division with the central area was favourable - A.D.K.Owen, in his survey of housing in Sheffield wrote, "this area is by no means the worst area in the city so far as housing conditions are concerned"¹³.

It is clear from Table 2.1 (A and B) that the most salubrious areas were those on the hillsides above the Don Valley and the city centre. Edward Carpenter described in 1877,

"The elegant villas on hilltops, and in the valley below one enduring cloud of smoke and a pale-faced teeming population, and tall chimneys.....and dirty alleys, and courts and houses half-roofless, and a river running black through the midst of them". 14

Upper Hallam was clearly the healthiest ward to live in 1899. Ecclesall South (Ecclesall and Heeley wards) had the lowest infant mortality rate in 1913 and 1919; Broomhall 'B', Park 'B', Hillsborough, Ecclesall West Central (Hallam and the upper part of Crookesmoor) and the upper parts of Brightside, Burngreave and Neepsend were also relatively healthy.

The City Council decided after the passing in 1909 of the Town Planning Act that for "residential and good-class districts" the density of houses would be limited to eight or twelve to the acre, while in "areas adjoining

11. Abercrombie, op.cit., p.5.

12. Ibid., pp. 30-31.

13. A.D.K.Owen, Report on the Housing Problem in Sheffield, Sheffield, 1931, p.53.

14. Quoted D.K.Baruah in "Edward Carpenter and the early Sheffield Socialists, Transactions of the Hunter Archaeological Society, Vol 10, Pt 1, 1971, p.56.

working-class districts" it could be as high as sixteen to twenty-four¹⁵. Park 'B' and Ecclesall West Central appear from their densities to have been desirable middle-class areas, probably along with Ecclesall South, the upper part of Burngreave and Neepsend, and Hillsborough. In practice, some of these areas were ones of older middle-class housing, like Pitsmoor and Broomhall¹⁶, which were being slowly abandoned in the latter part of the nineteenth century because of proximity to the smoke of the new engineering works. This happened in Park 'B' for example, a residential area, owned by the Duke of Norfolk, which was in close proximity to slums, and in which very few new mansions were built after 1850¹⁷. Sheffield's historian, J.A.Gatty, wrote in 1873 of the constant movement outwards to the suburbs:

"Sheffield, as the great centre of business, has become comparatively deserted as a place of residence. Just as those persons, who are occupied for some hours during the day in the city of London, retire to their houses in the suburbs when their business is done; so the people of Sheffield, as a rule, are now accustomed to leave the smoky town for more airy spots, when the commercial occupations of the day are over". 18

The development of the suburbs involved not only the middle-classes but also, skilled artisans, and later, slum-dwellers rehoused by the City Council. The artisan estates of Crookes, Walkley, Hallcar (in Burngreave) Meersbrook (Heeley) and Birkendale (Crookesmoor) came into being through the operation of freehold land societies. Land at Walkley, the 'working men's garden suburb' was first offered for sale in 1849¹⁹.

15. C.Wike, Description of Town Planning and Housing in Sheffield, London & Beccles, n.d.(1913?), p.8.
16. Stainton, ibid., p.222-23; the houses in Pitsmoor in 1914 were described by a resident as "disfigured monuments of departed glory", Newspaper Cuttings, Volume 9 (S) (S.C.L.) p.88.
17. Cf. the photographs in Abercrombie, op.cit., plate XI, opposite p.10 which show clearly the immense contrast between industrialisation and open countryside in the Park.
18. J.A.Gatty, Sheffield Past and Present, Sheffield & London, 1873, pp.300-1.
19. For Walkley, see Pollard's History of Labour in Sheffield, op.cit., pp 22-23. C.Hobson, "Walkley: a fifty year old working men's garden suburb", Town Planning Review 1912, pp.38-45.

Those who accepted were mostly of the "little master and manager class"²⁰ - men with a workshop and a house in the central area who wished to separate their working and living activities. The houses were nearly all built by the labour of their owners, who often bought the plots in the first instance as an allotment, and then built on them as they could afford to do so. The owners also paid for the upkeep of roads and other essential services. The result was a housing estate of low density - about ten to the acre - with a well cultivated landscape and individually designed houses. Its inhabitants were, Charles Hobson comments,

"....the most industrious and respectable of the working classes.. where the original owner still survives he occupies the same house, or otherwise his progeny have taken his place" 21

A considerable part of Nether Hallam had been occupied in this way by 1873, as Gatty remarked²². Soon afterwards the legal requirements as to road building and sanitary provision, combined with booming speculation in private land, made land society enterprises uneconomic.

The middle-class suburbs developed from the 1820s onwards, mostly on the western side of the city but with a sharp distinction between "villadom"²³ and the exclusive acres of suburban mansions. Villas, the homes of all but the most wealthy middle-class, were built through the operation of land societies in Kenwood and Nether Edge (both in Ecclesall ward), and some parts of Broomhall and Hallam. The houses were customarily semi-detached with considerable garden space, and architects were employed by the housing society to stipulate certain standards, for example the length of the front garden and the height of the house. The required building material was normally stone and a minimum price was set²⁴.

A 'smoke map' of Sheffield (Map C) delineates precisely the area of exclusive middle-class occupation in Sheffield after 1850. Ecclesall was

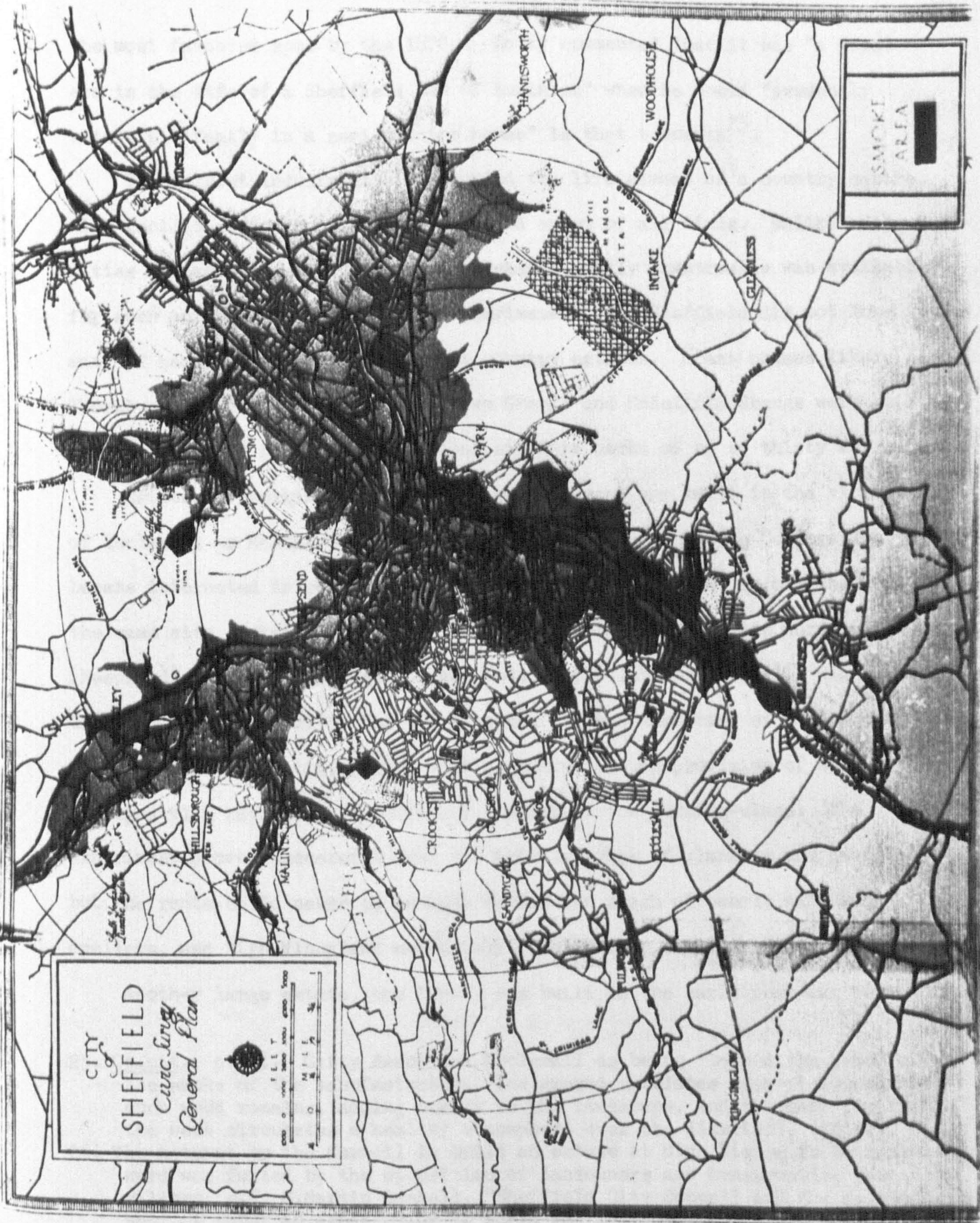
20. Hobson, ibid., p.40.

21. Ibid., p.42.

22. Op.cit., p.303.

23. The phrase is that of Vanessa S.Doe, "Some developments in middle-class housing in Sheffield 1830-75", S.Pollard and C.Holmes (ed), Essays in the Economic and Social History of South Yorkshire, S.Yorkshire, 1976, pp. 175-86, passim.

24. Cf. J.H.Stainton, The Making of Sheffield, Sheffield, 1924, pp.189-92.



'SMOKE MAP' OF SHEFFIELD

(showing area on which smoke appeared to lie, 1924)

SOURCE : Abercrombie, *op. cit.*, Plate IV, opposite p. 5.

the most favoured spot by the 1870s. Gatty commented that it was "a great era in the life of a Sheffield man of business" when he could "prudently settle his family in a semi-country house" in that township²⁵.

The largest industrialists demanded the life almost of a country squire, with facilities for hunting, shooting and sport of all kinds. Unlike such cities as Manchester and Liverpool, pleasant, hilly countryside was available for such purposes within the city's perimeters, and Sheffield did not lose many of her men of wealth to distant country estates. Great houses like Thornbury, Endcliffe Hall, Stumperlowe Grange and Endcliffe Grange were built in the 1860s and many of the mansions stood in parks of up to thirty acres.

Estates of working-class Council housing were not built in the vicinity of Ecclesall or Hallam during the period²⁶. When in 1904 the Corporation became interested in rehousing slum tenants in the suburbs, rather than on the same site, estates were built at High Wincobank (Brightside ward), Norwood (Neepsend), Walkley, Crookesmoor and Wadsley (Hillsborough ward). High Wincobank was the first and by far the largest. It was something of a novel experiment, inviting competition from town planners for the provision of well-built cottages with bathrooms for ordinary members of the working-class. The experiment proved successful from the point of view of planning and design but the rents could never be brought within the reach of poorly paid slum-dwellers, and High Wincobank was mainly populated by skilled artisans²⁷.

Another large estate, the Manor, was built in the early post-war period

25. Op.cit., p.301. Gatty described Ecclesall as being "beyond the reach of the smoke of the manufactories. The ground undulates most picturesquely; much wood remains, adding beauty to the landscape, and the moor air from the west circulates a healthy atmosphere over the district". (ibid).
26. The attempt by the Council to build an estate at High Storrs in Ecclesall ward was foiled by the opposition of landowners and Conservative Councillors, c.f. S.Martin Gaskell, "Sheffield City Council and the development of suburban areas prior to World War I", Pollard and Hbmes, op.cit., pp. 190-1; V.M.Hughes, History of the Growth and Location of the Sheffield Corporation Housing Schemes, Sheffield, 1959, p.6.
27. For High Wincobank, see Hughes, op.cit., p.4. S.Martin Gaskell, op.cit., pp. 187-202. S.Pollard, op.cit., pp.186-87.

TABLE 2.2 : Population of Sheffield Wards 1901-21

Ward	Population (000)			Popn.Increase		Popn.Decrease	
	1901	1911	1921	1901-21	%	1901-21	%
St. Peter's	30.6	28.4	27.4	-		10.1	
St. Philip's	34.7	31.0	32.4	-		6.5	
Neepsend	17.6	16.9	18.8	7.2		-	
Brightside	26.2	34.7	41.3	57.7		-	
Burngreave	34.2	34.6	35.5	3.9		-	
Attercliffe	29.3	35.0*	38.0*	29.2		-	
Darnall	23.0	33.2	38.4	66.9		-	
Park	25.3	26.4	26.8	5.7		-	
Heeley	25.6	34.0	37.7	47.1		-	
Sharrow	28.3	26.3	26.2	-		7.4	
Ecclesall	20.3	30.1	30.9	51.7		-	
Broomhall	27.0	26.6	26.3	-		0.6	
Hallam	15.1	21.4	22.8	50.9		-	
Crookesmoor	27.8	27.5	28.1	1.2		-	
Walkley	20.0	22.2	24.8	24.4		-	
Hillsborough	24.0	31.5	35.2*	46.5		-	

* affected by boundary changes - Attercliffe 1911 - include Tinsley (part)
 - " 1921 - " Tinsley (rest)
 - Hillsborough 1921 - " Bradfield.

Sources: 1901 Census of England and Wales - County of York - Table 9 p.52.
1911 " " " " " - Vol 1 (Administrative Areas)
 Table 10 pp.384-85.
1921 " " " " " - Yorkshire - Table 3 pp.25-26.

on the open hillsides of the Park District²⁸ and smaller ones on the west and north-east of the city - in Darnall, Tinsley, Intake and Hillsborough²⁹.

Despite the subsidies provided under the 1919 Addison Housing Act, the rents were still beyond the reach of many low-income families³⁰. The very poorest remained within the insanitary areas.

The exodus from the central areas during the period took place in two waves - 1893-1914 and 1921-31. 1893-1914 were years of private building boom, as Professor Pollard has shown³¹. During these years the wards of Sharrow, Darnall, Attercliffe, Brightside and Burngreave were completely built-up. During the decade 1921-31, the working-class estates in Handsworth, Hillsborough Park and Neepsend wards were developed, while the development of Hallam and Ecclesall continued apace³². Between 1921 and 1931 one-twelfth of the central population moved to the suburbs, about four-fifths of these being working-class families³³.

Regulations for houses built on land held by the Carsick Hill and Ranmoor Cliffe Land Societies stipulated that "no trade or business of any kind shall be carried on upon any part of the estate"³⁴. By the 1890s, Sheffield was strictly divided between industrial and residential areas. Professor Abercrombie's industrial map of 1924³⁵ shows that industry was concentrated in the central wards (St. Peter's, St. Philip's, large parts of Broomhall and Sharrow and a small part of Ecclesall) and along the valleys of the Don and the Sheaf. The development of the Sheaf was seen as a disaster for the western side of the city. "A lower class population, another Carbrook, a kind of ragged

28. For Manor see A.D.K.Owen, Op.cit., pp.20,45,52.

29. Cf. suggestions made by E.M.Gibb, The Future Extension of the Suburbs of Sheffield, Sheffield, n.d (1911?), p.17.

30. Pollard, op.cit., p.257.

31. Ibid., p.188.

32. Cf. Pollard, ibid., p.260; Abercrombie, op.cit., Plate VI, facing p.8. Pollard shows that the population in the first-mentioned wards decreased after 1921.

33. Pollard, op.cit., pp.260-61.

34. Quoted Stainton, op.cit., p.190.

35. Op.cit., plate XI, after page 12 (unsuitable for reproduction here).

fringe to Sharrow's genteel garment"³⁶ appeared in the valley, and "a long line of streets" encompassed "what were once delightful country residences standing in their own grounds, under the shelter of noble trees and closed in by lordly palisadings"³⁷. To Sharrow and Broomhall's population of managers were added "skilled and clerkly households"³⁸ who while not "desparately poor" had little excess money and few luxuries.

The developments along the Sheaf Valley, following the Midland Railway, were of the edge tool trades. The general siting of the 'heavy' and 'light' trades in 1924 is indicated in Table 2.3.

TABLE 2.3 : The Siting of 'Heavy' and 'Light' Trades by Ward, C.1924.

Industry	Ward	Predominant in the ward	of Peripheral significance
Heavy Trades (including Edge Tools)	Attercliffe	x	
	Brightside	x	
	Darnall	X	
	Hillsborough	x	
	Neepsend	x	
	St. Phillip's	x	
	Burngreave		x
	Crookesmoor Park		x
Light Trades	Broomhall	x	
	St. Peter's	x	
	St. Philip's	x	
	Sharrow	x	
	Hallam		x
	Heeley		x
	Hillsborough		x

Source: Abercrombie, op.cit., Plates XI and XII, after p.16.

36. Quoted from unnamed newspaper source, Stainton, op.cit., p.215. Contemporaries used the word 'Sharrow' to describe the small middle-class area mostly contained within Ecclesall ward. Sharrow ward was nearer the city centre and contained some of the working-class district of Heeley (the rest was in Park ward. Heeley ward contained middle-class suburbs).
37. "Suburban Sheffield - what it is today", Sheffield Daily Telegraph, Sheffield in 1902, Sheffield, 1902, p.53.
38. The phrase is Mary Walton's, A History of the Parish of Sharrow, Sheffield, Sheffield, 1968, p.36.

In the central areas industrial accommodation predominated over residential - St. Peter's had become by the 1870s "the great centre of business", in Gatty's phrase³⁹. It provided buildings not only for the light trades, but for the professions, commerce and retailing. Many dwelling-houses were converted for business purposes⁴⁰ and some were improved in the process, but others, by the 1920s, were "of a tumbledown, ruinous or antiquated nature".⁴¹

Because of the lack of census data, it is impossible to be precise about the occupations of the inhabitants of those wards in which industry was not carried on. It is likely that in the western artisan suburbs (for example Walkley and Crookesmoor) the inhabitants were light tradesmen, and in the north-eastern suburbs, heavy tradesmen. A considerable minority of miners inhabited the extreme east side of the city - the Middle Coal Measures were being worked at this time⁴². Handsworth ward was a mining area and the wards of Attercliffe, Darnall, Park and Heeley contained miners⁴³.

Figures for the proportion of parliamentary electors in the male population of each ward are given in Table 2.4. Before the 1918 Representation of the People Act the voting qualification in boroughs for men was the possession within the borough of a house or other property for at least one year, or to be a lodger at an annual rent of £10 or more. The register was always out of date because of the time-lapse between its compilation and coming into force. The system penalised working-men who might have to move regularly, and lodgers, who never at any time before 1918 made up more than one-twentieth of the total electorate. Businessmen had a plural vote, if their premises and their homes were in different constituencies⁴⁴. The existence of the plural vote means that in wards with substantial business areas (Attercliffe, Brightside, Broom-

39. Op.cit., p.300.

40. Pollard, op.cit., p.5.

41. Abercrombie, op.cit., p.16.

42. Ibid., p.3. and Plate III opposite.

43. Roy Gregory estimated the proportion of miners in Attercliffe constituency (Attercliffe, Darnall and Park wards and Shirebrook polling district of Heeley ward) around 1910, between 10 and 20%. The Miners and British Politics 1906-14, Oxford, 1968, pp.12-13. G.H.B.Ward estimated the total as 1,700 in 1906. G.H.B.Ward/J.R.MacDonald, June, 1906, Labour Party General Correspondence 7/30/1-2.

44. For the information in this paragraph, cf. H.Pelling, op.cit., pp.7-8; D.Thomson, England in the 19th Century, Penguin, 1950, p.128.

TABLE 2.4 : Parliamentary electors as a percentage of the total population of municipal wards, 1893, 1904, 1912 and 1920.

A. 1893.

Ward	% Parliamentary electors per total male population	Ward	% Parliamentary electors per total male population
Attercliffe	31.17	St. George's	30.86
Brightside	30.86	St. Peter's	31.83
Ecclesall	33.67	St. Philip's	27.20
Nether Hallam	33.61	Upper Hallam	36.54
Park	31.82		

B. 1904, 1912 and 1920

Ward	% Parliamentary electors per total male population			% Parliamentary electors per total female population 1920 ²
	1904	1912	1920	
Attercliffe	31.26	30.70	58.14	35.54
Brightside	28.80*	32.11*	54.44	34.45
Broomhall	33.95	34.47	63.05	39.19
Burngreave	32.72	34.46	57.71	37.34
Crookesmoor	35.28	37.43	64.94	37.73
Darnall	33.25	30.66	55.73	28.71
Ecclesall	41.40	40.04	66.01	40.93
Hallam	42.77	38.20	60.35	37.83
Heeley	- 1	-	58.77	37.48
Hillsborough	- 1	-	58.02	37.10
Neepsend	32.82	34.93	57.39	27.68
Park	31.28	33.74	59.11	35.77
St. Peter's	31.14	31.41	64.50	42.15
St. Philip's	26.89	27.76	54.74	32.91
Sharrow	33.48	36.09	66.20	23.60
Walkley	36.06	34.45	55.15	35.34

* estimated figure.

1 Figures not available in suitable form.

2 A property qualification was imposed for female voters

Sources: S.R.B. 1893, p.78, S.R.B.1904, p.133, S.R.B.1912, p.69.

Medical Officer of Health, Annual Report, op.cit., 1893,p.8 (Table D).

1901 Census, County of York, p.52 (Table 9).

1911 Census, Vol 1 (Administrative Areas) pp.384-85 (Table 10).

1921 Census, Yorkshire, pp.25-26 (Table 3).

Burgess Roll of Sheffield, Ecclesall, Hallam, Central, Park, Attercliffe Brightside and Hillsborough Volumes, Spring, 1920.

hall, Burngreave, Park, St. Peter's, St. Philip's and Sharrow), figures for Parliamentary voters are unnaturally high⁴⁵.

The statistics strongly suggest that in these wards there was a large unenfranchised working-class population and that the most prosperous wards were Ecclesall and Hallam.

B. Political Parties and the Wards : an analysis.

Edmund Hargreaves, a quiet and self-effacing doctor, achieved the only Liberal gain of the 1895 municipal election when he contested St. Peter's ward. His speeches were "a mass of facts....and not in a fanciful preparation"⁴⁶ but he was successful because of his popularity in his practice, which encompassed much of the ward. John Derry concluded that he was "certain of being returned, no matter who is his opponent"⁴⁷. H.Keeble Hawson has commented that "successful candidates were not always of the same party. Personality seems to have played an important part"⁴⁸.

In the following analysis of the party affiliation of the various wards, such considerations will be important, although it is difficult with the limited sources available to fully analyse and explain purely local issues. The availability of sources produces a bias in favour of certain wards - particularly Brightside and Attercliffe, but fortunately, these are areas in which some of the most interesting developments took place. In order to present a reasonably balanced picture, special attention has also been paid to the intriguing politics of the wards of the Central Parliamentary division - St. Peter's, St. George's and St. Philip's - and to two wards on the fringes of 'villadom' - Broomhall and Sharrow.

There were certain exceptions to Professor Vincent's rule suggesting "political division following from class housing patterns"⁴⁹. Brightside division, for example, flirted with Toryism throughout the 1890s and elected

45. I have found no evidence to indicate the level of the plural vote in each of these areas.

46. W.W. 1902., p.28. For Hargreaves see also W.W.1905. p.36.

47. W.W. 1902., p.28.

48. Sheffield. The Growth of a City 1893-1926, Sheffield, 1968, p.287.

49. See above, p.55.

TABLE 2.5 : Sheffield Constituencies in relation to Wards

A. Wards and Constituencies 1886

Constituency	Ward(s)
Attercliffe	Attercliffe, Park, parish of Heeley.
Brightside	Brightside.
Central	St. Peter's, St. Philip's, St. George's - apart from two small portions of St. George's surrounded by Nether Hallam.
Hallam	Nether Hallam, Upper Hallam, two small parts of St. George's, Broomhill Polling District (Ecclesall ward).
Ecclesall	Ecclesall apart from Broomhill.

B. Wards and Constituencies 1902*

Constituency	Ward(s)
Central	St. Peter's, St. Philip's.
Brightside	Neepsend, Burngreave, Brightside (minus Wincobank).
Attercliffe	Attercliffe, Darnall, Park, Shirebrook polling district of Heeley.
Ecclesall	Sharrow, Ecclesall, Broomhall.
Hallam	Hallam, Crookesmoor, Walkley, Owlerton polling district of Hillsborough.

C. Wards and Constituencies 1919

Constituency	Ward(s)
Attercliffe	Attercliffe, Darnall.
Brightside	Brightside, Burngreave.
Central	St. Peter's, St. Philip's and part of Broomhall.
Ecclesall	Ecclesall, Sharrow.
Hallam	Crookesmoor, Hallam and remainder of Broomhall.
Hillsborough	Hillsborough, Neepsend, Walkley.
Park	Heeley, Park.

* Half of Hillsborough, Wincobank and half of Heeley not in Sheffield Parliamentary divisions.

Sources: S.R.B. 1886, p.61.
S.R.B. 1902, p. 109.
S.Y.B. 1919, p. 165.

a Conservative M.P in 1900⁵⁰, and Central division was not Conservative for the same social reasons as Hallam or Ecclesall. The divisions were also not as distinct socially as Vincent suggests - Brightside division contained considerable middle-class populations in Burngreave and on the fringes of Brightside ward, while Attercliffe division contained part of Heeley and the 'respectable' part of Park ward. Ecclesall division contained the working-classes of Sharrow and Broomhall, and Hallam division the artisans of Crookesmoor and Walkley.

The existence of these minorities was more significant for municipal than for national politics. Diagrams showing the party position in 1892, 1900, 1906, 1919 and 1926, (Appendix 4A) reveal that while Central division was Conservative from 1885-1929, two of its constituent wards, St. Peter's and St. George's, elected a considerable number of Liberal Councillors. St. Philip's elected three Labour Councillors between 1919 and 1926, but St. Peter's did not elect any until 1926. Attercliffe division contained until 1918 a considerable Conservative-voting minority in the Park ward and some parts of Heeley and Attercliffe ward itself elected one Conservative Councillor for the period 1905-21. Darnall ward was the first in the division to elect a Labour Councillor but both Attercliffe and Darnall were Labour by 1926. The Brightside division, partially Conservative in the 1890s, continued to elect some Conservatives in the 1900s - one in Neepsend from 1901 to 1911 and two from 1908 to 1910, one in Burngreave from 1906 to 1909, and one in Brightside in 1912. Brightside elected Labour Councillors in each of the years 1905-8 and again in 1913. All three wards had three Labour Councillors by 1926.

In the middle-class divisions, the Sharrow and Broomhall wards of Ecclesall both elected considerable numbers of Liberals and, indeed, two Labour Councillors during the period 1921-5. Both were Citizen (Conservative/Liberal) by 1926. Hallam division contained majorities for the Liberal party before the 1914-18 War in Crookesmoor and Walkley, and both these wards had two Labour

50. For a full list of General Election results, see Appendix 3. The party representation of each ward on the Council is given in Appendix 4(B).

Councillors in 1926⁵¹. Hillsborough Ward, (part of which was in Hallam division until 1919) was predominantly Conservative before 1919, but had elected one Labour Councillor by 1926.

Because of the Redistribution of Seats Act of 1918, which divided Sheffield into seven Parliamentary constituencies, and the turmoil of the early post-war elections, only hazy patterns can be seen in electoral voting behaviour in the period 1918-26. Hallam and Ecclesall constituencies remained Conservative and Brightside and Attercliffe had large Labour majorities in 1922. Hillsborough constituency also voted Labour in 1922, but Park and Central, both predominantly working-class, held on to their Conservatism until 1929.

The party allegiances of the wards, and the changes in them, may be explained under three headings. First, there was the effect of such electoral mechanisms as agreements not to contest, three-cornered fights, 'plumping' (in two member wards) and electoral alliances. Secondly, there was the impact of municipal and national issues, and thirdly, the influence of ward-based loyalties and interests.

Table 2.6 shows the high number of uncontested seats, almost equally divided between the parties, in the period 1893-1901. The seats of one, or two, vulnerable Councillors were often the only ones contested, as at St. Peter's in the 1890s. Agreements between the two parties to divide the seat commonly resulted in walk-overs at Park, St. Peter's and St. Philip's. The greatest number of contests was in aldermanic election years - 1895 and 1898. There was definite antipathy particularly on the part of the Conservatives, the majority party, to what were deemed "unnecessary" contests. J.G.Lowood, for example, the Conservative Candidate at Brightside in 1896, included in his address an attack on the Liberal party for causing the expense of a contested

51. Crookesmoor came to be known in the period 1919-26 as the "cockpit" because it was highly marginal and regularly swung between the Labour and Citizen parties. Marginality was here related to high turnout - often over 70%. Cf. Sheffield Mail, 25 Oct 1926, John Rowett, lecture to Society for the Study of Labour History, Yorkshire, Humberside and N.Midlands group, 21 April 1979.

TABLE 2.6 * Uncontested Seats at Sheffield Municipal Elections, 1893-1926 *¹

A. 1893-1900

Ward	Year and Party Retaining Seat(s)* 2							
	'93	'94	'95	'96	'97	'98	'99	1900
Attercliffe	L	-	-	L	L	L	L	L
Brightside	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	L
Ecclesall	C	C	-	C	C	C	C	C
Nether Hallam	-	L	C	-	L	-	L	C/L
Park	L	C/L	C/L	L	C/L	C/L	-	C/L
St. George's	-	-	C/L	L	-	-	L	C
St. Peter's	C/L	C/L	-	C/L	C/L	-	C/L	C/L
St. Philip's	C/L	C/L	-	C/L	C/L	C	C/L	-
Upper Hallam	C	C	C	C	C	-	-	C

B. 1901-1926

Ward	Year and Party Retaining Seat(s) * 2																										
	1901	'02	'03	'04	'05	'06	'07	'08	'09	'10	'11	'12	'13	'19	'20	'21	'22	'23	'24	'25	'26						
Attercliffe	L	L	L	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Brightside	L	-	L	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Burngreave	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	L	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Broomhall	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Crookesmoor	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	L	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Darnall	-	L	-	-	L	-	-	-	L	L	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ecclesall	-	C	-	-	C	C	-	-	C	-	C	-	C	C	-	-	-	-	-	-	I.C.	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hallam	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Cit	-	Cit	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Heeley	-	-	C	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hillsborough	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	L	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Neepsend	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Park	-	L	-	-	-	C	L	C	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
St. Peter's	L	L	-	-	-	C	L	-	C	-	C	-	C	-	D.S.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
St. Philip's	-	C	C	-	C	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	C	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sharrow	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Walkley	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Handsworth	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

*1 This table does not include by-elections, which were often contested.

*2 C = Conservative; L = Liberal; Lab = Labour; Cit = Citizen;
D.S. = Discharged Soldiers; I.C. = Independent Conservative.

Sources: S.L.R. 1893-1901. S.Y.B. 1905-1927.

election⁵².

The Liberal and Conservative rivalry for control of the Council in the 1900s, succeeded by the threat from the Labour party, were the main reasons for the large increase in the number of contests after 1900. Three cornered fights caused Conservative victories at Brightside in 1893 and 1895 and in Attercliffe in 1905 and 1907⁵³. 'Plumping', the device by which one candidate collects twice his party's vote by standing in a two-member ward, resulted in Conservative victories at Brightside in 1892 and 1896. Electoral alliances were used by the Conservative and Liberal parties against the Labour party intermittently before the war, and to good, but temporary, effect after it.

The Second aspect was the impact of national and municipal issues at local elections. Appendix 5, showing the gains of the parties during the period, indicates widespread success for the Liberals at the elections of 1901, 1905, 1910 and 1911, for Labour in 1919, 1921 and 1926, and for the Conservatives in 1904 and 1908. 1901 saw the first Liberal majority on the City Council since 1883 and was largely due to the redistribution of seats of that year working in their favour, and the 'free run' unwisely given them by the Conservatives in three wards⁵⁴. The Conservatives made up the leeway by 1904. The elections of 1908, 1910 and 1911 were fought on the issue of municipal housing at Wincobank. The Conservative argument that the land should be sold to property developers won the day in 1908, but later, Liberal arguments in favour of municipal building were more successful⁵⁵. The Labour victories of 1919 and the 1920s were part of a national reaction to the Coalition government. The Labour vote was greatly increased by the 1918 Representation of the People Act, which affected working-class men, and women over thirty⁵⁶.

52. Wilson MSS (S.U.L.) 37P/26/36

53. Cf. W.E.Clegg, Memo on Socialism, November, 1909, Wilson MSS 5906, pp.4-5.

54. S.D.T. 2 Nov 1901.

55. As in 1913, when the Conservative vote slumped heavily in Walkley and the East End, in an election fought on housing policy and the erection of a T.B.hospital - SI3 Nov 1913.

56. For the detailed reasons for Labour's success, see Chapter 6, section C.

Thirdly, the result of elections was influenced by local issues and personal loyalties at ward level. Wards were concerned to select a socially acceptable representative. Tables 2.7 and 2.8 suggest, for example, that Hallam and Ecclesall consistently elected a candidate from the professions, manufacturing or large-scale trading and that the local loyalty and standing of the candidate was important. Upper Hallam, Park and Ecclesall wards consistently elected candidates who lived in the ward and over half of Park ward's councillors also worked in the ward. After redistribution, Hallam, Heeley, Hillsborough and Park had the highest proportion of resident councillors. Considerations of local popularity could and did override questions of party. In the tradition of Dr. Hargreaves, Dr. W.H.Fordham won Heeley for the Conservatives against Labour in 1908 because of his popularity among the members of his large Heeley practice⁵⁷. Edward Snelgrove's position as headmaster of the local school was important to his election as Labour Councillor for Crookesmoor in November 1926⁵⁸. Among outlying townships recently added to the city, like Hillsborough, local leaders were often elected to the Council regardless of party. One example is Handsworth, a mining area, which elected George Corker, a local farmer, as an Independent candidate in 1921, although all the other Councillors were Citizen or Labour. He became the area's first alderman.

There was a certain amount of deference, even economic cunning, in the election of local employers to the Council, particularly the owners of the large steel works. The election of Sir Joseph Jonas, of Jonas and Colver, for Attercliffe and later Darnall, resulted in many gifts to the area, including a park for Darnall⁵⁹. Such moves offset to some extent the impact of the increasing alienation of employers from workers denoted by their removal to the West End and lack of concern with the housing conditions of their employees.

Employers who lived and worked in the area, particularly shopkeepers and landlords, had the advantage of knowing and constantly meeting their electorate. Joseph Clarkson, a licensed victualler, was popular also because he was

57. Sheffield Trades and Labour Council, Annual Report (1908/9), pp.22-23.

58. Sheffield Mail 25 Oct 1926.

59. W.W. 1905, p.26.

TABLE 2.7 : Occupations of Sheffield City Councillors by Ward Represented
1892-26.

A. 1892-1901

Ward	(a) Heavy Trade Manufacturers	(b) Light Trade Manufacturers	(c) Other Manufacturers	(d) Small shop- keepers	(e) Large Merchant	(f) Building	(g) Law	(h) Medicine	(i) White Collar Responsible	(j) Clerk	(k) Trades Union/ Manual Worker	(l) Gentlemen	Total *1
Attercliffe	1		2	2			1				1		7
Brightside		1	2	6	1	1			3		2		16
Ecclesall	2	2	1				3					1	9
Nether Hallam	2	3	1		2		1	1					10
Park	1	1		4	1	1	1						9
St. George's	1	1	1	1			3		1		2		10
St. Peter's	1	3		2			2	1				1	10
St. Philip's			2	4				1	1		1		9
Upper Hallam	2	3			1								6

B. 1901-1926

Attercliffe	2		2	1		1				1	7		14
Brightside				4						3	8		15
Burngreave			1	1		1	1	1	2		4		11
Broomhall	4	1	1	2	1		1		2		1		13
Crookesmoor	3	2		2	1	1			3	1	1		14
Darnall	2	2	1						2	1	4		12
Ecclesall	3	1	3				7						15
Hallam	3	2		2		1			1				9
Heeley		2		3		1		2	3		2		13
Hillsborough		2	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		14
Neepsend		1	1	4			1		1	2	5		15
Park				3	1		1	1	2		2	1	11
St. Peter's	3	1		5	1		1	1	2		2		16
St. Philip's	2		3	3	1		2		2		4		17
Sharrow		4	4		1	1	2		1	1	1		15
Walkley		1	1	1	1	2	1				4	1	12
Handsworth*2			1						1		5		7

*1 1892-1901 : All wards had six Councillors, except Attercliffe and Upper Hallam, which had three.

1901-1926 : All wards had three Councillors.

*2 Incorporated into the city in 1921.

Sources: See Chapter 1, Table 1.2 and Appendix 1.

**TABLE 2.8 : Place of Residence and Work of Sheffield City Councillors
in Relation to Ward Represented, 1892-1926.**

A. Councillors joining - 1892-1901.

Ward	Total Sample *1	Lived in or very near ward	% of Total Sample		Lived and worked in ward
			Worked in ward	Inappropriate /unknown*2	
Attercliffe	7	29	71		29
Brightside	16	66	62	12	50
Ecclesall	9	78	22	-	22
Nether Hallam	10	37	20	-	
Park	9	78	78	-	55
St. George's	10	15	20	10	10
St. Peter's	10	10	80	-	10
St. Philip's	9	-	44	11	-
Upper Hallam	6	83	-	-	-

B. Councillors joining - 1901-1926.

Attercliffe	12	42	17	59	17
Brightside	13	46	-	83	-
Broomhall	11	45	18	27	9
Burngreave	9	22	22	56	11
Crookesmoor	11	36	18	27	9
Darnall	9	56	-	56	-
Ecclesall	13	23	8	-	8
Hallam	7	100	29	-	29
Heeley	12	83	33	25	25
Hillsborough	12	100	8	25	8
Neepsend	12	33	8	50	-
Park	8	100	38	38	38
St. Peter's	13	23	46	23	15
St. Philip's	11	9	9	27	9
Sharrow	12	25	8	25	-
Walkley	9	33	22	44	22
Handsworth	8	62	-	100	-

*1 Councillors counted again for changes of address bringing them within the appropriate categories.

*2 Those enumerated in this column are, apart from the unemployed, manual workers whose place of employment is unrecorded in Directories or City Council Year Books.

Sources: Sheffield City Council, Year Books, 1893-1927.
Sheffield Directories.
Ward Maps, (See Maps A and B).

"born and bred" in the Park and "his private, business and public career (had) been exclusively associated" with the ward⁶⁰. G.H.Beverley, a Heeley butcher, had "on three occasions opened soup kitchens on his own account" during times of distress⁶¹.

Local men were often simply well-known socially or seen to have local interests at heart. A.T.Bescoby, a Liberal Councillor for Hillsborough, was described as "a man who takes a keen interest in all matters affecting the district in which he lives"⁶². George Addy, of Hallam ward was "extremely popular" because of the musical evenings at his home which were "one of the features" of the entertainment there⁶³.

Study of the politics of the Central wards, of Attercliffe and Brightside, and of Sharrow and Broomhall, further illustrate aspects of the interplay of these three factors. The Sheffield Independent's comment in 1901 that, "The extremes of wealth and poverty are everywhere strongholds of Toryism"⁶⁴ was true of St. Phillip's ward, the poorest in the city, which consistently had a majority of Conservative Councillors in the 1890s, and a full complement from 1901 to 1919, having taken in part of the old St. George's ward in 1901⁶⁵. St. Peter's ward, which took in the rest of St. George's ward was more inclined towards Liberalism until 1911. The old St. George's ward was evenly divided between the Liberals and the Conservatives until 1899, when it elected four Conservative Councillors and two Liberals. Together, these three wards, as the Central division, consistently elected Tory M.P.s.

The reasons for this are fourfold. The first was the nature of the electorate. St. Philip's and St. Peter's wards, containing the poorest members of the population, had also a high number of plural voters, which may well have doubled the potential electorate. The plural vote is often regarded as Conservative - the City of London constituency, with 90% plural voters, was the safest

60. W.W. 1905, p.45.

61. W.W. 1905, p.48.

62. W.W. 1905, p.57.

63. W.W. 1905, p.53.

64. S.I. 2 Nov 1901.

65. For details of the party composition of each ward during the period see Appendix A.

Conservative seat in Britain in 1910. Neal Blewett found that the estimated plural vote over the whole country at the January 1910 election resulted in a proportion of 58:42 in the Conservatives' favour⁶⁶.

In other constituencies with a working-class population and a plural business vote Conservative victories were common - for example Bristol Clifton, which was said to have an electorate composed of "the two classes of the luxurious rich and the dependent and obsequious poor"⁶⁷. The plural vote helped, but did not alone create the Conservative ascendancy in Central division. Sir Howard Vincent, the M.P. for Central, claimed in 1906 that "95%" of his voters were working-men. Clearly this was no so, not only because of the plural vote, but also because, as the Sheffield Independent pointed out, there were a considerable number of office workers and "little masters" of the cutlery trades also living in the division⁶⁸. But considering that the total Conservative vote, in 1892, 1895, 1900, 1906 and 1910 was, or has been estimated to have been, higher than that in either the Ecclesall or Hallam divisions⁶⁹, Henry Pelling's conclusion that "we can be sure that the Conservative working-man was a reality here - more so than in any other constituency of Yorkshire"⁷⁰ is sound.

A second factor was the importance of the Irish vote, which the Leeds Mercury reckoned to be 700 in 1892⁷¹. The majority of Irish probably lived in St. Philip's ward⁷² with the Crofts slums of St. Peter's being populated "almost exclusively" by Irish immigrants⁷³. They were a major pivotal influence affecting the balance of the Liberal and Conservative parties in the area. When Sheffield was still a large, double-member constituency, in 1884, Michael Conway

66. Neil Blewett, "The Franchise in the United Kingdom 1885-1918", Past and Present 32 (December 1965), pp.46-47, 50.

67. Quoted Cornford, op.cit., p.59.

68. S.I. 16 Jan 1906.

69. Cf. Pelling, op.cit., Table 22, p.231.

70. Ibid., p.233.

71. Leeds Mercury 6 July 1892, cited Pelling, ibid., p.233.

D.E.Fletcher mentions a figure of 800 in 1885 - Aspects of Liberalism in Sheffield 1849-86, Sheffield Ph.D. 1972, p.179.

72. The majority of Irish lived in poor conditions; moreover, Roman Catholicism was strong in the area. Sam Davison, who was born in the late 1890s, recalled that priests used to be consulted by the Labour party about canvassing in the ward. Interview 21.12.78.

73. The Star May 11 1979.

said that "he did not know any constituency in Great Britain where the Irish vote was such a potent factor as it was in Sheffield"⁷⁴. The Liberals lost the Irish vote on the question of Catholic education⁷⁵, and the conversion to Toryism was permanent after the failure of the Home Rule Bill in 1892. Their vote could of itself account for the Conservative majorities in Central from 1885 until 1918. It is also significant that one of the three Labour Councilors elected for St. Philip's ward before 1927 was a Catholic and an Irishman⁷⁶.

Third is the connection between Conservatism and drink. Statistics already quoted have shown the number of licensed premises in the area⁷⁷. The Sheffield Independent wrote ruefully in 1901 of their candidate's failure to make any impression in the Westbar and Shalesmoor districts of St. Philip's, localities, "which have the unenviable notoriety of being the unhealthiest, the most squalid, and the most public house-ridden localities of the city"⁷⁸. Two Liberal 'Social Questions League' candidates in St. George's ward, who supported a more restrictive licensing practice⁷⁹, were soundly defeated in an election solely fought on this issue in 1894⁸⁰. The Conservatives capitalised on their advantage by selecting brewers, landlords and licensed victuallers as candidates⁸¹, and by providing drink in working-men's clubs and in public houses⁸².

Fourthly, Conservative organisation in the area was very much superior to that of the Liberals, and they had a very popular candidate in Sir Howard Vincent.

74. S.I. 15 July 1884, quoted Fletcher, op.cit., p.179.

It is significant that Stuart Uttley won the first Lib-Lab seat there on 28 April 1886, just after the Home Rule announcement - cf. ibid., p.186.

75. This is suggested by Pelling, op.cit., p.233. D.E.Fletcher says that the Irish deserted the Liberals at the 1885 General Election, but does not give reasons, op.cit., p.184.

76. J.Sweeney, cf. Sheffield Mail, 28 Oct 1926.

77. Quoted in Section A, above p.58.

78. S.I. 2 Nov 1901.

79. Cf. below, Brightside, and Chapter 4, pp.138-9.

80. The election was also lost in Brightside ward on this issue. Even in 1901 the League, though defunct for several years, was used as the brush to tar Emmerson, the Liberal Candidate at St. Philip's. S.I. 2 Nov 1901.

81. In St. Philip's ward, Alfred Taylor (served 1898-1901), J.R.Wheatley (1896-1904), D.Gilmour (1908-11), Harry Bolton (1907-post 1926).

82. Peter Clarke shows from his study of Lancashire that working-men were often influenced in their voting habits in the pub - their only social centre: "In mid-Victorian Lancashire the more successful party would be that which could unbend most easily towards the working-class sub-cultures which were the world of the new electorate". Lancashire and the New Liberalism, Cambridge, 1971, p.34.

Two issues which attracted the cutlers of the division were military expenditure and "fair trade" (which later developed into tariff reform). The steel industry was dependent on orders from the army and navy, and the cutlery industry particularly was vulnerable to foreign competition, especially that of America and Germany. Sir Howard Vincent was not only an enthusiastic Volunteer and, on occasion, a jingoist, but also one of the first to campaign for Protection within the House of Commons⁸³. He succeeded in retaining the seat even at the 'Liberal landslide' election of 1906, fought on the Protectionist policies of Joseph Chamberlain. Despite the relevance of Protection to most of Sheffield's industry, it seems clear that there was a majority in the city as a whole in favour of free trade⁸⁴. Vincent's return, with a majority of just under one thousand, was due to the concentration of 'small masters' in the constituency and to his personal popularity. Substantial Conservative success at this election - which only occurred in Sheffield, West Lancashire and Birmingham - was due, A.K.Russell suggests, to "deeply entrenched emotional support"⁸⁵ - Birmingham, economically very similar to Sheffield, would have supported Joseph Chamberlain "if he had suggested the abolition of the monarchy"⁸⁶. Upon Vincent's death in 1908 he was replaced, without opposition, by J.F.Hope, the defeated Conservative member for Brightside and nephew of the Duke of Norfolk.

The Liberal voters in Central division were mainly small masters and skilled cutlers who had traditionally supported Gladstone's "popular democracy"⁸⁷. They were the active members of the Sheffield Federated Trades Council and of the Sheffield Labour Association formed in 1883 to promote the candidature of working-men to elected public bodies. There were several 'Lib-Lab' members for the Central wards - especially for St. George's. There was little potential for radicalism in the area - despite the formation of a Central Radical Club, which in 1885 adopted Mervyn Hawkes as a Radical candidate for the Division⁸⁸.

83. Cf. W.W. 1902, p.57, Fletcher, op.cit., p.185.

84. S.I. 16 Jan 1906.

85. The Speaker, 27 Jan 1906, quoted A.K.Russell, Liberal Landslide, Newton Abbott 1973, p 178.

86. Ibid., p.178.

87. See below, Chapter 4, pp.118.

88. For Central Radical Club, see below, Chapter 5, pp.157.

The Lib-Labs refused to become involved in the independent labourism of the Labour Representation Committee and the cutlery trades as a body did not embrace the Labour Party until 1920⁸⁹. Consequently, while East End wards elected Labour Councillors from 1905 onwards, the first Central ward to do so was St. Philip's in 1919, Labour no doubt benefitting greatly from the enfranchisement of unskilled workers. St. Philip's elected a second Labour representative in 1921 and St. Peter's its first in 1926.

Among the East End wards, the only one to politically resemble Central was Park ward. Coterminous with St. Peter's ward on its Western edge, Park ward, along with Heeley, contained most of the miners in the borough. The miners were traditionally Lib-Lab throughout the 1900s, and, together with the cutlers of the area, prevented the ward electing a Labour Councillor until 1922. Park had a majority of Conservative Councillors from 1905-19, and its Conservatism was due not so much to the outer-fringe middle-class vote, as to three other factors. First, local candidates were very popular, as Table 2.8 shows. Secondly, there was the influence of Earl Fitzwilliam and the Duke of Norfolk, both local benefactors and employers. This particular political influence also stretched to Brightside and to Central. In Brightside division the Conservatives were accused of unfair tactics because the candidate they brought forward for the 1900 election, who was successful, was the Duke of Norfolk's nephew⁹⁰. Thirdly, the Conservatives deliberately cultivated the mining vote and made some successful efforts to destroy their allegiance to the Liberal party⁹¹.

The Attercliffe division was seen by independent labour supporters as the one with the most potential for success. In 1894, after a split within the Trades Council over the selection of the Liberal candidate⁹², the Independent Labour Party contested a Parliamentary by-election and received 1,249 votes. Later national and municipal election results suggest that Attercliffe ward was not as radical as Darnall, the ward on its north-eastern edge. Darnall was

89. When the Federated Trades Council united with its secessionist offspring, the Trades and Labour Council.

90. See below, pp.112,145.

91. W.C.Leng started this, c.f. news cutting (n.d.) 4 Nov 1889, Ecclesall Conservative Association Minute Book (1887-95).

92. For details, see below, Chapter 4, pp.140-1.

normally Liberal and elected its first Labour Councillor in 1906, while Attercliffe did not do so until 1913. I.L.P. candidates were unsuccessful at municipal election campaigns in Attercliffe in 1894 and 1898 and while the Conservatives did not contest the ward between 1893 and 1904, they won it on their next attempt in 1905. This was in a three-cornered contest, but a similar contest at Darnall in 1906 produced Liberal victory.

Attercliffe's Liberalism was more enduring than that of Darnall, and more conservative - the ward supported the candidature of E.E.Holiday on an "Independent Liberal" (Economist) ticket in 1894, and its Liberal Association consistently supported the imperialist Liberal League throughout the 1900s⁹³. Alfred Short's Labour victory in 1913 appears to have been due largely to the fact that he was a local man and to organisation and clever campaigning⁹⁴. As with the Park ward, there was strong support for local candidates - James Knowles, for example, a local iron merchant, sustained his seat against Labour challenge on numerous occasions. Samuel Walker, the Conservative Councillor, who retained his Attercliffe seat at the elections of 1908 and 1911 (at which the Liberal vote declined to 33) and died before his next contest, was a master blacksmith described by the Telegraph as a "son of the people"⁹⁵. He stood as a Conservative working-man, despite being an employer. Both they, and others campaigned on the social reforms needed for Attercliffe, although Labour promises on these issues were always greater.

The Attercliffe division was won for Labour in 1909 in a four-cornered contest held just after the May Day rallies⁹⁶. At the 1910 elections Labour retained the seat through the withdrawal of the Liberals and probably also because of the increasing moderation of the Labour M.P., Joe Pointer. In 1918

93. See, for example, J.W.Wilson/H.J.Wilson, 21 May 1906, Wilson MSS (SUL)29/22 "I scarcely know who in Attercliffe is not more favourable to the League than to a Labour man".

94. Sheffield Trades and Labour Council, Annual Report 5 (1908-9) p.22. Sheffield Guardian, 25 April, 7 Nov 1913, Short was one of the Sheffield party's best assets and became Labour M.P. for Wednesbury in 1918.

95. Obituary, S.D.T. 29 Nov 1918.

96. The Conservatives had the biggest share of the vote, but it was divided between two candidates.

the seat was won by a Lib-Lab, T.W.Casey, who had strong links with the National Democratic Party, an anti-pacifist Labour splinter group. It is fair to say that Attercliffe was not safe for Labour until 1922, when the seat was won with a massive 33.5% swing. Before this date, Lib-Labism, 'independent' and jingoistic Liberalism, Conservatism and independent Labourism all battled for representation.

The Brightside division was solidly Liberal from 1885-1900. The M.P., A.J.Mundella, was a Nottingham lace manufacturer, and a radical in his approach to labour relations and trade unions. The division was also watched over by the radical Wilson family, of the Sheffield Smelting Company, H.J.Wilson being President of the Liberal Association⁹⁷. In 1890 the Conservatives won a seat in the ward (equivalent to the division until 1901) and three more seats were gained in 1893 and 1894. A Liberal revival began in 1896 and ousted the Conservatives completely by 1898. Even so, the Conservatives won the Parliamentary seat by nearly one thousand votes in 1900.

The reasons for these temporary anomalies in the political life of Brightside (no other ward had so many contested elections in the 1890s) are three fold, and relate to the sociology of the constituency, the influence of important, but transitory, issues, and the intervention of the Independent Labour Party.

Brightside contained a large concentration of unskilled workers, a number of "small masters" (though a smaller number than in many other districts) and a proportion of the middle-classes. This triple division was reflected in the new wards created in 1901. (see Map B). Burngreave, the ward nearest the Don and the city centre, contained the largest proportion of unskilled workers. Neepsend contained considerable suburban populations, as did Brightside, although its north-eastern fringe was heavily industrialised. Neepsend was the most Conservative ward of the three, electing at least one Tory Councillor from 1901 to 1911. Brightside and Burngreave were almost completely Liberal, Lib-Lab and later Labour⁹⁸.

97. For the Wilsons, see below, Chapter 4, especially pp.132-3.

98. Burngreave had one Conservative Councillor from 1906-9, but this was the result of a three-cornered contest. He was not re-elected.

The majority of the Liberal party in Brightside, being on the more radical wing, were, in the late 1880s and early 1890s, supporters of temperance and a restrictive drink licensing policy. Brightside became in these years an arena for the battle between temperance and drink; a contest which the latter won decisively. The Liberals only retained their position in Brightside by retreating to firmer, safer ground.

The Conservative party's champion in the cause was a local licensed grocer of no perceptible political ability, William Grafton. "Of fair round belly with good capon lined",⁹⁹ he was a member of the working-class "made good" - a fact which he used to effect in his campaigns. He won the seat in 1890 owing to a split within the division which resulted in the candidature of two Liberals¹⁰⁰.

Grafton was re-elected in 1892, and a colleague, J.G.Lowood, a local manufacturer, in 1893, both benefitting from 'plumping'. In 1894 two Conservative candidates were put forward in opposition to the Social Questions League, a militant temperance organisation closely associated with one of the Liberal candidates, Edwin Richmond. The Liberals were supported by the United Kingdom Alliance and the Conservatives by the brewers¹⁰¹. Both Conservative candidates were elected.

The Liberal machine was "terribly smashed"¹⁰² but the party recovered from this point. Never again was temperance allowed to become the dominant issue at an election. The "S.Q.L." cry was still a Conservative trump card in 1895, when Grafton came head of the poll, but by 1897, when the Conservative candidates included the leader of Sheffield, Rotherham and District Licensed Victuallers Association, the election was dominated by the Engineers' lockout. The Liberals gave their support to the engineers¹⁰³, while the chairman of one

99. W.W.1902, p.23.

100. S.D.T. 15 July 1890. Both candidates were Gladstonians. D.E.Fletcher comments that splits within the Brightside Association were common in the 1880s because of the lack of sustained Conservative opposition to encourage unity, op.cit., p.166.

101. C.f. Election Circular from Licensed Trades and Property Association and U.K. Alliance, Wilson MSS 5987.

102. S.D.T. 2 Nov 1895.

103. S.I. 1 Nov 1897, Liberal Poll-card, Brightside, November 1897 Wilson MSS (SUL) 37P/27/36, Sheffield Federated Trades Council Annual Report: Year ending 1898, p.5.

of the firms involved, Cammell's, was a signatory to the Conservative election address¹⁰⁴. Even the Telegraph conceded, afterwards, that "under the peculiar conditions of the contest in Brightside (a Liberal Victory was) almost inevitable"¹⁰⁵.

The parties were not easily separable on other issues. Both advocated social reforms like public wash-houses, and the Conservatives claimed to have secured better street-lighting and a new public library for Brightside¹⁰⁶. The Liberals also favoured municipal economy, direct labour schemes and the taxation of ground values¹⁰⁷.

While the contest with the Tories proceeded, the Liberal party faced from the other side a threat of less immediate, but greater future portent. The I.L.P. ran several candidates in the division during the 1890s¹⁰⁸ - indeed, despite their foray in the Attercliffe division in 1894, Brightside ward was their testing ground. Their intervention aided the Conservatives in the elections of 1893, and 1895, and was embarrassing to the Brightside Liberals, who wished, unlike those of Attercliffe, to support Labour demands as much as possible. The dilemma involved in Liberal candidates standing against those of 'Labour' was temporarily solved in 1897 when there was a split within the Trades Council between I.L.P supporters and Lib-Labs. A Lib-Lab candidate and an I.L.P. candidate opposed one another at the 1897 municipal election. The Liberals put their full weight behind the Lib-Lab (an engineer), and, partly because of the Engineers Lock-out, he was elected. The Liberal Association also chose a Lib-Lab, Fred Maddison, to contest the Parliamentary seat on the death of Mundella and he was elected to Parliament in August 1897, with a smaller majority.

The I.L.P. failed to sponsor a candidate at this by-election, and appear to have been in disarray¹⁰⁹. In 1900, however, one of their members, Tom Shaw, who was supported both by the Trades Council and the Brightside Liberal Association, was elected unopposed to the City Council. Shaw claimed that the I.L.P.

104.-

S.I. 1 Nov 1897.

105. S.D.T. 2 Nov 1897.

106. J.G.Lowood, Election Address, Nov. 1896, Wilson MSS (SUL) 37P/26/35.

107. Liberal election address, Brightside, Nov. 1897, Wilson MSS (SUL) 37P/27/6.

108. J.A.Smith, 1893 and 1894; C.H.Moorhouse and R.B.Padley, 1895;

C.H.Moorhouse, 1897; Tom Shaw (elected) 1900, unopposed 1901.

109. See below, Chapter 5, pp.161-2.

had recently changed its tactics and "were now falling in with the trades unionists, and in the future.....would work harmoniously with the democratic bodies of the country",¹¹⁰ a reference to national I.L.P.co-operation with the formation of a Labour Representation Committee. The Conservatives claimed that Grafton "proved his loyalty to Labour" by standing aside¹¹¹. The Liberals' position was more canny. Their attitude pleased the Trades Council and there were doubts about Shaw's true independence. By 1904 he had rejoined the Liberal party.

The Liberal ploy nevertheless proved ultimately unsuccessful. The strength of the I.L.P. branch in Brightside, especially in its trade union support, led to successful election campaigns by R.G.Murray of the Gasworkers' Union in November 1905 and by R.B.Padley in July 1906. In 1907, owing to a final split between the I.L.P. and the Lib-Labs, Tom Shaw's seat was contested, and won by the Labour Party. This election was fought on the Wincobank housing policy, which affected Brightside more than any other area, and over which Labour forcefully denounced Conservative and Liberal policies¹¹².

Labour were helped by the strength of their candidates, including Alfred Barton, the editor of the I.L.P. newspaper the Sheffield Guardian, and by the attitude of the Liberal Association. Disheartened by the defeat of Fred Maddison at the 1900 General Election (because of his opposition to the Boer War)¹¹³ and discouraged by the split within the Liberal ranks over attitudes to Socialism¹¹⁴, the Association did not truly rally against Labour until 1910. At the 1910 and 1911 elections, owing to a split within the Labour party's ranks¹¹⁵, the Liberals gained two seats, but the three-cornered contests let in a Tory in 1912, Mathew Sheppard, a "Conservative working-man" who was on the staff of the heavy engineering firm of Vickers¹¹⁶. In 1913 Labour rallied and won significant victories both in Attercliffe and in Brightside where Barton won, despite having become a

110. S.I. 17 May 1900.

111. W.W. 1905, p.108.

112. Cf. article by J.Pointer, Sheffield Trades and Labour Council Annual Report 1908/9, pp.5-10.

113. Cf. S.I. 4 Oct 1900, and below, Chapter 4, p.145.

114. See below, Chapter 4, Section C.

115. See below, Chapter 5, pp.178-80.

116. S.Y.B. 1915, p.32.

representative of the British Socialist Party and so repudiated by the Trades and Labour Council. After the war Brightside quickly elected three Labour Councillors. Burngreave ward had three Labour Councillors by 1924 and Neepsend by 1925.

Sharrow and Broomhall, by contrast, declared fully in favour of the (Conservative/Liberal) Citizens' Association. Unlike Walkley, Crookesmoor and Hillsborough, west end wards of predominantly skilled workers which had several Labour Councillors by 1926, Broomhall and Sharrow were mixed wards which were predominantly Conservative in the 1900s, but with significant occasional moves towards Liberalism.

Sharrow elected its first Liberal Councillor in 1904 and Broomhall in 1905. The Liberal Association in Sharrow was buoyant and radical due to the leadership of Howard Wilson, a member of the Wilson family of Brightside, and of the Lib-Lab, Robert Holmshaw. The Association lost a by-election in June 1904, when the Conservative candidate was a local landlord, having fought on two platforms which divided even their own party - the Conservative government's Licensing Bill and the lack of higher elementary schools in the area¹¹⁷.

Wilson argued after the defeat that the argument would bear fruit in a few years; a few months, in fact, sufficed. The Liberal candidate, John Kirk Baker, standing against a brewer was successful in November 1904 at his fourth attempt. This was the only Liberal gain of the election, and the most likely telling factor was reaction against the activities of the drink trade rather than the argument about elementary education.

The following year Sharrow elected Robert Holmshaw and Broomhall a radical Liberal, A.G.W.Dronfield, the son of one of the founders of the Sheffield Trades Council, William Dronfield¹¹⁸. This was an election which gave Liberals a majority on the Council after one year of Tory control. In both wards the appeal was to the artisan voter, and the campaign revolved around opposition to

117. Howard Wilson said that he hoped making Education the issue would force the hands of the Education Committee and its Liberal Chairman, Alderman Clegg. Howard Wilson/H.J.Wilson, 11 June 1904, Wilson MSS 5897. (For details of Liberal split, see below, Chapter 4, section C, passim).

118. A.G.W.Dronfield was an accountant. W.W.1902, p.14.

the proposed Conservative increase in tram-fares, Conservative opposition to road-making schemes to provide work for the unemployed, and Conservative extravagance in maintaining High Storrs estate without building on it¹¹⁹. The Liberals claimed to be the friends of labour, and both Dronfield and Holmshaw were advertised as the candidates of the working-man¹²⁰. Holmshaw canvassed the support of the Sharrow middle-classes by saying, "although my sympathies are naturally with the poor, I know that the interests of the people who live in the residential districts need looking after as well as those of the people who live in the back streets".¹²¹ Both candidates made capital out of the unpopularity of Samuel Roberts, the Conservative M.P. for Ecclesall Division, whose arrogance and lack of sympathy with the working-classes had, it was said, alienated many of the electors¹²². Later the same month the Conservatives conceded the unopposed return of the right-wing Liberal manufacturer, Henry Kenyon Stephenson, to a vacant Broomhall seat.

In an election fought over the Conservative sale of land at High Storrs in 1907, however, the Sharrow seat was lost. The Liberals had expected defeat, Howard Wilson having commented that there had been a great many Conservative workers in Sharrow, provoked by jealousy at Baker's victory¹²³. The remaining Liberal seats in Sharrow and Broomhall were lost, again over the municipal housing issue, in 1908 and 1909.

What conclusions can be drawn from such a survey? The Central wards appear to have had quite separate political issues and activities, which cannot be compared with any other ward in Sheffield but only with those of other city centres. Brightside and Attercliffe were both Liberal areas in which Labour eventually swept the board, but in Brightside ward an articulate and enfranchised working-class population elected several Labour Councillors before the 1914-18 war, while in Attercliffe ward a poorer population could only do so in 1913 with

119. Cf. for example S.I. 24 Oct 1905, 1 Nov 1905.

120. S.I. 1 Nov 1905.

121. S.I., 24 Oct 1905.

122. S.I. 2 Nov 1905.

123. Howard Wilson/H.J.Wilson, 1 Oct 1906, Wilson MSS 5898.

See also S.I. 1 Nov 1907.

a very popular, well-organised, local candidate. The Attercliffe division (consisting of Attercliffe and Darnall wards) was won by Labour in 1909 and 1910 only because, in the first case, of the Conservative split, and, in the second, because of the withdrawal of the Liberals.

Sharrow and Broomhall were predominantly Conservative, but, because of the social composition of the areas, Liberal candidates were elected when local feelings were roused or, as at the 1910 and 1911 elections, when the Conservative vote in the city generally suffered a heavy fall¹²⁴.

Election results are difficult to explain even when opinion polls and surveys have been carried out. Only some of the apparently inexplicable results at elections during the period have been looked at here. They confirm a general impression of the great importance of party organisation, local campaigns and particular personalities.

124. Broomhall and Sharrow elected Liberal Councillors in 1910 and 1911.

CHAPTER 3.

THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY 1892-1910.

A. The Character and Leadership of the Party.

Conservatism was not the original political creed of Sheffield. Until the 1860s the town was thought of as Radical and the Town Council was dominated by Liberals. The emergence of support for a "new Conservative"¹ position was apparent in the 1860s², especially in the increasing Conservative vote at municipal elections. The Conservative party obtained a majority of seats on the Town Council in November 1883, and a majority of the five redistributed Sheffield Parliamentary seats in November 1885. The dispirited prediction of A.J.Mundella, the Liberal M.P. for Brightside, of a "not distant" day when Sheffield would return four Conservative members³ was fulfilled in 1900. Although this fourth seat was lost in 1906, the Liberal, and later the Labour party's most vigorous efforts did not dislodge any of the other three seats until 1929.

The success of the party in Sheffield, almost unprecedented among Northern towns⁴, was not only due to the weakness of the Liberal party at certain crucial moments⁵. The Conservative party was able, under exceptionally inspired leadership, not only to exploit the interests and aspirations of a growing class of wealthy steel manufacturers, but also to appeal over the heads of the Liberal party to the self-interest of many skilled tradesmen and "small mesters". Its support was strengthened by the defection of the "drink interest" from the Liberal party during the years 1869-72, and by the influx of Liberal Unionists

1. The phrase is that of E.R.Wickham, Church and People in an Industrial City, London, 1957, p.125, and refers to the support for the "Liberal-Conservative", J.A.Roebuck - see below, p.93.

2. D.E.Fletcher suggests that the first inkling came at the general election of 1857, when the Conservative candidate Overend lost by 812 votes. Since he received by far the greatest number of "plumpers" (1,596), this "is evidence of the existence of a solid core of Conservatism in Sheffield of great importance for the future", Aspects of Liberalism in Sheffield 1849-1886, Sheffield, Ph.D. Thesis, 1972, p.40.

3. 28/11/84, Mundella/Leader Correspondence, quoted K.G.March, The Life and Career of Sir William Christopher Leng (1825-1902), University of Sheffield, M.A.Thesis, 1966, p.94.

4. One exception being Liverpool, where entirely different Social conditions prevailed.

5. For example, the Liberal split preceding the 1874 General Election. See below, Ch.4, pp.119-20

in the late 1880s. These trends, however, affected the Conservative party nationally, while the most interesting feature of the Sheffield Conservative party is its autonomy and independence from the national party. The Sheffield party's character, as it developed from 1864 onwards, was the product of local influence and local needs, which sometimes coincided with, but more often diverged from, those of the party as a whole.

At a meeting of the Sheffield Conservative Association after the death of W.C.Leng⁶, the editor of the Sheffield Daily Telegraph, Alderman T.R.Gainsford commented that, as Conservatives, they "had lost almost the author of their existence".⁷ More than any other individual, Leng created the particular character of the Sheffield party and was responsible for much of its success. He was brought up as a Wesleyan and a Liberal, but became a Churchman and a Conservative because of his "love of order and stability".⁸ After a period as editor of the Dundee Courier, he came to Sheffield to take over the Telegraph, by all accounts "a somewhat feeble production",⁹ in 1864. The newspaper was transformed under Leng's control into a fighting, campaigning organ of the Conservative party. He was aided in the early years by the incidence of the Sheffield flood of 1864 in which 264 people died and which was largely due to the negligence of the Water Company, and by the Sheffield "trade outrages", which Leng exposed in 1868¹⁰. His attacking articles were a prominent feature of the newspaper, especially of the Saturday edition, "A pen in his hand became a broadsword", commented John Derry, the editor of the rival Sheffield Independent¹¹.

His supreme tactical skill is most clearly shown by the way he almost single-

6. In 1902. For Leng, see particularly - K.G.March, op.cit., passim, D.Guthrie, The First Fifty Years of the Sheffield Daily Telegraph: an experiment in provincial journalism, Sheffield, M.A.Librarianship Dissertation, 1970, passim, S.Addy and W.T.Pike, Sheffield at the opening of the 20th Century, Brighton, n.d. 1901, p.71.
7. S.D.T. 22/2/1904, quoted March, op.cit., p.74.
8. March, op.cit., p.131.
9. W.Odom, Fifty Years of Sheffield Church Life 1866-1917, Sheffield, 1917, p.5.
10. The "outrages" involved violence and theft by trades unionists in order to bring recalcitrant workers into line. Cf. Mary Walton, Sheffield, its story and its achievements, Sheffield, 1948, pp.195-9. For the Sheffield Flood, see ibid., pp.202-05.
11. The Story of Sheffield, 1915, new edition Wakefield, 1971, p.204.

handed created the conditions for the first Conservative Parliamentary victory in Sheffield in 1880.¹² J.A.Roebuck, one of the two Liberal members for Sheffield in the 1860s and '70s, alienated much of his support within the party by his outspoken opposition to many cherished Liberal opinions. In particular, he was strongly antipathetic to trade unions and always supported the masters in cases of dispute. The Liberals relied on the working-class vote, and through the intervention of Robert Leader a new Liberal candidate, A.J.Mundella, who had pro-union views, was adopted in opposition to Roebuck at the 1868 General Election. Roebuck was defeated on this occasion but in 1874, with the hefty support of W.C.Leng, he was again returned.

The irony of the 1874 situation was total. Although bearing the "Liberal" label and thus gaining some official support from the party¹³, Roebuck's main support, stimulated by Leng, came from Conservatives. When Roebuck died in 1879, Leng's influence was such that his protege, C.B.Stuart-Wortley, the brother of the Earl of Wharncliffe and a pronounced Conservative, was the chosen successor. Thus by political opportunism rivalling that of his early hero, Lord Randolph Churchill, Leng achieved the election of the first Sheffield Conservative M.P. in 1880. Former Liberal manufacturers who supported Roebuck's "Liberal-Conservatism" in 1874 naturally supported Wortley in 1880. The title of "Conservative and Constitutional Association" given to the divisional organisations created in the late 1870s and '80s was adopted "in recognition of the union of the Conservative and the Roebuck party"¹⁴.

While the Conservative party nationally was benefitting from the defection of wealthy manufacturers from the Liberal party, Leng carefully cultivated the particular interests of Sheffield manufacturers. He was a prominent member of

12. The following account is extracted from March, op.cit., pp.50-62. The Conservative share of the Parliamentary vote in Sheffield 1832-80 was as follows:-

1832: 0	1841: 21.39	1852: 39.15	1868: 26.28
1835: 0	1847: 0	1859: No Contest	1874: 0
1837: 0	1853: 26.06	1865: 43.51	1880: 49.01

Source: D.Fraser, Urban Politics in Victorian England, Leicester, 1976, pp224-5.

13. Although not from the supporters of Mundella.

14. Men of the Period: England, London, n.d., p.95.

the Sheffield Chamber of Commerce, becoming President in 1895-6. The Chamber, together with the older Cutlers' Company, represented the interests of local manufacturers, and became particularly dominated by the Conservative Party.

A.J.Mundella commented bitterly in 1884 that

"Leng and Co. pull the strings for the Cutlers' Company, the Chamber of Commerce etc., and work their institutions in the interests of the Tories". 15

The "Fair Trade" policy¹⁶ he advocated from 1880 onwards was particularly attractive to the traditionally Liberal 'light' tradesmen, and their support is evident from the size of the majority for Sir Howard Vincent (a leader of the "Fair Trade" agitation) in Central division in 1885.¹⁷

Leng created the organisation of the Sheffield Conservative Party. Christopher Porritt, the agent for Stuart-Wortley in 1880, built up staffed organisations at polling district level - about fifteen to twenty per parliamentary division¹⁸. Porritt had also "nearly every publican and public house in the borough"¹⁹, and based the early Conservative working-men's clubs on their premises²⁰. In this way the working-class Conservative vote was cultivated, especially in Central division. Leng was a fervent opponent of teetotalism and temperance, and the refusal of the working-classes to accept this Liberal solution to poverty was graphically illustrated at the Brightside municipal election of 1894²¹.

15. A.J.Mundella/H.J.Wilson, 26/8/85, quoted Fletcher, op.cit., p.164. This situation continued after Leng's death in 1902. Annual Reports of the Chamber (the earliest available is that for 1920) contain ample evidence of support for Conservative policy, e.g. 1923 - support for the co-ordination of unemployment relief and the "less eligibility" principle (p.13); 1926 - organisation of volunteer transport during the general strike (p.35).

The Conservatives also came to control the Town Trust, the traditional governing body of the town which dated back to 1297. Its duties were by 1890 purely honorary, but its thirteen members were regarded as the "creme de la creme" of Sheffield citizens, and in 1900, and again in 1904, Liberal leaders were subjected to humiliation while the large Conservative majority decided whether to allow the election of another Liberal to a traditionally Liberal seat. S.L.R. 23 and 19 Jan 1900; S.I. 3 Sep 1904; S.D.T 3 Sep 1904; Howard Wilson/H.J.Wilson 2 Sep 1904; Wilson MSS 5897.

16. See below, pp.108-11.

17. See above, Chapter 2, p.79 Leng was himself President of Central Division Association.

18. Cf. J.Stainton, The Making of Sheffield, Sheffield 1924, pp.60-1; D.E.Fletcher, op.cit., p.164; H.Dale Abadie, Sheffield Politics 1885-1910: Organisation, Ideology and Political Behaviour, University of California, Los Angeles, Ph.D.Thesis, 1971, p.65. Abadie points out that the Liberals had only three or four associations in each division.

19. J.C.Skinner/H.J.Wilson, 8/3/1884, quoted Fletcher, ibid. ., p.164.

20. Cf. Abadie, op.cit., pp.160-3.

21. See above, Chapter 2, p.85 and below, Chapter 4, pp.138-9. Liberals standing on a strong temperance platform were soundly defeated.

Notes and Queries commented in 1899 that Sir William had "made Sheffield Conservatism" and that in Ecclesall he was "practically dictator"²². A study of the leadership of the party during the 1890s and 1900s is indicative of the continuing extent of his influence²³. Until 1906 the leader of the party was George Franklin²⁴, an accountant whom Leng assisted in obtaining a seat on the Town Council at the early age of 28. He acted as agent for both Roebuck and Stuart-Wortley and became Chairman of the Finance Committee in 1887, at the age of thirty-four. A Telegraph writer in 1902 described him as the "beau ideal of a public man" a fluent and graceful speaker with a character "honest without ostentation, able without pride, religious without hypocrisy".²⁵ His successor as leader, Herbert Hughes²⁶, was a solicitor and the commander of the Hallamshire Rifles, a Volunteer battalion. He was the secretary of the Sheffield Chamber of Commerce and a director of Wheatley and Bates, the brewers, and of two large heavy steel works. An Anglican, his father was six times Mayor of Oxford. John Derry described him as having the charm of "an accomplished man of the world".²⁷

A large proportion of the Sheffield Conservative leadership were, like

22. Notes and Queries, Vol 1, No.3. (Dec 1899), p.199.

23. The sample used for this study totals 120 "leaders" of the party during the period 1892-1914 - "leadership" being defined as membership of the City Council, Boards of Guardians, School Board or Education Committee, or tenure of the position of chairman or agent in the constituency or ward parties.

Biographical information was obtained from the 1902 Sheffield Independent Who's Who (W.W.1902), the 1905 Sheffield Telegraph Who's Who (W.W.1905) and the biographical section of S.Addy and W.T.Pike, op.cit., pp.57-196. Additional biographies of City Councillors and other leading figures were obtained from S.I. and S.D.T. obituary columns, and miscellaneous publications. Except where otherwise stated, addresses and occupations were drawn from Kelly's or White's Directories of Sheffield. J.A.Ramsden gives the following information about office-holders in Conservative organisations in the city, 1900-31:

	<u>1900-08</u>	<u>1909-18</u>	<u>1919-25</u>	<u>1926-31</u>
Lawyers	35%	25%	8%	9%
Industry/Commerce	45%	60%	69%	68%

(The Organisation of the Conservative Party in Britain 1910-30, University of Oxford, D.Phil.Thesis, 1974, p.308.

24. For Franklin, see Addy and Pike, op.cit., p.70; W.W. 1902, p.19.

W.W. 1905, pp.27-28; Obituary, S.D.T., 25 Sep 1916.

25. Sheffield Daily Telegraph, Sheffield in 1902, Sheffield, 1902, p.48.

26. W.W. 1902, p.29; W.W.1905, pp.52-53; S.D.T., 19 Jan 1917.

27. W.W. 1902, p.29.

Hughes, members of the Chamber of Commerce, officers in Volunteer battalions and sympathetic to the "drink interest". The majority were also members of the Church of England - there were very few Roman Catholics or Nonconformists²⁸. Among Nonconformists, Wesleyan Methodists and Unitarians were most strongly represented. The Church of England was the largest single denomination in Sheffield at the 1881 Religious Census and Wesleyan Methodism the largest Nonconformist denomination²⁹. Wesleyans were, however, divided between the Conservative and the Liberal parties, although tending to the latter,³⁰ and not strongly represented among the leaders of either party. F.S.H.Wilson, a deacon of the Queen Street Congregational Chapel which produced so many Liberal leaders³¹ was a Conservative member of the Ecclesall Board of Guardians, but such instances were rare³².

E.P.Hennock has assessed the proportion of Unitarians in Sheffield as second only to that of Birmingham³³, but their political influence was inferior to that of the Unitarians of both Liverpool and Manchester. Most of them moved from Liberalism to Conservatism via support for Roebuck in the 1870s³⁴ although two who were active politicians in the 1890s were Liberal Unionists³⁵. The

28. The figures for the sample of 120 are:-

Anglicans	57
Unitarian	5
Roman Catholic	3
Wesleyan	3
Other Nonconformist	3
Unknown	49
	<u>120</u>

Among the 'unknowns' there may be expected to have been a high proportion of Anglicans. It is probable that there were also more Unitarians, since they were more active in the 1890s, for which biographies are more scarce. H.D.Abadie found that 88% of Conservative City Councillors from 1885-1903 were Anglican, op.cit., p.246.

29. Cf. E.R.Wickham, op.cit., Appendix 1, pp.275-80.

30. See below, Chapter 4, pp.125-6.

31. See below, Chapter 4, pp.123-4.

32. W.W. 1905, p.196. F.S.H.Wilson was not a close relation of the Liberal Wilson family of Osgathorpe Hills.

33. Fit and Proper Persons, London, 1973, Appendix III, p.357.

34. Cf. D.E.Fletcher, op.cit., pp.92-93, who points out that, being in the main wealthy manufacturers, Unitarians wanted a "safe" party - more like that of Palmerston than of Gladstone.

35. These were: Michael Hunter, Councillor for Brightside, 1876-1883, Alderman, 1883-1898; and probably, Harry Fisher, Councillor for St. George's, 1895-1898 and for Crookesmoor, 1901-1904.

Sheffield Unitarians in the party, although few in number, stood among the higher ranks of the leadership. Michael Hunter³⁶ was Mayor in 1881 and 1882, chairman of the Sheffield Board of Guardians from 1883-89, and a Town Trustee. Herbert Bramley,³⁷ an alderman from 1889-95, resigned from this position in order to become Town Clerk, a post which he held until his death in 1897. A.J.Hobson³⁸ was the President of the Sheffield Chamber of Commerce from 1908, and of the Associated Chambers of Commerce from 1920. He was given an unopposed passage to the City Council in 1911 in order to become Lord Mayor, and became an alderman and chairman of the Finance Committee two years later. Besides being the owner of Thomas Turner's cutlery works, he was chairman of three large heavy steel works and "a recognised leader of Sheffield industry".³⁹

Like the Unitarian church, which "embraced the highest stratum of the middle-classes"⁴⁰, the Anglican denomination in Sheffield was predominantly a church of the social extremities. Nonconformity attracted the majority of the population, especially the "thickening, middling stratum of society".⁴¹ augmented by wealth and immigration in the second half of the nineteenth century. The Anglican church moved more slowly to attract these groups but was well established in the poorer central areas and in the suburbs.

Sheffield Anglicanism stood close to Nonconformity in being distinctly Evangelical in tone and theology⁴². Hearty services with plenty of hymns and the preaching of a gospel of simple piety and aggressive mission were popular. There was strong antipathy to 'romanising' or 'ritualising' tendencies in the church, and only one 'high' Anglican church in the city - St. Mathew's, Carver

36. Men of the Period: England, op.cit., p.107.

37. Sheffield City Council Minutes, 9 Oct 1895; H.K.Hawson, Sheffield: the growth of a city, Sheffield, 1968, p.302. Bramley may well have also been a Liberal Unionist.

38. W.W. 1905, p.114; Obituary, S.D.T., 21 Apr.1923.

39. H.K.Hawson, op.cit., p.324.

40. E.R.Wickham, op.cit., p.137.

41. Ibid., p.127.

42. Cf. Canon W.Odom, "Church Life in Sheffield", Sheffield in 1902, op.cit., pp.9-12; Wickham, op.cit., especially pp.81-84, John Derry commented "The religious life of the city is conspicuous for its wide diffusion of Christian charity and co-operation, and the general absence of irritation or jealousy, due probably to the type of teaching being largely evangelical", The Story of Sheffield, op.cit., p.227.

Street⁴³. In poor parishes, such as that of Canon William Odom at St. Simon's, a temperance gospel was often preached⁴⁴.

The connection between Anglicanism and Conservatism is a subtle one and more often the result of tradition than of theology. The Anglican church was associated with the Conservative party, wealthy manufacturers were attracted to the church and "religion was the cement which fixed lifelong party loyalties".⁴⁵

Political behaviour, as Peter Clarke has pointed out "is rooted to an extent far greater than is at first apparent in a complex of habitual responses"⁴⁶.

The Anglican church was one of the affiliations of a group of men and women who found it natural to be Conservative. Other interests included the Volunteer movement, Freemasonry and sporting clubs of all kinds. It seems that there was in Sheffield a social world or climate within which it was normal to have Conservative affiliations. Many Conservatives were of course born within this world. Such a view of Conservatism may underestimate the importance of ideological conviction, but ideology alone is not a useful guide to Conservatism⁴⁷. The existence of a social world, something more than a set of common ideologies, is attested by the number of social activities which Sheffield Conservative leaders had in common.

The Independent in 1902 described Arthur T. Bescoby, a future Conservative Councillor for Hillsborough ward, as the epitome of "hail-fellow-well-met Toryism".⁴⁸ The social life of Sheffield Conservatives encompassed the Conservative clubs, formed under the influence of Leng in the 1880s and '90s, and the Primrose League,

43. W.C. Leng was himself involved in the campaign against the "high church" incumbent of St. Mathew's, the Rev. G.C. Ommaney. A branch of the National Protestant League, which opposed ritualism, was established in March 1893. One of its most prominent members was John Edward Bingham, a Conservative Councillor, who in 1909 offered to help finance the election of an M.P. whose whole time could be devoted to Protestant interests, and who in 1910 refused to support the re-election of Sir E. Ashmead Bartlett, the Conservative M.P. for Ecclesall, because he would not promise to support the Church Discipline Bill. J.E. Bingham, Obituary, S.D.T., 19 Mar 1915.

44. Canon Odom "holds and preaches that strong drink and betting are the direct causes of most of the poverty of the working classes", W.W.1905, p.135.

45. Peter Clarke, Lancashire and the New Liberalism, Cambridge, 1971, p.53. I would not argue for an entirely deterministic view of the relationship. The attraction of manufacturers to the party was primarily due to policy, for example 'fair trade'.

46. Ibid., p.53.

47. This is the conclusion of several authors, including A. Gamble, The Conservative Nation, London, 1974, especially pp.1-2.

48. W.W.1902, p.7 .

which a Telegraph writer in 1902 said was "more or less responsible for the enthusiastic Conservative spirit which dominates 'Sheffield today'".⁴⁹ In addition, hunting, shooting and sport of all kinds were obsessions for many Conservatives, and while Liberal Imperialists sometimes had similar interests,⁵⁰ the golf club and the shooting range were bastions of the Conservative party. George Addy, a consulting engineer and Conservative Councillor for Hallam ward, was a boxing and fencing champion, fond of athletics, singlestick and Indian club swinging and the president of Crookes cycling club.⁵¹ Bernard A. Firth owned a rifle range at Norton and grouse moors at Moscar and Bamford Edge.⁵² It was rare for Liberals to own grouse moors, and it was said of George Franklin, in many ways an atypical Conservative, that although he had a grouse moor, he liked "to watch birds better than shoot them".⁵³

Conservatives were more likely than Liberals to be Freemasons and were attracted by the social life, rather than the obscure, mystical rites. Dr. J.A. Manton described each of the Lodges which sprang up in Sheffield in the last twenty-five years of the nineteenth century as "a glorified benefit society seasoned with good fellowship and innocent conviviality".⁵⁴ Originating as an operatives' friendly society, the movement had by the nineteenth century become middle-class. Masons engaged in charitable work and meetings consisted of ceremonial, conversations, readings from the Bible and Shakespeare and "long-winded ethical lectures".⁵⁵ F.S.H. Wilson, the Conservative Congregationalist, was the Worshipful Master of Wentworth Lodge⁵⁶, while Alfred Cattell, the leader of the party from 1917 onwards, was Master of the Ensor Drury Lodge⁵⁷.

49. Sheffield in 1902, op.cit., pp 56. The writer commented that the League "in a thousand enchanting ways teaches the Conservative mother to train her children in the political paths they should go", (ibid). For the League's work in Sheffield, see also H.D. Abadie, op.cit., pp.175-180.

50. See below, chapter 4, pp. 127-31.

51. W.W. 1902, p.3. W.W. 1905, p.53.

52. W.W. 1905, pp.104-5.

53. W.W. 1902, p.19.

54. The Folk-Lore of Freemasonry, Leeds, 1917, p.26. Manton was himself a leading Freemason, and a Conservative member of Sheffield City Council from 1891-1903.

55. Ibid., p.28.

56. W.W. 1905, p. 196.

57. Obituary, S.D.T., 11 Sep 1933.

The natural affinity between the Conservative party and the Volunteer movement was strengthened by the support given to the military by Leng and Sir Howard Vincent⁵⁸. Both were irrepressible Jingoists, and the Volunteer movement became very popular in Sheffield.⁵⁹ In 1805, when the first defensive Volunteer brigades were formed against Napoleon, the Sheffield battalion was so keen to fight that it made an abortive march⁶⁰. The formation of permanent volunteer brigades began in 1859, most of them being rifle brigades, like the Hallamshire Rifles. By the end of the century they were being trained for military service and not just defence. Great was the enthusiasm generated by the outbreak of the Boer War, and great the disappointment when Sheffield's "crack" regiment was rejected by the War Office⁶¹.

Enthusiasm for the Volunteer movement in Sheffield went along with enthusiasm for imperialism generally. Sheffield was a stronghold of the tariff reform movement⁶² and dependent on the arms trade. The Volunteer movement, along with the Primrose League, also had the important task of training the next generation in appropriate habits of thought. Young boys were "brought up" in the movement through accompanying the Volunteers on weekend marches, excursions which included "sham fights on a small scale"⁶³.

The leaders of the Volunteer movement were all prominent members of the Conservative party - they included Colonel Herbert Hughes, Colonel Charles Allen of the Volunteer Artillery and Major Colin Mackenzie Smith, the chairman of Hallam Conservative Association and vice-chairman of Sheffield Conservative and Constitutional Association⁶⁴.

58. Leng was specifically concerned to promote conscription, and disliked Voluntarism as an alternative to this - cf. March, op.cit., pp.110-119, passim. Vincent was the commander of a London Volunteer Regiment, the Queen's Westminster - cf. S.H.Jeyes, & F.D.How, The Life of Sir Howard Vincent, London, 1912, Chapter XVI, passim.

59. A Telegraph writer said in 1902, "nowhere has the volunteer movement struck deeper roots", Sheffield in 1902, op.cit., p.18.

60. Notes and Queries, Vol 2, No. 5 June 1900. p.37. For the history of the movement in general, and particularly of Sheffield's regiments, c.f. F.W. Hardwick, History of the Volunteer Movement, Sheffield, 1900. The Volunteer Movement was disbanded as such in April 1908 when it became the Territorial Force.

61. Sheffield in 1902, op.cit., pp 18-19, W.W. 1905, p.122. The regiment, the Sheffield Artillery Volunteers was commanded by Col. Charles Allen, the chairman of the Unionist Association in Chesterfield division.

62. See below, pp. 112-4.

63. F.Bland, Talks about Sheffield, No. 30, May 1929.

64. W.W. 1902, p.50; W.W. 1905, pp 245-46.

This "social world" of the Conservatives was cohesive partly because the party leadership itself was, unlike that of the Liberals, socially homogeneous. Most of those leaders whom the party claimed as specimens of the "working-class Tory" were, like Samuel Walker, councillor for Attercliffe from 1905-18, in reality self-employed. Walker was a blacksmith.⁶⁵ Conservatism was the party of those who had succeeded, like George Senior,⁶⁶ a "typical self-made Sheffielder" the son of a nail maker who, as a workman, married the boss's daughter and acquired a thriving steel works, Pond Forge. Known in Sheffield as "ahr George", he became a member of the Board of Guardians in 1885, a Councillor in 1889 and Lord Mayor and Alderman in 1901. Unpolished in manner,⁶⁷ he was popular for his generosity, lack of snobbery and "sheer good feeling".

Many of the representatives of the "drink interest" within the party were lower rather than upper middle-class - the landlords and licensed victuallers for example. Their support for the party dated from the temperance legislation introduced by the government of Gladstone between 1869 and 1872. At that time "nearly every public house in the United Kingdom was an active committee room for the Conservative party".⁶⁸ The Licensed Victuallers' Defence League, a pressure group within the party, was started in 1873. Organised drink was an extremely powerful element in the Sheffield party - John Derry remarked in 1902 that Harry Parker Marsh, a Councillor for Ecclesall ward, was "one of the few Conservatives who do not bow the knee to the brewing interest".⁶⁹ Their money paid for elections and provided for the Conservative clubs - it is particularly doubtful if the Conservatives could have achieved their hold on working-class areas without them.

65. Obituary, S.I. 29 Nov 1918. The only true example of a working-man among the Conservative leadership was Mathew Sheppard, a foreman at Vickers Ltd., and Conservative candidate for Brightside division at 1923 and 1924 General Elections. Cf. S.Y.B. 1915, p.32.

66. Cf. Sheffield in 1902, op.cit., p.48; S.Addy and W.T.Pike, op.cit., p.79; W.W. 1902, p.45, W.W. 1905, pp.28-29, M.Walton, Sheffield: its story and its achievements, Sheffield, 1948, p.240. Hawson, op.cit., pp.329-30.

67. The Telegraph described his language as "exuberant and racy", Sheffield in 1902, op.cit., p.48.

68. R.K.Ensor, quoted P.Mathias, "The Brewing Industry, Temperance and Politics", Historical Journal I: III (1958), p.112.

69. W.W. 1902, p.35. Marsh was however the chairman of the Sheffield and District Public House Trust Company.

The Sheffield Conservative party leadership consisted of professional and business men, with commerce outweighing the professions. The party chief for most of the period was a true gentleman, George Franklin, who together with Sir William Leng, succeeded in creating, from very small beginnings, a party which achieved overwhelming political power and influence in Sheffield.

B. Municipal finance and fair trade: the policies of the 1890s and 1900s.

1) Municipal Finance.

The keynote of the party's municipal, and indeed imperial, policy during the period appears to have been the desire to appeal to the working-classes. Naturally the middle-classes were considered too but Leng was acutely conscious of the electoral potential of the "small mesters" and skilled working-class.

Leng became one of the first Vice-Presidents of the Sheffield Association for Promoting Sanitary Reform and the Better Housing of the Poor in 1889, and even before this date had advocated a local improvement act and better sanitation and housing⁷⁰. There was a great deal of calculation in his major speeches on "the improvement of the condition of our great working population",⁷¹ but there was idealism too. Leng was a genuine pioneer - he preached a "civic gospel" at a time when few in Sheffield did⁷², and when it was unusual for a Conservative to admit that, in his words, over Sheffield improvement "he was not ashamed to say he was a socialist"⁷³. The brilliance of Leng's adaptation to the real needs and demands of the Sheffield electorate may be judged by the contrast with the "economist" policies of the Liberals⁷⁴, and the fact that his own party was tarred with the same brush in many other cities⁷⁵. The policy was also a trans-

70. Cf. March, op.cit., pp.100-03; Guthrie, op.cit., pp.37-38.

71. Ecclesall Conservative Association Annual Meeting, cf. S.D.T., 29 Jan 1890.

72. Cf. A. Briggs, Victorian Cities, London, 1963, pp.34-35.

73. S.D.T. 9 Oct 1889, quoted March, op.cit., p.105. Leng was of course using "socialist" to mean "collectivist" - much as W.E.Clegg used it in 1907 - see below, chapter 4, p.152.

74. The Liberal party did not fully embrace even municipalisation policies until the late 1890s.

75. One notable exemption was Leeds where the Conservative party took up the progressive mantle in the 1890s. (see above, Chapter 1, p.45). In Leeds the Liberal party was much quicker to react, however. Leng was strongly influenced in the formulation of his policies during the 1880s by the earlier examples of city improvement in both Leeds and Birmingham.

formation of the Sheffield municipal Conservatism of the 1860s and '70s⁷⁶

The Conservative policy was not a rejection of economy, which would have been electorally disastrous, but the advocacy of a progressive form of economy - "economy with efficiency". The key-stone of this policy was municipal acquisition of public utilities. Following Joseph Chamberlain's brilliant example⁷⁷, it was seen that the working of such enterprises by the Corporation not only meant that they could be operated in its interests but that, if profitable, they could actually reduce the rates and finance improvement schemes, such as road-widening and slum clearance⁷⁸. For these reasons, Leng from 1864 onwards consistently advocated the municipalisation of the Sheffield gas and water undertakings.

It is important to recognise the distinction between such policies and those of Socialism as advocated by the Sheffield Labour party. To the Conservatives the Corporation was a business enterprise, to be run on the same lines and with the same motives as their private businesses. Like a good, benevolent employer, Leng would provide for his truly poor and destitute dependents, but his main concern was with the satisfaction of his shareholders, and the good image and the profitability of his company. Much of the Conservative/Liberal debate in the 1890s and 1900s concerned, in effect, how much of this profit should be "ploughed back" into the company and how much given to the shareholders as dividend (i.e. lower rates). The Socialist attitude was quite different, for their major concern was need, rather than dividend. The Labour party was concerned to make a profit from municipal enterprises, but only in order to use it for improvement schemes. This is made plain by the Lib-Lab, and later Labour, arguments about the use of the tramways profit. Labour argued that it should not be used to lower the rate, or shore up other enterprises which were losing money, but should be used to lower workmen's fares⁷⁹. Within reason,⁸⁰

76. Cf. D.E.Fletcher, op.cit., pp.45, 91-92.
77. His acquisition of the Birmingham Gas Company in 1875. See above, chapter 1, p.9.
78. In its first year of operation, the Birmingham Gas Committee made a profit of over £34,000 and in the following seven years financed extensive improvement schemes, despite a reduction in the rate of 4d in the pound. A.Briggs, A History of Birmingham, Vol 2, Borough and City, 1865-1938, Oxford, 1952, p.73.
79. See below, chapter 5, p. 183.
80. i.e. what was electorally practicable and would avoid a major rate-payers' revol.

Labour was interested in high rather than low rates - what can be regarded as redistribution of wealth through the rates system. Since the highest rate-payers were normally wealthy, high rates were to the benefit of working people⁸¹.

So, while the Conservative party's policies in the 1880s and '90s were certainly progressive, especially by previous Sheffield standards, their orientation led on occasion to undue caution, shortsightedness and parsimony. Points both for and against Conservative policy can be illustrated by four examples - city centre improvement, tramway municipalisation, sanitation and health, and Corporation housing.

The major thrust of Leng's municipal policy was towards Sheffield improvement. His aim was the working-class vote and the creation of a good image for the city of Sheffield. So at the 1894 municipal election, the Conservative candidate in Brightside, Arthur Jackson, declared himself in favour of public wash-houses, and in 1898, William Grafton spoke of the need for better housing and fair rents in the area⁸². J.G.Lowood, a local manufacturer, who had no distinctive policies when first brought before the Brightside electors in 1893, had by 1896 developed commitments to better street lighting, improvement of undedicated streets and a free local library⁸³. Leng inaugurated a Telegraph Clean Air Fund in 1896⁸⁴, was an enthusiastic advocate of the building of the Town Hall⁸⁵ and instituted many central road schemes, including the widening of High Street⁸⁶.

81. Cf. J.Pointer, "Municipalisation and the Rates", L.R.C. Annual (1907/8) pp46-52. Pointer showed that it was cheaper for the workman to obtain necessary services through paying rates than by paying for the same services privately.

82. S.I. 25 Oct 1894; W.Grafton, Election Address, Brightside Ward, October 1898, Wilson MSS (S.U.L.) 37P/27/53. The Independent called some of Jackson's ideas "decidedly socialistic" (ibid).

83. J.G.Lowood, Election Addresses, Brightside ward, October 1893 and October 1896, Wilson MSS, 5982, Wilson MSS S.U.L.) 39P/26/35. In 1893 he was advertised simply as having "wealth, intelligence and vast interest at stake in the ward". The contrast between the 1893 and 1896 addresses indicates the rapid Conservative response to the demands of the Brightside electorate. See above, Ch.2 pp. 85-6.

84. S.A.R. 16 May 1896.

85. See above, chapter 1, pp.8-12.

86. He became a Town Trustee in 1885 in order to have more influence on road-building decisions: the only occasion on which he assumed public office. The widening of High Street had a stormy passage through the Council, but the proposals of a special committee set up in 1892 were accepted after three hostile amendments had been lost. In the final vote in December 1892 five Liberals and two Lib-Labs were opposed to the move. Sheffield City Council, Minutes, 14 December 1892. For details, see H.K.Hawson, op.cit., pp 138-40.

The debt incurred by these and other improvements, nearly four million pounds in 1894,⁸⁷ was one reason for the spate of municipalisation schemes in the late 1890s. George Franklin, the man behind their success, was nevertheless committed to municipalisation as an ideal - in 1895, during the debate on the acquisition of the tramways, he said that "all the great and necessary commodities of life should be managed by the community for the benefit of the community".⁸⁸ As chairman of the Finance Committee he also set up in 1895 a new consultative committee to scrutinise the capital expenditure proposals of each committee.⁸⁹

With over-sensitive business instincts several Conservatives, including Leng, argued against the acquisition of the tramways undertaking in 1895 on the grounds that it was bound to lose money⁹⁰. Ironically they supported the purchase of the markets three years later, which consistently lost money thereafter, while the trams proved to be the biggest source of extra Corporation revenue⁹¹. Encouraged by the success of the trams, there was almost unanimous agreement to a farsighted scheme to purchase the Sheffield Electric Lighting and Power Company in 1898, despite the very high asking price⁹². Franklin's popularity was at such a high level that he was asked by both parties to accept a second term of mayoral office in August 1898⁹³.

Much of the debate with both the Liberal and Labour parties after 1900 concerned the future extensions of municipal control. Labour argued particularly

87. Cf. Ibid., p.32.

88. S.D.T. 12 Dec 1895.

89. Hawson, op.cit., p.33. (In 1902 this committee was particularly critical of the expenditure of the Highways Committee). One casualty of the capital expenditure crisis in 1895 was the proposed central library - see above, chapter 1, p.13.

90. See Leng's comments S.D.T. 30 Oct 1895. He also argued that since the tramways were unevenly distributed in the city, many ratepayers would get no benefit from the expenditure. Twelve Conservatives voted against the Tramways purchase, Sheffield City Council, Minutes, 28 Jan 1896.

91. The water enterprise, acquired in 1887, also made money but this was used to improve the provision, since, following the example of Birmingham, the enterprise was not run to make a profit.

92. Cf. Hawson, op.cit., pp.17-22. It was brought forward in the Council by Harry W. Chambers, the Conservative Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee, since George Franklin, as a shareholder in the Company, was barred from participating in the debate. Councillor Wardley, a Lib-Lab, made a strong attack on the proposed purchase.

93. S.L.R. 15 Aug 1898. He refused this offer.

strongly for municipalisation of gas and the milk supply⁹⁴, while the Conservatives supported a scheme for municipal telephones in 1902, although nothing came of it⁹⁵. Conservatives, however, limited themselves solely to municipalisation of monopolies - they did not wish to compete with private concerns. Franklin said in 1902:

"I think it is unwise, wrong, that a Corporation should be able to set up bread shops and compete with confectioners; wrong that they should set up tailor's shops and compete with tailors, or start drug shops and compete with chemists. ...We ought to oppose as strongly as we can the development of building estates with the ratepayers money. That is a financially unsound policy and also a disastrous one."⁹⁶

The Liberal argument crystallised around the last-named issue - the municipal ownership of building land and housing. The Liberal party, torn between its left and right wings, had by the late 1890s accepted municipal collectivism. It was on Liberal motions that the decisions were taken in 1893 compulsorily to purchase the insanitary Crofts area and in 1899 to acquire land at High Storrs for the purposes of the Housing of the Working Classes Act⁹⁷. The Conservative policy on building was twofold - first, that land acquired by the Corporation should be built upon immediately or else sold, since otherwise it would form a charge upon the city⁹⁸, and secondly, that except where it was not economically feasible, working class dwellings should be provided by private enterprise. Thus they accepted the need for the Corporation to demolish the Crofts and rebuild flats to let at rents which the poorest could afford, but they balked at the Liberal scheme to build artisan housing at High Storrs, since even the Corporation could not build there for rents which slum-dwellers could pay. At High Storrs they could only build, Franklin argued, "dwellings for a class of people well able to look after themselves".⁹⁹

94. Attempts to purchase the gas company began in 1869, but the bills were rejected in Parliament. On the last occasion on which it was brought before the Council, in 1919, the proposal was lost because Labour members refused to pay the high price. Cf. Hawson, op.cit., pp.15-17.

95. S.A.R. 10 Sep 1902.

96. S.D.T. 22 Oct 1902.

97. Hawson, op.cit., pp.102-107. The Housing of the Working Classes Act, adopted by the Council in July 1898, allowed city councils to undertake working-class housing schemes.

98. See, for example, Franklin's remarks, S.D.T. 13 Mar 1902.

99. S.D.T. 13 Mar 1902.

The Conservative policy on housing undoubtedly contained elements of disingenuity. The Federated Trades Council complained from 1893 onwards that they dragged their feet over rehousing of the Crofts tenants, the poor to whom they claimed to be so committed¹⁰⁰. The pressure of the party balance in the Corporation forced them to move, as it did also over necessary sanitation proposals¹⁰¹. Arnold Muir Wilson, a Conservative Councillor, and other Ecclesall residents fervently opposed the High Storrs scheme for more selfish reasons. Wycliffe Wilson, a Liberal, commented that they "thought that High Storrs was too good a neighbourhood for working people".¹⁰² There was selfishness in the Liberal camp too, in supporting the building of houses at High Storrs for their present or potential supporters¹⁰³. Conservative housing policy ultimately came down to a decision to rebuild only centrally, in cleared slum areas, and to leave suburban housing to private developers. The same arguments were used against the development of the Wincobank estate, 1907-10¹⁰⁴. It was^a restricted though financially prudent¹⁰⁵, conception of the Corporation's housing role, and

100. Sheffield Federated Trades Council, Annual Report/ending Feb 1893, p.7.

101. See above, chapter 1, pp.13-14. George Senior, the incoming Conservative Lord Mayor, emphasised the decision to set up a sewerage scheme at Blackburn Meadows and to spend another £50,000 on the conversion of privy middens into water closets (cf. S.D.T. 11 Nov 1901), but in reality the Conservatives dragged their feet on both these issues throughout the 1890s.

102. J.Wycliffe Wilson/H.J.Wilson, Wilson MSS (S.U.L.) 37P/29/1. Wycliffe Wilson was a Liberal Alderman.

103. The Lib-Labs were most fervently in favour of the scheme. One Conservative said of Charles Hobson, their leader: "The Windy Wiggley project (i.e. High Storrs) is to him a miniature religion". (S.D.T. 21 Oct 1902).

104. See above, chapter 1, p.14. The Conservatives continued Franklin's policy in this, as in other, respects, although Franklin himself resigned from the Finance Committee Chairmanship in 1902 because of Liberal accusations that he preferred the interests of a bank of which he was chairman to those of the Corporation - S.A.R. 14 and 16 May, 11 June, 9 July 1902.

105. The Liberals committed themselves by this policy to large expenditure in order to make the rents even moderately economic. Ironically, they won the 1901 election, while committed to this policy, as the "party of economy" and because of the failure of the policy in relation to Wincobank the Conservatives won the 1908 election. Despite his modest stance, Franklin had to contend with elements in his own party who argued that even the Crofts scheme was extravagant. Samuel Howell, a Councillor for Upper Hallam, resigned in 1902, criticising the "reckless expenditure" of both the Conservatives and the "Radicals", - S.D.T. 21 Oct 1902.

would have meant limiting the Corporation to the building of tenements¹⁰⁶. Conservative faith in private enterprise proved ill-founded: the failure to provide sufficient housing both before and after the 1914-18 War became a major source of working-class disaffection with its Conservative governors.

ii) Fair Trade and Imperialism

The strong imperialist flavour of Sheffield Conservatism in the 1890s and 1900s derived, as in the case of municipal policy, from Leng's distinctive blend of shrewd economic judgement and appeals to the working classes. It was, as Mundella said, "bombastic, jingoistic and snobbish"¹⁰⁷, but it was no less successful for that.

Support within the national Conservative party for a "fair trade" policy (that is, imperial preference and retaliatory tariffs) in the 1880s and 1890s has been underestimated¹⁰⁸, but it remains true that Sheffield Conservatives were among the pioneers of this issue. The Sheffield branch of the Fair Trade League established in 1881 was the first in a provincial town¹⁰⁹, and Sir William Leng, Sir Howard Vincent and Frederick Brittain, a member of the City Council, were nationally-recognised spokesmen on the issue.

Leng became a Fair Trader in 1880 as a response to the anti-Free Trade agitation begun by Lister in Bradford in the late 1870s. His major commitment was that of an imperialist wanting to encourage the commercial development of

106. Cf. S.Martin Gaskell, "Sheffield City Council and the Development of Suburban Areas Prior to World War 1" in S.Pollard and C.Holmes (ed.), Essays in the Economic and Social History of South Yorkshire, S.Yorkshire, 1976, pp193-5. George Addy, speaking at Hallam, said that these tenements should be let at 1s.3d a room, and any man who received 21s a week or more would not be allowed to live in them - S.D.T.20 Oct 1902. The failure of the Conservative policy was such that the Crofts were the only major tenement development built in Sheffield.

107. Quoted D.E.Fletcher, op.cit., p.163.

108. For example, Robert Blake, The Conservative Party from Peel to Churchill, 1970, Fontana edition 1972, says that the Fair Trade movement, established in the 1880s, "soon faded out", (p.177). The National Conservative Union Conference had a majority in favour of Fair Trade in 1887 and again in 1892. Cf John Ramsden, The Age of Balfour and Baldwin, London, 1978, p.7; S.A.R.13 Dec 1892. B.H.Browne, The Tariff Reform Movement in Great Britain 1881-95, New York, 1943, suggests that when Joseph Chamberlain became Colonial Secretary in 1895, the essential points of his later tariff reform programme had already gained wide currency; he only had to put himself at the head of a movement which had been seeking a leader for some time (p.1.).

109. B.H.Browne, ibid., p.129.

the Empire but he also recognised the detrimental effect which the imposition of tariff walls in France, Germany and America was having on the Sheffield cutlery industry. This was the issue which Frederick Brittain had already begun to elaborate in the 1870s, and which Sir Howard Vincent took up in 1885 after he became M.P. for Sheffield Central. Leng himself was less intensely involved in the campaign after Salisbury refused to commit the Conservative party to tariff reform in 1887¹¹⁰.

Frederick Brittain¹¹¹ was the President of the Chamber of Commerce from 1881-3, a member of the City Council from 1875-1898 and a partner in S.S. Brittain and Company, saw and steel manufacturers, in Central division. As a fine linguist, an experienced traveller and a member of an Associated Chambers of Commerce Commission of Enquiry into the Iron and Hardware Trades of France in 1876m he was more aware than most of the true state of British trade. He was converted slowly, and almost despite himself, to the doctrines of fair trade, believing as he did that reciprocal free trade was the best possible commercial system¹¹². His enquiries into the supposed "distress" in France in 1876, and his reworking of statistics published in the Economist convinced him that, contrary to accepted opinion in Britain, Protectionist countries were in fact increasing their volume of exports as compared with those of Britain - since 1872 British exports had fallen by 22½%, compared with a 10% fall in France¹¹³. The reason was that France, like America, Germany and other European countries, had taken advantage of its high tariff walls to develop its own industry, and that much of this industry was in manufactured goods traditionally supplied by Britain - wool, cotton, machinery, cutlery, pottery, etc. These countries were now competing with Britain to export these goods¹¹⁴, and had the advantage that while Britain's

110. Cf. K. March, op.cit., p.90.

111. For Brittain, see W.W.1902, p.4; W.W. 1905, pp.110-11, Obituary, S.D.T. 26 Jan 1914.

112. Cf. his comments on "the theories of Cobden, Chevalier and Bright", Address before the Council of the Sheffield Chamber of Commerce on the results of foreign tariffs, especially with reference to Sheffield, 4 Nov 1875, Sheffield, 1875, p.8.

113. F. Brittain, A Paper on the report of the commission appointed by the French Senate on the present commercial distress of France, Sheffield, 1877, passim.

114. F. Brittain, British Trade and Foreign Competition, Sheffield, 1878, pp.3-34. France already exported 20% more of these manufactured goods to her immediate neighbours (Belgium, Italy and Spain) than did Britain herself (p.18).

markets were open to all comers, they were closed by Protection. Only with the colonies¹¹⁵, and with countries where Britain's naval superiority was still crucial¹¹⁶, was Britain's trading position sound.

Brittain argued that although European and American competitors also benefited from lower wages in manufacturing industries, the tariff was the crucial factor in Britain's commercial decline. For this reason he strongly advocated the greater development of the potential of colonial trade. About free trade and the recent commercial treaty with France, he said,

"It would be a farce to tell a working man, who has nothing to do because a protective tariff has destroyed the trade upon which he depended for bread, that he ought to be exceedingly thankful for the blessing of a one-sided arrangement which some people choose to call free trade. He may starve in the midst of plenty if his handicraft, which constitutes his only resource, can no longer procure for him the necessaries of life. No arrangement can be permanently satisfactory which inflicts great injustice upon a large body of English manufacturers and working men. It is not by signing treaties which sanction the most baneful kind of protection that Great Britain can best promote the interests of free trade". 117

In 1885 Brittain accepted the need for retaliatory tariffs saying that the situation had not improved. Since no other country had a moral commitment to Free Trade, that which now existed was a "spurious imitation" of the doctrine advocated by Adam Smith and J.S.Mill¹¹⁸. Others suggested reducing wage rates to continental levels, but, in a pamphlet addressed to city workmen, he argued that this was not just wrong but would result in higher European tariffs. Duty could be raised from 15 to 100%, as happened to the cutters of Wadsley who made knives for the French market, and no reduction in wages could offset such a tax burden. Appealing for the support of all workers in the steel industry, Brittain said,

"It is in vain for (workers) to make sacrifices through their Trade Unions in order to maintain wages, if they allow their labour to be enormously taxed by their rivals, for the express purpose of handicapping them out of the race". 119

Sir Howard Vincent¹²⁰, who had regarded himself as a Liberal until 1884, was

115. Apart from Canada, where trade was being seriously eroded by competition from the U.S.A - ibid., p.29.

116. For example, Holland, Sweden, Norway, Porto Rico and Cuba, ibid., p.18.

117. Ibid., p.39.

118. Sham Free Trade: what it has done for England, Sheffield, 1885, p.5.

119. Ibid., p.15. See also p.14.

120. For Vincent, see S.Jeyes & F.D.How, op.cit., passim.

converted to imperial preference during that year while on a tour of the Empire. On his return he received seventeen offers of Parliamentary seats and chose Sheffield Central because he saw in it an area which would benefit from imperial preference¹²¹. He won the election of 1885 as the representative of "the national cause of Fair Trade, industrial prosperity and British Imperial Influence"¹²², and the policy was consistently successful in the area.

A considerable percentage of the Sheffield Conservative party had been converted to fair trade by 1892 when at a special meeting of the Chamber of Commerce to discuss a resolution in favour of tariffs proposed by Sir William Leng, the motion was carried by twenty-two votes to nineteen¹²³. Far more were influenced by the events of the Boer war, and by Joseph Chamberlain's tariff reform campaign.

The Boer War gave Leng a chance to exploit the natural predilection for, and the economic interest of, the Sheffield people in imperialism. He himself made it an issue at the municipal election of 1899 by leaving his bed, in defiance of his doctor's orders, to speak at the Park (in Central division) in support of the War, in characteristic 'jingo' style¹²⁴. Sir Howard Vincent achieved local acclaim when he was appointed Commander of a Volunteer Infantry

121. He did not adopt the full 'fair trade' stance of both imperial preference and tariff reform until some time later, when he saw how Sheffield and other manufacturing cities were hampered by tariffs in their competition with foreigners, *ibid.*, p.214. Much is made of Vincent's "keen sympathy with all classes of his constituents, and most of all with the poorest of them, and.. ..his desire to help them", (*ibid.*, p.164) but the evidence suggests that he did have genuine sympathy with, if not true understanding of, the problems of his working-class constituents.

122. Sir Henry Watson, cited *ibid.*, pp.162-63.

123. *S.D.T.* 25 Feb 1892. There were a considerable number of Liberals present, who would have voted against the motion. The voting was not recorded, so Conservative votes cannot be ascertained. The only Conservatives to speak against the motion were Charles Belk and Alderman J.B.Jackson. Little has been found to indicate the views of, say, the Liberal Unionists in the party.

Known Fair Traders among Conservative Councillors at this time include J.E.Bingham, Vice-President of the National Fair Trade League, George Senior, Hardress Dearden (the lecturer at a Fair Trade campaign, December 1892) and Charles F.Bennet (cf. *W.W.* 1902, p.3). Alfred Taylor and James Wallace, candidates at the Brightside municipal election, November 1897, included fair trade in their election manifesto - cf. Poll Card, Wilson MSS (S.U.L.)
37P/27/38.

124. *S.D.T.* 31 Oct 1899.

battalion¹²⁵ and the Duke of Norfolk, a large Sheffield landowner and former Conservative Lord Mayor, resigned his position in Lord Salisbury's ministry to join the war with the Sussex Yeomanry¹²⁶. Archdeacon Eyre at the parish church preached on the blessings of the war when Sheffield Volunteers attended a special service there before leaving for South Africa¹²⁷. The Telegraph was throughout the war devoted to the details of the campaigns and the generals at the front, and the party in the city scored a notable victory in the capture of Brightside division at the "Khaki" Election (1900) against a "pro-Boer" Liberal¹²⁸.

In 1904, some months after Joseph Chamberlain (who was himself converted to the idea while in South Africa) had launched his tariff reform campaign, a Sheffield Chamber of Commerce enquiry established that its membership now favoured tariff reform by a proportion of three to one¹²⁹. The party won three seats in Sheffield at the "Liberal landslide" election of January 1906¹³⁰, and were only robbed of success at the 1909 Attercliffe by-election by the presence of two Conservative candidates, both of whom campaigned on tariff reform and the plight of the armour plate workers in the division because of the Liberal government's cancelling of naval contracts¹³¹.

125. He was eventually prevented from going by unfitness, but travelled to South Africa on two occasions as an observer. Cf. Jeyes & How, op.cit., p.313, S.A.R., 29 Dec 1899. For details of Vincent's Volunteering career, see Jeyes & How, op.cit., chapter XVI, passim.

126. Addy and Pike, op.cit., p.59. He was Lord Mayor in 1896 and 1897.

127. S.A.R. 28 Jan 1900.

128. See below, chapter 4, p.145. The Conservative candidate was James Fitzalan Hope, a ne phew of the Duke of Norfolk, who benefited greatly from his uncle's support.

129. S.Y.B. 1905, p.86.

130. The Standard (1 Jan 1908, cutting in Ecclesall Conservative & Constitutional Association Executive Committee Minute Book No.3) commented that "it was because there was no shakiness on the great forward policy of the Unionist party that Birmingham, Liverpool and Sheffield did so well at the last contest".

131. S.I. 19 and 10 April 1909. The 'Independent Conservative' candidate was Arnold Muir Wilson, a solicitor and former Councillor for Walkley ward, who caused trouble and embarrassment to the Conservative party on several occasions. In 1902 he was the subject of a libel action brought by the Liberal candidate at Walkley, J.G.Graves, but won the case. He was the Conservative candidate in Attercliffe division at the 1906 General Election and, on a tariff reform platform, reduced the Liberal vote. He afterwards lodged a petition against the return of the Liberal, based on a Liberal election leaflet which he claimed was libellous. The Conservatives refused to select him to stand at the 1909 Attercliffe by-election and Wilson stood as an Independent solely in order to prevent the election of the official Conservative, King Farlow. After the election he sued King Farlow and had himself elected President of a Reformed Attercliffe Conservative Association. His health having deteriorated, he left for a world tour, but in Vancouver had a complete mental breakdown and died on 1st October, 1909. Hawson op.cit., pp.336-8, S.I. 15 Feb 1906, S.A.R. 14 & 17 May, 1 July 1909.

The policy was a success in Sheffield, and yet several of its most prominent personalities opposed it. Sir George Franklin and Herbert Hughes were "Free-Feeders", as were Stuart-Wortley, the member for Hallam, and A.J.Hobson, the Lord Mayor in 1912¹³². Only Hobson was so indiscreet as to allow his views to affect his relationship with members of the party - Hughes and Franklin kept silent on the subject on platforms, Hughes saying at a meeting of the Ecclesall Conservative Association in 1907 that although some members "probably looked upon him as a heretic on one particular subject, there were plenty of other subjects on which they could work and fight side by side"¹³³. He nevertheless admitted, at a Unionist Free Trade meeting in 1909, the strain of leading a divided party - being at such a meeting was, he said, "very much like taking a holiday after a long period of hard work"¹³⁴.

It was said in 1906 that A.J.Hobson, as a cutlery manufacturer, would "benefit personally, if protective duties were put on cutlery in England, because he could raise prices to the extent of the duty (if cutlery manufacturers chose to form a ring)"¹³⁵. But, he added,

".....no reasonable person can suppose that the cutlery trade alone would be protected. Consequently the price of all manufactured goods in England would go up. A nice prospect for the largely working class consumers. Then the workman would naturally demand higher wages. The cost of production would go up, and we should by our own folly have handicapped ourselves for competing in foreign markets". 136.

Hobson himself at a Liberal meeting in Boston, Lincolnshire, argued that a general tariff would only injure the exchange of commodities in three-fifths of the country's trade, which was with non-Protectionist countries¹³⁷. He was against food taxes and did not believe that British colonial trade would be greatly enhanced by imperial preference.

132. S.A.R. 10 Aug 1903, S.I. 15 June 1903, S.L.R. 26 Feb 1906, S.D.T. 19 Jan 1917.

133. S.D.T. Jan 23 1907.

134. S.D.T. 18 Dec 1909. Franklin was not active on the Sheffield Council after 1905, as he left Sheffield for a period in the South of France. (S.L.R. , 23 Dec 1905).

135. B.Hobson, Letter, S.D.T. 8 Jan 1906.

136. Ibid., The Telegraph editor's response was - let working-men note that Hobson himself admits that wages would go up under tariff reform!

137. S.D.T. 8 Jan 1906.

Hobson¹³⁸ joined the Unionist Free Food League in August 1903, and then temporarily joined the Liberals, supporting the "Free Trade and Liberal" candidate Stanley Udale in Sheffield Central at the 1906 general election. He was accused by the Telegraph of avoiding the problems of free trade by setting up works in the U.S.A to manufacture behind tariff walls¹³⁹, but was still elected president of the Chamber of Commerce in 1908. He rejoined the Conservatives during the first 1910 General Election campaign, saying that he could not support a party which in its election manifesto put forward the policies of home rule, House of Lords reform and the "People's Budget"¹⁴⁰. The following year he became a Conservative Councillor for Ecclesall ward, despite the opposition of a tariff reformer at his selection meeting¹⁴¹. His views on free trade had not changed, but in 1912 the decision of the new Conservative leader, Bonar Law, not to adopt tariff reform as a primary election policy took the heat from the issue. Sheffield Conservatives grudgingly accepted the new policy, Councillor Samuel Roberts saying that it was a "sacrifice", but that the party's first priority must be to get rid of the Liberal government¹⁴².

Tariffs were imposed of necessity during the war and a limited selection were also included in the 1921 Safeguarding of Industries Act. A.J.Hobson was converted to protection during the war, having previously convinced himself that the French tariff of 1910 would be ruinous to high speed steel, twist drills and electro-plate¹⁴³.

138. For this paragraph, see Obituary, S.D.T. 21 Apr 1923, S.A.R. 10 Aug 1903, 28 Nov 1905, 24 Jan 1908.

139. Obituary, ibid.

140. S.D.T. 18 Dec 1909.

141. S.I. Oct 13 1911. The opposition was foiled by Councillor F.A.Kelley, who argued that the party should forget Hobson's defection to the Liberals in 1906 and remember that his abilities would be a tremendous asset to the party on the Council.

142. Ecclesall Conservative Association Minute Book No.3., op.cit., Feb 14 1913.

143. J.Stainton, op.cit., p.15. As a wartime member of a committee for the Board of Trade, he discovered that Germany had been trying to get control of important raw materials before war broke out. He came to believe that this must not happen again, and that the Allies must be protected by tariffs. Obituary, op.cit.

111) Education

Since the ethos of education was so decidedly Anglican, at least until 1906, it may not be surprising that all the leaders of Sheffield's Conservative party from the 1890s to the 1920s were distinguished educationists. Herbert Hughes was said to be

"one of the comparatively few public men in Sheffield who have always believed that the greatest value should be placed on scholarliness, and that thorough education is a man's best asset". 144

It was he who campaigned most vigorously for a higher grade school in Sheffield, while George Franklin, A.J.Hobson and Alfred Cattell were closely involved in the establishment and administration of the University of Sheffield.¹⁴⁵ Franklin was also a trustee of the Sheffield Mechanics' Institute. Conservatives were, for most of the period, in a majority on the School Board¹⁴⁶.

The Conservative government's 1902 Education Act which abolished the School Boards and confirmed state funding for the old voluntary schools, most of which were Anglican foundations, displeased a large section of the Liberal party¹⁴⁷, and the local Conservative party's policy of establishing selective public schools caused a rift with the Labour party¹⁴⁸. King Edward VII School for example, formed in 1905 by the amalgamation of the Royal Grammar School and Wesley College, was designed by the Conservative majority on the Education Committee as a fee-paying school, reserved for "the sons of the middle and upper classes"¹⁴⁹.

The Liberals' counter-attack was the Education Bill of 1906, designed to remove religious teaching (because normally Anglican and therefore "sectarian") from the regular school curriculum. Sheffield's Churchmen gathered in what was

144. W.W. 1905, p.52.

145. Firth College, founded in 1879, became the University of Sheffield in 1905. Cf. A.W.Chapman, The Story of a Modern University, Oxford, 1955. Cattell was, as previously noted, a former teacher.

146. The Chairman from 1895-97 was John Newton Coombe, a church burgess and vice-chairman of the Ecclesall Conservative Association. He was also a member of the Sheffield University College Council and the Sheffield Day Training College Committee. W.W. 1905, p.226; Addy and Pike, op.cit., p.128.

147. See below, chapter 4, pp.149-50.

148. See below, chapter 5, p 183.

149. Hawson, op.cit., p.76.

described as "a great popular demonstration against the Bill"¹⁵⁰. Samuel Roberts, the M.P. for Ecclesall, and Alderman Harry Parker Marsh both argued that the Church was fully subsidising her own schools;-

"We Churchmen, being in the majority, pay the larger proportion of the rates, and surely we are entitled that our children should be taught the doctrines of our Church, in our own schools, by our own teachers". 151

The Bill, although passed in the Commons, was rejected by the Unionist majority in the House of Lords in December 1906.

iv) The Close of the Period.

Alderman Franklin, forced to resign from the Finance Committee in 1902, took a less active part in Sheffield politics thereafter. The party was in and out of municipal power in the 1900s, never having a sufficient majority to achieve many of its proposals, for example in the sphere of housing. The Labour local electoral successes of 1905-8 had an unhappy effect on Conservative policy, with Herbert Hughes reacting against any proposal which contained elements of collective ownership. During the municipal election campaign of 1907, the main plank of which was opposition to Socialism¹⁵², he described the Liberal proposals to purchase houses at Wincobank as "Socialistic" because their only purpose appeared to be "the suppression of individuals as holders of property".¹⁵³ On further proposals for gas municipalisation he said,

"there seems no reason for such a movement, having regard to the excellent and cheap gas which the Gas Company supplies to Sheffield.....and I think you may fairly point out that the only arguments which can be adduced in favour of this undertaking are based upon the supposition that to suppress the individual for the supposed benefit of the community is of advantage". 154

Without any commitment to collectivism, the traditional Conservative emphasis on low rates became arid, obstructive and short-sighted. The attack on Socialism was therefore highly detrimental to the sort of "liberal conser-

150. S.D.T. 17 May 1906.

151. H.P.Marsh, ibid.

152. See Hughes' letter to candidates in which he says that their "first and most pressing duty" is "to combat the insidious and utterly fallacious doctrines of Socialism", reprinted S.D.T. 16 Oct 1907. This was also the view of W.E.Clegg, the Liberal leader, see below, chapter 4, p.p 152-5.

153. Hughes' letter to candidates, 1907, ibid.

154. Ibid.

vatism for which Franklin had stood. Hughes' substitution of "economy" was unhelpful in the immediate pre-war years and in the years 1919-26 destroyed the coalition of working and middle-class support, so carefully built up by Leng.

CHAPTER 4

THE LIBERAL PARTY 1892-1910

A. Introduction: The Liberal Leadership.

That the Liberal Party was a party of paradox, especially in its post-Gladstonian years, is not in doubt. In Sheffield it successfully contained both Sir Frederick Mappin, a wealthy file manufacturer, Imperialist and pioneer of mass production in the town's file shops, and Stuart Uttley, a former file-smith, secretary of the File Trades Union and the Sheffield Federated Trades Council, and leader of the campaign against the introduction of mechanisation into the Sheffield cutlery trades¹.

Such examples could be duplicated. Unlike the Conservative Party, which can be represented as the political arm of a certain way of life and of certain views and traditions, the Liberal party appears to have resulted from the coming together of various quite distinct, although often mutually dependent, interests. This is, at any rate, the view of Professor John Vincent, whose brilliant work of 1966, The Formation of the British Liberal Party 1857-68, must influence all subsequent opinions on the subject². He rejects the idea of an all-embracing creed of 'Liberalism' uniting these disparate groups, suggesting instead that interests like militant dissent and skilled artisanry saw the party in pre-Gladstonian times as a vehicle for the achievement of their own, often local, ends³. After 1868, these various elements were welded into a body of strength and power by Gladstone's 'popular democracy'.⁴

This coalition was largely destroyed by the effects of Gladstone's Home Rule decision in 1886. Of the three most prominent elements in the party,

1. For Mappin and the introduction of file machinery, see W.H.G. Armytage, A.J. Mundella, The Liberal background to the Labour Movement, London, 1951, p.47; S.D.T. 25 Sept 1905. For Uttley, see below, p.135. Prof. Armytage discusses Uttley's work in "Stuart Uttley and the File Trades in Sheffield;" Notes & Queries, Vol 193, No. 13, 1948, pp.279-80.
2. London, 1966, Penguin edition 1972.
3. For example, the Whitby Liberal candidate was successful in 1868 largely because of the desire of local fishermen to assert their power over the sitting Tory landlord, and so 'raise themselves'. Ibid., p.15.
4. Vincent's phrase, ibid., p.263.

millitant Dissent, the Lib-Labs and the moderate business and professional men, a considerable part of the latter group was lost. In Sheffield the Liberal Unionists were those "moderate middle-class Liberals who had long been drifting towards Conservatism".⁵ There were a considerable number of them. The firecely Gladstonian Sheffield Independent tried to argue that "the apostate Liberals might all have found seats in an ordinary first-class railway carriage",⁶ but there were sufficient to reduce the Liberal vote by 2,505 in 1886⁷, and, indeed, to justify the Liberal Unionist candidature of F.W.Maude at Attercliffe even though it was unsuccessful. Among the Liberal Unionists were several wealthy party benefactors, including Alderman Sir Henry Stephenson, the owner of a Sheffield type-founding firm and "second founder" of Firth College, who called himself an "old-fashioned Whig" and contrived to remain active in local politics and independent of membership of either party from 1886 until his death in 1904⁸.

Such men could not easily be dispensed with. Financial problems loomed larger in the following twenty years than they had done before 1886, and frantic attempts to keep the often fragile loyalty of such wealthy manufacturers, as Sir Frederick Mappin, who remained, were a continual strain on the party.

Militant dissenters and moderate businessmen were always argumentative bedfellows within the Sheffield Party. Through H.J.Wilson, a leading dissenter, the party was in the late 1860s encouraged to support agitations against such measures of the moderate Liberal government as the Permissive Bill, Irish Home Rule, the abolition of Income Tax and the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts. The divisions caused in the Liberal ranks by this attempt to "inject into Sheffield Liberalism a much more radical and advanced spirit".⁹ came to a head when in 1872 Wilson formed the Sheffield Reform Association to

5. D.E.Fletcher, Aspects of Liberalism in Sheffield, 1849-86, University of Sheffield, Ph.D., 1972, p.187.
6. S.I. 29 June 1886, quoted ibid., p.187.
7. As against the 1885 General Election total, ibid., p.188.
8. W.W. 1902, p.49. For his role in the creation of Firth College, which became Sheffield University, cf. A.W.Chapman, The Story of a Modern University, Oxford, 1955, especially pp.19-20.
9. D.E.Fletcher, op.cit., p.97.

promote the candidature of Joseph Chamberlain (then an extreme Radical) for the next General Election. There was already one Radical candidate, A.J. Mundella, whose appeal was predominantly to the working-classes. The moderates led by R.E. Leader proposed a man who would appeal to the middle-class. A public meeting chose Chamberlain and Mundella as candidates, but the result of the 1874 Election was a defeat for Chamberlain and victory for the Conservative-sponsored candidate J.A. Roebuck¹⁰.

Reunion was achieved in a compromise candidate for a by-election of 1879. Wilson's fingers were burned and in later years he made strenuous attempts to prevent the formation of a rival organisation within the party¹¹. His views, and those of his supporters, changed little. The history of the Sheffield Liberal Party from 1892 to 1914 is very largely that of the attempt to maintain the Gladstonian coalition of post-Home Rule days in circumstances of much increased pressure. The attempt was, at least until the outbreak of the Great War, successful. The cost to idealism and political integrity was however very high.

For the purposes of analysis, the Sheffield Liberal party can be regarded as consisting of three groups - the militant dissenters (led by H.J. Wilson), the Liberal Imperialists (led by W.E. Clegg) and the Lib-Labs, working through the Sheffield Federated Trades Council¹². The most important unifying factor between the three groups was religion. Table 4.1 indicates the overwhelming strength of Nonconformity among Liberal leaders (although it does not consider the Lib-Labs).

The politicisation of Nonconformity was inevitable, indeed was inherent in its very beginnings in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as a response to the Establishment's refusal to grant civil and political rights.

10. Account of the election, *ibid.*, pp.117-128.

11. During the Liberal Unionist division - see section C.

12. The sample of Liberal leaders studied is similar to that in the preceding analysis of the Conservative Party. See above, Chapter 3, p.95. It includes about 100 Liberals politically active during some of the years 1892-1914, but predominantly within the period 1900-1908. In the case of Guardians and members of the School Board and Education Committee, only those with biographical details in W.W. 1902, or W.W. 1905 have been included.

TABLE 4.1 : Religious Affiliation Among the Leadership of
The Sheffield Liberal Party¹, 1892-1914*.

Denomination	Membership among Liberal Leaders	Percentage of Total Sample
<u>Nonconformist</u>		
Congregationalist	23	25.00
Wesleyan Methodist	12	13.04
Methodist New Connexion	4	4.35
Primitive Methodist	4	4.35
Baptist	3	3.26
Wesleyan Reform	1	1.07
United Methodist Free Church	2	2.17
Quaker	1	1.07
Nonconformist (no details)	7	7.61
	Sub-total	57
		61.96
<hr/>		
Church of England	9	9.78
Roman Catholic	<u>1</u>	<u>1.07</u>
	Sub-total	10
		10.87
<hr/>		
Unknown (or none) ²	<u>25</u>	<u>27.17</u>
	Sub-total	25
		27.17
<hr/>		
	<u>Total</u>	92

1. Excluding Lib-Labs.

2. The majority of these were probably Nonconformist; absence of comment by contemporaries leads one to assume conformity to the expected norm.

* Note: This table may be compared with the following figures for the percentage of support given to each Nonconformist denomination in Sheffield at the 1881 Religious Census. (Source: E.R.Wickham, Church and People in an Industrial City, London, 1957, Appendix 1, pp.275-80).

Nonconformist Denomination	% support among Nonconformists, 1881
Wesleyan Methodist	26
Independent (Congregationalist)	16
United Methodist Free Church	16
Primitive Methodists	11
Salvation Army	9
Baptist	7
Methodist New Connexion	6
Wesleyan Reform	5
Quaker	1
Presbyterian	1
Plymouth Brethren	1
Workmen's Christian Temperance	1

In the nineteenth century the politics of Nonconformity became linked with the fortunes of the Liberal Party. The acquisition of basic civil and political rights was followed by campaigns for greater freedom - such as the disestablishment of the Church of England - and for largely Nonconformist concerns like reform of the licensing laws. These campaigns developed into moral crusades, like the abolition of the opium trade or the contagious diseases acts, which came to involve members of the Church of England. Gladstone indeed, the stalwart Anglican, was despite his lack of involvement in many of these 'Fads'¹³ in some ways the greatest moral crusader of them all.

Because of this political link, and the theological proximity of the Nonconformist and the Anglican churches in Sheffield,¹⁴ it is not surprising to find that several prominent Liberals were Anglican.

Among Nonconformist denominations, Table 4.1 suggests that Congregationalists were most strongly represented in the Liberal leadership, both in real terms and in relation to the proportion of Congregationalists in the total Nonconformist body, and that Wesleyan Methodists were poorly represented¹⁵.

David Fletcher has suggested that "Congregationalism provided the backbone of militant Nonconformity in Sheffield".¹⁶ Both numerically and in terms of leadership, this was substantially true. Fletcher does not volunteer reasons for his statement, but three may be suggested - first, the importance attached by Congregationalists in the later nineteenth century to public service; secondly, the influence of the 'Queen Street School' of Liberalism, and thirdly, the tireless campaigning of H.J. Wilson and his family.¹⁷

13. This phrase (and the term 'Faddists') is used by D.A. Hamer, Liberal Politics in the Age of Gladstone and Rosebery, Oxford, 1972, passim.

14. See above, chapter 3, p97.

15. The representations of Unitarians, Quakers and Baptists was also very small. Sheffield Unitarians had by 1892, it seems, largely joined the Conservative Party. Quakers were a small denomination in Sheffield, and not as disproportionately influential as they were, for example, in Birmingham. The number of Baptists in Sheffield was small in comparison with many parts of the country.

16. Op.cit., p.111.

17. The following account draws in part on the Deacon's and Church Minutes of Queen Street Chapel (1860-1905), Nether Chapel (1870-1906), Wicker Congregational Church (c.1878-1923); Zion Congregational Church, Attercliffe, (1902-28).

Congregationalists were inspired to commit themselves to public service by the teachings of such Congregationalist ministers as R.W.Dale of Carr's Lane Congregational Church, Birmingham from 1853 to 1874¹⁸. He taught the importance of applying Christian ethics to business life and the Christian's duty to serve the community through becoming Guardians of the Poor, Aldermen and Town Councillors.

This message, the 'civic gospel' as it has been called, was preached most forcefully in Sheffield at the Queen Street Congregational Church by the Rev. William Blackshaw, the minister until 1910. Blackshaw was the founder of the Croft House Settlement, and the area's most devoted worker against "sin, poverty and wretchedness"¹⁹. He preached "the gospel as a scheme of social ethics"²⁰, and was also a leading supporter of the Free Church Council, set up to promote union among Nonconformist churches.

The 'Queen Street' school of Liberalism²¹ may be characterised as moderate rather than Radical and Imperialist rather than "Little England". There was less rigidity on such moral issues, dear to Nonconformist hearts, as temperance and smoking, and indulgence in recreations like hunting. Its most prominent exponents were Alderman Batty Langley and, before 1892, R.E.Leader. Leader was a moderate Liberal, wary of Wilson's Radicalism and of doctrinaire temperance. He was at one time a member of the Fitzwilliam Hunt and was a lenient member of the Licensing Bench²². Langley, who was elected Liberal M.P. for Attercliffe in 1894 was a timber merchant and a member of the Queen Street church for over fifty years. He was said to be not averse to a "day with the hounds"²³. Both Leader and Langley were progressive in their attitudes to labour relations and social reform. Leader ran a campaign in the Independent which successfully exposed the false marking of foreign cutlery

18. An account of Dale's preaching and ministry may be found in E.P.Hennock, Fit and Proper Persons, London, 1973. Book 1, Part 2, chapter 6.

19. W.Haylock, History of Queen Street Congregational Church, Sheffield, Sheffield, 1933, p.35.

20. W.Blackshaw, "The Free Churches in Sheffield", Sheffield Daily Telegraph, Sheffield in 1902, Sheffield, 1902, p.13.

21. The phrase is used by John Derry, W.W.1902, p.25.

22. Cf. W.W.1905, p.238, W.W.1902, p.33, Fletcher, op.cit., p.165.

23. W.W. 1902, p.33., See also W.W. 1905, p.13.

with the 'Sheffield' trade-mark²⁴ Langley, during his mayoral year of office (1892-93) tried to conciliate employers and miners during the coal dispute, and as M.P. was one of those who worked most strenuously for the passing of an Old Age Pensions Act²⁵. He was, on the other hand, the candidate who benefitted when in 1894 the Attercliffe Liberal Association refused to endorse the nomination of a working-class representative for the division²⁶.

The Queen Street Liberals also included Charles Castle, a leading Imperialist, George Luther Wood, a prominent Freemason²⁷, Sir Frederick Mappin, and at least four other city Councillors during the period 1892-1926²⁸. In their attitudes and their characters they can be distinguished clearly from the Wilsonian Liberals, who also drew much of their support from Congregationalists.

The chapels which the Wilson family patronized were those where the virtues of temperance were most strongly proclaimed from the pulpit. These included Nether Chapel, where the minister from 1872-85 was Walter Lenwood, a prominent temperance campaigner, supporter of the Liberation Society (the campaign for the disestablishment of the Church of England) and president of the Sheffield and District Passive Resistance League in 1904²⁹. Rev. James Haigh, the minister from 1886 to 1904, was also a temperance supporter. John Wycliffe Wilson, H.J.Wilson's brother, was a deacon of Nether Chapel for forty years, and H.J.Wilson's daughter, Gertrude, married Lenwood's son, Frank. H.J.Wilson's son Oliver was the leading figure at Wicker Congregational Church and his brother Cecil Henry at Zion Congregational Church, Attercliffe. F.P. Rawson, an associate of the Wilsons, attended another Congregational church strong on temperance - Broompark.

24. W.W. 1902, p.33.

25. W.W. 1905, p.13, G.F.B.Hawksworth, The Central Congregational Church in Sheffield, T/S, 1971, p.67.

26. See below, p. 140.

27. W.W. 1905, p.42. This was unusual among Liberals. Both G.L.Wood and Charles Castle were associated with Batty Langley in business.

28. Francis Wood (Councillor from 1878-1902), Charles Simpson (1907-1926), Joseph Nadin (1858-1898) and W.F.Wardley (a Lib-Lab)(1890-1941). Mappin later became, or reverted to being, an Anglican.

29. W.W. 1905, pp153-4. The Passive Resistance League co-ordinated opposition to the Education Acts of 1870 and, later, of 1902.

Methodism was the strongest single denomination in Sheffield, but its political efficacy was strongly affected by its history of political schisms. Official Methodism in the time of Wesley and, later, of Bunting, the 'Pope of Methodism', rejected democracy and the involvement of religion in affairs of state. In this sense it was ultra-conservative. Secessions of 'liberal' Methodists on the issues of democracy and reform took place over the course of half a century - the first being that of Alexander Kilham, who formed the Methodist New Connexion in 1797. Various secessionist groups came together in the United Methodist Free Church formed in 1857 and the Wesleyan Reform Union formed in 1859.

Membership of these churches was strong in Sheffield³⁰, and representation, particularly of the Methodist New Connexion, on public bodies was high. The Wesleyan Reform Union and the Primitive Methodists³¹, strongly supported by manual workers, were especially interested in membership of the School Board and Boards of Guardians.

The Wesleyan Methodist Church was recovering some of its political lost ground by the end of the nineteenth century, but it remained "more mixed politically than its younger daughters",³² and middle-class Wesleyans were likely to be found within the Conservative as well as the Liberal party³³. The 'civic gospel' was less likely to be preached from Wesleyan pulpits³⁴, partly because Wesleyan ministers, moved from circuit to circuit every three years, had little incentive to develop concepts of local community service. Nor did the Wesleyans have the lay preaching tradition of the Primitive Methodist and Congregationalist churches, which gave training to

30. The Methodist New Connexion had its training college at Ranmoor, a Sheffield suburb, and the Wesleyan Reform Union had its headquarters in Sheffield. W.W. 1905, p.180, Wickham, op.cit., pp.67, 130.

31. Formed in 1811 over the issue of 'camp meetings' - Wickham, ibid., p.122.

32. Ibid., p.138.

33. See comments on Lib-Labs, below, p.135.

34. Exceptions were two ministers at Brunswick Wesleyan Chapel - Rev.H.T.Smart, who wrote on social questions and actively encouraged Wesleyans to seek membership of public bodies - W.W. 1905, p.162, W.W. 1902, p.52, S.O.Addy and W.T.Pike, Sheffield at the opening of the twentieth century, Brighton, n.d., p.107 - and Rev.S.E.Keeble, an avid campaigner for Methodist social witness and the father of the Christian Citizenship Department, now the Division of Social Responsibility of the British Council of Churches - Cf. Michael S.Edwards, S.E.Keeble: the rejected prophet, Wesley Historical Society, 1977.

many political orators. Radical Wesleyans nevertheless provided the leadership for the ill-fated 'Social Questions League' formed in 1893 to campaign for progressive temperance legislation and the municipalisation of utilities³⁵.

The year 1887 marks the end of a political era for the Sheffield Liberals. R.E. Leader, the editor of the Sheffield Independent and a moderate Liberal, died that year. His two sons, expected to carry on the paper, pursued other interests. In 1895 the paper's editorship was relinquished to John Derry, late of the Nottingham Daily Express. Leader's mantle thus passed to Derry and his mentor, William Edwin Clegg.

The Clegg family, who were Anglican, may be regarded as analagous to the Wilson family in their influence over their respective section of the Liberal party, although in practice the Cleggs were reinforced by several outstanding individuals within the party, while the Wilsons ran what amounted to a one-family show³⁶. W.J. Clegg³⁷, the son of a butler, became a solicitor when in his 40s and founded his own practice, to which his three sons were articled. He went into politics in 1872, becoming electoral agent for both A.J. Mundella and Samuel Waddy, and being elected an Alderman of the city and a magistrate. His greatest work was in the field of temperance. He was President of the Sheffield Temperance Association and the acknowledged leader of the movement in the town. Indeed, his standing in the national organisation, the British Temperance League, was such that his absence from a meeting was said to be like "Hamlet, with the Prince of Denmark left out".³⁸ Most of his political battles were fought in Nether Hallam, where the drink trade was strongly entrenched. In his temperance work he was closely associated with H.J. Wilson.

His son inherited his hard-won primacy - William Edwin Clegg³⁹ had an

35. See below, pp. 138-9.

36. The danger of exaggerating the Wilsons' influence may be judged from the fact that the only substantial collection of private papers relating to the Sheffield Liberal party during this period comes from their family. But comments by contemporaries about 'Wilson nominees' (S.G. 3 Nov 1914) and "H.J. Wilson and his clique", (H.J. Wilson/J.C. Whiteley, 28 Oct 1882, Wilson MSS 5911) back up the assertions made in this chapter.

37. For W.J. Clegg, see Obituary, S.I. 17 June 1895, C.O. Reid, Middle-Class Culture and Working Class Values in Nineteenth Century Sheffield, University of Sheffield Ph.D. Thesis, 1976, pp. 414-15.

38. Quoted Reid, ibid., p. 414.

39. For Clegg, see particularly W.W. 1905, p. 30, W.W. 1902, p. 10. Notes and Queries No. 1. Vol I, June 1899, p. 53.

unopposed passage into the City Council in 1886 and became an Alderman within six years. He was Mayor in the year 1898-99 and appointed a Justice of the Peace in 1901. He became the Secretary of the Sheffield Reform Club and he was, after the death of his father in 1895, until 1929 the acknowledged leader of Sheffield Liberalism. His brother, John Charles⁴⁰, was a member of the City Council from 1877 to 1883 and became, like his father, the chairman of the British Temperance League.

Although both the Wilsons and the Cleggs were temperance advocates and committed to civic service, the personalities of the members of the families were very different. There was a certain moral inflexibility about the Wilsons which was not characteristic of the Cleggs. John Derry described H.J.Wilson's son, Oliver, as:

"the kind of man who would inform against his own chapel for not sweeping the snow from its front, and then call and pay the fine".⁴¹

John Wycliffe Wilson was "a robust believer in the immorality of pantomimes" and as a Guardian, voted against the workhouse children being allowed to attend them⁴². As Lord Mayor (1902-3) he held teetotal banquets, and refused to pay a charge for the Cutlers' Feast 'including wine'⁴³.

The Wilsons allowed no half measures, either in public or in private life. When they set their hand to the plough politically, for example in the 'passive resistance' campaign against the Education Acts of 1870 and 1902, they kept it there. Refusal to pay the borough rate because it was being used to finance church-endowed schools led year after year to distraint of goods. Wycliffe Wilson's grandson, Ronald, recalled,

"I well remember the frequent removal from my father's house of two oil paintings, always the same, which were redeemed on payment of the rate".⁴⁴

The rate was not, needless to say, paid by the Wilsons, but by well-wishers!

40. W.W. 1905, p.119, Addy and Pike, op.cit., p.82.

41. W.W. 1902, p.58.

42. "Sheffield's Public Men", Sheffield in 1902, op.cit., p.51, S.A.R., 24 Feb 1892.

43. Correspondence between J.W.Wilson and Col.H.Hughes, Jan 1903, in the possession of Mr. R.E.Wilson.

44. R.E.Wilson, "John Wycliffe Wilson and Passive Resistance" - MS in possession of the author.

'Passive resistance' was maintained by members of the family from 1870 to about 1873, and then from 1902 until at least 1921⁴⁵.

W.J.Clegg was closer to the Wilsons in outlook than his son. W.E.Clegg was, among temperance advocates, very moderate - he had "seen too much of the world to take narrow views of things".⁴⁶ He enjoyed pleasures upon which the Wilsons would have frowned - like hunting and attending the theatre and was President of the Sheffield & Hallamshire Rifle Club. In public life many of Clegg's actions were morally debateable. His dishonesty and double-dealing on many occasions was the real reason for the Wilsons' later antipathy towards him. Religious differences were not at first a problem. They became so in the 1900s largely because of clegg's insensitivity to the nonconformist position on the 1902 Education Act.

As a leader of the Liberal party, Clegg was ambitious, arrogant and increasingly autocratic. In the 1890s, he was generally regarded as a clever and rather precocious upstart; in the 1900s he was called the 'Emperor of Sheffield' by those whom he had alienated over his stand on Liberal Imperialism. The men he gathered around himself were very similar in character, and they included the majority of Anglicans in the party. John Derry was a nonconformist of the Queen Street style, a cricket enthusiast who poked fun at those who saw it as an unpardonable sin "for a descendant of the Pilgrim Fathers to attend a Test Match".⁴⁷ His ideal was "ardour, tolerance and principle.....agreeably mixed".⁴⁸ Charles Castle, a member of the Queen Street Congregation, was a popular, humourous man and a Crimean War Veteran⁴⁹. Joseph Jonas, a German Jew and proprietor of the engineering works of Jonas and Colver, was a "moderate Liberal", whose friends were "mostly Tories".⁵⁰ He became Lord Mayor in 1904 at Clegg's instigation when a royal visit was

45. The latter date is suggested by J.W.Wilson/O.C.Wilson , 12 Jan 1921, (possession of R.E.Wilson).

46. Notes and Queries No. 1. Vol I, June 1899, p.53.

47. W.W. 1902, p.27.

48. Ibid., p.63.

49. 'Sheffield's Public Men', on.cit., p.49; W.W. 1902, p.11.

50. W.W. 1905, pp.25-26, W.W. 1902, p.31, J.C.Skinner/H.J.Wilson, 14 Apr 1893, Wilson MSS 5895.

anticipated, and received the expected knighthood⁵¹.

Sir Frederick Mappin⁵², the file manufacturer, was an Anglican convert from Congregationalism who was a City Councillor from 1854 to 1857 and 1876 to 1883. He was a Master Cutler in the year 1855-56 and became Mayor and Alderman in 1877. He became M.P. for Bassetlaw in 1880 and remained in Parliament until 1905. He was made a Baronet in 1905 and was President of the Sheffield United Liberal Association for many years. He was one of Sheffield's most generous benefactors and a very moderate Liberal. His major commitment to the party's principles seems to have been belief in free trade. He said in 1905 that "no man believed more in free trade than he did"⁵³

Notes and Queries commented in 1899,

"Circumstances have made Sir Frederick Mappin a Radical, but he is a sound Conservative at heart".⁵⁴

Sir Frederick was an early member of the Volunteer movement, and in 1905 commented on temperance issues,

"I live fairly well. I am not a total abstainer or anything of that kind....I used to be a great smoker, but I have given it up now. I was especially fond of shooting..."⁵⁵

A rather less typical member of Clegg's 'entourage' in the 1900s was Arthur Neal,⁵⁶ member of the City Council for the Burngreave ward from 1903 to 1921 and Member of Parliament for Hillsborough from 1918-1922. He was brought up a member of the Wesleyan Reform Church and later attended a Wesleyan Methodist Church. Like many of Clegg's friends he was interested in sport⁵⁷ and was also for several years President of the Sheffield Reform Club. He was a solicitor who had served his articles with W.J.Clegg. Neal was an avid member of the temperance movement - an Executive member of the British Temperance League, chairman of the Gospel Temperance Union and Vice-

51. Jonas lost his knighthood in 1918, following accusations that he had given business information to a German, a potential enemy, in November 1913. A year after his death in 1921, W.E.Clegg married his widow. Cf. J. Jonas Obituary, S.D.T. Aug 13 1921; Sheffield Jewish Journal No.78(July 1963) pp.7-8; S.A.R 12 Oct 1922.

52. Cf. especially Addy and Pike, op.cit., p.71, Obituary, S.D.T. 22 Mar 1910, Sheffield Weekly Telegraph, 10 May 1884.

53. S.D.T. 25 Sep 1905.

54. No.3. Vol I Dec 1899, p.215.

55. S.D.T., 22 Mar 1910.

56. Cf. W.W. 1905, p.41, P. Goddard, Arthur Neal(T/S, in the possession of author).

57. He was a director of Sheffield United Football Club from 1899 until his death in 1933. P.Goddard, ibid., p.15.

President of the Sheffield Auxiliary of the United Kingdom Alliance and of the Sheffield Band of Hope Union. He was the legal representative for the temperance organisations at the annual Brewster sessions.

Three leading members of the party who had closer connections with Clegg than with the Wilsons were Batty Langley, Henry Kenyon Stephenson and Robert Styring. Langley, the "typical Queen Street Liberal", almost certainly held Clegg's views on Imperialism but attempted to remain neutral because he was the Liberal M.P. for Attercliffe and the chairman of his divisional association was John Wycliffe Wilson⁵⁸. Henry Kenyon Stephenson⁵⁹, the son of Henry Stephenson and an Anglican, cannot definitely be connected with Liberal Imperialism but was undoubtedly a friend of Clegg's⁶⁰. Like his father he had the tendencies of a Whig and lived as a country gentleman at Hassop Hall in Derbyshire. He was an 'ardent Volunteer' and a member of the Galway Hunt. He had no connections with the temperance movement, and it would be tempting to conclude that he, like Mappin, was a "sound Conservative at heart", save that as Coalition Liberal M.P. for the Park division (from 1918-23) he resisted all temptations to join the Conservatives and in 1923 agreed to take the Independent Liberal whip under Asquith, a decision which may well have cost him his seat⁶¹.

Robert Styring⁶², a member of Cemetery Road Congregational Church and chairman of the Sheffield Congregational Association, was connected in the public mind with Clegg throughout both his professional and political life. Perhaps this was because, as he mentions in his autobiography, their municipal careers were exactly contemporaneous - beginning and ceasing on the same days

58. See below, section C. Sheffield in 1902, op.cit., described Langley as "a Liberal who tries to combine the narrow creed of the Liberation Society with the broad Imperialism of Lord Rosebery, and hardly wins the admiration which the boldness of the attempt deserves". (pp.51-2)

59. Cf. W.W. 1905, p.73, Obituary, S.D.T. 20 Sept 1947

60. See for example Clegg's letter to him asking him to be Lord Mayor, 3 Oct 1910, Stephenson Collection, 61.

61. Cf. H.K.Stephenson/H.H.Asquith, 9 & 12 June 1923, Stephenson Collection, 61. The reason may have been, like Mappin's commitment to free trade.

62. Cf. W.W. 1905, p.31, R.Styring, My Life Story, Frome, 1940.

in 1886 and 1926⁶³. As a weaker and less personable man, he appears to have allowed Clegg to dominate him. On at least one occasion, that of the debate over the composition of the Education Committee⁶⁴ he showed himself to be in the camp of the Wilsons, where he would have been better to remain. He looked back on his career with great bitterness against Clegg, whom he accused of thinking that "the party of which he was the leader existed for the purpose of maintaining him in a position of personal influence and advantage".⁶⁵

Although Styring was the main instigator of the Tramways Enterprise, it was Clegg who became the chairman of the committee and took the credit for its success⁶⁶. Styring suffered from Clegg's high-handedness in other ways. In 1904 it was Styring's turn to be Lord Mayor, but Clegg induced him to step aside and allow Jonas to be honoured in the year of the anticipated royal visit⁶⁷. On Styring's achieving his ambition in November 1906, the Lord Mayoral celebrations coincided with those of Clegg's knighthood. Since Styring's promotion was expected and Clegg's honour a surprise, congratulations to the latter intruded greatly into his inaugural day of office⁶⁸.

Many of these Liberals were habitués of the Reform Club (opened in 1885)⁶⁹ enjoying "smoke room symposiums" and games of billiards after luncheon⁷⁰. Some had close connections with the Cutlers' Company, although it was still "something of a rarity" for a nonconformist to become Master Cutler⁷¹. Spectacular Liberal entrepreneurs, like John George Graves⁷² who came to the city as a watchmaker and built up an enormous manufacturing and wholesaling empire, were normally to be found in association with Clegg⁷³.

63. Styring, op.cit., p.226.

64. See below, n.150.

65. Styring, op.cit., p.228.

66. Ibid., pp.180-1.

67. Ibid., p.189.

68. Sheffield Argus, 17 Nov 1906.

69. Batty Langley was chiefly responsible for its building, J.Stainton, The Making of Sheffield, Sheffield 1924, p.177.

70. E.g. William Irons, W.W. 1905, p.46, W.W. 1902, p.30.

71. Cf. John Derry's comments on the appointment of R.Graves Holland (a Wesleyan) as Master Cutler - W.W. 1902, p.25.

72. W.W.1902,p.23. His gifts to the city included land at Fulwood and Whirlow, Blacka-Moor, Birley Edge and Lydgate Lane, Graves Park and Art Gallery, Ryegate (for Children's Hospital) and Tipton Court (for a Nurse's Home).

73. This statement is in part assumption since the only, incomplete, evidence, is Wilson's listing of him as "For war or doubtful", (n.d.1899-1901) Wilson MSS 2521-24. It ties in, however, with his known political attitudes, both at that time and later in life.

While this group dominated the Reform Club and the city centre, the area of Wilson influence was the east end of the city - among the steelworkers of Brightside and Attercliffe. H.J.Wilson⁷⁴, together with his brother John Wycliffe, managed the Sheffield Smelting Company in Attercliffe. The family was nonconformist from before the time of the Civil War. H.J.Wilson's home in Sheffield came to be known as "the home of unpopular causes" like reform of the licensing laws and repression of gambling and betting⁷⁵. In 1867 both he and his wife became involved in Josephine Butler's campaign against the Contagious Diseases Acts, and in 1883 bought 'Osgathorne Hills', a large house on the edge of Pitsmoor as a centre for their family and political activities. Wilson became M.P. for Holmfirth in 1885 taking up such causes as the campaign against the opium trade (which was successful in 1913) and against the Boer Wars. He maintained close contact with the political situation in Sheffield through his brother, and later his sons and nephews, and his Vice-Presidency of the Sheffield United Liberal Committee. He resigned from Parliament in 1912 and died two years later.

John Wycliffe Wilson⁷⁶ was a member of the Sheffield Board of Guardians for thirty-seven years from 1877 until 1914 and chairman on ten occasions. He became a City Councillor in 1890 and an Alderman of the city in 1898. He was chairman of Attercliffe Liberal Association and secretary of the Sheffield United Liberal Committee for some years.

Oliver Charles Wilson⁷⁷, Henry Joseph's son, was a City Councillor for Neensend from 1906-1919 and 1921-1925. He was the President of the Sheffield Band of Hope Union and Secretary of the British Temperance League. He attended Wicker Congregational Church and was Secretary, and later Chairman, of the

74. M.Anderson, Henry Joseph Wilson: Fighter for Freedom 1833-1914, London, 1953; W.S.Fowler, A Study in Radicalism and Dissent. The Life and Times of Henry Joseph Wilson 1833-1914, London, 1961. For the Wilson family, see also, R.E.Wilson, Two Hundred Precious Metal Years. A History of the Sheffield Smelting Company Ltd., 1760-1960, London, 1960; Helen M.Wilson, The Osgathorne Family and its Descendants, printed for private circulation, 1937, Wilson family tree - Appendix 6.

75. Fowler, op.cit., p.26.

76. W.W. 1905, p.186, R.E.Wilson, John Wycliffe Wilson, MS, in the possession of the author, Addy and Pike, op.cit., p.74.

77. Helen M.Wilson, op.cit.,

Brightside Liberal Federation. Both he and Cecil were directors of the Sheffield Smelting Company, Cecil becoming Chairman. Cecil Wilson⁷⁸, Oliver's brother, was City Councillor for Darnall from 1903 to 1924. He was a Congregationalist until 1934 (when he became a Quaker) an earnest advocate of temperance, putting up a "pledge board" in the garden of his home in Attercliffe to encourage passers-by to enter the house and sign the pledge. He claimed in 1936 that in this way he and his wife collected 2,500 pledges⁷⁹. In 1918 he became a member of the Labour Party⁸⁰ and was elected to Parliament for the Attercliffe division, a seat which he held from 1922-31 and 1935-44.

Two leading Liberals with whom the Wilsons were constantly associated were Edwin Richmond and Frederick Percy Rawson. Richmond⁸¹ was a Wesleyan and the President of the Evangelical Free Church Council in 1900. The son of a licensed victualler, he battled against drink throughout his political career. He was Town Councillor for Brightside ward from 1885 to 1894 and the leader of the Social Questions League. If Percy Rawson had lived in the sixteenth century, John Derry commented, "boiling oil or fiery faggots would have brightened his end"⁸². He was a Baptist lay preacher, and a Radical who refused to moderate his tone. He was chairman of the Sheffield and District Liberation Society, Vice-President of the Sheffield Branch of the United Kingdom Alliance, a member of the School Board and of the Town Council from 1878-90. Stainton described him as "almost the head-centre of Radicalism for close on half-a-century so far as Sheffield was concerned".⁸³

The Wilsons and their followers represented the strongest commitment to moral causes in the party and the most radical middle-class attitudes to labour and relations with the working-classes⁸⁴. They were closely associated

78. W.W. 1905, p.44. Obituary S.D.T. 9 Nov 1945, A.C.Wilson, Cecil Henry Wilson, printed for private circulation, 1946.

79. C.H.Wilson, "Our Pledge Board", reprinted in A.C.Wilson, ibid., p.8. The article is an amusing account of the frequent vandalising and theft of the board.

80. See below, Chapter 6, p 189.

81. W.W. 1902, n.46.

82. W.W. 1902, p.43. See also W.W. 1905, p.73. Addy and Pike, op.cit., p.92, J.Stainton, op.cit., p.343.

83. Stainton, op.cit., p.343.

84. See below, sections B and C.

with working-men within the party, especially the Lib-Labs.

The strength of Liberal-Labourism in Sheffield resulted from the independence and relative prosperity of the 'light trades' small mesters and craftsmen, the high rate of enfranchisement of working-men in the city,⁸⁵ and the degree of trade union organisation. The artisan vote was the crucial factor maintaining Sheffield as a Liberal town until 1880, and the Association of Organised Trades, set up in 1859, had considerable political influence over Sheffield M.P's. The Association merged in 1866 with the United Kingdom Alliance of Organised Trades, which set up its headquarters in Sheffield and broke up in the aftermath of the Sheffield Trade Outrages of 1867. It was however a direct forebear of the Trades Union Congress. The Association of Organised Trades survived the outrages and was renamed the Sheffield Federated Trades Council in 1872.

This Trades Council was dominated, particularly in the 1870s and 80s by members of the light trades, and its concerns were the industrial concerns of the cutlers - the false marking of goods, the introduction of machines to the file-shops and the hours of labour. Towards industrial action, its policy was very moderate - it was one of very few trades councils to welcome the formation of an Industrial Union of Employers and Employed in 1895⁸⁶.

The political concerns of the Trades Council were largely channelled through the Sheffield Labour Association, set up in 1883 to campaign for Liberal working-class representation on public bodies. The membership of the Executives of the Council and the Labour Association were more or less the same. In the succeeding ten years, four Lib-Lab leaders were elected to the Town Council⁸⁷. Joseph Mallinson, secretary of the razor-grinders, became the first working class magistrate in 1886. At the General Election of 1885 a working printer, T.R.Threlfall, stood as Liberal candidate for the Hallam division (a safe Conservative seat).

85. In 1866 one quarter of Sheffield parliamentary electors were artisans - J.Mendelson, W.Owen, S.Pollard, V.Thornes, The Sheffield Trades and Labour Council 1858-1958, Sheffield, 1958, p.20.

86. S.F.T.C., Annual Report, Year ending February 29, 1896, p.6. For industrial policy, see also Annual Report, 1888-89, pp.2,5; Annual Report, Year ending February 28, 1893, pp.5-6. (Boards of Conciliation' proposal).

87. Stuart Uttley (Secretary of S.F.T.C.) in 1886; Edward Memmott and Charles Hobson (President of S.F.T.C.) in 1887 and W.F.Wardley in 1890.

This was the 'Indian Summer' of the Lib-Labs. During the 1890s and early 1900s their secure and steady power-base was eroded. The Council could not effectively cope with the burgeoning "heavy trades" unions, which demanded proportional representation on the Council and commitment to a more radical politics, appropriate to the class conflicts of the steel-works. Members of the Independent Labour Party tried to force the Council's conservative leaders towards a political stance independent of the Liberal party. The Lib-Labs' position was rendered untenable, and gradually destroyed. In 1920 they joined the Labour party⁸⁸. The outstanding Lib-Lab of his day was Charles Hobson⁸⁹, the leader of the Federated Trades Council from 1887 to 1903. Hobson was a Britannia metal-spinner, a lay preacher and a leading trades unionist. He lost his seat on the Aldermanic bench in 1903 in unfortunate circumstances and never regained his respected public position⁹⁰. Stuart Uttley⁹¹, the secretary of the Trades Council and of the file trades union, one of the oldest in the city, was a local preacher in the United Methodist Free Church, a member of the T.U.C. Parliamentary Committee and the local Labour correspondent for the Board of Trade. A.J. Bailey⁹², the highly skilled secretary of the National Amalgamated Union of Labour from 1896, was a former miner, an Anglican and a member of the City Council and Board of Guardians. The majority of the Lib-Labs were full-time trades union officials, and most had backgrounds in the Nonconformist churches - often Methodist but also Congregationalist and Quaker⁹³.

88. For a full account of the dissensions, the division of the trades councils and the formation of the Labour party see below, Chapter 5, passim.

89. City Councillor for St. George's ward - 1887-1901, Alderman 1901-3. Member of School Board and Magistrate. Cf. Notes & Queries No.4.Vol 1 (March 1900) p.267; W.W.1902, p.25; Obituary S.D.T. 29 Oct 1923.

90. Cf. S.D.T. 29 Oct 1923, S.A.R. 1903, passim.

91. City Councillor for St. Philip's ward, 1886-1903; Alderman 1903 until death in 1911. Chairman of Labour Electoral Committee, 1886. Cf. W.W.1905, p.29, W.W.1902, p.56. R.F. Wearmouth - The Social and Political Influence of Methodism in the Twentieth Century, London, 1957, p.152.

92. City Councillor for Darnall ward 1904-1923; Alderman from 1923. Member of Sheffield Board of Guardians 1902. Cf. W.W. 1905, p.45. S.I. Cutting June 1904 (N.d.) Wilson MSS 5956.

93. The Congregationalists were W.F. Wardley, city Councillor, later Alderman, 1890-1941 and Secretary of Table Blade Forgers and Strikers Union; William Llewellyn, City Councillor 1886-98 and a steel toy forger. (Llewellyn, sat as a Liberal since he was unconnected with S.F.T.C.). The Quaker was John Davison, City Councillor for Brightside 1897-1906 and Ironfounders official.

In 1885, reunited, reorganisation of the party into five divisional associations each sending representatives to a Central United Liberal Committee took place. Money came in, principally from the Leaders, Mappin, Samuel Osborn, Abraham Sharman and the Cleggs and party prospects seemed bright. H.J.Wilson was appointed agent and local interest was stimulated by the formation of Liberal clubs and by organisation and canvassing at polling district level⁹⁴. By 1893, however, the feeling was one of gloom. The Conservatives had won three of the five seats at the General Election of 1885 and retained them at the elections of 1886 and 1892. Valuable Liberal Unionists had been lost to the party and the Conservatives had an overall majority of eight on the City Council. The national party was in depression and the United Liberal Committee in financial difficulties⁹⁵. The new agent, J.C.Skinner, was saying in 1896 that he thought the Committee had no practical use whatever⁹⁶. During the years 1896-1908, with the party divided over the issue of Imperialism, the Committee survived, if only as a figurehead, because of the determination of H.J.Wilson - ironically, for he was the man who had split the party in 1872.

B. Social Reform and the Decline of Temperance: the Politics of the 1890s.

R.E.Leader opposed the decision to build the new Town Hall in 1889, and it was the Conservative party which in almost every case initiated plans for municipalisation of public utilities. Leader expressed his objections to the building of the Town Hall in verse:

"If rates be heavy on your hands,
Are there no beggars at your gate,
Nor any poor about your lands?
Go, put your street in good repair,
And make your refuse down to flow;
Pray Heaven for some common sense,
And let your foolish buildings go". 97

D.E.Fletcher comments that Sheffield Liberalism "never found expression

94. Cf. D.Fletcher, op.cit., pp.168-72.

95. Cf. H.J.Wilson/W.E.Clegg, 3 April 1893, Wilson MSS 5915.

96. J.C.Skinner/H.J.Wilson, 21 Dec 1896, Wilson MSS 5895.

97. Sheffield Independent, Queen Victoria's visit to Sheffield, Sheffield, 1897, p.3.

in civic pride"⁹⁸. During the 1890s the party was beset by conflicts between those concerned primarily with economy in municipal life and those aware that the demand of the times was for increasing municipal intervention and expenditure. A particularly vocal part of the latter group were politicians, both Liberal and Lib-Lab of the East End, where increasing pressure from Socialists was forcing commitment to far more radical kinds of social reform.

The 1890s saw Gladstone's last Liberal crusade, Home Rule - final not only because it irrevocably split the party, but also because after 1886 Gladstone had no interest in any other cause. During the years 1885-90 the party was obsessed by the idea of Home Rule as an 'obstruction' which must be removed before other issues could be tackled. The obsession was removed by the final defeat of the Second Home Rule Bill in 1893, but even before this the moral crusaders, led by Labouchere and Harcourt, had adopted the Newcastle Programme embodying many sectional demands, like disestablishment of the Scottish and Welsh churches, the abolition of plural voting, measures of social reform like tenant and employee protection, and the "local option" (the right of each locality to decide the number of its licences).

The programme failed at that time because a section of the national party led by Rosebery continued the commitment to 'single issues'. In 1895 the Liberal government, devoid of a united platform, resigned office. The following year, Rosebery's place as leader was taken by Campbell-Bannerman, a man not to be compared with Gladstone in terms of ability, but occupying a similar position in relation to the two wings of the party. It was Campbell-Bannerman's leadership which subsequently prevented the party from breaking apart.

H.J.Wilson strongly supported the Newcastle Programme. In 1893 he wrote from Parliament to his wife,

"The Fourth Clause of the Home Rule Bill was finished today. Many of us are very impatient, not to say angry, that our leaders don't get on faster and take stronger measures".⁹⁹

98. D.E.Fletcher, op.cit., p.194.

99. 23 June 1893, quoted Anderson, op.cit., p.60.

The Programme concerned itself with the "Fads" of "old Liberalism" and with the traditional Liberal belief in a harmony of interests between capital and labour. In Sheffield many of the Programme's supporters became involved in the Social Questions League¹⁰⁰, which was led by Edwin Richmond. Batty Langley was the first President and most of the Wilsons were Executive members. In addition to temperance, the League originally had radical intentions, with a "forward municipal policy" embracing improvements in working-class housing, more libraries and parks and the municipalisation of monopolies, and a commitment to the Nationalisation of Land, mines and railways¹⁰¹. Early supporters included socialists¹⁰² as well as Lib-Labs and radicals, but the formation of the I.L.P, with its effect on the Sheffield Labour Association¹⁰³, led to the abandonment of socialist proposals and withdrawal into a simple, safe commitment to temperance¹⁰⁴.

The League became involved in the 1894 municipal elections in Brightside and St. George's wards, where Edwin Richmond and Arthur Neal were standing. The campaign revolved around the League's legal battles to prevent betting and the renewal of drink licences. The Conservative candidates were supported by the Drink trade and the Liberals by the United Kingdom Alliance¹⁰⁵ and by a group of twelve Nonconformist ministers who urged the electors to:

"WORK, VOTE, USE YOUR WHOLE INFLUENCE,
on the side of that true humanity which
the Christ taught, and you will help to save the
people from those influences and institutions
which are their worst enemies". 106.

100. C.Reid, op.cit., pp.417-18. J.H.Bingham described it as "a sort of collective incarnation of the local Nonconformist conscience" - The period of the Sheffield School Board 1870-1903, Sheffield, 1949, p.137. The work of the Social Questions League, and of Sheffield temperance campaigners during the '90s discussed in Abadie, op.cit., pp.261-70.
101. The Hammer, Oct 21 1893.
102. A.J.Wolfe for example. Cf. Ibid., March 3 1894.
103. Cf. Ibid., July 7, Sept 22 1894, and below, Chapter 5, pp.160-2.
104. Ibid., Jan 5 1895.
105. Circular, 30 Oct 1894, Wilson MSS 5987. The Sheffield Auxiliary of the United Kingdom Alliance was formed in 1854 to campaign for the local option. After 1872 it concentrated its campaign on the licensing bench - C.Reid, op.cit., p.412,449,451.
106. Circular, n.d.(1894), signed by three Wesleyan ministers, four Primitive Methodists, two Congregationalists, one Methodist New Connexion, two United Methodist Free Church, Wilson MSS 5987.

The result of the election was a sound trouncing in working-class wards where their support had previously been strong. It was clear that a temperance platform could no longer attract the working-classes¹⁰⁷. Many of those who supported the Newcastle Programme moved away from the temperance issue towards concentration on social reform. At the Brightside election of the following year, temperance was not mentioned. The Liberal candidates, Chapman and Gent, campaigned for the better paving of Brightside Streets, the working of the tramways for the people and a fairer apportioning of the poor rate¹⁰⁸.

This was not a particularly radical social reform programme. Chapman and Gent were opposed to high rates and "unnecessary" schemes like the new slaughter houses at Heeley. But it represented a distinct advance on earlier Faddist attitudes to social reform, while rejecting the wholesale 'Economy' of the Independent Liberal, E.E.Holiday, who had been successful in Attercliffe the year before¹⁰⁹.

H.J.Wilson himself was prepared to go a good deal further. Following the example of A.J.Mundella, the popular M.P. for Brightside until 1897, he was a strong supporter of trades unions and better industrial relations¹¹⁰. In 1893 he was a member of a platform, otherwise composed entirely of Lib-Labs, at a meeting supporting the Hull Dockers' Strike¹¹¹. In 1897 he addressed a meeting protesting against the Engineers' Lockout¹¹². The Wilsons' firm, along with Hadfield's was one of the first to adopt the eight-hour day¹¹³.

107. Members of the Labouchere group in Parliament argued in the same way at the same time - especially L.A.Atherley-Jones, cf. Hamor, *op.cit.*, pp 150-1.

108. Brightside Election Address, Oct 1895, Wilson MSS (S.U.L.) 37P/26/10.

109. It should be added that Holiday was an established Liberal Councillor, who became 'Independent' in 1894. Attempts by newcomers to be elected as Independent Liberals, in 1895 and 1900, were unsuccessful.

110. Mundella was one of the first to use arbitration to settle industrial disputes - W.H.G.Armytage, *op.cit.*, pp.319. He also strongly supported municipalisation and piloted Sheffield bills through Parliament - *ibid.*, p.334.

111. S.D.T. 12 May 1893.

112. S.F.T.C. Annual Report, Year ending Feb, 1898.

113. This was praised by the I.L.P. newspaper, the Sheffield Guardian, 1 Nov 1906.

The Lib-Labs in the party remained firmly Economist in the early 1890s¹¹⁴, with commitment to 'piecemeal social reform' measures like the better housing of the poor. Their refusal to advocate collectivism, combined with what was considered their 'supine' attitude to working-class representation on public bodies came under fire from I.L.P. members of the Trades Council Executive. The Labour Association had experienced great difficulty in securing selection of its members as Liberal Parliamentary candidates. An attempt in 1885, for example, to secure the adoption of William Rolley for Central division failed even though H.J.Wilson offered to pay part of the election expenses. Mundella and other Liberals accused the Lib-Labs of dictating to the Liberal Association by putting forward candidates independently of their selection procedures¹¹⁵. Two Lib-Labs became Parliamentary candidates in 1886 - but in the solidly Conservative seats of Ecclesall and Hallam.

When the Attercliffe Parliamentary seat became vacant in 1894, the Labour Association claimed that a working-man had the right to represent the seat, and nominated Charles Hobson¹¹⁶. None of the middle-class Liberals apart from F.P.Rawson were happy about this. The Wilsons and Mundella wanted a Lib-Lab, but preferred Fred Maddison, the London editor of the Railway Gazette. Sir Frederick Mappin, W.E.Clegg and Batty Langley opposed the choice of a Lib-Lab, and when Hobson as a result backed down, adopted Langley as Liberal candidate. This caused a division in the Trades Council, with 38 supporting Langley and 43 the candidate adopted by the I.L.P., Frank Smith¹¹⁷. Langley won the election with a majority of just under one thousand.

Immediately after the election, a sub-committee of the United Liberal

114. S.D.T. 12 Dec 1895. All of them (except Uttley) were against the provision of a new Central Library in 1895 for instance - Sheffield City Council Minutes 14 Aug 1895.

115. D.E.Fletcher, on.cit., pp.182-84.

116. The following account is taken from Joyce Brown, "Attercliffe 1894. How one local Liberal Party failed to meet the challenge of Labour". Journal of British Studies, Vol XIV, No.2 (May 1975).

117. Of the S.F.T.C. Leaders, Tom Shaw (at that time a member of the I.L.P) and John Davison voted in favour, Uttley and Whiteley against. Hobson and Wardley abstained. Davison, according to Cecil Wilson, only voted in favour because he was instructed to do so by his trade union (the moulders) - ibid., pp.66-67.

Committee consisting of W.E.Clegg, J.E.Clegg, Wycliffe Wilson, Isaac Milner and T.B.Senior, a Councillor for Brightside, was appointed to consider the relations of the Liberal and Labour parties¹¹⁸. Little progress was made, and the Trades Council maintained its commitment to Frank Smith's claim on the division¹¹⁹. Soon after the I.L.P. began also to contest municipal elections, the Labour Association withered away.

Most of the S.F.T.C's leaders remained loyal to the Liberal party, but from political expediency they, and the Liberal party as a whole, for a time adopted more radical measures. A good example is the taxation of site values, much pressed by J.C.Whiteley, a Lib-Lab from the Engineers' Union¹²⁰, and campaigned for in the Independent, which the whole Liberal party supported in a whipped vote of July 1899¹²¹. Tramway municipalisation was urged by the Trades Council, who organised an indignation meeting in 1895 when it seemed that the Parliamentary committee was prevaricating over the issue¹²². Only one Liberal Councillor voted against tramway municipalisation.

The Liberals responded weakly and belatedly in the 1890s to demands for independent Labour representation. Even the Wilsons, most radical in their attitude to Labour, backed down over the issue of working-class Parliamentary candidates, although H.J.Wilson's commitment to finding a Lib-Lab candidate at the next opportunity was fulfilled in 1897 when Fred Maddison was adopted for Brightside. Liberals in other areas were less aware of the Socialist threat and were also alienated by the Liberalism of men like Wilson. The result was that during the 1900s the emphasis within the party moved quickly from conciliation of Labour to an attempt to divert the attention of all sections of the party to other issues, and then outright confrontation.

118. United Liberal Committee Circular, 5 Oct 1894, Wilson MSS.5895.

119. S.F.T.C. Annual Report, Year ending Feb 1895, p.6.

120. Cf. W.W. 1905, p.43.

121. Sheffield City Council, Minutes, 19 July 1899. The Liberal Council of 1912 and 1914 rejected the idea - cf. H.K.Hawson, Sheffield, the Growth of a City 1893-1926, Sheffield, 1968, p.32.

122. S.F.T.C. Annual Report Year ending Feb 1896.

C. The Impact of the Liberal Imperialists; the politics of the 1900s.

Joseph Jonas, at the first Sheffield Liberal League meeting in 1902 said: "during the last six or seven years the Liberal party has seemed to me to be somewhat like a young man platonically in love with a lady beyond his reach. The sooner we Liberals come down to a proper level and arrange our programme in such a way that we can get voted into power, so that we can make our programme into the reality of law, the better it will be". 123

The progenitor of the Liberal League was Lord Rosebery, leader of the party from 1894 to 1896, and opponent of the Newcastle Programme. The League's policies provided a 'single issue' and aimed to be a coherent system of thought beneath which sectional interests could again be reunited. Ideas on social reform were radical and attracted the support of Fabians like Sydney and Beatrice Webb, but the League's popular appeal was to imperialistic nationalism. The Sheffield Independent, paraphrasing Rosebery, explained the aims of the League as:

"First, the maintenance of the Empire; secondly the opening of new areas for our surplus population; thirdly the suppression of the slave trade; fourthly, the development of missionary enterprise, and fifthly, the development of our commerce, which so often needs it". 124

The Sheffield League was formed in 1902 in the aftermath of the Boer War (1900-1902). This war for the extension of British control over the states which now form South Africa was very popular in Sheffield, with its strong jingoistic tradition. It was supported by the majority of the Liberal party, but electorally the benefit accrued to the Conservative government. The League attracted Liberals who supported the war for two reasons - first, it was in the tradition of Robert Leader, who in the Sheffield Independent, supported the occupation of Egypt in 1881 and the Sudan policy of 1884-85¹²⁵. Secondly it proffered the irresistible lure of electoral gain.

123. The Liberal League Sheffield & District Branch Inaugural Meeting Nov 21 1902, Sheffield, 1902 (Wilson MSS) 5903, pp.13-14.

124. S.I. 9 July 1902. The passage is a quotation from a speech given by Rosebery in 1895.

125. Fletcher, op.cit., pp.177-8.

The League claimed that it could "restore the Liberals as the naturally predominant party in British politics" by reforming "Liberal thinking on domestic, Irish, imperial, foreign and defence policy" and by "a complete reappraisal of the nature of Liberalism as a political creed".¹²⁶ At the inaugural meeting of the League, Clegg quoted depressing national election figures and cited the electoral success of the Conservative party locally¹²⁷. Echoed by John Derry, he declared, "the Tory party has no monopoly of patriotism"¹²⁸. Benjamin Chapman, formerly a city councillor for Brightside ward, said he had joined the League because of the accusations of anti-patriotism against the party¹²⁹, and added on another occasion, that "those Liberals who had safe Parliamentary or City Council seats did not need to worry about their public image, but those who had lost them needed a new platform on which to fight".¹³⁰

The League, as it was constituted in Sheffield, represented an attempt to regain the middle ground of politics. While not expressly repudiating the Radicals, its appeal was, as the Sheffield agent, J.C. Skinner said, to "the large army of Progressives who are not so advanced".¹³¹ Its rhetoric was hostile to collectivist social reform, or at least, as John Derry put it, "many of us are pretty far advanced in socialistic ideas", but Liberal aspirations must be "practical".¹³² Howard Wilson, an opponent of the League, thought it was trying to prevent 'moderates' being frightened from the party by Socialism.¹³³ It included many large businessmen, like Richard Nicholson, a partner in John Nicholson and Sons Steel works, who had visited South Africa and lectured on the subject at Hillsborough Wesleyan Chapel "full of Imperialist sentiments"¹³⁴ and Samuel Osborn another Wesleyan,

126. H.C.G. Mathew, The Liberal Imperialists, Oxford, 1973, pp. ix, x. The Sheffield League is also discussed in Abadie, op.cit., pp. 282-3, 296-318.

127. The Liberals had just gained their first majority for eighteen years on the Council, but the Conservatives had won four out of five divisions at the 1900 General Election. The Liberal local election victory was partly a result of the redistribution of seats - S.D.T. 2 Nov 1901.

128. Liberal League, Inaugural Meeting, op.cit., pp. 5, 12.

129. Ibid., p. 16.

130. 18 June 1902, MS account of Attercliffe Association meeting Wilson MSS 5916. This was a gibe at the Wilsons, for their 'Pro-Boer' stance.

131. J.C. Skinner/H.J. Wilson, n.d. (August 1902) Wilson MSS 5903.

132. Liberal League Inaugural Meeting, op.cit., pp. 12-13.

133. H. Wilson/H.J. Wilson, 10.11.06 Wilson MSS 5898.

134. W.W. 1902, p. 39.

of the firm of S.Osborn and Company who had also travelled in South Africa, in addition to North America, Egypt and Norway¹³⁵. Imperialism was in the business interests of such men.

The leaders of the League were W.E.Clegg, John Derry, Arthur Neal and Joseph Jonas¹³⁶. Neal's reasons for joining the League are not entirely clear. Perhaps it was ambition, since his attempt to gain a seat on the City Council under the banner of the Social Questions League in 1894 failed. His friendship with H.J. Wilson ended in 1900 when Wilson requested the toast to the "defensive forces" to be omitted at a Reform Club dinner. Wilson took Neal's refusal "as a studied snub".¹³⁷

The Wilsons believed that during this period there was an attempt to "drive them out" of the party¹³⁸. The pro-Boer stance which Wilson adopted was in an extreme minority even in the national party - only eight Members of Parliament, "including the triumvirate of Wilson, Keir Hardie and Lloyd George"¹³⁹ protested against the government's vote for expenses for the war. Yet the 'Pro-Boer' stance was attributed in the popular mind to the Liberal party as a whole and so was responsible for electoral defeats. In Sheffield 'Pro-Boer' meetings were thwarted by the presence of hostile crowds, and the Wilsons' homes were several times threatened by stone-throwing mobs¹⁴⁰.

H.J.Wilson, his biographer comments, was "one of the first of the 'Little Englanders'"¹⁴¹. He supported the independence of the Transvaal in 1881, thought the occupation of Egypt the following year morally unjustifiable and protested against the Sudan policy of 1884 and 1885.¹⁴² When the Boer war was threatened in 1899, he convened a large meeting in Sheffield

135. W.W. 1905, p.55.

136. Clegg, Neal and Jonas were the first officers of the League. Derry became its protagonist in the Independent. He was a Vice-President, as were R.A.Hadfield (of Hadfield's Engineering Works), R.Waterhouse, Robert Styring, Charles Castle, H.Howlden and J.A.Davidson.

137. A.Neal/H.J.Wilson (Wilson's MS comment on letter) 11 Dec 1900 Wilson MSS 5916.

138. Cf. Howard Wilson/H.J. Wilson, 21.1.03, Wilson MSS 5896.

139. W.S.Fowler, op.cit., p.110.

140. A.C.Wilson, op.cit., p.5; W.S.Fowler, op.cit., p.109.

141. Fowler, op.cit., p.108.

142. D.E.Fletcher, op.cit., pp.177-78.

to press for conciliation. He and a small group of about fifty anti-war Liberals formed the South African Conciliation Committee on 30th March 1900. Their reasons for opposing the war were belief in racism and in the rights of small nations like the Boers. Their policy was in the long run justified by events, but at the time it required great courage. Wilson's majority in Holmfirth was reduced to 787 at the 'Khaki' Election (1900) and on one occasion he remarked,

"I don't think those who approve of this war realise how much more easy and pleasant it would be for the rest of us to swim with the stream than against it... believing in my conscience that we are engaged in an awful crime I have done what I thought right". 143

The 'Pro-Boers' in Sheffield included members of Wilson's family, extreme Radicals like Rawson and Richmond, John Parker, the former editor of The Hammer, Henry Adams¹⁴⁴, a Radical member of the School Board and Board of Guardians, Councillor James Crowther, Quakers like Isaac Milner, and the Rev. T.W.Holmes of the Tabernacle Congregational Church¹⁴⁵. The majority of the Lib-Labs were opposed to the war, although Hobson and Wardley were doubtful¹⁴⁶. The Executive of the South Africa Conciliation Committee also included a Socialist - W.J.Sears of the Socialist Society. Fred Maddison, the Lib-Lab whom H.J.Wilson had been instrumental in returning as Liberal M.P. for Brightside in 1897, lost his seat to the Conservative Candidate at the 'Khaki' election of 1900 because of his 'Pro-Boer' views¹⁴⁷.

There was a considerable majority of Liberal Leaguers on the City Council (see Table 4.2) and the likelihood is that 'Pro-Boers' were over-represented on the Council in relation to their numbers in the city as a whole. In 1905 the League had 2,045 members, which Clegg said was the largest total for any branch in the country¹⁴⁸. The Pro-Boers, in contrast, were an intellectual clique.

143. Quoted Fowler, op.cit., p.109.

144. W.W. 1905, p.222.

145. Crowther was a member of his Congregation.

146. Cf. H.J.Wilson's listing of Liberals 'against war' and those 'for war or doubtful' - n.d. Wilson MSS 2521-24.

147. Maddison was readopted by the Brightside Liberals despite his views on the war. At the election campaign Derry (a Councillor for the division) supported him but made his own views on the war clear and Clegg excused 29,800 himself from involvement. W.E.Clegg/H.J.Wilson 19.7.00, Wilson MSS 5957, S.I

148. Annual Meeting of Sheffield & District branch of Liberal League, 13 Feb 1905. Wilson MSS 5903, p.2.

TABLE 4.2 : Liberal Leaguers and 'Pro-Boers' on Sheffield City Council 1901 - 5.

Liberal Members of Sheffield City Council, 1901-5

Session	Total	Supporter of Lib League		"Pro-Boer"		Unknown
		known	probable	known	probable	
1901-2	35	16	2	10	4	3
1902-3	33	16	1	10	3	3
1903-4	32	17	-	10	3	2
1904-5	30	15	-	11	1	3

Sources: General: Wilson's listing of those 'against war' and those 'for war or doubtful', n.d., Wilson MSS 2521-24.

Pro-Boers: signatures to circular, 29 Sep 1899 (ibid., 2521-1) Executive of S.Africa Conciliation Committee (circular, April 1900, ibid., 2521-21); those listed by Wilson as breakfasting at Osgathorpe, 21 May 1902 (ibid., 5901); those at a meeting of anti-war Liberals (n.d., ibid., 5916).

Lib League: Officers and members present at inaugural meeting of League. (op.cit.), stewards at Lord Rosebery's meeting, 13 Oct 1903. (MS, ibid., 5902), subscribers (circular 9 Dec 1902, ibid., 5903).

The policy of the Liberal League was to permeate the party from within, rather than create a separate faction with the possibility of producing a split. In Parliament, this plan of infiltration failed, largely because Rosebery refused to challenge the leadership of Campbell-Bannerman. In Sheffield its effects were far more devastating, and the result had the national organisation continued in existence can only be conjectured.

A telegram from Oliver Wilson to his father in London in April 1902 informed him that J.C. Skinner, the Liberal agent in Sheffield, had resigned in order to become the district representative of the Liberal League¹⁴⁹. A few weeks later it became obvious that Skinner intended to remain in the office of the United Liberal Committee while doing the work of the Liberal League¹⁵⁰. In this action he was supported by Batty Langley and the majority of the Executive of the Committee. Howard Wilson estimated in April 1903 that fourteen out of the twenty-six members of the Executive were Liberal Leaguers, with another four favourable towards it¹⁵¹.

The aim of the League quite evidently was to take over both the United Liberal Committee and the Municipal Elections Committee, a separate body. At the inaugural meeting of the League, concern was expressed by some members about the national League's policy of promoting the selection and election of Parliamentary candidates who supported Lord Rosebery's Chesterfield policy. Did this presume a clash of rival electoral organisations? The resolution adopted agreed to "promote the selection, by Liberal Associations, of candidates who support (the Chesterfield policy)"¹⁵².

This was cunning, for it preserved the appearance of unity, while allowing the Liberal League to build up a separate organisation for all purposes but those relating to elections. Its position was in marked contrast to that of the 'anti-Leaguers'¹⁵³ who had only the disunited Liberal

149. 25 April 1902, Wilson MSS 5901.

150. Cf. 'Re Skinner's Resignation', T/S, Wilson MSS 5901.

151. Notes on interview with Sir F. Mappin, 6 April 1903, Wilson MSS 5896. Howard Wilson was J. Wycliffe Wilson's son and the secretary of the United Liberal Committee.

152. Liberal League, Inaugural Meeting, on.cit., p.17, (my emphasis).

153. This seems a better description of the heterogeneous group of opponents to the League than 'Pro-Boers', which loses its significance after 1902.

Committee for organisation. Many Liberals transferred their subscriptions from the Committee to the Liberal League, and the constituencies of Attercliffe¹⁵⁴, Central, Ecclesall and Hallam affiliated. The Sheffield Independent under Derry's editorship spoke for the League, leaving the anti-Leaguers without a voice¹⁵⁵.

It would not be overstating the case to say that the Wilsons' financial generosity to the United Liberal Committee, combined with Sir Frederick Mappin's idiosyncratic position saved the anti-Leaguers from electoral extinction. Their money kept the electoral organisation running, and no member of the Liberal League was prepared to take over the financial liability.¹⁵⁶ There is no doubt that Mappin was temperamentally a supporter of the League, but at the Wilsons' prompting he declared himself opposed to the setting up by the League of a rival organisation with its own agent, and agreed to remain President of the United Liberal Committee¹⁵⁷.

A new conflict now split the party on similar but not identical lines. One of the major concerns of Liberal Nonconformists was non-sectarian education. From 1872-76, after the passing of the 1870 Forster Education Act the Sheffield Nonconformist Committee fought tooth and nail for the abolition of state aid for denominational schools¹⁵⁸. In the nature of things such aid was bound to go mostly to Anglican and Catholic Schools. H.J.Wilson declared "that he failed to see why he should pay for the education of children who would be taught that he himself would end in Hell because he was not a Roman Catholic".¹⁵⁹

154. The question provoked strong disagreement at Attercliffe. Wycliffe Wilson was chairman, and he was supported by Charles Skelton, James Knowles, Shepherd and J.C.Whiteley. The Liberal Leaguers were led by Charles Castle, Benjamin Chapman and J.H.Davidson. Batty Langley attempted to sit on the fence. The decision was taken after attempts had been made to avoid taking a vote. Cf. J.W.Wilson/H.J.Wilson 17.6.02, Circular 18.6.02, A/c of meeting (n.d.), O.C.Wilson/H.J.Wilson 17.6.02, Wilson MSS 5916.

155. Sheffield was not typical in this respect. The Manchester Guardian and the Yorkshire Post, for example, spoke for the anti-Leaguers.

156. J.W.Wilson/H.J.Wilson 3.5.02, Wilson MSS 5901.

157. It was John Wycliffe Wilson who persuaded him not to resign. Cf. "Resignations" MS Wilson MSS 5901 (which discloses that Mappin sent Wilson his resignation on 2 May 1902), J.Wycliffe Wilson/F.Mappin 3.5.02, ibid.; S.D.T. 6 May 1902 (stating the rumour of Mappin's intended resignation); United Liberal Committee, Circular, 6.5.02, ibid. (stating Mappin's revised views).

158. Sheffield Nonconformist Committee, Members Leaflet 1874-5, in the possession of R.E.Wilson. The Wilsons were prominent members. H.J.Wilson's aim, never shared by more moderate members, was completely secular education. Cf. D.E.Fletcher, op.cit., pp.104-5.

159. Fowler, op.cit., p.39.

In 1902 a new Educational Bill was passed by the Conservative government reintroducing the finance of education through the borough rate and abolishing the only feature of the 1870 Act which the Nonconformists had liked - the School Boards. As in 1872, a campaign of 'passive resistance', that is, refusal to pay the borough rate, began.

Such an issue was one around which Liberals could unite, and indeed the National Emergency Education Committee set up to oppose the passing of the Act¹⁶⁰, was supported by the Wilsons, Clegg, Derry, Batty Langley, Skelton, Styring and Hadfield. As in 1872, however, when Leader and Mundella eventually became exasperated with the Wilsons' stand, the prolonged resistance of the Nonconformists in the end alienated other elements within the party.

The United Liberal Committee held a meeting on 10th April 1902 to discuss the question of co-operating with the Bill. Regarding himself as in a 'hopeless minority' in the party, Derry argued that it was "wrong to try to 'smash' what contained good". Clegg also spoke in favour of accepting the Bill, but he and Derry got no support from other members of the Committee¹⁶¹. As at national level, the Liberal League was hopelessly divided in its reactions to the issue. It says much for Clegg's standing in the Sheffield party that his will not only prevailed, but was eventually accepted with little trouble¹⁶².

Clegg, H.J. Wilson told him, treated the feelings of Nonconformists in an "extraordinary and painful manner".¹⁶³ His change of heart after the passage of the bill was immediate, and his autocracy in implementing it complete. The temporary Liberal majority on the City Council gave the party the right to decide the structure and composition of the new Education Commit-

160. National Education Emergency Committee, Pamphlet, Wilson MSS 2610-11.

The Liberals and the 1902 Act also discussed in Abadie, op.cit., pp.270-3.

161. O.C. Wilson/H.J. Wilson, 10 April 1902, Wilson MSS 5896. Oliver Wilson commented that if they had had a man ready, another President could have been elected then and there.

162. An exceptional Leaguer was J.H. Davidson, who made a speech against the Education Act at a meeting of the League in 1905. Howard Wilson/H.J. Wilson, 12 Dec 1906, Wilson MSS 5903.

163. H.J. Wilson/W.E. Clegg, June 13 1903, Wilson MSS 2608-1.

tee (which replaced the School Board) and it seems clear that Clegg's change of policy was occasioned first by his Anglicanism, which prevented him in the last resort from sympathising with Nonconformist protests, and secondly by the vistas of power opened to him and to Liberal Councillors by the prospect of control of the Education Committee¹⁶⁴.

At least three different schemes for the new Committee were submitted - by the Conservative leader, Alderman Cattell, by John Derry and by Robert Styring¹⁶⁵. One way of counteracting the worst effects of the Act would have been heavily to weight the Committee in favour of the Nonconformists. Robert Styring's scheme came closest to doing this, by including among the forty members, four delegates specifically from schools with "no denominational atmosphere" and under the control of the Education Committee¹⁶⁶. The scheme which was finally chosen, however, was Derry's, which provided for special representation of Anglican and Catholic Schools, but not of non-sectarian schools.¹⁶⁷ When the "passive resisters" objected, Clegg claimed that the majority of places on the Committee (those for previous School Board members, City Councillors and representatives of the University) had no religious specification, and that among the first Committee chosen, Nonconformists would outnumber Churchmen¹⁶⁸. The point was, of course, that the Church had guaranteed representation, while the Nonconformists did not.

Clegg and the League survived, because the Nonconformists were themselves divided over the League. The issue made relations between the League and the anti-Leaguers more difficult however and it was only because of Mappin's intervention that discussions were held about the appointment of a joint agent¹⁶⁹. His ploy, that of dividing his subscription equally

164. Clegg became the Chairman of the Education Committee in 1904 after the death of Sir Henry Stephenson, the first chairman, who helped Derry draft the successful scheme. (see below)

165. Cf. Councillor Cattell's draft scheme for Education Committee, 28 Jan 1903, Styring MSS, 3432; Mr. Styring's Observations on draft scheme for Education Committee and suggested alterations and additions, 29 Jan 1903, ibid.; Lord Mayor's suggestions on Councillor Derry's Draft Scheme, ibid.

166. Mr. Styring's Observations....., on.cit.

167. This scheme was passed with Conservative support.

168. W.E.Clegg/J.W.Wilson, 2.2.1903, Styring MSS 3432.

169. Cf. W.E.Clegg and H.J.Wilson, circular, 5 Feb 1903, Wilson MSS 5916, W.E.Clegg/Howard Wilson, 26.5.03, ibid.

between the League and the United Liberal Committee¹⁷⁰, eventually worked in favour of the former. By 1904 the League had gained control of the Municipal Elections Committee, the subscriptions of the United Liberal Committee were falling, it still had no agent, and little registration work was being done. Howard Wilson concluded, "the League has got a plain hold on the most influential people here".¹⁷¹

The result of the 1906 "Liberal Landslide" General Election was extremely bad for the party in Sheffield, although Brightside was regained and the majority in Hallam reduced to eighty-one votes, Conservatives were routed in other parts of the country. Outside Sheffield, only three other Conservative seats were retained in the whole of Yorkshire¹⁷². The Sheffield result was partly due to the popularity of tariff reform in certain parts of the city but also due to the continued Liberal division. The successful Liberal candidates in Brightside and Attercliffe were both Leaguers¹⁷³.

Under Campbell-Bannerman's leadership, the party turned its interests to social reform and reform of the House of Lords. The national Liberal League had an increasingly marginal position, and with hindsight can be seen to have "died" in 1906¹⁷⁴. This was partly because while the League became increasingly anti-Socialist, the party in Parliament preserved a neutral, if not a favourable stance. An electoral agreement with the Labour Representation Committee was concluded in 1903.

Unlike the national organisation, the League in Sheffield was stronger than ever after 1906. Clegg had pledged the national League Headquarters to keep it going in Sheffield and received a quarter of all local expenses from the national body. The result was that the League was raising twice as much money as the party had been able to raise before its formation and was able

170. Cf. F. Mannin/H.J. Wilson, 1.4.03, ibid.

171. Howard Wilson/H.J. Wilson, 17.5.04, Wilson MSS 5897, see also 30.4.04, ibid.

172. Cf. A.K. Russell, Liberal Landslide, Newton Abbot, 1973, p.153.

173. Batty Langley in Attercliffe and Tudor Walters in Brightside.

174. Cf. Cuttings from Daily News, June 1910, Wilson MSS 5919. The League officially 'died' in June 1910.

to offer in October 1906 to take over the registration work of the moribund United Liberal Committee¹⁷⁵. This caused some dissension among Leaguers, notably John Derry and John H. Davidson, opposed to a change in the 'permeation' policy¹⁷⁶. At a meeting of the United Liberal Committee Executive a motion to disband was defeated by five votes to four¹⁷⁷.

The success of Labour candidates in working-class wards¹⁷⁸ was by 1907 seriously threatening the Liberal party. Clegg complained in 1909 that the intervention of the Labour party had not only caused direct loss of seats, but also the loss of Liberal seats to the Tories at Brightside in 1893 and 1895, Attercliffe in 1905 and 1907, Burngreave and Hillsborough in 1906, Heeley in 1907 and 1909, and Walkley in 1908¹⁷⁹.

Clegg's views on "socialism" as stated during the 1907 election campaign were,

"he was a Socialist, as every progressive man must be. But there was a great difference between his Socialism and that spurious kind enunciated by Mr. Keir Hardie and his followers in Sheffield. True Socialism meant the provision of those things which were necessary for the benefit and advantage of the people as a whole, and which could not be adequately supplied by private enterprise, and which it should be the duty of the municipality to have control of. Spurious Socialism was that which preached the confiscation of other people's goods without payment and by force - which did away with the natural ambition of individual men, which meant the levelling down of individuals instead of the levelling up and the nationalisation of various things without paying for them". 180

The 1907 Municipal Election was the first at which the Liberal campaign was

overtly anti-Socialist¹⁸¹, partly because it was the first occasion on which

175. Howard Wilson/H.J. Wilson, 1.10.06, 10.11.06; J.W. Wilson/H.J. Wilson, 4.10.06, Wilson MSS 5898.

176. Davidson moved a resolution at a League meeting in December 1906 to invite Campbell-Bannerman to come and speak in Sheffield saying that if he thought the Liberal League was in a majority on the United Liberal Committee, then he would resign from the former. Howard Wilson/H.J. Wilson, 11.12.06, 12.12.06, Wilson MSS 5903. Derry spoke in favour of the United Liberal Committee being recalled at an Ecclesall Liberal Association meeting in April 1905. Howard Wilson/H.J. Wilson, 6.4.05, Wilson MSS 5898.

177. Draft Resolution, MS, circular 16.11.06, Wilson MSS 5898.

178. After Tom Shaw, the first Labour members elected were R.C. Murray, for Brightside in 1905, Thomas Hemmings (Darnall) and R.B. Padley (Brightside) in 1906, and Alfred Barton (Brightside) in 1907. See also below, pp. 174-5.

179. W.E. Clegg, Memo on Socialism, Nov 1909, Wilson MSS 5906.

180. 23 Oct 1897, quoted Hawson, op.cit., p.291. Arthur Marwick comments that when William Harcourt remarked in the 1880s, "we are all Socialists now", "what he really meant was we are all collectivists now". Britain in the Century of Total War, London, 1968, Pelican Edition, 1970, p.28.

181. Even so, Clegg also made anti-socialist speeches at the 1906 election campaign. Cf. S.D.T. Nov 1 1906, Abadie, op.cit., p.227. He was also approached about an anti-socialist/alliance with the Conservatives before the election - Cf. S.D.T. Oct 31 1906.

Labour candidates directly challenged the seats of their former Lib-Lab colleagues on the Trades Council. Tom Shaw was beaten by Alfred Barton and both Whiteley and Bailey came close to defeat. The Liberals were also beaten by Conservative candidates in Neensend and Sharrow, who claimed that the Liberals were trying to sit on two stools - opposing the Socialists and yet trying to get the support of Socialist voters¹⁸². Afterwards Clegg claimed that the Tory campaign had helped the Labour Party in the East End¹⁸³.

The anti-socialist stance, popular with many of the members of the League and with most of the Lib-Labs¹⁸⁴, was also the cause of disharmony. John Derry, who had tried to conciliate with the I.L.P. in his editorials in the Independent was forced against his wish to adopt an uncompromising stance¹⁸⁵. In September 1908 he resigned his editorship of the Independent and, along with Neal, transferred his allegiance to the Wilsons.

The position of the anti-Leaguers was much strengthened by the result of the 1906 election. While specifically 'Faddist' issues were placed on one side, their concern with social reform and labour issues was vindicated¹⁸⁶. On collectivism H.J.Wilson wrote in 1909,

"It seems to me we are entering on extremely difficult ground, if we undertake to define what we think today is the duty of the state". 187

In 1909, because of the death of the League as a national organisation, new negotiations between the two groups were entered into. Howard Wilson had suggested in 1904 that a way of reconciliation might be found by forming a Sheffield Liberal Federation, with its own subscriptions to take over the

182. S.D.T. 2 Nov 1907.

183. S.I. 2 Nov 1907.

184. e.g. Wardley and Bailey who made a 'vigorous attack' on the new Labour Councillors - cf. Hawson, op.cit., p.292.

185. Sheffield Guardian, 20 July, 1 Nov 1906. The editorials were published during November 1906.

186. The transition from 'Faddism' to social reform has been characterised as the change from 'old' to 'new' Liberalism, the latter subsuming Socialism and Liberalism within a commitment to collectivism - cf. K.O.Morgan, The Age of Lloyd George, London, 1971, Chapter 1; P.F.Clarke, Lancashire and the New Liberalism, Cambridge, 1971, passim.

187. One Liberal, J.W.Crowther, went so far as to accept the whole L.R.C. Municipal Programme. H.J.Wilson/W.E.Clegg, 2 Dec 1909, Wilson MSS 5906.

work of the Municipal Elections Committee¹⁸⁸. The previous system of having separate funds for each division was thought to be a source of weakness¹⁸⁹. The first Executive meeting of the Sheffield Liberal Federation was held on February 20th, 1909 with W.E.Clegg becoming chairman, Howard Wilson secretary and J.C.Skinner, agent¹⁹⁰. All five divisions except Brightside agreed to affiliate by July 1909.

In Brightside the dissension of H.J.Wilson held up affiliation until November 1909. Wilson had been saddened by the refusal of the party to enter into the spirit of the L.R.C.pact, and support the Labour candidate at the Attercliffe Parliamentary by-election in 1909¹⁹¹. He also believed that the Federation was a new vehicle for Clegg's autocracy. An agent had been appointed without any guarantee of finance, there was no certainty that the League had ceased to exist, as Skinner stated, and Clegg was already acting in this over-centralised body as if the Federation spoke for the whole party, before Brightside had affiliated¹⁹². Agreement had been reached by the Brightside Liberals to support the Labour candidate at the 1909 municipal elections. The Wilsons were in disagreement for the first time over support for the Federation - Howard Wilson and Wycliffe Wilson speaking guardedly in its favour as a means of Liberal unity¹⁹³. H.J.Wilson, supported only by John Derry, was forced to back down after failing to move the divisional association against affiliation¹⁹⁴.

In November Clegg destroyed the Brightside electoral agreement with Labour by entering into "some kind of compact" with the Conservatives to "smash the Socialists".¹⁹⁵ After the elections (in which the Brightside

188. Howard Wilson/H.J.Wilson, 17.5.04, Wilson MSS 5897.

189. Sheffield Liberal Federation, circular, June 1910, Wilson MSS 5919.

190. Circular, 20 Feb 1909, Wilson MSS 5905.

191. J.W.Wilson had supported this refusal - cf. J.W.Wilson/H.J.Wilson, 21 May 1906, Wilson MSS (S.U.L.) 29/22; 13 Nov 1906, ibid., 29/39.

192. O.C.Wilson/J.C.Skinner, 22.2.09, Wilson MSS 5905; J.W.Wilson/H.J.Wilson, 7.11.09, ibid., 5919.

193. J.W.Wilson/H.J.Wilson 7.11.09, Wilson MSS 5919 - H.J.Wilson made the MS comment "they have kicked me out".

194. Wilson commented, "The terror of the great "Emperor" had fallen on them". H.J.Wilson/J.W.Wilson, 24.12.09, Wilson MSS 5919.

195. H.J.Wilson/J.C.Skinner 25.2.10, Wilson MSS 5906.

Labour candidate was successful) he issued a manifesto, bearing the heading of the Federation, stating his personal opposition to Socialism and claiming that because it was the stated aim of the Labour party to destroy the Liberal party,

"if the Liberal party wants to regain its position it must declare in no uncertain manner its determined opposition to revolutionary Socialism". 196

In December, the Attercliffe Liberal Association invited members to give their views as to whether the party should oppose Joseph Pointer, the Labour M.P., at the forthcoming General Election. Clegg published a letter in the Independent repudiating their action and H.J.Wilson responded to this "perfectly gratuitous piece of interference on his part"¹⁹⁷ by resigning from the Federation to organise the opposition to Clegg. He found that although Oliver Wilson and John Derry¹⁹⁸ agreed with his views, the majority of potential supporters, including Wycliffe Wilson, were anxious that Clegg should not be dismissed until he had repaid the large debt he had incurred on behalf of the Federation.

At the inaugural meeting¹⁹⁹ H.J.Wilson made a 'tactful' stand against Clegg, who in reply retracted nothing and answered none of the charges. John Derry was absent and both Styring and Skelton spoke in Clegg's favour. Clegg was unanimously endorsed as President of the Federation, but between a fifth and a quarter did not vote. The "terror of the Emperor" had not subsided. Wilson was happy, however. "The air is cleared", he wrote, "Clegg will be very careful in the future".²⁰⁰

196. W.E.Clegg, Memo on Socialism, op.cit., p.7.

197. H.J.Wilson/J.C.Skinner, 25 Feb 1910, Wilson MSS 5906. Clegg objected to Pointer being called the "Liberal and Labour" candidate and Jonas resigned from the Attercliffe Liberal Association over the issue - Abadie, op.cit., pp.232-3; S.D.T. Dec.18 1909.

198. John Derry said that Sheffield was the only place where one man issued policy pronouncements for Liberalism at large. John Derry/H.J. Wilson, 21.3.10, Wilson MSS 5907.

199. Following a/c taken from notes of H.J.Wilson's speech - MS, Wilson MSS 5907; H.J.Wilson/John Derry 24.3.10, ibid; Frederick B.Gill/C.H.Wilson, 4.4.10, Wilson MSS 5919.

200. H.J.Wilson/O.C.Wilson, 29.3.10, Wilson MSS 5907.

CHAPTER 5:

LABOUR POLITICS 1893-1913 .

A. The Emergence of the Independent Labour Party: the politics of the 1890s.

The origins of the Sheffield Labour party may be traced to the 1880s, and particularly to the founding of a Socialist Club by Edward Carpenter in 1885¹. The crucial event, however, was the founding of branches of the Independent Labour Party in 1894 by groups of trades unionists and small businessmen. The Sheffield socialists of the 1880s were "ethical" socialists, often middle class, interested in issues like education, anti-smoke and the cause of the unemployed. The I.L.P. activists of the 1890s had an interest in these things but were mainly concerned with trades union issues and with fighting elections.

Socialist ideas did not generate independently in Sheffield, but were planted by outsiders. Sheffield was influenced by the formation of the Fabian Society, the Social Democratic Federation in 1881 and the "new unionism" of the late 1880s. Unions for unskilled workers and general labourers were organised for the first time - in Sheffield these included the Steel Smelters, the Steel and Iron Workers, a branch of the Tyneside and General Labourers and organisations for railwaymen, carters, tramway-men and gasworkers². Local victories spurred the movement - the gasmen even secured a reduction in hours and an increase in wages without the need for a strike³. The influx of representatives of these unions on to the Sheffield Federated Trades Council transformed it. Originally an organisation of the skilled "craft" unions, mainly those of the "light" trades⁴, it was overwhelmed by the far larger membership of the "new" unions. There were 135 delegates to the Council in 1891, of whom less than half were drawn from the "light" trades. In 1894 44% of the dele-

1. For details, see D.K.Baruah, "Edward Carpenter and the early Sheffield Socialists", Transactions of the Hunter Archaeological Society Vol.10 Part 1(1971), pp.58-62. The anarchist element in the club is discussed by Sheila Rowbotham, "Anarchism in Sheffield in the 1890s", S.Pollard & C.Holmes (ed.), Essays in the Economic and Social History of South Yorkshire, S.Yorkshire, 1976, pp159-69.

2. For more details, see J.Mendelson, W.Owen, S.Pollard and V.Thornes, The Sheffield Trades and Labour Council 1858-1958, Sheffield, 1958, p.43.

3. Cf. article by 'D.C.', The Christian Socialist, No. 91 Vol 8, December 1890.

4. For the early history of the Federated Trades Council, see above Chapter 4, pp 134-5.

gates were drawn from the "light" trades, despite an overall increase in their numbers⁵.

The officers of the Trades Council remained the "stalwarts" of the 1880s - Charles Hobson, W.F. Wardley and Stuart Uttley - and the policy that of continued support for the Liberal party. Bowing to increasing demands for direct working-class representation on public bodies, Hobson Wardley and Uttley had been chiefly responsible for the formation of the Sheffield Labour Association in 1883 to campaign for working-class representatives of the Liberal party. In 1885 the Labour Association clashed with two Radical organisations, the Working Men's Radical Association, set up in 1884, and the Central Radical Club, established in 1883. All three organisations had originally agreed to sponsor William Rolley as Liberal candidate for Central division in the "radical labour interest"⁶. Rolley was rejected as candidate by the Central Liberal Association, and while the Labour Association accented the situation and campaigned for the chosen Liberal candidate, the Radicals refused to do so, bringing forward their own candidate, Mervyn Hawkes.

The members of the Central Radical Club and Working Men's Radical Association included some of Sheffield's earliest Socialists, like Tom Shaw, the Vice President of the Trades Council, who became a member of the I.L.P. on its formation in 1893. Jonathan Taylor⁷, a member of Hyndman's Social Democratic Federation and a lithographic printer, was for 27 years (1879-1906) the Socialists' most notable representative on the Sheffield School Board, where he was an untiring advocate of free education. He founded the Sheffield Association for Promoting Sanitary Reform and the Better Housing of the Poor. He retained a relative independence from both the Sheffield I.L.P. (founded in 1894) and the S.D.F. (founded in 1896)⁸, but was strongly influential on many of their members.

5. Figures drawn from Mendelson et al., op.cit., p.43. By 1894 the representation of miners and railwaymen had greatly increased.
6. The following account is taken from D.E. Fletcher, "Aspects of Liberalism in Sheffield 1849-1886", University of Sheffield Ph.D Thesis, pp.182-4; S.A.R. 6, 17 Mar, 23 July, 23 Aug 1885.
7. Cf. W.W. 1902, p.56, W.W. 1905, p.74, S.Y.B. 1905, p.349, J. Stainton, The Making of Sheffield, Sheffield, 1924, pp.346-7. S.G. 27 July, 26 Oct, 9 Nov 1906, S.D.T. 8 Nov 1906, Obituary, S.G. 11 Nov 1910.
8. In 1906 he said that he "sympathised with both and disagreed with both", S.G. 9 Nov 1906.

Another member of the School Board and of the S.D.F., Rev. Charles Peach, founded the first Sheffield Fabian Society in 1892⁹. This held several meetings before fading away, to be revived, under rather different circumstances, in 1896. The Fabian Society stood for "permeation" of the Liberal party with Socialist ideas; both the I.L.P and the S.D.F refused all association with the Liberal party. The I.L.P. was the result of the formation of the Scottish Labour Party by Keir Hardie in 1888¹⁰. Hardie, a miner, was rejected by his local Liberal Association as a parliamentary candidate and was encouraged to form the party by the support his independent candidature received. Hardie was a socialist, but not of the Marxist S.D.F. type, with its commitment to the revolutionary method and the class struggle. The national Independent Labour Party, at its inaugural conference in Bradford in 1893, committed itself only to securing "the collective ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange", and it was recognised that the party had to appeal "to an electorate which has as yet no full understanding of Socialism".¹¹

Its programme included commitment to achieving the eight-hour day, abolition of the employment of children under fourteen, provision of "properly remunerated" work for the unemployed and free education¹² - for the I.L.P. aimed above all to appeal to the trades unions and the "rank and file" of the working-class; it was in this sense quite different from the intellectual "cliques" founded in the 1880s which, in comparison, the S.D.F., Edward Carpenter's Socialist Club, and even the Fabian Society, had been.

The first Sheffield branch of the I.L.P. was probably Brightside, formed in 1893 or early 1894¹³. Several more branches began in 1894, as A.G. Wolfe,

9. See S.A.R. 30 Mar, 25 Apr 1892. H. Dale Abadie, "Sheffield Politics 1885-1910: Organisation, Ideology and Political Behaviour", University of California, Los Angeles, Ph.D. Thesis., 1971, p.220.

10. For the following account, see R.E. Dowse, Left in the Centre, London, 1966, pp.2-6.

11. Katherine Conway, quoted H. Pelling, The Origins of the Labour Party 1880-1900, Oxford, 1965, p.118.

12. Ibid., p.119.

13. It is mentioned as being already in existence in The Hammer, 19 May 1894. I have found no documentary evidence about the formation of this branch, but this may come to light when the Francis Johnson Papers, (at Harvester Press for microfilming from 1977 until the present (sent 1979)) are again available to scholars.

the I.L.P. organiser in Sheffield, explained to Keir Hardie.

"We have now got 4 I.L.P.s formed here in Sheffield. The Central (late S.D.F.) with a membership of about 250; Attercliffe (late S.D.F.) with a membership of 60; Ecclesall (late S.D.F.) with a membership of 25 - and Brightside I.L.P. with about 60. Since I have joined the I.L.P. (a fortnight ago) I have got lists of names for other places. Carbrook(12), Darnall (12), Heeley (15), Park District(25) - while the Brightside men are getting together a branch at Grimesthorpe. We have got club rooms in the Central, Brightside and Attercliffe, and intend to start clubs in other parts. With another 2 months work we ought to have a dozen sound Labour clubs going in Sheffield". 14

Trade distress in the autumn of 1893 was partly responsible, but this remarkable upsurge of interest, especially strong in the East End of the City, was in large part due to the activities of the Attercliffe Liberal Association. In a series of events almost exactly paralleling those of the 1885 election in Central division, but with very different results in the new climate of working-class opinion, the Attercliffe Liberal Association turned down the Sheffield Labour Electoral Association's chosen candidate, Charles Hobson, for a pending by-election¹⁵. A Trades Council motion to endorse a separate I.L.P. candidate was passed by forty-three votes to thirty-eight, and after an enthusiastically-fought campaign largely paid for by working-men, Smith secured fourteen per cent of the total votes cast¹⁶.

It was a significant result. Attercliffe was only the second I.L.P. Parliamentary contest in the country¹⁷, and Henry Pelling claims that the events of this election caused many to leave the Liberal party - including Ramsay MacDonald who said that "Liberalism, and more particularly local Liberal Associations, have definitely declared against Labour"¹⁸ The division was flooded with national campaigners, including Dr. and Mrs. Pankhurst, Keir

14. A.G.Wolfe/Keir Hardie, 15 June 1894, quoted Joyce Brown, "Attercliffe 1894: How one local Liberal Party failed to meet the challenge of Labour", Journal of British Studies, Vol XIV, No.2. (May 1975), p.64.

15. This is described above, Chapter 4, pp.140-1. For a full account of the events leading up to the election, see Joyce Brown, Ibid., pp.48-77. The Labour Association became the Labour Electoral Association in 1894 (S.R.B.1894, p.46).

16. For general election results, see Appendix 3.

17. Not counting Keir Hardie's election in 1892, before the formation of the I.L.P. The first contest was at Halifax in 1893.

18. Quoted Pelling, op.cit., p.165.

Hardie, Ben Tillett, Pete Curran and William Saunders, and local working people were for the first time confronted by the I.L.P. message - the "only hope"¹⁹. A.G.Wolfe's boast in June that the I.L.P. was "getting a hold on the Federated Trades Council"²⁰ was amply justified by the result of the vote on endorsement, even though a motion to meet the Liberal Association for discussion was passed in September by thirty-eight votes to thirty-five.²¹

Prominent among the early members of the I.L.P. was Tom Shaw²², the Vice President of the Trades Council and a member of the Typographical Association. He became the first chairman of the Sheffield branch of the I.L.P., the President of the Yorkshire Federation of the I.L.P. and a member of the National Administrative Council under Keir Hardie's chairmanship. The chief organiser of the Attercliffe branch was R.E. "Dick" Jones²³, a member, and later Secretary of the Engineers' Union. Born and brought up in Attercliffe, he became a member of the Wesleyan Church at the age of eighteen and was "inspired to religious and social effort".²⁴ He joined the I.L.P. after reading Ruskin, Morris and Bellamy, but lost his job in 1908 after standing as a municipal candidate for the Labour party. Most of Sheffield's earliest I.L.P. members were converted by the ideas of the "Utopian" Socialists Ruskin, Morris and Bellamy rather than Marx.²⁷ Daniel Evans believed that Ruskin's Unto This Last was "the great modern re-assertion of the supremacy of Morals in Economics".²⁸ Among Sheffield Labour leaders, Christian faith often preceded conversion to Socialism, but seldom appears to have survived it. Joseph Pointer, Sheffield's first Labour M.P., for example, had wanted to become a Wesleyan Reform Minister before going to Ruskin College, Oxford, where

19. W.Ponpleton, writing in S.G. Jan 6 1911.
20. Quoted Joyce Brown, op.cit., p.61.
21. See The Hammer, 22 Sep 1894, S.A.R. 14 Sep 1894.
22. W.W.1902, p.54; W.W.1905, p.40. Sheffield Co-operator, July 1923. He later reverted to Lib-Labism.
23. Cf. S.G. 25 Oct 1907, 20 Mar 1908, 12 Mar 1909. Newspaper Cutting (n.d.) in Newspaper Cuttings Vol.22 (SF), p.2. (S.C.L.).
24. S.G. 25 Oct 1907.
27. This is the conclusion of a biographical study of members of the Labour party - for details, see below, pp.166-70.
28. See his annotated copy of the I.L.P. Statement of Principles in Newspaper Cuttings Vol 22 (SF) p.47.

instead "Socialism became his religion".²⁹ Sheffield had few true Christian Socialists³⁰, and fewer as time went on - a volume of epigrams entitled "Golden Grain" published by the Sheffield I.L.P. in 1922 contained only one quotation from the Bible - "Love one another".³¹

A period of growth in the number of I.L.P. branches from 1894-96 was followed by the creation of a Sheffield I.L.P. Federation in 1897³². The I.L.P. sponsored candidatures at municipal elections in November 1894, 1895 and 1897, at Brightside and Attercliffe³³ in opposition to the wishes of the Lib-Labs. The Labour Electoral Association gave tacit support in the first two cases, Hobson asking the Liberal candidates to consider withdrawing in favour of the I.L.P.,³⁴ but in 1897 the I.L.P. candidate at Brightside, Charles Moorhouse, was adopted in opposition to the sitting Lib-Lab, John Davison. It is clear that by this date relations between the Labour Electoral Association and the I.L.P. had broken down. They quarrelled over subscribing to the Parliamentary fund of the T.U.C. in 1894, the Lib-Labs being afraid to antagonise the Liberals by doing this, and in 1897 Tom Shaw resigned his Vice-Presidency of the Trades Council³⁵. A revision of the rules of the Trades Council in July 1897 to include the achievement of a "more intimate connection" between trades unions on questions affecting the interests of labour suggests a temporary withdrawal of I.L.P. delegates³⁶. The I.L.P. refused to support the Lib-Lab, Fred Maddison, chosen as Liberal candidate for Brightside at a parliamentary by-election in August 1897, and, in issuing a manifesto

29. Obituary, S.I. 20 Nov 1914.

30. By which is meant those who had achieved to their own satisfaction the philosophical marriage of Christianity and Socialism, rather than those Socialists who retained a nominal religious affiliation.

31. Sheffield I.L.P., Golden Grain, Leicester, 1922.

32. Labour Annual 1897. There is little evidence about the number of branches 1894-95. The Labour Annual 1895 only lists those in Attercliffe. I.L.P. News for 1896 lists Sheffield as having four I.L.P. branches.

33. November 1894: J.A. Smith, Brightside, 661 votes; T. Hough, Attercliffe, 576; November 1895: Charles Moorhouse and R.B. Padley, Brightside, 633 and 653 votes; November 1897: Charles Moorhouse, Brightside, 296 votes.

34. Correspondence, C. Hobson/H.J. Wilson, 8/10, 10/10/1895, Wilson MSS (S.U.L.) 37P/25/18-19.

35. Mendelson et al, on.cit., p.45. S.A.R. 7 Feb 1896, S.F.T.C. Annual Report. Year ending 29 Feb 1896, p.11.

36. Rules of the Sheffield Federated Trades Council, revised July 1897, pp.2-3.

advising working-men not to vote for Maddison, in effect gave their support to the only other candidate - the Conservative, James Fitzalan Hone³⁷.

I.L.P. delegates returned to the Trades Council early in 1898, but after a "disorderly meeting" in which the adoption of Tom Shaw as candidate for an Attercliffe municipal by-election was forced through by I.L.P. members, the Council resolved not to further involve itself in elections to public bodies³⁸. The Labour Electoral Association withered away, taking no part in the extraordinary events of 1900 in which Tom Shaw was given a clear passage to the City Council for Brightside ward with no opposition from the Liberals. The Liberal Association wanted a Lib-Lab for the seat, and W.R. Wright of the Typographical Society argued that an I.L.P. candidate was suitable because of "the unity of the Labour Party"³⁹. If such unity had been achieved by 1900 it must have been because of the local Labour Electoral Association's collapse and the national formation of the Labour Representation Committee which, not having a specific commitment to socialism, was far more attractive to formerly Liberal trades unionists.⁴⁰ But it seems likely that the Brightside Liberal Association was aware that Shaw's "independence" was wavering. He stood as a "Liberal and Labour" candidate in 1901 and refused to commit himself to independence from the Liberal party in 1904⁴¹.

Sheffield Labour politics in the 1890s involved a number of different, sometimes competing, groups - the I.L.P., the Labour Electoral Association, the Fabian Society, the S.D.F. and the Socialist Society. In 1900 the national I.L.P., the Fabian Society, the S.D.F. and non-socialist trades unionists came together to form the national Labour Representation Committee, and in 1904 a similar organisation was inaugurated in Sheffield. The S.D.F., which had languished on the formation of the I.L.P. in 1894 but which had another thriving

37. For a description of the I.L.P.'s campaign, see H. Dale Abadie, op.cit., pp. 205-9. Maddison won the election, but by the very narrow margin of 192 votes.

38. S.I. 9 June 1898, S.D.T. 20 Aug 1898. Cf. also account of election in S.G. 18 April 1913. Tom Shaw lost the election to the Liberal candidate, James Knowles, on 27 June.

39. S.I. 23 July 1900.

40. The L.R.C. was formed in March 1900.

41. In November 1904 he stood purely as a trade union candidate, his expenses being paid by the Typographers Union. Sheffield L.R.C., Annual Report No.1 (1903/5), pp. 6-7.

Sheffield branch in 1896⁴², became the major party of opposition to the "watering down" of socialist policy, as represented first by the constitution of the I.L.P., and then by that of the Labour Representation Committee. The S.D.F. was succeeded in its role of socialist agitator by the British Socialist Party in 1911 and then by the British Communist Party in 1920. Edward Carpenter's contribution to Sheffield Socialism did not cease with the demise of his Socialist Club in 1891. In 1896 he formed a new Socialist Society with principles similar to those of William Morris's defunct Socialist League and with the aim of stirring up "some of the backwaters of Socialism in Sheffield".⁴³ Like the Socialist Club it was essentially an educative body and had few close ties with the trades unions. Although Carpenter personally influenced many trades unionists, his society remained isolated from the main stream of Sheffield labour politics, contributing to it by lectures and pamphlets such as How to prevent poverty by the Secretary, W.J.Sears, in 1903. The Socialist Society eventually combined with the Sheffield branch of the S.D.F. in 1908.

B The Labour Representation Committee (1900-1908)⁴⁴

In a letter to Ramsay MacDonald in 1905, G.H.B.Ward, the secretary of the Sheffield Labour Representation Committee, spoke of "this benighted city of Liberal Labourism", and of their problems in securing the support of Liberal trades unionists for independent Labour politics⁴⁵. The I.L.P.'s initial period of expansion, 1894-97, was not followed up in the years 1898-1902. The Lib-Labs retained a precarious predominance on the Trades Council

42. Labour Annual 1896, p.112, 1897, p.94. No branch is mentioned in the Annual for 1898-1900.

43. Newspaper Cutting, (Sent 6 1899) in Newspaper Cuttings (Carpenter Collection) Box 2 (S.C.L.), p.95. This cutting refers to the formation of a Society in 1899, but it appears from D.K.Baruah, op.cit., p.62, that the society had originally been formed in 1896.

44. The following account is based mainly on L.R.C. Annual Reports and Minutes, Transport House Archival Collections and the Sheffield Guardian. A shorter account, by Prof. S.Pollard, based mostly it appears, on the minutes, may be found in Mendelson et al, op.cit., pp.48-57.

45. G.H.B.Ward/J.R.MacDonald, 7/5/05, Labour Representation Committee MSS, 14/332.

sufficient to control the Executive elections and to prevent endorsement of independent Labour election candidatures. Probably through lack of money⁴⁶, the I.L.P. put forward no more candidates for parliamentary or municipal elections - the only Socialist to stand for election between 1898 and 1903 was W.J.Sears of the Socialist Society in December 1902⁴⁷. Among Lib-Labs, sitting Councillors alone contested elections. A letter to the Independent in 1902 charged the Trades Council with being "municipally miserably ineffective" and Charles Hobson replied admitting that it had "disgraced" itself.⁴⁸

The I.L.P. did not command the support of all the "heavy" and "ancillary" tradesunions on the Trades Council. These unions had a large majority on the Council, but a smaller group comprising only the engineers, railwaymen, gas-workers and tramwaymen formed the real "backbone" of the Socialist Labour movement⁴⁹. The formation of a national Labour Representation Committee, bringing together both Socialists and trades unionists was therefore welcomed. Even the Trades Council Executive, concerned about the demise three years earlier of its own Labour Electoral Association, was interested enough to organise a visit to the Council by James Ramsay MacDonald, the secretary of the national L.R.C., in July 1900⁵⁰. MacDonald's demand for total independence from Liberal election campaigns was rejected by the Executive, however, and although the Trades Council, under pressure from its left wing, affiliated to the Labour Representation Committee in 1902, the Lib-Labs resisted all attempts to form a Sheffield branch until the spring of 1903.

The railway, building trades and engineers' union delegates to the Trades Council were determined on a Labour candidate for Brightside division and resented the way the Council Executive for several months dragged its feet

46. The Engineers' Lock-out of 1898 drained the finances of one of the I.L.P.'s most important contributors, the Amalgamated society of Engineers. Precision on this point is precluded by the lack of availability of any Trades Council Annual Reports or Minutes for this period.

47. He stood in St. Philip's ward in opposition to a Conservative and a Liberal and gained 81 votes.

48. Cited in H.Sykes/J.R.MacDonald n.d.(1902), Labour Representation Committee MSS 6/362.

49. Cf. Mendelson et al, op.cit., pp.47-48. Prof. Pollard argues that the alienating conditions of work among these employees "formed the ideal breeding ground of Socialists". (p.47).

50. See notice of meeting, 4 July 1900; Stuart Uttley/J.R.MacDonald, 12 & 27 June 1900, Labour Representation Committee MSS 1/414, 2/24, 2/290.

over the issue⁵¹. Only after the Trades Council had formed its own separate Parliamentary and Municipal Elections Committee in January 1903⁵² did it agree to call another conference with MacDonald. After this conference the extent of the feeling over independent Labour Parliamentary candidates became such that the Lib-Labs were outvoted at a crucial meeting in June⁵³. A Sheffield Labour Representation Committee with a constitutional commitment to political independence was formed. Five members of the I.L.P. headed the list of committee members and the officers were all members of the engineering printing and building unions, the I.L.P. and the S.D.F.⁵⁴ Only two Executive members (out of nineteen) were from the "light" trades, and the Lib-Labs refused to have anything to do with the new committee.

Ramsay MacDonald believed that a purely socialist Labour Representation Committee would be "simply disastrous"⁵⁵ and his view was endorsed by both G.H.B. Ward and Charles Hobson. Ward was the leader of a moderate group of trades unionists within the Council, some of whom were not members of the I.L.P.,⁵⁶ who tried between 1903 and 1908 to maintain industrial and political unity with the Lib-Labs. Hobson, the most conciliatory of the Lib-Labs, resigned his Presidency of the Trades Council in November 1903, probably because of a scandal which had earlier enforced his resignation from all other public bodies⁵⁷. A Joint Committee of the Trades Council and the Labour Representation Committee worked out a compromise constitution which was approved by both bodies during April and May 1904. Lib-Labs were required to be independent of both main parties but allowed to appear on Liberal platforms when purely Labour issues were being discussed⁵⁸. It was an unsatisfactory solution but inevitable in view of the fact that, as Professor Pollard writes,

51. On Brightside candidature, see Thomas Jones/J.R. MacDonald, 28/9, 12/10, 15/1/1902, Labour Representation Committee MSS 5/227, 6/223-4; S. Uttley/J.R. MacDonald, 18/11/1902, 13, 31/1/1903, 16/3/1903, ibid., 6/358, 6/360-361, 7/355; H. Sykes/J.R. MacDonald, 12/11/1902, ibid., 6/363.

52. S.A.R. 9 Jan 1903.

53. Sheffield L.R.C., Executive Committee & Delegate Meetings, Minutes, June 5 1903.

54. Ibid., July 24 1903. The Five I.L.P. members included Barton and Pointer. For details of the industrial and political background of Executive members of the L.R.C. (later the Trades and Labour Council), 1903-26, see below, Tables 5.1 and 5.2.

55. J.R. MacDonald/G.H.B. Ward, 30/9/1903, Labour Representation Committee MSS L B 2 382-383.

56. Ward was a member of the I.L.P. in 1909 (I.L.P. News 1909), but I have been unable to find evidence of any membership before that date.

57. See above, Chapter 4, p.135.

"it was designed to bring together those who were proud to be Liberals and who were convinced they could not hold their municipal seats without the support of the Liberal Party organisation, and those to whom the Liberal party was anathema and who were striving to create a Socialist mass party". 59

Most of the Lib-Labs as well as some of the I.L.P. were opposed even to this compromise and after Whiteley, Shaw and Bailey had refused to obey the required conditions during the 1904 municipal election, all the Trades Council executive with the exception of Hobson resigned from the Committee. From 1905 to 1908 only a few Lib-Labs were members of the Labour Representation Committee - the majority operated through the Trades Council, which dealt with industrial issues only.

Although G.H.B.Ward believed that "independence under L.R.C. is all right, under I.L.P. all wrong" he conceded that they were "practically one and the same thing".⁶⁰ Nearly all the Non-Trades Council delegates to the Labour Representation Committee during the years 1903-11 were members of the I.L.P. or one of the other Socialist groups (Table 5.2), and Professor Pollard has concluded that, "the influence of the I.L.P. was all-pervading".⁶¹

Among the leading I.L.P. activists of this period was Alfred Barton⁶², a former librarian turned insurance agent who became the secretary of the party in 1906 and editor of its weekly newspaper, the Sheffield Guardian, the following year. Barton was an uneasy combination of philosopher and practical man - "widely cultured"⁶³ and able to read in several different languages, he was also a "born agitator"⁶⁴ and well-known in Sheffield for his fiery speeches at the Monolith. He was converted to Socialism as a member of the Ancoats Brotherhood in Manchester in the early 1890s and joined the I.L.P. on coming to Sheffield in 1898. He became one of Sheffield's first Labour Councillors (for Brightside ward in 1907) and unsuccessfully stood for Parliament in 1918

58. For details see Handbill, Report of Trades Council and L.R.C. Joint Committee, n.d. (c. April 1904), Labour Representation Committee MSS 16/347.

59. Mendelson et al., op.cit., p.50.

60. G.H.B.Ward/J.R.MacDonald, 3/5/04, Labour Representation Committee MSS 14/331.

61. Mendelson et al., op.cit., p.54.

62. Cf. A.Barton, "Philosophy and Kings", The Bermondsey Book, Sep 1924, p.23, F.Thraves, Edward Carpenter, Memorial Service 1947, pp.9-10, S.G. 27 Oct 1907, Obituary, S.D.T. 11 Dec 1933.

63. J.P.Lamb, Obituary, Yorkshire Telegraph & Star, Dec 11 1933.

64. S.G. 27 Oct 1911.

TABLE 5.1 : Trades Union Representation on L.R.C./Trades Council Executive Committee 1903-1914.

Trades Union (s)	Average number of delegates to L.R.C./ Trades Council Executive, 1903-1914
'Heavy' Trades	5.7
'Light' Trades	1.6
Railway Workers	1.5
Building Trades	1.3
Co-operative Employees	0.9
Shop Assistants/Insurance Agents	0.7
Gas and Electrical Workers	0.6
Transport Workers	0.5
Miners	0.3
Clerks	0.1
Others and Unknown	0.1

Source

L.R.C./Trades and Labour Council, Annual Reports, 1903-1914.

TABLE 5.2 : Number of Socialist Members of the L.R.C./Trades Council Executive Committee 1903-14

Year	Number of Delegates Holding membership of I.L.P., S.D.F., or Socialist Society* ¹	Others	
		Light Trades or Federated Trades Council Representatives	Non-Socialist/Unknown Affiliation
1903-5	10	10	1
1905-6	9	9	4
1906-7	11	8	4
1907-8	11	7	4
1908-9	16	6	6
1909-10	12	1* ²	3
1910-11	11	-	9
1911-12	9	1* ²	6
1912-13	6	1* ²	9
1913-14	7	1* ²	9

*1 Socialist Society incorporated with S.D.F. after 1908. S.D.F. joined British Socialist Party in 1911.

*2 Light Trades representative only (1911-13 representative a Socialist).

Sources: L.R.C./Trades and Labour Council, Annual Reports 1903-14

Attercliffe I.L.P. Branch, Subscription Book (1903-6) S.Y.B., S.R.B., and S.G.

and 1924. R.C.Murray,⁶⁵ the first Sheffield Labour Party Councillor, was a leading member of Attercliffe I.L.P., and chairman of the Sheffield I.L.P. from 1907-9. The owner of a small laundry, he was a member of the Gasworkers' Union, and lived in Brightside for most of his early life. He resigned from the Council in 1908 and left Sheffield under suspicious circumstances⁶⁶, but later returned, becoming Parliamentary candidate for Central division in 1924, a leading member of the Sheffield Communist Party in 1920 and Divisional Organiser of the "One Big Union" in 1924.

R.B.Padley,⁶⁷ the second Labour Councillor for Brightside from 1906 to 1912 was a co-operative clerk and the President of the Brightside Co-operative Employees Society, which he also represented on the Trades Council. He was a lapsed Wesleyan and had been a member of the I.L.P. for many years. John Penny,⁶⁸ the secretary of the Sheffield I.L.P. from 1905-7, was a qualified teacher who became a journalist in his home town of Preston. In 1892 he became the first member of the Preston Fabian Society after reading Bellamy's Looking Backwards,⁶⁹ and three years later he joined the full-time staff of the national I.L.P. as assistant secretary to Tom Mann. He was the I.L.P.'s secretary from 1898 to 1903, afterwards becoming a field organiser, first in South Wales and then in South and West Yorkshire. In 1907 he and some other party members formed the Planet Insurance Society, of which he became an agent, and later a director when it was reformed as the Co-operative Insurance Society. John Rothnie,⁷⁰ a member of the I.L.P. Executive from 1906 and secretary from 1911 to 1913, was a draper, a native of Aberdeen, and associated with the Sheffield Labour movement from 1902. A skilled organiser, like

65. Cf. N.Connole, Leaven of Life, London, 1961, pp.94, 107, 112, 123; Election Adresses - Brightside Ward, November 1905, (Newspaper Cuttings Vol.22(SF), n.5); Central Division Dec 1918 (Madin MSS 16/3); S.Y.B.1908-10.

66. G.H.B.Ward suggested that he had "'sloped' to Ipswich....and taken a bit of gate money belonging to the I.L.P.Football Club", G.H.B.Ward/J.S.Middleton, 25/11/08. Labour Party Subject Files SHE/08/66.

67. Cf. S.G. 29 June 1906 (Biography and reprint of election manifesto, Brightside ward, June 1906).

68. Cf. S.G. 9 Aug 1907, Sheffield Co-operator June 1923, May 1925.

69. Several other early Sheffield I.L.P. activists were influenced by Edward Bellamy, a utopian socialist for whose ideas Henry Pelling suggests that there was far more enthusiasm in the United States than in Britain. (op.cit., n.101). The utopianism of Edward Carpenter's socialism may have facilitated Bellamy's reception in Sheffield.

70. Cf. S.G. 28 Feb 1913.

Penny, he helped to reform the Sheffield Fabian Society in 1907. Joseph Pointer,⁷¹ the chairman of the Sheffield I.L.P. from 1909 to 1914, a Councillor for Brightside ward from 1908 to 1911 and Sheffield's first Labour M.P., was a moulder's pattern-maker and a member of the United Patternmakers Association. He became a socialist while on a six-month course at Ruskin College, Oxford, and joined the I.L.P. In 1907 he played a leading part in a pattern-makers strike and lost his job; he had only temporary, unskilled jobs until his election to Parliament in 1909.

G.H.B. Ward⁷², the secretary of the Labour Representation Committee from 1903 to 1911, was a member of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers and a delegate to the Trades Council from 1900. A hard-working but sentimental man, he was a spare-time poet and writer and influenced in his thinking by his contacts with Edward Carpenter. His socialism arose from a love of nature - it was found, he said,

"in the melancholy, in the pensive, in the picture of the country-side, on ship deck 'neath the diamond-studded skies, in the sketches of the ivied cottage, in the Snatches of the simple thought, in character and simplicity, in the socialism that never seemed more present than when perhaps most absent, or least intrusive".⁷³

In 1900 he founded the Sheffield Clarion Ramblers, to organise day-trips to the Derbyshire countryside for working-men and women. At a time when much of this land was maintained as private grouse moors, these rambles inevitably led to fights with gamekeepers and landlords and to legal action. Ward co-ordinated these campaigns, later forming the Federation of Sheffield Rambling

71. Cf. J. Bellamy and J. Saville (ed.), Dictionary of Labour Biography, op.cit., Vol II pp.300-303; J. Stainton, The Making of Sheffield, op.cit., pp.54-55; Obituary, S.I. 20 Nov 1914.

72. Cf. W.W. 1905, n.257, Sheffield Clarion Ramblers, 1958/59, pp.4-13, J. Dobby, "Wards's Peace", Derbyshire Countryside Vol.22 No.5 (Aug/Sep 1957), pp.22-23; Obituaries Sheffield Morning Telegraph, 16 Oct 1957 Transactions of the Hunter Archaeological Society Vol 8 (1958), pp.30-31.

73. G.H.B. Ward, writing in S.G., 21 June 1907.

74. On his campaigns see for example his letter to the Earl of Wharnccliffe, newspaper cutting (n.d.), 10 June 1911, Newspaper Cuttings (S.C.L) Vol.29, n.106. Ward was extremely knowledgeable on the topography and history of Derbyshire, publishing over thirty books and pamphlets on the subject and preparing notes on rambles for the Sheffield Clarion Ramblers hand-book. He was elected a fellow of the Royal Geographical Society in April 1923.

Clubs and the National Conference of Ramblers' Federations⁷⁴. In 1911 he obtained a job on the staff of the Sheffield and Brightside Labour Exchanges, and three years later went to London as adviser to the Labour and Wages Department of the Ministry of Munitions. When the war ended he returned to Sheffield as adviser on local disputes to the Ministry of Labour.

H.H.Diver⁷⁵, the first President of the Labour Representation Committee⁷⁶, was a bricklayer and the Secretary of the United Kingdom Federation of Building Trades. He won a Mannin scholarship to the Technical School in 1899 and taught Drawing in Advanced Building Construction there the following year. He was a keen Clarion Rambler, and President of the Association in 1912 and from 1918 to 1920. He stood as the first official Labour Representation Committee candidate at the Darnall Municipal election of January 1904 but was defeated, afterwards losing his job and being boycotted by local building trades employees. He lost his position as President of the Labour Representation Committee in July 1904. Diver's successor as President was William Mellor⁷⁷, a signalman who rose to a leading position in the Sheffield branch of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants during the 1897 railway-men's strike. He joined the I.L.P. but left soon afterwards, in disgust at the inability of the S.D.F. and the I.L.P. to unite. He stood as a Labour candidate for Attercliffe at municipal elections in 1905 and 1906, but left Sheffield for Canada in 1907 following the breakdown of his marriage.

It was principally Ward, Diver and Mellor who, together with Charles Hobson and John Penny, the first editor of the I.L.P.'s newspaper, the Sheffield Guardian, developed the particular character of the Labour Representation Committee's policy in its early days. In 1907 the Committee stated that its general aims were:

"to secure present day practical measures of reform, to relieve the worries and uncertainties of everyday existence, to ameliorate conditions of life, of employment, to obtain comfort in old age, to wrest privileges from the monopolist and gain a greater degree of security and happiness than can ever be expected by adherence to orthodox politics".⁷⁸

75. Cf. W.W. 1905, p.256; Sheffield Clarion Ramblers 1942/3, p.85.

76. After the temporary chairmanship of William Black and R.E."Dick" Jones.

77. Cf. W.W.1905, p.255; S.G. 20 Sep 1907 (including G.H.B.Ward's MS annotation in the S.C.L.copy).

78. Sheffield L.R.C., Annual Report No. 3. (1906/7), p.17.

It accepted that these were not Socialist aims and could be achieved in co-operation with other parties but argued that the majority of trade unionists, from whom the Committee derived most of its support, were not Socialist⁷⁹. The Committee were trying to keep Independent Labour and Lib-Lab supporters together, and to produce election manifestoes which both could support. The result was a set of policies which drew on the kind of limited, social reforming measures advocated in I.L.P. manifestoes of the 1890s⁸⁰ but which also owed a great deal to the industrial and social policy developed by the Trades Council in the 1890s.

Ward's own greatest contribution was the crusade against Sheffield's very high infant mortality figures, a campaign which included control of midwives, mothers' education, regular inspection of babies and, most important of all, Council control and inspection of the milk supply. Ward wrote a pamphlet on the subject⁸¹ and was in 1906 instrumental in the formation of an Infant Mortality Committee, of which he was the only Labour member, and which recommended implementation of some of the party's demands⁸². The City Council agreed to introduce compulsory notification of births within forty-eight hours and appointed a sub-committee on infant mortality, but it was not until the end of the 1914-18 war that it implemented the full municipalisation of the milk supply demanded by Labour.

In an enthusiastic and comprehensive series of Annual Reports, the Labour Representation Committee outlined the arguments in favour of improvement of the condition of the adult blind⁸³, provision of holiday recreation,

79. Ibid.

80. See, for example, Charles Moorhouse, Election Address, Brightside ward, November 1897, Wilson MSS (S.U.L.) 37P/27/21, which includes housing reform, the eight hour day and the minimum wage and municipalisation of lighting, markets and lodging houses, but does not advocate measures of general socialisation. In 1905, the I.L.P. stated that although its ultimate object was "the establishment of an industrial commonwealth based on the socialisation of land and capital", immediate campaigning objects included the eight-hour day, free education, abolition of indirect taxation, state pensions and municipalisation of hospitals and the drink traffic. S.Y.B. 1905, p.241.

81. Infantile Mortality: its causes and cure, Sheffield L.R.C., 1905.

82. Cf. Sheffield L.R.C., Annual Report No. 3 (1906/7), pp.13-15.

83. Sheffield L.R.C., Annual Report No.2 (1905/6), p.10.

school meals, and medical inspection for children⁸⁴, and a universal old age pension system⁸⁵. Charles Hobson produced a pamphlet on the treatment and cure of consumption - "this fell disease of the workers" - and argued the case for more legal controls on the industrial conditions which produced it⁸⁶. The introduction of an unemployment bill by the Conservative government in 1905 was the occasion for a campaign against "task work" - normally stone-breaking - and the disenfranchisement of the unemployed, and in favour of the provision of public work, such as afforestation and road building⁸⁷. W.F. Wardley and Tom Shaw both took a determined stand on the direct employment of labour by the Council, and in 1906 Labour members demanded minimum wages and maximum hours for Corporation employees⁸⁸.

Partly because of the new body's modest stance, the I.L.P. refused in its early years to surrender all its accustomed independence. While the Labour Representation Committee endorsed the municipal election candidatures of its moderate presidents, H.H.Diver and Will Mellor, and of the Lib-Labs, Shaw and Bailey⁸⁹, a left-wing section of the I.L.P., supported by trades union funds, encouraged the unofficial candidatures in November 1905 of R.G. Murray of the I.L.P. in Brightside and George Fletcher of the S.D.F. in Burngreave. This group, mainly members of the Attercliffe and North Sheffield (Brightside) branches of the I.L.P., and including Alfred Barton, Dick Jones and Joe Pointer, had very close relations with the Sheffield S.D.F., which operated mostly in the Brightside and Burngreave area. George Fletcher⁹⁰ the leader of the S.D.F., was a baker and a former member of the Socialist Society who became a convinced Marxist. He played a major part in the development of the bakers' union, and formed a branch of the S.D.F. in Brightside

84. Ibid., pp.6-7, L.R.C. Annual (1907/8), pp.42-45.

85. L.R.C. Annual (1907/8), p.11.

86. L.R.C. Annual Report No. 3 (1906/7), p.12, L.R.C. Annual (1907/8), pp.36-42.

87. L.R.C. Annual Report No. 1 (1903/5), p.9, No.2. (1905/6), pp.4-5, Sheffield L.R.C. and Trades Council, Unemployed Demonstration in Sheffield, 15 July 1905, Labour Representation Committee MSS 25/30.

88. L.R.C., Annual Report No. 2. (1905/6), pp.6, No. 3, p.19.

89. Diver stood at Darnall in January 1904, Mellor at Attercliffe in November 1905, Shaw at Brightside in November 1904 and Bailey at Darnall in June 1904.

90. Cf. N.Connole, op.cit., passim.

along with Samuel Elsbury, a costumier, in the early 1900s. Elsbury and Fletcher believed that the I.L.P. were "trimmers", that is, compromisers on the question of socialism⁹¹, but the election campaigns of both parties in the East End of the city were designed to deal with immediate (non-revolutionary) solutions to labour problems⁹², and thus attract to either party the whole of the independent labour vote. When the Labour Representation Committee proposed in November 1905 to run in Attercliffe ward a candidate (Will Mellor) so moderate that he had insisted on the Committee approaching the Liberal and Conservative candidates in advance to ask them to withdraw, the Attercliffe and North Sheffield branches of the I.L.P. resigned from the Committee. Ward argued to no avail that the move was made not out of lack of independence but in order to get "a good, round insult from the Liberal party and a better three-cornered fight".⁹³ Ramsay MacDonald supported the stand of the I.L.P., writing to Joe Pointer, "there seem to be some places where the Labour movement is cursed and one is almost inclined to say that Sheffield is one of them"⁹⁴. At the following municipal election, having repudiated its action, the Labour Representation Committee endorsed and financed all the candidates of the I.L.P. Even so, and although the secessionist members had returned to the L.R.C. fold, the I.L.P. refused to put its money into the general electoral fund, but used it instead to finance Alf Barton's election campaign in Hillsborough ward⁹⁵, whilst the East End I.L.P. branches continued to support S.D.F. candidatures⁹⁶.

91. Ibid., pp.15, 16-17.

92. Samuel Elsbury's election address, Burngreave ward, November 1907, contained such general labour policies as the forty-eight hour week, reduction of child labour, provision of work for the unemployed, and municipalisation of monopolies - Wilson MSS 5990. Fletcher and Murray both campaigned on the issue of unemployment in November 1906 - cf. Connole, op.cit., pp.24-27. Hyndman, the founder of the S.D.P., was the originator of the school feeding policy, later taken up by other sections of the movement.

93. G.H.B.Ward/J.R.MacDonald, Nov 1905, Labour Representation Committee MSS 276-9. See also correspondence between Ward and MacDonald 21/9/1905, 9/10/1905. Ibid., 25/306-9, and between Pointer and MacDonald 23,25,27/9/1905 and 14/11/1905, ibid. 25/304/5, 25/240, 27/302, Mendelson et al., op.cit., p.53.

94. J.R.MacDonald/J.Pointer, 25/9/1905, ibid., 25/305.

95. Sheffield L.R.C., Annual Report No. 3. (1906/7) p.10.

96. Rowland Edwards, the President of the Attercliffe branch was Sam Elsbury's election agent in Burngreave ward - S.C. 1 Nov 1906.

The election campaigns of 1905 and 1906, fought in the wards of Brightside, Attercliffe, Darnall and Hillsborough, resulted in three victories for the I.L.P. - R.G.Murray in November 1905 and R.B.Padley in June 1906 at Brightside, and Thomas Hemmings, of the Attercliffe branch, at Darnall in July 1906. The party was doing exceptionally well during the years 1906-10⁹⁷. Branches had been established at Attercliffe, Heeley, Hillsborough, Walkley, Darnall, Park and Brightside, and membership rose from 536 in 1906 to 800 in 1910. Sixty to eighty propaganda meetings a week were held during the summer of 1908 and an I.L.P. newspaper, the Sheffield Guardian, was established in January 1906.

Under John Penny and T.M.Williams the editor, the Guardian was closely associated with Labour Representation Committee policy, even to the extent, on occasion, of finding it difficult to justify its anti-Liberal stance⁹⁸. In 1907 Williams and Penny clashed with Alf Barton to such an extent over the running of the paper that they, and many other members of the Guardian staff resigned, and Barton himself took over the editorship⁹⁹. The following October, under strong pressure from the I.L.P. and S.D.F. and after three special meetings, the Labour Representation Committee agreed to continue to contest Attercliffe, Darnall and Brightside wards, even though the retiring Councillors that year were the Lib-Labs, Whiteley, Shaw and Bailey. All three had not only refused to remain independent since 1904, but had spoken on Liberal platforms against Labour candidates. Alf Barton took the place in Brightside of Will Mellor, who refused to fight another trades unionist, and succeeded in defeating Tom Shaw. Whiteley and Bailey maintained their seats against the challenges of Dick Jones and Joe Pointer.

The intra-family election battle was brutal and painful. Joe Pointer's manifesto proclaimed in bold letters "I am independent of Liberalism and Toryism. I need no LIBERAL OR TORY CRUTCH to help me along"¹⁰⁰. The Guardian

97. For the following, see S.G. 20 July 1906, S.R.B.1907, p.247; 1908, p.274; 1909, p.271; 1910, p.262.

98. Cf. S.G. 29 June 1906.

99. This account taken from correspondence, S.G. 27 Jan 1911.

100. J.Pointer, Election Address, Darnall November 1907.

supported unofficial Labour candidates - G.A.Hall, the "I.L.P. and Fabian" candidate in Heeley, and Samuel Elsbury of the S.D.F. in Burngreave. Early in 1908 the "S.D.F. clique who are now running the I.L.P.", as G.H.B.Ward described it¹⁰¹, began a campaign to dismiss the officially-designated L.R.C. Parliamentary candidate for Attercliffe, George Dew, because of his Liberal tendencies. The question of Parliamentary candidates had been causing dis-sension between left and right wings for some time. The I.L.P. and the most prominent East End unions had tried to get the Labour Representation Committee to appoint Parliamentary candidates for Brightside and Attercliffe in 1903¹⁰², but nothing was done in time for the General Election of 1906. George Dew, of the London County Council, had been appointed prospective candidate for Attercliffe in October 1906, and a by-election was expected at any time because of the illness of the sitting Liberal member. The S.D.F. pre-empted the appointment of a Labour candidate for Brightside by putting forward their own in January 1908¹⁰³, and in March the I.L.P. voted to replace Dew, a former Lib-Lab, after a Guardian campaign alleging that if elected to Parliament, all opposition to him on the Liberals' side would be withdrawn¹⁰⁴. Dew was angrily defended by G.H.B.Ward¹⁰⁵, who himself became the target of I.L.P. criticism. In February 1908 he was accused of Liberal sympathies¹⁰⁶, and the following month, in disgust, he resigned his position on the Guardian as author of the "L.R.C. Corner"¹⁰⁷. Ward was the main opponent, along with Charles Hobson, of an I.L.P. resolution, passed in February, to sever all final connections with the Trades Council. Ward's position was supported by Ramsay MacDonald¹⁰⁸, but opposed by the majority of the members of the Labour Representation Com-

mittee. At two delegate meetings in June¹⁰⁹, it was argued that the Trades

101. G.H.B.Ward/J.R.MacDonald, 16/2/1908, Labour Party Subject Files SHE/08/14.

102. Cf. Stuart Uttley/J.R.MacDonald, 9 May 1903, Labour Representation Committee MSS 3/334, Harry Sykes (Attercliffe I.L.P)/J.R.MacDonald, 15/8. 11/10/1903, ibid. 10/397, 11/462.

103. The L.R.C. decided to leave Brightside to the S.D.F. on the vote of the left wing but with the support also of moderates like Ward and Padley who believed that the L.R.C. did not have the resources to fight two constituencies. Cf. correspondence between Ward and MacDonald and Middleton, 8, 9 Jan 1908 and n.d. (1908), Labour Party Subject Files SHE/08/7, 9 and 12.

104. Correspondence, S.G. 14, 21, 28 Feb 1908.

105. "L.R.C. Corner", S.G. 21 Feb 1908.

106. Correspondence, S.G. 28 Feb 1908.

107. Cf. G.H.B.Ward/J.S.Middleton, 23 Mar 1908, Labour Party Subject Files SHE/08/22

108. Cf. J.R.MacDonald/G.H.B.Ward 25 Feb 1908, ibid SHE/08/15.

109. The following account is taken from Mendelson et al., op.cit., p.57.

Council could no longer represent the industrial interests of all trade unionists because it was biased towards Liberalism and towards the "light" trades. Examples of engineering and tramway disputes to which the Council had turned a blind eye were given. On a vote of 45 to 27 it was decided that the Labour Representation Committee should combine political and industrial work and become the Sheffield Trades and Labour Council¹¹⁰. Transport workers, engineers, carpenters, co-operative employees, printers, insurance workers, shop assistants and members of the National Amalgamated Union of Labour soon afterwards withdrew their membership of the Federated Trades Council.¹¹¹

When the Executive Committee of the new body was announced in August, threequarters of it was made up of members of the S.D.F., the East End I.L.P. and the militant trade unions¹¹². Three moderates remained among the higher echelons - G.H.B.Ward, who easily survived the Guardian campaign to oust him from the secretaryship¹¹³, John Rothnie, who had earlier been dismissed from the Executive by the "I.L.P.crew"¹¹⁴, and Robert Padley, who became the new President.

C. "Can this Land be Fertilized?" (1908-13).

Labour's first Parliamentary victory in Sheffield came at Attercliffe in May 1909. "There were men and women weeping and singing for joy at the Baths Corner" said one writer¹¹⁵, and a huge crowd of working people gathered outside the Town Hall when the results were announced. Joseph Pointer was the successful candidate, George Dew having retired a few months previously, and the campaign was greatly helped by the presence of two Conservative candidates, and by the refusal of the City Council to allow the May Day Demon-

110. From this date until their reunion in 1920 I shall refer to the old (Lib-Lab) Council as the "Federated Trades Council" and the new one as the "Trades and Labour Council". The national "Labour Representative Committee" became the "Labour Party" in 1906 and the Trades and Labour Council used this term to denote its political wing from 1908 onwards. The S.D.F. became the Social Democratic Party (S.D.P.) in 1907.

111. S.F.T.C., Annual Report, Year ending Feb 28 1909.

112. Cf. S.G. 28 Aug 1908.

113. Cf. S.C. 7, 14, 28 Aug 1908; S.I. 29 Aug 1908.

114. G.H.B.Ward/J.R.Middleton, 27 Aug 1908, Labour Party Subject Files, SHE/08/51.

115. "A Son of Attercliffe", S.G. Obituary Supplement, 27 Nov 1914.

stration to be held in any of the city's parks. Attercliffe Recreation Ground had to be used instead, and so "a great Labour gathering was held in the heart of the constituency on the very eve of the election.....the meeting probably won Attercliffe for Labour!"¹¹⁶

The campaign to "free the parks" for Labour meetings was at its height in the summer of 1908, and was spearheaded by members of the S.D.P., after the Labour Representation Committee Executive failed to support them at the last moment in an unauthorised entry into High Hazels Park during the May Day Demonstration of that year¹¹⁷. A "Free Speech Committee" was formed, from which not only the Labour Representation Committee Executive, but also I.L.P. members like Pointer, had dissociated themselves. The Guardian, however, supported the campaign, during which George Fletcher, Samuel Elsbury and Richard Hawkin, a member of the Guardian staff, were all imprisoned.

The S.D.P. had withdrawn from the Labour Representation Committee in 1907¹¹⁸, and the Barton-led section of the Trades and Labour Council was unable to persuade it to reaffiliate. "Socialist unity" was a tantalising prospect to both groups¹¹⁹, however, and co-operation on elections and other campaigns was thought to be the way forward. Barton invited Samuel Elsbury to contribute regular articles to the Guardian in July 1908, and supported the S.D.P.'s campaign to organise the unemployed rather than work through the City Council and Boards of Guardians, as the Trade and Labour Council did. Unemployment rose during the "intense industrial depression" of late 1908 and early 1909¹²⁰, and the S.D.P., led by George Fletcher, arranged unemployment marches, meetings, and mass visits to Sunday church services¹²¹.

116. Sheffield Trades and Labour Council, Annual Report No. 6 (1909/10), p.7.

117. Cf. N.Connole, op.cit., pp.34-37.

118. Although it never again had separate representation on the Trades and Labour Council, one member, E.S.Turton, was an Executive representative for the "light" trades from 1908-10 and 1911-13, and George Fletcher was Vice-President of the Council in 1916.

119. Cf. e.g., article by Richard Hawkin, S.G. 1 May 1908.

120. Sheffield Trades and Labour Council, Annual Report No.5.(1908/9), p.18.

121. Cf. N.Connole. op.cit., pp.42-52; S.A.R. 13 Dec 1908. This had earlier been a popular tactic with the Chartists.

The establishment of the new regime on the Trades Council Executive preceded a period of general depression, in which the Attercliffe election was a happy exception to the general rule. The Council lost some members on parting from the Lib-Labs, and this, together with the effects of the Osborne Judgement and the general trade union slump, resulted in a severe shortage of finance. A special appeal had to be launched to finance Joe Pointer's second 1910 Parliamentary election campaign and the May Day processions of 1910, in contrast to those of 1909, were "woefully disappointing"¹²². The party lost seats on the Council - Darnall in 1908 and Alf Barton's at Brightside in 1910 - and there was difficulty in finding candidates - since many potential ones risked losing their employment. Even Darnall was allowed to go uncontested in November 1910, the Lib-Lab A.J. Bailey being given a free run. In addition, the Trades and Labour Council was internally divided over general strategy with the I.L.P. "S.D.F. clique" trying to devise a policy of social ownership which would cement relations with the S.D.P., and the moderate I.L.P. and trades unionist group trying to continue the policies developed before the split with the Federated Trades Council. The result was that the party had no coherent stance until 1911, only achieving unity over individual outstanding issues like the sale of the High Wincobank estate in 1908¹²³, and unsure whether to orientate its activities inwards towards the City Council or outwards, towards the "direct action" of the S.D.P. "Can it be fertilised this land so poor and cold?", G.H.B. Ward asked in 1909¹²⁴.

Joseph Pointer was associated with the I.L.P. "S.D.F. clique" in 1909, but his election to Parliament as a member of a national Labour party pledged to support certain items of Liberal policy, like House of Lords reform, had the inevitable effect on his political allegiance. He retained his seat at the two elections of 1910 with Liberal support, and while he afterwards pledged himself to the fight for the nationalisation of mining royalties, shipping,

122. Sheffield Trades & Labour Council, Annual Report No. 7 (1910/11), p. 7.

123. Cf. Sheffield Trades and Labour Council, Annual Report No. 5 (1908/9), pp. 5-10.

124. Ibid., pp. 28-29.

railways and land monopolies, he argued that the abolition of the privileges of the House of Lords must be the first step¹²⁵. Alf Barton accused him in 1911 of neglecting his independence, particularly by voting on the Liberal ticket on City Council Committees and issuing a joint "progressive policy" with Sheffield Liberals¹²⁶. In September 1910 Pointer held out an "olive branch" to the Federated Trades Council, and a Committee, at first unsuccessful, was set up to try to find a basis for reunification¹²⁷.

Pointer was supported by the majority of the members of the Trades and Labour Council, and the rift with Barton only came to a head in the latter part of 1910 over the issue of the Brightside general election. The S.D.P. had claimed the Brightside Parliamentary candidature, but all the I.L.P., including Barton, disliked the candidates chosen - Victor Fisher, who eventually retired, and Charles Lapworth, a Huddersfield newspaper reporter, who unsuccessfully contested the election of January 1910¹²⁸. Although the I.L.P.'s attitude was couched in personal terms, jealousy of the S.D.P.'s monopoly was scarcely concealed and after refusing to support Lapworth's candidature, the Labour party reclaimed the seat and put Alf Barton forward as their own candidate, saying that a local man was needed and one who was "a combination of militant socialism and yet not unacceptable to the trade unionist and average Labour man"¹²⁹.

In November, Barton was defeated in the municipal election in Brightside ward - the first time Labour had been rejected by the Brightside electorate since the Representation Committee had been formed - and the Trades and Labour Council was found to have insufficient funds to sponsor a Brightside general

125. J. Pointer, Election Address, Attercliffe Division, December 1910.

126. S.G. 27 Jan 1911.

127. Cf. Sheffield Trades and Labour Council, Annual Report No. 8 (1911/12), pp. 4-5; Annual Report No. 7 (1910/11), p. 6.

128. Cf. correspondence between Richard Hawkin of the I.L.P. and Fred Foule and Victor Grayson of the S.D.P., S.G. 1, 8 Oct 1909. Grayson's personal life was open to attack (S.G. 23 Sep, 8 Oct 1909) and Charles Lapworth's views were very idiosyncratic - they included abolition of the Poor Law, tariff reform and the preservation of the House of Lords - N. Connole, op.cit., pp. 57-59.

129. S.G. 4 Feb 1910.

election campaign in December¹³⁰. The East End I.L.P. seceded from the Council and together with the S.D.P., continued to sponsor Barton's candidature. On nomination day, however, the deposit of £125 could not be found.

The two incidents fanned the flames of a quarrel within the I.L.P. about its relationship to the Liberal and Labour parties. Barton and other left-wingers argued that the actions of Joe Pointer, and to a lesser extent, Robert Padley, were selling the I.L.P. to the Liberals¹³¹. W. Pomleton, a Bartonite, wrote:

"The Labour party have no concern in keeping Asquith, Churchill and Co. in office. Their policy is to give a bold fighting lead to the Labour and Socialist forces in the country and to seize every opportunity of squeezing any government that may be in power in order to gain some relief for the class they represent". 132

The business of the I.L.P. was to remain independent and to promote Socialism, and if the Labour party was flirting with Liberalism then the I.L.P. must leave the Labour party. John Rothnie, for the opposition, said that if the I.L.P. did this it would "turn its back on the greatest democratic movement of our times"¹³³, and threw down the gauntlet on 20th January 1911. Speaking of the "noisy few", he wrote, "the sooner they realise their rightful place is not in the I.L.P. the better it will be for Socialism and the I.L.P."¹³⁴. His view was that of the majority and the following week Barton resigned from the I.L.P. and the Guardian, saying that he no longer believed it was possible to achieve Socialism through the Labour party¹³⁵.

Rothnie had forced Barton to choose between the I.L.P. and the S.D.P. road to Socialism and he went for the latter. In May 1911 the S.D.P. launched a new monthly newspaper, The Vanguard, similar in form to the Guardian, whose major aim was to campaign for the unity of socialist groups outside the Labour party. Barton made contributions to it¹³⁶. A Sheffield branch of a new

130. For the following, see S.G. 25 Nov, 9 Dec 1910, 20 Jan 1911; Sheffield Trades and Labour Council, Annual Report No. 7(1910/11), p.4; S.A.R. 25 Nov 1910.

131. Correspondence, S.G. 18 Nov 1910.

132. "Then and Now", S.G. 6 Jan 1911.

133. S.G. 3 Feb 1911.

134. S.G. 20 Jan 1911.

135. S.G. 27 Jan 1911. Barton's resignation letter is printed as Appendix 7.

136. See The Vanguard July 1911.

"umbrella" party was formed in August 1911, and the following month, at a conference under the chairmanship of H.F. Hyndman, the British Socialist Party was founded.

Dr. Tsuzuki has called the B.S.P. "the S.D.F. in disguise",¹³⁷ and this is indeed what it turned out to be. Alf Barton claimed in 1912 that the Sheffield B.S.P. was the successor as much of the I.L.P. as of the S.D.P.¹³⁸ but while very few of the I.L.P., even among Barton's closest supporters, went over to the B.S.P., the S.D.P. affiliated en masse. The new party was led by George Norman, Alf Barton, Ted Lismer, R.C. Murray and George Fletcher, and secured eighty-five members at its first meeting¹³⁹. One of the new party's first actions was to adopt Alf Barton as their candidate for his old Brightside seat, but after a contretemps with the Labour party in general, which did not recognise Barton's right, as a member of the B.S.P., to the seat, and with Joe Pointer in particular, who refused to give up the seat if Barton were the only working-class candidate¹⁴⁰, Barton contested Heeley instead, where he was unsuccessful. The following year (1912) he claimed Brightside once more, and pressurised the Labour party to such an extent that the Labour nominee, Frank Thraves, voluntarily withdrew in his favour¹⁴¹. He was again unsuccessful but won the seat in November 1913, without Trades and Labour Council backing, but with the separate endorsement and support of a considerable number of the trades unions¹⁴².

The B.S.P. was divided over policy throughout its relatively short life¹⁴³. A group of industrial unionists, advocates of industrial rather than political methods to achieve Socialism, withdrew early from the national party¹⁴⁴, but their ideas retained a substantial following within the Sheffield branch. W.T. Fielding, the B.S.P. candidate at Burngreave in November 1911, believed in "one big union" in order to secure working-class control of industry and

137. Cf. Tsuzuki, H.N. Hyndman and British Socialism, Oxford, 1961, p. 176.

138. S.G. 27 Sept. 1912.

139. S.G. 11 Sept. 1911.

140. Cf. S.G. 27 Sept., 11 Oct 1912. Pointer was resigning his City Council seat because of pressure of Parliamentary work.

141. Cf. S.G. 20, 27 Sept., 18 Oct 1912.

142. Cf. correspondence S.G. 31 Oct., 14 Nov 1913.

143. The B.S.P. was disbanded on the formation of the Communist Party in 1920.

144. Cf. Tsuzuki, op.cit., p. 176.

government¹⁴⁵ and Alf Barton himself produced a pamphlet in February 1912 advocating the General Strike as the best means to achieve immediate socialist objectives and the long-term goal of the "co-operative commonwealth".¹⁴⁶ 1911-12 were years of industrial suffering when the ideas of industrial unionism were fostered in a climate of hard-fought but ultimately unsatisfactory strikes.

Since the B.S.P. had wanted to unite all Socialist groups in order to convert the Labour party, it was unhappy with the role of isolated pressure group which it increasingly found itself playing. In order to make common cause with the Socialists within the Labour party - the I.L.P. and the Fabian Society - the B.S.P. decided in 1913 to reaffiliate to the Labour party. Although, because of the war, the party's affiliation was not accepted until 1916, the Sheffield branch of the B.S.P. rejoined the Trades and Labour Council in July 1914.

Some of the Bartonites, including W. Poppleton, did not follow his path to the B.S.P. in 1911 but preferred to work within the Labour party - "out to smash it", as the Guardian suggested in 1913¹⁴⁷. Even so, both the Trades and Labour Council and the I.L.P. were more internally united and more in harmony one with the other in 1911 than at almost any previous period. The two "moderates", Joe Pointer and Robert Padley, were presidents of the I.L.P. and the Trades and Labour Council respectively while John Rothnie was secretary of the I.L.P. until 1912, and then secretary of the Trades Council¹⁴⁸. Under Richard Hawkin's editorship the Guardian became the faithful mirror of Labour party policy, faithful at least in comparison to the angry independent

145. W.T. Fielding. Election Address, printed in The Vanguard Oct 1911.

146. The Universal Strike, reviewed in S.G. 2 Feb 1912.

147. S.G. 25 Apr 1913. Poppleton was Vice-President of the I.L.P. in 1911, and in Jan 1913 the Attercliffe I.L.P., unhappy with the Central Sheffield organisation, detached itself and became a separate branch of the national party. (S.G. 3 Jan 1913).

148. I.L.P. Officers 1911-14: President: Joe Pointer; Secretary: John Rothnie (-1912), A.J. Thatcher; Treasurer: W.J. Sears; Guardian editor: Richard Hawkin. Trades and Labour Council Officers 1911-14: President: R.B. Padley (-1913), E.G. Rowlinson; Secretary: G.H.B. Ward (-1912), John Rothnie. (-1913), Alf Short; Treasurer: W. Travis.

sniping of Barton days.

Hawkin and Pointer had moved some way since the days of their support for Barton¹⁴⁹. They remained socialists but had decided, in Hawkin's classic phrase, that it was "more important to feed a starving child than to preach the class war"¹⁵⁰. The new regime within the Trades Council and the I.L.P. briskly retraced the steps taken from 1908 to 1911 and set foot once more on the road taken from 1903 to 1908. Policy became again ^{primarily} one of social reform rather than socialisation. The issue of infant mortality was revived and discussed in June 1911¹⁵¹, and in October a new "municipal policy" advocated school meals and school clinic provision, the abolition of privileged entrance to King Edward VII Grammar School, working-class housing at cheaper rents, a thirty-shilling minimum wage for Corporation employees, municipalisation of the cutlery industry and the use of tramway profits for social services¹⁵². The "olive branch" was extended to the Federated Trades Council¹⁵³, although without immediate acceptance.

The Trades Council and I.L.P. stage once again gave limelight to characters disdained during the Barton regime. G.H.B. Ward was eulogised for his campaigns against Spanish repression¹⁵⁴ and began again to contribute articles to the Guardian, often on Clarion rambles. Robert Padley revived memories of Edward Carpenter and urged the movement once more to associate the ideals of socialism with love for fellow man, art and a beautiful environment¹⁵⁵. The Fabian Society, reformed in 1907, was given regular space in the Guardian, and its President, Daniel Evans, was the Labour candidate at Brightside in November 1911. Evans,¹⁵⁶ a former member of the Shop Assistants Union and

149. Hawkin went to prison over the freedom of the parks issue in August 1908, and wondered whether the I.L.P. should remain within the Labour party in June 1908. (S.G. 26 June 1908).

150. S.G. 8 Oct 1909.

151. S.G. 2 June 1911.

152. S.G. 6 Oct 1911.

153. S.G. 31 Mar 1911.

154. S.G. 3 Feb 1911. Ward organised a protest meeting against the "judicial murder" of the Spanish educationist Francesco Ferrer in 1910, and later wrote a history of the Spanish Labour movement, entitled The Truth About Spain, London, 1911.

155. S.G. April 13 1911.

156. For Evans, see S.G. 20 Oct, 1 Nov 1911.

an early member of the I.L.P. who came to Sheffield in 1897 and became a successful businessman, was a supporter of the Carpenter school of "artistic" socialism and a great contributor to the Fabians' self-assumed research role within the Labour party¹⁵⁷. The Fabians denied that they were an exclusively middle-class organisation, but admitted that the society aimed "especially to interest the middle and professional classes in socialism".¹⁵⁸ Robert Padley chaired some of their meetings¹⁵⁹ and Joe Pointer commended Daniel Evans to the Brightside electors, saying that as a businessman, he could clearly see the ways in which employers could crush the worker¹⁶⁰.

The Labour party had no City Councillors after Alf Barton's defeat in 1912, and the next two years were spent rescuing the Sheffield Labour party from the "devolorable and unique position" into which it had fallen¹⁶¹. The I.L.P., the "best propagandists"¹⁶² in the movement, advocated the extension of municipal election candidatures beyond the East End, -calculations suggested that there were an average of 600-700 Labour voters in each ward¹⁶³. Finance prevented the Trades Council contesting the recommended twelve (out of sixteen) wards in 1913, but the decision to contest six wards in the Board of Guardians election of March 1913 was vindicated by the discovery of many new Labour workers in the previously uncontested wards of Broomhall and Park - a discovery which laid the foundations for the widespread municipal victories after the War¹⁶⁴. Two Labour candidates were elected to the Board of Guardians, and in November Alfred Short,¹⁶⁵ the new secretary of the Trades and

157. The statistics, pamphlets and surveys which he personally contributed included "Disease, Death and Housing in Sheffield", S.G. Supplement 16 Jan 1914; "The Sheffield Parliamentary Bill and its relation to the working classes", ibid., 30 Jan 1914; "The Coming Municipal Elections: some facts for working-class electors", ibid., 31 Oct 1913.

158. S.G. 15 Nov 1907.

159. S.G. 17 Sep 1909.

160. "Brightside's Labour Candidate", S.G. 20 Oct 1911.

161. S.G. 8 Nov 1912. "Vulcan" argued that the unusual strength of Lib-Labism and the problems caused by the B.S.P. had made the Sheffield party's electoral performance far worse than that of most other large cities.

162. Sheffield Trades and Labour Council, Annual Report No. 8 (1911/12), n.4.

163. S.G. 8 Nov 1912.

164. S.G. 11 Apr 1913.

165. Cf. Obituary, S.D.T. Aug 25 1938; S.A. 7.26 Jan 1923. G.H.B. Ward gave up the sec/
/retaryship in January 1912.

Labour Council and of the boiler-makers union, was elected to the City Council for Attercliffe - a victory achieved after seven years of effort in the ward. Short's success was due not only to his own outstanding natural ability - he was one of the select band of Labour M.P's elected at the "Coupon" Election of 1918 (for Wednesbury) and was called to the Bar in 1923 - but also to the party's improved organisation and propaganda which enabled him to gather "a strong and enthusiastic band of workers".¹⁶⁶ An extended list of candidatures for the 1914 election had been prepared before the war broke out and elections were suspended.

A campaign to boost the I.L.P.'s membership brought in eighty new members in five weeks in the spring of 1912¹⁶⁷. In January 1913 the party was "stronger numerically and financially than it has been at any time during the last four years"¹⁶⁸ - thanks largely to the work of the new secretary A.J.Thatcher¹⁶⁹, a thirty-one year old native of South Wales who had previously organised the I.L.P. branch there. John Penny initiated the formation of a limited company to control the Guardian and, with a firm financial basis, it was enlarged to twelve pages in May 1911.

The repeal of the Osborne Judgement in 1913 saw a large increase in the numbers of individual members and affiliated societies of the Trades and Labour Council. The new President of the Council, E.C.Rowlinson, a railwayman and a leader of prime ability, the future pilot and guide of the successful ruling Labour City Council group, saw the year 1913 as "profitable from all points of view" and believed that 1914 would be "the most successful in the history of the Council".¹⁷⁰ The war intervened, and the breakthrough came instead in 1919.

166. Sheffield Trades and Labour Council, Annual Report No. 10 (1913/14) (2nd edition); p.9.

167. S.G. 26 Apr. 1912.

168. S.G. 3 Jan 1913.

169. Cf. S.G. 19 Apr, 1912.

170. Sheffield Trades and Labour Council, Annual Report No. 10 (1913/14) (2nd edition), pp.3,4.

CHAPTER 6

LABOUR POLITICS 1914-26.

A. The Fortunes of War (1914-20).

The municipal election of November 1919 was, the Telegraph believed "the most sensational in the history of the city".¹ "Unknown men and women" took nearly all the vacant seats - the Labour party seven² and members of the Discharged soldiers and Sailors Federation three. George Fletcher and six other Trades and Labour Council candidates were successful at the Board of Guardians election in the same year.

The breakthrough, although dramatic in Sheffield, was paralleled in the municipal election results of other cities and in the outcome of the 1922 General Election. The main factors cited to explain Labour's sudden success nationally are twofold - the education in political and economic values which the war provided, particularly to working-class people, and the increase in the working-class vote caused by the 1918 Representation of the People Act - and of these two, the former has usually been thought by far the more important. H.C.C. Mathew, R.I. McKibbin and J.A. Kaye have recently presented the counter-argument - that the effects of the 1918 "Fourth Reform Act" were more far-reaching, and should never be ignored³. In many industrial cities, Sheffield included, less than 60% of the adult male population was enfranchised before 1918⁴ - the effect of the 1918 Act, which gave the vote to nearly all adult males over twenty-one, as well as propertied women over thirty, was therefore almost to double the electorate in these areas. Mathew, McKibbin and Kaye's calculations show that the second choice of a Liberal voter at the 1922, 1923 and 1924 General elections was as likely to be Conservative as

1. S.V.B. 1920, p.67.

2. There were seven gains, but in addition, Alf Short's Attercliffe seat was retained.

3. H.C.C. Mathew, R.I. McKibbin, J.A. Kaye, "The Franchise Factor in the Rise of the Labour Party", English Historical Review 91 (1976), especially pp. 723, 736.

4. The percentage in 1911 in Sheffield was 58.5%, including plural voters - ibid., Table 1, p.728.

as Labour - a statement which acts as a useful corrective to that of historians who have tended to stress the existence of a pre-1914 "Progressive" vote which was in the post-war years transferred to Labour⁵. Mathew. McKibbin and Kaye conclude that "Labour was able to mobilise some latent source of support which had not been available to the other two parties"⁶ - that is, the electorate newly enfranchised by the 1918 Act - and McKibbin argues,

"So long as the Labour Party's appeal was necessarily confined to the largely lower middle and artisan class enfranchised in 1867 and 1884 its progress was slow and difficult... The 'Liberal' vote.....after 1913 was overwhelmed by voters who could not be enrolled by official Liberalism"⁷

McKibbin adds "much of this new electorate voted Labour in 1913: but had it been enfranchised it probably would have done so in 1914 as well".⁸ The history of the Sheffield Labour party to 1914 suggests that "an intelligent rebellion against the order of things"⁹ was likely in that year, and that the effect of the war was rather to delay than substantially to cause Labour's post-war victories.

Even so, there is no doubt that the Sheffield Labour movement was stronger psychologically in 1918 than in 1914 - both more united and more determined than at any previous time. For this the war was responsible. The attitude of the wartime government - first Liberal and then Coalition - to the Labour movement, the opportunities taken to ignore trades union rights, to "dilute" skilled labour and to impose conscription even on some workers who had been given exemption aroused a growing militancy among even trades council moderates, which erupted in 1917 in proclamations of the Russian Revolution and the establishment of Workers' and Soldiers' Councils. The trade union movement in general gained immeasurably in confidence from the early successes of the shop stewards movement, and the Trades and Labour Council in particular benefited from its wartime role as a unique agency of help and support for the working classes.

5. Ibid., Table VI and pp.738-39.

6. Ibid., p.739.

7. The Evolution of the Labour Party 1910-24, Oxford 1974, p.xv.

8. Ibid.

9. Sheffield Trades and Labour Council, Annual Report No.10 (2nd edition) (1913-14), p.4.

From 1917 onwards, Professor Pollard has written, "it is not too much to say that the leaders of Sheffield labour considered themselves to be at war with their own government, critical of almost every single one of its actions, hostile to almost all of its intentions".¹⁰ The majority of the Trades Council Executive, although believing it to be "a great international tragedy",¹¹ concurred with the national Labour party decision reluctantly to support the war on its outbreak in 1914. The voting on a motion to boycott the recruiting campaign of the major parties was five for and twenty-eight against in August 1914¹². The moderate pro-war opinion was paralleled by the B.S.P.'s justification of the war as a necessary attack on "Kaiserism" if socialism was to be triumphant. Following the example of H.M.Hyndman and the B.S.P. newspaper, Justice, Alf Barton argued that the militarism of German capitalism was more evil than British capitalism and must be destroyed¹³. British workers should not regard themselves as fighting against the German nation but only against the German system, and must be prepared after the war to build the "socialist millennium" on a basis of "national solidarity" and "international fraternity".¹⁴

Barton believed that pacifism was sentimentalist and "cut no ice"¹⁵. his former colleagues in the I.L.P., in contrast, became, together with some members of the Fabian Society like Daniel Evans, the pacifist minority on the Trades and Labour Council. Refusing to take up a quarrel which meant workers fighting other workers, the I.L.P., led by Rothnie and Hawkin in the Guardian, condemned the national Labour party for supporting the war, and vigorously campaigned for the local Trades Council to disown the national body's action¹⁶. A branch of the Union of Democratic Control, campaigning for popular control

10. J.Mendelson, W.Owen, S.Pollard and V.Thornes, The Sheffield Trades and Labour Council 1858-1958, Sheffield 1958, p.67.
11. Sheffield Trades and Labour Council, Annual Report No.11 (1914/15), p.2.
12. Figures given by S.Pollard in Mendelson et al. op.cit., p.67.
13. A.Barton, The War; How it was made. Who shall profit by it?, Keighley, 1915, passim. See also, S.G. Oct 23 1914, 5 Mar 1915.
14. A.Barton, The War.....op.cit., p.7, 16.
15. Ibid., p.4.
16. S.G. 7 Aug, 11, 25 Sep 1914. E.Carpenter contributed an article opposing the war in S.G. 4 Sep 1914.

of foreign policy was established in the closing months of 1914 and this brought the I.L.P. into close touch with upper middle-class Liberals who wished to end the war, like Arthur Ponsonby¹⁷, the future Labour M.P. for Brightside, and C.H. Wilson, the Liberal Councillor for Darnall. Wilson was the chairman of the Sheffield Peace Committee and an associate of leaders of the Union of Democratic Control. He was a pacifist through Christian principle and found himself forced to dissent from his family's decision to roll brass as a preliminary to the manufacture of shells at their Sheffield Smelting Company works, saying, "I cannot love my enemies. Do good to them that hate me and pray for those who abuse me and at the same time make something the object of which is to take their lives".¹⁸ He joined the I.L.P. at the end of the war, his break with the Liberals having become final after Asquith's decision to introduce conscription. "I am not sure I did leave the party", he said "it seems to me rather that the party left me"¹⁹. In August 1915 Alphonso Samms, a leading member of the Attercliffe I.L.P., a Trades and Labour Council representative and a member of the Sheffield Board of Guardians, was convicted and imprisoned for two months on charges of inciting soldiers in Firvale Workhouse to desert²⁰. A "No Conscription Fellowship" was formed in March 1915 and a campaign fought against the introduction of conscription until March 1916²¹.

The failure of this campaign saw the exhaustion of the I.L.P. and the demise of the Guardian, but majority opinion within the Sheffield Labour party was moving towards the I.L.P. position. Voting on the anti-war motion within

17. Arthur Ponsonby was a leading member of the Union of Democratic Control and a Liberal M.P. For Ponsonby, see Dictionary of National Biography 1941-50, Oxford, 1959, pp.683-85. B.Barker, "Anatomy of Reformism: the social and political ideas of the Labour leadership in Yorkshire" International Review of Social History, Vol. XVIII, 1973, pt.1, p.7. His wartime publications include Why must the war go on? (n.d. 1916/17); Democracy and Diplomacy, a plea for popular control of foreign policy, London, 1915.

18. C.H.Wilson/J.W.Wilson, 20/8/15; Sheffield Smelting Company MSS, 461. For this episode, see also B.Barker, on.cit., p.5.

19. S.D.T. 23 Oct 1919. Wilson's brother, Alexander, who had moved to Birkenhead, also joined the I.L.P. at the end of the war.

20. S.G. 13, 20, 27 Aug 1915; W.Moore, The Sheffield Shop Stewards 1916-18, W/S 1960 (S.C.L.), p.6.

21. See for example S.G. 19 Mar, 26 Nov 1915, 14, 21, 28 Jan 1916.

the Trades Council was forty-eight in favour and fifty-two against in September 1915, and the following year fifty-two voted for and forty-eight against a motion to participate in voluntary recruiting for the army²².

In November 1914 Joe Pointer died from leukaemia, having already adopted an anti-war stance²³, and the following month, W.C. Anderson²⁴, the pacifist chairman of the national I.L.P. and a former organiser of the Shop Assistants Union, was elected by a majority of 150 votes to succeed him as M.P. for Attercliffe.

There was overwhelming opposition to conscription - this "repressive and retrograde legislation"²⁵ - on the Trades Council. In April 1916 the national B.S.P. dissociated itself from Hyndman's pro-war campaign, and the Sheffield B.S.P. trying to evolve a new anti-war policy planned "War against War" demonstrations in 1916²⁶.

The war greatly increased the commitment to socialism of ordinary trade unionists; this is seen at a national level in the acceptance by the party in 1918 of a constitution incorporating a socialist commitment. The Defence of the Realm Act, which could overrule the legally acquired rights of trades unions, the rampant inflation and unfair food distribution²⁷ argued the need for a system in which labour's power could not be eroded - "the social ownership of the means of life".²⁸ Since Sheffield was a major centre of armaments production, the wartime powers of government were strongly felt - especially in what the Labour party regarded as the under-payment of unskilled labour, unlawful conscription of skilled labour²⁹ and dilution of skilled jobs by employment of unskilled, often female, workers on certain tasks. In 1916

22. Mendelson et al. op.cit., n.67; Sheffield Trades and Labour Council, Annual Report No. 12 (1915/16), p.6.

23. Obituary, Sheffield Trades and Labour Council, Annual Report No. 11 (1914/15), n.13.

24. Cf. J. Bellamy and J. Saville (ed.), Dictionary of Labour Biography, Vol II, London, 1974, pp.11-16; L. Thompson, The Enthusiasts, London, 1971, p.164. R.E. Dowse, Left in the Centre, London, 1966, pp.24-25. Anderson was an Executive member of the Union of Democratic Control.

25. Sheffield Trades and Labour Council, Annual Report No. 12 (1915/16), n.3.

26. N. Connole, Leaven of Life, London, 1961, p.87. The proposed demonstrations were banned.

27. Sheffield Trades & Labour Council, Annual Report No.11. (1914/15), p.5.

28. A. Short, ibid., n.5.

29. See the case of Hargreaves. below n. 193.

the Annual Report of the Trades and Labour Council demanded that the outlook of trade unionists "broaden and widen considerably, contemplating not merely the union question of wages, hours and conditions, but the bearing which external social circumstances have upon such matters".³⁰

The Council began to organise itself to work for this end and to combat specific evils in a way which it had not previously done³¹. Regular representations were made to the government to "secure permanent control of the raw materials of life in the interests of the whole community"³² - in particular food and fuel - and to urge it to increase naval, military and old age pensions. The Council set itself up specifically to deal with the problems caused by increased employment of women and children, conscription, pensions and employment of disabled soldiers. It was soon "inundated with requests for help"³³ and in 1917 a central office and information bureau was established in Blunk Street. The Council increased as far as possible its representation on influential public bodies, like the Food Control Committee, and noted with satisfaction in 1916 that its representatives were now being invited to many more Town Hall Committees.

The Labour party looked to the City Council to take municipal control of coal mines, food and building in order to offset the hardships of wartime, but only the hated financial expedient of war loans was introduced³⁴. Parliamentary bills (providing rich pickings in legal fees) were promoted at the ratepayers' expense throughout the war and the profits from increased tram-fares used for the development of the University and Rifle Club. Public health schemes were suspended, pensions were not raised in line with the cost of living and nothing was done about the serious shortage of housing. Philip Dyson.

30. Annual Report No. 12 (1915/16), p.6.

31. For this paragraph, see Sheffield Trades and Labour Council, Annual Report No. 12 (1915/16), pp.2-3,5-8; No. 13 (1916/17), pp.2-5; No.14 (1917/18), pp. 2-3,5-7.

32. Ibid., p.5.

33. Sheffield Trades and Labour Council, Annual Report No.12 (1915/16), p.5.

34. For this paragraph, see Sheffield Trades and Labour Council, Annual Report No. 11 (1914/15), pp.10-11. No.12 (1915/16), pp.9-10; No. 13 (1916/17), pp.7-9; No.14 (1917/18), pp.8-9; No. 15 (1918/19), pp.8-12.

the Labour Elective Auditor. said in 1919 that the City Council had become "a local municipal dictatorship" which, not having had to undergo an election since 1913, had co-opted to vacancies "representatives of the private builders and vested interests whose insatiable ambitions have hitherto been rejected by the people at the polls".³⁵

Divisions remained within the Labour movement after 1916, and were to reappear later, but there was from 1916-19 the greatest unity in opposition to both City Council and government policies. The Trades and Labour Council had A.E.Chandler of the B.S.P. as a temporary president from 1917-19³⁶, but attempts to reunite with the Federated Trades Council continued and during the 1917/18 session a resolution was passed welcoming the decision of the Co-operative movement to seek direct representation on public bodies and hoping that "no antagonism or conflict will obtain between us".³⁷ There was some co-operation with the Allied Engineering Board and the Shop Stewards Movement. In April 1917 a delegate meeting called on Sir William Clegg to resign as Chairman of the Munitions tribunal because of his biased decisions, and in December a B.S.P. resolution congratulating the Russian people on the Bolshevik revolution was passed with one dissentient vote³⁸. An attempt to form Workers' and Soldiers' Councils (as proposed by W.C.Anderson at a Peace Convention in Leeds) was thwarted by fear of police action³⁹. Peace was demanded at almost any price - Chandler saying early in 1918 that "the workers of all the belligerent nations are sick of the whole business and are almost unanimously of the opinion that a military decision cannot be arrived at. That being so, it is a thousand pities that the lead of our Russian Comrades was not followed....."⁴⁰

35. "Elective Auditor's Notes", Sheffield Trades and Labour Council, Annual Report No. 15 (1918/19), p.8.

36. He took E.G.Rowlinson's place while the latter served in the army.

37. Sheffield Trades and Labour Council, Annual Report No. 14 (1917/18), pp.5-6. For discussions on reunion with Federated Trades Council, see Annual Report No. 11 (1914/15), p.2; No. 12 (1915/16), p.3; No.13 (1916/17), p.5; No. 14 (1917/18), pp.2-3.

38. Cf. S.Pollard in Mendelson et al, op.cit., n.68. Sheffield Trades and Labour Council, Annual Report No. 14 (1917/18), p.2.

39. They were formed in other cities, but as Lawrence Thomson has observed, "the movement remained safely under the control of the I.L.P., among whom was no Lenin", The Enthusiasts, op.cit., n.226.

40. Sheffield Trades and Labour Council, Annual Report No. 14 (1917/18), p.2.

This attitude, and the regular rise in trades union affiliation during the war years, was partly the result of the bitter experiences of the Sheffield trades unions from 1915 onwards. Under the Defence of the Realm Act, the official trades union movement was powerless to improve industrial conditions except by negotiations with the government. The Amalgamated Society of Engineers, the main trades union for the large number of Sheffield munitions workers, was unable to prevent the government's policy of diluting skilled jobs - mainly in the production of shells - with unskilled, female labour and increasing the conscription of exempt skilled men. Following an example set in Glasgow, an "unofficial" organisation was arranged within the workshops through the medium of the shop stewards. Although this had close relations with the A.S.E. District Committee, as a "cellular" organisation it had autonomy and independence, and was able to organise, in November 1916, a strike against the conscription of a skilled fitter, Leonard Hargreaves, which involved twelve thousand men - "probably the complete membership of all the skilled engineering unions in Sheffield"⁴¹. Hargreaves was returned within two days.

The Sheffield Workers' Committee⁴², as the shop stewards organisation was called from January 1917, was the brainchild of J.T. Murphy⁴³, an engineer who, far more than any of the Glasgow organisers, was the theorist and philosopher of the movement. He became a socialist through reading the works of Marx, and was inspired with the idea of industrial unionism by James Connolly, the "syndicalist socialist". The campaign for "one union" was popular during the years 1910-12, and the Trades and Labour Council passed two motions favouring the idea - one in 1909 and one (proposed by A.E. Chandler) in 1912⁴⁴.

41. J.Hinton, The First Shop Stewards Movement, London, 1973, p.176.

42. For a detailed account of the Sheffield Shop Stewards movement, see Hinton, ibid. especially chapters 5, 7, 9 and 10. See also J.T.Murphy, Preparing for Power London 1934, new edn. 1972, chapters VI-X; W.Moore, Sheffield Shop Stewards, op.cit.; S.Pollard in Mendelson et al. op.cit., pp.71-73.

Accounts of the movement from a national point of view are available in Hinton, op.cit., passim; B.Pribicevic, The Shop Stewards Movement and Workers' Control 1910-22, Oxford, 1959; Walter Kendall, The Revolutionary Movement in Britain 1900-21, London, 1969, chapter 7 and 8;

L.J.MacFarlane, The British Communist Party, London, 1966, pp.37-40.

43. For Murphy, see J.T.Murphy, T/S biography by David Martin (in his possession); J.Hinton, "Introduction", Preparing for Power, 2nd edn., op.cit., pp.11-16; J.Hinton, The First Shop Stewards Movement, op.cit., pp.172-74; L.J.Macfarlane, op.cit., pp.28-29.

44. Pollard in Mendelson et al, op.cit., p.63.

Murphy was the secretary of the Sheffield Amalgamation Committee, formed to promote syndicalism in the spring of 1914, and he believed that the shop stewards organisation, since it was inter-union, could be used as a stepping stone on the way to trade union amalgamation⁴⁵. In 1917 he published a pamphlet, The Workers' Committee⁴⁶, outlining the theory of independent rank-and-file organisation.

The president of the Sheffield Workers Committee from 1919 onwards was Ted Lismer⁴⁷, another member of the Amalgamation Committee, who was chairman of the Joint Board of engineering unions from 1917-18. He was a member of the Trades and Labour Council Executive from 1913-21, and Vice-President in 1918. Joseph Madin⁴⁸, a member of the A.S.E. and a shop steward at Hadfield's who helped to establish the Sheffield Labour College in 1919, was the first chairman of the Socialist Labour Party in Sheffield.

The shop stewards movement was an organisation of skilled men which in the winter of 1917/18 overcame its craft preoccupations in order to encompass the needs of unskilled and general workers. Problems over a 12½% bonus paid to skilled workers but not to others caused an all-out strike, and by early 1918 the movement had embraced nearly all local factory workers, both heavy and light trades⁴⁹. The strength of the movement, the support for the Russian Revolution, and the overwhelming war-weariness now commonly felt made possible a revolutionary situation in January 1918⁵⁰. The government announced a new military service bill, incorporating conscription of skilled men, but Lloyd George's strategy divided the Labour movement by agreeing to the Labour party's proposals to end the war at the same time. At the Labour Party conference on January 23rd both right and left of the party agreed with the view, expressed by W.C.Anderson, that, "a terrific industrial upheaval at the present moment might be dangerous from the standpoint of a democratic People's Peace"⁵¹. Two

45. Cf. Hinton, on.cit., p.173.

46. Published by Sheffield Workers Committee. 1917.

47. For Lismer, see Hinton, on.cit., p.173.

48. For Madin, see T/S biography by Geoffrey Dyer, Madin MSS.

49. Hinton, on.cit., p.254.

50. For the following, see ibid., pp.255-68.

51. Quoted ibid., p.259.

days after the conference closed, a mass meeting in London of ten thousand skilled engineers demanded the opening of peace negotiations. but in Sheffield workshop meetings decided against strike action to end the war. At a meeting of the A.S.E. District Committee in January, the only topic was the refusal of the government to discuss the breaking of their agreement with the union. If Murphy had thought that the shop stewards Movement had revolutionary potential, this retreat into defence of craft privilege, backed up by the decision of a Trades Council meeting on 15th January, showed him his error. Attempts by the remnants of the A.S.E. organisation to arrange a strike coincided with the Germans' final offensive. Widespread industrial militancy disappeared and leading shop stewards like Murphy lost their jobs. In the aftermath of war, the movement was irrevocably harmed by the lack of full employment.

George Fletcher told Jimmy Bowns, his protege and a member of the Sheffield Workers' Committee, that he must make use of the movement to educate workers in class consciousness⁵². The political significance of the Shop Stewards Movement was threefold. First, it introduced shop-floor workers to industrial and political militancy of a kind unexperienced within living memory; secondly, it developed the thinking and the organisational skills of some of the leaders of the post-war Communist party, Murphy included; and thirdly, it dictated the future nature of the British revolutionary socialist movement. The industrial unionism of pre-war days was tempered in the fires of wartime experience into a commitment to a soviet system - "a structure inside and outside the trade union movement, which will unite the workers on a class basis" and place them "in a position to act independently in case of faulty leadership".⁵³ The limitations of this conception of communism (as the dictatorship of the proletariat through the means of soviets) emerged later. The Shop Stewards' insistence on rank and file autonomy and independence led to rejection of true national leadership and a very limited concep-

52. N.Connole, op.cit., p.87.

53. Quoted Hinton, op.cit., p.296. See also p.277. The argument is fully worked out in Chapter 11, pp.275-97.

tion of the role of the revolutionary party. J.T.Murphy had to visit Russia (in 1920) before he realised that the party could not simply be the means of educating members in Socialism, but must be at the head of the army in the fight for power.⁵⁴

The B.S.P., which returned to the cause of socialist unity at the end of the war, decided at Easter 1918 to promote "the co-operation of all active socialist forces with a view to preparing a common working basis" and to work for "a common joint manifesto".⁵⁵ Negotiations with the I.L.P. foundered on the issue of revolution, and the essential co-operation sought became that between the two Marxist revolutionary parties, the B.S.P. and the Socialist Labour Party, the latter originally an industrial unionist party of which most of the leaders of the shop stewards movement - Murphy and Lismer for example - were members⁵⁶. The B.S.P. left the Second (Social-Democratic) International in 1919 and the following year, under the auspices and at the urging of the Third (Communist) International, the B.S.P. and a majority of the Socialist Labour party who had agreed on a policy of continued affiliation to the Labour party, formed the British Communist Party. George Fletcher, Jack Murphy, who became a leading member of the national party, and Leonard Royle, of the Socialist Labour Party, attended the Communist Unity conference from Sheffield. A local branch was formed on August 18th 1920, at a meeting at which "fifty or sixty" were present and twelve enrolled⁵⁷. Fletcher was elected secretary and Royle treasurer, and it was agreed that the Sheffield Workers Committee should continue its work as the industrial arm of the Sheffield Communist Party.

The new Sheffield Communist Party membership from the B.S.P. and Socialist Labour party was augmented by I.L.P. defectors. In January 1919 the Attercliffe I.L.P. had declared itself "a revolutionary political organisation,

54. C.F. J.Hinton, "Introduction" to J.T.Murphy, Preparing for Power, op.cit., p.13.

55. Quoted W.Kendall, op.cit., p.197.

56. The Socialist Labour Party was founded nationally in 1903, but I have found no record of a Sheffield branch until the outbreak of war.

57. N.Connole, op.cit., p.106; Sheffield Communist Party, Minutes, 18 Aug 1920.

its ultimate object being to establish a Socialist Soviet Republic"⁵³, and, along with other left-wing groups in the I.L.P., worked for its affiliation to the Third International. In 1921 the national party rejected both this and a motion to allow members dual membership of both parties. Most of the I.L.P. who had joined the Communist party, along with some former members of the B.S.P., then returned to the I.L.P. Alf Barton joined the Sheffield Communist party on its formation and was adopted as its municipal candidate, but left within a month. He became an activist for the Co-operative Party, in which his wife was deeply involved, rejoined the I.L.P., resumed his interest in literature, languages and philosophy and as a Councillor found satisfaction in the work of the Libraries Committee. Barton was in the final resort an ethical Socialist unable to feel content with Marxist materialism. While a Marxist like George Fletcher believed that the material basis of life was all that mattered, Barton stressed the importance of the humanities and asserted "is not food for the mind as necessary as food for the body?"⁵⁹

The Trades and Labour Council and most of the former members of the B.S.P. wished to maintain after 1920 the relationship which had proved fruitful during wartime. The Communist party itself was pledged to continued affiliation to the Labour party. When in 1920 the Labour Party National Executive ruled against the affiliation of the Communist party the Sheffield Labour party protested, but nevertheless withdrew its rights of affiliation⁶⁰. Communists were, however, allowed to be members of the Trades Council as union delegates and to

58. Attercliffe I.L.P. Minutes, Jan 15, 1919. For the following, see N. Connole, op.cit., pp.94-5; Attercliffe I.L.P. Minutes, Feb 7 1921 - Sept 29 1922.

59. N. Connole, op.cit., p.80; Sheffield Trades and Labour Council, Annual Report No. 15 (1918/19), p.12; Bernard Barker discusses some aspects of his change in political stance, op.cit., pp.17-18, although his assertion that he was "a dilettante, an insurance agent working for the working classes", (p.17) is misleading. Insurance agency was a job often resorted to by labour activists dismissed by their employers; the backgrounds of such men were undoubtedly working rather than middle class.

60. N. Connole, op.cit., pp.107-8. A faction favouring Socialist unity succeeded in persuading the Sheffield Communist Party branch to disaffiliate from the local Labour party in September 1920, but they reaffiliated a month later under pressure from their Head Office - Sheffield Communist Party, Minutes, 19, 22 Sep, 6 Oct 1920. Macfarlane, op.cit., pp.94-95.

stand for election and George Fletcher and Ted Lismer became the first Communist delegates to the Trades and Labour Council. Communists first stood as Labour candidates at the 1920 municipal election.

The result of the 1919 municipal election⁶¹ was more indicative of the true state of support for Labour in post-war Sheffield than that of the 1918 'Common' Election, which was fought before demobbed soldiers had returned home⁶², and in which Labour lost its one Parliamentary seat at Attercliffe. Many of the Coalition government's most objectionable wartime policies, including the Defence of the Realm Act and conscription, were continued into 1919, and there were strikes in Sheffield in the summer of 1919 in the mining, railway and furniture industries, and among co-operative employees, bakers, taxi drivers, tramwaymen and moulders⁶³. Sheffield was one of the most active centres of the "Hands off Russia" campaign of protest against the "White Army" policy, and a Sheffield Council of Action, to combat the government's anti-Communist activities was set up in 1920⁶⁴. The increase in Labour party membership was "unprecedented"⁶⁵ and as soon as the war was over - and, by implication, an election was in the offing - some of the party's policies were accented by the City Council. Through Labour action on the Education Committee, for example there was a teachers' wage rise, improvements in the school medical service and an agreement to double the provision of secondary education. The municipalisation of the milk supply was also agreed to.

The election was fought against a local coalition of the Liberal and Conservative parties which had fully identified itself with the Coalition government's policies. Labour campaigned on the issue of the government's reduction in railwaymen's wages and the need for higher pensions and wages in general to come with the rising cost of living⁶⁶. Victory at the polls was closely followed by success in the negotiations for the reunion of the trades councils.

61. See above, p.186.

62. Mathew, McKibbin and Kaye regard the 1922 General Election as "the first representative post-war (Parliamentary) election", op.cit., p.737.

63. S.Y.B. 1920, p.52.

64. A.Clinton, The Trade Union Rank and File. Trades Councils in Britain 1900-40, Manchester, 1977, pp.119-20.

65. For this and the following, see Sheffield Trades and Labour Council, Annual Report No. 15 (1918/19), pp.5-6, 11-12.

66. W.J.Abraham, Election Address, Crookesmoor ward, November 1919.

B. The Character of the Movement 1920-26.

The party which achieved municipal power in Sheffield in the 1920s was different from, and altogether more wide-reaching than its pre-war forbear. It was indeed a coalition rather than a party - since both the Co-operative and the Communist parties were involved in the Labour victory. This new Labour grouping was generated indirectly by the war and directly by the provisions of the 1918 constitution.

W.C. Anderson said in 1913 that he looked in the future for a "closer working relationship between the three sections of the Labour movement"⁶⁷ - by which he meant the trades unions, the Labour party (including the I.L.P., the Fabians and other Socialist groups) and the co-operative movement. The 1918 constitutional conference, however, which aimed at "unity of the movement"⁶⁸, succumbed to pressure from the trades union section and gave a disproportionate amount of power to them. The sectional vote of the I.L.P. and the B.S.P. on the National Executive was withdrawn and there was no mention at all of the Co-operative movement. Agreement to a socialist party programme (Clause IV of the constitution) was reached because the trade unions thought this aspect less important than their predominance on the National Executive⁶⁹.

It was the I.L.P.'s raison d'etre to convert the Labour party to socialism but this conversion they saw as a "nominal adherence" which "in no way diminished the power of the predominantly anti-socialist unions within the Party"⁷⁰. The effect of the 1918 constitution was therefore to weaken their ideological influence on the party. In addition, their organisational and propagandist role was undermined by the establishment of a separate Labour party organisation with divisional associations, individual membership and women's sections. I.L.P. membership began to fall from 1919 onwards and until 1932, when disaffiliation took place, there was sporadic agitation for the I.L.P. to leave the Labour party⁷¹.

67. Quoted R.I. McKibbin, on.cit., p.45. (Emphasis Anderson's).

68. Ibid., p.95. This was "one of the voguish enthusiasms of the hour".

69. For discussion of the reasons for acceptance of Clause IV, see ibid., pp. 96-98, 101-2.

70. Ibid., p.98.

71. The I.L.P. gradually formed its own organisation - it had separate "sections" in each constituency in 1926 - S.F. Feb 1926.

The decline in the I.L.P's influence on the reconstructed Sheffield Labour party is indicated by Table 6.1, which shows the allegiances of post-war Councillors, and the extent of trades union predominance - only five Labour Councillors were not members of a trades union. E.G. Rowlinson⁷², the President of the Trades Council from 1913 to 1917 and from 1921 onwards, was typical of a new generation of moderate Labour leaders who had come to power solely within the ranks of the trades union movement. He was a Midland Station railwayman and union leader who was responsible for negotiating much better conditions for the men but who lost his job after becoming one of the ringleaders of the 1911 railway strike. His rapid rise to the position of President of the Trades and Labour Council only two years later, and then to leadership of the Sheffield Labour party in 1922, was due to his outstanding organisational skill and to his ability to lead and to command loyalty, affection and respect. Except eventually in the case of the Communist party, he succeeded in keeping the wide-reaching coalition together and in containing the demands of the "reactionaries of both extremes".⁷³ Fred Marshall, one of the Attercliffe Labour Councillors said that he guided "a rather raw party..... towards its great achievements until for a time it became a model and an inspiration to struggling Labour parties all over the country"⁷⁴ Joe Curtis, a former Communist who was elected to the Council for Handsworth ward in 1926, said that Rowlinson was the greatest man he had ever known and admitted that when the news of his death was given to members of the Labour Group in 1941 the "old campaigners.....broke down and went like children".⁷⁵

The first President of the new Federated Trades and Labour Council⁷⁶. Mrs. Gertrude Wilkinson⁷⁷, also rose through the trade union ranks, being a

72. CF. Park and Heeley Gazette Oct 1937, Obituary S.D.T. 6 Jan 1941; "Speech by Fred Marshall M.P. on Ernest George Rowlinson", Edward Carpenter Memorial Service July 6 1947, pamphlet, n.d., pp.7-8.

73. S.G. 27 June 1913.

74. Fred Marshall, op.cit., p.7.

75. Interview. 21/2/78.

76. This was the title adopted in 1920 after the reunion with the Lib-Labs.

77. For Mrs. Wilkinson, see S.F. July 1923, Sheffield Citizen July 1923, S.R.B. 1913, n.301, Obituary, S.F. Aug 1961. She left Sheffield to go to Siam with her husband in 1923.

TABLE 6.1 : Membership of other Parties and of a Trade Union:
Labour City Councillors November 1919 - December 1926.

<u>Membership during 1919 - 26*</u>			<u>Non-membership of other Parties</u>	<u>Trades union Membershin</u>
<u>I.L.P.</u>	<u>Co-operative Party</u>	<u>Communist Party</u>		
8	15	5	26	44

* Some Councillors were members of more than one party.

Total Councillors

49

Sources:

Attercliffe I.L.P. Subscription Book (1916-22).

Sheffield Communist Party Minutes (1920-24).

Sheffield Co-operator

Miscellaneous biographical sources.

TABLE 6.2: Representation on Trades Council Industrial Committee:
Trades Unions April 1922 - December 1926¹

<u>Trades Union(s)</u>	<u>Total Representatives 1922 - 1926</u>	<u>Average Sessional Representation²</u>
'Heavy' Trades	14	2.8
General Unions	8	1.6
Railwaymen	7	1.4
Unemployed 3	7	1.4
Workers Union	6	1.2
Municipal Workers	6	1.2
Miners	5	1.0
Shop Assistants	5	1.0
Transport Workers	5	1.0
Building Trades	5	1.0
Clerks	5	1.0
Bakers	4	0.8
'Light' Trades	3	0.6
Post Office Workers	3	0.6
Wood Workers	3	0.6
Electricity Workers	2	0.4
Printers.	2	0.4

1 Details of Trades Union representation on Executive 1919-21. and Industrial Committee 1921-2 not available.

2 Five sessions - annual from April 1922 until April 1924. Annual from December 1924 thereafter.

3 The Unemployed had separate representation on the Trades Council Executive until 1924.

Sources.

Sheffield Trades & Labour Council, Annual Reports, 1925 & 1926;
Executive Committee Minutes, April 1922 - April 1924.

Councillor from 1919 to 1923 and the secretary of the Fabian Society from 1912 to 1913.

Miners' leaders from Handsworth-Woodhouse, a community incorporated into the city in 1921 and closely united by the bitter experiences of the 1893 and 1921 Lock-outs,⁷⁸ joined the Trades and Labour Council and became City Councillors for the ward. W.J.Lidgett, a checkweighman who did a great deal to maintain resistance during the 1926 strike was elected to the Council in that year, having previously always been regarded locally "as the future Councillor for the Handsworth ward".⁷⁹ Thomas O'Brien⁸⁰ an official of the miners' union, a former member of the R.S.P. and a communist until 1921, was a Labour Councillor for Handsworth Urban District Council until 1921, and then became a member of Sheffield City Council. Teachers joined the Trades and Labour Council and became City Councillors through their involvement in the Sheffield and District Teachers Association, which had radical educational views and was in the forefront of the work of the National Union of Teachers⁸¹. Edward Snelgrove,⁸² a retired Sheffield board school headmaster who joined the City Council for Crookesmoor ward in 1923, was a former President of the Sheffield Teachers Association and an Executive member of the National Union of Teachers for over thirty years. Transport and engineering unions gave early training to many others, like Frank Thraves⁸³, a City Councillor for Brightside from 1923, who was a tramwayman and who became the full-time secretary of the Sheffield Branch of the Tramway and Vehicle Workers' Union later part of the Transport and General Workers' Union. S.Hartley Marshall,⁸⁴ a councillor for Attercliffe and later a distinguished local educationalist, was the Secretary of the Sheffield branch of the Federation of Engineering and Shipbuilding Trades.

78. For details, see E. Atkin, Historical Notes and Memories of Woodhouse, 1066 to 1953, T/S 1954 (S.C.L.), pp. 39-40.

79. Ibid., p. 153. See also p. 43.

80. Cf. Sheffield Communist Party Minutes, 12 Jan 1921, S.G. 1 Nov 1912, S.F. May 1926.

81. Hallamshire Teacher (New series) No. 1 Jan 1927. For the campaign for higher teachers' salaries in Sheffield in the early '20s, see H.K. Hawson, Sheffield: The Growth of a City 1893-1926, Sheffield, 1968, pp. 89-90.

82. Cf. Obituary, S.D.T. 10 Apr 1934.

83. Cf. Newspaper Cutting (n.d.), Vol. 22 (S.F.) (S.C.L.), p. 1.

84. Cf. Sheffield Co-operator, Sep 1926; The Crescent Vol. 22, No. 13, Summer 1967, p. 4.

Moses Humberstone⁸⁵, a Lib-Lab Councillor for Darnall ward and an official of the Iron and Steel Workers' Union, was the Vice-President of the Federated Trades Council, which in 1920 agreed to amalgamate with the Trades and Labour Council. It had lost all independent political influence by the end of the war, although it continued to support the idea of a purely trade union, rather than a socialist Labour party⁸⁶. Union was achieved on condition that the Executive of the Trades and Labour Council be separated into Industrial and Political sections⁸⁷. In 1922 the new Federated Trades and Labour Council was closely involved through its industrial Executive in the Engineers' Lock-out, in tramway and cutlery trades disputes and in the "Back to the Unions" campaign of 1924-25⁸⁸. It was local politics which dominated trades council affairs, however, as Professor Pollard points out,⁸⁹ and trades unionists were as well represented, through the divisional labour parties, on the political executive as on the industrial executive (for the latter, see Table 6.2.).

W.C.Anderson's "third section" of the Labour movement, the Co-operative Party, was not officially associated with the Labour party until after 1926, and although its representatives worked closely with Labour groups on public bodies, it has been dismissed by historians like Dr. McKibbin as of little benefit to the Labour party because Co-operative voters were likely in any case to be Labour voters⁹⁰. In Sheffield, however, one of the strongest centres of the movement, the party was helpful to Labour electorally and Co-operators could with some justice claim to have assisted the Labour party to a City Council majority which was, after all, the first in any large British

85. Cf. W.W.1902, p.26, S.G. 18 Apr 1913.

86. Sheffield Federated Trades Council, Annual Report, Year ending Dec 31 1918, p.5. The main obstacle to unity during 1916-20 was the Lib-Lab belief that all trade union candidates should be supported by Labour (i.e. whether Labour or not) and the Labour determination only to support its own endorsed candidates - see ibid., Annual Report, Year ending Feb 1916, p.3.

87. Ibid., Annual Report, Year ending December 31 1919, p.5. By this time the two organisations also had much in common in their approach to the problems of post-war housing and unemployment and their opposition to the coalition government. Cf. ibid., pp.3-8.

88. Cf. Sheffield Federated Trades and Labour Council, Annual Report No. 3. (1922/23), pp.8-9, No.5 (1924/25), p.3. Details of the work of the industrial executive are given by S.Pollard in Mendelson et al, op.cit., pp.82-83.

89. S.Pollard in Mendelson et al, op.cit., p.83.

90. Op.cit., p.189. Most Labour historians have paid little attention to the Co-operative Party, and the only history of the national movement is Professor Pollard's article (see below).

borough⁹¹.

Co-operative societies were involved in "political consumerism" in the nineteenth century - the Women's Co-operative Guild, for example, which was founded in 1883, ran campaigns for better consumers' goods, for the minimum wage and for better midwifery care and maternity benefit, and trained its members in the art of public speaking and lobbying⁹². Only occasional need was felt for direct Co-operative representation on public bodies until the 1914-18 War, when, at a time when the Labour party had representation in the Cabinet, the Union was not consulted about wartime strictures and had to suffer arbitrary cutbacks in retailing and wholesaling, conscription of its experienced officials and an excess profits tax⁹³. The Union decided to seek direct representation in Parliament at its 1917 Congress, and a Sheffield branch of the Co-operative Party, originally called the Brightside and Carbrook Co-operative Society Political Council, was established in January 1918. Negotiations were immediately started with the Labour party for co-operation in election campaigns and a "free run" for the Co-operative party in three wards and one constituency. The Labour party agreed to the allocation of Neensend, Walkley and Hillsborough wards to Co-operators, and in 1922 to the takeover of Hillsborough division, which the Co-operative party had already unsuccessfully fought at the General Election of 1918⁹⁴.

The national Labour party had regarded co-operators as "either hostile or immature in political opinion" in 1915⁹⁵, and certainly a full socialist policy was slow to develop within the ideology of the Co-operative movement. The party was more than just a consumers' pressure group, however; the ideal of the "Co-

91. D.Allen, Memorandum on the Initiative and Development of the Sheffield Co-operative Party since its establishment in 1919, T/S 1959, Sheffield Co-operative Party MSS 28a, p.6.

92. Catherine Webb, The Woman with the Basket, Manchester 1927, passim.

93. McKibbin, op.cit., p.179.

94. Brightside and Carbrook Co-operative Society Political Council, Minutes (Vol.1), 10, 28 Feb 1918; Agreement between the Co-operative Party (Sheffield Section) and the Hillsborough (Sheffield) Labour Party in respect to the Hillsborough Parliamentary division of Sheffield, Memorandum, 5 Sep 1922, Sheffield Co-operative Party MSS 25. The Hillsborough candidature was one of ten at the 1918 Election.

95. McKibbin, op.cit., p.180.

operative Commonwealth" was one which was "comfortably nebulous", as Professor Pollard suggests,⁹⁶ but which had connotations of socialism and proved inspirational to all three sections of the Labour movement. Alf Barton suggested in 1926 that the popularity of this goal was responsible in large measure for the greater unity which he then saw in the movement as a whole⁹⁷. John Penny, in a pamphlet published in 1914⁹⁸, suggested that the aims of co-operation and socialism were identical, and it was for reasons such as these that many members of the I.L.P. and the Fabian Society, like Barton, also joined the Co-operative Party.

The Co-operative Party was well-organised with a card index of supporters from its earliest days⁹⁹, a social club, the Hillsborough Co-operative Institute, founded in 1920, co-operative rambles, processions and outings and a free monthly newspaper, the Sheffield Co-operator which was more widely distributed than its Labour equivalent, the Sheffield Forward¹⁰⁰. The Party's skilful 1922 General election campaign with its use of a special newspaper, the Hillsborough Elector, was believed by the Coalition M.P., Arthur Neal, to be the main reason for a turnover of votes of 10,446 and the election of A.V. Alexander, a lawyer, who was the Co-operative M.P. for Hillsborough until 1950¹⁰¹. Hillsborough was a socially mixed division, where the Co-operative Party's close identification with its interests produced a spectacular result. Thus the Co-operative Party proved useful to the Labour movement in general - through providing finance and organisation for election campaigns attracting new voters and recruiting as Labour leaders personnel trained in the co-operative movement. Alfred Barton's wife Eleanor¹⁰², for example, a Co-operative

Councillor for Attercliffe from 1919 to 1922, joined the Brightside and Car-

96. "The foundation of the Co-operative Party", A. Briggs & J. Saville (ed.), Essays in Labour History 1886 - 1923, Vol 1, London, 1971, p.190.

97. A Short History of Trades Unionism, Sheffield n.d. (1926), pp.6-8.

98. The Co-operative Movement and the Socialist State, cf. S.G. 16 Jan 1914.

99. For the following see D. Allen, op.cit., pp.1-6.

100. A Sheffield Citizen writer who interviewed working men on the subject suggested it was known only "to the elite of the movement" Sheffield Citizen Oct 1923.

101. Who Was Who 1961-70, p.13. He was out of the House between 1931 and '35.

102. Cf. J. Bellamy and J. Saville (ed), Dictionary of Labour Biography Vol 1, London, 1972, pp.38-40.

brook Women's Co-operative Guild in 1901, and later became a member of the central committee of the National Guild and the National President in 1914. She retained the secretaryship of the National Guild from 1925-37. served on many government committees and visited Australia and New Zealand on behalf of the movement. She tried three times, unsuccessfully, to enter Parliament, for constituencies in Birmingham and Nottingham. In Sheffield she held the position of director of the Brightside and Carbrook Co-operative Society Education Committee. F.S.Nicholson¹⁰³, a moulder and Councillor for Attercliffe, was one of the first members of Sheffield Co-operative Guild and closely associated with its educational, political and propaganda work. Treasurer of the Attercliffe Labour Party, he was also treasurer of the Attercliffe I.L.P. T.H.Watkins¹⁰⁴, a railwayman. Co-operative Councillor for Neensend and later, in office, the Labour administration's undoubted financial "supremo" became a member of the board of the Brightside and Carbrook Co-operative Society in 1913, and in 1934 was elected its lifelong President.

A joint Labour party/Co-operative party statement of 1922 referred to the two parties' "respective sections of the working-class movements",¹⁰⁵ but there was in practice no clear line of distinction between the two. Tom Watkins was, for example, also a long-standing member of the National Union of Railwaymen, and his 1921 election address called for the support of both trades unionists and co-operators¹⁰⁶. Some candidates spoke of themselves as "Labour and Co-operative", although this was not officially sanctioned. The Co-operative party's support ranged as widely as that of the Labour party, and in electoral terms it was entirely dependent for success on trade union support. It did, however, have more appeal to the moderate, non-socialist, working-class voter, and especially many newly-enfranchised women¹⁰⁷. The moderation of many co-operative

103. Cf. Sheffield Co-operator July 1924.
104. Cf. Sheffield Co-operator March 1923; Obituaries, Newspaper Cuttings (n.d.), Vol.22 (S.F.) (S.C.L.), pp.2. 15.
105. Agreement...in respect to the Hillsborough Parliamentary division, op.cit., p.1.
106. T.H.Watkins, Election Address, Neensend Ward, Nov 1921, Co-operative Party MSS 8.
107. Eleanor Barton, in her pamphlet, Woman in the Home, the Store and the State (n.d..c.1928) suggested that the party's ideals were very attractive to women because it treated the population as one large family and insisted that all the sick should be cared for, no matter their income, all should go hungry if there was unemployment, and so on.(n.3.)

leaders is seen, for example in their church-going backgrounds. Watkins was a Wesleyan and a temperance advocate, Ernest Atkin, a Councillor for Handsworth, was a Quaker and clerk to the Woodhouse Society of Friends¹⁰⁸. Their position contrasts with, say, that of Joseph Pointer, who abandoned chapel-going on becoming a Socialist, or Ernest Rowlinson, who was a lapsed Methodist¹⁰⁹. Watkins's financial policy in his later career was regarded as "sound and even conservative" by the Sheffield Telegraph¹¹⁰. The "old-fashioned radicalism"¹¹¹ of the pre-war co-operative unions was through such men transferred into the post-war Labour and Co-operative movement.

The I.L.P. was said, after 1917, to be "a haven for dissenting radicals from the superior classes"¹¹² and disliked as such by trades unionists. Dissenting middle-class radicals joined the party at all stages of its existence. R.H.Minshall¹¹³, for example a Customs and Excise officer and President of the Sheffield Literary and Philosophical Society, who became a Labour Councillor for Darnall in 1924, was a friend of Edward Carpenter. He was President of the Sheffield Fabian Society from 1914 to 1917 and of the Sheffield I.L.P. from 1924 to 1927, and a leading member of the local branches of the League for Reform of the Poor Law, the National Society for the Prevention of Destitution, and the League of Nations Union. F.H.Mellor¹¹⁴, the Co-operative Councillor for Attercliffe from 1922 and a bricklayer who established his own firm was one of the founders of the Attercliffe I.L.P. and influenced men like Joseph Pointer. Often the "idealists" of the party,¹¹⁵ these men were not, within the Sheffield party, disliked, but respected for themselves¹¹⁶ and made use of, sometimes in a blatant way. Arthur Ponsonby, the former diplomatist and Lib-

eral M.P., and the manufacturer G.H.Wilson, who had both joined the I.L.P.

108. E. Atkin, Historical Notes....., op.cit., p.58.

109. Interview with Mrs. E.G.Rowlinson, 1/2/78.

110. Obituary, op.cit.

111. Cf. McFibbin, op.cit., p.46.

112. Ibid., p.244.

113. Cf. S.C. 12 Nov 1909; Sheffield Co-operator Nov 1925; R.Minshall, "Edward Carpenter at Home" in G.Beith (ed.), Edward Carpenter, London, 1931, pp.139-43. Speech by E.E.G.Lyon on R.H.Minshall, Edward Carpenter Memorial Service July 4 1948, pamphlet, n.d., pp.1-4 Obituary, Newspaper Cutting(n.d.) Vol 22 (S.F.) (S.C.I.) p.3.

114. S.C. 27 Oct 1911, Sheffield Co-operator July 1922, Newspaper Cutting(n.d.) Vol.22 (S.F.) p.15.

115. Cf. the Labour Representation Committee's distinction between the "idealist" and the "practical man" within the "bond of union" of the party - Sheffield L.R.C., Annual Report No.2. (1905-6), p.16.

after the war, were adopted as candidates for Brightside and Attercliffe at the 1922 General Election in preference to the long-standing claimants, Jones and Barton, who were more plebeian¹¹⁷. The Sheffield Telegraph's comment about Wilson, who was also the leader of the Labour Group on the City Council until 1922, was that "ordinary folk cannot imagine that a party with such a highly respected leader can be working towards Bolshevism".¹¹⁸

The majority of I.L.P. members among the leadership of the Labour party during the '20s were, as before, ordinary trades unionists and working people. C.W. Gascoigne¹¹⁹, the secretary of the I.L.P. from 1916 to 1919 who became a member of the Federated Trades and Labour Council Executive and a Labour Councillor for Park ward, was an inspector with the Sheffield Gas Company. Alfred Spencer¹²⁰, a Walkley Councillor, was the organising delegate of the Sheffield branches of the Amalgamated Engineering Union and a member of the I.L.P. from 1903. Joseph Curtis,¹²¹ a railwayman and Councillor for Hands-worth, was a member of the I.L.P. and after a brief period as a Communist, chairman of the Woodhouse I.L.P. branch. The party regularly continued to have two representatives on the Federated Trades and Labour Council Political Executive.

The Sheffield Communist Party continued to work within the Sheffield Labour party where its policy was one of the "United Front": ostensibly to "unite the workers against capitalism", but really to infiltrate and take over - in Lenin's words, to support the Labour Leadership "as a rope supports the hanged".¹²² For this reason, its encroachments on the Labour party were potentially far more damaging than those of the Co-operative Party could ever

be¹²³. The party had delegates on the Federated Trades and Labour Council (six
116. Mrs. Rowlinson, for example, accepted as quite reasonable the fact that Minshall "didn't speak at street corners", Interview 1/2/78.

117. Sheffield Mail 26 Oct 1923. Sheffield Federated Trades and Labour Council, Annual Report No.2.(1921/22) suggested that Wilson's adoption for Attercliffe left "no doubt as to the future representation of that division", (p.9)

118. S.D.T. 28 Oct 1920.

119. Cf. Quality of Sheffield Vol.10, No.12, (Dec 1963), p.45; S.R.B. 1916-19.

120. Cf. Sheffield Co-operator Nov 1924; S.F. April 1927.

121. Cf. The Star 14 Mar 1977; Sheffield Communist Party Minutes 11 Jan 1922. This account also based on Interview, 22/2/78.

122. L.J. Macfarlane, op.cit., pp.96, 100-101.

123. On this, see also McKibbin, op.cit., p.191.

in 1922¹²⁴ and on the Co-operative Party Committee, and Communists were sponsored as candidates of both the Labour and Co-operative parties at City Council and Boards of Guardians elections. Albert Smith, the unemployed worker's leader, became the first Communist Councillor¹²⁵ and George Fletcher the Labour leader on the Sheffield Board of Guardians. The party also tried to convert the trades unions¹²⁶ at first by trying to persuade them to affiliate to the Third rather than the Second International, and when this failed, by a policy of infiltration, spearheaded by the National Minority Movement, of whose National Executive George Fletcher, Sam Elsbury, J.T.Murphy and Ted Lismer were all members¹²⁷.

The policy of the post-war Labour party under Rowlinson was to adhere to National Executive directives, while attempting to change those disliked by the majority of the Sheffield branch.¹²⁸ During the early twenties the Sheffield party was rather to the left of many others in continuing to allow Communists to sit on the Trades Council and to stand for election as Labour candidates, and in 1923 the Independent commented,

"Like the National Labour party, the Sheffield Labour party professes to be opposed to Communism, but while the National Labour party refuses to touch Communism at any price, the Sheffield Labour party openly embraces it. Its Governing body not only admits an avowed Communist to its innermost circles, but has endorsed his municipal candidature and presents him to the electors as its official nominee".¹²⁹

The "left wing" on the Trades Council Executive (see Table 6.3), composed primarily of past and present Communists, former shop stewards, and delegates

124. N.Connole, op.cit., p.125. Sheffield Communist Party Minutes 22 March 1922.
125. Frank Womersley, a Councillor for Burngreave, was also a Communist until 1921, but was elected before joining the party and does not appear to have acted on the Council as a delegate of the Communist party, as Smith did - see Sheffield Communist Party, Minutes, 7 Nov 1921.
126. For the following, see ibid., pp.110-117. For Metal Workers Minority Movement in Sheffield, see R.Martin, Communism and British Trade Unions 1924-33, Oxford, 1969. p.58.
127. National Minority Movement, Reports, Annual conferences, 23-24 Aug 1924, 29-30 Aug 1925, Madin MSS 16/1.
128. See, for example, Sheffield Federated Trades and Labour Council, Annual Report No. 5. (1924/25), pp.3-4.
129. S.I. 23 Oct 1923, quoted Connole, op.cit., p.137. The "avowed Communist" referred to was Fletcher. See also L.J.Macfarlane, op.cit., pp.99-101.

TABLE 6.3 : The 'Left-Wing' on the Federated Trades and Labour Council Executive Committee, 1920-26.*

	Total Executive Membership	Total 'Left Wing'	'Left Wing' as % of Total Executive
1920-21	29	8	27.6
1921-22	29	6	20.7
1922-23	32	12	37.5
1923-24	32	8	25.0
1924-25	34	10	29.4
1925	32	5	15.6
1926	32	8	25.0

*Note: For the purposes of this table membership of the "left wing" has been defined as follows - membership of the Communist Party, or membership of the Sheffield Provisional Left Wing Committee established in 1926, or being a proposer or seconder of a Trades Council motion to allow the affiliation of the Communist Party (full voting not minuted), or being a Communist Party nominee for Executive elections (cf. Communist Party Minutes, 22 Mar 1922). Most of the delegates from the Workers' Union and the Amalgamated Engineering Union were left-wing, but not all, since Alf Barton was a Workers' Union delegate and on 29 June 1926 opposed the Labour party's affiliation to the Minority Movement (see Trades Council Executive Committee Minutes).

SOURCES: Sheffield Federated Trades and Labour Council, Annual Reports Nos 1-7 (1920-26; Minutes of Executive Committee and Delegate Meetings, 1920-26; Sheffield Communist Party Minutes 1920-24; S.F. Oct 1926; Sheffield Labour Party Provisional Left-Wing Committee, Circular, n.d. (April 1926) (from the private collection of Mr. Bill Moore).

from the Workers' Union and the engineering unions, was organised as far as possible as a voting bloc¹³⁰, and succeeded in having its nominees Miller, Fletcher and Ward elected as Secretary and Vice Presidents¹³¹. In 1923 and early 1924 this bloc was unsuccessful in persuading the general delegates meeting to sponsor a request to the national Labour party to accept Communist affiliation¹³² but the decision of the Labour party conference of 1924 not to allow Communists to stand as Labour candidates or to be members of the Labour party, invoked moderate concern about Labour unity, especially after some branches of the Amalgamated Engineering Union seceded from the Council.¹³³ The Conference decision on candidates was accepted and George Fletcher was deposed as Labour leader on the Board of Guardians, but a motion petitioning the Labour conference to accept Communist affiliation was passed by a general delegate meeting in June 1925¹³⁴.

Rowlinson's attitude to the Communists, expressed in 1924, was that "in the process of permeation their policy will be to obstruct and eventually turn out the Labour party and get into power".¹³⁵ The Communist Party gave full support to Ramsay MacDonald's Labour Government of 1924 but after its downfall they attacked "MacDonaldism" on every occasion. Their failure to infiltrate the Labour party caused increasing frustration and dissension over organisation. In Sheffield there was a Communist split in 1924 over the issue of factory councils.¹³⁶ When the Labour Party Conference of 1925 upheld its earlier decision on individual membership, the Trades Council, under Rowlinson's direction, voted in favour of expelling the communists from Trades Council office¹³⁷.

130. See, for example negotiations with Workers' Union delegates Sheffield Communist Party, Minutes, 28 March 1922.
131. Fletcher was a Vice-President from 1920-25 and Ward from 1926-27. Miller was secretary of the Council from 1920-25.
132. Sheffield Federated Trades and Labour Council, General Delegate Meeting, Minutes, 27 Mar 1923; 29 Jan 1924. S.I. 25 Apr 1923; 30 Jan 1924.
133. Sheffield Federated Trades and Labour Council Executive Committee, Minutes, 24 Mar 1925.
134. Sheffield Federated Trades and Labour Council Delegate Meeting, Minutes, 30 June 1925. F.Connole (op.cit., p.139) states that a similar motion was passed in May 1924, but I can find no evidence of this.
135. S.I. 30 Jan 1924.
136. Sheffield Communist Party Minutes, 1924, pp.6-7, 27.
137. S.A.R. 3 Nov 1925; Sheffield Federated Trades and Labour Council, Annual Report No. 7. (1926), pp.7-9.

In September 1926, after the failure of the General Strike, the Communists and their Labour supporters formed a Sheffield Provisional Left-Wing Committee to campaign, from within the party, for a "co-ordinated Socialist policy",¹³⁸ but subsequent Labour conferences confirmed the original decision as the Communist party, driven more and more to the offensive in 1927-28 denounced the Labour leadership as "social fascists".¹³⁹

C. The Politics of Economic Depression (1920-26)

Many Labour leaders regarded as "Sheffield's Black Friday" an event in August 1921 when, following a huge meeting of the unemployed outside the Town Hall, there was a police baton charge when windows were smashed in the Sheffield Telegraph building¹⁴⁰. After one demonstration in Walkley in June 1922, two Labour Councillors, Albert Smith and Arthur Butcher, were arrested and imprisoned for one month¹⁴¹. Unemployed demonstrations, including attempts to enter City Council meetings and visits to churches and the cathedral, were almost weekly events during the spring and summer of 1921 and 1922¹⁴². Sheffield was not the centre of some of the most violent outbreaks of discontent against the effects of the depression of the early twenties, but the level of unemployment was very high, creating an acute political problem. Sheffield's unemployment was caused by the disastrous slump in the world market for steel products following the end of the war and the brief post-war boom, and was exacerbated by the increase in the available local workforce resulting from the influx of a large number of new workers for the armaments industry during the war and by

138. Sheffield Labour Party Provisional Left-Wing Committee, Circular op.cit., Sheffield and District Left-Wing Conference, 4 Sep 1926, Aranda, Madin MSS 16/3. See also S.F. Oct 1926. For the national movement, see Macfarlane, op.cit., pp.148-150; A Clinton, op.cit., p.147. Some trades councils refused to operate the Liverpool (1925) Conference decision, were disaffiliated, and joined the National Left-Wing Movement en masse.

139. Clinton, ibid., p.147.

140. S.F. Sep, Oct 1921, S.A.R. 12 Aug 1921. More details of this demonstration and of unemployment in general will be found in the forthcoming Holberry Society pamphlet by Bill Moore.

141. S.A.R. 7 June 1922, S.F. Sep 1922.

142. See, for example, S.A.R. 8, 13 June, 17, 24 Aug 1921; 30 Apr, 29 June 1922.

143. For this and the following, see A.D.K. Owen, Report on Unemployment in Sheffield, Sheffield, 1932, pp.25-30, passim.

the demobilisation of Sheffield soldiers¹⁴³. In addition, during the strikes and lock-outs of the years 1920-22 in the coal and engineering industries many of the city's works closed down completely. Unemployment doubled, from 4,144 to 8,000, during October 1920¹⁴⁴, and continued to rise throughout the winter, standing at 30,000 by March 1921. The coal strike of the following month raised the register immediately to 50,000, and, by the end of the strike, at the beginning of July, to 69,300, the highest total ever reached during the twenties. During the winter of 1921-22, the register stood at between 40,000 and 50,000 and although it rose again during the engineers' lock-out of March to June 1922, it fell to around 36,000 by the end of the year, and a certain amount of industrial revival took place in the spring of 1923. Between 1924 and early 1926 a level of unemployment of about 25,000 was maintained.

The campaign for adequate provision and extra work for the unemployed took two different forms within the Labour movement. "Direct action" against both the City Council and the Boards of Guardians, and, where possible, the government, was organised by former shop stewards. A Sheffield District Council of the Unemployed, affiliated to the socialist National Unemployed Workers' Committee Movement, was established in 1921. The Trades Council was closely involved in its early development, but withdrew much of its support following a decision to continue to hold meetings banned by the police¹⁴⁵ - a policy encouraged by the Communists. In the absence of a revolutionary trades union movement or Labour party, the Communists, many of whom were unemployed, came to believe that the unemployed were "the only fighting element of the working-class".¹⁴⁶ Albert Smith became the Communist leader of the District

Council, but in November 1921 he went against the party's expressed wish by
144. This is out of a total of 110,000 insured workers in the area, and does not include ex-servicemen who were drawing a special out-of-work donation. A graph showing the progress of the register from 1920 to 1932 is available in ibid., p.24.

145. Sheffield Communist Party, Minutes, 9, 16 Feb 1921; Sheffield Federated Trades and Labour Council Executive Committee Minutes, 15 Feb 1921. For the Council's relations with the District Council of the Unemployed 1920-26. see ibid., 13 Jan, 8 Feb 1921, 21 Nov 1922, 11 Aug 1923, 17 June 1924, 26 Jan, 3 Feb 1925; 25 May 1926, Delegates Meeting, Minutes 27 Jan 1925.

146. Sheffield Communist Party, Minutes, 9 May 1922.

standing, along with Arthur Butcher, as a Labour candidate for election to the City Council. Attempts by the Communists to enforce their policy were unsuccessful. Smith left the party, and in May 1922 the remaining members lost their positions on the Executive Committee and withdrew from the organisation¹⁴⁷. The Communists did not regain their ascendancy within the movement until 1924, by which time the full effect of the unemployment crisis had passed.

The Labour party's approach to the problem, and the one which the District Council adopted from 1922-24, was, apart from legal acts of demonstration to work through the Board of Guardians and other governmental agencies to achieve changes in the conditions of administration of relief. It was recognised that while local Boards of Guardians had some room for manoeuvre, a problem of such magnitude had to be tackled at governmental level, and a resolution passed in the City Council in October 1921, which was proposed by Cecil Wilson and seconded by the Citizen Whip, asserted that,

"attempts to deal with (unemployment) by local authorities cannot touch more than a very small proportion of those affected; that the Poor Law system of relief was never intended for dealing with problems of such character and magnitude as those with which we are today faced and that the task work involved in such a system is useless and degrading and this Council therefore calls on the Government not only to relieve distress but to put in hand works which because of their public utility will put life and hope in those engaged in them". 148.

Labour's seven Guardians during 1918-21 established what was considered to be a fair rate of relief pay¹⁴⁹, and policy thereafter had four elements - first abolition of "task work" and substitution of employment on public works at recognised trade union rates of pay; secondly, continued assessment of relief pay, and payment to all eligible; thirdly, payment of relief to all those on official strike, and fourthly, amalgamation of the Sheffield Board of Guardians with the Ecclesall Board, which because it covered a largely middle-class area charged a much lower poor rate and refused to subsidise the

147. Ibid., 4 Sep, 16 Nov, 12 Dec 1921; 1, 14 Feb, 19 Apr, 13, 16 May 1922.

148. H.V. Hawson, op.cit., p.135. Hawson points out that the Citizens' agreement to this policy came during the miners' strike of 1921, and the month before a municipal election.

149. Sheffield Federated Trades and Labour Council, Annual Report No. 1. (1920/21), p.13.

high unemployment costs of the rest of the city¹⁵⁰. There were nineteen Labour Guardians on the Boards after the 1921 Guardians election, and sixteen (including two Communists) after that of 1924, and the Trades Council Executive assisted the Unemployed Council to negotiate with the Boards and the City Council during 1922-23. The main thrust of the Labour campaign centred around strike payments, and, later, attempts by the Guardians to cut relief rates. Although the Sheffield Board abolished task work in 1922, engineers locked out in the dispute of that year were only given relief on loan¹⁵¹. The Trades Council Executive commented,

"The point of view that accents as righteous that men women and children must suffer owing to a stoppage over which they have no control, and then be denied the right to reasonable sustenance by the representatives of the people who have turned them on the streets, is evidently the outcome of intelligence (or is it interest?) far beyond our ken".¹⁵²

Because of the lack of preparation for, or experience of, a situation of mass unemployment, the Sheffield Board had huge deficits from 1921 onwards. A government enquiry of 1922 recommended reduction in the scales of relief and the employment of men on public work at 25% less than trade union rates. Ecclesall agreed to both stipulations and Sheffield (which had more Labour representatives) eventually had to agree to the latter.

The Sheffield and Ecclesall Boards amalgamated in 1924, but on condition that the Ecclesall poor rate continued at four shillings in the pound.¹⁵³ Defaulting on the poor rate stood at 39% in 1923 and the Sheffield Board was forced the following year to appeal to the Department of Health for extra aid which was granted only on condition that rates of relief were reduced. In 1925 more limits were placed on eligibility for relief and in 1926, when the General Strike brought the unemployment question again into the political foreground, winter relief and relief for the self-employed were abolished.

Cf. S.V.B. 1922 pp.82-84; Sheffield Federated Trades and Labour Council, Annual Reports Nos.2-7 (1921-26), Guardian representatives reports, passim, S.F. May 1923. A.V.Alexander, Election Address Hillsborough Division, Dec 1923.

150. S.F. May 1922. Sheffield Federated Trades and Labour Council, Annual Report No. 3 (1922/23), pp.5-7.

151. Ibid., p.5. For the following, see Sheffield Federated Trades and Labour Council, Annual Report No. 3 (1922/23), pp.7, 19-21; No. 6 (April/Dec 1925), pp. 17-20.

152. For details of the amalgamation, see B.J.Elliott, "The Last Five Years of the Sheffield Guardians" Transactions of the Hunter Archaeological Society, Vol.10, part 2, 1973, pp.133-136.

and plans for public works abandoned, despite the possibility of help from the Unemployed Grants Committee. Labour argued that this decision was made by Citizen Guardians entirely on the grounds of the threat of public works to private enterprise¹⁵⁴.

The attitude of the Citizen majorities on the City Council and the Boards of Guardians towards labour questions hardened during the years 1921-26 because of middle-class pressure to maintain low rates.¹⁵⁵ The "economy" policy was applied not just to unemployment benefit but to housing, education, health and public building and, even so, huge debts were accumulated, the interest on which amounted in 1925/26 to eight shillings on each pound paid in rates¹⁵⁶. There was a severe shortage of housing and educational facilities, coupled with untackled public health problems,¹⁵⁷ in the immediate post-war period and Labour argued against any reduction in rates which affected essential services. "To reduce rates at the expense of the HEALTH and EDUCATION of the people is a MOST DISASTROUS POLICY....The actions of the "Coalition" have piled up, in misery, ill-health, and future liabilities, an incalculable debt to the community".¹⁵⁸ The Sheffield Co-operator claimed,

"any man who is callous enough can save money by the simple process of starving his children, and any community that is either unintelligent or filled with greed can save rates by starving the poor. But such action should be branded for what it undoubtedly is: selfish, ignorant, inhuman and unchristian".¹⁵⁹

The Labour party added, in its 1923 election manifesto, that the Citizen policy was an "absolute negation of true economy"¹⁶⁰. The main thrust of

154. Sheffield Federated Trades and Labour Council, Annual Report No.6 (April-Dec 1925), p.18. Elliott suggests (op.cit., p.137) that the Citizen Guardians decision was due to the fact that better public works, especially for women, were far more difficult to obtain, in a non-mixed steel-based economy.

155. See below, chapter 7. passim. The following account of Labour municipal policy has not, unfortunately, been written with the help of Labour Group papers. Papers dating back to 1919 are believed by present Labour Councilors to exist, but they have not so far been located.

156. A.V.Alexander, "Municipal Affairs". T/S, n.d. (1925-26), Alexander MSS 12/6.

157. For details, see below, chapter 7, pp.236-8.

158. S.F. Nov 1923.

159. March 1925.

160. S.F. Nov 1923.

Labour policy during this period was towards a fully developed socialist municipal economy comprising municipalisation of essential services rating of land values and empty houses a municipal bank and direct labour.¹⁶¹ Their housing campaign was directed against the private builders on the Council who were preventing direct labour being used as an economy measure in house-building¹⁶². Direct labour was finally rejected by the Citizen majority in February 1924, although almost twenty thousand houses were by then required in the city¹⁶³. Labour agitation was partially responsible for the establishment of the municipal milk scheme in 1919 and there was outrage when the City Council decided to sell it in 1922. The issue became the main plank of the Labour election manifesto in November 1922¹⁶⁴. Gas municipalisation was allowed to lapse by Labour in 1919 because of the high purchase cost and their hope of promoting the electrification of workers' homes¹⁶⁵.

The party's attitude to education was enthusiastic but unspecific as to means. Rowlinson's own deenest concern was education,¹⁶⁶ which was seen in the context of total social policy - "the most important of educational reforms is social reconstruction".¹⁶⁷ The Citizens' failure to provide adequate educational facilities on the new Manor estate became an issue at the 1926 municipal election, and the building of schools was Labour's top priority in the years immediately following the assumption of power.¹⁶⁸

161. Cf. S.F. Nov 1923. Nov 1924; Newspaper cutting (n.d.) Volume 22 (S.F.) (S.C.L.) n.52. Labour policy on municipalisation and direct labour was much influenced by the I.L.P. pamphlet Borough Councils, published in 1919 (Madin MSS 32/12/5).
162. See, for example, ibid.
163. S.V.P. 1925. n.25; S.F. Nov 1925.
164. Sheffield Federated Trades and Labour Council, Annual Report No.3 (1922/23) n.13; F.Thraves, Election Address, St. Peter's Ward, Nov 1922, Newspaper Cuttings Vol.22 (S.F.) (S.C.L.), n.53. See also Food Control Committee, Memo on Sheffield Milk Supply, 1919.
165. Sheffield Trades and Labour Council, Annual Report No. 16(1919/20), n.10. The purchase would have involved paying gas company shareholders annuities of 5% - cf. Hawson, op.cit., n.17. R.Styring in his autobiography, My Life Story, From 1940, n.216-219, says that Labour made it a plank in their 1919 election platform and then reneged on it. Labour were misguided in this, and the municipal purchase of gas would have prevented much of Sheffield's smoke problem.
166. He became the chairman of the Education Committee in 1926 and was during the '30s the President of the Association of Education Committees and a member of the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education. Obituary, S.D.T. 6 Jan 1941.
167. S.F. Nov 1924.
168. F.Thraves, Election Address, Brightside Ward, Nov 1926, Co-operative Party MSS 8, Six Years of Labour Rule in Sheffield 1926-32, Sheffield, 1932, pp4-5; John Rowlett, Lecture to the Society for the Study of Labour History, Yorkshire, Humberside and N.Midlands Group, 21 Apr 1979. Direct labour was used for the building of all the new schools.

hospitals was a goal which became feasible, in the case of the workhouse hospitals, after the amalgamation of the Boards of Guardians with the City Council in 1929¹⁶⁹. The Trades and Labour Council also took a prominent part from 1919 onwards in the Joint Hospital Council's "Penny in the Pound" scheme, a form of voluntary health insurance aimed mainly at the working classes¹⁷⁰. Labour's concern for the blind, an early development¹⁷¹, became a policy of avoiding charity and outlawing beggary by the provision of subsidised workshops. A campaign to secure Labour representation on the Management Committee of the Blind Institute resulted by 1924 in thirty-six Labour members, including Ernest Rowlinson and other members of the Trades Council Executive¹⁷². The Labour Council assumed complete control of all services to the blind and set up blind work-shops within a year of taking office¹⁷³.

The City Council, recognising that Labour had "come to stay", as Mumberstone commented¹⁷⁴, agreed to the party's demands for reduced tram-fares for children in October 1923, and in 1925 T.H.Watkins reported that more of the party's policies were being accepted each year¹⁷⁵. Until 1924 Labour was unequally represented on almost every committee in particular the Lord Mayor's Advisory Committee, which in 1920 co-opted representatives of the Cutlers' Company and the Chamber of Commerce and decided to call in armed troops in order to break a local railwaymen's strike¹⁷⁶. Labour Councillors resorted to a two month strike from all committees in 1921-22 in order to establish some of their rights, and the following year made a formal complaint against the

169. This was something which Labour championed - cf. Sheffield Federated Trades and Labour Council, Annual Report No. 6. (Apr/Dec 1925), p.20. See also Six Years of Labour Rule, op.cit., p.18.

170. Sheffield Federated Trades and Labour Council, Annual Report No. 1 (1920-1), p.5 No.2 p.14; A.Clinton, op.cit., p.37.

171. The president of the National League of the blind spoke to the Labour Representation Committee as early as 1904 - Sheffield L.R.C., Annual Report No.2 (1905/6), p.10.

172. Sheffield Federated Trades and Labour Council, Annual Report No.5 (1924/25), pp. 7, 21. Sheffield Co-operator, July 1924.

173. Six Years of Labour Rule, op.cit., pp.20-21.

174. Sheffield Federated Trades and Labour Council, Annual Report No.4 (1923/24) p.13.

175. Ibid., Annual Report No. 5 (1924/25), p.13.

176. Sheffield Trades and Labour Council, Annual Report No.16 (1919/20), pp8,11-14.

Lord Mayor's partiality towards Citizen members¹⁷⁷. No Labour Aldermen (apart from the former Lib-Labs, Wardley and Bailey) were elected until Labour took control in 1926, and the party's nomination of Moses Humberstone for Lord Mayor was turned down in 1923¹⁷⁸. During 1925-26 the Labour group felt particularly thwarted by the bloc vote of the Citizen aldermen, which prevented many of their motions from being passed, and the 1925 election was fought on the issue "the will of the people must prevail".¹⁷⁹

The party's Parliamentary breakthrough in Sheffield, deferred since 1918 came in 1922 with the capture of Attercliffe, Brightside and Hillsborough - the Attercliffe swing of 33.5% being "Labour's most remarkable national success".¹⁸⁰ The seats were retained at the general elections of 1923 and 1924. Labour being disappointed not also to gain Park division. The party made a small number of gains (never more than four) at most of the local elections between 1919 and 1926, but was unable to achieve a majority, and there were twenty-four Labour and forty-four non-Labour Councillors during the session November 1925 to November 1926.

Labour's achievement of a City Council majority in November 1926 was not only remarkable in itself, but unique in the country¹⁸¹ - surprising in view of the fact that the most important factor, the General Strike, was a national phenomenon. Sheffield was exceptional, however, not only in its experience of very heavy unemployment since the war, but also in having a predominance within its boundaries of the two groups of workers most immediately and strongly affected by the industrial disputes of 1925-26 - the engineering workers and the miners. Following the post-war depression in trades union growth¹⁸², the Trades and Labour Council detected an "awakening of trade union spirit in the face of the increasing intransigence of employers"¹⁸³ during 1924. Engineers

177. Sheffield Federated Trades and Labour Council, Annual Report No.2 (1921/22), p.12, Report No. 3 (1922/23), p.14.

178. See, ibid., Annual Report No. 5 (1924/25), pp.14-15; below, chapter 7, pp 234-5.

179. Ibid., Annual Report No. 6 (1925), p.13.

180. K.Dugdale, Conservatives, Liberals and Labour in Yorkshire 1918-29, University of Sheffield M.A.Thesis, 1976, p.115.

181. Although Labour made gains at local elections throughout the country -cf. J. Young Local Politics and the rise of party, Leicester, 1975, p.137.

182. This was due to the general industrial depression.

183. Sheffield Federated Trades and Labour Council, Annual Report No.6. (Apr/Dec 1925), p.10.

had not received any increase in wages since the 1922 Lock-out and were "at best.....very little removed from the poverty line".¹⁸⁴ The threat of more lock-outs in 1926 led the engineers to demand a general strike eight weeks before the strike on behalf of the miners began¹⁸⁵. It is, indeed, fair to say that public support for the strike within the city was, at least initially more aroused by the plight of the engineers than by that of the miners.

"Not for a moment did (the Trades Council Executive) question the rightness of the decision (to call the strike)", reported J.T.Murphy¹⁸⁶. Ernest Rowlinson later reported that the main problem had been "not to get the men out who had been instructed to cease work, but to keep those at work whom the General Council desired to remain at work for the time being".¹⁸⁷ A Central Disputes Committee was formed from the Industrial Executive of the Trades and Labour Council and this took complete charge of the running of the strike¹⁸⁸. Railwaymen were the first to come out, followed by transport workers and by engineers in the "second wave". The only groups which failed to strike were non-unionist engineers, one craft union and the typographers - a disappointment which resulted in the Sheffield Telegraph being the only newspaper available in London during the first two days of the strike¹⁸⁹.

The Communist party formed a separate Minority Movement strike committee which was, as John Copley points out, not an organisational body, but one limited to propaganda and publicity.¹⁹⁰ The Communists saw themselves as the backbone of the Labour Movement during the strike, or, as Sarah Benton puts it, "forcing the official leadership to fight and then.....providing the 'stiffening' for it to fight harder".¹⁹¹ It had few remaining factory cells, and all

184. Ibid., p.10.

185. Sarah Benton, "Sheffield", in M.Morris (ed.) The General Strike, Pelican edn. 1976, p.428,432.

186. Quoted ibid., p.426.

187. Quoted S.Pollard, op.cit., p.89.

188. For this and the following, see John Copley, The General Strike in South Yorkshire, University of Sheffield M.A.Dissertation, 1972, pp.10-12.18-21.

189. Benton, op.cit., p.434.

190. Op.cit., p.21.

191. Op.cit., p.437.

the trade unions, even those instructed by their national headquarters to form separate strike committees, worked within the framework of the Central Disputes Committee.¹⁹² The party held meetings, but its main contribution was the production of a daily strike bulletin, giving news of its progress and exhortations to "hold tight". Its editorials stopped well short of preaching general revolution but simply argued that the aim of the strike must go beyond a tactical defeat of the coalowners to embrace the final solution - mine nationalisation and the formation of a Labour government¹⁹³.

The unforeseen ending of the strike was greeted first with shock by both Labour and Communist parties, and then with anger. The Central Disputes Committee on May 13th sent a condemnatory resolution to the General Council of the T.U.C., saying that their policy "was, in our opinion, altogether unwarranted so far as the morale and determination of the workers was concerned".¹⁹⁴ The Communist Party called the Council's actions "treachery" and laid the blame on the "'Right Wing' General Council and the timid Parliamentary leaders of the Labour Party, who, anxious for peace on any terms, were conducting their defeatist propaganda behind the scenes".¹⁹⁵

Alf Barton, reflecting on the strike in his 1926 publication A Short History of Trades Unionism decided that it was "a magnificent example of working-class solidarity" and that its abrupt termination should not be criticised too much because it was the first of its kind and "its progress and results hard to foresee and control".¹⁹⁶ Purely industrial action could probably never succeed against a reactionary government but in combination with the political and co-operative sides of the movement it would achieve a great deal¹⁹⁷. This was probably the majority opinion which developed among moderates in the following months.

192. Op.cit., pp.20-21.

193. Sheffield Communist Party, Special Strike Bulletin No. 3, 7 May 1926, from the private collection of Bill Moore. I am grateful to him for giving me photocopies of the strike bulletins.

194. Quoted Conley, op.cit., p.61. Condemnation of the General Council was confined to only a few disappointed Central Disputes Committees - Cf. Clinton, op.cit., p.131.

195. Sheffield District Communist Party Committee, Handbill, 13 May 1926, from Bill Moore's private collection.

196. A. Barton, A Short History of Trades Unionism, op.cit., p.7.

197. Ibid.

The perceived need for a political as well as an industrial battle gave vigour to the November 1926 local election. In addition, the Citizen opponents at this election had fully identified themselves, as they had during the war, with the Conservative government and the forces of opposition to labour. The City Council had opened a Volunteer recruiting centre at the Town Hall and leading Citizens had been involved in the local Organisation for the Maintenance of Supplies - a potential strike-breaking body.¹⁹⁸ The Boards of Guardians, following government policy had refused to give relief to almost all of those on general strike, and to many of the miners who continued to strike afterwards.¹⁹⁹ After the "nine days", the numbers of unemployed rose to 40,000 and the register remained at 35,000 until November and the end of the miners' strike²⁰⁰.

The 1926 election, the Sheffield Co-operator argued would be "of primary importance to every elector".²⁰¹ The issues were,

"whether VESTED INTERESTS as represented by a reactionary TORY CITIZEN'S PARTY, with their selfish methods are to continue:-

1. To control our lives.
2. To limit our activities.
3. To retard real progress by restricting full and free development of municipal enterprise.

.....OR
whether they shall be replaced by Representatives pledged to unfettered extension and development in every phase of municipal activity, whose first consideration is the well-being of every member of the community".²⁰²

A "Progressive Charter for Sheffield Ratepayers" included better health and educational provision, direct labour in the house-building programme, public works for the unemployed, reduced tram-fares and better facilities for the blind and the mentally defective²⁰³. Labour quoted statistics to prove that municipal control of house-building, banking and coal supplies could benefit the mass of the population, but that they would not be implemented by the

198. Conley, op.cit., pp.31-33.

199. Ibid., pp.49,52; Sheffield Federated Trades and Labour Council, Annual Report No. 7. (1926), pp.13-15.

200. A.D.K.Owen, op.cit., p.30. Large scale victimisation was feared at the end of the strike, but, as Sarah Benton points out, "few of the employers had anything left to gain by victimisation", op.cit., p.437.

201. Sheffield Co-operator Nov, 1926.

202. Ibid.

203. P.Thraves, Election Address, Brightside Ward, Nov 1926, Co-operative Party MSS 8; Sheffield Co-operator, Nov 1926.

Citizens because "they must work for their paymasters".²⁰⁴

S.H. Marshall, one of Labour's Councillors, said that during the election campaign "there was an atmosphere in the city you could almost feel".²⁰⁵ Labour achieved a majority of three seats²⁰⁶ through gains in St. Peter's St. Philip's, Park, Darnall, Heeley and Hillsborough wards - the "cocknits" where the vote was influenced by the experience of the General Strike and disillusion with the Citizens' Administration. The turnout was very high - 66% in Park and 51% on average²⁰⁷. The argument against economy and in favour of greater municipalisation appear to have won through in marginal, richer wards like Heeley and Hillsborough. The Sheffield Co-operator argued in December that the Citizens had shown the value of a municipally controlled service, freely and fairly distributed to all, in their excellent water supply and that the party's councillors were outvoted "because they wanted to stop at water".²⁰⁸

Joseph Curtis, after recalled his experience of the night of November 1st 1926 as he waited with Labour supporters at Handsworth village cross. A cyclist came towards them waving his arms and shouting "we've done it!"²⁰⁹ Euphoria was soon succeeded by a determination to get down to business, but was coupled with an awareness of the part played by former "comrades". Joe Oxley wrote of the happiness of Joe Pointer and others could they have known that "as early as 1926 the Labour party would have complete control of the Sheffield City Council. It is to these people - who never doubted clouds would break - that we owe a debt of gratitude for what they did in their day to make victory possible".²¹⁰

204. S.F. Nov 1926.

205. S.F. Nov 1976.

206. This became an overall majority of eight after the aldermanic election.

207. S.F. Nov 1976.

208. Sheffield Co-operator Dec 1926.

209. The Star 14 Mar 1977.

210. S.F. Dec 1926.

CHAPTER 7

ANTI-LABOUR POLITICS 1919-26

A. Introduction: The formation of the Citizens' Association(1910-20).

It was almost inevitable that the Conservative and Liberal parties in Sheffield should form a municipal electoral alliance in 1919. There was a national coalition government and local coalitions were formed, for example, in London, Wolverhampton, Hull, Bristol, Reading and Southampton¹ Sheffield's alliance was rather more binding and longer-lasting than some of these,² and its effect on the Liberal party was correspondingly more shattering³.

The national Conservative/Liberal Coalition developed out of the government formed by Lloyd George in December 1916⁴. It commanded the support of Conservatives and of those Liberals who did not continue to follow Asquith. Although no separate Liberal organisations were formed reflecting this in the country until the end of the war, the split between the "Independent" Asquithian Liberals and the Lloyd George coalitionists was developing from this date.

The Sheffield Liberal party, under the leadership of W.E.Clegg, naturally became strongly Lloyd Georgian. Howard Wilson told his uncle, H.J.Wilson, as early as 1904 of his feeling that "even when the League is no more, we shall have the same people and the same attitude to deal with".⁵ The original split within the Liberal party in Sheffield was over pacifism and imperialism; the same issues were raised in the decision to declare war on Germany in 1914 and to a lesser extent in the dispute over conscription which was the main cause of

1. In addition to all the towns of the north-east and of South Wales. Cf. C.Cook, "Liberals, Labour and Local Elections", in C.Cook and G.Peele (ed), The Politics of Reappraisal 1918-39, London, 1975, p.170. For Wolverhampton, cf. G.P.Jones, Borough Politics, London, 1969, pp.53-8, 64; for London, cf. K.Young, Local Politics and the Rise of Party, Leicester, 1975, pp.114-118. Clegg and other Citizens often spoke of themselves as "Coalition" councillors-e.g. S.A.R. Sept 12 1921.
2. In Wolverhampton for example there was no formal alliance, only a written pact to maintain an anti-Labour front; in London the pact operated in the London County Council in 1919, but not in all of the Borough Councils. C.Cook, The Age of Alignment, London, 1975, p.58; K.Young, op.cit., p.118.
3. There are no figures to enable absolute precision on this point, because Councils with Coalition parties, like Sheffield, did not produce separate figures for Conservative and Liberal members (see Table 3.4, Cook, ibid., p.69), but the abyss showing in national elections suggests such a conclusion. See also below, Sect.E.
4. For an account of the formation of the coalition, see T.Wilson, The Downfall of the Liberal Party 1914-35, Fontana edn., 1968, pp.97-111, passim.
5. Howard Wilson/H.J.Wilson, 8 Aug 1904, Wilson MSS 5897.

Asquith's downfall. Support for imperialism and the attitude of the Liberal League was very much stronger in the Sheffield party than, say, in the party in Parliament, in the 1900s⁶.

Support for imperialism was one factor making for unity between the Conservative and Liberal parties in Sheffield⁷. The other was common antipathy to and fear of the activities of the Sheffield Labour party. Although the Liberals, on the face of it, had more to fear from Labour success, the Conservatives also depended on the working-class vote, particularly in Central division. Tariff reform was the successful anti-Socialist formula here, but under the leadership of Herbert Hughes, a "Free Fooder", this could not become the electoral war-cry of the whole party. Anti-Socialism in the narrow negative sense was the main plank of his first municipal electoral platform as leader, in November 1907.

Arguing in his letter to Conservative candidates⁸, that most Liberal Councillors had "Socialistic tendencies" because of their wish to subsidise Corporation housing at Wincobank, Hughes conceded that "it is only fair to say that the views of Sir William Clegg and Sir Joseph Jonas are perfectly at one with ours on this question of Socialism, and their courage in expressing their views is deserving of our admiration".⁹

Clegg made anti-Socialism a feature of his election campaigns from 1906 onwards¹⁰. There is indeed no very obvious reason why a municipal electoral agreement between Clegg and the Conservatives was not concluded in that year - it was certainly discussed,¹¹ and, in the East End, where the Labour threat was strongest, there were "QUIET but effective"¹² electoral agreements in 1906, 1908 and 1909¹³.

6. The majority in the 1900s was moderate Campbell-Bannermanite - cf. K.O. Morgan, The Age of Lloyd George, London, 1971, p.28.

7. Robert J. Scally's monograph, The Origins of the Lloyd George Coalition. The politics of social-imperialism 1900-18, Princeton, 1975, argues that the elements involved in Lloyd George's early, 1910, plan for coalition were "nurtured in the Social-Imperialist movement since the Boer War" (p.6). They included both tariff reformers and Liberal Leaguers, and it was substantially the same Coalition which was eventually constructed in 1916. (cf. p.6, 188-195, 210, 312, 346, 348).

8. Reprinted S.D.T. 16 Oct 1907. Also cited above, p.116.

9. Ibid.

10. See above, Chapter 4, pp.152-3.

11. Cf. Correspondence between Clegg and F.A. Kelley, published S.D.T. 31 Oct 1906. Clegg may have jibbed at that time at the Conservatives' protectionist stance.

12. L.R.C. Annual Report, No. 3(1906/7), p.9 (Block letters in the original).

13. L.R.C. Annual Reports cited Attercliffe (1906), Darnall (1908) and Brightside (1909). In the first two cases the Liberal was allowed a clear run against Labour, and in the latter case a Conservative, A.J. Hobson, was put forward.

Clegg ignored the wishes of the local Liberal Associations by encouraging some of these pacts. In 1910 the Attercliffe Liberal Association agreed not to oppose the Labour candidate, Joe Pointer, at both elections in defiance of Clegg's wishes and to the anger of the Conservatives, who would otherwise probably have won the seat¹⁴. The years 1910-12 were not in any case favourable ones for Liberal/Conservative alliance. The issue of the People's Budget and House of Lords Reform of 1910, together with the Home Rule Bill projected in 1911 and 1912 united the Liberal and Conservative parties in opposition to one another¹⁵.

Labour's tide of electoral failure appeared to have turned by 1913 and Conservatives and Liberals formed an electoral alliance in that year, issuing a joint manifesto for the Board of Guardians election, exhorting voters to choose the "Independent" (i.e. Conservative) or the Liberal candidate¹⁶. There is no reason to imagine that the events of the war itself, or the formation of the national coalition government, created the conditions for Liberal/Conservative alliance in Sheffield. The events of the war simply strengthened the already formulated arguments for a coalition, and gave its creation some legitimacy. In this sense, the wartime political truce arranged by Clegg and Cattell, the new Conservative leader, in August 1914 represented a sigh of relief, an unlooked for, but happy, contingency.

Only after the war did Lloyd George's Coalition oppose the Socialists; during the war his government contained Labour members. The 1918 'Coupon' Election, which Lloyd George Liberals fought as members of the Coalition, forced local associations to take sides on the split between Asquith and Lloyd George. The Sheffield Associations were split four to three - Attercliffe, Brightside, Hillsborough and Park in favour of Lloyd George; Hallam, Ecclesall and Central in favour of Asquith¹⁷. The Lloyd George candidates included Arthur Neal and Henry Kenyon Stephenson.

14. They only lost in the by-election of 1909 because the Conservative vote was split see above, Chapter 3, p.112. See also the situation at Brightside in 1909, above, Chapter 4, pp. 154-5.

15. There was nevertheless a Liberal/Conservative electoral agreement at Attercliffe in 1911 (Liberals supported the Conservative). cf. Sheffield Guardian Election Supplement, 1 Nov 1911.

16. Cf. S.G. 11 Apr 1913. Conservatives habitually campaigned as "Independents" in the Guardians election.

17. Attercliffe, Brightside, Hillsborough and Park ran Coalition Liberals at the 1918 'Coupon' Election. Cf. also the evidence from Lloyd George Liberal Magazine cited M. Kinnear, The British Voter, New York, 1968, p.88. Hallam ran an 'Independent' Liberal, C.S. Rewcastle at the 1922 and 1923 elections and Ecclesall and Central ran 'Independent' Liberals at the 1923 election.

A Conservative/Liberal alliance for the first municipal election after the war was a foregone conclusion. The Telegraph argued that "it seems to us quite impossible that while Conservatives and Liberals maintain the Coalition in Parliament, we can ignore it in Sheffield".¹⁸ What was rather less expected was that an alliance formed simply for the purposes of municipal elections, for a three year trial period, should turn within a year into a full-scale coalition with a "non-party" ideology. For this the extent of the defeat in 1919 was responsible. The Liberals lost every seat that they fought and the Conservatives four out of ten¹⁹, with the victory going to Labour or the "mushroom" parties of the immediate post-war period²⁰. There was a great deal of apathy among Coalition supporters,²¹ the Liberals had no newspaper support²², and Clegg was unable to take part in the campaign due to illness. Even so, the defeat was part of a national trend. The 1919 municipal election was dramatic in its effect on Liberal and Labour fortunes in many cities - Liberal losses were often "Shattering"²³.

The Coalition was imperative to Liberals and useful to Conservatives, some of whom saw in it a method to secure the Liberal party's speedy demise²⁴. The Citizens' Association was formed in July 1920, with Clegg as Leader and Cattell as deputy-leader²⁵. It was claimed to be entirely "non-party", with membership open to anyone, including trades-unionists and members of co-operatives²⁶. All those associated with it, it was said, had "agreed to sink their views on imperial politics"²⁷, and candidates would be chosen without regard to their opinions on such matters.

18. S.D.T. 9 Oct 1919. There was no discussion of the issue at meetings of the Sheffield, Brightside or Ecclesall Conservative Associations - see Minute Books of the Associations, Oct 1919.
19. Conservatives also had two unopposed returns. For party gains during 1919-27, see Table 7.1.
20. For the "mushroom" parties, see Section D.
21. S.D.T. 3 Nov 1919.
22. The Sheffield Independent was Asquithian and did not support the Citizens until 1924 - see below, Section C and Clegg's complaints, S.D.T. 4 Nov 1919.
23. C. Cook, Age of Alignment, op.cit., p.52, see also p.51.
24. This was the view of some London Conservatives, noted by K. Young, op.cit. p.31.
25. Alfred Cattell took over the leadership of the Conservative party in 1913.
26. S.I. 17 July 1920.
27. Ibid.

TABLE 7.1 : Seat Gains by Non-Labour Parties at Municipal Elections
1919 - 1927.

(Party from which gain was made shown in brackets)

Year	Liberal	Conservative	N.D.P.	M.C.U.	Ind.Lib	Ind.Con
1919-20	1(Con)	-	-	-	-	-
	<hr/> Citizen <hr/>					
1920-21		1 (Con) 1 (Lab)		1 (Con)	-	-
1921-22		1 (Con)		2 (Con)	1 (Lib)	-
1922-23		2 (Lab) 1 (D.S.)		-	-	-
1923-24		1 (Lab) 1 (M.C.U.)		-	-	-
1924-25		2 (Lab)				2 (Cit)
1925-26		2 (Lab)				-
1926-27		-				-

Key: N.D.P. - National Democratic Party.

M.C.U. - Middle Classes Union.

D.S. - Discharged Soldiers & Sailors Association.

Ind.Lib. - Independent Liberal.

Ind.Con - Independent Conservative.

SOURCE: S.Y.B. 1920-27.

It is beyond doubt that, despite the persistent rhetoric, this body was an anti-Socialist alliance. It did contain, besides Liberals and Conservatives, members of the National Democratic Party, a predominantly working-class body²⁸, but the objectives of the "Sheffield Citizens' Constitutional Vigilance Committee", set up in 1920, provide proof of its true stance,

"to take such steps as may be necessary from time to time to combat Revolutionary Propaganda, and to consolidate the united forces of Law and Order into one body to uphold constitutional and democratic government both locally and nationally". 29

After pondering the matter for eleven days, the Sheffield Independent came out against the new coalition, castigating it as a "Tory dodge" and "a mere defensive alliance against Labour".³⁰

B. The Policies of the Citizens' Association

G.E.Stembridge, the General manager of W.C.Leng and Company, told his prospective constituents in St. Peter's ward in October 1919 that the Sheffield City Council was "a huge business" and that electors were "in the position of employers selecting the best man for the job".³¹ Citizens' Association officials boasted in 1920 that their organisation had "no class or political party distinction".³² The practice of co-opting prominent business men of whatever party on to the Council during the war was continued, as far as possible, in the early twenties. J.Slater Willis, the manager of Tinsley Rolling Mills, was recommended to the electors of Attercliffe as a local employer and a man with "extensive business experience" which would be of use to the Corporation³³. W.J.Hunter, the director of Cockayne's Ltd., a city centre store, would, it was said, when faced with municipal decisions, ask "What should I do in my own business?"³⁴

28. See below, Section D.

29. S.Y.B. 1921, p.268.

30. S.I. 28 July 1920.

31. S.D.T. 28 Oct 1919.

32. Sheffield Citizen May 1923.

33. Sheffield Citizen Sept 1924. Willis was elected a Councillor for St. Peter's ward in November 1925.

34. Ibid. Hunter was elected a Councillor for St. Peter's ward in November 1921, and re-elected in 1924.

Arthur Balfour³⁵ and A.J.Hobson, the leading figures of the Chamber of Commerce, were regarded as jewels in the crown of the Citizens' administration.

An appeal to the electorate to choose "businessmen", with its implied rejection of the inexperience of working-class candidates, put the emphasis on pragmatism and sidestepped the need for a rigorous Citizen municipal policy, which might have showed up the conflicting ideas of Conservative and Liberal candidates. The new orthodoxy, however, had the inevitable effect on the membership of the Association. Before the war the Liberal party had a respectable number of working-class City Councillors and Guardians; in the years 1918-1926 it had hardly any³⁶. The proportion of directors of large manufacturing firms, in relation to professional men and merchants, was far higher in the Citizens' Association than in either the Liberal or the Conservative parties before the war³⁷. The result was that despite the persistent rhetoric about "one family" and the Association's "hatred of class distinctions"³⁸, the new party was inevitably identified, more than the Liberal and Conservative parties separately had been, as the party of the rich in opposition to the poor.

The precedents for coalition government at local level were far less ins-

35. Balfour was managing director of Arthur Balfour and Sons, steel converters and refiners and tool manufacturers, and City Councillor for St. Peter's ward from 1920-22. President of Sheffield Chamber of Commerce in 1910 and of the Association of British Chambers of Commerce from 1923-24, he was also a member of the Council of the International Chamber of Commerce from 1923, on which body he had a distinguished career. Cf. "Sir Arthur Balfour, K.B.E.", Monthly Journal of the Sheffield Chamber of Commerce and Manufacturers (Incorporated), Vol. IX No. 97, August 1926, pp. 8-9. The Chamber of Commerce actively encouraged its membership to seek election to the City Council and Board of Guardians - cf. letter from A. Law Monthly Journal, op.cit., Vol. V No. 51, October 1922, p. 52.
36. Although among Lib-Labs who defected to Labour in 1920 neither A.J. Bailey nor W.F. Wardley could be regarded as wholehearted converts, they were never fully identified with the Citizen Administration. The only working-class Citizen Councillor was James Peck, an employee of the Liberal Wilsons' firm, the Sheffield Smelting Company. He claimed not to believe that "the interests of my fellow workers lie in the direction of class antagonism" (Election Address, based with Sheffield Citizen Nov 1924), but he was defeated in an attempt to be re-elected at Brightside in November 1924.
37. For detailed figures, see above Table 1.9(D) p.39. The two "National Democratic Party" members of the Citizens' Association on the Council both had lower middle-class occupations.
38. Speeches by Clegg and Cattell, reported in Sheffield Citizen, February 1925.

piring than were those for the "rule of businessmen" and the rejection of party politics in local affairs³⁹. The result was that the rhetoric of Sir William Clegg and Alfred Cattell emphasised concepts which would previously have been entirely foreign to them, such as that the Citizens' Association was "non-political" because there was "no need for party politics in municipal affairs".⁴⁰ This argument, with its attempt to obscure the fact that the party political battle had moved to another front, was, the Sheffield Independent and others suggested, unconvincing:

"It makes all the difference in the world whether the decision to build houses in which working men and women are to live, and the determination of their rents and rates is taken by the representatives of vested interests or by those who have ever championed the poor, the exploited and the downtrodden against their interests."⁴¹

It was not entirely the fault of the Citizens that, in the Independent's phrase, they had "no programme - just a few vague generalities".⁴² The administration was the victim, albeit an inept and blinkered victim, of the greatest slump experience in Sheffield until that time. The cutback which was then demanded nationally affected governments including the Labour government of 1924 and not just city councils; very few emerged with distinction.

There are signs that enthusiasm for municipal ownership waned within the Conservative party after 1907, and within the Liberal party a few years later⁴³. Neglect of "municipal socialism" could not, however, be sustained during wartime. Food control, land cultivation, insurance, war pensions and the national restaurant and kitchens all became the responsibility of local government during the war and the immediate post-war period. At one of his election meetings in the Park in November 1919 the Conservative, Edwin Holehouse, commented - "We are all Socialists. The difference is only a question of degree. The old-stick-in-the-mud type of politician is extinct today".⁴⁴

39. For a discussion of the arguments for and against party politics in local government, see Chapter 1, Section C.

40. Sheffield Citizen, May 1923, February 1926.

41. S.I., 28 July 1920.

42. Ibid.

43. Clegg said during the debate on the municipalisation of electric wiring in 1912 that he agreed with the proposal because it was part of an already acquired undertaking, but in general "although he was a municipaliser, he thought they had gone as far as they should", H.K.Hawson, Sheffield: the growth of a city, Sheffield, 1968, p.258. The Conservative party, apart from Harry Chambers and A.J.Hobson, disagreed with the purchase of electric wiring.

44. S.D.T. 1 Nov 1919.

Encouraged by Sheffield's tremendous prosperity during the war, and the opportunity to invest in modern industrial plant, the editor of the Telegraph, C.H.Chandler, argued that the high payments given to the workforce be retained in the post-war period, relations between master and men consciously improved and better living conditions created:

"A slum man is a poor investment at the best. What with prison and workhouse and strikes he has cost the country dear. It will be far cheaper to have well paid healthy, contented, self-respecting workmen who have both the strength and the desire to work". 45

Chandler suggested nothing less than the replanning of Sheffield, with the industrial areas of the Don valley being cleared of housing and new communities being built by the municipality on the hillsides to the west and south, and although his policy was not endorsed by the Estates Committee⁴⁶, a similar idea was put forward by Frederick A.Warlow, the Lord Mayor in 1915-16. In a speech to the Council at the close of his year of office, he argued for the establishment of an Improvement Committee to oversee such aspects as replanning and the generation of industry and commerce, saying that "the war was showing how intimately the progress of the municipality was linked up with the manufactures of the City and the welfare of its workers, and also how effectively the municipality could assist those interests".⁴⁷ The Civic Survey called for by the new committee aimed to prepare a plan,

"for the future development of the whole City, its railway, canal and road approaches, the necessary facilities for transport by road and underground, the allocation of districts to works and trade, to housing, to municipal and other centres, with due regard to convenience, health and appearance, as an ideal layout of the whole city....." 48

Warlow was an imaginative thinker whose presence on the Council might have prevented some of the mistakes of the post-war years⁴⁹. His schemes for

45. "The Sheffield that will be", S.Y.B. 1917, p.32.

46. Cf. S.Y.B. 1918, p.36.

47. William E.Hart, "Foreword" to P.Abercrombie, Sheffield: a civic survey, Liverpool, 1924, p.iii.

48. Ibid., p.iv.

49. He became a member for Crookesmoor ward in 1913 but was defeated in November 1919. No vacancies on the aldermanic bench occurred during the war.

industry were not adopted enthusiastically enough to prevent the crisis over redeployment of plant at the end of the war. and the civic survey was not fully adopted until 1919, and not completed until 1924, by which time there was no money to implement its recommendations. A.J.Hobson was the Chairman of the Finance Committee throughout the war and refused to allow "extravagance" - even when Sheffield was demonstrably prosperous⁵⁰.

The 1919 election was the only occasion after the war when the Liberal and Conservative parties put forward policies embodying any of the ideals of "municipal socialism". Perhaps inspired by the rather sanguine view that

"if the war has taught us anything it is that great costs will be cheerfully borne if only they are known to be for the public weal,"⁵¹

Hobson sanctioned a large rate rise of 3½d in March 1918 and another in September 1920⁵². Municipal milk depots were established in May 1919. Liberal and Conservative candidates at the 1919 election mentioned the need for workers' housing and electric light, and accepted the need for some rate-rises to pay for increasing wages, the new reservoir and more tram-cars⁵³. The enlightened scheme of reconstruction, the "new housing colonies" and encouragement of new industries suggested by Warlow⁵⁴, were, however, absent.

The apathy in most middle-class areas,⁵⁵ taken together with the enthusiasm in the Labour camp, was responsible in large measure for the Liberal/Conservative defeat. The ruling parties' response was, however, to retreat and fortify.

Instead of attempting to meet Labour on their own ground with imaginative schemes for housing and education in favour of which they might well have been able to argue their "superior business ability",⁵⁶ their policy became one of economy.

50. S.Y.B. 1915, p.75. Clegg argued that Sheffield could afford to spend freely at this time - S.Y.B. 1916, pp.83-4.

51. Archdeacon Gresford Jones, S.Y.B. 1917, p.46.

52. In September 1920 the rates were increased to 8s 4d.in the pound - 2s.6½d. more than in September 1919.

53. Cf. S.D.T. 25-29 Oct 1919. M.Sheppard at Brightside, W.W.Chisholm at Attercliffe, W.Bashforth at Burngreave, G.Addy at Hallam.

54. Cf. S.Y.B. 1919, pp.31-33.

55. On 30 October, S.D.T. spoke of the apathy which "may end disastrously for the Coalition candidates" because "the extreme party will vote to a man". Cf. also "Walls of Jericho - why they collapsed in Sheffield", S.D.T. 3 Nov 1919.

56. This was a favourite theme even at the 1919 election - cf. for example F.Else and M.Sheppard, S.D.T. 25 Oct 1919.

obstruction and resistance to all the proposals of the Labour party, even those which, if put forward by Franklin before the war, would have been accepted.

There was some justification for this by 1921, when the Association was beginning to lose seats in middle-class areas to right-wing "economist" candidates⁵⁷, but in 1919 and early 1920 such a policy was electorally blind. "It would have been much better", Styring, in later life, said of Clegg, "if he had.....endeavoured to guide the rising spirit of Labour, rather than to fiercely combat it on every occasion".⁵⁸

The campaigns and rhetoric of the Citizens' Association from the 1920 election onwards were distinctive for their personal attacks on Socialists. The Telegraph in 1920 described all the Labour Councillors as "Communists"⁵⁹ - an accepted theme in later elections - and in 1924 a Labour vote was said to be one for "atheism and bankruptcy".⁶⁰ The suggestion that the middle-class had "practically the monopoly" of brain-power, first made by the Telegraph in 1919,⁶¹ was developed in future elections. The Chamber of Commerce, the close ally of the Association, which was moderate in its attitude to Labour in 1919,⁶² had by 1922 become strongly anti-Socialist, mainly because of the party's nationalisation proposals.⁶³

For the Association's anti-Socialism during the period 1920-26, Clegg himself was very largely responsible. It was he who urged the Citizen administration not to allow the Labour party their rightful representation on Council Committees and on the aldermanic bench,⁶⁴ a practice quite at variance with that of other Councils and indeed, of Parliament itself, and inevitably counter-productive.

57. See below, Section D.

58. R. Styring, My Life Story, Frome, 1940, p.229.

59. Apart from C.H. Wilson - cf. S.D.T. 26 Oct 1920.

60. Sheffield Citizen November 1924. The imputation of atheism was made by Herbert Hughes as early as 1907 - cf. S.D.T. 16 Oct 1907.

61. "Current Topics", S.D.T. 20 Oct 1919.

62. See, for example, article on the Rail Strike, Monthly Journal of Sheffield Chamber of Commerce, op.cit., Vol.II.No.15 (Oct 1919), pp.59-60, "An appeal to Labour", ibid., Vol.2.No.13 (Aug 1919) pp.11-12, letter from W.F.Osborn, ibid., Vol I No. 9 (Apr 1919), p.109.

63. See "Nationalisation. True meaning of the abolition of Capitalism" by a member of the Chamber, Monthly Journal, ibid., Vol V No. 57 (Apr 1923) pp.226-227. Also regular column by E.T.Good, Monthly Journal, ibid., 1922-27.

64. See above, Chapter 6, pp.218-9 Even the Telegraph warned against such a policy - S.D.T. 4 Nov 1919.

The Association was forced to concede some seats after a Labour strike during the winter of 1921-2⁶⁵ and laid themselves wide open to the counter-attack on the aldermanic bench in 1926, when the Labour party deposed all the retiring Citizen aldermen.

The Citizens' regained some of their lost ground at the election of 1920 but continued to lose seats to Labour thereafter. The intensifying Labour threat meant that there was never really any question of the Association breaking up, even when the national Conservative party withdrew from the Lloyd George Coalition in October 1922⁶⁶, or when the Conservative leader, Baldwin, declared in favour of tariff reform in 1923.⁶⁷

The issue between the Citizen and the Labour party became essentially one of finance and expenditure, particularly in the three crucial areas of housing, education and unemployment relief. The 'economy' policy of the Conservative government⁶⁸ was strictly adhered to, in the hope of industry being attracted to the city⁶⁹. Some Citizens, including Edwin Holehouse, did not wholeheartedly support the policy⁷⁰, but any doubts of the Association's leaders were dispelled

in November 1920 when the first of the candidates of the Middle Classes' Union,

65. Minute book of the groups comprising the Council members of the Citizens' Municipal Association, 31 Jan 1922.
66. S.D.T. said that the coalition, "provided it be effective and harmonious is a better safeguard against Socialism than Conservatism acting by itself would be" (18 Oct 1922).
67. Although Conservatives and Liberals fought each other in the general election of that year - see below, Section E.
68. See comment on this by S.Roberts, Ecclesall Conservative Association Annual Meeting, S.D.T. Mar 24 1921.
69. This derived from Hughes' policy, see for example S.D.T. July 20 1910: "The very first thing that stopped (new industries) from coming was the undue extension of the rates". S.D.T. called local rates "a tax upon industry" - Broadsheet 12 (n.d., 1910/11), Conservative Party Newspaper Cuttings Book, 1910-12.
70. In March 1922 eight members (both Conservative and Liberal) voted against a Citizen motion not to raise the salaries of Corporation officials - Sheffield City Council Minutes March 1922; Citizens Group Minutes, op.cit., 10 April 1922. Citizen members were very strictly whipped. Letters explaining voting procedures agreed by the Group were always sent to members and disobedience noted. The Minutes of the group, 1920-26, give the impression that conformity became harder to maintain as time passed. In July 1926 Clegg threatened to resign because of lack of support, especially in relation to the economy policy on the Public Hall. Citizens Group Minutes, ibid., 5 July 1926.

to whom, as the Sheffield Forward put it, "all public expenditure is anathema"⁷¹, was elected for Ecclesall ward in opposition to a Citizen candidate. Profits from the electricity undertaking, and from the tramways, together with credit, were used in large measure to subsidise the rates. The abolition of "compounding" of the rates (that is, payment of rates as part of rental payment to landlords), proposed in 1920, was put into operation the following year. These policies were vigorously opposed by the Labour party, who later pointed out that the introduction of direct half-yearly rate payments for working people on a weekly wage had created arrears of £693,000 by March 1927, with 24,702 warrants being issued⁷². The Citizens were able to announce a 3d cut in the rates during the 1921 election campaign, and the following year both the municipal milk supply and the national restaurant and kitchens were closed down, the former at the instigation of Sir William Clegg and the latter through the offices of the Liberal A.J. Blanchard, who in November of that year became the new chairman of the Finance Committee⁷³.

Only an imaginative scheme of municipalisation could have been successful, for the needs of the early 1920s were too great to be met by rigid economy. A net total of 2,561 houses had been built during the period 1912-18 at a time when at least one thousand new houses were required annually⁷⁴. In 1918, when still optimistic, the Estates Committee aimed to build 2,500 houses per year in order to make up the leeway. Nothing like this number were ever built, and the problem was exacerbated from 1919 onwards by the increased number of marriages and by returning ex-servicemen wanting homes.⁷⁵

71. S.F. February 1922. Economy was also urged by the Chamber of Commerce, cf. A. Law, letter, Monthly Journal, op.cit., Vol V No. 51, (Oct 1922), p. 52.

72. Six Years of Labour Rule in Sheffield, 1926-32, Sheffield, 1932, p. 33.

73. Cf. S.F. February, June 1922. Despite the vociferous Labour protests over the milk supply they did not reintroduce the old system when they came to power in 1926.

74. Figures derived from a report on housing policy by the Estates Committee, S.Y.B. 1918, pp. 33-37.

75. During 1920-1 Clegg promoted a scheme to incorporate Rotherham and a large part of Derbyshire into the city. This had been suggested by Warlow (cf. S.Y.B. 1919 pp. 31-2) among others as a means of providing "housing colonies" in a suburban setting, but was thoroughly impractical and aroused massive opposition. In the end only Handsworth, a poor area and a relative drain on the city's resources, was included in the city, mostly to save Clegg's face. cf. Styring, op.cit., 227-8; Hawson, op.cit., p. 284.

In 1926 the Citizens' claimed that one thousand houses had been built each year under their administration⁷⁶. Even this figure was an average, with the majority of houses being built in the period 1924-26, especially on the new Corporation Estate at Manor. The failure to meet even minimal targets of housing provision was due to the determination, maintained until 1924, to allow private enterprise to provide working-class housing as far as possible, and to look to government grants to finance any shortfall requiring municipal building⁷⁷. Neither expedient was forthcoming immediately after the war. Even the decision to undertake the municipal estate at Manor in 1924 was accompanied by a refusal to employ direct labour, thus inevitably making the project more expensive⁷⁸.

Only a small number of ashpits were abolished during the six years of the Citizen administration,⁷⁹ and a scandal blew up during the 1923 municipal election when the Sheffield Mail discovered that 147 notices had been served to members of the Council for non-compliance with orders regarding slum property. The majority of them were sent to Councillor Kaye, the Chairman of the Health Committee⁸⁰, who denied the allegations but was nevertheless defeated in his bid to be re-elected at Crookesmoor.

In his annual report for 1919-20, the Director of Education, Dr. Percival Sharp, pointed out that, because of the cessation of building during the war, there was a very great need for new elementary schools in Sheffield. The provision of secondary education had become obligatory, and the places available in Sheffield constituted only 8% of the possible demand⁸¹. Clegg, the Chairman of the Education Committee, appeared to ignore the extent of the problem in 1919⁸², and in 1920 accepted the Council's decision not to build any elementary schools "owing to demands made for housing and the high cost of borrowing"⁸³. The follow-

76. Sheffield Citizen, August 1926.

77. The policy accepted by the Council in 1917 was stated in the article by the Estates Committee, S.Y.B. 1918, p.37.

78. Cf. Sheffield City Council Minutes, 9, 13 Feb, 5 July, 5 Nov 1924. It is noteworthy that the first three contracts awarded for the Manor Estate were all given to firms whose directors were present or former members of the City Council.

79. Six Years of Labour Rule, op.cit., p.14.

80. Sheffield Mail 25-30 Oct 1923. The revelation about Councillor Kaye was made on 19 October.

81. Cited by Hawson, op.cit., p.85.

82. Cf. his article, "Education in Sheffield", S.Y.B. 1919, pp.34-36.

83. Hawson, op.cit., p.87.

ing year he admitted there was a "grave fear of a breakdown in the Elementary School system in Sheffield (which) can only be averted by such a further provision of Elementary Schools as would enable the Committee to offer conditions of service comparable to those obtaining in other large cities".⁸⁴ Only three new elementary schools, four intermediate schools and two secondary schools were established between this date and November 1926⁸⁵. For this the Council's financial policy was to blame because government grants awarded after 1923 were not augmented by local money. Two-thirds of the children on the new Manor Estate had no school accommodation in 1926, and, in general,

"children were compelled to travel long distances from new estates to existing schools, overcrowding these to a degree that was disgraceful and uneducational. It was common to find two and three classes being accommodated in one room and several classes in the small Assembly Halls that were then provided".⁸⁶

Mass prolonged unemployment was the novel challenge of the twenties to local government - one with which it was almost entirely unequipped to deal. The national system of Unemployment insurance was designed to provide necessary relief; Boards of Guardians before the war had no special obligations to the unemployed but dealt mainly with vagrancy and extreme poverty. After the war, particularly in Sheffield, the problem was not soluble through insurance, and Boards of Guardians had, despite themselves, to play a part of almost equal importance.

Both the majority and the minority reports of the Royal Commission on the Poor Law in 1909 condemned the existing Poor Law⁸⁷ (substantially that set up by the Poor Law Reform Act of 1834), but utilitarian attitudes were common within the Conservative and Liberal parties in Sheffield. At the Poor Law Enquiry of 1923, A.J. Hobson stated his opinion that the highest amount of relief should be ten shillings less than the lowest possible wage⁸⁸. The Chamber of Commerce

84. Report of the Sheffield Education Committee, 1921, quoted *ibid.*, p.87.

85. For details, see *ibid.*, pp.91-92.

86. Six Years of Labour Rule, *op.cit.*, p.5.

87. The Sheffield Labour Party supported the minority report submitted by the Fabians, Beatrice and Sidney Webb.

88. Sheffield Forward, February 1923. This was the principle of "less eligibility" embodied in the 1834 Act. An article in the Sheffield Citizen (February 1925) argued that "less eligibility" had a "stimulating and moralising effect upon the whole Nation". The Sheffield Chamber of Commerce also supported the principle, Annual Report, 1923, p.13.

stated in 1920 that the cost to the nation of the Labour Exchanges, set up by the Liberal government in 1909, "was out of all proportion to their utility".⁸⁹ Their attitude was exacerbated by fear and dismay - not only at the stagnant markets for Sheffield steel, but also at the huge amounts which the government was expecting the local Council to find for unemployment relief. In 1920, A.J. Gainsford, a former Conservative Councillor and head of the Sheffield Coal and Iron Company, told Sheffield workmen that the only answer was lower wages:-

"They are out of employment simply because we are asking more for our goods than the world can pay, and.....by allowing themselves to be led by the nose by cranks, whose theories could not carry this country on even for three weeks, they are themselves causing unemployment".⁹⁰

James Sivil, a Liberal member of the Ecclesall Board of Guardians, insisted in 1923 that the Boards could only prevent destitution and not provide maintenance⁹¹, and A.J.Hobson argued that any system of dole made workmen permanently idle⁹².

Unemployment was highest in July 1921, at the end of the three-month coal strike, and was also severe during the Engineers' Lockout of 1922⁹³. The prospect of widespread, longterm unemployment became apparent in October 1920 when the first unemployed marches began to take place. The Council did very little during the four years that unemployment was at its height to mitigate the situation. The pressure was, in the end, temporarily relieved by a revival in trade.

The Citizen administration can only partly be blamed for this outcome. Its financial policy did not provide sufficient revenue to subsidise relief rates at an acceptable level, but its efforts to find "relief work" (as opposed to the humiliating "task work") were severely hampered by the attitude of the government. In December 1920, the Distress Committee devised a "relief work" scheme to build a road from Darnall to Intake; this required a 50% government grant, which was never forthcoming. The following year several delegations attempted to secure government help - to improve trade with Russia⁹⁴ and to get the government to

89. Sheffield Chamber of Commerce, Annual Report 1920, p.25.

90. Letter, Monthly Journal, op.cit., Vol.III No.31 (Feb 1921), p.162.

91. Sheffield Forward February 1923.

92. S.A.R. 21 June 1922. Hobson's views were not entirely typical. His references at Leicester to "the new Industry promoted by the unemployed of "breeding children" "was censured by the Citizens' Group on the Council, who said it had done them "incalculable harm" at the election, Citizens' Group Minutes, op.cit., Nov 3 1922.

93. For details of the progress of unemployment, see above, Chapter 6, pp.212-3.

94. See report, Monthly Journal, op.cit., Vol.III No.33, (April 1921), pp.218-220.

provide "relief work" at national, and not local cost⁹⁵. The government agreed to pay 50% of interest charges for half the period of a loan (later 65% of wages on non-revenue producing works) and schemes costing £125,000 were submitted by Sheffield to the Unemployed Grants Committee⁹⁶.

These schemes had no effect whatever on the mass of the unemployed. C.H. Wilson said in March 1923 that they had provided work for one thousand men out of thirty to forty thousand unemployed⁹⁷. The few road and sewage schemes begun in 1923 and 1924 employed only six hundred men working alternate weeks. Almost all the finance for these schemes was found by the Council⁹⁸, and in 1925 even more restrictions were placed on government grants.

Mainly because of Labour pressure, "task work" (the compulsory work, even of a useless character, without which relief could not be obtained) was abolished by the Sheffield Board early in 1922. Rates of relief were, however, lowered in June 1921 at the instigation of the Minister of Health. The situation improved a little in 1924, although the unemployed figures never dropped below a "core" figure of about 25,000 during 1925⁹⁹. In May 1926 the unemployment register doubled as a result of the General Strike and the shortage of fuel (due to the coal strike) paralysed large sections of Sheffield industry. Unemployment continued above 30,000 until December of that year¹⁰⁰. In November, the Citizens were overwhelmingly defeated at the municipal election, and Clegg and seven of his colleagues subsequently lost their seats on the Aldermanic bench.

H.Keeble Hawson concludes that, as much as anything, the Citizens' defeat was caused by a "passionate revulsion" against the "economist" financial policy initiated by A.J.Hobson¹⁰¹. The Daily Mail suggested in December 1924 that:-

"The position of Sheffield as a municipality is perfectly sound. Its bank balances are in credit to the extent of nearly £400,000The municipal rates have been reduced by more than 3s from what they were in 1921-22". 102

95. Hawson, op.cit., p.134.

96. These, and the following statistics, taken from ibid., pp.135-137.

97. Speaking in the House of Commons, quoted ibid., p.136.

98. 18/8d out of every pound - C.H.Wilson, cf. ibid., p.136.

99. Cf. A.D.K.Owen, Report on Unemployment in Sheffield, Sheffield, 1932, p.30.

100. The figures are detailed in A.D.K.Owen, op.cit., p.31.

101. Op.cit., p.325.

102. Reprinted in Monthly Journal, op.cit., Vol.VII No.77 (Dec 1924), p.116.

The situation was only "perfectly sound" if it was acceptable that in order to maintain the rates at a low level, the Citizens' borrowing should reach enormous proportions - the Poor Law debt alone was over one million pounds¹⁰³. The Citizens themselves had already discovered in March 1926 that they could not maintain such an artificially deflated rate. The 1926 gains for Labour were in Citizen wards with substantial working-class populations - St. Peter's, St. Philip's, Darnall, Heeley, Park and Hillsborough. This was not a revolt of property owners against a rate rise, but one of dissatisfaction with the level of unemployment relief the abolition of compounding and the level of public borrowing which was temporarily keeping the rates at an artificially low level.

The Citizens identified themselves wholeheartedly with opposition to Labour during the general strike¹⁰⁴. Clegg became President of the Sheffield Organisation for the Maintenance of Supplies, with the chairman and Vice-chairman being H.P. Marsh, the chairman of the Sheffield Conservative Federation, and H.K. Stephenson. Both the Town Hall and the Chamber of Commerce opened registers of volunteers, particularly for transportation purposes. Clegg was a witness for J.R. Fearnley, the manager of the tramways, in the action he brought over Labour allegations about a spurious "secret" ballot of the tramwaymen¹⁰⁵. In Handsworth, the Park and Attercliffe, where there were many miners, feeling was particularly bitter against such Citizens as William Gainsford, a Handsworth pit-owner who was said to treat the miners as dirt¹⁰⁶. A Labour worker in Brightside, Richardson, told Ponsonby, the M.P. for the area, that after months of fruitless strikes

"among the miners there is a desperate feeling of hatred (towards the government) and the very name of Baldwin is as poison to the miner". 107

103. Six Years of Labour Rule in Sheffield, op.cit., p.7.

104. For this paragraph, see Sarah Benton, "Sheffield" in M. Morris, The General Strike, Pelican edn. 1976, pp.428-429.

105. Clegg had previously been a prominent advocate in defence of trade unionists - for his representation of the Derbyshire Miners, see J.E. Williams, The Derbyshire Miners, London, 1962, p.372. An "Independent" Liberal, Arthur Neal, defended the Communist leader, George Fletcher for nothing, at his trial arising from the General Strike. N. Connole, Leaven of Life London, 1961, p.154-155.

106. Joe Curtis, a miner and elected Councillor for Handsworth in November 1926, said in an interview 21 Feb 1978 that he thought miners "were to wipe your feet on".

107. Quoted K. Dugdale, "Conservatives, Liberals and Labour in Yorkshire 1918-1929", University of Sheffield M.A. Thesis 1976, pp.177-178.

The November 1926 election was a successful one for Labour in many areas. In Sheffield, the Citizens led by Clegg waged a "blind fight"¹⁰⁸ against the party, and it was this that made the Labour victory in the city decisive.

C. The "Independent" Liberals.

W.T.Gent, the first local election post-war "Independent" Liberal candidate in Sheffield, stood against another Liberal, W.Bashforth, in 1919, in Burngreave ward, saying that Bashforth was not representative of the ward since he did not live or work in it, and he had also not supported the Coalition candidate for Brightside at the "coupon" election¹⁰⁹. W.A. Lambert, described by the Labour party as "one of the most reactionary members of the Council"¹¹⁰ stood as an Independent at Neepsend in 1920 and 1921, the second time opposed by a Citizen, saying he objected to the Association because "he did not want Tammany Hall bosses"¹¹¹. J.G.Graves, an "Independent" Liberal Councillor, was one of the strongest advocates of municipal economy, while Oliver C.Wilson, another "Independent" was the main instigator of the milk municipalisation scheme. Wilson was said to form "a unanimous little Party of One"¹¹² on the Council in October 1921, although Graves was also a member of the Council at that time.

In so far as there was a group which inherited the role which the H.J. Wilson "pro-Boer" group within the party had played before 1914¹¹³ it was the "Independent" Liberals, but it is impossible to trace a direct line of succession. The confusion into which the Liberals were thrown by the 1914-18 War generated conflicts and new alliances too complex for that. The pacifism of Cecil Henry Wilson, H.J.Wilson's eldest son, led him to join the I.L.P. in 1918.¹¹⁴ The most prominent "Independent" Liberals - J.G.Graves, Oliver Wilson and Reeves Charlesworth - shared with Cecil Wilson a concern for social reform and legisla-

108. Styring, op.cit., p.229.

109. W.T.Gent, letter, S.D.T. 31 Oct 1919.

110. Sheffield Federated Trades and Labour Council, Annual Report No.1(1921), p.9.

111. S.D.T. 26 Oct 1921.

112. S.D.T. 24 Oct 1921.

113. See above, Chapter 4, Section C.

114. See above, Chapter 6, p.189.

tion and trade union rights - a development, in the Wilson brothers' case of the views of their father. Oliver Wilson said in a letter to his brother in 1917 that the aims of the Labour party "have always seemed to me high and noble".¹¹⁵ In 1923, J.G.Graves commented:

"I have no quarrel with Labour aspirations. I am as good a Labour man as anybody. I am an employer, but so are some very distinguished ornaments of the Labour party. Socialism is a noble ideal....." 116.

Such Liberals could have no time for the Citizens' Association - as Charlesworth said in 1921, he was "anti-class hatred".¹¹⁷ At the same time the cathartic effect of Liberal militarism on men like Cecil Wilson could not affect them - they supported the war and the Liberal party's role in it.¹¹⁸ Without this they could have little incentive to reject their traditional party and ally themselves with, as Cecil Wilson put it, "Some people who are not quite desirable", in the hope of doing "some good to those I have joined".¹¹⁹ Graves was afraid that "some of the things masquerading under the name of Socialism are really Bolshevism"¹²⁰, and J.T.Powell, the chairman of an election meeting for Charlesworth in 1922, stressed that although their objects were similar to those of the Labour party, their methods were different.¹²¹

Oliver Wilson and J.G.Graves both supported the Lloyd George Coalition at the 1918 "Coupon" Election. The national "Independent" Liberal grouping was associated with the deposed Liberal prime minister, Asquith, but while the Sheffield Liberal party was loyal to Asquith as leader of the party, it continued to regard Lloyd George's coalition as absolutely necessary for the country. Some Liberals, like Arthur Neal, a supporter of the Citizens' Association, who was a "coupon" Coalition candidate in 1918, would, given the choice, have preferred a National Government including the Labour party,¹²² but no prominent

115. 19 May 1917, Sheffield Smelting Company Papers 462.

116. Sheffield Mail, 25 Oct 1923.

117. S.D.T. 27 Oct 1921.

118. Oliver Wilson was the main object of Cecil Wilson's quarrel with the Smelting Company in 1915.

119. S.I. 26 Nov 1923.

120. Sheffield Mail 25 Oct 1923.

121. S.D.T. 25 Oct 1922.

122. S.I. 2, 14 Dec 1918. Both O.C.Wilson and J.G.Graves chaired some of Neal's election meetings.

Sheffield Liberal spoke against the coalition even after its demise in 1922 - the division within the party was one about local, not national, affairs.

The lack of true Asquithians in the party is surprising, because the Lloyd Georgians had no local newspaper, while two daily papers were Asquithian - the Sheffield Independent and the Sheffield Mail, the latter an evening paper from the Independent offices first published in 1920. The Independent, formerly the organ, under John Derry, of the Liberal Imperialists, and then that of the Wilsons¹²³, supported Asquith throughout the war and opposed almost all the Coalition Liberal candidates at the 1918 General Election.¹²⁴ The Independent objected to an alliance between Liberals and Conservatives, arguing instead for a "Lib-Lab" Coalition on the lines of Edwardian "Progressivism",¹²⁵ and giving support to "moderate" Labour candidates.¹²⁶

The influence of the Independent is evident in the social policy, if not the national politics, of the Sheffield "Independent" Liberals. The paper argued for a "big bold scheme of housing" and for municipalisation of the milk supply in 1918¹²⁷. As Lord Mayor in 1915 Oliver Wilson had said that the process of municipal ownership begun in the 1890s should not be halted and that there was a need "for the further development of the City on broader lines than had up to that time been contemplated".¹²⁸ He became the first chairman of the Food Control Committee in 1918 and was the guiding spirit behind his Committee's creation of the municipal milk supply in May 1919¹²⁹. The "Independent" Liberals opposed the abolition of compounding in 1921, the Sheffield Mail commenting that this policy showed the Citizens Association's "lack both of foresight and knowledge of the conditions which govern the mass of the people's lives".¹³⁰

123. Wilson was a director from 1910 until his death in 1914. His interest in the paper does not appear to have been passed to other members of his family.

124. The exception was T.W. Casey, a couponed "Lib-Lab" who later became associated with the National Democratic Party. His opponent in Attercliffe was W.C. Anderson, whom the Independent could not bring itself to support.

125. See, for example, S.I. 26 Nov, 10 Dec 1918.

126. For example, A.J. Bailey the former Lib-Lab, who stood as a Labour candidate in Central division.

127. S.I. 26 Nov, 21 Dec 1918.

128. William E. Hart, "Foreword", P. Abercrombie, op.cit., p.iii.

129. For details, see S.Y.B. 1920, pp.55-56. He was one of the few Liberals who voted against its sale in 1922.

130. 26 Oct 1921.

The total number of Liberals identifiable as "Independent" contesting municipal elections from 1919 to 1926 was seven,¹³¹ and of these only three were elected to the Council. None opposed by a Citizens' candidate was successful¹³². Oliver Wilson was beaten in 1925 and never returned to the Council; J.G.Graves became Lord Mayor in 1926 and was promoted to the aldermanic bench by the Labour party. The position of the "Independent" Liberals grew more difficult the longer the Citizens' Association continued and the more peripheral the party became to Sheffield general election campaigns.¹³³ Their main role had been to oppose what W.A.Lambert called the "eyewash" of the local coalition¹³⁴ but they found it impossible to move any nearer to the policies of the growing Labour party. The Sheffield Mail strongly attacked the Labour party's capital levy policy in 1922¹³⁵ and J.G.Graves, the leader of the "Independent" Liberal group on the Council and a member of the Finance Committee, reverted increasingly to policies of economy which were not easily distinguishable from those of the Citizens, one of whom called him the "Corporation Jeremiah", because of his regular criticism of the electricity accounts.¹³⁶ In 1923 he said that although he agreed with municipal ownership of public services, there were limits to the Corporation's work - it was not "a glorified Co-operative Society".¹³⁷ The Sheffield Mail endorsed the Citizens' economy policy in 1925 and argued against the Labour party policy of refusal to subsidise the rates with profits from the tramways.¹³⁸

131. It is difficult to be more precise, because at local elections 1924-1926 quite a few candidates were identified simply as "Independent", One other Councillor, Charles Wood, was an "Independent Liberal, but he retired without contesting his seat in 1921.

132. Charlesworth and Graves were Councillors for Walkley, where they may well have been unopposed by the Citizens because a Citizen candidate normally lost to Labour (as in 1924). Oliver Wilson, who sat for Neepsend, probably beat the Labour candidate solely on the strength of his family's popularity in that part of the city.

133. This point is developed in the following sections, D and E.

134. Sheffield Mail 22 Oct 1921.

135. Ibid., 3 Nov 1922.

136. Sir A.J.Hobson, cf. S.Y.B. 1923, p.59.

137. Sheffield Mail 26 Oct 1923.

138. 28 Oct 1925.

The Mail and the Independent had both lost their way by this date. The Liberals had no candidates in Sheffield constituencies at the 1924 general election, and, faced with the choice between a Labour party discredited by allegations over the Zinoviev letter and the Conservatives, they refused to commit themselves.¹³⁹ The Mail was equally undecided on local issues, suggesting before the 1925 election that "personality counts more than anything else" and that since "there is no clear-cut issue between the parties", "voters should vote for the man who seems most suitable for the job of City Councillor".¹⁴⁰ The Independent supported the Citizens' Association from the 1924 election onwards and after the 1925 election the Mail decided that the Citizens' Association, though "founded on compromise" was still better than Labour¹⁴¹. Its coverage of the crucial 1926 local election was entirely frivolous.

The "Independent" Liberals could have functioned in the early twenties as a rallying point for dissatisfied Liberals within the local coalition who favoured a resumption of "progressive" policies. During that period they had a definite role in stimulating moderate middle-class support for some of the reforms, like the municipal milk supply, demanded by Labour, and even in 1926 the Labour Party recognised the contributions of J.G.Graves by promoting him to the aldermanic bench¹⁴². They were entirely unorganised, however, and, during the early years, were hampered by association with men like W.A.Lambert who were only interested in opposing the policies of Clegg, and not in developing alternative progressive policies. Their stand failed because the Citizens' Association held together¹⁴³ and because the increasing strength of the Labour party forced even moderate middle-class progressives to choose between one or the other. The "Independent" Liberals only survived at all after 1926 because in one ward, Walkley, they had a measure of popular support.

139. The Conservative candidates all had advertisements in the Mail on the day before the election, but the paper did not commit itself to any of them in an editorial or an article.

140. 31 Oct 1925.

141. 3 Nov 1925.

142. E.G.Rowlinson said that his claims to promotion had been "shamelessly disregarded" by the Citizens. (Sheffield Mail 2 Nov 1926). He was unanimously elected Mayor on 9 Nov. (Sheffield City Council Minutes 9 Nov 1926).

143. Indeed some "Independents" later joined the Citizens' Association - notably William Tummon, a Councillor for Park ward.

D. Minor Parties at Municipal Elections.

Minor parties of the type which appeared at Sheffield local elections in the period 1919-22 have been characterised as "mushroom" types¹⁴⁴ which spring up unexpectedly, flourish for a short time in a particularly favourable situation and as quickly disappear completely. The three minor parties in Sheffield appeared because of very particular circumstances and in the absence of these they died as a political force.

The parties were the Discharged Soldiers and Sailors Association, the National Democratic Party and the Middle Classes Union (later the National Citizens' Union). All had organisations at a national level and branches in other areas, and the first two parties contested seats at the 1918 'Coupon' Election as well as at local elections. The formation of each was generated directly or indirectly, by the social conditions of the post-war period.

The very first Discharged Soldiers and Sailors Association was formed in Blackburn in 1916 in opposition to the introduction of conscription,¹⁴⁵ and the national D.S.S.A. was formed the following year as a pressure-group for the needs of ex-servicemen. Along with two other ex-servicemen's organisations, it formed the British Legion in 1921. The membership of such an organisation was necessarily socially heterogeneous, but the links with working-class organisations, especially the trade unions, were very strong. The D.S.S.A. demanded 'justice not charity' - that is, the provision of pensions for ex-servicemen as of right. In 1918, perhaps because of the fading of the conscription issue and the increasing tendency for members to span the political spectrum, the D.S.S.A. severed its connections with the Labour movement and moved towards the political centre. It became more narrowly concerned with ex-servicemen's issues, such as the demobilisation policy and the demand for official consultation of ex-servicemen's groups by the government.

144. E.G. by Roy Douglas, "The National Democratic Party and the British Workers League", Historical Journal Vol.15 (1972), pp.533-552.

145. For the following account, see G.Wootton, The Politics of Influence: British ex-servicemen, cabinet decisions and cultural change 1917-57, London, 1963, pp.45-113, passim.

The main demands of the D.S.S.A. had been conceded by 1921 - demobilisation was complete, pensions as of right were recommended by a Select Committee in 1919 and a Government Standing Joint Committee for Ex-Service Questions was set up in 1920. The formation of the British Legion, which followed, marked the transition from a politically active body to one with social concerns only. This was acknowledged by the D.S.S.A., who said, "we have no argument with the system. We just want our share".¹⁴⁶ and admitted that the founding of the Legion represented a 'neutralisation' of the national ex-servicemen's movement.

Candidates of the D.S.S.A. contested seats in the 1918 'Coupon' Election and in local elections in 1919 and 1920. In Sheffield, they contested six wards (from a total of sixteen) at the 1919 municipal election, and one at the 1920 election. Three candidates were successful in 1919 and one in 1920; the former against Liberal and Conservative opposition. In no case was the D.S.S.A. successful against Labour opposition; most of their gains came in formerly Conservative seats. In the Sheffield post-war situation the D.S.S.A. and the Labour Party might easily have worked together, but the D.S.S.A.'s constitution precluded affiliation with Labour. In addition the D.S.S.A. quarreled with the Amalgamated Society of Engineers' policy of expecting employers to make up to disabled men the difference between their old rates of pay and the lower ones they were now capable of commanding, arguing that it was unrealistic. The D.S.S.A. tried to negotiate a government pension for this purpose, recognising that the A.S.E.'s policy would discourage employers from taking back disabled men.¹⁴⁸ The union also refused to relax rules about the years of apprenticeship needed for many skilled trades - despite the fact that the 'apprentices' were often men of twenty-two and upwards, perhaps with wives and families, who had joined the army at eighteen and could not afford to exist on apprentices' wages¹⁴⁹.

In these circumstances the Labour Party and the D.S.S.A. fought the 1919 municipal elections separately, even though the Labour party programme contained

146. Ibid., p.113.

147. In the latter case the election was unopposed because the Conservative candidate withdrew during the campaign because of illness - cf. S.D.T. 27 Oct 1920.

148. Cf. S.D.T. 24 Oct 1919.

149. Ibid.

most of the demands of the D.S.S.A. In part this was because the D.S.S.A. wished to be able to appeal also to the middle-classes (although all their successful candidates in Sheffield, as it happened, were manual workers). Once inside the City Council, the D.S.S.A. Councillors tended to work with the Labour group¹⁵⁰, while retaining a foot in both camps. Harry Morris, the D.S.S.A. Councillor elected in 1920, a solicitor, worked closely with the Citizens' Association. In 1923 Morris defended his seat as a Citizen candidate. Another D.S.S.A. Councillor, perhaps fearful of his success as a Labour candidate in a middle-class ward, stood as a 'Citizen and Ex-Service' candidate in 1922 and was defeated¹⁵¹. This was the last time the Ex-Service interest was represented as a separate force at an election. At the national level the D.S.S.A. had ceased to be a political party; at the local level, ex-service demands had been conceded, or had merged into the general interest and concerns of the two major parties. The Labour party represented concern for unemployment, and, for middle-class members, once D.S.S.A. demands had been conceded, the natural party was the Citizens' Association.

The second group, the National Democratic party, had pretensions towards becoming a much larger and more enduring political party. Its origins, like those of the D.S.S.A., lay within the Labour movement, but the National Democratic party started life with a policy of support for conscription¹⁵². It was in fact, a pro-war, pro-conscription pressure group within the Labour party. As the British Workers' League, it was formed to oppose the pacifist policies of the Independent Labour party and it became a rallying-point for those elements within the party, which, while supporting socialism, opposed the aims and methods of the I.L.P. Its statements and publications were stridently nationalistic, anti-German and against the 'peace at any price' policy. It developed a policy of support for the British Empire and for "national rights", for state control of industry and opposition to free trade.

150. See Sheffield Federated Trades Council, Annual Report 1919, p.4.

151. Emmanuel Kings Winter. Sharrow Ward.

152. For the following account, see Roy Douglas, op.cit. passim; E. Wilson, op. cit. pp.28, 157, 177.

Membership was high from 1916 to 1917, mainly among trade unionists, and included several Labour M.P.s. Its existence as an element within the Labour party, however, ended early in 1918. When the new Labour party constitution (accepted in 1918) was being drafted, the British Workers' League refused to have anything to do with a proposal to include trades unions and socialist groups like the Independent Labour party on equal terms. Their call for a 'Trade Union Labour Party' was unsuccessful, and their refusal to acquiesce lost them the support of many influential members. When Labour seemed about to withdraw from the Coalition Government (which the British Workers' League strenuously supported) in the early part of 1918, the League formed its own party, the National Democratic and Labour Party (N.D.P.), to continue Labour support for the Coalition.

At the 1918 'Coupon' Election, the N.D.P. ran several candidates in opposition to pacifist Labour M.P.s. like Ramsay MacDonald. Twenty of the party's candidates were awarded the "coupon", surprisingly perhaps, but the N.D.P. had styled itself the " 'patriotic' working-class party in support of the coalition"¹⁵³, and Trevor Wilson has suggested that by giving N.D.P. candidates the 'coupon', "the government hoped to preserve something of its all-party character, at a time when this appearance was wearing thin".¹⁵⁴ Half the "couponed" candidates were elected - a considerable success, but Roy Douglas has shown the very shaky foundations on which victory rested. In every case success was due to freedom from Conservative or Liberal opposition and the consequent aggregation of Conservative or Liberal votes. The N.D.P. did badly in three or four-cornered contests. The " coupon" election was contrived to take place almost immediately the war ended and before most demobilized soldiers returned home. The Coalition Party, including the N.D.P. as the 'patriotic working-class party', was ideally placed to reap huge electoral advantage from popular patriotic fervour at the successful completion of the war. The N.D.P.'s success over Labour candidates had inevitably a rather temporary quality. After analysing the voting, Douglas concludes that "the N.D.P. had no base in popular electoral support".¹⁵⁵

153. Roy Douglas, *ibid.*, p.339.

154. *Op.cit.*, p.158.

155. *Op.cit.*, p.542.

A great deal of "patriotic working-class" fervour contributed to the victory of T.W.Casey¹⁵⁶ in the Sheffield Attercliffe Division. He was not an official N.D.P. candidate but stood as a "couponed" Lib-Lab against the sitting Labour M.P., W.C.Anderson, a leading member of the I.L.P. He was later associated with the N.D.P. group in Parliament.¹⁵⁷

The N.D.P. was successful at Sheffield local elections only as part of the Liberal/Conservative Coalition and not as a separate political force - it failed to win three wards which it contested at the 1919 municipal elections. Indeed, the N.D.P. nationally only succeeded in winning two places on local Councils. In 1920 their "most notable achievement was in Sheffield",¹⁵⁸ where two N.D.P. Councillors were returned. They were elected, however, as members of the Citizens' Association and so without Liberal or Conservative opposition. The N.D.P. had not been asked to join the Association in 1919 but in 1920, having suffered severe defeats at the hands of Labour in the previous year, the Citizens tried to broaden their base and their "non-party" appeal by including a "working class" party. One of the wards the N.D.P. was allowed to contest was Brightside, where a Liberal or Conservative candidate might have been expected to be unsuccessful. E.G.Bearcroft, a prominent member of the pre-war Sheffield Labour Party and subsequently unsuccessful N.D.P. candidate for Rother Valley at the 'Coupon' Election captured the seat¹⁵⁹. The other ward was Sharrow, a more mixed area but one in which a D.S.S.A. candidate had been successful in 1919.

The N.D.P. lost all the Parliamentary election campaigns it fought after 1918. It had problems creating a convincing party policy in the post-war situation. Different elements contradicted one another and there were disagreements within the party - their statements became, in Roy Douglas's phrase, "a remarkable mixture of socialism, toryism and imperialism".¹⁶⁰

156. For Casey, see P.F.Wearmouth, The Social and Political Influence of Methodism in the Twentieth Century, London, 1957, p.50.

157. Casey was described as one of the twelve N.D.P. M.P.s by S.D.T. 23 Oct 1919. It is clear from Douglas's researches and from contemporary comments (e.g. S.I. 4 Dec 1918) that he was not an official N.D.P.candidate in 1918 although he gave grounds for thinking he was connected with the N.D.P.-R.Douglas, op.cit., pp.541-542.

158. Ibid., p.545.

159. For E.G.Bearcroft, see Sheffield Forward, April 1926; F.W.S.Craig (ed), Minor Parties at British Parliamentary Elections 1885-1974, London, 1975, p.53.

160. Op.cit., p.547.

The N.D.P. thus became the most ardent coalitionists of all, for their only hope of electoral survival depended on the survival of the Coalition. Having called for a united party in 1920, they had to concede defeat in 1922 when the Coalition broke up and fought no further elections as the N.D.P. The party became once again the British Workers' League and at the General Election, when the N.D.P. members stood as Lloyd George Liberals, every one was defeated by Labour.

In Sheffield the movement had lost its separate identity by 1920, but because the local coalition continued after 1921, some members of the N.D.P. were able to extend their terms of Council office into long and prosperous careers.¹⁶¹ E.G. Bearcroft, the member for Brightside, however, lost his seat to Labour on defending it in 1923.

The N.D.P. was the party of a moment - and the moment passed. Almost, if not all, its electoral success was due to participation in the Liberal/Conservative Coalition and since it had no base in popular support which might have led to a permanent arrangement with one of the larger parties it died with the collapse of the Coalition and the success of the Labour party in working-class constituencies and wards in the early 1920s.

The third party, the Middle Classes' Union, presents rather different issues. It developed as a response to the effect on the middle-classes of rising prices, rates and taxation at the end of the war, and as a stand against the Labour party, at a time when the Conservative party was one element in a Coalition designed to embrace the interests of all classes.

There is no national history of the Middle Classes' Union and so no easily accessible information as to its origin or its support throughout the country. The Union never fought a seat at a General Election but there were branches which fought local elections in areas where rates were thought to be high and Labour was strongly entrenched, like Sheffield.

The Sheffield branch of the M.C.U. was formed in July 1919, its first President being S.J. Robinson¹⁶², a former chairman of Hallam Conservative Association.
161. For example, Wilfred Melling, the N.D.P. member for Sharrow ward from 1920, and later vice-chairman of the Watch Committee.
162. Cf. S.O. Addy and W.T. Pike, Sheffield at the opening of the Twentieth Century, n.d. Brighton, p.190; W.W. 1902, p.46; W.W. 1905, p.89.

ciation and the retired managing director of one of Sheffield's largest engineering and steel works, William Jessop and Sons. Its first public meeting was held just before the 1919 municipal election campaign, although it fielded no candidates at that election. The membership officially disclaimed opposition to the working-classes but their meetings in practice often took the form of 'anti-Red' harangues, with speakers "fomenting class hatred".¹⁶³

The organisation had about 700-800 members in Sheffield by 1920¹⁶⁴ - not a large total, but it included prominent members of the Conservative party, leading lights of the Chamber of Commerce, and both present and former City Councillors. It was most potentially threatening to the Conservatives and most electorally challenging to the Citizens' Association. As such, they approached it most warily, the Sheffield Daily Telegraph claiming to understand its grievances, particularly the problems of those on fixed incomes, but urging the virtues of combination and the impossibility of anything being achieved through sectionalism¹⁶⁵. Attempts were made to persuade the M.C.U. to join the Citizens' Association in 1920 but not surprisingly they refused to agree to the Association's programme.

The result was a contest in a Citizen stronghold - Ecclesall ward. About a third of the membership of the M.C.U. lived there, and the M.C.U. candidate, a solicitor, beat the Citizen candidate by over one thousand votes. Immediately after this, the Union announced that it would contest eight wards at the 1921 election. Another seat was gained at a by-election in Broomhall in May 1921.

Eventually there were three M.C.U. contests in November 1921, at Broomhall, Heeley and Ecclesall, but the last of these, for a second seat at Ecclesall, was announced at the last possible moment. The tactics of the M.C.U. in contesting this Citizen seat without giving due notice were regarded as so harsh that several prominent members of the union resigned¹⁶⁶. The Citizen candidate,

163. S.D.T. 20 Oct 1919.

164. S.D.T. 26 Oct 1920.

165. S.D.T. 19 Oct 1919.

166. These included the President, S.J. Robinson, and Councillor J.C. Ward - S.D.T. 27, 28 Oct 1921. The next president was Walter Appleyard, a former Liberal Councillor for Walkley ward.

W.W.Wood, restyled himself an 'Independent Conservative' in order to prevent identification with the Citizen administration, but the M.C.U. candidate was still successful. The other M.C.U. candidates were unsuccessful, but at Broomhall, the three-cornered contest let Labour into a safe Citizen seat.¹⁶⁷

At this election the M.C.U. made a great deal of capital from allegations of municipal extravagance by the Citizens' Association over the previous three years.¹⁶⁸ The Citizens were so preoccupied with this challenge that they largely ignored the campaign of the Labour party which was able to creep up unawares and gain four seats in less prosperous areas where the main concern was not too much public expenditure, but too little paid out in unemployment relief.

The Conservative party at national level was by this time becoming anxious. The London local government party (the London Municipal Society) launched an attempt to form a national anti-high rates movement with the aims of combining ratepayers associations, M.C.U.s and Liberal/Conservative coalitions in an effective alliance against Labour and preventing splits within middle-class ranks.¹⁶⁹ By early 1922 the campaign appears to have succeeded. The M.C.U. was reconstituted as the National Citizens' Union, which agreed to support local anti-high rates coalitions. Implicit in the new name was reversal of the policy of deliberate class antagonism. During the 1922 municipal election campaign in Sheffield, a letter from the leaders of the Sheffield M.C.U. was published in the Telegraph¹⁷⁰ pledging support for Citizen candidates - even working-class ones, so long as they were not socialist - who agreed to work for reductions in the rates.

The M.C.U. must have become convinced that the Citizens Association was committed to economy, for its independent campaigns had been notably successful, not only electorally, but also in inducing popular rate-saving measures - like the closing down of the municipal milk supply in April 1922. The union was also weakened by the loss of some of its leaders in 1921. Most of the members of the

167. Immediately after this election the M.C.U. tried to make an arrangement with the Citizens "on terms very advantageous to themselves" to be allowed a clear run in three wards - cf. Hawson, on.cit., p.296.

168. See for example, S.D.T. 28 Oct 1921.

169. See Ken Young, on.cit., pp.128-137.

170. 26 Oct 1922.

M.C.U. gradually joined, or reverted to, membership of the Conservative party. Two formerly leading members spoke on Conservative platforms at the General Election of 1923¹⁷¹ and little was heard of the Union in Sheffield after 1922.

The activities of the M.C.U. had a permanent and far-reaching effect on the Citizens' Association. First, they increased its commitment to economy which, particularly at the 1921 local election and again in 1926, was very damaging in less prosperous wards. Secondly, the Union damaged the cohesion, such as there was, of the Citizens' Association. W.W.Wood was the first of the Independent Conservatives; another former M.C.U. Councillor later stood as an Independent Conservative in Ecclesall and he was joined by two others in 1924 and '25.¹⁷² In this way the political stance of the Union was perpetuated at a local level. The Citizens' Association did not oppose these Independents; it could not afford to, but since on the other flank the Association was also forced to support the candidature of "Independent" Liberals, the comment quoted by Ken Young, about the 1926 local elections seems particularly appropriate to Sheffield:

"To a very large extent the fight was between an unorganised mob of constitutionalists and the disciplined forces of the Labour-Socialists". 173.

As a pressure-group within the Conservative party the M.C.U. succeeded in implementing many of its policies. Its impact on the electoral fortunes of the Citizens' Association was wholly damaging.

E. The Fate of the Liberal Party.

" WE ARE LOST" - The Sorry Wail of Sheffield Liberals" was the Telegraph headline in 1922 above an account of the annual meeting of the Sheffield Liberal

171. Charles Boot was a candidate at Hillsborough and Walter Appleyard spoke on the platform of Mathew Sheppard (S.D.T. 30 Nov 1923).

172. W.I.Mitchell at Ecclesall in November 1923, E.Bramley in November 1924 and W.S.Nunn in November 1925. At the November 1926 elections there were "Independent" Conservative candidates in Attercliffe, Ecclesall and possibly St. Peter's wards. The Attercliffe candidate J.C.Ward was also a former member of the M.C.U. Most of these argued that Conservative Councillors should leave the Citizens' Association, Irwin Mitchell, for example, cf. Ecclesall Conservative Association, Minute Book No.4, 28 April 1924. The "Independent" Conservatives gave greater support to the Citizens after they were reduced to a minority on the Council in 1926 - Citizens' Group, Minutes, Op.cit., 3 Nov '26

173. Op.cit., p.137.

Federation¹⁷⁴. The splits within the party were momentarily concealed by the refusal of the President, W.E.Clegg, to allow the Federation to take up a "definite and clear position". "It is impossible for us to do so", he said "without effecting the destruction of the Federation".¹⁷⁵ The result was a Liberal party devoid of distinct policy.

Trevor Wilson has shown that many of the most important tenets of Liberalism - disestablishment, temperance and freedom, for example - did not survive the war intact¹⁷⁶. The party was shattered by the need for conscription and for an authoritarian conduct of the war quite foreign to its most treasured principles, and to the abilities of its leader, Asquith. The presence within the party of many who were prepared to follow to its logical extent the path of Social-Imperialism with Lloyd George prevented any chance of rediscovering "true" Liberalism in the post-war world. It is not a coincidence that most of the Sheffield Liberal Councillors who became members of the Citizens' Association and who were active in politics before 1908 were former Liberal Imperialists.¹⁷⁷ The "Wilson" group and the Lib-Labs had either gone over to the Labour party or became "Independent". The formation of the Citizens' Association was the logical culmination of the imperialist, anti-socialist policies advocated by Clegg and his followers before the war.

The 'Coalition' Liberals won four seats at the 1918 'Coupon' Election¹⁷⁸, but lost three of them at the 1922 Election, despite an informal electoral agreement with the Conservatives.¹⁷⁹ The Labour party, which had fought the 1918 election under peculiarly unfavourable circumstances, were the main beneficiaries, winning Attercliffe on a swing of 33.5% and Hillsborough with 29.6%.¹⁸⁰

Because the local Liberals had no policies to distinguish them from the Conser-

174. S.D.T. 2 June 1922.

175. Ibid.

176. Op.cit., pp.23-49, passim. See also J.Bulpitt, Party Politics in English Local Government, London, 1967, pp.6-9.

177. The exception was James Knowles, a Citizen Alderman and former "Pro-Boer". The allegiance of two Councillors, Arthur Ashmore and Charles Simpson, is unknown. The agent of the Association after 1923 was J.C.Skinner, the former Liberal Imperialist agent - cf. Sheffield Mail, 26 Oct 1923.

178. These were Attercliffe (T.W.Casey), Brightside (T.Walters), Hillsborough (A. Neal) and Park (H.K.Stephenson).

179. Cf. K.Dugdale, op.cit., pp.90-91. The single retained seat was that of H.K.Stephenson.

180. Figures in C.Cook, The Age of Alignment, op.cit., p.21.

vatives,¹⁸¹ the working-class electorate inevitably deserted the party¹⁸².

Clegg resigned his Presidency of the Liberal Federation in May 1923, giving pressure of work as his reason.¹⁸³ He stressed that the party was more united than it had been for some time past, and at that moment this was true, because the effect of the conversion of the Conservative leader, Baldwin to protection was to unite the Liberals behind their one intact and untainted banner, free trade. Even so, the 1923 election inflicted another blow on the party. The Liberal organisation, rusty even in 1919, was only hastily revived, and the party had difficulty in securing candidates.¹⁸⁴

With both Conservative and Labour opposition, it was bottom of the poll in every constituency¹⁸⁵. Free trade was not a vote-winner in Sheffield, and the Liberals were in any case discredited and their new unity suspected.¹⁸⁶

At the general election of 1924 there were no Liberal candidates in any of the seven Sheffield constituencies, and Clegg advised his followers to vote anti-Socialist - that is, Conservative.¹⁸⁷

It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that most of the leading members of the Sheffield Liberal party in the early 1920s cared very little for its fate. The continuation of the Conservative/Liberal coalition had a disastrous effect on its performance at both national and local elections - after Clegg and three other Liberal aldermen were defeated in November 1926, only

seven Liberals who had been on the Council before the war remained¹⁸⁸, in 181. H.K. Stephenson's claim to represent his Park electors in 1922 was based on experience rather than policy - his election address centred on his work for the University, the City Council and the Cutlers' Company. He won the seat at that election but lost it the following year. Cf. Election Address, Park division, 8 Nov 1922.

182. Henry Pelling argues that the electoral decline of the Liberals which was repeated throughout the country at this election, was "the result of long term social and economic changes which were simultaneously uniting Britain geographically and dividing her inhabitants in terms of class". Popular Politics and Society in Late Victorian Britain, London, 1968, p.120.

183. S.D.T. 19 May 1923.

184. Cook, op.cit., p.130. Because of this a majority of the candidates were "Independent" Liberals. ful.

185. There was no Labour candidate in Ecclesall, but the Conservatives were successful.

186. Moses Humberstone, a Labour Councillor, said that the Liberals and Conservatives were "like cooing doves over local politics and pretend to fight each other on national politics", Sheffield Federated Trades and Labour Council, Annual report No. 4.(1923/4), p.13.

187. S.I. 25 Oct 1924. C. Cook points out that anti-Socialist electoral agreements of something like this kind were quite common at the 1924 General Election - op.cit pp.290-293.

addition to the two "Independent" Liberals, Graves and Charlesworth. The decline of the Liberal party was a national trend, but it was accelerated in Sheffield¹⁸⁹ through the fault of its leading members.

The Sheffield Mail suggested in 1921 that through the coalition "true Liberalism (had) been paralysed"¹⁹⁰ and in 1928 the Sheffield Independent concluded that "the effect of the Coalition.....was to wound Liberalism in the city almost unto death".¹⁹¹ Not only was the party's identity submerged in an alliance with the Conservative party, but anti-Socialism, only a strand within Liberalism before 1914, became its sole raison d'etre. The lack of a distinctive policy lost votes both at national and at local elections¹⁹², and the loss of the radicals within the party had far-reaching consequences. It was very damaging, Trevor Wilson suggests, "to lose radicals (like C.H.Wilson in Sheffield) who claimed that they were preserving their principles unimpaired, and leaving the party in order to safeguard them".¹⁹³ The Wilsons had generated much of the "progressive" conscience of the pre-war Liberal party and after the war this influence was lost.

That Clegg succeeded in keeping the "Coalition" and "Independent" Liberals under the one banner of the Sheffield Liberal Federation was an achievement in itself¹⁹⁴ but membership fell swiftly among the former¹⁹⁵. H.K.Stephenson, his successor as President, was a coalitionist who had attempted quite successfully

188. These were Aldermen Blanchard, Irons, Stephenson and Knowles, and Councillors Ashmore, Turner and Jackson.

189. K.Dugdale, for example, concludes that "the Liberal party in Sheffield fared worse than in practically any other constituency throughout Yorkshire" at the 1923 election, op.cit., p.31.

190. 21 Oct 1921.

191. 17 July 1928, quoted Dugdale, op.cit., p.191. A hasty Liberal organisation had to be arranged in Hallam in 1928 when a candidate was selected at the last moment. (ibid).

192. For discussion of this, see Bulpitt, op.cit., pp.6-9.

193. Op.cit., p.39.

194. "Current Topics" pointed out (S.D.T. 19 May 1923) that he had actually succeeded in retaining the acknowledgement of both groups of his own position as leader.

195. There were very few new members after 1923. Most of the people present at a meeting in 1925 were said to be "old and recognised adherents of the cause"- S.D.T. 12 June 1925.

to maintain loyalty to Asquith¹⁹⁶. Nevertheless, he became leader of a local party which was becoming increasingly dominated by "Independents". He left the party in 1926 because of disagreement with its radicalism in reverting to the policy of public land ownership¹⁹⁷. The sinking and almost deserted ship was thus left to the "Independents", Arthur Neal becoming the new President¹⁹⁸ Oliver Wilson, who had fought to maintain a united Federation since 1901, was eventually left in control.¹⁹⁹.

The Liberal party's fate was tragic, but it merited preservation in the post-war world only if it had something to offer, and it is clear that it could find no separate stand on municipal policy.²⁰⁰ In Sheffield the Liberal party failed to come to terms with the post-war situation because it jettisoned its hard-won and carefully developed relationship with the working-class. Because of this Clegg and his followers, as Styring has said, were "so much and so often found working hand and glove with the leaders of (reactionary anti-Socialist) forces, that (they) came to be regarded as of the same class".²⁰¹ The rest of the Liberal party, favouring a revival of some of the principles of Edwardian "Progressivism", were forced by the actions of the Coalitionists to choose between the Labour party or a path which led to the political wilderness.

196. He was one of six National Liberal M.P.s who voted more often against the Conservative government than with it during the 1922-23 Session of Parliament. He applied for the Independent Liberal whip in June 1923, but only in order to take the whips of both sections of the party - Cook, op.cit., p.93, S.D.T. 13 June 1923. See also correspondence between Stephenson and Asquith; 9 and 12 June 1923, Stephenson Collection 61.
197. S.D.T. 13 Mar 1926. Stephenson afterwards joined the National Liberals, becoming President of the South Yorkshire and North Derbyshire Liberal National Council on its formation in 1936. Obituary, S.D.T. 22 Sep 1947.
198. S.D.T. 13 Oct 1926. Neal always inclined towards Independence, but I have found evidence of a connection with the "Independent" Liberals in the early '20s. He remained President until his death in 1933.
199. O.C. Wilson was re-elected secretary of the Federation in 1926 and became President after the death of Neal, retaining the position until his own death in 1946.
200. Chris Cook points out that the Liberals failed to develop a municipal policy that went beyond the call for economy - op.cit., pp.79-80.
201. Op.cit., p.229.

CONCLUSION

The success of the Conservative party in Sheffield in the last two decades of the nineteenth century was a triumph for "Tory Democracy". George Franklin expressed some of the ideals of this creed when he said at a Sheffield Conservative Association meeting in 1913 that he was not an anti-Socialist and believed that,

"the Conservative party had always been a national party bound together, not for any one class, but to do the best they could for Englishmen and for England as a whole". 1

This did not imply egalitarianism - both Franklin and Leng concurred with Disraeli's belief, later echoed by Randolph Churchill, that there must be a "regular and even gradation" of links between the "two nations" of the rich and poor.² These links were, nevertheless, essential they believed, to the health of the party and its electoral success in working-class areas.

The appointment of Balfour as leader of the Conservative party in the Commons in 1891 saw the end of "Tory Democracy" at national level, Donald Southgate suggests.³ Balfour was an intellectual who had no contact with working-class people and little idea of the ways of the world beyond the restricted circle in which he moved. When he became Prime Minister in 1902 he showed no interest in progressivism, was imperialistic but unable to make up his mind about tariff reform and made no moves towards implementing social reforms like national insurance. The desire for these, together with the disunity of the Conservative party over tariff reform, led to the government's crushing defeat at the 1906 general election.

Austen Chamberlain said after that defeat that democracy wanted two things ".....imperialism and social reform. We were successful just as long as we combined the two ideals. We lost when we failed to satisfy (the people's) aspirations on the second".⁴ Leng and Franklin would have agreed. The strength of

1. S.D.T. Mar 15 1913.

2. Ferrand's speech at the Manchester Corn Exchange, 1843, (from which Disraeli took the statement in Sybil), quoted D.Southgate in Lord Butler (ed), The Conservatives, a history from their origins to 1965, London, 1977, p.121. For Churchill's contribution, see ibid., p.199.

3. Ibid., p.200.

4. Quoted ibid., p.239.

their position lay in just this combination - particularly that of Leng, since he was also committed to imperial preference.

It was the Sheffield Conservative party's fate after 1906 to lose not only a clear commitment to social reform, but also a strong position on imperialism. Since tariff reform was so popular, it was unfortunate that the local party should be led, at the time it was being most fiercely debated, by two men, Herbert Hughes and George Franklin, who were opposed to it. A clear stand on tariff reform - what Austen Chamberlain called "the first and greatest branch of social reform"⁵ - would have given the party a strong and independent platform from which to fight and prevented the slide into negative policies of economy and anti-Socialism. Had he continued as leader George Franklin would have redressed the balance by stressing other aspects of social reform. Herbert Hughes however, was the representative of an Ecclesall Conservatism which had little understanding of the implications of the "two nations" policy.

Although Leng was intimately associated with the Ecclesall Conservative Association⁶, his political opinions reflected his parallel involvement with Central Association, in which he took a deep interest. Franklin was associated with the Brightside Conservative Association and both men could hardly have hoped to ignore the demands and views of the working-class members of these divisions. Ecclesall Conservatism, by contrast, reflected the views and demands of its middle-class population. The M.P., Samuel Roberts, a wealthy barrister who was adopted in preference to Franklin in 1902⁷, spoke in 1921 of the whole party's absolute conviction "of the necessity of economy"⁸.

High rates and "municipal socialism" had often been unpopular in the Ecclesall and Hallam area⁹. Leng's "notion of using the collective credit for

5. Ibid., p.239.

6. He lived in the Ecclesall constituency and was the founder of the Ecclesall Conservative Club. Cf. Obituary, S.D.T. Feb 21 1902.

7. By a vote of 31 to 22. Cf. Ecclesall Conservative & Constitutional Association, Minute Book No.2, Jan 25 1902. It should be added that Leng supported Roberts, perhaps because he thought Roberts a more suitable man for that particular division. (See his comments on Roberts in letter to Hughes, Jan 23 1902. contained in ibid).

8. S.D.T. Mar 24 1921.

9. See above, p.107. for S.Howell of Upper Hallam, who resigned in 1902, saying that the Crofts scheme was extravagant.

the benefit of the masses"¹⁰ through municipalisation was rejected in favour of using the profits from municipal utilities to subsidise the rates. In addition, the influence of the Ecclesall Conservatives increased at a crucial period in the party's development. The Labour party was just beginning to capture Liberal seats, and the businessmen of that area inevitably felt threatened. There was thus no chance that the Conservative party would alter its stand on such crucial issues as housing policy. Franklin's determination not to enter into a competitive area¹¹ was continued, even in 1911 when a large bequest was offered to the city to develop the High Wincobank estate.¹²

The Liberal party, while supporting the High Wincobank scheme, had developed a political stance similar in all major respects to that of the Conservative by this date. Why should this have been so? The outlook for the radical section of the party seemed quite bright in the late 1890s. The "Fads" of Social Questions League supporters were being abandoned in favour of a more progressive approach to social reform, even though H.J. Wilson alone was prepared to concede certain aspects of the labour position¹³. In addition, the majority of Liberal Councillors abandoned a narrow approach to economy in the years 1901-5 and supported, for example, direct labour methods of works construction¹⁴. The Council scheme was, unfortunately, a failure.

In a city of strong Lib-Lab traditions, progressivism¹⁵ ought to have been popular and successful. But during the period when it enjoyed its greatest success in the country as a whole (1906-10), Sheffield Liberalism languished and appeared reactionary. Three reasons may be advanced for this failure of the radical Liberals to impose their views on the party as a whole during this

10. Quoted K.March, "The Life and Career of Sir William Christopher Leng", University of Sheffield M.A.Thesis, p.105.

11. See above, p.106.

12. The "Sutton Bequest" was turned down by Hughes. Cf. S.M.Gaskell, "Sheffield City Council and the Development of Suburban Areas prior to World War I", in S.Pollard and C.Holmes (ed), Essays in the Economic and Social History of S.Yorkshire, S.Yorkshire, 1976, p.194.

13. See above, p.139. For the Social Questions League, see pp.138-9.

14. Cf. H.K.Hawson, Sheffield, the growth of a city 1893-1926, Sheffield 1968, pp306-7.

15. Using the word in P.F.Clarke's sense to mean a synthesis of Liberalism and Socialism - cf. Lancashire and the New Liberalism, Cambridge, 1971, passim.

period. First, the Lib-Labs failed to adopt a truly progressive position. Although a few Lib-Lab Councillors led some of the party's most radical campaigns, for the taxation of site values and the High Wincobank scheme, for example¹⁶, the general Lib-Lab position during the 1890s was conservative and they were open to the charge of moving forward only because of pressure from, first the I.L.P., and, later, the Labour Party. The leaders of the Federated Trades Council were, as Professor Pollard describes them, "stolid and traditional".¹⁷ Even after the reunion of 1920, W.F.Wardley and A.J.Bailey refused to be associated with the Labour party on the City Council.¹⁸

Secondly, the Liberal radicals had no press. As a party the Liberals were placed at a disadvantage by the marked superiority of the Telegraph as a political organ and often blamed its articles for electoral setbacks.¹⁹ The Independent, after Robert Leader's death no longer interested itself in the "Faddist" position and the attempt to maintain a Social Questions League newspaper, the Hammer, was unsuccessful.²⁰ Under John Berry, the Independent gave its support to Liberal Imperialism until 1908 by which time newspaper support could do nothing to influence^{the} fate of the Progressives.

Thirdly, the Boer War brought disaster to the Liberal radicals. The "Pro-Boer" position of H.J. Wilson and his friends divided those on the left of the party - Arthur Neal, for example, going over to the Liberal Imperialists²¹. Very few Liberals could avoid taking sides on an issue of such importance to the Sheffield electorate, and the electoral unpopularity of the "Pro-Boer" position thus created a large majority of Liberal Imperialists. Because it was so large, and because it was led by W.E.Clegg and supported by the party newspaper, this group was able to dictate party policy even after the Liberal League had officially "died". Ironically, the Liberal party was defeated in three of

16. For taxation of site values, see above, p.141.
17. S.Pollard in J.Mendelson et al, The Sheffield Trades and Labour Council 1858-1958, Sheffield, 1958, p.58.
18. They were more-or-less regarded as Independents.
19. As in 1906, see H.D.Abadie, "Sheffield Politics 1885-1910: Organisation, Ideology and Political Behaviour", University of California, Los Angeles, Ph.D. Thesis, 1971, p.276.
20. It lasted for two years, closing on Aug 3 1895 because the proprietor, Edwin Richmond, could no longer bear the losses on the paper. See The Hammer, Aug 3 1895.
21. See above, p.144.

its five contests at the 1906 election not, Henry Pelling believes, because of its lack of progressivism, but because the Sheffield electorate voted for the more thorough-going of the imperialist parties, with its commitment to large-scale military expenditure and a policy of protection.²²

The Liberal Imperialist ascendancy lasted just long enough to ensure that anti-socialism would succeed it. Anti-socialism was a policy with which the Conservatives could agree, as with the Liberals' position on economy - Hughes saying in 1908 that he thought the Liberals were "thoroughly sound and good on municipal finance".²³ From this position it was but a short step to an alliance.

The "rule of businessmen" which the decision of 1920 inaugurated, with its non-party rhetoric, was a bizarre and dangerous experiment. A forward-looking and radical approach to municipal administration was impossible for a party brought together solely in opposition to socialism. The greater numbers of manufacturers and tradesmen on the early post-war Councils and the virtual loss to the Citizens of members of the working-classes created class conflict within the Council on a scale never previously seen.

The failures of the Citizen administration may be illustrated by the example of education policy. In the late Victorian and Edwardian period, Sheffield was widely recognised as having an exceptional elementary school system. There was a "quite remarkable"²⁴ first school board which, under a nonconformist majority, built the first board school under the 1870 Act. The Board, under both Conservative and Liberal majorities, completed a total of 47 board schools in its short life - "durable stone citadels"²⁵ which gave Sheffield the reputation of being "in the forefront of educational advance"²⁶. This reputation was lost in the early '20s.

22. Social Geography of British Elections 1885-1910, London, 1967, p.232.

23. S.D.T. 1 Feb 1968.

24. A. Briggs, Victorian Cities, London, 1963, p.237. For descriptions of its election and meetings, see J.H. Bingham, The Period of the Sheffield School Board 1870-1903, Sheffield, 1949, pp.1-10.

25. W.H.C. Armytage, "Education in Sheffield" in D. Linton (ed), Sheffield and its region, Sheffield 1956, p.206.

26. John Derry, The Story of Sheffield, 1915. new edition, Wakefield, 1971, p.300.

It was not difficult to predict that Sheffield would need much greater educational provision after the war or that depression would occur and would have to be tackled by expenditure and active planning - George Franklin recognised that unemployment would have to be dealt with in this way as early as 1916.²⁷ Yet Conservative and Liberal preparation was so poor and refusal to spend money so entrenched that in 1921 Clegg himself admitted that "a breakdown" of the elementary school system in Sheffield was a strong possibility.²⁸ Even the Conservative government threatened to withdraw financial aid for education if the Citizens' administration refused to spend more money on it.²⁹ In its first six years of power, the Labour party found it necessary to provide eleven thousand new primary school places in the city³⁰.

Study of the Liberal and Conservative parties in Sheffield during this period presents many elements which are unusual when compared with the national picture. The development of the Labour party in Sheffield followed a more predictable and recognisable pattern, once the dispute with the Lib-Labs, so prolonged and divisive³¹, was settled. Sheffield was a primary manufacturing community - "as near strictly primary as it is possible to find a large town", as Professor Abercrombie states³² - and the Labour victory was probably inevitable given national trends. Sheffield's record of early and consistent Labour success at local elections has been matched, among large boroughs, only by Stoke-on-Trent and it appears significant that Stoke is the nearest parallel to Sheffield of a city attaining size and importance solely as a manufacturing centre.³³

27. S.D.T. 28 Mar 1916. He advocated reconstruction of the industrial system and great improvements in industrial training.

28. See above, Chapter 7, p. 238

29. Six Years of Labour Rule in Sheffield 1926-1932, Sheffield, 1932. p.5.

30 Ibid., p.5.

31. Divisions in trade councils took place in only two other cities - Leeds (for a short time) and Nottingham - cf. A.Clinton, The Trade Union Rank and File, trades councils in Britain 1900-40, Manchester, 1977, p.30.

32. P.Abercrombie, Sheffield, a civic survey, Liverpool, 1924, p.6.

33. M.Walton, Sheffield, its story and its achievements, Sheffield, 1948, p.222. For Stoke's success, see C.Cooke, "Liberals, Labour and local elections" in C.Cook and G.Peele (ed), The Politics of Reappraisal 1918-39, London, 1975, p.171; D.Butler & J.Freeman, British Political Facts 1900-67, London, 1968, pp243-4.

Labour gained power on the City Council because, first of all, of the effect of the government's wartime policies on the local trades unions and the large 1918 increase in the electorate which gave the party its initial electoral breakthrough in 1919. The impact of widespread unemployment in the early '20s and of the general strike was also very important, and thirdly, there was the failure of the Citizens administration to answer many of Labour's demands over social reform. The 'Progressive Charter' of 1926 spoke of Citizen failures in relation to health, housing, education and unemployment, and demanded 'direct labour' and municipalisation schemes.³⁴ 'Direct labour' was at this period introduced by Conservative/Liberal Councils in Birmingham and Manchester³⁵, but the Citizens appeared to believe, in Colonel Charles Clifford's words, that "socialism and social reform are as wide apart as the two Poles".³⁶ The victory of 1926 was, as Keeble Hawson has said, the result of a "passionate revulsion" against such policies.³⁷

The Sheffield Labour party succeeded in forming a coalition of socialist, trades unionist and co-operative forces which had an appeal to the majority of the city's electors. Its policies during the period 1920-6 were no more radical than those developed by the newly-formed Labour Representation Committee during the years 1903-08. In this way the Labour Party, rather than any section of the Liberal party, became heir to the Lib-Lab tradition in the city.

The creation of the successful Labour coalition was the work of Ernest Rowlinson, just as the development of a successful Tory municipal policy for the 1880s and '90s was the work of William Leng. As is often the case in the affairs of a locality, personalities played an important, probably a crucial, role. It is impossible to imagine the Sheffield Liberal party going in quite the same direction without the autocratic, self-confident, often reckless leadership of Sir

34. See above, Chapter 6, p. 222.

35. Cf. A.V. Alexander, "Municipal Affairs", T/S, n.d. (c.1924), MS notes, A.V. Alexander MSS 12/6.

36. S.D.T. April 10 1926.

37. See above, Chapter 7, p. 240.

William Clegg. Clegg led the party into all its major political stands - Liberal Imperialism, education policy, anti-socialism and the Citizens Alliance. He even dominated and controlled the policies of the Citizens Group of Councilors³⁸ initiating, for example, the attempt to exclude the Labour party from its rightful committee allocations.³⁹ In his dealings with Labour, his advice was "well let us fight them" and this course he blindly continued to the end".⁴⁰ For this reason, Clegg must take a major share of the blame for the precipitate decline of the Sheffield Liberal party and for the electoral failures of the Citizens' Association.

Herbert Hughes talked a great deal in the years 1908-12 of "sane and safe" municipal policies⁴¹. One of the characteristics of Disraeli's "two nations" policy was that it was a paradox - an "audacious" one, as G.M.Young has said,⁴² which succeeded in the hands of Leng in combining contradictory elements and making the Tories appear "a party of the people". In the same way, John Derry suggested in 1902 that the City Councillor should combine "business abilities" with "progressive tendencies".⁴³ These politicians combined political insight with the intuitive ability to abandon wisdom in the rhetoric, vision and sheer bravado which alone can cement appeals to conflicting social groups. Such political instinct was lost to the Conservatives and Liberals in the post-war period. "Sanity" and "efficiency" were but poor substitutes.

38. Members were sometimes told to vote for policies agreed by Clegg and Cattell which had not been discussed at Group meetings, see, for example, Minute Book of the groups comprising the Council members of the Citizens Municipal Association, circular from Whips, 4 Aug 1922. In November 1923 the office of Citizen group treasurer was abolished and the money in hand given to Clegg, presumably so that he could keep his hand on the purse-strings. Ibid. Nov 2 1923.
39. See above, chapter 7, pp.234-5, and S.F. Dec 1926.
40. R.Styring, My Life Story, Frome, 1940, p.229.
41. See, for example, S.D.T. Broadsheet 12, n.d. (1910-11), Conservative Party Newspaper Cuttings Book 1910-12.
42. Quoted Southgate, on.cit., p.199.
43. Quoted above, p.15.

APPENDIX 1.

Notes on Classification of Councillors by Occupation.

1. Councillor's occupation derived from the following sources, in order of priority.
 1. Kelly's or White's Directory of Sheffield (Trades Section, Street Section) for year of Councillor's entry to Council.
 2. Sheffield Red Book (1892-1924); Sheffield Annual Year Book and Record (1892-1927), (both published annually) Council lists.
 3. J.K.Hawson, List of Sheffield City Councillors 1893-1926 (Typescript, SCL)
2. Changes in occupation checked for all Councillors at decennial intervals.
3. Dates of Service - J.K.Hawson, List of Sheffield City Councillors, op.cit.
4. Tables 6B and 8A-D: Councillors enumerated for each of the stated periods during which they served on the council.
5. Municipal Sessions: Councillors enumerated for each session after the results of municipal elections (early November) and any aldermanic by-elections (later in November) are taken into account.
6. In line with E.P.Hennock's practice¹, no Councillor was enumerated as 'retired', but according to former occupation. Women were classified by their husband's job unless independently employed.
7. Occupations enumerated in the occupational categories 1-14 are as follows:-
 - a) 'Heavy' Trades Manufacturers - proprietors or managers - for definition of 'heavy' trades see below.
 - b) 'Light' Trades Manufacturers - proprietors or managers - for definition of 'light' trades see below.
 - c) 'Other' Manufacturers - employers or directors in manufacturing firms outside the 'heavy' and 'light' trades. Includes manufacturers of paper bags, snuff and aerated water, brewers, coal owners and an electrical engineer.
 - d) 'Small' Merchants - 'merchant' defined as an employer or self-employed person engaged in wholesale or retail selling. 'Small' merchants defined as those with responsibility for one or two branches, and judged to be primarily engaged in dealing directly with customers. The sample includes chemists, landlords, department store managers, pawn-brokers and auctioneers (running a shop rather than a valuation practice).
 - e) 'Large' Merchants - wholesale merchants and retail merchants with responsibility for more than two branches.
 - f) Builders - Employers or self-employed, engaged in building or related trades, for example, plumbing, joinery and painting and decorating.
 - g) Law - solicitors or barristers. Partners or sole members of a legal firm.
 - h) Medicine - Qualified doctors or surgeons. (Does not include herbalists or opticians).
 - i) White Collar Responsible - professional or other responsible white-collar jobs, apart from medicine and law, and distinct from clerical work. Includes journalists, accountants, managers (firm unknown), inspectors, auctioneers (running a valuation practice), army officers, architects, a consulting engineer, teachers and civil servants.
1. 'A Note on Methods', Fit and Proper Persons, op.cit., pp.361-362.

- j) Clerks - White-collar non-responsible employees or agents. Includes insurance agents, a telegraphist and a secretary to a political party.
- k) Trade Union Officials/Manual Workers - full time salaried trade union officials and those employed in manual occupations.
- l) Gentlemen - either non-occupied with private income or stated in Council lists to be 'gentleman' there being no other information available. The category includes George Corker, who was variously described as being a farmer, and as having no occupation.²

8. In the event of the directory entry for a councillor's occupation stating more than one item - for example, 'Building contractor and gaunister manufacturer', the following was adhered to:-

- a) Any reference to manufacture was deemed the classifying characteristic (in line with censal practice).
- b) Otherwise, the first item stated by the Directory (or other source) was taken as classificatory, (except for 'heavy' and 'light' trades manufacturers - see below).

9. The 'Light' and 'Heavy' Trades

The distinction between the cutlery trades and large-scale engineering works is an essential one to make about Sheffield's economy, but is difficult to apply rigorously to a statistical analysis. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries many former cutlery and edge-tool firms were going over to the production of steel, and steel-works were producing edge-tools in some of their workshops. The aim adopted in categorisation was to decide (in some disputed cases by reference to firm histories and trade directories) the major market to which the firm was aiming and whether it saw itself as predominantly a tool or a steel-making firm. Distinctions between the two types of industry have broadly been based on those used by Prof. Abercrombie in 1924. ³

- 1. 'Heavy' Trades: forges, steel works plant, boiler makers, brass founders, casters and armour plate producers.
- 2. 'Light' Trades: Manufacturing cutlery, silver goods, electro-plate, edge tools and allied trades (for example, handle makers).

In practice, most of the firms in the 'light' trades were small and specialised, in the 'heavy' trades they were large enterprises concerned with production of bulk quantities of steel.

10. Classification of Manual Workers by skill (Table 6A)

- a) The distinctions sought for the purposes of Table 6A were:-
 - i) Full-time trade union officials.
 - ii) 'Skilled' workers.
 - iii) 'Semi' or unskilled workers.
- b) Skilled workers were judged to include foremen and journeymen. Full-time trade union officials, foremen and journeymen were listed as such in the 'Trades' or 'Streets' sections of Kelly's and White's Directories of Sheffield.
- c) 'Heavy' and 'Light' Trades workers not listed in Directories - according to Prof. Pollard (4) skilled trades in the 'heavy' trades included boilermaker, ironfounder, moulder, engineer and patternmaker. Nearly all jobs in the 'light' trades were skilled until the use of machinery became widespread and dilution was practised during the 1914/18 War.

2. S.D.T. Oct 25 1921.

3. Op.cit., p.15. See also the definitions of Pollard, op.cit., p.50,102,132,206-7; Harry Townsend in D.Linton(ed) Sheffield and its Region, Sheffield, 1956,p.297; S.Pollard Three Centuries of Sheffield Steel, Sheffield, 1954,p.46.

4. Op.cit., pp.164-165, 296.

d) Other workers unlisted in directories - Guy Routh in his survey Occupation and Pay in Great Britain 1906-60, (5) prepared for the National Institute of Economic and Social Research, has provided a precedent for the use of the 1951 censal classifications of skill (the first census to provide this classification) as a basis for skill classification from the beginning of the century. The result of using the 1951 classifications on railway-workers, for example, gives the following:-

Skilled - guards, signalmen, shunters, engine drivers.

Unskilled - porters.

'Labourers' and 'miners' are also taken as unskilled.

APPENDIX 2.

Voting on various motions in Sheffield City Council, 1892-1905.

(Source: Sheffield City Council Minutes).

A. 14 December 1892:

Motion : to approve the promotion of a Parliamentary Bill to improve High Street.

Voting : In favour : 18 Liberals, 28 Conservatives.
Against: 7 Liberals.
(neuter votes not recorded).

B. 14 December 1892:

Motion : to appoint a special committee to report, and if necessary take action, on a circular from the Local Government Board suggesting the employment of able-bodied/unemployed men on public works under the direction of the local authorities.

Voting : In favour ; 11 Liberals, 27 Conservatives.
Against: 13 Liberals, 2 Conservatives.

C. 10 May 1893:

Motion : not to confirm the Town Hall Architect's plan to use marble on the grand staircase and main corridor at a cost of £2.335.

Voting : In favour : 21 Liberals, 11 Conservatives.
Against: 5 Liberals, 20 Conservatives.

D. 28 June 1893 (after protest against the above vote by Sir Frederick Mappin).

Motion : to confirm the use of the marble.

Amendment: not to confirm its use.

Voting on amendment: In favour : 15 Liberals, 4 Conservatives.
Against : 8 Liberals, 23 Conservatives.

E. 13 March 1895:

Motion : to consent to the early closing of the West Bar Post Office at 2 p.m. on Thursdays.

Voting : In favour : 11 Liberals, 15 Conservatives.
Against: 5 Liberals, 13 Conservatives.

F. 12 June 1895:

Voting : In favour : 3 Liberals, 16 Conservatives.
Against : 19 Liberals, 7 Conservatives.

G. 14 August 1895:

Motion : not to confirm the decision of the Libraries and Museums Committee to provide a new Central Library.

Voting : In favour : 16 Liberals, 22 Conservatives
Against : 5 Liberals, 9 Conservatives.

*Motion : not to confirm Health Committee notices about privy/water closet conversion until a report about the behaviour of water closets in frosts has been received.

H. 13 October 1897:

Motion : that Watch Committee be instructed not to employ mounted police in the vicinity of firms who have locked-out workmen, unless a serious violation of the law is expected.

Voting : In favour : 18 Liberals, 2 Conservatives.
Against : 2 Liberals, 28 Conservatives.

I. 19 July 1899:

Motion : to obtain powers to relieve occupying ratepayers by taxation of land values for local purposes.

Voting : In favour : 27 Liberals
Against : 26 Conservatives.

J. 10 September 1902:

Motion : that proposals by the Electric Light Committee to establish a Municipal Telephone System be not confirmed, but referred back in order to ascertain the strength of public support.

Voting : In favour : 9 Liberals, 5 Conservatives
Against : 11 Liberals, 23 Conservatives

K. 25 January 1905:

Motion : to proceed with a plan to build a road through High Storrs estate and find relief work for the unemployed on it.

Voting : In favour : 26 Liberals,
Against : 2 Liberals, 26 Conservatives.

APPENDIX 3.

SHEFFIELD GENERAL ELECTION RESULTS 1885-1929.

A. Attercliffe Constituency.

Year	T'out	Candidate	Party *	Votes	Majority
1885	87.4	Hon.B.J.S.Coleridge E.B.Hoare	L C	4,891 3,633	1,258
1886	75.1	Hon.B.J.S.Coleridge F.W.Maude	L LU	4,365 2,958	1,407
1892	80.2	Hon.B.J.S.Coleridge G.H.Smith	L C	5,107 3,963	1,144
(Elevation to the Peerage - Lord Coleridge)					
1894	79.0	B.Langley G.H.Smith F.S.Smith	L C I.L.P	4,486 3,495 1,249	991
1895		B.Langley	L		Unopposed
1900		B.Langley	L		Unopposed
1906*	79.2	B.Langley A.M.Wilson	L C	6,523 5,736	787
* A petition was lodged relating to this election but was dismissed (Resignation)					
1909	77.3	J.Pointer S.C.K.Farlow R.C.Lambert A.M.Wilson	LAB C L Ind C	3,531 3,380 3,175 2,803	151
1910 (Jan)	83.9	J.Pointer S.O.K.Farlow	LAB C	7,755 6,079	1,676
1910 (Dec)	72.1	J.Pointer S.Walker	LAB C	6,532 5,354	1,178
1914	(Death)	W.C.Anderson	LAB		Unopposed
1918	52.5	T.W.Casey W.C.Anderson	Co L LAB	12,308 6,539	5,769
1922	68.6	C.H.Wilson T.W.Casey	LAB NL	16,206 7,562	8,644
1923	66.8	C.H.Wilson G.Terrell H.A.Bridge	LAB C L	13,581 6,106 3,438	7,475
1924	75.9	C.H.Wilson W.B.Faraday	LAB C	16,802 9,629	7,173
1929	75.4	C.H.Wilson W.B.Faraday T.Neville G.H.Fletcher	LAB C L Comm	19,152 6,190 4,652 1,731	12,962

* For abbreviations used in this column, see next page.

B. Brightside Constituency.

Year	T'out	Candidate	Party	Votes	Majority
1885	86.0	Rt.Hon.A.J.Mundella Lord Edmund Talbot (Appointed President of the Board of Trade)	L C	4,616 3,382	1,234
1886		Rt.Hon.A.J.Mundella	L	Unopposed	
1886	82.6	Rt.Hon.A.J.Mundella Lord Edmund Talbot	L C	4,280 3,398	882
1892	82.7	Rt.Hon.A.J.Mundella H.B.F.Deane (Appointed President of the Board of Trade)	L C	4,938 3,661	1,277
1892		Rt.Hon.A.J.Mundella	L	Unopposed	
1895		Rt.Hon.A.J.Mundella (Death)	L	Unopposed	
1897	74.3	F.Maddison J.F.Hope	L-L C	4,289 4,106	183
1900	77.1	J.F.Hope F.Maddison	C L-L	4,992 4,028	964
1906	81.1	J.T.Walters J.F.Hope	L C	5,409 4,408	1,001
1910 (Jan)	86.5	J.T.Walters D.Vickers C.Lapworth	L C SDP	6,156 4,200 510	1,956
1910 (Dec)	77.0	J.T.Walters D.Vickers	L C	5,766 3,902	1,864
1918	52.0	Sir.J.T.Walters R.E.Jones	Co L LAB	12,164 6,781	5,383
1922	75.0	A.A.W.H.Ponsonby Rt.Hon.Sir.J.T.Walters	LAB NL	16,692 10,949	5,743
1923	73.0	A.A.W.H.Ponsonby M.Sheppard T.I.Clough	LAB C L	14,741 9,408 3,684	5,333
1924	78.9	A.A.W.H.Ponsonby M.Sheppard	LAB C	17,053 13,708	3,345
1929	77.3	A.A.W.H.Ponsonby R.I.Money W.A.Lambert	LAB C L	20,277 9,828 6,612	10,449

Abbreviations

BSP - British Socialist Party
 C - Conservative
 Co C- Coalition Conservative
 Co L- Coalition Liberal
 Comm- Communist
 Co-op-Co-operative Party
 ILP -Independent Labour Party
 Ind C-Independent Conservative

Ind L - Independent Liberal
 Ind Lab - Independent Labour
 L - Liberal
 LAB - Labour
 L-L - Lib-Lab
 LU - Liberal Unionist
 NL - National Liberal
 SDP - Social Democratic Party

C. Central Constituency.

Year	T'out	Candidate	Party	Votes	Majority
1885	83.2	C.E.H.Vincent S.Plimsoll M.L.Hawkes	C L-L Ind.L	4,633 3,484 140	1,149
1886	79.1	C.E.H.Vincent J.Hawkins	C L	4,522 3,326	1,196
1892	83.2	C.E.H.Vincent R.Cameron	C L	4,474 3,618	856
1895		C.E.H.Vincent	C	Unopposed	
1900		Sir C.E.H.Vincent	C	Unopposed	
1906	82.1	Sir C.E.H.Vincent W.S.J.Udale	C L	4,217 3,290	927
Death 1908		J.F.Hope	C	Unopposed	
1910 (Jan)	83.7	J.F.Hope A.J.Bailey	C L-L	3,829 3,440	389
1910 (Dec)	77.5	J.F.Hope A.J.Bailey	C L-L	3,455 3,271	184
1918	43.1	J.F.Hope A.J.Bailey R.G.Murray	Co.C Ind.LAB BSP	9,361 5,959 643	3,402
1922		Rt.Hon.J.F.Hope	C	Unopposed	
1923	61.3	Rt.Hon.J.F.Hope T.Snowden J.H.Freeborough	C LAB L	9,727 8,762 2,810	965
1924	74.5	Rt.Hon.J.F.Hope T.Snowden	C LAB	13,302 12,995	307
1929	74.1	P.C.Hoffman J.R.P.Warde-Aldam	LAB C	19,183 13,284	5,899

D. Ecclesall Constituency

Year	T'out	Candidate	Party	Votes	Majority
1885	86.1	E.Ashmead-Bartlett C.J.S.Dodd	C L	4,171 3,492	679
1886	74.3	E.Ashmead-Bartlett W.Owen	C L	3,930 2,688	1,242
1886		(Appointed Civil Lord of the Admiralty) E.Ashmead-Bartlett	C	Unopposed	
1892	84.5	E.Ashmead-Bartlett R.E.Leader	C L	4,536 3,696	840
1895		Sir E.Ashmead-Bartlett	C	Unopposed	
1900	73.0	Sir E.Ashmead-Bartlett R.F.Vaile	C L	5,059 3,230	1,829
1902	(Death) 74.8	S.Roberts R.F.Vaile	C L	5,231 4,119	1,112
1906	87.1	S.Roberts R.C.Lambert	C L	5,856 5,392	464
1910 (Jan)	90.3	S.Roberts J.Derry	C L	6,407 6,196	211
1910 (Dec)	85.2	S.Roberts J.Derry	C L	6,039 5,849	190
1918		Sir S.Roberts	Co.C	Unopposed	
1922		Rt.Hon.Sir S.Roberts,Bt	C	Unopposed	
1923	69.5	A.Harland H.F.Russell	C L	13,047 7,456	5,591
1924	62.8	A.Harland A.Taylor *	C Ind	16,131 2,624	13,507
1929	75.1	Sir S.Roberts H.Samuels R.S.Wells	C LAB L	17,165 7,983 5,898	9,182

* 1924: Taylor was the nominee of the Ecclesall Tenants' Protection Association.

E.Hallam Constituency.

Year	T'out	Candidate	Party	Votes	Majority
1885	88.2	C.B.Stuart-Wortley Sir C.Warren	C L	3,764 3,155	609
1886	78.9	C.B.Stuart-Wortley T.R.Threlfall	C L-L	3,581 2,612	969
1892	87.3	C.B.Stuart-Wortley R.Hammond	C L	4,057 3,414	643
1895		C.B.Stuart-Wortley	C	Unopposed	
1900		Rt.Hon.C.B.Stuart-Wortley	C	Unopposed	
1906	85.0	Rt.Hon.C.B.Stuart-Wortley A.Grant	C L	5,546 5,465	81
1910	89.8	Rt.Hon.C.B.Stuart-Wortley A.Neal	C L	6,181 5,965	216
1910 (Dec)	84.1	Rt.Hon.C.B.Stuart-Wortley A.Neal	C L	5,788 5,593	195
1916		(Elevation to the Peerage-Lord Stuart of Wortley) Rt.Hon.H.A.L.Fisher*	L	Unopposed	
1918		D.Vickers	Co.C	Unopposed	
1922	73.7	Sir.F.H.Sykes C.S.Rewcastle	C L	13,405 9,173	4,232
1923	75.0	Sir.F.H.Sykes A.J.Freeman C.S.Rewcastle	C LAB L	12,119 5,506 5,383	6,613
1924	77.8	Sir.F.H.Sykes E.Snelgrove	C LAB	15,446 8,807	6,639
1928	54.7	(Resignation on appointment as Governor of Bombay) L.W.Smith C.R.Flynn J.B.Hobman	C LAB L	9,417 5,393 2,715	4,024
1929	73.2	L.W.Smith B.Rawson	C LAB	18,920 12,133	6,787

* 1916: Fisher was President of the Board of Education.

F. Hillsborough Constituency.

Year	T'out	Candidate	Party	Votes	Majority
1918	42.2	A.Neal * A.Lockwood	Co.L Co-op	11,171 4,050	7,121
1922	74.7	A.V.Alexander A.Neal	LAB/Co-op NL	15,130 11,812	3,318
1923	73.3	A.V.Alexander C.Boot E.Woodhead	LAB/Co-op C L	15,087 8,369 3,636	6,718
1924	77.9	A.V.Alexander N.G.Thwaites	LAB/Co-op C	16,573 12,554	4,019
1929	77.6	A.V.Alexander A.Harland E.H.F.Morris	LAB/Co-op C L	20,941 10,489 5,053	10,452

*1918: Neal's name was not included in the final official list of Coalition candidates, but this appears to have been an omission through error for there is no doubt that he both received and accepted the 'coupon'.

G. Park Constituency.

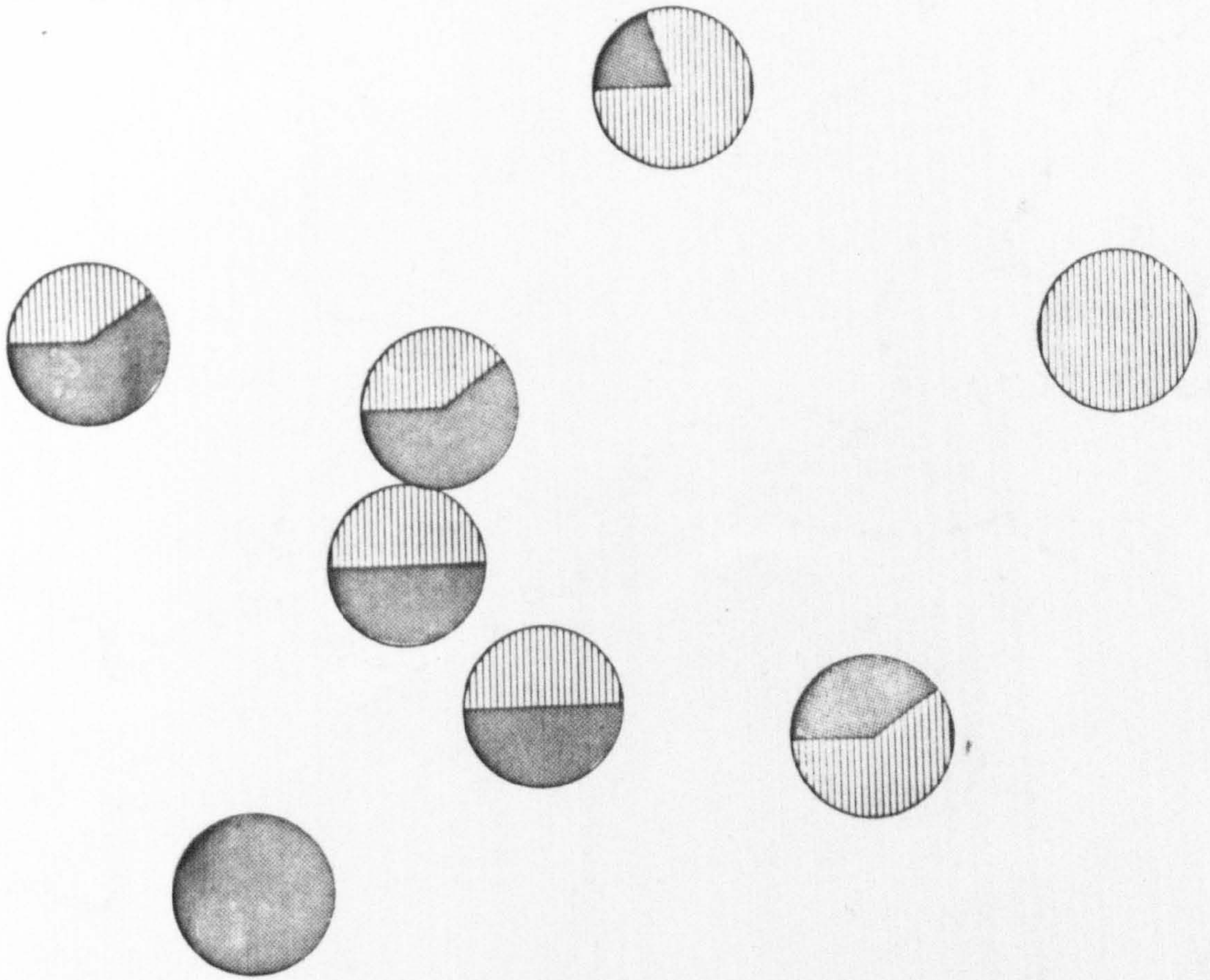
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1918	49.6	H.K.Stephenson A.Barton	Co.L LAB	12,339 3,167	9,172
1922	73.0	H.K.Stephenson R.Morley	NL LAB	11,542 10,578	964
1923	74.1	R.S.Deans G.Lathan H.K.Stephenson	C LAB L	9,648 9,050 4,296	598
1924	81.1	R.S.Deans G.Lathan	C LAB	14,053 11,576	2,477
1929	79.2	G.Lathan R.S.Deans E.E.Dalton	LAB C L	20,304 13,597 5,560	6,707

APPENDIX 4A:

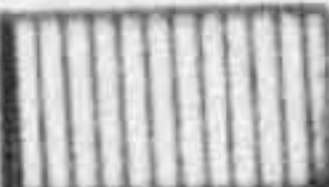
The Political Orientation of Sheffield Wards in November 1892, 1900, 1906,
1919 and 1926 : A Diagrammatic Representation.

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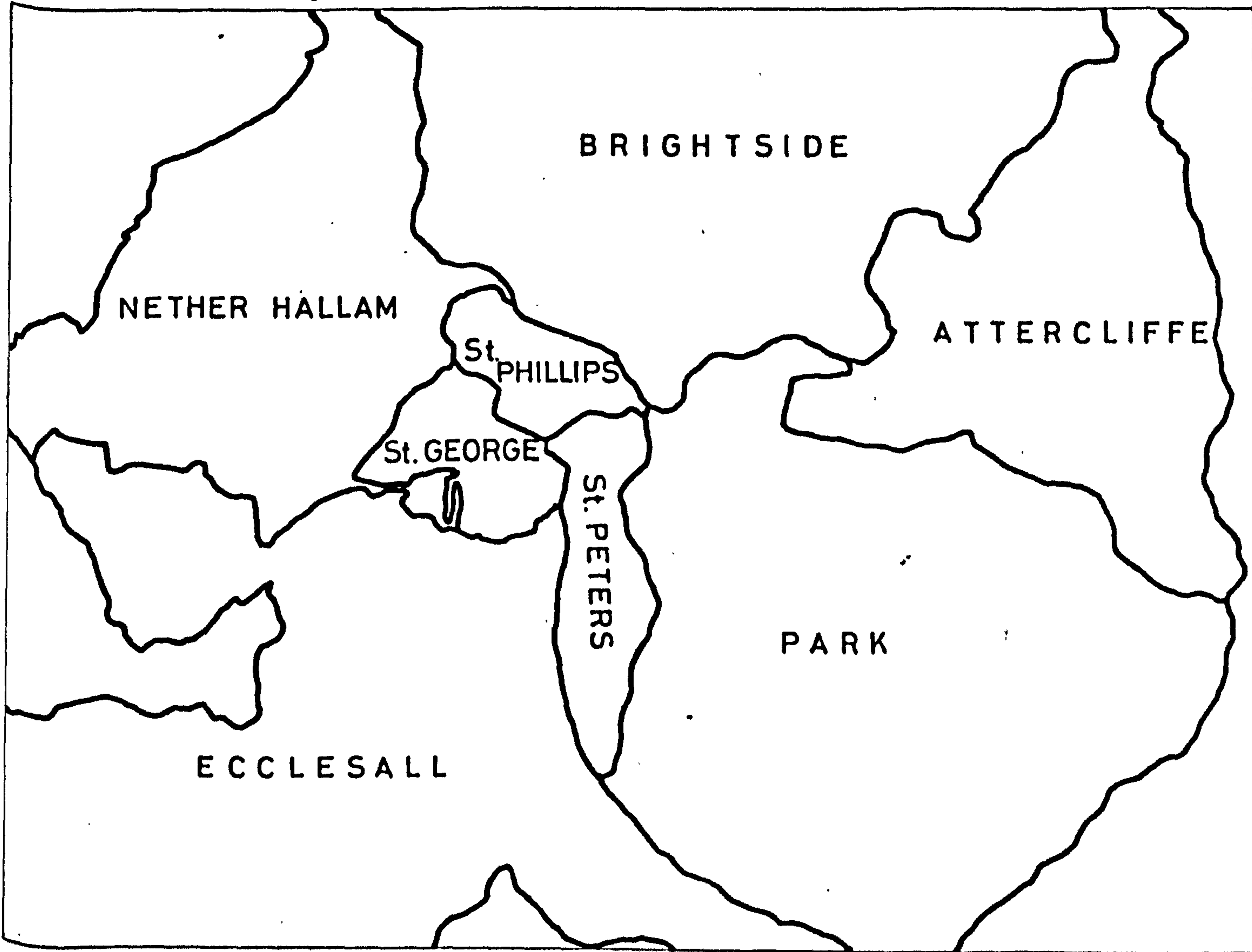
Political Orientation of Sheffield Wards Nov. 1892



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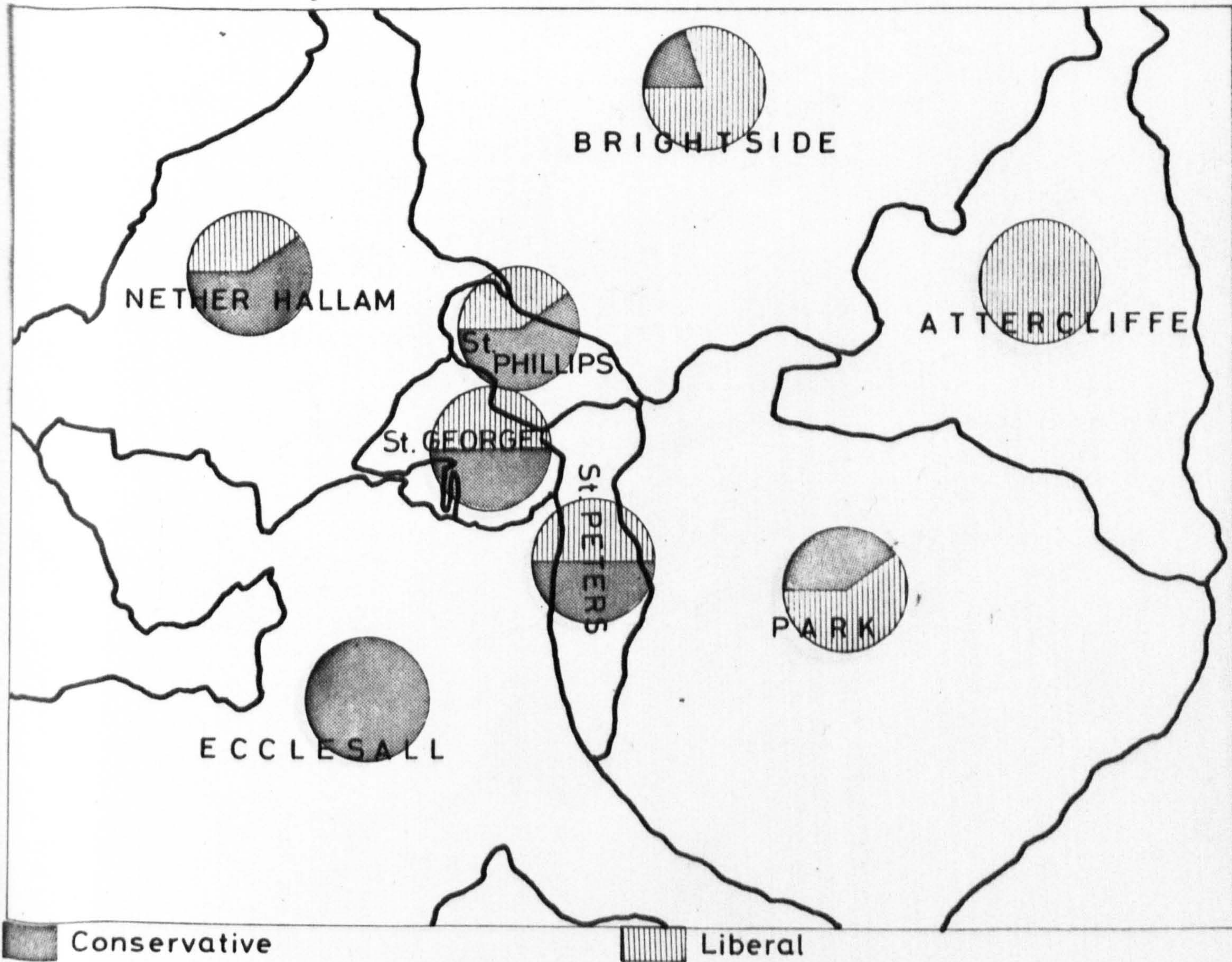
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Sheffield Municipal Ward Boundaries c.1890

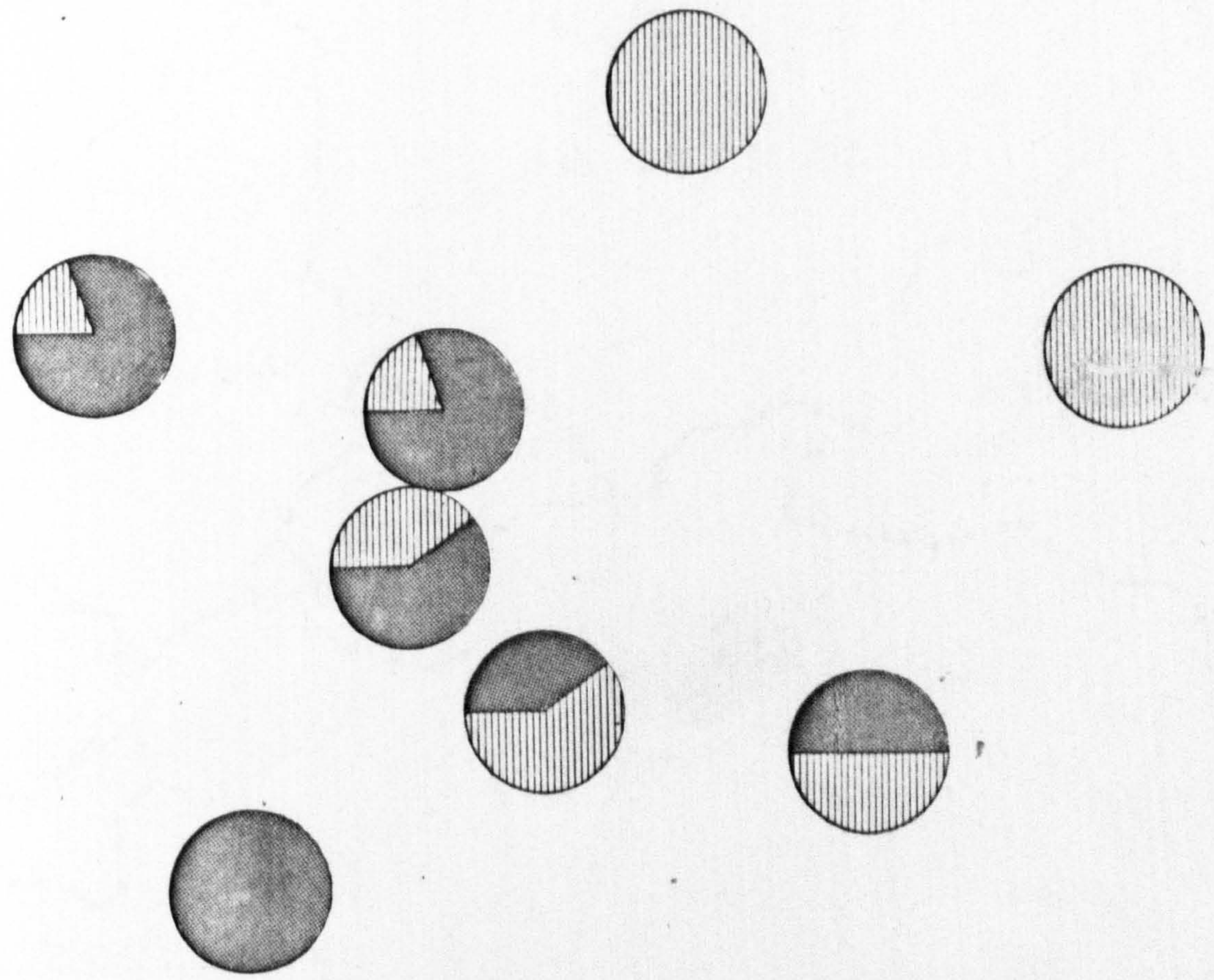



Political Orientation of Sheffield Wards Nov. 1892

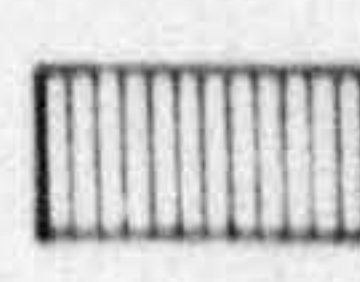
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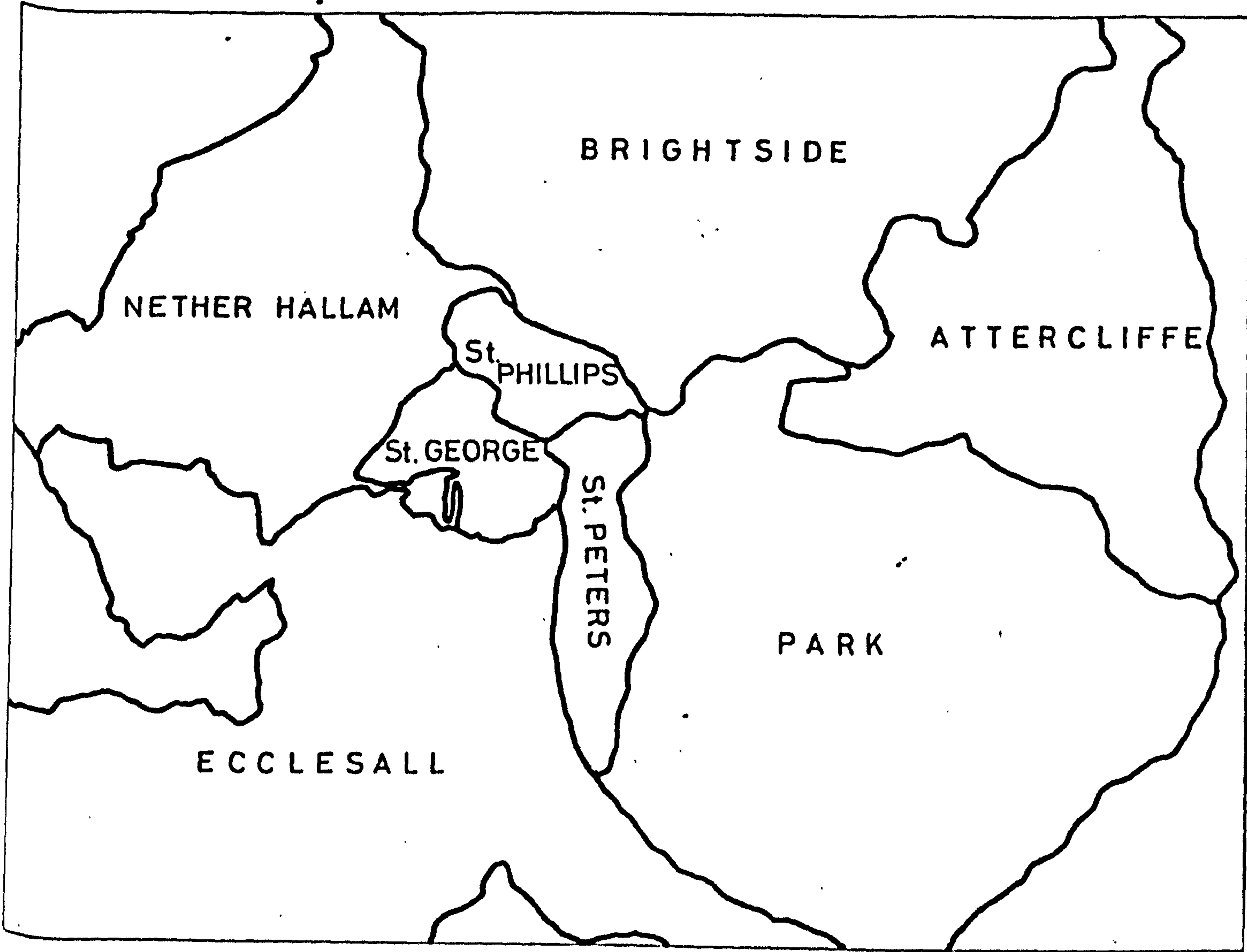
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 Conservative

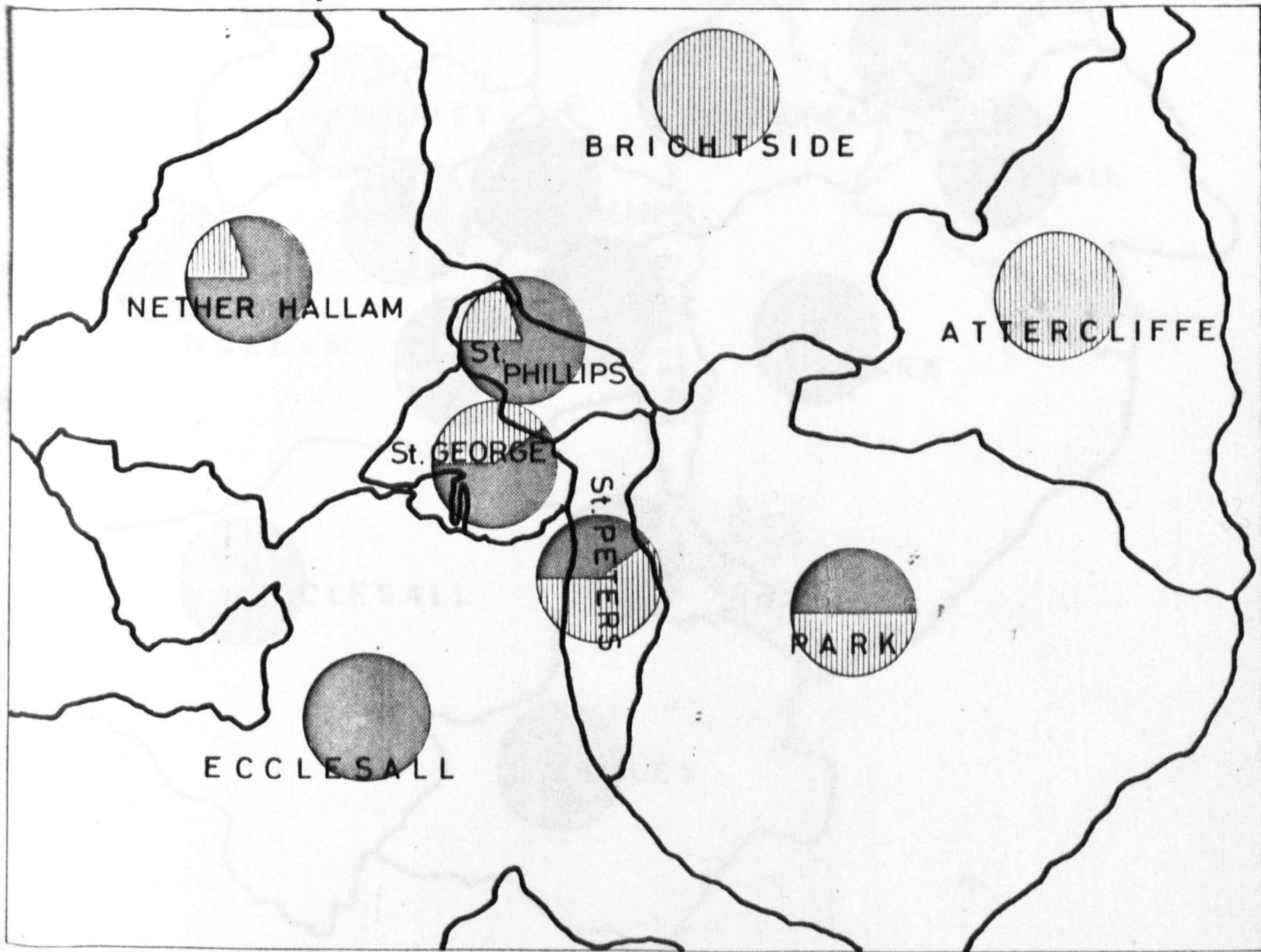
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Sheffield Municipal Ward Boundaries c.1890



Political Orientation of Sheffield Wards Nov. 1900

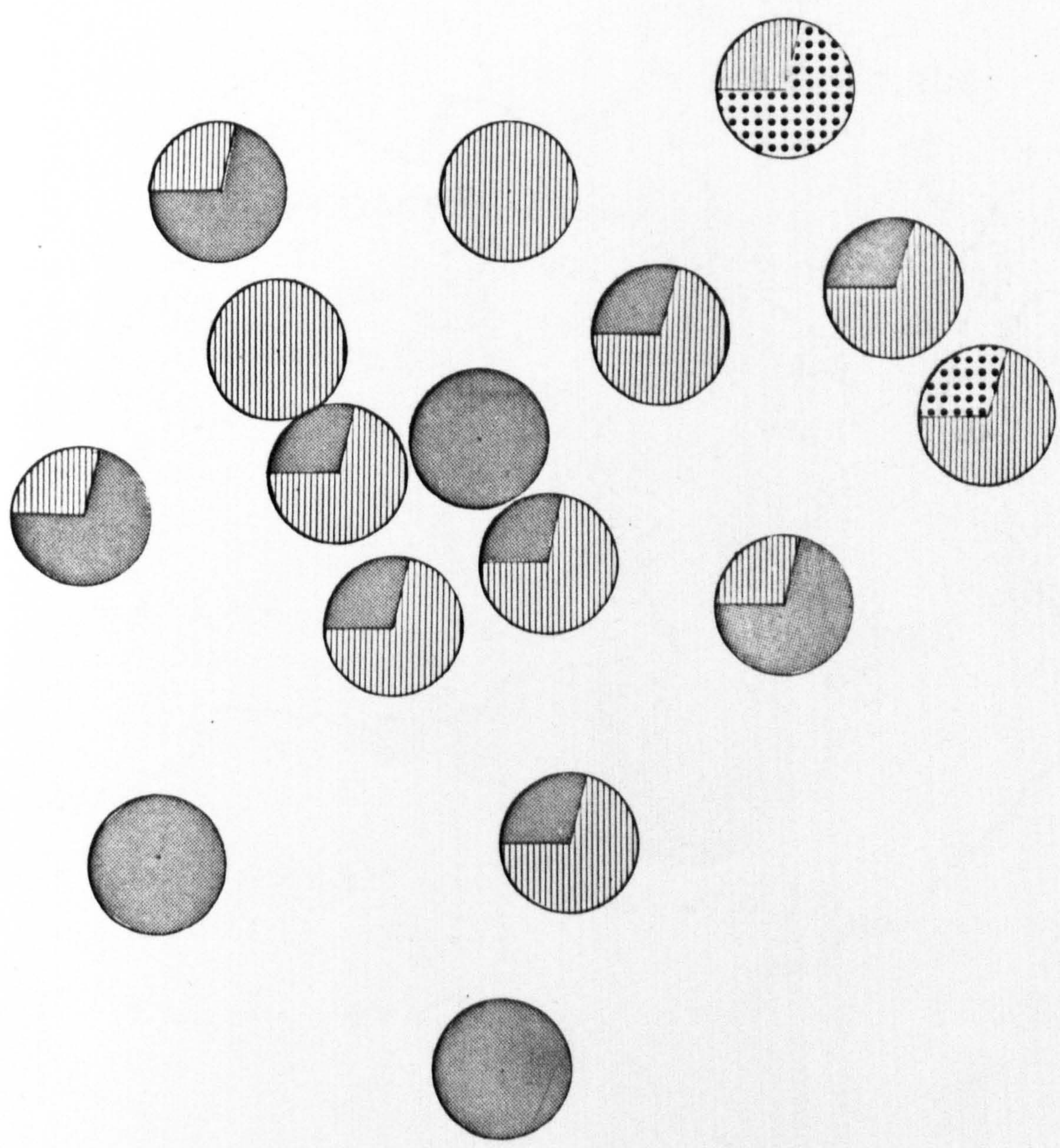
Sheffield Municipal Ward Boundaries c.1890



Conservative

Liberal

Political Orientation of Sheffield Wards Nov. 1906

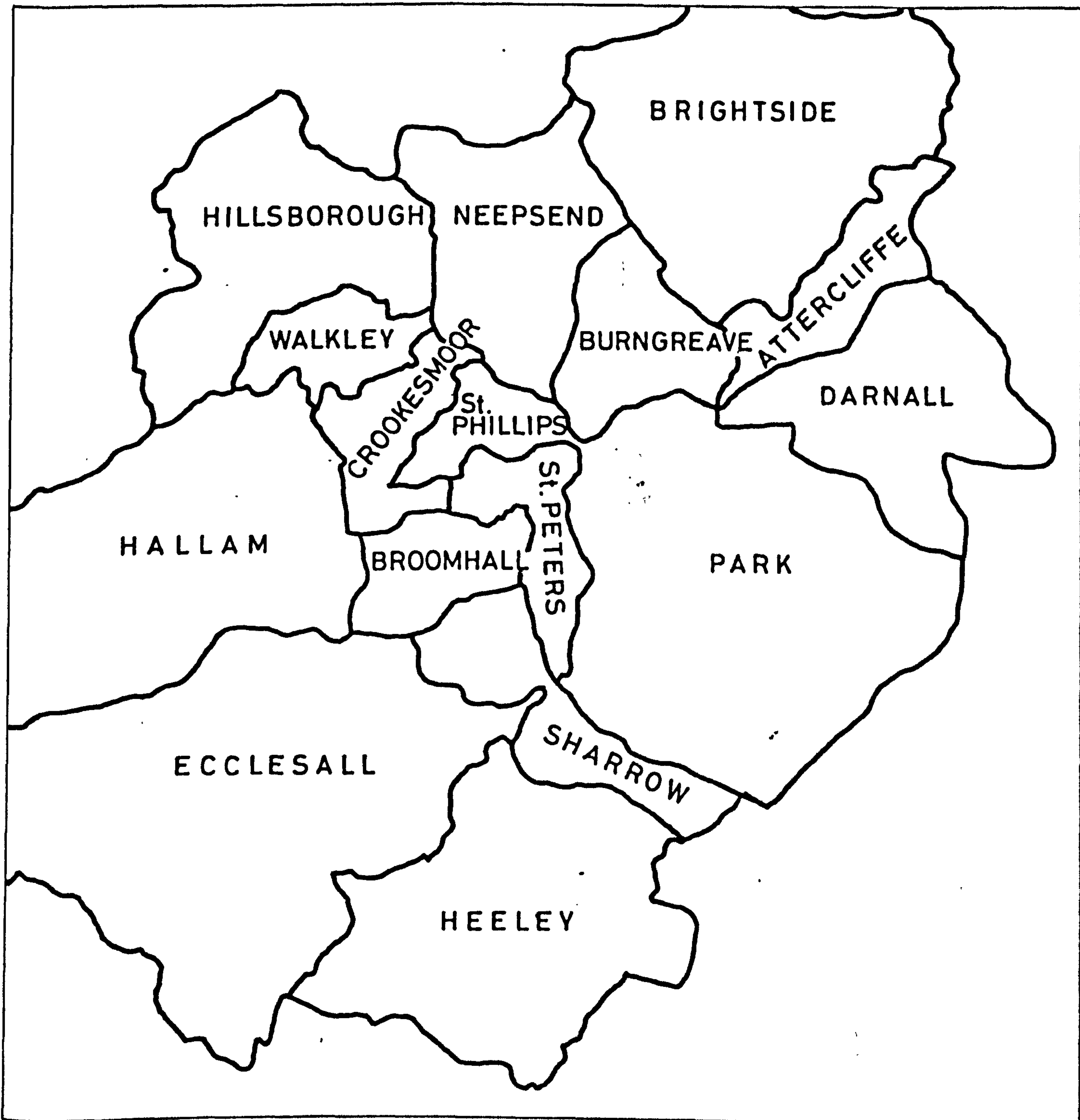


Conservative

Liberal

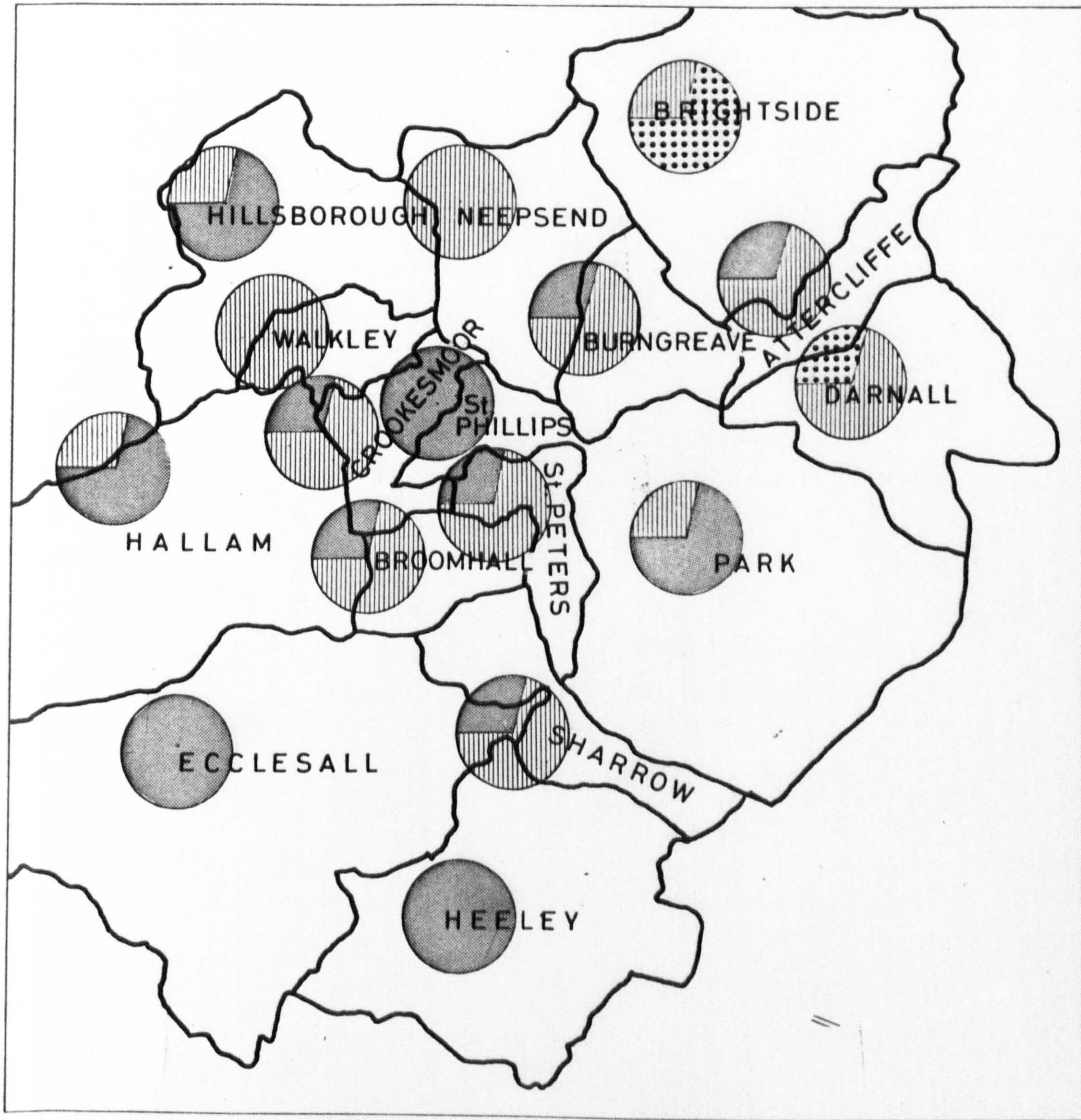
Labour

Sheffield Municipal Ward Boundaries c.1901



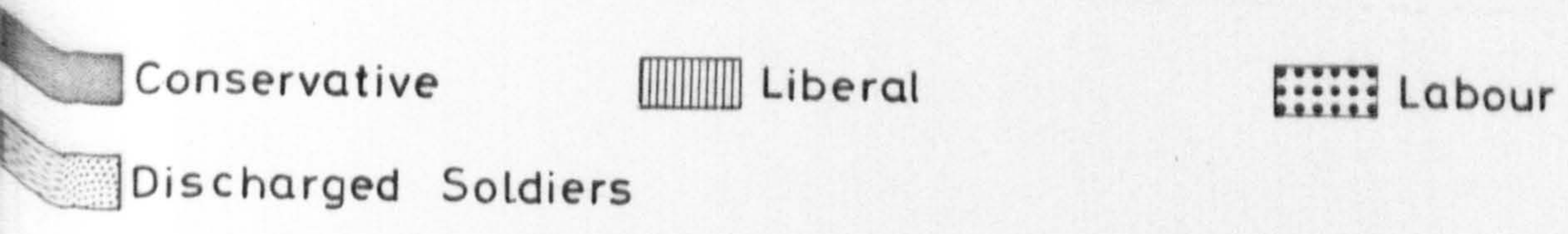
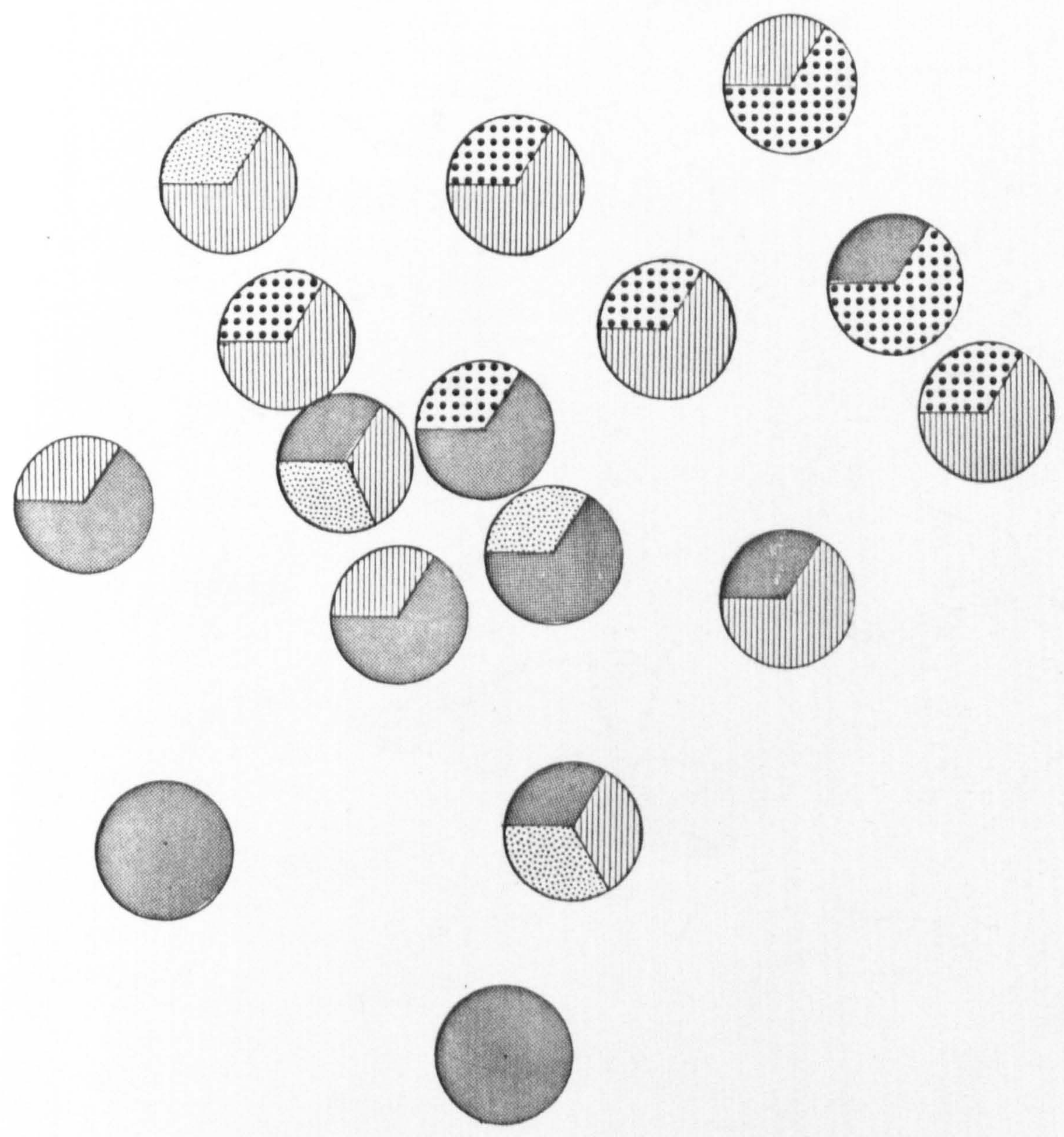
Political Orientation of Sheffield Wards Nov. 1906

Sheffield Municipal Ward Boundaries c.1901



Conservative Liberal Labour

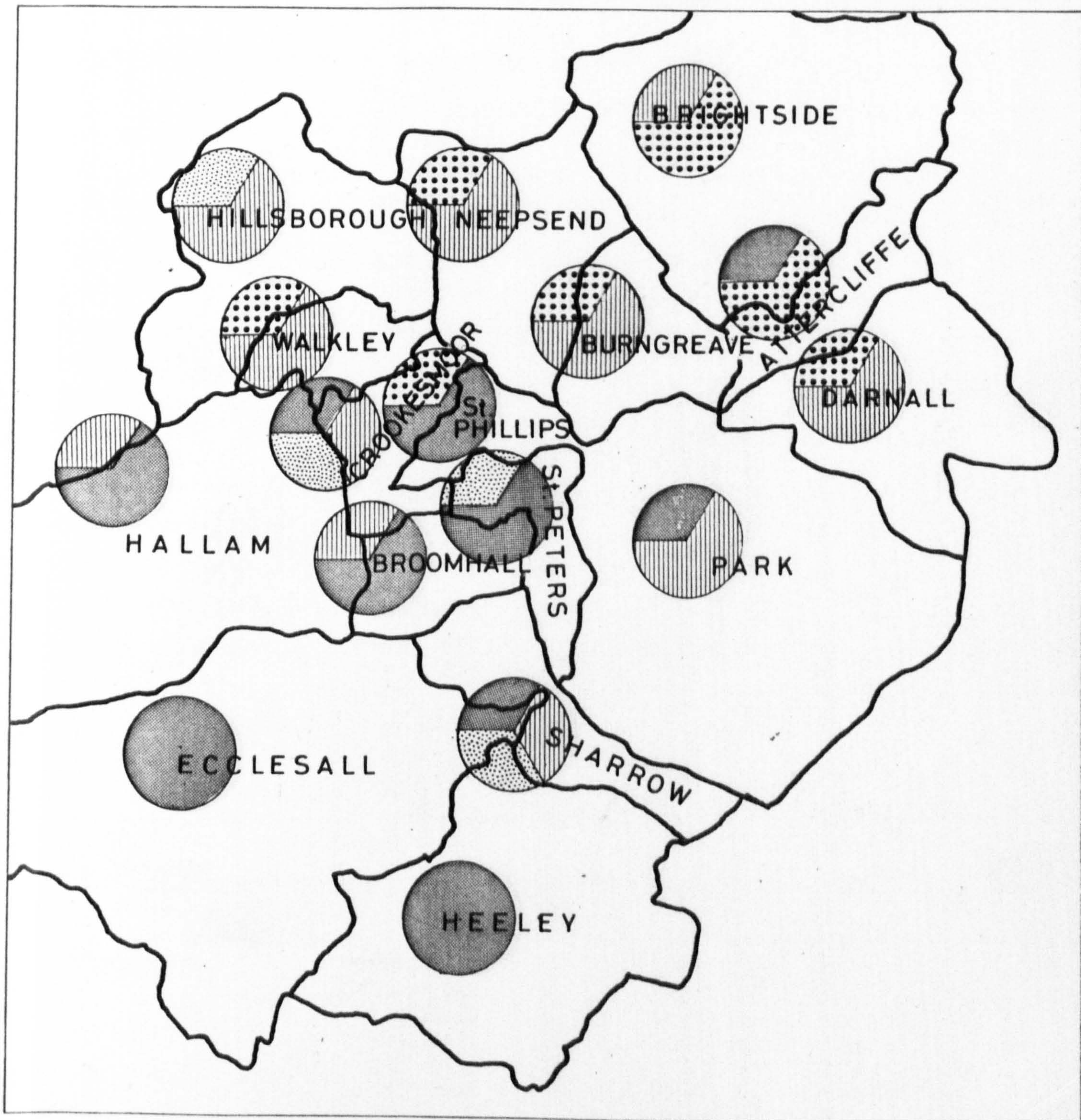
Political Orientation of Sheffield Wards Nov. 1919



Sheffield Municipal Ward Boundaries c.1901



Sheffield Municipal Ward Boundaries c.1901



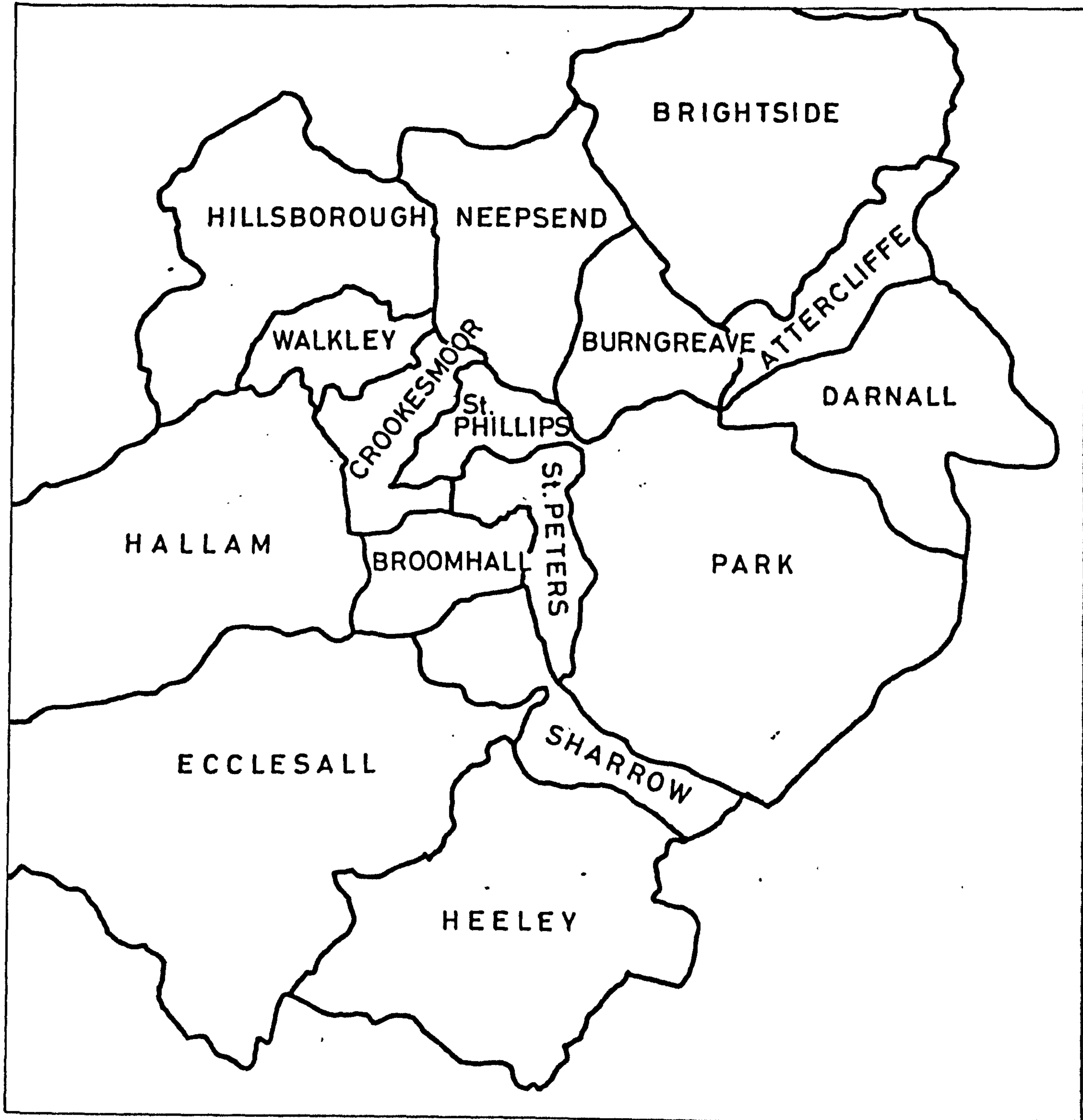
Conservative

Liberal

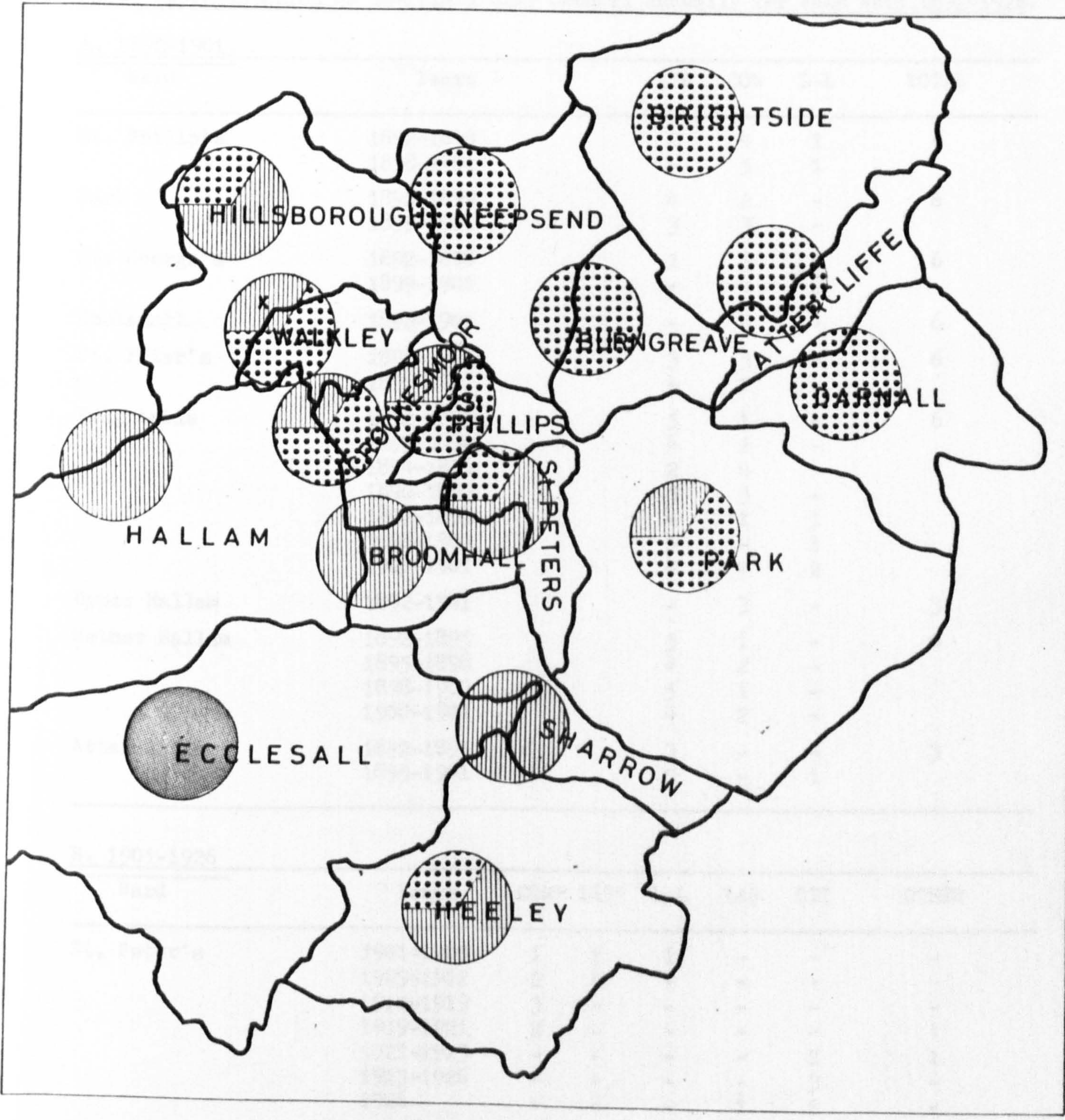
Labour

Discharged Soldiers

Sheffield Municipal Ward Boundaries c.1901



Sheffield Municipal Ward Boundaries c.1901



Independent Con. Citizen Labour

NB. Handsworth 1926, 100% Labour

* Independent Liberal

APPENDIX 4B

Party Representation on Sheffield City Council Annually for each Ward, 1892-1926.

A. 1892-1901.

Ward	Years	LIB	CON	L-L	TOTAL
St. Philip's	1892-1898	1	4	1	6
	1898-1901	-	5	1	
Park	1892-1899	4	2	-	6
	1899-1901	3	3	-	
St. George's	1892-1898	1	3	2	6
	1899-1901	-	4	2	
Ecclesall	1892-1901	-	6	-	6
St. Peter's	1892-1895	3	3	-	6
	1895-1901	4	2	-	
Brightside	1892-1893	5	1	-	6
	1893-1894	4	2	-	
	1894-1896	2	4	-	
	1896-1897	3	3	-	
	1897-1898	4	1	1	
	1898-1900	5	-	1	
	1900-1901	4	-	2	
Upper Hallam	1892-1901	-	3	-	3
Nether Hallam	1892-1895	5	1	-	6
	1895-1898	4	2	-	
	1898-1900	5	1	-	
	1900-1901	4	2	-	
Attercliffe	1892-1895	3	-	-	3
	1895-1901	2	-	1	

B. 1901-1926

Ward	Years	CON*	LIB*	L-L	LAB	CIT	OTHER
St. Peter's	1901-1909	1	1	1	-	-	-
	1909-1912	2	1	-	-	-	-
	1912-1919	3	-	-	-	-	-
	1919-1921	2	-	-	-	-	1
	1921-1923	-	-	-	-	2	1
	1923-1926	-	-	-	-	3	-
	1926	-	-	-	-	1	2
St. Philip's	1901-1919	3	-	-	-	-	-
	1919-1921	2	-	-	1	-	-
	1921-1922	-	-	-	2	1	-
	1922-1923	-	-	-	1	2	-
	1923-1924	-	-	-	-	2	1
	1924-1926	-	-	-	1	2	-
	1926	-	-	-	2	1	-

* Independent Conservative and Independent Liberal after 1 Nov 1921.

B. 1901-1926 (cont.)

Ward	Years	CON*	LIB*	L-L	LAB	CIT	OTHER
Neepsend	1901-1903	1	1	1	-	-	-
	1903-1906	1	2	-	-	-	-
	1906-1907	-	3	-	-	-	-
	1907-1908	1	2	-	-	-	-
	1908-1910	2	1	-	-	-	-
	1910-1911	1	2	-	-	-	-
	1911-1919	-	3	-	-	-	-
	1919-1920	-	2	-	-	1	-
	1920-1925	-	1	-	-	2	-
	1925-1926	-	-	-	-	3	-
Brightside	1901-1905	-	1	2	-	-	-
	1905-1907	-	-	2	1	-	-
	1907-1908	-	-	1	2	-	-
	1908-1910	-	-	-	3	-	-
	1910-1911	-	1	-	2	-	-
	1911-1912	-	2	-	1	-	-
	1912-1913	1	2	-	-	-	-
	1913-1919	1	1	-	1	-	-
	1919-1920	-	1	-	2	-	-
	1920-1921	-	1	-	1	1	-
	1921-1923	-	-	-	1	2	-
	1923-1924	-	-	-	2	1	-
	1924-	-	-	-	3	-	-
	Burngreave	1901-1906	-	3	-	-	-
1906-1909		1	2	-	-	-	-
1909-1919		-	3	-	-	-	-
1919-1921		-	2	-	1	-	-
1921-1923		-	-	-	1	2	-
1923-1924		-	-	-	2	1	-
1924-		-	-	-	3	-	-
Attercliffe	1901-1905	-	2	1	-	-	-
	1905-1911	1	1	1	-	-	-
	1911-1913	1	2	-	-	-	-
	1913-1919	1	1	-	1	-	-
	1919-1921	1	-	-	2	-	-
	1921-1924	-	-	-	2	1	-
	1924-	-	-	-	3	-	-
Darnall	1901-1903	-	3	-	-	-	-
	1903-1906	-	2	1	-	-	-
	1906-1908	-	1	1	1	-	-
	1908-1919	-	2	1	-	-	-
	1919-1923	-	-	-	3	-	-
	1923-1926	-	-	2	1	-	-
	1926-	-	-	-	3	-	-

* Independent Conservative and Independent Liberal after 1 November 1921.

B. 1901-1926 (Cont.)

Ward	Years	CON*	LIB*	L-L	LAB	CIT	OTHER
Park	1901-1905	1	2	-	-	-	-
	1905-1919	2	1	-	-	-	-
	1919-1921	1	2	-	-	-	-
	1921-1922	-	-	-	-	3	-
	1922-1926	-	-	-	1	2	-
	1926-	-	-	-	2	1	-
Heeley	1901-1904	2	1	-	-	-	-
	1904-1921	3	-	-	-	-	-
	1921-1922	-	-	-	-	3	-
	1922-1925	-	-	-	1	2	-
	1925-1926	-	-	-	-	3	-
	1926-	-	-	-	1	2	-
Sharrow	1901-1904	3	-	-	-	-	-
	1904-1905	2	1	-	-	-	-
	1905-1907	1	1	1	-	-	-
	1907-1908	2	-	1	-	-	-
	1908-1910	3	-	-	-	-	-
	1910-1911	2	-	1	-	-	-
	1911-1919	1	1	1	-	-	-
	1919-1920	1	1	-	-	-	1
	1920-1921	-	1	-	-	-	2
	1921-1922	-	-	-	-	1	2
	1922-1923	-	-	-	1	1	1
	1923-1925	-	-	-	1	2	-
	1925-	-	-	-	-	3	-
Ecclesall	1901-1920	3	-	-	-	-	-
	1920-1921	2	-	-	-	-	1
	1921-1923	-	-	-	-	1	2
	1923-1924	1	-	-	-	2	-
	1924-	3	-	-	-	-	-
Broomhall	1901-1905	3	-	-	-	-	-
	1905-1908	1	2	-	-	-	-
	1908-1909	2	1	-	-	-	-
	1909-1911	3	-	-	-	-	-
	1911-1921	2	1	-	-	-	-
	1921-1922	1	-	-	1	-	1
	1922-1924	-	-	-	1	1	1
1924-	-	-	-	-	3	-	
Hallam	1901-1904	2	1	-	-	-	-
	1904-1905	3	-	-	-	-	-
	1905-1921	2	1	-	-	-	-
	1921-	-	-	-	-	3	-
Crookesmoor	1901-1907	1	2	-	-	-	-
	1907-1910	-	3	-	-	-	-
	1910-1913	1	2	-	-	-	-
	1913-1919	2	1	-	-	-	-
	1919-1921	1	1	-	1	-	-
	1921-1922	-	-	-	2	1	-
	1922-1923	-	-	-	1	2	-
	1923-1924	-	-	-	2	1	-
	1924-1925	-	-	-	1	2	-
	1925-	-	-	-	2	1	-

*Independent Conservative and Independent Liberal after 1 November 1921.

B. 1901-1926. (Cont.)

Ward	Years	CON*	LIB*	L-L	LAB	CIT	OTHER
Walklèy	1901-1902	-	3	-	-	-	-
	1902-1905	1	2	-	-	-	-
	1905-1908	-	3	-	-	-	-
	1908-1911	1	2	-	-	-	-
	1911-1919	-	3	-	-	-	-
	1919-1921	-	2	-	1	-	-
	1921-1923	-	1	-	2	-	-
	1923-1926	-	2	-	1	-	-
	1926-	-	1	-	2	-	-
Hillsborough	1901-1902	1	2	-	-	-	-
	1902-1904	2	1	-	-	-	-
	1904-1905	3	-	-	-	-	-
	1905-1910	2	1	-	-	-	-
	1910-1919	1	2	-	-	-	-
	1919-1921	-	2	-	-	-	1
	1921-1922	-	-	-	-	2	1
	1922-1926	-	-	-	-	3	-
	1926-	-	-	-	1	2	-
Handsworth	1921-1923	-	-	-	2	1	-
	1923-	-	-	-	3	-	-

*Independent Conservative and Independent Liberal after 1 November 1921.

APPENDIX 5.

Party Gains at Sheffield Municipal Elections, 1893-1926.

A. Conservative, Liberal, Citizen and other Non-Labour Parties.

Year	Ward	Gains made by Parties			Non-Labour including M.C.U/N.D.P.*
		Conservative	Liberal	Citizen	
1893	Brightside	1			
1894	Brightside	2			
1895	St. Peter's		1		
"	St. Philip's	1			
1896	Brightside		1		
1897	Brightside		2		
1898	Brightside		1		
"	Nether Hallam		1		
"	St. George's	1			
1899	Brightside		1		
"	Park	1			
1901	Crookesmoor	1			
"	Hallam		1		
"	Heeley		1		
"	Hillsborough		1		
"	Walkley		1		
1902	Hillsborough	1			
"	Walkley	1			
1904	Hallam	1			
"	Heeley	1			
"	Hillsborough	1			
"	Sharrow		1		
1905	Attercliffe	1			
"	Broomhall		2		
"	Hallam		1		
"	Hillsborough		1		
"	Park	1			
"	Sharrow		1		
"	Walkley		1		
1906	Burngreave	1			
"	Neepsend		1		
1907	Crookesmoor		1		
"	Neepsend	1			
"	Sharrow	1			
1908	Broomhall	1			
"	Neepsend	1			
"	Sharrow	1			
"	Walkley	1			
1909	Broomhall	1			
"	Burngreave		1		
"	St. Peter's	1			
1910	Brightside		1		
"	Crookesmoor	1			
"	Hillsborough		1		
"	Neepsend		1		
"	Sharrow		1		
1911	Brightside		1		
"	Broomhall		1		
"	Neepsend		1		
"	Sharrow		1		
"	Walkley		1		
1912	Brightside	1			
"	St. Peter's	1			
1913	Crookesmoor	1			
1920	Brightside			1	
"	Ecclesall				1 (MCU)
"	Sharrow				1 (NDP)

* M.C.U. = Middle Classes Union. N.D.P. = National Democratic Party.

Party Gains at Sheffield Municipal Elections, 1893-1926 cont.

A. (cont)

Year	Ward	Gains made by parties			Non-Labour including M.C.U/N.D.P.
		Conservative	Liberal	Citizen	
1922	Crookesmoor			1	
"	Hillsborough			1	
"	St. Philip's			1	
1923	Darnall			1	
"	Ecclesall			1	
"	St. Peter's			1	
"	Sharrow			1	
"	Walkley				1 (Ind.Lib.)
1924	Broomhall			2	
	Crookesmoor			1	
"	Ecclesall				2 (Ind.Con.)
1925	Heeley			1	
"	Sharrow			1	

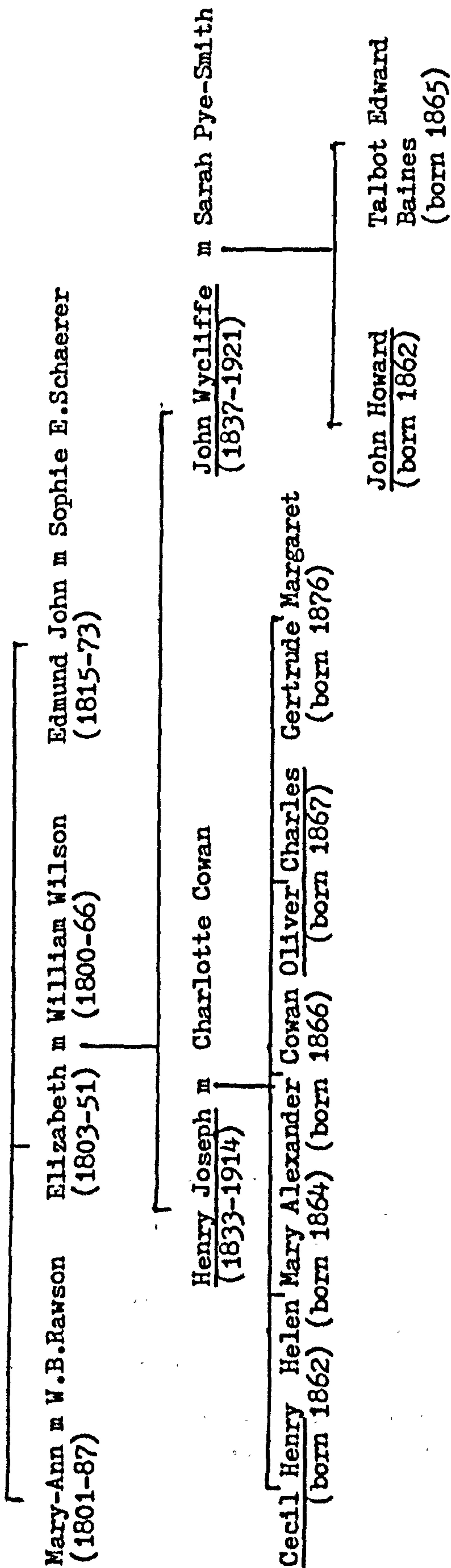
B. Labour and Discharged Soldiers.

Year	Ward	Gains		Year	Ward	Gains	
		Lab	D.S.			Lab	D.S.
1905	Brightside	1		1924	Attercliffe	1	
1906	Darnall	1		1924	Brightside	1	
1907	Brightside	1		"	Burngreave	1	
1908	Brightside	1		1925	Crookesmoor	1	
1913	Attercliffe	1		"	Neepsend	1	
"	Brightside	1		1926	Darnall	1	
1919	Attercliffe	1		"	Heeley	1	
"	Brightside	1		"	Hillsborough	1	
"	Burngreave	1		"	Park	1	
"	Crookesmoor	1		"	St.Peter's	1	
"	Darnall	1		"	St.Philip's	1	
"	Hillsborough		1	"	Walkley	1	
"	Neepsend	1					
"	St. Peter's		1				
"	St. Philip's	1					
"	Sharrow		1				
"	Walkley	1					
1920	Neepsend	1					
1921	Broomhall	1					
"	Crookesmoor	1					
"	St.Philip's	1					
"	Walkley	1					
1922	Heeley	1					
"	Park	1					
"	Sharrow	1					
1923	Brightside	1					
"	Burngreave	1					
"	Crookesmoor	1					
"	Handsworth	1					

APPENDIX 6

The Wilson Family Tree

(Names of those actively engaged in Sheffield politics during the period underlined)



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APPENDIX 7.

"A Farewell Greeting" by Alfred Barton from Sheffield

Guardian Jan 27 1911.

This is the last time I shall edit the "Sheffield Guardian". For three and a half years I have cared for and tended it. I have worked for the Independent Labour Party and its organ with zeal and energy. I resign because the official policy of the Party has ceased to be Socialist.

At one time the I.L.P. was a Socialist body. Even when it joined the Labour Party its avowed aim was to push Socialism within that body, and above all maintain the independence of the workers from the capitalist political parties. It taught the people, while not refusing the crumbs, to ask for the whole loaf, or rather the whole bakery.

Its speakers and advocates emphasised the need for a workers' party, entirely independent. They taught the people to beware of Liberal and Tory promises. They taught them that politics had hitherto been a record of Liberal and Tory Hypocrisy, and that in future they must rely upon themselves. They denounced the Lib-Labs. who confused the issue and even opposed them. They fought three-cornered contests and even "forlorn hopes". They were not afraid of being ridiculed as 'firebrands' and 'wreckers'. They gloried in the opposition of the enemy. But a change has come over the spirit of the scene.

The objection is not so much as to what our parliamentary representatives and other leaders have done or undone, as to the attitude they have taken. It is no longer the spirit of revolt but of conciliation and compromise.

Take their attitude, for example, to the Liberal Party. These are no longer the opponents but the good friends of the workers. Labour members vie in admiration of Liberal Cabinet Ministers and support in every case the Liberal Government.

Mr. Pointer, at the last election, signed a joint Manifesto in conjunction with all the Liberal candidates of the city.

Not long since he threw out an 'olive branch' to the Lib.Labs., and is pushing the Trades and Labour Council to the same end.

He nominated Councillor Bailey at the November election, and Councillor Padley also supported the same gentleman. Together they voted the Liberal ticket on the committees of the City Council, and the Liberals showed their affection by allowing Councillor Padley on the Education Committee.

Three cornered contests are now anathema to the Labour Party. Even a constituency like Brightside, where 2000 to 3000 votes are practically certain, is left uncontested, and myself repudiated. The excuse is, the Constitution was broken. That blessed Constitution! Messrs. Harvey, Haslam and Hancock ran practically as Liberals. That did not break it. Mr. Wadsworth, M.P., sat on Mr. Winston Churchill's platform and had Mr. Skinner, the Liberal agent, for his election agent. That did not break it.

Mr. Pointer and the Liberal candidates in Sheffield issued a joint manifesto on behalf of a 'progressive' policy and a 'progressive' government. That did not break it.

But to run a Socialist in a three cornered contest in a constituency like Brightside, where there was a good Socialist vote - that did break it.

I entered the I.L.P. as a Socialist, to do Socialist propaganda and get Socialists into Council and Parliament. I had hoped to do it via the Labour Party.

There are times in the history of individuals and parties when issues must be decided. As a rule, we wait till they are forced upon us. It is so in this case. No one in the Party wished to force the crisis that was surely coming. But Mr. Pointer, in conjunction with the Trades and Labour Council, has 'held up' the I.L.P. Threatened with expulsion from the Trades and Labour Council, threatened with expulsion by the National I.L.P., threatened by secession of apparently a financially powerful section, the local I.L.P. had no alternative.

But although the I.L.P. has concluded a chapter, the Socialist movement in Sheffield is not ended.

I retire with regret, because I have loved the work, arduous though it was, and above all, because it seems to break many old associations and friends.

I retire without regret in so far as it leaves me free to work for the Cause I Love.

Life is a series of new adventures and fresh horizons for the bold and clean-hearted.

I shall still be in the fighting line. I hope soon to find there all the old comrades whose hearts still glow with the fire of Human Love and Human Service. The Red Flag flutters in the breeze. "We must not change its colour now".

Not 'adieu', comrades, but 'au revoir'. Your hand for Socialism.

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