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"We Were Carrying On a Strike When We Ought to Have Been Making a Revolution': The Rise of Marxist Leaders in Glasgow During WWI and the Illusion of a Communist Workers' Republic in Scotland."

By Gary Girod

Before World War I, Glasgow had been famous as a world center of industry. From 1909 to 1913 Glaswegian shipbuilders launched over one fifth of world maritime tonnage.^[1] After the war, Glasgow would become famous for another reason; it became a center of unrest and a hotbed of far-left activity. Historians would come to brand this period in Glasgow's history as the Red Clydeside, named after the river that flowed through the heart of the city. While Marxists, socialists and syndicalists had been present in Glasgow before the war, the strain placed upon Glaswegians by the struggle impelled many citizens to join the Clydesiders' in their marches and strike activities. During WWI, the British government passed a series of acts that gave the government unprecedented power to regulate the lives of workers.^[2] It was repressive. As the war strained the economy, many industrialists sought to maintain or to increase profits, much to the outrage of Glaswegians who were also suffering from a rising cost of living.^[3] As war-fatigue took hold, many Glaswegians turned to far-left leaders such as John Maclean, William Gallacher, David Kirkwood, and the various parties that these leaders represented, including the Clyde Workers' Committee. Yet, some Marxist leaders at the time, and several modern historians, have argued that the unrest in Glasgow during WWI and the immediate post-war period was a prelude to the establishment of a workers' republic in Scotland; the 1914-1919 period of strike activity was, in reality, little more than a semi-sporadic reactionary movement. Its goal was to maintain the standard of living in Glasgow as the war strained the economy.

For many years, the memoirs of the famous Clydesiders, Kirkwood and Gallacher painted for the world a picture of Glasgow as a revolution that almost was.^[4] More recently, James Hinton, a leading Neo-Marxist historian, argued similarly that Glasgow nearly experienced a real revolution.^[5] In 1983 Iain McLean forever changed the dialogue with his book *The Legend of the Red Clydeside* which asserted that the Red Clydeside was neither a revolution nor "a class movement; it was an interest-group movement."^[6] As the mythology surrounding some of the Clydesiders dissipated, many historians, instead, chose to focus on various far-left organizations and their contributions to the unrest. While most historians now agree that there could not have been a revolution, some, like James D. Young, point out how complicated the movement was due to subtle variables such as Scottish nationalism and how it may have widened or even created a major gap between Scotland and the rest of Great Britain during this period.^[7]

Socialists faced an uphill battle as they sought to gain a following in Glasgow, and they fought against a mountain of propaganda from the government and various conservative groups which began before the commencement of the war.^[8] The year of 1906, alone, saw a huge boom in anti-socialist propaganda. In that year a pamphlet was released entitled "Socialism: What it is and What it Means." A few of the more poignant attacks upon socialism are: "1. Socialism leads to Atheism. 2. Socialism is and means confiscation, which is theft. 3. Socialism aims at the breaking up of the home and its domestic life...That under Socialism the life of the worker would be subject to a despotism beyond the conception of mankind."^[9] The Unionist Party put out their own pamphlet, "Socialism or Freedom," which called it a "sheer delusion"^[10] which would create a system in which "the incapable would receive as much from the common stock as the capable."^[11] Unionist Party held that Socialism not only leads to less productivity, it would ensure a dictatorship in which the "individual would in everything be subordinate to the State- that is, to the Socialist officials or bosses",^[12] and this would create a dystopian society in which "no one should or could have the right to ask that he shall be employed at the particular job which suits his peculiar taste

and temperament. The young man with the potential brain of a Watt or an Edison might be condemned to spend his days in carrying bricks up a ladder."^[13]

Such sentiments would be repeated in various pre-war pamphlets,^[14] all repeating the idea that socialism meant the end of freedom, incentives to work, decent moral families, and perhaps most importantly, religion. In the pamphlet "Socialism Exposed!" the Anti-Socialist Union of Great Britain claims in one of its ten points that "socialism denies the existence of God and the truth of all religions. It is therefore Atheistic."^[15] In the early 20th century, no argument was needed to explain why atheism was evil, and by lumping socialism with atheism, a severe blow was dealt to the socialist cause. At the time, Scotland was far more devoutly religious than most other European nations, with church attendance actually peaking in 1926; "43 per cent of the adult population (20 years+) of Scotland were communicant members of the church of Scotland."^[16] The branding of Marxists as atheists would keep many Scots from joining them.^[17] But even Scottish Marxists were religious, setting them apart from other revolutionaries on the Continent. Nearly all of the Marxists drew their inspiration from their conservative religious beliefs and did not hold radical, utopian ideals like the Bolsheviks.^[18] As far back as the 1890s socialist Sunday Schools were formed,^[19] with their own Socialist Commandments' calling for fraternity, internationalism, hard work and religious observance ^[20] In 1906 John Wheatley formed the Catholic Socialist Society. This society was formed with the express purpose of spreading socialism to other Catholics.^[21]

The propagandists of the ILP incessantly preached the essentially religious virtues of brotherly love and social justice and this continued well into the twentieth century. David Lowe, in his *Souvenirs of Scottish Labour* (1919), emphasized the influence of Jesus' and the New Testament' and declared that the ethos of the early socialist movement was religious. The crusade' he claimed, was to, dethrone mammon and restore the spirit.'^[22]

During the 1922 elections, the I.L.P. would declare in *Forward* that, "atheism, avowed or otherwise has no place in the ILP policy or programme."^[23]

The main leaders during the Red Clydeside period were clearly Marxists. Maclean led the Socialist Labour Party, delivered speeches against capitalism and taught, "economics classes in which he instructed thousands of Clydeside workers in the principles of Marxist economics."^[24] As early as 1906, Gallacher joined the Independent Labour Party, another unaffiliated group of Marxists, and quickly came into contact with the Social Democratic Federation, the precursor to the S.L.P., where he met Maclean. Kirkwood identified himself as a socialist, years before WWI broke out, though he joined the S.L.P. that year^[25] and came to be identified as a Marxist at some later date.^[26] Despite this, the terms Marxist' and socialist' cannot accurately convey what beliefs the Glaswegian far-leftists held. The interpretations of the anti-Marxist propagandists at the time, and of historians such as Hinton, are flawed in that they regard the Scottish Marxists as the equivalents of the violent revolutionaries in Russia and later revolutionaries throughout Europe and the rest of the world. However, in contrast to the revolutionary leftists on the Continent, the far-leftists in Glasgow were highly religious, socially conservative Christians who did not espouse revolution, with the exception of Maclean, and even he would never advocate for violent revolution.

The C.W.C. was made up almost entirely of Christians, especially Presbyterians, among whom Kirkwood was particularly devout.^[27] Not only were many leaders Presbyterian, so was their audience. Glasgow's traditional apprenticeship system discriminated against Catholics, leaving most skilled jobs to the Presbyterians.^[28] It should not come as too much of a shock then, that during the 1922 General Election, in which Kirkwood and several other Clydesiders won positions in Parliament, they sang Psalm 123, "Scotland's song of deliverance."^[29] Not only was Glaswegian church attendance high, but religion played an active role in socialist political thought. This is not only shown in their adherence to Presbyterian traditions, but in their active support of the temperance movement. The Scottish branch of the I.L.P. was for prohibition and noted Clydesider Harry McShane described it "as much a temperance body as a socialist one; only one man in it drank."^[30] When describing the Glasgow socialists who ran for public office in 1922, Kirkwood wrote that "we were all Puritans. We were all abstainers. Most of us did not smoke. We were the stuff of which reform is made."^[31] Even many socialists who were not opposed to drinking were still mostly inspired by Christianity. The Scottish Labour Party "was said to be a party of labour activists with Christian socialist leanings".^[32] Christianity and socialism were in conflict in the minds of many religious people in

Russia and other countries at the time, but it is clear that most Glaswegian socialists based their principles upon Christian teachings,^[33] especially Presbyterianism.^[34]

The main problem facing those historians who claim that the far-left agitators on the Clyde commanded a large following is the fact that so few people joined the far-left trade unions and workers' groups there. Even during the final years of the war, socialists were in a very small minority. According to the 1919 Glasgow Trades Council annual report, of the 74,951 members of the Glasgow Trades Union Congress, 71,860 were in non-socialist unions. Of the remaining 3,091 members, 2,568 were affiliated with the I.L.P., while 523 were affiliated with the B.S.P. The explicitly socialist unions or branches of such unions numbered a mere 31 out of 255 in the Trades Council.^[35] The following year would see a relative decline in socialists as the membership of unions in general increased to 84,465 while those in openly socialist unions increased only to 3,134.^[36]

The numbers presented here remain, in a way, impressive. In 1917 it was estimated that there were a mere 50,000 organized socialists in the whole of Great Britain.^[37] However, this figure includes not just far-left socialists; of the 50,000 socialists, 33,000 were affiliated with the pro-war Labour Party.^[38] The fact that Glasgow had such a high number of openly socialist activists attested to its relative radicalization and the willingness of a few of its members to engage in extremist activities and use extremist rhetoric. However, more radical Glasgow was than Great Britain as a whole it was not Petrograd, and socialists were always a distinct minority.

It cannot be said that the figures presented are not concrete enough to give an accurate picture of the situation. Historically, Scotland's labor force had been much less organized into trade unions than its English and Welsh counterparts and in 1892 "overall trade union membership in Scotland was thought to be 20 per cent lower than in England..."^[39] A series of major labor conflicts from the late 1880s until the First World War drove Scottish workers to unionize. Between 1898 and 1914 the Scottish Trades Union Congress membership jumped from 100,000 to 225,158 while affiliated membership experienced similar growth.^[40] Trade union membership would further double across Great Britain between 1913 and 1920.^[41] Thus, much of the labor force in Glasgow had joined various trade unions and there was no large mass of unorganized workers left to have been organized by Marxist agitators.

One important factor that many historians, such as Hinton, arguing for the uniqueness of the Red Clydeside, have neglected to fully take into account is the pre-WWI strike activity in Glasgow. Because this pre-WWI strike activity is often forgotten, the activity displayed by Marxists is considered by some historians to be unique, when in fact the Marxists at their strongest still produced less unrest than non-revolutionary trade unions before the war. In the years 1910 to 1914 Scotland experienced 412 strikes. The year 1913, in particular, broke the record for strike activity in that country.^[42] Yet, all of this activity occurred while Marxist activists were widely ignored and even reviled. Ever since the Paris Commune, the idea that socialism was a threat to society was common amongst Scots.^[43] This period of strike activity ended with the outbreak of World War I. Previous debates were dropped as the Conservative, Liberal and Labour parties united in order to win the war.^[44] While many labor unions and small political groups in Scotland were fearful of government intervention in the workplace, the union of the major parties signaled that social issues, such as workers' pay rates and proper housing, would have to be pushed aside for the moment as all the country's effort was put into winning the war.^[45] Strike activity plummeted across Great Britain; 1914 saw less than half as many working days lost than in 1913, while in 1915 and 1916 it was only one-tenth as many.^[46]

While the average Glaswegian did not follow Marxist dogma, the large wage gap between the workers and the businessmen would draw people to the Marxists. In 1913, for the first time in the history of Great Britain, a census of production catalogued the wealth of Great Britain and how that wealth was distributed between social classes. According to the report the 712,000,000 that formed the net output of Great Britain was divided between 6,984,976 workers, which would mean that if this wealth was divided evenly, each person would make 102 per year. However, the average wage of workers in Great Britain was "officially stated to be not more than 24/ per week, or 62 4/per annum. Thus in 1907, the British worker was generous enough to pay the manufacturer 40 per annum for the privilege of working to produce wealth."^[47] Scottish Trades Union Congress uses the findings of the report to calculate the inequality amongst engineers and determined that the "net output per person

employed [was] 108."^[48] Meanwhile, the average annual wage of engineers was 67. "There is the simple answer, 41 per employed person to the capitalist." Such phrases as "British worker was generous enough to pay the manufacturer 40 per annum for the privilege of working to produce wealth" would be expected of a Marxist revolutionary. The STUC was a non-Marxist labor union. While the statistics present should be enough to shock anyone at the conditions of the Scottish workers, the tone which the dialogue took can only signify that there was a general discontent with the entire economic system present in Great Britain. The Marxist leaders could not expect large turn-outs for specifically far-left ideals such as non-conscription, the anger held by Glaswegians toward their own economic conditions ensured that when Marxists spear-headed social movements that sought to improve living standards, they could usually expect to gain a sizeable group of followers.

The incredible wealth held by the small number of capitalists would continue to draw outrage throughout the war and beyond. The 1920 Manifesto of the Socialist Labour Party of Great Britain notes that "of the wealth produced in this country, roughly 1,700,000,000 per annum, the workers' share is, according to capitalist authorities, less than 665,000,000 so that the working class gets little more than a third of the wealth produced."^[49] The manifesto would conclude that "*this is wage-slavery*."^[50]

A gap between the upper and lower class, no matter how large, would not have produced the strike activity that was seen in Glasgow during the war alone, as evidenced by the relative calm throughout the rest of Great Britain. The most important figure was the skyrocketing cost of living during the war, particularly food costs. According to the 1916 STUC report, the cost of living between July 1914 to July 1915 increased by 35%^[51] while food prices increased by 17% in small towns and 19% in cities.^[52] This would prove to be but a mere taste of the war's costs for the lower class. By December 1917, food prices had increased 106% while the cost of living increased by 85% to 90% as compared with pre-war levels.^[53] Workers' wages did not even come close to keeping up with this inflation. By April 1917, skilled laborers' wage increased by roughly 50% with wages varying by profession.^[54] The anger present amongst the workers is clear in the following sentence of the 1917 STUC report "No doubt the rich will plead for liberty; it is time they had a taste of compulsion, and if starving is necessary for the poor, it can be made necessary for the rich."^[55]

The reason why the Marxists in Glasgow have become so famous is not because they led huge movements or posed an actual threat to the government, but because they, under the leadership of the Clyde Workers' Committee, broke the dam of patriotism that obstructed social discourse and exacerbated the frustration that already existed in Glasgow over social issues. Far-leftists, who had been active in various social movements, largely had to remain quiet regarding their anti-war stance because of Scotland's extreme patriotism, even in Glasgow.^[56] Their silence was both a fear of public disdain and a fear of persecution by the government. In August of 1914, Great Britain passed the Defense of the Realm Act (D.O.R.A.) which forbade any activity that hampered the war effort.^[57] As the far-leftists parties were the only ones left that openly opposed the war, they knew that D.O.R.A. was passed as a way of ensuring their silence through fear of imprisonment.

The most contentious bill was not D.O.R.A., however, but the Munitions of War Act of 1915. By May of 1915 Great Britain faced a shell crisis' as the government was unable to provide enough munitions for the Front. In response to this crisis, on June 3rd, the rising political star and new Minister of Munitions, David Lloyd George, delivered a speech, which would form the government's position on labor during the war.

It is a war of munitions. We are fighting against the best organized community in the world the best organized, whether for war or peace and we have been employing too much of the haphazard, leisurely, go-as-you-please methods which, believe me, would not have enabled us to maintain our place as a nation, even in peace, very much longer...We must increase the mobility of labour, and ...we must have greater subordination in labour to the direction and control of the state.^[58]

The admiration and fear of Prussianism would lead Britain to adopt the restrictive and highly authoritarian Munitions Act. This act made strikes illegal.^[59] The government could seize any munitions factory and make it a "controlled establishment,"^[60] which made it illegal for a munitions worker to leave his place of employment

without government permission while forbidding employers from knowingly hiring shirkers, employees who were known to strike.^[61] The act limited the amount of profit that any company could make.^[62] However, this "levy was easily evaded by claims for capital expenditure and depreciation allowances."^[63] Despite amendments to the act, the government did not prevent "the munitions firms from making huge profits out of dilution."^[64] The Ministry of Munitions quickly became the friend of the capitalists and the enemy of labor after the appointment of prominent industrialist William Weir to the position of Scottish Director of Munitions. Weir saw the trade unions as the primary enemy in his attempt to produce munitions. In a communication with the government he wrote that "Trade Unionism in war time and adherence to its principles is Anti-National."^[65] While he would concede that trade unions are "justifiable" during peacetime, he believed that they were a hindrance to the prosecution of the war, and from his appointment in 1915 to 1918 he would do everything in his power to defeat them.^[66]

Despite these repressive acts, and a Director of Munitions in Scotland wholly opposed to dealing with workers' issues, a few daring Marxists would lead the first protest movement since the war's beginning. A rise in strike activity in Scotland was inevitable as the war lengthened. Since its outbreak the cost of living skyrocketed. Meanwhile, wages remained frozen. In February of 1915 the first major strike since the beginning of the war occurred, as engineers in Glasgow demanded a two-pence raise from their employers, which had been promised to them before the war began.^[67] Despite this promise, the employers refused to capitulate.^[68] Employers no doubt believed that they could meet any challenge from labor as the government, and probably the Scottish people in general, were still on their side. They were thus unprepared for what then occurred, the emergence of a new, and much more radical organization, the Clyde Workers' Committee. Its Marxist leaders, most notably Gallacher and Kirkwood, would serve as the vanguard of socialist activity on the Clyde for the rest of the war. The C.W.C. created a Labour-Withholding Committee, 'choosing to avoid the word strike' as it could serve as grounds for prosecution under D.O.R.A., and called for a strike. Inspired by the C.W.C.'s actions at Weir's factory, shop stewards from numerous other major munitions factories decided to strike as well.^[69] Eventually, 10,000 engineers downed their tools, "about two-thirds of the total number of skilled engineers in Glasgow."^[70] The workers not only faced the wrath of their bosses and an active Ministry of Munitions led by the anti-unionist Weir, they faced opposition from the largest engineering trade union in Great Britain. The Amalgamated Society of Engineers attacked the strikers and called for them to return to work.^[71] When the local branch of the A.S.E. came out in favor of the strikers, the national A.S.E. severed its ties with the Glasgow District Committee.^[72]

Eventually, the employers decided to bargain with the workers. Though most engineers followed the C.W.C.'s leadership during the strike, they were still distrustful of the Marxist leanings of its leaders. Once the employers were forced to the bargaining table, the more conservative A.S.E.^[73] took over negotiations and forced the employers to give the engineers a raise of 1 pence and a 10% bonus on piece-work.^[74] The workers' distrust of Marxists is evident here as they chose to follow the executive decision of the A.S.E. despite the fact that it had condemned the strike and ordered the workers to return to their jobs. Neo-Marxist historian Hinton attributed the success of the engineers' strike for increased wages to the C.W.C.^[75] However, while the Marxists possibly led the engineers' strike to victory, they did not initiate the strike nor did they negotiate the final terms. The C.W.C. simply gave it the driving force it needed to bring the employers to the table. Moreover, despite Gallacher's claims that unskilled laborers struck in sympathy,^[76] there was no evidence that this happened.^[77]

Glasgow's housing situation was already abysmal before the war; the rise of rent costs throughout the city would serve to make an already tense situation unbearable for tens of thousands of Glaswegians and might result in a mass uprising that would change the dynamics between the workers, the Marxist agitators and the British government. "By 1914 no fewer than 700,000 people resided within three square miles of Glasgow Cross and created the most densely populated, central-urban area in Europe"^[78] in some cases there were "1,000 persons per acre."^[79] However, because of Glasgow's unique tradition of city planning, Glaswegians paid a smaller amount of their income on housing than any other major city in Britain.^[80] Because "wage levels in many trades were highly unstable...canny' Scots workers tended to rent houses that were affordable in the bad times, to treat the surplus of good times as a windfall, and seldom to aspire to homeownership."^[81] In 1915 rents began to rise. This rise, combined with the uniquely unpredictable labor market and housing situation created an epidemic, resulting in Glasgow surpassing the much larger London in evictions.^[82] To make matters worse, due to the demands made by the Ministry of Munitions, housing development had come to an abrupt end even as workers

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flooded into Glasgow.^[83] Scots generally built tenements four to five stories high.^[84] Additionally, by 1891, "more than two-thirds of Glasgow's population lived in overcrowded conditions of two or more persons per room."^[85] All of these factors combined resulted in a city whose inhabitants lived in some of the worst conditions in any modern nation.

A government study taken in October 1915 found that at least 33.9% of rents had increased by 5%, while in "Govan and Fairfield, the center of the storm, all the houses...suffered rent increases ranging from 11.67% to 23.08%."^[86] It started with a Mrs. Barbour from Govan "a typical working-class housewife, [who] became the leader of a movement such as had never been seen before."^[87] In the ensuing weeks a mass women's movement began with no direct support from any major political party or sponsor, save for the Women's Housing Association. "Notices were printed by the thousands and put up in the windows," with almost none bereft of the slogan, "WE ARE NOT PAYING INCREASED RENT."^[88] Because of the determined women of Glasgow, "the factors [agents for the property owners] could not collect the rents."^[89] Unable to gather the money themselves, landlords would apply for eviction warrants from a judge, thus passing the job on to the sheriff. As Glasgow was famous for its high number of evictions, it was not surprising that Glasgow's police force thought that they could continue their work as usual. ^[90]

But Mrs. Barbour had a team of women who were wonderful. They could smell a sheriff's officer a mile away. At their summons women left their cooking, washing or whatever they were doing. Before they were anywhere near their destination, the officer and his men would be met by an army of furious women who drove them back in a hurried scramble for safety.^[91]

In June 1915, the Glasgow Labour Party, the Women's Housing Association and the Govan Labour Representation Committee encouraged tenants to pay only the rent originally agreed upon before the recent price increases.^[92] By October, 15,000 Glaswegians were withholding surplus rent.^[93] By mid-November, the number had risen to "20,000, including five Labour councilors."^[94] The scene in Glasgow become more heated as anger against the landlords increased. Glaswegians became enraged as landlords began to evict soldiers' wives.^[95] When hearing of the proposed eviction of a Mrs. Hughes, protestors burned the landlord in effigy.^[96] On November 17, knowing government action was needed, "McKinnon Wood [Secretary of Scotland] submitted a memorandum to the Cabinet calling for a bill to limit working-class rentals to the level obtaining at the outbreak of war."^[97] This strategy worked for a time, and a rising number of Glaswegians refused to pay rent above the standard fee. Then the landlords realized that they could sue the tenant who refused to pay, allowing the landlord to take the worker's money from the employer while charging the tenants for the legal fees.^[98] The same day, a factor who failed to evict eighteen tenants summoned them to court.^[99] This lucky coincidence proved to be just what the housing movement needed. Mrs. Barbour's women marched on the city chambers and were met there by workers from the Clyde Workers' Committee.^[100] Estimates of the crowd varied wildly; the *Forward* claiming 4,000 were present.^[101] The crowd roared in support as the revolutionary John MacLean stood on a platform crying out about the iniquities of the capitalists.^[102] Already aware that Glasgow needed government aid, the shouts of 4,000 or more angry Glaswegians ensured the speedy passage of the Rent Restriction Act of 1915, which returned rents to pre-war levels. While those involved in the rent strikes were not as numerous as those involved in the later 40 Hours Strike' in 1919, has often been cited as the most important strike during this period.^[103] One of the reasons why many historians consider this the most important event in the Red Clydeside story is that it had a greater impact on British, not just Scottish, politics than any other event, including the 40 Hours' Strike.^[104] This conflict brought about the Rent Restriction Act of 1915, which was a nationwide act that had a pronounced impact on the whole country.^[105]

It must be noted that this strike was not brought about by the Clyde Workers' Committee; even Hinton acknowledged that the C.W.C. played no part in it.^[106] Nor was it brought about by specifically Marxist agitators, but instead, was a popular uprising led mostly by women, as acknowledged by far-leftists agitators such as P.J. Dollan.^[107] Because women were far less politically active than men it would be inaccurate to cite this as an example of a politically-charged movement. ^[108] Furthermore, while there were an estimated 1 million female workers in 1916, during the Rent Strikes dilution was just beginning and thus women were largely unconnected with the leftist agitators in the munitions factories. ^[109] The C.W.C. did not even officially sponsor the housing

movement. Instead, the C.W.C. set up a shadow organization called the Vigilance Committees,' which monitored rent levels and evictions but was not directly involved.^[110] This movement was a social movement brought about by ordinary citizens whose communal living situation turned the private interests of each individual into a public outcry.

The most immediate effect this strike had on Glaswegians was that many now came to see the rich as their enemies or at least developed some anti-establishment views. "Some individuals had prospered because of the war, and the employers and landlords were accused of profiteering' at the workers' expense."^[111] While those on the far-left had been depicting the moneyed-class as profiteers who used the war as an excuse to make a fortune since its beginning, for the first time a large portion of the city came to share this view. ^[112] Particularly damning stories of landlords evicting war-wives,'^[113] women whose husbands were either serving in the military or had been injured or killed on the front, cemented the view of many working class Glaswegians that the rich cared only for money and not at all for their suffering. In a particularly noteworthy episode,

A landlord had applied for an eviction order against a mother and family for non-payment of rent at a time when the man of the house was fighting in France and a son was recovering from war wounds. The Court supplied the necessary authorisation despite an offer from the local miners' union to repay the rent debt within a week. However, the attempt at eviction was successfully resisted by a large crowd which had to be restrained from physically attacking the landlord.^[114]

This willingness to evict poor Glaswegians was especially poignant when combined with the recent passage of the Ministry of Munitions, which forbade workers from leaving their jobs unless given official government permission. This put a worker in the odd position of being forced to continue working while at the same time remaining homeless!^[115] The Marxists would also argue that the large businesses, accused of being monopolies by the I.L.P., which controlled all building material, would purposefully raise prices for their goods.^[116] This agitation played directly into the hands of the radicals on the Clyde as most of the conflicts after 1915 would be between workers and the government; many Glaswegians who had been affected by the Rent Strikes would side with the workers. Because many of the workers were led by Marxists, the Marxists rode a wave of anti-government anger and achieved more power than they ever managed to acquire before.^[117]

This strike was also important because it is the first clear indicator of government paranoia regarding munitions workers and a possible revolutionary movement. The *Labour Leader* reported, "Glasgow, without exaggeration, is seething with rebellion on the rent question, and the Government will be well-advised to deal drastically with the housing owners, and at once."^[118] These fears of a growing class movement became more concrete as the workers of Parkhead factory declared that attempts to evict tenants would be considered a direct attack upon the working class.^[119] The government misinterpreted the situation on the Clyde, believing that the industrial workers were behind the strike, and as the war dragged on the government would remain suspicious of the working class and of their leaders. ^[120]

The fact that the most important strike in the Red Clydeside period was not led by Red Clydesiders obviously created problems for those who claim Scotland was ripe for revolution and even for those who claim that the battles fought on the Clyde were political in nature. However, one of the reasons that the idea of a brewing Marxist Glasgow emerged was because the government falsely misinterpreted this strike as Marxist in nature.^[121] This incorrect view would ensure that those Marxists who labeled themselves as anti-government would be seen by the government and many workers as the leaders of the common Scots against the British government. In another ironic twist, historian McLean asserted that the C.W.C., particularly John Maclean, must have had their spirits in a Marxist uprising buoyed by this event, which they interpreted as a success brought about partly because of their actions.^[122] Yet, McLean points out that the areas most affected by the rent increases were Govan and Fairfield, which mainly housed shipping workers, not the munitions workers who were under, or at least connected in some way, to the C.W.C.^[123] Moreover, this movement was supported by various other important people and groups such as the local Labour movement, John Wheatley and the *Forward*, all of which supported Mrs. Barbour's actions.^[124] The C.W.C. can hardly be given the credit for pushing the movement over the top, and certainly cannot be given the credit for leading the movement which Mrs. Barbour spear-headed, and

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which received support from the I.L.P. (especially through its organ, *Forward*), the W.H.A. and the G.L.P. Finally, the housing problem was one which the Scottish government had been attempting to fix (albeit, with little success) since the 1890s when the government attempted to raise tenement standards of living.^[125] While the efforts of Mrs. Barbour, the tenants, and the C.W.C. were truly valiant, it would be accurate to say that rather than change official policy, they instead forced the government to take a more proactive stance on an issue which they were already working on; an interpretation which is far-removed from the portrayal of an anti-government Marxist movement.

Hinton's view of Red Clydeside must clearly be questioned because of this incident, but moreover McLean's argument falters here as well. McLean claims that, "the rent strikes was a matter of munitions policy, not housing policy."^[126] He claims that this movement was in large part a response to discontent in dilution.^[127] This cannot be true as the two areas which served as the vanguard of unrest were areas filled with shipyard workers, not munitions workers. Furthermore, the thesis of McLean's book argued that Red Clydeside was a period where various class interests asserted their agendas. However, Mrs. Barbour, her fellow women and the tenants of Govan and Fairfield, succeeded of their own accord. Meanwhile, the I.L.P. and the W.H.A.'s attempts to change the housing situation had failed for years. While there were class interests involved, it was the mass actions of unaffiliated Glaswegians that changed policy, not organizations. McLean is wrong when he asserts that this is an example of class interests asserting their agenda. This was a social movement.

The workers claimed their first victory in the battle against the government's oppressive measures at Parkhead. However, the government was not deterred. On January 21st 1916, Prime Minister Asquith announced that dilution, the process by which factories would employ poorer Lowland Scots, Irish and women in mass numbers, would be enforced.^[128] Within three days "three Dilution Commissioners arrived on the Clyde."^[129] While the government worried about the ability of government to force through dilution, Weir provided a brilliant and ruthless scheme to gradually break the power of organized labor.^[130] Appointed officials would be sent to certain factories where they would present the government's agenda for dilution in that factory.^[131] The workers would be given two days to meet with management and try to change the scheme,^[132] although invariably their demands would be ignored.^[133] On the third day dilution would begin.^[134] Weir's memorandum dictated that if a strike were to occur they would be met by the entire force of the government. The police or even the military would be called in to defend the new employees brought in under the scheme; trade unions would be prohibited from using money to defend any anti-government action, and any trade union leaders who incited workers to strike would be tried under D.O.R.A.^[135]

While the government, in particular Weir,^[136] was prepared for conflict with the workers, it was Weir's aim that dilution be introduced subtly and in a way that would not incite the trade unions to oppose it until after they lost their power to do so. To accomplish this, it was decided that dilution would be put into place in "half-a-dozen" strongholds of labor.^[137] The Commissioners of Dilution would carefully work through any inequality or labor disputes that these factories had, thus ensuring the support of the workers.^[138] After developing a foothold in these important shops, the government could then implement dilution as a whole along the Clyde.^[139] "Within a week, dilution schemes were in operation at Parkhead and Weir's. During the second week Dalmuir and Yarrow's followed."^[140] While Parkhead had seen the birth of the C.W.C., it would become the "Commissioners' main foothold" on the Clyde.^[141]

The government viewed the C.W.C. as its primary enemy in the fight over dilution. One MP even went so far as to say that, "to obtain a reasonably smooth working of the Munitions Act, this committee should be smashed."^[142] The government believed that the C.W.C. was a dangerous organization shows how paranoid and desperate the government was becoming as it began to fear it might lose the war. Kirkwood was willing to work with the government^[143] and even broke ranks with the C.W.C. over dilution^[144] as his primary concern was the well-being of the workers he supervised rather than the working class as a whole. Yet, despite this, the C.W.C. was seen as a revolutionary arm of militant workers that had dared to defy the government at Parkhead. In order to bring them to heel, the government began to execute its plans on January 1st when it suppressed both the I.L.P.'s *Forward* and John Maclean's paper, *Vanguard*.^[145] On February 2nd, "police raided the Socialist Labour Press, broke up the machinery, and suppressed the forthcoming issue of *The Worker* [The C.W.C.'s official

newspaper]."^[146] On February 7th, Gallacher, Johnny Muir, and Bell, the printer, were arrested and charged with sedition^[147] for writing an article entitled 'Should the Workers Arm?' even though they concluded that they should not.^[148] John Maclean was arrested the next day and charged with making a long list of speeches in favor of strikes and against enlistment.^[149] 10,000 workers showed up in support of the imprisoned leaders, which forced the authorities to release them on bail, except for Maclean.^[150] However, as early as the 9th, a day after Maclean was arrested, strikers began to go back to work.^[151] By the 10th, knowing they had no hope of winning the release of the most revolutionary figure in Scotland, the C.W.C. called the workers back.^[152] Just a few days later Kirkwood broke ranks with the C.W.C. and negotiated with the government to allow women to work at certain factories, albeit at a reduced pay rate.^[153]

The peculiar case of Kirkwood's betrayal' of the C.W.C. must be examined as it is here that both Hinton and McLean's theses' can be brought into question. The interpretations of both historians on dilution fail to examine the role of female workers, who quite possibly formed the majority of the workforce on the Clyde by the end of the war.^[154] Instead, these two historians focused on the male Marxist leaders, while no account was given by either of the incorporation of women into trade unions or the power they exercised.^[155] The introduction of female workers, more than anything else, would prove how weak the C.W.C. was, as it failed to enlist their support. This was due to the fact that the leaders of the C.W.C. and their base were highly skilled munitions workers, and as such, they were fighting for conservative craft interests at the expense of the semi-skilled female laborers. Just a few days after the arrest of his fellow Clydesiders, Kirkwood broke ranks with the C.W.C. and negotiated with the government to allow women to work at certain factories, albeit at a reduced pay rate.^[156] The exact reason for his reversal is unknown, though perhaps Kirkwood sensed the weakness in the trade union movement at that time. From early 1915, Kirkwood organized the female workers to such an extent that the mere threat of a strike caused the employers to raise their wages at the Parkhead factory.^[157] However, Kirkwood underestimated the vindictiveness of a government, which viewed all Marxists as its enemies, and would not spare him because of his willingness to cooperate. Any attempt to unionize women and make fellow Clydesiders' out of them could not be tolerated. On March 25th, 1916 at three o' clock in the morning, Kirkwood's home was raided and he was deported without trial to Edinburgh by a government which accused him of purposefully hindering the war effort.^[158] With the deportation and eventual imprisonment of their most sympathetic supporter in the labor leadership, only a handful of women would become active in the C.W.C.^[159] The C.W.C. would eventually support female workers near the end of the war, but by then many women had already joined other trade unions, or had even formed their own. ^[160]

Battered, the C.W.C. still tried to control the shop floors and install their own regulations for dilution just a few days after the imprisonment of their leaders. This program, created by Muir, demanded that the shop floors be controlled by unions, and all people who entered factories must be required to join a union.^[161] Weir would have none of this. The government did not negotiate over the C.W.C.'s plan, and when the C.W.C. then requested to meet the Commissioners; they turned that down as well as the government preferred to work with the much more conciliatory A.S.E. ^[162] Furthermore, every day the more un-unionized women and poorer Scots and Irish joined the ranks of the workers, the more the C.W.C.'s relative influence declined.

The far-left in Scotland, like that on the Continent, opposed Britain's entry into the Great War.^[163] For some opposition was rooted in official Marxist doctrine, which held that in modern wars the bourgeoisie sacrificed the proletariat in its pursuit of the profit.^[164] For others opposition arose from a humanitarian desire to avoid the unnecessary loss of life.^[165] It can be seen how poorly the Marxist message was received in Scotland by the near-universal support for the war there, support which initially exceeded in fervor even that of England and Wales.^[166] While Scotland may have been extremely jingoistic at first and detested C.O.s, after the war transformed itself into a long battle of attrition, the non-conscription movement in Scotland grew more powerful than in anywhere else in the British Isles. The jingoism displayed during WWI can be most easily measured in Scotland's recruitment rates and its treatment of Conscientious Objectors, hereafter referred to as C.O.s. Scottish enlistment was extremely high; 25% of the male labor workforce of Western Scotland had enlisted by December 1914.^[167] While many Scots felt that Germany was, "the criminal" and should be forced to "pay the penalty"^[168] recruitment was not just a matter of British pride but of Scottish pride: "All honour to the lads who have put Scotland in the front this time...We must not let the sons of the Rose [England] or the Leek [Wales] or the

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Shamrock [Ireland] get in front of the proud Thistle [Scotland]."[169] War hysteria permeated all of society. Recruiters were present, "in theatres and dancehalls, pubs, clubs, and factory floors, at greyhound tracks and football grounds." [170] Perhaps most importantly, the press made sure to include women in their efforts. The Mothers' Union even produced a "recruiting poster showing their members bravely pointing their sons in the direction of the recruiting offices." [171] Additionally, women were given white feathers to bestow upon men who didn't enlist as a mark of their cowardice. [172]

Before the question had even been asked, two of Scotland's largest papers supported compulsory military service [173]. The *Glasgow Herald*, Scotland's paper of record, went so far as to call for the nationalization of industry, claiming "with national service for the period of the war we should also secure military discipline, and the entire munitions industry would be dealt with precisely as if it were labor performed in the trenches or on the battleships." [174] Another moderate paper, the *People's Journal*, called for female conscription into munitions factories. [175]

After the Labour Party abandoned the anti-war movement, the only parties left to oppose the war were three small independent ones: the British Socialist Party, the Independent Labour Party and the Socialist Labour Party. [176] Yet, of these radical parties only the I.L.P. lacked a pro-war fervor among its rank-and-file. [177] Meanwhile dramatic confrontations arose between the leaders of the B.S.P. and the S.L.P. The most infamous dispute arose between the S.L.P. members Muir and Kirkwood:

Johnny Muir, who was the editor of the *Socialist*, the S.L.P. organ, was trying to argue a case for a Socialist defending "his own" country, at a special meeting in their hall in Renfrew Street. In the midst of the discussion, and while Johnny was arguing a certain point, Davy jumped up and shouted, "Naw, naw, Joanie, that'll no dae, the workers have nae country. Ah'm feenished wi' ye." [178]

The B.S.P. was torn between factions led by Maclean, who headed the B.S.P.'s Scottish Branch, and Henry Hyndman, who headed the party as a whole. Hyndman supported the British government throughout the war, despite the fact that the majority of the party opposed it. [179] He even went so far as to urge the authorities to deport Maclean's radical friend, Peter Petroff. [180] In 1915 the B.S.P.'s pro-war wing would leave to form the new National Socialist Party, a rift that was never healed and permanently weakened the party. The anti-war movement that existed before January 1916 was largely ignored because it was such a small factor in national life. A few demonstrations were held but for the most part there was little in the way of serious anti-war sentiment. [181] In that month, the Military Service Act instituted the draft for the first time in British history. Despite the objections of the Conservative Party, the law included exemptions for conscientious objectors on moral, religious, political and health-related grounds. However, those who sought an exemption from service had to testify before a tribunal. [182]

The I.L.P. had led the fight against the war and opposed conscription as the party held that it was a fundamental denial of liberty. [183] In November of 1914, I.L.P. member and "peace crank" [184] A. Feener Brockway had formed the No-Conscription Fellowship, and within a week had compiled a list of 150 men who vowed to object to conscription, should enlistment become mandatory. [185] By 1915 the N.C.F. "claimed to have 5,000 members in 50 separate branches." [186] Despite the extremely small number of C.O.s during the war, 16,500 in all of Britain as a whole, the possibility of abstaining from conscription sparked a firestorm of controversy. [187] Nowhere was the hatred of C.O.s more prevalent than in Scotland. The *Glasgow Herald* advocated deporting C.O.s until the war was over. [188] One of its main competitors, the *Sunday Herald*, said that C.O.s "were not worth the power and shot" needed to kill them, but in view of the extreme circumstances, "perhaps a few rounds might spared." [189]

In January of 1916 the *People's Journal* turned to its subscribers for how to deal with the problem of the C.O.s by sponsoring a poetry contest meant to shame them. The winning entry, with a prize of 10 shillings, went to Mr. W. L. Laurie of Aberdeenshire who wrote:

Ye guid for naithing, lazy lout,

Hoo can ye shirk whilst heroes shout,
And see them fall in some fell bout
Through shells and gases?
Had I my way, I'd tak' ye a'
And line ye up in ae big raw
Then wi' Mons Meg' the lot I'd blaw
To hell and blazes.

Second place, with a prize of 5 shillings, went to Mr. Scotstoun Shaw of Glasgow:

Men unworthy o' the name,
Trembling, hide their heads at hame,
Theirs be everlasting shame,
Regret and misery.
Scotland's God look on them now;
Licht within their heart low;
Send then forth resolved to bow,
Nevermore to kneel.^[190]

While the two cash prizes were given to men, half of the entries were written by women.^[191] Within the editorial section of the paper, readers discussed why some men would object to enlistment. One contributor claimed that it was a class problem:

If you examine the list of conscientious objectors you will find that there are extremely few men from the working-classes among them. The conscientious objector usually belongs to the middle and upper strata of society. Why? Because the industrial and urban workers were used to the brutalities of life...[the average C.O. was] a man who had been wrapped up all his life in cotton wool."

In the same issue there was an editorial by a doctor in Edinburgh discussing the physical inferiority of C.O.s:

There are some women and men...who ought never to marry...because they are physical and mental nonentities...They are men without masculinity; they have women's hearts in men's bodies...what we ought to do with these sensitive souled faddists is difficult to say, but we certainly ought not to let them remain in our midsts and produce a race of human white rabbits.^[192]

C.O.s were harshly criticized by members of the tribunals empanelled to hear their appeals. "One conscientious objector, for example, was told that he was fit only, to be on the point of a German bayonet".^[193] Another C.O. claimed his religion was opposed to violence. A member of this tribunal responded by saying that C.O.s were "the most awful pack that ever walked this earth" and that the objector before him was "acting with the devil in the place of Christ."^[194] Another religious objector claimed that Christ called his followers to love their enemies, to which the tribunal replied that, "we can love our enemies and kill them at the same time."^[195] The battle over conscription would even claim Maclean, who was arrested for allegedly making statements to discourage enlistment.^[196]

Scotland was firmly patriotic and supported the war right down to November 11, 1918 when Germany surrendered. Near the end of the war, many Scots increasingly turned toward the anti-war left, who they had been in such conflict with. By the war's end, the I.L.P., which had created the No-Conscription Fellowship and led the anti-war movement in Scotland, saw the number of their party's branches double, and its membership triple as compared with its pre-war levels.^[197] In England on the other hand, the I.L.P. experienced a decline from which it never recovered.

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From the latter half of 1916 until the end of the war, there was no major challenge from organized labor with the exception of the May Strikes, which were initiated by trade unions in Manchester and spread across the nation, but were not Marxist inspired.^[198] Another major blow to the Clydesiders was the mental state of Maclean. Maclean had fallen into ill health since his release from prison in 1918 and was slipping quickly into paranoia and possibly even insanity. Maclean would give speeches in which he accused the government of trying to drug and poison him while in prison.^[199] He continued to say that imprisoned C.O.s and Irish agitators were driven insane until they committed suicide, or they had "a particular bacillus injected into them by the prison staff" which causes pneumonia.^[200] Gallacher noted that, "he was seeing spies everywhere, suspecting everybody and anything."^[201] Furthermore, he was suffering from "hallucinations."^[202] Gallacher talked to Lenin (who he had previously corresponded with) about the condition of Maclean. Lenin, who had an interest in the Scottish movement, asked Gallacher to send Maclean to Russia where he could receive medical aid without having to worry about capitalist plots.^[203] Gallacher tried to convince Maclean to seek medical attention but Maclean refused. Desperate to help his fellow revolutionary, Gallacher wrote a letter to Maclean's boss, the S.L.P. Executive, asking him to heed Maclean's rising insanity.^[204] The letter managed to fall into the hands of Maclean, who declared that "Gallacher wants to get rid of me, so he is circulating a story that I am mad."^[205] With a heavy heart, Gallacher was forced to watch as Maclean, surrounded by opportunistic admirers who cared nothing for his health, allowed him to further descend into madness.^[206] While Maclean continued to rail against the capitalists, even his audience began to see how paranoid and delusional he had become.^[207]

The last major outbreak of discontent in the Red Clydeside period occurred just after the war ended in November of 1918, as Britain faced the problem of how to reincorporate millions of soldiers back into the workplace.^[208] As far back as 1917, the Glasgow Trades Council predicted that the government would have to gradually return men to work after the war, and demanded that trade unions have control over their reassignment as they were the most capable of finding adequate employment for them.^[209] While the GTC admitted that it could not predict how so many men entering the labor market, at a single point, would affect the nation, they declared, "the worst should be prepared for."^[210]

Early efforts made to prepare for the incoming tide of workers were met with anger by Scots. The consensus of the trade unions was that the 54-hour work week should be lowered, but that workers should still collect the same wages. The Glasgow Trades Labour Council wanted a 30 hour work week.^[211] Meanwhile the Boilermakers' Society, the Shipwrights' Association and the Blacksmiths' Society decided to break off from the rest of the unions and met with Robert Horn (Minister of Labour) to negotiate a 47 hour work week.^[212] The powerful A.S.E. called for a 40-hour work week and had even managed to secure a 47-hour work week by negotiating with the government,^[213] though the government still predicted that this would cause discontent.^[214]

As the C.W.C. had done with its first strike at Parkhead in 1915, it would again take control of a labor movement that was already in progress. The C.W.C. demanded that the government lower the working week to 40 hours immediately, or they would lead a massive strike by January 27th.^[215] Despite believing the 40 Hours Movement to be "unwise," the STUC officially supported the movement.^[216] Even though the STUC, "could not control the forces behind the strike, they, at least, attempted to guide them along the proper lines."^[217]

During the latter half of January the labor movement seethed with discontent.^[218] Angered with how slow the government was, the C.W.C., led by Gallacher and Kirkwood, called for workers in Glasgow to down tools' and march to George Square in front of city hall. A government report noted,

The outlook during the past fortnight has become rather dark. Strikes have taken place all over the country on the question of the forty-seven hour week...My Glasgow correspondent reports that the revolutionary movement is certainly gaining ground, and he thinks that the strike threatened next Monday will be carefully watched.^[219]

On January 30th, as the *Strike Bulletin* reported, 100,000 workers turned out^[220] in what was hailed as "the greatest effort ever made by the rank and file" in Scottish history.^[221] The C.W.C. was so confident in its strength

that it would simultaneously seek to tackle the issue of rent costs by telling its workers not to pay their landlords.^[222]

On January 31st, however, things turned violent. The *Glasgow Herald* reported that:

Unprecedented scenes of violence and bloodshed took place yesterday in Glasgow in connection with the present strike movement...Owing to a section of the strikers persisting in refusing to allow the tramcars to proceed the police made a baton charge on the crowd, and this was later repeated.^[223]

Gallacher tried to talk to the Chief Constable in an effort to stop the violence. Seeing him approach, the police nearby raised their batons. Gallacher put up a fight, but was beaten to the ground along with a fellow worker who had rushed to his aid.^[224] Kirkwood fared worse. Gallacher was covered in blood and was being dragged toward the municipal buildings when he saw Kirkwood rush out.^[225] Kirkwood "raised his arms in a gesture of protest, when a sergeant, approaching him from the rear, brought down his baton with terrific force on the back of his head. Kirkwood fell flat on his face, unconscious."^[226] Both labor leaders were arrested. The violence continued. Sheriff MacKenzie read the Riot Act, but to no effect. The violence only ended when the police allowed Kirkwood and Gallacher to speak to the crowd, telling them to relocate to nearby Glasgow Green. The *Strike Bulletin* labeled this event "Bloody Friday,"^[227] though it would be more famously known later as "The Battle of George Square."

On February 2nd, armed soldiers were sent into Glasgow to suppress any revolutionary uprising that might occur.^[228] On February 3rd, government paranoia led to the placing of machine guns on the Clyde.^[229] By February 4th the C.W.C. was becoming desperate. It claimed that true Christians supported the movement^[230] and in the following issue waxed poetic about how workers were stronger than guns.^[231] But the movement was over. Mass picketing ended by Feb. 5th and this final, dramatic clash between the Clydeside agitators and the government was over.^[232] After five years of fighting, the government had finally won and the far-left workers' movement known as the Red Clydeside had been defeated.

Despite the glorification of this event by Marxist historians, the 40 Hours' Movement actually proves how non-revolutionary the Clydesiders actually were. The Marxists believed that the attack on the strikers by the police was an unprovoked attempt to destroy the movement.^[233] However, independent newspapers^[234] and the government^[235] concluded that the police had only acted against strikers after they impeded the unskilled tram workers who had decided not to join the strike. In a complete reversal of Marxist doctrine, it was the better-paid, skilled engineering class which formed the base of the C.W.C. and who impeded or even attacked the lower-paid tram workers.^[236]

Before the 40 Hours' Movement descended into violence, one of its leaders, Emmanuel Shinwell, described it as "not revolutionary in character...It was attributable solely to the fear of unemployment in the near future and the desire to make room for the men from the Army and the Navy."^[237] Furthermore, the Marxists' *Strike Bulletin* never called for any revolutionary action. Yet, government paranoia ensured that the legend of a near-revolution lived on. At the trial of the strike leaders, the Lord Advocate concluded that in the strike "every act of revolution was in progress."^[238] The Secretary of State for Scotland concluded similarly that "It is a misnomer to call this situation in Glasgow a Strike- This is a Bolshevik uprising."^[239] The following year Scotland Yard issued a report that claimed that 10% of workers wanted a violent revolution, while the majority wanted a social revolution, despite the fact that the only voice calling for revolution was Maclean, whose popularity was already fading along with his health.^[240] This misinterpretation of the situation in Glasgow would be repeated by Marxists in their memoirs. The most famous of these was Gallacher's, in which he says of the 40 Hours' Movement that "we were carrying on a strike when we ought to have been making a revolution."^[241] This combination of memoirs written decades after the 1914-1919 period and post-war government hysteria paint a picture of Clydeside which was far more revolutionary in hindsight than it ever was in reality.^[242]

The government would pass a 40 hour work week act in response to the strike, but the Marxists would never again command the same power that they once had. "By 1919 the revolutionary tide...was clearly on the ebb" even

before the 40 Hours' Movement.^[243] "With the fairly rapid demobilisation of soldiers and sailors, and with unemployment beginning to rise sharply," the workers lost confidence in spontaneous mass movements.^[244] As the general worker population lost their desire to fight the government, the far-left parties began to decline. From 1920 the I.L.P. would be torn between the radicals who attempted to link the I.L.P. to the Third International, an international communist organization, and the moderates.^[245] This led to a significant drop in party membership, which resulted in the I.L.P. being a weakened party.^[246] Meanwhile, the S.L.P. was quickly marching towards its death due to its inclusive nature, which was based on doctrinal purity and extremely dogmatic Marxism.^[247] As early as 1922, it was a nearly dead party,^[248] and by 1924 it had 100 members or less, and its journal, *The Socialist*, ceased to be printed due to a lack of subscribers.^[249]

The far-left would be hit with another tragedy, the early death of Maclean. "On November 30, 1923, the stormy life of John McLean [sic], the Clyde's greatest revolutionary fighter, ended in the silent harbor of death."^[250] Despite Maclean's ever-declining popularity in the last five years of his life due to his mental illness, he was still deeply mourned on the Clyde. His funeral procession included between 10,000 and 20,000 people.^[251]

Finally, the far-left movement in Glasgow reached its end as many of the Clydesiders who ran for Parliament, were elected, and drifted toward the middle of politics. In 1922, Kirkwood, Muir, Wheatley, Emmanuel Shinwell, James Maxton, and two Clydesiders were elected. This victory gave the press quite a story as the "Red Clydeside had left the streets and sat in Parliament."^[252] They were treated as "curiosities" upon arrival, but the public soon learned that they "were no more rebellious than any others."^[253] Symbolically, the willingness to work with government, to the point that many Clydesiders were accused of being conservative, shows how truly non-radical the Clydesiders were, and how the Red Clydeside itself was based upon the combination of economic unrest, war-weariness and government paranoia and suppression.^[254] On the Clyde, the removal of all the major Marxists, with the exception of Gallacher, who lost in his run for parliament, would mean the death of whatever far-left movement had existed there. The fall of the far-left parties, the death of Maclean, and the flight of the Clydesiders would leave a political vacuum, which in the next decade would be wholly filled by the Labour Party.^[255] The near-complete replacement of the Marxists with a more moderate party resulted in Red Clydeside fading from public consciousness, only to be revived again after Kirkwood and Gallacher wrote their memoirs in 1935 and 1936 respectively. These memoirs, which paint the labor movement and its main characters as much more revolutionary than they ever were, would create a false memory of Red Clydeside as a revolution that almost was.

Marxists in Glasgow only gained prominence when they were addressing popular concerns. Their opposition to the war was effectively silenced by the government and even within their own parties. Non-conscription as a movement failed, too. Moreover, Marxists commanded almost no support outside of the skilled munitions workers,^[256] and throughout the entirety of this period the Clydesiders were more often working against unskilled workers than with them.^[257] Finally, the Marxists failed to attract the support of women.^[258] Though more research must be conducted about women on the Clydeside for a complete picture, it is clear from the recent dissertation by Myra Baillie that one of the main failings of the Clydesiders was bad timing. Women only began to organize into labor unions in large numbers at the war's end,^[259] and the Marxist most active in recruiting women, Kirkwood, would be thrown into the dungeons of Edinburgh Castle for it.^[260] Finally, the religiosity of the radical left in Glasgow must be examined, perhaps even beyond the confines of the Red Clydeside. It is without question that Scottish Marxists were religious, unlike their European counterparts. Further study must be conducted on the religiousness of the Clydesiders and the strange combination of Marxism with Christian doctrine. Most notably, the two strains of Christianity which merged with Marxism on the Clyde were Presbyterianism, which was practiced by the majority of the C.W.C., and Catholicism, as practiced by John Wheatley, who formed the Catholic Socialist Society.

- [1] David Charles Unger, "The Roots of the Red Clydeside: Economic and Social Relations and Working Class Politics in the West of Scotland, 1900-1919" (1979, PhD thesis, University of Austin Texas), 40.
- [2] Munitions of War Act, 1915, Defense of the Realm Act, 1914.
- [3] The average cost of living from July 1914-1920 rose by 137% for large towns, Glasgow Trades and Labour Council Annual Report, 1919-1920, 17-18.
- [4] William Gallacher, *Revolt on the Clyde*, (1936: repr., London Lawrence & Wishart Ltd., 1990), 228.
- [5] James Hinton, *The First Shop Stewards' Movement*, (1973: Manchester, The Gresham Press, 1973), 13, 235.
- [6] Iain McLean, *The Legend of the Red Clydeside*, (1983: repr., Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1999), 2.
- [7] James D. Young, "Marxism and the Scottish National Question," *Journal of Contemporary History* 18, no. 1 (1983): 141-163.
- [8] The level of hatred against socialists remained intense throughout the war. In 1916, *The People* wrote an infamous article entitle, "Agitators on the Clyde Who Desire our Defeat," seeking to expose the socialists, *The People*, January 16, 1916.
- [9] R. Wells, "Socialism: What it is And What it Means," (1906), 8.
<http://gdl.cdrl.strath.ac.uk/redclyde/redcly148h.html>.
- [10] "Socialism or Freedom?" (1906), 2. <http://gdl.cdrl.strath.ac.uk/redclyde/redcly150b.html>.
- [11] *Ibid.*, 3.
- [12] *Ibid.*, 2.
- [13] *Ibid.*
- [14] See "What Socialism Really Means," (1906) <http://gdl.cdrl.strath.ac.uk/redclyde/redcly147.htm>., National Union of Conservative and Constitutional Associations, "When the Socialist Millennium Arrives," (1906) <http://gdl.cdrl.strath.ac.uk/redclyde/redcly151.htm>.
- [15] Anti-Socialist Union of Great Britain, "Socialism Exposed!" (1914) <http://gdl.cdrl.strath.ac.uk/redclyde/redcly152.htm>.
- [16] W.W. Knox, "Religion and the Scottish Labour Movement c. 1900-1939," *Journal of Contemporary History* 23, no. 4 (1988); 610.
- [17] Scots were so devoutly religious, that it was not just atheism that was anathema, but even secular Christians were unpopular. "Of the fifty-two inter-war Scottish Labour MPs, only eight claimed to be secularists." W. Knox (ed.), *Scottish Labour Leaders 1918-1939: a biographical dictionary* (Edinburgh 1984), 29, as quoted in W.W. Knox, "Religion and the Scottish Labour Movement c. 1900-1939," *Journal of Contemporary History* 23, no. 4 (1988); 611-2.
- [18] Iain McLean makes this same point in his famous work. See McLean, *The Legend of the Red Clydeside*, 97.
- [19] W.W. Knox, "Religion and the Scottish Labour Movement," 612.
- [20] "The Socialist Commandments," (1902) <http://gdl.cdrl.strath.ac.uk/redclyde/redcly079.htm>. While the document is not explicitly religious it contains the religious language and calls for righteousness.' It is without question that such language taught in a religious institution would invoke Christian ideals as the teachers sought to merge these with socialism.
- [21] Catholic Socialist Society, "The Catholic Working Man," (1909). Interestingly enough, while the manifesto calls for public ownership of land, it specifically says that it does not call for the abolition of private property. <http://gdl.cdrl.strath.ac.uk/redclyde/redcly072b.html>.
- [22] W.W. Knox, "Religion and the Scottish Labour Movement," 611.
- [23] D. Lowe, *Souvenirs of Scottish Labour* (Glasgow 1919), 125, as quoted in W.W. Knox, "Religion and the Scottish Labour Movement," 611.
- [24] McLean, *The Legend of the Red Clydeside*, 104.
- [25] David Kirkwood, *My Life of Revolt*, (London George G. Harrap & Co. LTD., 1935) 82-83.
- [26] McLean, *The Legend of the Red Clydeside*, 103.
- [27] Throughout Kirkwood's *My Life of Revolt* there is a near-constant reference to his religious upbringing and various episodes involving preachers having a pronounced impact on his life.
- [28] *Ibid.*, 97-98.
- [29] *Ibid.*, 98.
- [30] W.W. Knox, "Religion and the Scottish Labour Movement," 9.
- [31] David Kirkwood, *My Life of Revolt*, 192.
- [32] W.W. Knox, "Religion and the Scottish Labour Movement," 9.
- [33] *Ibid.*
- [34] It should be noted, regarding the social conservatism of the Clydesiders, even if only briefly, that two leading Clydesiders took noble titles, after their terms in Parliament. Leading revolutionary David Kirkwood, whose memoir

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was influential in creating the myth of the Red Clydeside, received a peerage, while Patrick Dollan was knighted. While other revolutionaries were calling for the equality of all men and viewed the aristocracy and the capitalists as relics of a bygone era, Kirkwood and Dollan had no objection with becoming members, even if in title only, of these groups. Arthur Marwick, "James Maxton: His Place In Scottish Labour History" *The Scottish Historical Review* 43, no. 135 (1964); 4.

[35] Glasgow Trades Council Annual Report 1918-1919, 4.

[36] Glasgow Trades Council Annual Report 1919-1920, 3.

[37] A.W. Humphrey, "The British Labour Movement and the War," *Political Science Quarterly* 32, No. 1 (1917); 2.

[38] Ibid.

[39] William Kenefick. *Red Scotland! The Rise and Fall of the Radical Left, c. 1872 to 1932*. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 9.

[40] Ibid.

[41] Larry G. Gerber, "Corporatism in Comparative Perspective: The Impact of the First World War on American and British Labor Relations," *The Business History Review* 62, no. 1 (1988); 8.

[42] Kenefick. *Red Scotland!*, 113.

[43] Ibid., 74.

[44] See A.W. Humphrey, "The British Labour Movement and the War," 2-10.

[45] The three notable political groups opposed to the government were the Socialist Labour Party, the Independent Labour Party and the British Socialist Party. McLean, *The Legend of the Red Clydeside*, 103-105.

[46] James Hinton, *The First Shop Stewards' Movement*, (repr. George Allen & Unwin Ltd. 1973) 37.

[47] STUC Report 1913, 48-49.

[48] Ibid.

[49] Manifesto of the Socialist Labour Party of Great Britain, 1920, 22.

[50] Ibid.

[51] STUC Report 1913, 42-43.

[52] Ibid., 34.

[53] STUC Report 1917, 35.

[54] STUC Report 1920.

[55] STUC Report 1917, 23. In no less eloquent terms an S.L.P. member would detail how many working class men were fit colonels while many rich were pathetic privates, at which point he asked the question, "Why is it, we want to know, that this parasitic class owns the wealth of this Empire- their Empire?" *Compulsory Military Service, Should the Working Class Support it?* (Glasgow: Socialist Labour Press 1918), 16.

[56] While the I.L.P., S.L.P., and the B.S.P. were all officially anti-war, bitter disputes arose that severely weakened the S.L.P. and the B.S.P. as pro-war factions arose within them, see A.W. Humphrey, "The British Labour Movement and the War," and William Kenefick. *Red Scotland! The Rise and Fall of the Radical Left*, 132 8. Only the I.L.P. remained undivided over the war but this is probably because it chose to focus on social issues over the war, McLean, *The Legend of Red Clydeside*, 97. Additionally the Glasgow Trades Council becomes officially anti-war though it admits that most Glaswegians are not, Glasgow Trades Council Annual Report, 1917-1918, 27.

[57] Defense of the Realm Act, 1914.

[58] *The Times*, 4 June 1915, as cited in James Hinton, *The First Shop Stewards' Movement*, 32.

[59] Munitions of War Act of 1915, George V., c. I.

[60] Ibid., c. II.

[61] Ibid.

[62] Ibid.

[63] James Hinton, *The First Shop Stewards' Movement*, 34.

[64] Ibid., 34-35.

[65] William Weir, "Memorandum by William Weir," 20th September 1915, Weir Papers, 1. DC/96/17/58.

[66] Ibid., 2.

[67] Hinton, *The First Shop Stewards' Movement*, 103.

[68] Ibid., 104. From almost the beginning of the war until its censorship the *Forward* would report on supposed capitalist exploitation in industry. While these stories cannot be proved to have had a large effect on Glaswegian opinion, the *Forward* was the leading source of information on evictions of war widows in Glasgow, which no doubt spread agitation against the landlords.

[69] Unger, "The Roots of the Red Clydeside," 377.

[70] Hinton, *The First Shop Stewards' Movement*, 106.

- [71] Unger, "The Roots of the Red Clydeside" 378.
- [72] Ibid.
- [73] Ibid., 48. The Amalgamated Society of Engineers boasted 38% of unionized engineers.
- [74] Ibid., 108.
- [75] See Hinton, "The Clyde Workers' Committee," in *The First Shop Stewards' Movement*, (1973: Manchester, The Gresham Press, 1973), 103-139. While Hinton acknowledges the role played by the A.S.E. no research is done in the social conditions of the workers, thus the strike is not seen as an inevitable response to social conditions but agitation. While no explanation is given for the strike, other than in response to the broken promise of a raise, Hinton's position that a revolution were possible would indicate that either the workers in this position were already revolutionary or they quickly became sympathetic the Clydeside agitators as their employers abused them.
- [76] Gallacher, *Revolt on the Clyde*, 52.
- [77] Hinton, *The First Shop Stewards' Movement*, 106. Hinton records that there is no evidence at all to support Gallacher's claim that the unskilled workers came out in support of the engineers in his memoir *Revolt on the Clyde*, 51.
- [78] Michael Pacione, "Housing Policies in Glasgow since 1880," *Geographical Review* 69, no. 4 (1979): 398.
- [79] McLean, *The Legend of the Red Clydeside*, 18.
- [80] Michael Pacione, "Housing Policies in Glasgow since 1880," (397.
- [81] Ibid., 398.
- [82] David Englander, "Landlord and Tenant in Urban Scotland: The Background to the Clyde Rent Strikes, 1915," *Scottish Labour History Society* No. 15 (1981) 4-5. For tables on eviction rates, eviction warrants granted, ejectments, sequestration and unoccupied houses as a percentage in Glasgow, see Englander's article.
- [83] Glasgow Trades Council Annual Report 1916-1917, 34.
- [84] Ibid.
- [85] Ibid.
- [86] McLean, *The Legend of the Red Clydeside*, 21-22. Due to the boom and bust nature of the Scottish micro-economy numerous Scots were left unable to pay their rents, leading to Glasgow to become famous for its high rate of convictions McLean, *The Legend of the Red Clydeside*, 18.
- [87] Gallacher, *Revolt on the Clyde*, 52.
- [88] Ibid., 53.
- [89] Ibid.
- [90] McLean, *The Legend of the Red Clydeside*, 21-22.
- [91] Gallacher, *Revolt on the Clyde*, 53.
- [92] John McHugh, "The Clyde Rent Strike, 1915" *Scottish Labour History Society* No. 12 (1978) 598.
- [93] McLean, *The Legend of the Red Clydeside*, 22.
- [94] *Forward*, October 30 1915.
- [95] *Forward*, May 29, 1915, <http://gdl.cdrl.strath.ac.uk/redclyde/redcly184a.html>.
- [96] *Forward*, June 15, 1915, <http://gdl.cdrl.strath.ac.uk/redclyde/redcly193.htm>
- [97] McLean, *The Legend of the Red Clydeside*, 22.
- [98] Ibid., 53-54.
- [99] Ibid., 25.
- [100] Gallacher, *Revolt on the Clyde*, 54-57.
- [101] *Forward*, 27 Nov. 1915.
- [102] Gallacher, *Revolt on the Clyde*, 57.
- [103] Terry Brotherstone, "Does Red Clydeside Really Matter Anymore?" in Robert Duncan and Arthur McIvor, *Militant Workers: Labour and Class Conflict on the Clyde 1900-1950* (Edinburgh, John Donald Publishers Ltd. 1992) 64.
- [104] McLean, *The Legend of the Red Clydeside*, 239.
- [105] Ibid. In the long term the issue of the public housing shortage would be brought to attention and the socialist MP from Glasgow John Wheatley would amend Neville Chamberlin's housing bill in April 1923, Ibid., 211.
- [106] J. Hinton, "The Clyde Workers' Committee and the Dilution Struggle" in A. Briggs and J. Saville, *Essays in Labour History 1886-1923* (Macmillan 1971) 163 as cited in John McHugh, "The Clyde Rent Strike, 1915" *Scottish Labour History Society* No. 12 (1978) 56.
- [107] McHugh, "The Clyde Rent Strike, 1915," 60.
- [108] Most men were not organized, see Glasgow Trades Council Annual Report 1916-1917, 27.
- [109] Glasgow Trades Council Annual Report 1916-1917, 42.
- [110] McHugh, "The Clyde Rent Strike, 1915," 60.

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- [111] Kenefick, *Red Scotland!*, 95.
- [112] *Forward*, Sept. 5 1914
- [113] *Forward*, Jun 12, 1915, *Forward* May 29, 1915, *Forward* Dec 4, 1915
- [114] McHugh, "The Clyde Rent Strike, 1915," 58.
- [115] *Ibid.*, 59.
- [116] Philip Snowden, *The Menace of the Trusts and How to Deal With It*, (Glasgow: The Independent Labour Party 1919) 5.
- [117] During this period *Forward* would continually produce anti-landlord propaganda.
- [118] *Labour Leader*, October 14 1915, 3, as quoted in John McHugh, "The Clyde Rent Strike, 1915," 59.
- [119] McHugh, "The Clyde Rent Strike, 1915" 59.
- [120] *Ibid.*, 56.
- [121] McLean, *The Legend of the Red Clydeside*, 239.
- [122] McLean, *The Legend of the Red Clydeside*, 26-27.
- [123] *Ibid.*, 27.
- [124] *Ibid.*
- [125] Pacione, "Housing Policies in Glasgow since 1880," 397.
- [126] McLean, *The Legend of the Red Clydeside*, 17.
- [127] *Ibid.*
- [128] Hinton, *The First Shop Stewards' Movement*, 140.
- [129] *Ibid.*
- [130] "Summary of dilution programme as based (with modifications) on Mr Weir's memorandum," Weir Papers, <http://gdl.cdrl.strath.ac.uk/redclyde/redcly118a.html>.
- [131] *Ibid.*
- [132] *Ibid.*
- [133] Hinton, *The First Shop Stewards' Movement*, 143.
- [134] *Ibid.*
- [135] See <http://gdl.cdrl.strath.ac.uk/redclyde/redcly118a.html>.
- [136] In Lord Riddle's personal diaries Lloyd George may have even thought Weir was going too far, as he seemed to express worry that Weir's hard-line stance would lead to conflicts, Lord Riddle, *War Diary* (1933), 150-1, as quoted in Hinton, *The First Shop Stewards' Movement*, 144
- [137] Hinton, *The First Shop Stewards' Movement*, 145.
- [138] *Ibid.*, 145.
- [139] Baillie proves in her thesis that women were already present at various factories even before the official program of dilution was enforced by the government, with Beardmore's in particular being noted for its women. Firstly, this proves that dilution may have been easier to implement as it was already in progress, secondly, it disproves McLean's claim that women were not present before dilution was enforced. Myra Baillie, "The Women of Red Clydeside: Women Munitions Workers in the West of Scotland During the First World War" (2002, PhD thesis, McMaster University) 114-115.
- [140] Hinton, *The First Shop Stewards' Movement*, 145.
- [141] *Ibid.*
- [142] Bev.iii p.94, Barttelot to Third Sea Lord, 24 November 1916, as quoted in James Hinton, *The First Shop Stewards' Movement*, 140-141.
- [143] Kirkwood is listed as working with the government in a list of the Glasgow Area Office. "Glasgow Area Office", DC 96 17/28, Weir Papers.
- [144] This breach is discussed in greater detail below.
- [145] Hinton, *The First Shop Stewards' Movement*, 146-147.
- [146] *Ibid.*, 147.
- [147] *Forward* April 22, 1916. <http://gdl.cdrl.strath.ac.uk/redclyde/redcly202a.html>.
- [148] *The Worker*, Jan. 29th, 1916.
- [149] *Forward* April 22, 1916. <http://gdl.cdrl.strath.ac.uk/redclyde/redcly202a.html>.
- [150] Hinton, *The First Shop Stewards' Movement*, 147.
- [151] *Ibid.*, 148
- [152] *Ibid.*
- [153] McLean, *The Legend of the Red Clydeside*, 71-72.
- [154] For a detailed account of new research into the presence of women in various fields relating to the war, see, Myra Baillie, "The Women of Red Clydeside: Women Munitions Workers in the West of Scotland During the First

World War" (2002, PhD thesis, McMaster University) 65-172. Women were involved in every field of war production. By 1917, 88% of inspectors were women, and quite possibly 58% of workers are women by 1918.

[155] At the very least, Hinton mentions the presence of women at Parkhead, an important munitions factory that served as a center of discontent, Hinton, *The First Shop Stewards' Movement* 145-146. McLean incorrectly claims that women were not present until early 1916, when in fact they were present nearly a year before then, Myra Baillie, "The Women of Red Clydeside," 126.

[156] McLean, *The Legend of the Red Clydeside*, 71-72.

[157] Myra Baillie, "The Women of Red Clydeside," 125-127.

[158] Ibid., 148. See also, *Forward*, April 1916.

[159] Two female deputies served in the C.W.C. during Lloyd George's famous 1915 Christmas visit. Myra Baillie, "The Women of Red Clydeside," 169.

[160] The C.W.C. would extend "moral and financial support" to female strikers between November 1917 to January 1918, and would support the appointment of women to various shop stewards positions. Myra Baillie, "The Women of Red Clydeside," 169.

[161] McLean, *The Legend of the Red Clydeside*, 76.

[162] Ibid., 77.

[163] William Kenefick. *Red Scotland!*, 132, and McLean, *The Legend of Red Clydeside*, 103-104.

[164] For the S.L.P.'s viewpoint on the war, notably their contention with the I.L.P.'s alleged opportunism' see the preface to the S.L.P.'s: *War or Revolution*, 1918. For a further account of the socialist anti-war stance, see the sixth preface of the *Manifesto of the Socialist Party of Great Britain*, 1-12.

[165] McLean, *The Legend of Red Clydeside*, 107-108. The ILP on the Clyde; the ILP in particular had been fighting the housing battle, which would be pushed aside for a year as patriotic fervor choked anti-government opposition.

[166] See: William Kenefick. *Red Scotland! The Rise and Fall of the Radical Left*, 132-155, for a history of the Conscientious Objectors.

[167] Kenefick. *Red Scotland!*, 133. Despite the high rate of enlistment, a Socialist Labour Party representative would cite a pamphlet from the National Service League entitled "The Briton's First Duty" which says "Want and hunger are, unfortunately for us, the invisible recruiting sergeants of a great portion of our army," *Compulsory Military Service, Should the Working Class Support it?* (Glasgow: Socialist Labour Press 1918), 15. Additionally, Kenefick would note that while enlistment was high across Scotland, economic hardship had a pronounced effect on enlistment rates, "in the Lothian coalfields, where the overseas market for coal had already collapsed because of the war, 36 per cent of miners had volunteered. In contrast, in the Ayrshire coalfields where trade had not been so adversely affected, only 20 per cent of miners signed up." Kenefick. *Red Scotland!*, 134.

[168] Ibid, 134

[169] *Dundee Advertiser*, November 8, 1914 as quoted in William Kenefick. *Red Scotland! The Rise and Fall of the Radical Left*, 134

[170] Kenefick. *Red Scotland!*, 142

[171] Ibid., 142.

[172] Ibid. It should be noted that while Glasgow was extremely patriotic, even the non-Marxist labor movement was being influenced by socialism and hatred toward the capitalists. The Glasgow Trades Council officially declared itself anti-war, though admitted that most workers were not, Glasgow Trades Council Annual Report 1917-1918, 27.

[173] Ibid., 138.

[174] *The Glasgow Herald*, 28 May 1915 as quoted in William Kenefick. *Red Scotland! The Rise and Fall of the Radical Left*, 141.

[175] William Kenefick. *Red Scotland! The Rise and Fall of the Radical Left*, 142-143.

[176] Ibid., 4, McLean, *The Legend of Red Clydeside*, 97, and Kenefick. *Red Scotland! The Rise and Fall of the Radical Left*, 132. Additionally the Glasgow Trades Council becomes officially anti-war though it admits that most Glaswegians are not: Glasgow Trades Council Annual Report, 1917-1918, 27.

[177] This is perhaps not because it was so radical, but because it did not want to be a revolutionary party and instead focused on social issues. Indeed, it practiced soft-Marxism/Christian pacifism: McLean, *The Legend of Red Clydeside* 103-104.

[178] Gallacher, *Revolt on the Clyde*, 27.

[179] McLean, *The Legend of Red Clydeside*, 104.

[180] Ibid

[181] Reported in the *Forward*, August 15, 1914

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- [182] See Thomas C. Kennedy, "Public Opinion and the Conscientious Objector, 1915-1919." *The Journal of British Studies* 12, no. 2 (1973).
- [183] Kenefick. *Red Scotland!*, 132.
- [184] Kennedy, "Public Opinion." 106.
- [185] Ibid
- [186] Ibid, 107
- [187] Ibid, 105
- [188] Ibid, 112
- [189] *Evening Standard*, March 23, 1916 as quoted in Thomas C. Kennedy, "Public Opinion." 112.
- [190] *People's Journal*, January 22, 1916 as quoted in William Kenefick. *Red Scotland! The Rise and Fall of the Radical Left*, 144.
- [191] Kenefick. *Red Scotland! The Rise and Fall of the Radical Left*, 144.
- [192] *People's Journal*, March 11, 1916, as quoted in William Kenefick. *Red Scotland! The Rise and Fall of the Radical Left*, 144-145.
- [193] Kennedy, "Public Opinion." 109.
- [194] Kenefick. *Red Scotland! The Rise and Fall of the Radical Left*, 150.
- [195] Ibid.
- [196] *Forward* April 22, 1916
- [197] Kenefick. *Red Scotland!*, 133, 154.
- [198] See Hinton, "The May Strikes" in *The First Shop Stewards' Movement*, 196-212.
- [199] "Fortnightly Report On Revolutionary Organisations In the United Kingdom and Morale Abroad," CAB24/7 6713, 2.
- [200] Ibid., 2
- [201] Gallacher, *Revolt on the Clyde*, 214.
- [202] Ibid., 215.
- [203] Ibid., 214.
- [204] Ibid., 215.
- [205] Ibid., 215-216.
- [206] Ibid., 216.
- [207] "Fortnightly Report On Revolutionary Organisations In the United Kingdom and Morale Abroad," CAB24/7 6654, 2.
- [208] For statistics on demobilization, see CAB 24/74, 6714, 1-5. And CAB 24/74, 6784, 1-4.
- [209] Glasgow Trades Council Annual Report 1916-1917, 34.
- [210] Ibid.
- [211] *Glasgow Herald*, January 23, 1919.
- [212] *Glasgow Herald*, January 25, 1919. Additionally, the Mining Federation would demanded that the government generally raised wages while lowering hours, "Recent Demands of the Miners' Federation for Limitation of the Working Day and Increases of Wages," CAB 24/74, 6706, Jan. 24, 1919.
- [213] McLean, *The Legend of the Red Clydeside*, 114-115.
- [214] "Fortnightly Report On Revolutionary Organisations In the United Kingdom and Morale Abroad," CAB24/7 6656, 8. Increasingly pressing was the fear that that Glaswegian police might strike because they were paid less than their counterparts in London.
- [215] "Memorandum on Movements for Reductions in Hours of Labour," CAB 24/74, 6712, 1-2. The C.W.C. wanted it to be a nation-wide strike but this would not happen.
- [216] STUC Minutes, Jan. 24, 1919.
- [217] STUC Report 1919, 68.
- [218] Around this time John Maclean was delivering speeches calling for revolution in Lanarkshire (he was still banned from entering Glasgow). His audiences numbered from 400 to 1,200, "Fortnightly Report On Revolutionary Organisations In the United Kingdom and Morale Abroad," CAB24/7 6713, 2. He would later go on to address crowds in other cities as he sought to provide strength for the supposed revolution, "The Labour Situation." CAB24/7 6720, 7.
- [219] "Fortnightly Report On Revolutionary Organisations In the United Kingdom and Morale Abroad," CAB24/7, 6713, 1.
- [220] Strike Bulletin, Jan. 30, 1919.
- [221] Strike Bulletin, Jan. 31, 1919.
- [222] Ibid.

- [223] Glasgow Herald, Jan 31, 1919.
- [224] Gallacher, *Revolt on the Clyde*, 228-229.
- [225] Ibid.
- [226] Ibid.
- [227] *Strike Bulletin*, Feb. 1, 1919.
- [228] *Strike Bulletin*, Feb. 2, 1919.
- [229] *Strike Bulletin*, Feb. 3, 1919.
- [230] *Strike Bulletin*, Feb. 4, 1919.
- [231] *Strike Bulletin*, Feb. 5, 1919.
- [232] *Glasgow Herald*, Feb. 6 1919. The C.W.C. would cite strikers in Belfast and London to create a sense of a united workers struggle, *Strike Bulletin*, Feb. 8, 1919. It would claim that the monitoring soldiers have been given the right to shoot *Strike Bulletin*, Feb. 9, 1919. It would try again to rally support for the nearly dead movement by claiming that the capitalists and the government had united to create a "policy of terrorism" against the workers *Strike Bulletin*, Feb. 10, 1919. The strike was officially suspended two days later, *Strike Bulletin*, Feb. 12, 1919.
- [233] Gallacher, *Revolt on the Clyde*, 228-229. See also the *Manifesto of the Joint Strike Committee*, Glasgow (Glasgow: Socialist Labour Press, 1919).
- [234] *Glasgow Herald*, January 31, 1919, 4.
- [235] McLean, *The Legend of the Red Clydeside*, 74-75. At the post-riot trial the government accused the Marxist leaders of inciting the rioting.
- [236] See McLean, *The Legend of the Red Clydeside*, 128. One of the points of confusion at the trial of the Marxists was over how the conflict with the tram workers started. It may have been caused by frustrated strikers actively impeding the tram workers, or the sheer size of the crowd may have started an altercation as tram workers attempted to do their job. Regardless, the underprivileged, lower-paid workers refused to join the strike.
- [237] *Glasgow Herald*, January 23, 1919: 5.
- [238] *Glasgow Herald*, 18 April 1919, as cited in McLean, *The Legend of the Red Clydeside*, 128.
- [239] Christopher Harvie, "'When the Lamps Went Out' 1911-1922." In *No Gods and Precious Few Heroes*. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998), 17.
- [240] James E. Cronin, "Labor Insurgency and Class Formation: Comparative Perspectives on the Crisis of 1917-1920 in Europe," *Social Science History* 4, no.1 (1980) 127.
- [241] Gallacher, *Revolt on the Clyde*, 221.
- [242] There was such fear of revolution that the government would ask the former Minister of Munitions in Scotland, William Weir, to run an anti-socialist propaganda campaign. Edward Falbot to William Weir, August 19th, 1919. Weir Papers, Glasgow University Archives. <http://gdl.cdrlr.strath.ac.uk/redclyde/redcly107.htm>. Various conservative groups would make the same offer, though he would decline them both. The Reconstruction Society to William Weir, September 12, 1919. Weir Papers, Glasgow University Archives. <http://gdl.cdrlr.strath.ac.uk/redclyde/redcly106.htm>.
- [243] Kenefick. *Red Scotland! The Rise and Fall of the Radical Left*, 185.
- [244] Ibid.
- [245] For a full synopsis of the battle inside the I.L.P. see McLean, *The Legend of the Red Clydeside*, 139-142.
- [246] Ibid., 142. Specifically, McLean says that it was incapable of acting as a revolutionary force, despite its intentions, or the intentions of a certain branch of the party.
- [247] Ibid.
- [248] Ibid.
- [249] Ibid.
- [250] Gallacher, *Revolt on the Clyde*, 228.
- [251] "Red Clydeside: John Maclean's casket being removed from his Pollokshaws home [photograph], 1923." Glasgow Digital Library home page. <http://gdl.cdrlr.strath.ac.uk/redclyde/redcly030.htm> (accessed March 22, 2011).
- [252] McLean, *The Legend of the Red Clydeside*, 204.
- [253] Ibid.
- [254] In his memoir, Kirkwood reprints a fantastic cartoon showing himself, Maxton, and two other supposed leftists with the caption "The Conservatocialists," Kirkwood, *My Life of Revolt*, 229.
- [255] For a full account of the rise of the Labour Party and its replacement of the far-left parties, see "Whatever Happened to Red Clydeside? I: In Parliament" and "Whatever Happened to Red Clydeside? II: In Glasgow" McLean, *The Legend of the Red Clydeside*, 204-238.

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[256] *Glasgow Herald*, Jan. 25, 1919. Boilermakers' Society, the Shipwrights' Association and the Blacksmiths' Society chose to work with the government rather than the C.W.C., while the powerful A.S.E. opposed the C.W.C. entirely. The Scottish Trades Union Council opposes a C.W.C.-led strike, STUC Annual Report, 1919, 68.

[257] There is no evidence to support Gallacher's claim that unskilled workers aided the engineers in the C.W.C.'s first strike and the strikers during the 40 Hours' Movement came into conflict with the unskilled tram workers. Moreover, it is debatable how receptive the Marxists were to the lower classes. Gallacher, Kirkwood and various other leaders were naturally involved with skilled engineers as it was their profession, and would favor them. As such, less attention was given to ensuring fair wages for the semi-skilled and unskilled workers. The most notable exception to this was Kirkwood, who worked with women to organize them and raise their wages Myra Baillie, "The Women of Red Clydeside," 137-148.

[258] The failure of the Clyde not only stems from their own faults, but from the faults of the left-wing even before the war, which did not embrace women. Most established leftists groups cared more about social issues, and before the war, many proto-feminists parted ways with them. Joseph Melling, *Rent Strikes* (Edinburgh: Polygon Books, 1983) 29.

[259] "Very few" women were Scottish Trades Union Congress delegates during the war. By 1920, 19 out of 240 were women. Though this may seem small, this is a large jump, and it is significantly higher than the English Trades Union Congress, which boasted only 32 female delegates out of 851. Myra Baillie, "The Women of Red Clydeside," 162.

[260] Myra Baillie, "The Women of Red Clydeside," 125-136.