

**THE FRONTIER OF  
CONTROL; A  
STUDY IN BRITISH  
WORKSHOP POLITICS**

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The Frontier of Control; A Study in British Workshop Politics by Carter L. Goodrich & R. H. Tawney

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**CARTER L. GOODRICH & R. H. TAWNEY**

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# THE FRONTIER OF CONTROL

*A Study in British Workshop Politics*

BY  
CARTER L. GOODRICH

WITH A FOREWORD BY  
R. H. TAWNEY  
FELLOW OF BALLIOL COLLEGE, OXFORD; LATE MEMBER OF THE  
COAL INDUSTRY COMMISSION



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C. L. G.

LONDON,  
*December 1, 1919.*



## CONTENTS

	PAGE
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS . . . . .	iii
FOREWORD BY R. H. TAWNEY . . . . .	vii
INTRODUCTION: THE DEMAND FOR CONTROL . . . . .	3
THE EXTENT OF CONTROL:	
SECTION	
I—Control . . . . .	51
II—The Frontier of Control . . . . .	56
III—Employment . . . . .	63
IV—Unemployment . . . . .	72
V—"The Right to a Trade" . . . . .	92
VI—"The Right to Sack" . . . . .	104
VII—Promotion . . . . .	111
VIII—The Choice of Foremen . . . . .	117
IX—The Organization of Foremen . . . . .	126
X—The Standard of Foremanship . . . . .	135
XI—Special Managerial Functions . . . . .	146
XII—Methods of Payment . . . . .	161
XIII—Technique: Restriction and Restrictions . . . . .	176
XIV—Technique: Consultation over Changes . . . . .	186
XV—Technique: Insistence on Improvements . . . . .	202
XVI—Technique: Suggestions and Inventions . . . . .	217
XVII—Trade Policy: Joint Action . . . . .	223
XVIII—Trade Policy: Workers' Demands . . . . .	241
XIX—The Extent of Control . . . . .	253
NOTE ON SOURCES . . . . .	267
INDEX . . . . .	273

## FOREWORD

By R. H. TAWNEY

It is a commonplace that during the past six years the discussion of industrial and social problems has shifted its center. Prior to the war students and reformers were principally occupied with questions of poverty. To-day their main interest appears to be the government of industry. An increasing number of trade unionists regard poverty as a symptom of a more deeply rooted malady which they would describe as industrial autocracy and demand "control." Anxious to establish some *modus vivendi* which may promise industrial peace, employers consider the concession of a workshop committee or an industrial council. The Government gives the movement its official blessing and has taken steps through the Ministry of Labor to propagate the proposals of Mr. Whitley's Committee. That "control" should stand to different sections of opinion for quite different types of industrial structure was only to be expected. But the necessity of meeting some demand for which that is now the accepted name is generally admitted. The formulation of a "Constitution for Industry" is conducted with something of the same energy as that which past

generations have given to the discussion of a Constitution for the State.

The change of angle is interesting. No doubt it is all to the good that the task of reorganizing industry should be recognized for what it is—a particular case of the general problem of constitutional government. But if it has been useful to show that recent industrial movements have “self-government” as their genus, it is no less important now to be clear as to their species. The formulation of programs of “joint control,” such as—to give only one example—that advanced by the Miners’ Federation, the demand for “industrial democracy,” the analogies drawn between representative institutions in industry and in politics—these things have been invaluable in broadening horizons and in opening windows through which new ideas could pass. But the emphasis needed to compel attention to the significance of a point of view which till recently was unfamiliar has by now, it may be suggested, done its work. The new field for investigation and practice has been mapped out. What is needed to-day is to give precision to its content and to test general propositions in the light of particular facts. “Control” is the most ambiguous and least self-explanatory of formulæ. The aspirations behind it may be genuine enough. But unless it is to remain a mere aspiration, it must be