

PART FOUR

1915-1918: THE SEARCH FOR VALUES

CHAPTER XI

GUILD SOCIALISM

THE war soon made itself felt in the literary life of London. Many writers went into the Army and several literary periodicals, including *Blast* and *Poetry and Drama*, disappeared within a few months. Marinetti returned to Italy, where he was arrested, and Futurism was forgotten in England;¹ Vorticism survived for only a few months before sinking into an oblivion from which even its founder, Wyndham Lewis, was reluctant to rescue it. Instead of heated discussions in the Café Royal and fist-cuffs between the adherents of various artistic movements, the satires in *The New Age* reflected a quieter atmosphere in the literary scene:

The apparition of Ezra at the Party
To his right the curling sandwiches
And the fruits that are somehow watching—
The apparition of Ezra
Under the tree branches triangularly waving . . .
Ezra at the Party, half friz, half nibble
Ezra talking Art. . . .²

As the younger contributors went into the Army,

¹ Geoffrey Wagner, *Wyndham Lewis* (London, 1957), p. 130.

² 'Ninon de Longclothes' (Beatrice Hastings), *NA*, XVII (2 Sept. 1915), 435.

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Orage found it increasingly difficult to assemble each week's issue of *The New Age*. The following passage from a letter to A. M. Ludovici indicates his position during these years: 'I wish you would write [i.e. for *The New Age*]. So many of my older writers are either abroad or (worse) cowed by the new situation, that I'm driven to overwork and am still painfully aware that *The New Age* is not rising with the occasion. Listen to my cry from Macedonia!'¹ In addition to doing most of the editorial work during this period, he continued to write the 'Notes of the Week' and his literary column, 'Readers and Writers'. The financial management of the magazine also became his responsibility when the New Age Press, deeply in debt, was liquidated at a shareholders' meeting in 1917.² The costs of publication rose sharply during the war, and such funds as Orage was able to secure were not adequate to pay as many of the contributors as had been paid previously.

These difficulties did not have so great an effect on the quality of the magazine as might be expected. T. E. Hulme, M. D. Eder, and several other writers continued to contribute from the front. Those who remained in London were induced to write more frequently. Pound, in addition to reviewing art and music, wrote nearly fifty articles for *The New Age* during these years. Shaw reappeared in the magazine after a six-year absence; Belloc and Katherine Mansfield again became regular contributors. New writers were obtained: Dikran Kouyoumdjian, better known as 'Michael Arlen', contributed both fiction and criticism, and poems by 'Edward Moore' (Edwin Muir) appeared with increasing frequency. The magazine began to reap the harvest it had sown as those who had

¹ Letter dated 18 May 1917.

² *NA*, XX (8 Mar. 1917), 446-7.

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read *The New Age* during their undergraduate years became contributors, Herbert Read, Ivor Brown, and Maurice Reckitt among them.

The new contributors were one of several factors which led to a change in the tone of the magazine following 1914. We have already seen that Orage was disturbed by the literary anarchy of the pre-war years. This was not a result of any inherent distrust of literary innovation on his part. But he was concerned by the fragmentation of literary endeavour which led cliques of writers to select their own methods and objectives without reference either to each other or to the tradition of their art. The purpose of criticism in his time, as he saw it, was to formulate a coherent set of values, based upon tradition, which would be sufficiently flexible to absorb new forms without being a weather-vane of literary novelty. This had become one of the objectives of *The New Age* as early as 1911. It was partially obscured by the literary variety of the following three years, but with the coming of war and the simultaneous decrease of interest in revolutionary artistic movements, it emerged as one of the most important aspects of the magazine's policy.

This tendency was manifest in two types of contributions. After 1911, there was a marked increase in the number of translations published in *The New Age*. 'I cannot help thinking,' Orage said, 'that it is better for a nation to "import" art than to go without it altogether; and, in fact, it is the *duty* of its critics to stimulate home-production by importing as many as possible of the best foreign models.'¹ As a corrective to the equation of love with sexual infatuation in the contemporary novel, Orage induced a contributor to translate Stendhal's *De L'Amour* (which at that time had not appeared in English) for

¹ *NA*, XXVII (30 Sept. 1920), 319.

serial publication in *The New Age*.¹ Renderings of passages from Aristophanes, Anacreon, the Greek Anthology, and the Latin poets of the Italian Renaissance were supplemented by articles on classical authors and an occasional column entitled 'Notes on the Classics'. Pound's translations from Arnaut Daniel and Cavalcanti awakened an interest in the neglected poets of Provence and the *dolce stil nuovo*. By 1915, translations of their works were appearing in *The New Age* nearly every week. In addition to providing young writers with an opportunity to develop their technical skills, the publication of these translations directed their attention to poetic standards worthy of emulation. On this point *The New Age* and Pound were agreed, and his articles combined with expressions of the same opinion elsewhere in the magazine to encourage the study of classic models.

Another group of contributions was intended to establish an atmosphere congenial to the development of a catholic criticism. An admirer of eighteenth century prose, Orage encouraged contributors to study the writings of Swift, Steele, and Addison as models of clarity and perspicuity. Eighteenth century literary forms such as the 'periodical essay' and the hortatory epistle were employed in the serial articles 'Philosophy of a Don' by G. F. Abbott, 'Letters to My Nephew' by 'Anthony Farley' (S. G. Hobson), and the contributions of 'Holbein Bagman' (Professor P. E. Richards), a contemporary counterpart of Sir Roger de Coverly. There is also a decidedly eighteenth century flavour in Orage's six 'Tales for Men Only', urbane commentaries on the absurdities resulting from relations between idealistic men and 'emancipated' women.² These superficial similarities

¹ 'On Love', trans. P. V. Cohn, *NA*, XVII-XVIII (26 Aug.-25 Nov. 1915).

² Appearing Aug. 1911-Nov. 1912.

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between *The New Age* and the classic examples of English journalism, *The Tatler* and *The Spectator*, betray a deeper affinity which Orage consciously cultivated. He felt that the civilized rationality of the neo-classical period provided an admirable model for maintaining a sense of balance in a period of literary and cultural transition. Consequently he tried to instil this tone in his own writings and constantly recommended it to contributors.

This reference to the past for creative and critical models was part of a larger aspect of the magazine's policy during these years. In Chapter III, it was said that one of Orage's foremost editorial objectives was to create a comprehensive programme which would embrace politics, economics, and philosophy as well as the arts. It is not misleading to call this aim scholastic, for it involved a synthesis of disciplines which were at the time often treated as exclusive entities, and, more important, it was based on the assumption that all fields of thought should be subsumed under a unified theory of value. Fabian Socialism offered a radically simplified solution to the problem of the relationship between social and literary problems, one which was based upon neither an adequate conception of the part that literature plays in society nor a coherent philosophy of man. Between 1908 and 1910 *The New Age* came to reject the Fabian solution, which found its most typical literary expression in the works of Wells and Shaw. In the following years, by drawing on both the past and contemporary thought, the contributors succeeded in formulating a unified approach to political, social, and cultural problems which can be described as 'neo-classical'.¹ It is usually associated with T. E. Hulme;

¹ The term 'neo-classical' is commonly used to characterize their ideas, and it is here employed in deference to established usage. 'Neo-mediaeval' would be a better designation, for it indicates more

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but Hulme, if the best propagandist of the movement, was by no means the only writer responsible for its creation. Many of the ideas which began to appear in his contributions to *The New Age* in 1915 had been discussed in the magazine during the preceding four years by Allen Upward, J. M. Kennedy, and Orage himself; later, they were coherently summarized by another contributor, Ramiro de Maeztu.

The origins of this movement were largely political; what began as a distrust of Socialist and Liberal objectives ended with a rejection of the ideology upon which these objectives were based. Cultural conservatism has usually been associated with reactionary politics in our century; T. E. Hulme, T. S. Eliot, and Wyndham Lewis are the three writers most often cited to illustrate this relationship. One of the unique achievements of *The New Age* was to combine a conservative theory of value with a progressive political philosophy known as Guild Socialism. It was conceived and elaborated by contributors to the magazine between 1912 and 1918, occupying a large share of Orage's energies during this period. A brief account of its development will serve as the basis of a discussion of the magazine's cultural conservatism, and will perhaps show that a respect for traditional values is not inevitably associated with reactionary political views.

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In *Culture and Society*, Raymond Williams has discussed the nineteenth century reaction against a social structure based upon *laissez-faire* economics and its implicitly mechanistic conception of cultural inter-relationships. In

accurately the sources of the movement and the nature of its tenets. The shortcomings of the term 'neo-classical' are apparent in view of Hulme's and Ramiro de Maeztu's emphasis on original sin.

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opposition to this structure and the Liberalism which was its political expression, Ruskin, Carlyle, and Morris envisioned a society based upon 'organic' relationships. 'This conception,' says Williams,

was at one point the basis of an attack on the conditions of men in 'industrial production', the 'cash-nexus' their only active relation, and on the claims of middle-class political democracy. Meanwhile, at another point it was the basis of an attack on industrial capitalism, and on the limitations of triumphant middle-class liberalism. One kind of conservative thinker, and one kind of socialist thinker, seemed thus to use the same terms, not only for criticizing a laissez-faire society, but also for expressing the idea of a superior society. This situation has persisted, in that 'organic' is now a central term both in this kind of conservative thinking and in Marxist thinking. The common enemy (or, if it is preferred, the common defender of the true faith) is Liberalism.¹

Between 1912 and 1922, precisely the same opposition was embodied in the conflict between the Collectivist Socialists and Liberals on the one hand, and Guild Socialists and conservative Distributivists on the other. Today, this opposition has practically disappeared from politics; it has recently attracted attention in Sociology, where Max Weber's antithesis of communal (organic) and industrial (mechanistic) relationships has been employed to illuminate many aspects of social behaviour. But in so far as political philosophy transcends the political activities through which it is expressed, this opposition is of more than historical interest. The basis of our present economic and political organization is mechanistic; and since certain forces in the machine (for example, those involving relations between employers—including the State—and employees) are opposed, and there is no

¹ *Culture and Society, 1780-1950* (London, 1961), p. 146.

mechanistic solution for this conflict, breakdowns are inevitable. If some day the human and economic waste resulting from this situation should prove intolerable (and only then would it attract serious consideration), one of two solutions is possible: strikes among public employees could be made illegal (as in Russia, Spain, and New York City), or alternative theories of social organization could be considered. Guild Socialism is the most recent attempt to apply the organic conception of society to modern conditions, and thus provides an interpretation of that conception which, in many respects, applies to the present.

During the first year of Orage’s editorship, *The New Age* attempted to maintain strict impartiality with regard to the various factions in the Socialist camp. In common with most radical movements, Socialism included many groups with divergent objectives, and most suggestions for immediate action were buried in an avalanche of discussion which left the movement less united than it had been. Orage saw *The New Age* as a forum in which differences could be discussed and settled rationally; he hoped thereby to promote socialist unity. But events soon led him to oppose the political methods which Socialism adopted to achieve its ends, and the magazine came to pursue an entirely independent policy. He explained how this came about in a series of articles written some years later.

The predominant question of the moment [in 1908 and 1909] was the possibility of fusing the trade-union movement, which served as the basis of the Independent Labour Party, with the socialist movement; and many and strong were the advocates in the latter of a union of forces on the political field. My friends and I, however, had quite a different idea. We had no objections to the trade-unions as such. On the

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contrary . . . we attached even an exaggerated value to them. Nor, of course, had we any general, but only a particular, criticism in those days to make of the socialist groups. But one distinction between Labour politics and Socialism seemed to us to be decisive—that whereas Socialism explicitly claimed to be nationally representative, the political Labour Party was avowedly based on a single class—that of the wage-earners or proletariat. To both sections, it appeared to us, the political Labour Party was making a false appeal. The trade-unions, it is certain, were originated in response to a purely economic motive. . . . By appealing to the workers to support a parliamentary Labour Party, it seemed to us that the heads of the party were diverting them from their original object and merely trying to ride on their backs to personal power. . . . The trade-unions were to be led by the nose from the economic field where alone they could conceivably win any advantage for themselves, into the barren fields of politics; and the nation was to lose the criticism and advice of national, that is to say non-class Socialism. . . . When it came to a decision concerning the political fusion of the Fabian Society with the Labour Party, *The New Age*, after vainly supporting the ingenious proposal of Mr Ramsay MacDonald to form a Socialist representation committee, repudiated the Fabian Society, and set out to plough a lonely furrow.

Avowed opponents of political labour in any shape or form, antagonists of the Fabian Society from the moment of its surrender to class politics, our situation was, indeed, that of Ishmael.¹

Once *The New Age* had opposed the political union of socialist groups and the Labour Party, it was free to criticize aspects of their policies about which it had hitherto remained silent. The magazine soon proved itself more radical than either. It castigated the Labour members of

¹ 'An Editor's Progress', *NA*, XXXVIII (15 Mar. 1926), 235.

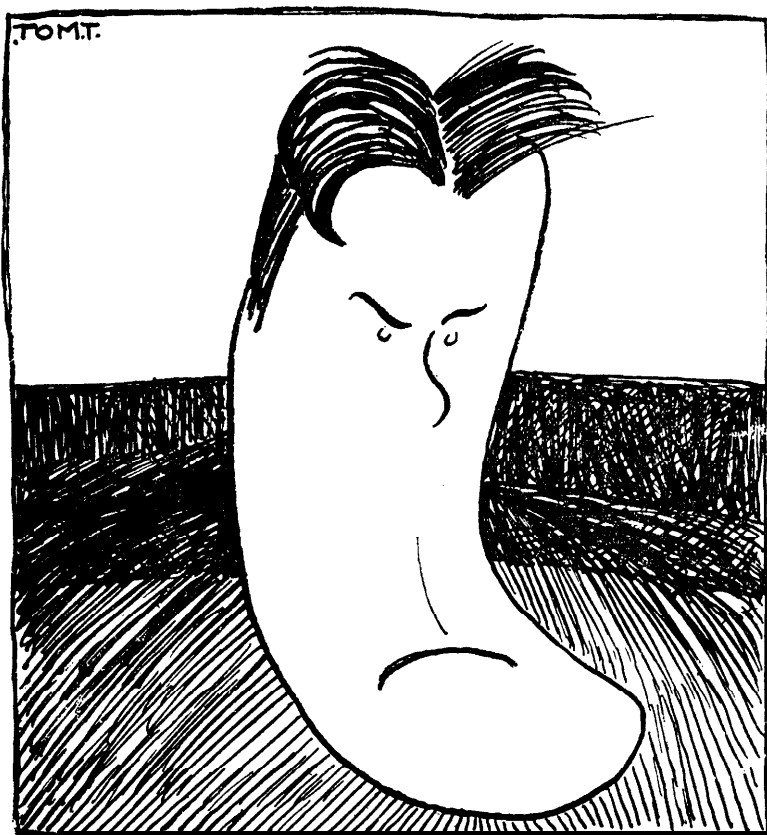
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Parliament for not proposing Socialist legislation and for acting in effect as obedient supporters of the Liberal majority. Its attitude towards the Fabian Society was similar to that of Marx towards all groups working for amelioration of social evils. Although the Webbs were Socialists, they freely admitted their willingness to work with any Government that would accept their advice. As a result, the Liberal Party was credited with legislation that was socialist in origin. In the eyes of the radicals, the socialist revolution was thus delayed by its own advocates, who prolonged the existence of capitalism by palliating the worst of its abuses.

The New Age was opposed to another tendency which became manifest in the socialist movement during this period: the tendency to seek an aggrandizement of the powers of the State even when this was accomplished at the expense of traditional liberties. When, for example, the Government employed compulsory arbitration to avert a railway strike in 1907, the Fabian Society approved of its action, and in a letter to *The New Age* the Executive of the society said, ‘The nation can no more afford to let the railway industry be interrupted by the claims (however just) of the railway workers than by the obstinacy (however dignified) of the railway directors.’¹ At a meeting of the Society, Orage was among a minority opposing the stand of the Executive.² He saw in this attitude the beginnings of totalitarianism; it was but one step from saying that the nation as a whole could not afford a strike to saying that strikes were illegal. He found the same tendency in certain legislation purporting to improve the lot of the working classes. In 1911 and 1912,

¹ *NA*, II (7 Dec. 1907), 119.

² *Fabian News* (Jan. 1908); quoted by Niles Carpenter, *Guild Socialism* (New York, 1922), p. 64.



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while prices were rising faster than wages,¹ Parliament, with the support of the Labour members, enacted a National Insurance Bill which compelled workers to contribute a certain percentage of their wages towards unemployment and sickness insurance.² Again, it was the compulsory element of the Bill, attended by its unprecedented legislative distinction between wage-earners and the professional and merchant classes, that led Orage to attack it in *The New Age*.

The most incisive analysis of the anti-democratic tendencies inherent in Collectivist Socialism was made by another contributor, Hilaire Belloc. As early as 1908, he had used the phrase 'servile state' to describe a beneficent despotism whereby the working classes sacrificed their freedom in exchange for social welfare measures; in 1910, writing in *The New Age*, he applied the phrase to tendencies in recent legislation.³ When his book entitled *The Servile State* appeared two years later, its effect on many Socialists, especially those connected with *The New Age*, was immediate and profound. Maurice Reckitt has recorded its influence in his autobiography:

I cannot overstate the impact of this book upon my mind, and in this I was but symptomatic of thousands of others who had passed through the same phases as I had. Belloc argued, with a rigorous cogency and with forceful illustration, that the whole allegedly socialist trend, which the Fabians were so fond of boasting that they had grafted upon Liberalism, was leading not to a community of free and equal citizens, not even to any true collectivism, but to the imposition upon the

¹ 'Great Britain Board of Trade Report, 1913', quoted by Carpenter, p. 76.

² G. D. H. Cole, *The Second International, 1889-1914* (London, 1956), pp. 225 ff.

³ 'The Three Issues', *NA*, III (2 May 1908), 8-10; 'The Servile State', *NA*, VII (26 May 1910), 77-9.

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masses, as the price of the reforms by which their social condition was to be ameliorated, of a servile status, sundering them from the condition of those more prosperous members of the community not requiring to be subjected to such legislation. . . . That [his thesis] contained enough truth to blow the New Liberalism sky-high I was convinced.¹

Orage and Wells, who were acquainted at first hand with the tendency of the Fabian Society to consider the interests of the State—as a whole more important than freedom and justice to minority groups, accepted Belloc's argument without qualification.² In 1907, *The New Age* had declared its intention to examine the philosophic basis of Socialism; by 1912, this examination had been carried out, and the collectivist theory of the movement had been rejected.

This reaction against Collectivism was based upon ethical considerations and included criticisms of its materialism as well as its authoritarian nature. The Fabians and the Labour Party were primarily concerned with increasing the wages and improving the living conditions of the working classes. They proposed to distribute the wealth of the nation more equitably through State ownership of industries, and suggested few changes in the basic structure of industry as inherited from capitalism. From one point of view, this change would merely substitute a governmental despotism for a capitalistic one. The former would presumably be more beneficent; but were the aims of Socialism to be merely materialistic? It would seem that the nineteenth-century reaction against industrialism, with its emphasis on human as opposed to monetary values, had been forgotten. This tradition went back to Carlyle's bitter attack on industrialists who

¹ *As It Happened* (London, 1941), pp. 107-8.

² H. G. Wells, 'The Great State', *An Englishman Looks at the World* (London, 1914), p. 116.

considered the payment of wages their only obligation to employees; to Ruskin’s emphasis on social as opposed to material wealth; to William Morris and the Mediaevalist reaction, with its opposition to industrialism and insistence on the importance of art to life. It was to these ideas that contributors to *The New Age* turned in attempting to find an alternative to Collectivism.

One of Orage’s close friends, A. J. Penty, had attempted to provide an alternative to Fabian Socialism in *The Restoration of the Guild System* (1906), which evidenced a heavy debt to nineteenth-century writers, in particular Ruskin.¹ Whereas the Collectivists were primarily concerned with the distribution of wealth, Penty emphasized the problems of production. He wanted to free workers from the unrelieved tedium of mass production and restore a sense of craftsmanship which would make labour satisfying and its products beautiful. Inferior workmanship would disappear, he argued, with the establishment of guilds that set their own standards of quality, and craftsmen would receive a ‘just price’ for their work, rather than the lowest possible wage for which they could be hired by an employer. His discussion of the possibility of restoring Mediaeval guilds was conducted largely with reference to the Arts and Crafts movement.

When Penty’s book appeared, he and Orage were organizing a ‘Gilds Restoration League’, which was to take practical action in establishing guilds in the arts and crafts.² Although Orage seems to have had reservations about the mediaeval emphasis of the movement, he

¹ Penty acknowledges his debt to Ruskin, Carlyle, and Matthew Arnold in the preface to this work.

² Orage, ‘An Editor’s Progress’, *NA*, XXXVIII (25 Mar. 1926), 246. The use of the spelling ‘gild’ was characteristic of this early phase of the guild movement.

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supported its general aims in an article in the *Contemporary Review*¹ and printed a series of articles by Penty in the early numbers of *The New Age*. Several meetings of the Fabian Arts Group were devoted to discussions of the guild movement,² but it suffered an eclipse after 1908. The reasons for this are fairly obvious. While certain principles of the mediaeval guilds might be applicable to the organization of the arts and crafts, the suggestion that modern society forsake industrialism was unrealistic. In essence, Penty's ideas were scarcely distinguishable from the nostalgic mediaevalism in which Belloc and Chesterton occasionally indulged. Yet one aspect of the idea—that workers should have more control over the standards and conditions of their labour—remained alive.

In 1909, when French Syndicalism was first attracting attention in England, Orage suggested as an alternative 'the creation of guilds . . . with all the privileges as well as all the responsibilities of ancient guildsmen'.³ The industrial recession of 1908-9, followed by an increasing number of strikes in the next two years,⁴ gave renewed impetus to the attempt to incorporate the guild concept in some viable political theory. During this period, according to G. D. H. Cole, 'more and more strikes came to centre round questions which employers had hitherto refused to regard as matters for collective bargaining or negotiation. Questions of "discipline" and "management" came to the front, and formed the subject matter of many important disputes.'⁵ Early in 1912, Orage recommended

¹ Carpenter, p. 84; 'Politics for Craftsmen', *The Contemporary Review*, XCI (June 1907), 782-94.

² Carpenter, p. 93; *Fabian News*, XVII (Apr. 1907), 35-6.

³ NA, V (3 June 1909); quoted in Carpenter, p. 85.

⁴ *The Second International*, p. 224.

⁵ 'The Guild Movement in Great Britain', in Odon Por's *Guilds and Co-operatives in Italy* (London, 1923), p. 168.

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as a solution to these problems partnership between management and labour, with 'a frank acceptance of the integral character of the unions and their right to an equal share in the responsibility of management in the business their members are engaged in'.¹ Later that year, S. G. Hobson commenced a series of articles in *The New Age* employing this idea as the basis of a complete industrial and political system. Orage 'edited' these articles, which appeared anonymously, making many suggestions regarding the implications of the theory; according to one contributor, they would not have been half so brilliant as they were without his collaboration.² Between 1913 and 1915 (the year in which these ideas became the basis of an active political movement), Orage, G. D. H. Cole, and other writers elaborated Hobson's ideas. Thus 'Guild Socialism' was born.

Guild Socialism was an ingenious synthesis of political Socialism and industrial Syndicalism. The trade unions were to be converted into guilds which, by virtue of their 'monopoly of labour', could demand the State to give them control of industries and services. (Ideally clerical and administrative workers other than directors would be members of the guilds presenting this demand.) Both shareholders and the State would be helpless in the face of this concerted action. The State would purchase each industry and issue its guild a charter stating the conditions under which it would be allowed to operate. Its responsibilities would include the maintenance of high standards of quality and a fixed price for its products (to be determined by a joint body representing all guilds and the State); the guild would pay a single tax or rent to the State (determined by the same body). Factories would be

¹ *NA*, X (18 Jan. 1912); quoted by Carpenter, p. 85.

² Rowland Kenney, interview, Feb. 1960.

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locally controlled, a guild consisting of all the factories in a particular type of industry. Each guild member would be assured of continuous pay, full medical coverage, and a pension; the government would not be burdened with the administration of these social services. The early Guild Socialists did not envisage the disappearance of the State, as did the Syndicalists; the citizens as a whole would elect a government which would regulate the guilds, enact national legislation, and conduct international affairs. But they were opposed to the gargantuan bureaucracy of Fabian Socialism, with its omnipotent centralization of power. The basic premise of the movement, according to G. D. H. Cole, was that 'men could not be really free as citizens unless they were also free and self-governing in their daily lives as producers.'¹

The political theory of Guild Socialism is less important to the present discussion than the ethic that it embodied and the philosophy of man that could be derived from it. The motto of the movement was taken from the Apocrypha: 'They shall maintain the fabric of the world, and in the handiwork of their craft is their prayer' (*Eccles.* xxxviii, 31). From one point of view, it can be seen as an attempt to redeem labour from the emptiness that capitalism had inflicted upon it. Workers were to be given more responsibilities in the management of industry; at the same time, they would be given more freedom in determining the conditions of their labour. The ethical

¹ *The Second International* p. 244. This account of Guild Socialism is a summary of information contained in *National Guilds* (London, 1914), a collection of S. G. Hobson's articles which appeared in *The New Age*, 1912-13; and Carpenter, pp. 97-229. As Guild Socialism developed, its basic principles were occasionally the subject of heated controversy, leading to divisions within the movement. This summary contains only the essence of the theory as Hobson stated it.

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aims of the system are stated in a pamphlet issued by the National Guilds League:

Substitute the national service of the Guilds for the profiteering of the few; substitute responsible labour for a saleable commodity; substitute self-government and decentralization for the bureaucracy and demoralizing hugeness of the modern State and the modern joint stock company; and then it may be just once more to speak of a ‘joy of labour’ and once more hope that men may be proud of the quality and not only the quantity of their work. There is a cant of the Middle Ages, and a cant of ‘joy in labour’, but it were better, perhaps, to risk that cant than to reconcile ourselves for ever to the philosophy of Capitalism and Collectivism, which declares that work is a necessary evil never to be made pleasant, and that the workers’ only hope is a leisure which shall be longer, richer, and well adorned with municipal amenities.¹

The ethical emphasis of Guild Socialism made it attractive to a wide range of intellectuals. Many Christian Socialists joined the movement, among them Nevill Figgis, Conrad Noel, and William Temple (who later became Archbishop of Canterbury).² Bertrand Russell was an advocate of Guild Socialism;³ R. H. Tawney and G. D. H. Cole devoted their energies to its success during these years. Orage did not take an active part in the political organization of the movement, but *The New Age* remained its primary organ. A number of contributors elaborated various aspects of the guild idea under Orage’s direction, and in the ‘Notes of the Week’ he interpreted industrial unrest and social evils of the day from a Guild Socialist point of view.

¹ ‘The Guild Idea’, *Pamphlets of the National Guilds League*, No. 2 (London, n.d.), p. 14.

² Cole, *The Second International*, p. 245.

³ Bertrand Russell, *Roads to Freedom* (London, 1918), pp. 92-6; *NA*, XIX (17 Aug. 1916), 384.

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Enough has been said of Guild Socialism to indicate that it rejected most of the premises of Collectivism and the 'New Liberalism'. It was implicitly religious, whereas they were materialist in their objectives; it retained some vestiges of the Mediaevalism important in its earliest formulation, while they were based on progressivist theories. Ultimately, Guild Socialism entailed a philosophy of man, a theory of value, and a concept of history opposed to those of the prevailing ideologies. These differences were elaborated in *The New Age* by a group of writers whose ideas were absorbed by the movement and gave it a solid theoretical basis.