EIGHT HOURS BILL

In the form of an Amendment of the Factory Acts, with further provisions for the Improvement of the conditions of labour.

PUBLISHED BY

THE FABIAN SOCIETY.

"Unfettered individual competition is not a principle to which the regulation of industry may be entrusted." (The Right Honourable John Morley, M.P., in "Life of Cobden," vol. 1, ch. xiii., p. 298.)

(TWENTIETH THOUSAND. REVISED.)

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INTRODUCTION.

The Bill submitted in this pamphlet was drafted by the Political Committee of the Fabian Society in November, 1889, with the object of embodying in precise and Parliamentary terms certain familiar demands for the democratic regulation of industry. The Committee expressed in its clauses only proposals for legislative reform which are plainly within the immediate scope of practical politics. Their aim was, first, to supply both advocates and opponents of the limitation of the Working Day with a model of an Eight Hours Bill which might serve as a test for Parliamentary candidates, and as an illustration of the method in which our existing political machinery can be applied to enforce such limitation; and, secondly, to formulate amendments most pressingly required for the extension of the benefits of the Acts already protecting and ordering Labour for the common good, and for ensuring their efficiency where their provisions have been found to fail.

The Bill, accordingly, is divided into two parts. The first, which is concerned exclusively with the regulation of hours, is largely (like the second) a development and amendment of laws already in force. But while it enacts a limitation of hours in certain employments already regulated by the State, and enables such limitation to be imposed in all privileged undertakings and monopolies, it undertakes no more, with regard to other employments, than to guarantee to the workers the power to enforce a similar restriction, without the need of any further law-making, as soon as they shall themselves desire to do so.

The notes which are appended to the various clauses are confined for the most part to references to existing laws and precedents, and to explanations of the principles followed in novel provisions. No attempt has been made to develop the general arguments for the restriction of hours of labour, or for interference with the arrangements of employers. Such an undertaking is outside of the scope of this pamphlet. Its intention will be fulfilled if it supplies a formulation of this policy sufficiently precise and practical to render it impossible for "business men," officials, or politicians to evade the issues raised on the ground of their vagueness or Utopianism. The general arguments on the subject may be gathered from the publications named on page 16.

No uniform Act of Parliament can deal with all occupations, and this Bill, if it became the law of England, would not of itself secure an eight hours day for every worker. But if this Bill proposes as much as can forthwith be done by law, and if what it proposes can all forthwith be done, legislation founded upon it might claim an honourable place in the file of industrial enactments, and, as with all such legislation, its actual working only can teach what is the best direction for further application of its principles.

The adoption, wholly or in part, by the London Liberal and Radical Union, the Metropolitan Radical Federation, the London Trades Council, and most of the London Working Men's Clubs of the general principle of this draft Bill, as well as the enormous "Eight Hours Demonstration" in Hyde Park on May 4th, 1890, sufficiently indicate the progress of the movement.
A BILL

ENTITLED

AN ACT TO AMEND THE FACTORY AND WORKSHOP ACT, 1878, AND TO PREVENT EXCESSIVE HOURS OF LABOUR.

Preliminary.

1. This Act may be cited as the Hours of Labour Act, 1890, and shall, except as regards the sixth section, be read and construed as one with the Factory and Workshop Act, 1878, and the Acts amending the same.

The whole Bill applies, like the existing Factory Acts, to Scotland and Ireland, as well as to England and Wales.

The sixth clause, relating to mines, will more conveniently be incorporated in the Mines Regulation Acts, so as to be enforced by the Mine Inspectors.

The definitions of terms are given in the Factory Act of 1878.

2. This Act shall come into operation on the first of January, 1891.

PART I.

The Normal Day and Week.

3. In contracts for the hire of labour, or the employment of personal service in any capacity, a day shall, unless otherwise specified, be deemed to mean a period of eight working hours, and a week shall be deemed to mean a period of forty-eight working hours.

This is already law in various American States, such as New York, Illinois, California, and Wisconsin. In others, such as Pennsylvania, Ohio, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Maine, Michigan, and Nebraska, ten hours is the normal day. (See First Annual Report of Federal Commissioner of Labour, 1886.) To these may be added Florida (ten hours), Indiana and Connecticut (eight hours). (See Foreign Office Report, C—5886.)

The clause would not prevent agreements to work for a longer period: hence it will, in itself, only be useful as declaring the public opinion as to the proper maximum hours of labour, and as a means of thereby bringing about a voluntary shortening of hours where they exceed this maximum.

"Overtime" would therefore not be universally prohibited, but the remaining clauses of the Bill make no distinction between "time" and "overtime," and where they apply, "overtime" will be forbidden, except in the emergencies provided for in clauses 4, 5, and 6.

For Government Servants.

4. No person employed under the Crown in the United Kingdom in any department of the public service, other than military or naval, or by any county council, municipal corporation, vestry, local sanitary authority, school board, board of guardians of the poor, dock or harbour trustees, district board of works, district council, improvement commissioners, commissioners of sewers, of public libraries, or of baths and wash-houses, or by any other public administrative authority, shall, except in case of special unforeseen emergency, be employed for a longer period than eight hours in any one day, nor for more than forty-eight hours in any one week: provided that in cases of public emergency a Secretary of State shall have power, by order published in the London Gazette, to suspend, for such employments and for such period as may be specified in such order, the operation of this section.

Any public officer ordering or requiring any person in public employment to remain at work for a period in excess of either of those herein specified, except in case of special unforeseen emergency, shall be liable to a fine not exceeding ten pounds.

Any public authority, or the principal officer of any department of the public service, employing or permitting to be employed by reason of special unforeseen emergency, any person in excess of either of the periods herein specified, shall report the fact within seven days to Secretary of State, and a complete list of such cases shall be laid before both houses of Parliament once in each year.

This is already law in the States of New York and California; but in the former case "overtime" is permitted. (First Annual Report of Federal Commissioner of Labour, 1886; see also C—5886.) United States Statutes, c. 43, sec. 3738, enacts it for labourers employed on Government works, in navy yards, etc. (See p. 56 of C—5886.) Maryland law limits the working day in the State tobacco warehouses to ten hours (p. 55 of C—5886). The Royal Commission on Labour and Capital in Canada recommended that all Government work should be subject to a maximum of nine hours per day. Eight hours is fixed by law for Government works in Victoria. (Sir C. W. Dilke's "Problems of Greater Britain," vol. ii., p. 286.) The hours are the same in the Portuguese Government tobacco factories. (Times, 3rd May, 1890.)

Provision is made in the clause for "overtime" in case of "special unforeseen emergency," but every such case must be reported and published. In case moreover of "public emergency," as in the existing Factory Act, a Secretary of State will be able to suspend the operations of the whole section, but the order must be published. At present he has power to exempt from the existing Acts Government factories (see sec. 93 of 41 Vic., c. 10); and this power is frequently exercised without the knowledge of the public.

Besides preventing excessive hours in any one department, the clause will also put a stop to the practice which prevails in the Post Office, Inland Revenue and Customs Departments, of taking on, as casual workers or "glut men," or even for the performance of the regular work of the department, persons who have already done a day's work in one of the other departments. This re-engagement of exhausted workers is obviously a fraud on the public.

The principle of this clause has been adopted by the London Liberal and Radical Union, the Metropolitan Radical Federation, and by all parties to the great "Eight Hours Demonstration" in London on 4th May, 1890.

For Railway Servants.

5. No person employed wholly or mainly to work railway signals or points shall be employed continuously for more than eight hours, nor for more than forty-eight hours in any one week.

No person employed as engine-driver, fireman, guard, or wholly or mainly in shunting, on any railway, shall be employed continuously for more than twelve hours, nor for more than forty-eight hours in any one week.

The General Manager of any railway company employing or permitting to be employed any person in contravention of this

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section shall be liable on conviction thereof to a fine not exceeding one hundred pounds for each such contravention.

Provided that in any case in which the employment of persons to work railway signals or points, or as engine drivers, firemen, or guards, or in shunting, for longer periods than is prescribed by this section is by reason of some special and unforeseen emergency necessary for the public safety, it shall be lawful for a Secretary of State, on a report made within seven days by the General Manager or Secretary of the Railway Company acting in contravention of this section, to direct that no legal proceedings should be taken in the case of the particular contravention so reported.

A list of the cases in which any such direction has been issued by a Secretary of State under this section shall be laid before both Houses of Parliament once in each year.

The Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants strongly supports the immediate restriction by law of their present excessive hours. The General Railway Workers' Union has been formed mainly to secure this boon. Particulars of their over-work are given in the official return, H. L. 33 of 1889 (64). It is generally admitted that considerations of public safety, especially in the case of signalmen and pointmen, clearly warrant prompt public intervention; and the Railways' Regulation Act of 1889 (52 and 53 Vic., c. 57, sec. 4) recognises this principle by requiring an annual return of cases in which any man has been continuously employed for more than a number of hours to be specified by the Board of Trade.

This clause will only apply to certain classes of railway servants, in whose cases the consideration of public safety is most prominent. Other railway servants can obtain a legal limitation of their hours of labour under clause 7 (trade option).

A precedent for the legal limitation of the hours of railway servants is given by the State of Minnesota, where the law forbids the employment of locomotive engineers or firemen for more than eighteen hours in one day! (First Annual Report of Federal Commissioner of Labour, 1886, p. 469.)

**For Miners.**

6. No person shall be employed under ground for hire in any mine for a longer period than eight hours in any one day, nor than forty-eight hours in any one week.

The period of employment under ground in a mine shall, for the purpose of this section, be deemed to be the whole period from the time of leaving the surface of the ground to descend the mine, to the time of return to the surface of the ground after cessation of work.

The manager of any mine employing or permitting to be employed any person in contravention of this section shall, on conviction thereof, be liable to a fine not exceeding one hundred pounds for each such contravention.

In any cases in which, through accident or other unforeseen emergency, any person may be employed under ground for a longer period than is prescribed by this section, a special report may, within seven days thereof, be made to a Secretary of State by the manager of the mine, and a Secretary of State may, if he thinks fit, thereupon direct that no prosecution shall be instituted in respect of the particular offence so reported.

A list of the cases in which such direction has been issued by a Secretary of State under this section shall be laid before both Houses of Parliament once in each year.

This section shall be read as one with, and be deemed to be incorporated in, the Coal Mines Regulation Act, 1887, and the Metalliferous Mines Act, 1872.

Labour in mines is already subject to a special code of law, dating from 1842; but boys of twelve work under ground (half-time), and youths and men are not protected from having to remain at work underground for long hours. The coalminers in Southumberland, Durham, and the East of Scotland have already brought down their working hours; but elsewhere they still often work much longer than eight hours under ground. The manager of any mine employing or permitting to be employed any person in contravention of this section shall, on return to the surface of the ground after cessation of work.

For the purpose of this section, persons employed in any trade or occupation shall be taken to mean all persons employed for hire, or actually performing labour in any capacity, in such trade or occupation as aforesaid, to cause a public enquiry to be held in the principal district or districts in which such trade or occupation is carried on, or to cause a poll to be taken of the persons employed in such trade or occupation, or to take such other means as he may deem fit.

For the purpose of this section, persons employed in any trade or occupation shall be taken to mean all persons employed for hire, or actually performing labour in any capacity, in such trade or occupational.
subordination to the House of Commons affords, at present, the only practicable
means of exercising public supervision and control over the award; and
because he is the officer entrusted with the general administration of the
Factory Acts.

There are various precedents, besides those cited in the notes to clauses
4, 5 and 8, for the legal limitation of the hours of adult male workers.
Austrian law limits the hours in factories to eleven per day for men as well
as women, with certain exceptional extensions: Hungary enforces meal
times and relief for night shifts. The French law of 1848, prescribing a
universal maximum of twelve hours, is still in force, though modified by
Imperial Decrees: by Circular of 25 Nov., 1885, it was held to apply to all
factories employing power, and having twenty hands in any one shed. Switzer-
land forbids work for more than eleven hours a day, less an hour for meals, with
permission to apply for special exceptions not exceeding a fortnight. (Foreign
Office Reports, C—5866). The legal prohibition of labour on Sundays is very
general. The labour of adult women is usually specially regulated.

It is now widely admitted that there is no insuperable objection in principle
to regulating male adult labour. Jevons (late Professor of Political Economy at
University College, London) sums up the matter in his book "The State in
Relation to Labour" (p. 65), referring to the inconstant movement for an "Eight
Hours Bill." "I see nothing, therefore, to forbid the State interfering in the
matter if it could be clearly shown that the existing customs are injurious
to health, and that there is no other probable remedy. Neither principle,
"experience or precedent, in other cases of legislation, prevents us from con-
"templating the idea of state interference in such circumstances."

By local option for monopolies.

8. The Council for the administrative county of London, and
elsewhere the sanitary authority, shall have power to make, and
from time to time to amend, bye-laws restricting the hours of labour
of persons employed for hire in or in connection with any docks,
harbour, tramways, railways, or establishments for the supply of electric
light, or of electric or hydraulic power, gasworks, and waterworks, within
the area under its jurisdiction, whether owned by a public authority or not.

Any bye-laws made in pursuance of this section shall be sub-
mitted for confirmation to a Secretary of State, and shall, when
confirmed by him, be deemed to be incorporated in this Act; pro-
vided that no such bye-law shall fix a maximum number of hours
of labour in excess of fifty-four per week.

Local monopolies, where still administered for private profit, are clearly
subjects for local regulation, and no fear of foreign competition need hinder the
legal limitation of the hours of labour in connection with them. Where they
are already administered by a public authority clause 4 will apply. The
Huddersfield Town Council, which is the only public authority working its own
tramways, has already instituted an Eight Hours Day for its tramway servants.

As regards tramways and elevated railways, a precedent is afforded by the
law of the State of New York, which limits the working hours to ten per day.
New Jersey has a legal maximum of twelve hours, "with reasonable time for
meals." The limit in Maryland is twelve hours per day.

Glasgow Corporation, in leasing out its tramway lines, prescribes ten hours
as the maximum average work per day (and see note to clause 11).

In all new enterprises under Parliamentary powers.

9. No person or company, other than those to whom Section 5
or 6 of this Act is applicable, hereafter obtaining statutory powers
or privileges of any description by private or local Act of Parliament,
shall employ any person for hire for more than forty-eight hours in
any one week, and this section shall be deemed to be incorporated in every subsequent private or local Act of Parliament granting statutory powers or privileges of any description to any such person or company that employs labour of any description for hire, and to apply to all the operations of the said person or company under statutory powers of privileges, whether by that or any other Act.

Any person, or the principal manager or other chief officer of any company, employing or allowing to be employed any person in contravention of this section shall be liable to a fine not exceeding one hundred pounds for each such contravention.

Parliament may fairly determine the conditions upon which it will accord special powers or privileges by Act of Parliament. Mines and Railways are dealt with in clauses 5 and 6, and are therefore excluded from the operation of this clause. This proposal received the adherence in principle, of the London Trades Council and the great "Eight Hours Demonstration" in London on 4th May, 1890.

In view of the diverse occupations and localities to which the clause will apply, it seems better to enforce only the weekly maximum, so as to allow some daily latitude where convenient.

This limitation has been inserted in various Tramway Acts in Victoria. (Sir C. Dilke's "Problems of Greater Britain, vol. ii., p. 286).

For young persons.

10. No child or young person under fifteen years of age shall be employed for hire in any trade or occupation whatsoever for more than five hours in any one day, nor for more than thirty hours in any one week.

The provisions of sections 12, 14, 16 and 23 to 25, inclusive, of the Factory and Workshop Act, 1878, relating to children employed in factories or workshops, shall apply also to children and to young persons under fifteen years of age, employed for hire in any trade or occupation whatsoever; and such young persons shall for the purposes of the Elementary Education Acts and the Technical Education Act, 1889, be deemed to be children of school age.

Section 26 of the Factory and Workshop Act, 1878, is hereby repealed.

This clause makes the "half-time" law, now applying nominally to children under fourteen, apply also to those under fifteen. It also abolishes the exception recognised by, sec. 26 of the Factory Act of 1878, by which children between thirteen and fourteen can go to work "full time," and otherwise escape the protection of the Act, provided they have passed a prescribed educational standard (at present Standard IV. See the First Schedule to the Act 48 and 44 Vic., c. 29).

The repeal of this exception, and the raising of the "half-time" age, are strongly urged by medical and educational authorities. France, the Colony of Victoria, and the States of Maine and New Jersey require, at any rate, partial education up to fifteen; Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Pennsylvania up to sixteen years of age (see note to clause 19). The Berlin Labour Conference emphatically adopted a similar principle.

11. The Council for the Administrative County of London, and elsewhere the sanitary authority, shall have power, if deemed by them necessary for the proper enforcement of the laws relating to the employment of labour or to public health, to make and from time to time amend, bye-laws providing for any of the following objects, viz.:

(1) The compulsory registration of all premises in which persons are employed for hire, otherwise than exclusively in domestic service.

(2) The inspection of all such premises by any medical officer of health, sanitary officer, or any inspector either appointed under any Act relating to the employment of labour, or specially for the purpose.

(3) The prevention of over-crowding in premises in which persons are employed for hire.

(4) The provision of proper sanitary arrangements in such premises.

(5) The prevention of excessive hours of labour in occupations in which the provisions of Part I. of this Act may not be applicable or effective.

(6) The prevention of public injury or inconvenience in connection with the employment of labour in or about docks, harbours, rivers, tramways, telephones, establishments for electric lighting or for the supply of electric or hydraulic power, gasworks and waterworks.

Any bye-laws made in pursuance of this section shall be submitted for confirmation to a Secretary of State, and shall, when confirmed by him, be deemed to be incorporated in this Act.

The Council for the administrative county of London, and elsewhere the sanitary authority, shall have power to appoint local inspectors, clerks, and servants for the enforcement of any such bye-laws, and any inspector so appointed shall possess the same rights and powers as an inspector under any of the Acts relating to the employment of labour.

The power to make bye-laws, subject to confirmation by the Home Office, Local Government Board, or Board of Trade, is already widely exercised by nearly all local authorities. It affords a means of meeting the diverse necessities imposed by local circumstances, without the objections often felt to undue interference from a central government office. Each locality can, within certain limits, legislate for itself as it pleases.

Hardly any of the preceding clauses will practically affect East London, where the extension of the Factory Acts is most needed. The special circumstances of this and other densely crowded aggregations of small workshops, require special treatment, which it would be inconvenient and unnecessary to apply to the whole kingdom. Hence it is proposed to allow the County Council to make bye-laws and provide its own additional inspectors.

The kind of bye-laws which should be made would be such regulations as are proposed by Mr. Charles Booth (Life and Labour in East London, p. 498-9) for the compulsory gratuitous registration by the owners of all premises where labour is employed for hire, and of all employers; rules against overcrowding and insanitary conditions such as already exist in the usual bye-laws for dwelling-houses, and provisions insuring frequent and systematic visitation of every workshop and place where "home-work" is done. Drastic amendments of the law in these directions are recommended in the Report of the House of Lords.
Committee on the Sweating System (H.L. 62, May, 1890.) See article in the Nineteenth Century, June, 1890, by Miss P. Potter.

In the case of monopolies such as trams, the conditions imposed by the Glasgow Corporation in leasing their lines might be taken as a guide. They are as follows:

"Only such persons as can satisfy the Magistrates' Committee that they have a thorough knowledge of the city and of the duties of a car conductor shall be licensed as such. The working day of conductors and drivers shall not exceed an average of ten hours. The conductors of cars shall be provided with proper uniform, consisting of tunic, trousers and cap, and no conductor shall be permitted to be on duty without uniform. A uniform greatcoat shall be provided for the winter months. No conductor, driver, or other officer shall be permitted on a car unless his clothing is in good order and his whole person clean and tidy. The lessees shall provide proper sanitary conveniences for the drivers and conductors at places where these are requisite, and as may be agreed on with the corporation."

The "sanitary authority" which would have, outside London, the power to make such by-laws, is, in municipal boroughs, the town council, and in rural districts (where the power would hardly be needed), usually a committee of the Board of Guardians. But the power would, in the latter cases, be transferred to the new elective "district council" as soon as they are established.

12. It shall be the duty of the occupier of any factory or workshop in which any labour whatsoever is employed for hire, to specify in a notice affixed in a prominent position in the workshop or factory the time of beginning and quitting work on each day of the week, the time allowed for meals, and if children or young persons under fifteen are employed, whether they are employed on the system of morning and afternoon sets, or of alternate days.

A copy of every such notice, and of every alteration thereof, shall be sent by post in a registered letter, or delivered by the employer to an inspector within seven days of its publication, and shall be open to inspection at the Home Office by any person at any time when that office is open for official business.

A factory or workshop in which no such notice is affixed as herein specified, shall be deemed not to be kept in conformity with this Act.

Provided that nothing in this section shall affect the provisions of Section 19 of the Factory and Workshop Act relating to the employment of women or children.

This provision merely extends the requirement of the existing Factories Acts to all workshops. It does little more than afford a means of bringing public opinion effectively to bear on those employers who make their men work excessive hours.

Incidentally, however, it will cause the registration of all workshops, a reform often called for by the inspectors. At present all factories, and all workshops employing women and children, have to be registered, but not workshops employing men only.

13. Notwithstanding anything contained in the Sections 61 and 93 of the Factory and Workshop Act, 1878, such provisions of that Act, and of any Acts amending the same, as relate to the cleanliness, or to the freedom from effluvia, or to the overcrowding, or ventilation of a factory or workshop, or to the sending notice of accidents, shall apply to all workshops other than those specified in clause (a) of Section 61 of the said Act.

At present the sanitary provisions of the Factory Acts do not apply to workshops where only adult men are employed; and the Factory Inspector is there-
15. No person under sixteen years of age shall be employed for hire in any of the occupations or places specified in the First Schedule to the Factory and Workshop Act, 1878; but nothing in this section shall be deemed to permit the employment in such occupations or places of young persons over sixteen years of age where such employment is now prohibited.

The dangerous or unhealthy occupations specified in the First Schedule, in which young persons under sixteen may now be employed are the following:

- Melting or annealing glass.
  (No boy under fourteen or girl under eighteen may now be employed.)
- Making or finishing of bricks or tiles, not being ornamental tiles; making or finishing of salt.
  (No girl under sixteen may now be employed.)
- Dry grinding in the metal trade; dipping of lucifer matches.
  (No child under fourteen may now be employed.)
- "In any grinding in the metal trades other than dry grinding, or in "fustian cutting, a child under the age of eleven years shall not be "employed."

If these occupations were found so bad in the effects on young persons as to lead to the imposition of special prohibitions, it is suggested that all young persons under sixteen should be protected from being forced into them.

16. Where it appears to an inspector under this or any other Act or local bye-law relating to the employment of labour, that any act, neglect or default, by any person whatsoever, in or in connection with any place in which any person is employed for hire, is punishable or remediable under the laws relating to public health, it shall be the duty of the inspector himself, without reference to any local authority, to take such action as he may deem fit for the purpose of enforcing the law, and every such inspector shall possess more rights or powers of instituting legal proceedings for this purpose which are or may be possessed by any sanitary authority, sanitary officer, or medical officer of health.

Provided that nothing in this section shall relieve any sanitary authority or officer of such authority from any duty in connection with the law relating to public health.

Under the existing Act (41 Vic., c. 16, sec. 4), when a factory inspector discovers an infringement of the sanitary law, he can only report it to the local sanitary authority, a procedure which always causes delay and frequently results in no action being taken to enforce the law. This clause (coupled with clause 13) will enable the factory inspector himself to proceed against the offending employer.

17. The provisions of section 7 of the Factory and Workshop Act, 1878, shall apply to any vat, pan, or other structure which is so dangerous as to be likely to be a cause of bodily injury to any person employed in the factory or workshop, whether a child or young person or not.

This clause destroys a historical survival. In the earlier Factory Acts the provisions against dangerous machinery, etc., were restricted to such as was
The main law now in force is contained in the Act of Parliament 41 Vic., c. 16, "The Factory and Workshop Act, 1878." Copies can be obtained from Eyre and Spottiswoode, and elsewhere, price 2/6. An edition with notes, by Mr. A. Redgrave, C. B., is published by Shaw and Sons, price 5/-.

Sufficient abstract of its provisions can be obtained at the same publishers in sheet form, price 6d. (textile and non-textile industries being distinct and 3d. each).

The law relating to labour in coal mines will be found in the Act 50 and 51 Vic., c. 58, "The Coal Mines Regulation Act," 1887; and that relating to other mines in the Act 35 and 36 Vic., c. 77, "The Metalliferous Mines Regulation Act," 1872.

"The Agricultural Gangs Act," 1867; "The Canal Boats Act," 1884; and "The Merchant Shipping Acts," also minutely regulate the employment of labour. The labour of persons under eighteen in shops is regulated by the Act 49 and 50 Vic., c. 55, "The Shop Hours Regulation Act, 1886." The other Acts in force, such as 46 and 47 Vic., c. 53 (Factories); 38 and 39 Vic., c. 89; 44 and 45 Vic., c. 26; and 45 and 46 Vic., c. 3 (Mines) effect only minor alterations.

The chief Parliamentary Reports are the Select Committee's Report of 1816, and those of the Royal Commissions of 1884, 1840-3, 1862-6, and 1876. All but the last two are summarized in Engels' "Condition of the Working Class in England" (Reeves) and Karl Marx's "Capital" (Sonnenschein). More recent information will be found in the Report of the House of Lords Committee on the Sweating System (H.L. 62, 1890).


The History of English factory legislation is best found in E. E. von Plancher's "English Factory Legislation" (Chapman and Hall, 1873). Alfred's "History of the Factory Movement" is a practically contemporary chronicle of the movement down to 1847. Lord Shaftesbury's work is described in his "Life and Work," by E. Hodder Cassel (1886), and "Speeches" (Chapman and Hall, 1868). Besides Lord Shaftesbury's speeches, those of Sir Robert Peel (Houtledge, 1853), John Bright (Macmillan), Fawcett (Macmillan, 1873), and Lord Macaulay (Longmans, 1854) are historically interesting, and the great speech of the latter on the Ten Hours Bill rebuts the arguments against regulation of adult labour with great oratorical force. Colonial precedents are described in Sir C. W. Dilke's "Problems of Greater Britain" (Macmillan, 1890).

The arguments in favour of factory legislation are well given in W. S. Jevons' "The State in Relation to Labour," ch. iii. (Macmillan, 1882); John Morley's "Life of Cobden," vol. xviii., pp. 293, 303; H. L. Smith's "Economic Aspects of Socialism," ch. iv., sec. ii. (Simpkin, 1887); J. S. Mill's "Principles of Political Economy," bk. vi., ch. xi., and 9 and 12, and essay "On Liberty," ch. v.; Duke of Argyile's "Reign of Law," ch. vii. (Strahan, 1867); and especially in Gunton's "Wealth and Progress" (Macmillan, 1888). The latter work gives the best summary of the case for an Eight Hours Bill, but Tom Mann's pamphlet, "The Eight Hours Movement" (Modern Press, 13, Paternoster Row, 1889, price 1d.) presents it in a form more popularly accessible. See also "The Eight Hours Work Day" by A. K. Donald (Labour Press, 57, Chancery Lane, E.C., 1d.).

The difficulties of a universal compulsory eight hours day are stated in the "Factory and Workshop Act, 1878." Copies can be obtained from Eyre and Spottiswoode, price 5/-. Sufficient abstract of its provisions can be obtained at the same publishers in sheet form, price 6d. (textile and non-textile industries being distinct and 3d. each).

George Gunton, "The Eight Hours Law: shall it be adopted?" (Forum, 1886, p. 186).

Harold Cox, "The Eight Hours Bill" (Nineteenth Century, July, 1889).


H. H. Champion, "The Eight Hours Movement" (Nineteenth Century, September, 1889).

Sidney Webb, "The Limitation of the Hours of Labour" (Contemporary Review, December, 1889).

R. B. Haldane, M. P., "The Eight Hours Question" (Contemporary Review, February, 1890).

A. Bradlaugh, M.P., "The Eight Hours Question" (Fortnightly Review, March, 1890).

J. Murray Macdonald, "The Case for an Eight Hours Day" (Nineteenth Century, April, 1890).

John A. Holborn, "The Cost of a Shorter Day" (National Review, April, 1890).

[Since the preceding, the most important contributions to the discussion are the "Report of the Trades Union Congress" at Liverpool, in September, 1890 (Co-operative Printing Society, Manchester), and John Burns' "Speech on the Liverpool Congress" (Green, McAllan, & Co., 3, Ludgate Circus, E.C., 1d.).—December, 1890.]