NOTES

CHAPTER ONE. VICTORIAN AND EDWARDIAN SOCIOLOGY

1. A useful overview of statistical survey work in Britain can be found in Kent (1981).
2. The AJS is still associated with the University of Chicago Press, though less directly with the department. The American Sociological Review was formed in 1936 and the ASS was renamed the American Sociological Association in 1959.
3. On Spencer's life and work see Peel (1971) and Spencer's own autobiography (Spencer 1904). See also Turner (1985) and Offer (2010).
5. A similar recognition of Spencer's ideas was set out by Charles Cooley (1902) in the United States, Cooley's ideas generally being seen, however, as an extension of the symbolic interactionism of G. H. Mead (1927) and the Chicago sociologists.
6. Somewhat later, Peter Winch (1958) elaborated on these ideas and combined them with those of Wittgenstein to develop a view of social life as organized through shared rules and practices.
7. Edward Pease was a socialistically inclined stockbroker; Hubert Bland was a journalist and the husband of the children's author Edith Nesbit.
8. Besant left the Fabians in 1891 to join the Theosophists. Later members of the Fabian Society included H. G. Wells (for a short while), Leo Chiozza Money, and Richard H. Tawney.
9. Similar views were promoted in the United States by Henry George (1879).
10. Its first directors were W. A. S. Hewins, Sir Halford Mackinder, and, from 1908–1919, William Pember Reeves.
11. The continuing influence of these ideas was apparent in the later political sociology of Ralph Miliband (1961, 1969) and at Oxford in the work on social class undertaken by G. D. H. Cole (1955). The Webbs wrote much of the new program for the Labour Party in 1918, including the famous Clause Four on the nationalization of the means of production. Sidney became a Labour MP in 1922, was a minister in the first Labour government, and took a seat in the House of Lords as Lord Passfield. Although the Webbs remained in the Labour Party they moved closer to orthodox Marxism and to an acceptance of the Soviet regime from the early 1930s. Beatrice died in 1943, and Sidney in 1947.
12. It is unclear why MacIver came to be interested in Durkheim and Simmel. MacIver's son-in-law, Professor Robert Bierstedt, said that he knew of no reason other than "intense intellectual curiosity" why MacIver should have read these writers so
closely (personal communication to John Scott, March 23, 1998). MacIver's own account (MacIver 1968) gives little insight. MacIver's books of 1917 and 1921 can be regarded as texts in British sociology (Scott 1913). As he remained for the whole of the rest of his life in North America, his later works show greater influence of trends in American sociology. MacIver joined Columbia University in 1927 and was appointed a year later to head the Department of Sociology, which had been run down under the ineffective leadership of Franklin Giddings. MacIver's later works include *The Modern State* (1926), *Society* (1937), *Social Causation* (1942), and *The Web of Government* (1947). He retired from Columbia in 1950 but remained active in sociology until the 1960s.

13. McDougall expanded his general psychology in a text written in England but published just after his arrival in the United States (McDougall 1923). McDougall's approach to psychology was further developed in England by Jack Sprott, who had been a student of Myers at Cambridge (see Sprott 1937; and see the later Sprott 1952). McDougall's work and influence are discussed in Hearnshaw (1964, ch. 12).

**CHAPTER TWO. GEDDES, BRANFORD, AND GURNEY**

1. Parts of this chapter draw on the discussion in Scott and Husbands (2007). In the initial character sketches we draw on the various sources cited in greater detail in the later sections of the chapter.

2. Geddes has been well supplied with biographers. The first attempt to present an account of his life and work was produced by Amelia Defries (1927) during his own lifetime. This was followed by a more comprehensive assessment in Philip Boardman's 1936 PhD thesis at Montpellier and its conversion and subsequent enlargement in book form (1944; 1978). The final book to be produced by someone with personal knowledge of Geddes was that of Philip Mairet (1957). Later biographies include those of Paddy Kitchen (1975), Helen Meller (1990), and Walter Stephen (2004), together with the material in Novak (1995). These are the sources from which we have drawn much of the information not attributed to other sources in the notes to this chapter. We do not cite specific pages from these sources except where they concern particularly important issues or where the sources are ambiguous or contradictory. The papers of Patrick Geddes are held in archives at Strathclyde University, the National Library of Scotland, and Dundee University. Where letters have been reprinted in Novak (1995) we cite that source. Much information on all those people discussed comes from registration data, census returns, street directories, and passenger records, and we have not generally cited these numerous sources individually.

3. Geddes's actual place of birth was finally established by Stephen (2008, 2007). He was christened Peter but adopted the name Patrick in his early teens.

4. It was also in 1881 that John Geddes visited London in search of business connections.

5. Summons of Miss Helen or Ella Guillan Grant, 1896, National Archives of Scotland NAS02023 CS248-2390/1.

6. In his letters to Lilian, Geddes rather uncomfortably referred to himself as “Uncle” and “Daddy” (Boardman 1978, 363–64) and invited her to confess her
Notes to Chapter Two

emotional concerns as if he were a psychoanalyst. In 1927, he opened up about his own feelings and proposed marriage.

7. Sources on Branford and his family are few and far between. The only discussion of any length is the overadmiring account produced by Amelia Defries (1928). The Sociological Society archives and the papers of Victor Branford are held (largely unsorted) at Keele University in the series VB. These are now being reorganized and reclassified, but our sources give the original classification by which they were filed. Some further information comes from the diaries of Benchara Branford (in the possession of John Scott), which will be transferred to the Keele University archive.

8. William Branford’s life and character were crucial in shaping the life and vision of his son Victor. A full account of William himself is given in Appendix A to this book.

9. His year of birth is usually given as 1864, but it was in fact 1863. The birth was registered in 1864 and the register notes a correction to the original entry. His full name is Victor Verasis Branford, and the second name is often spelled “Veracis,” the Latin word for “the true thing.” However, the only examples that we have seen of his own signature spell it “Verasis.” Although this may have been a misspelling by his father, it seems more likely that the name was deliberately used. It can be speculated that the two forenames may have been given because his father aspired to a connection with the Count Verasis di Castiglione, cabinet advisor to King Victor Emmanuel. The latter became king of a unified Italy just two years before the birth of Victor Branford.

10. Information from Stephen Forge, Oundle School archivist.


12. These were produced at his own expense and the *Hand-Book of Animal Classification*, to which his father contributed a diagram of animal evolution, was successful enough to run to a third edition in 1890. A copy of this edition at the British Library seems to be the only surviving example of the booklet.


15. Immediately before the death of William, he and all his children except Lionel were living at 22 Clarence Street, Edinburgh, paying a rent of £32. Information from the Census and *Scotsman*, February 4, 1888.

16. One son, Martyn Mason Stewart, settled in Seattle, living at 519 People’s Savings Bank Buildings. Bess traveled to see him in May 1907. The other son, Arthur Bradford Stewart, was a private in an Australian regiment and served in South Africa, last heard of sailing from London on the SS *Inkosi* bound for Port Natal in 1905.

17. Adam Goodfellow died in 1913 and Elsie later married Sir William Alldardyce.

18. Declaration of Intention, No. 60032, April 11, 1910, U.S. Immigration Service records. The declaration, in which Branford claimed to be a resident of Goldfield, Nevada, was supported by his business associates William Goodman and Louis Vorhaus.

20. The Chelsea apartment was at 7 King’s Mansions, Lawrence Street.

21. There are no published biographical sources on Sybella Gurney apart from obituaries and material in the sources given in note 7 for Victor Branford. The history of her family was privately produced in a manuscript by her uncle Augustus Gurney (1887), now held at the British Library at Add. 81597. We are grateful to Gerald Gurney for permission to make use of a typed copy of this manuscript. Other information has been provided by David Gurney of Norwich.

22. Though her will and some other sources name her as Nina, the official birth record and the memorial tablet arranged by Victor give Sybella’s middle name as “Nino.”

23. There is a Gurney Row in Tregony, named after a nineteenth-century member of the family.

24. The early years of Archer Gurney and his family are recounted in Gurney (1887). See also “WT” (1887).

25. Gurney Drive in Hampstead Garden Suburb was later named in memory of her involvement in the founding of the suburb.


27. Marriage Record, State of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia County, License no. 259316, 1910. We are grateful to Halyna Myroniuk for providing information on the background of Krohmalney. Hugh Vivian (1927) correctly gives 1910 as the date of the marriage but is misleading in suggesting that Sybella Gurney was unknown to him before her marriage. In fact, they had been closely associated for some time (Reid 2000, 28).

28. Victor Branford returned alone to the UK on January 13, 1911, docking at Plymouth. He seems to have been sufficiently ill with his chest condition (most probably asthma) to take a cure in the relatively warm and sunny private nursing home “Hygeia” in Belle Vue Road, Ventnor, on the Isle of Wight. He returned to New York later in the year. Hygeia is now the Burlington Hotel.

29. Certificate of Naturalization 399047, November 12, 1913. Victor Branford was readmitted to British citizenship on February 6, 1923 (National Archives HO 144/2646). The Branfords lived in temporary accommodation owned by the National Arts Club at 119 E. 19th Street and then at 124 or 128 E. 24th Street.

30. Draft deposition, Keele Archive VB 301.

31. See http://www.hgs.org.uk/tour/tour00017000.html. The house was on the market for £3.5 million in 2005, then named Wyld’s Close Corner.

32. In fact, no baptismal record can be found for either son. It is possible that the baptism was privately carried out by Victor’s brother Lionel and may have been recorded, if at all, at his parish church in Hampshire.

33. Correspondence in Keele Archive, VB 51.

34. Information from inscription in a copy of Branford’s St Columba owned by his niece Violet Branford and in the possession of John Scott.

CHAPTER THREE. ORGANIZING AN INTELLECTUAL VISION

1. Ashbee’s Guild moved to Chipping Campden, Gloucestershire, in 1902, but it soon ran into financial problems (Hardy 2000, 112 ff.).
2. Carpenter, along with Geddes's Edinburgh student Cecil Reddie, later founded the Fellowship School at Abbotsholme to apply some of these ideas in an educational context (Armytage 1961, 327 ff.; Ward 1934). This is discussed in chapter 6 below.

3. Branford remained active in the Guild of St. George for many years. From 1920 Alexander Farquharson became the dominant figure and in 1933 the guild was formally moved to Le Play House.

4. Some aspects of this biography of Wood are conjectural on the basis of partial evidence, but seem to be consistent with what is known. See Rimmington (2005) and Gould (1900).

5. Early English Positivism is discussed in Kent (1978), Wright (1986), and Bryson (1936).

6. Congreve established branches of the church in Birmingham, Cambridge, Leeds, Leicester, Liverpool, and Newcastle. His Church of Humanity survived after his death in 1899 and was eventually reunited with the Positivist Society in 1917.

7. See the discussions in MacKillop (1986) and Sylvester Smith (1967).

8. Coit's centralized and theistic approach encountered opposition from the increasingly secular membership, and he was forced to resign in 1891. He formed the West London Ethical Society, which took a much more churchlike form, and later worked closely with the Ethical Church in Bayswater.


10. The LES had close links with the School of Sociology, set up by the COS to train social workers, and that was run from the Women's University Settlement.


12. Edmund Gurney was a member of the Norfolk Gurney family, associated with Barclays Bank, and was not close kin to Sybella Gurney.

13. At this time, the most influential of Comte's works in Britain were Martineau's (1853) condensation of his argument and Bridges's 1865 translation of the General View (Comte 1848), the Introduction to the Positive Polity. Other works of Comte were largely unknown.

14. It is unclear whether Branford visited Philadelphia at this time, as no evidence of a transatlantic sailing can be found. His article was probably compiled from discussions with Geddes and from secondary sources.

15. Papers by Branford (1902), and Geddes (1902) were published in the Scottish Geographical Magazine to promote this venture. On Geddes's work in Scottish geography and his sponsorship of the botanical mapping of Scotland by Robert and William Smith see Mather (1999).


17. In later life, Branford claimed that the Edinburgh School of Sociology had been formed in the 1890s and had been the basis of all he had done for more than thirty years (Branford 1926: Appendix B). This romantic reflection perhaps confused the short-lived organization with the larger and longer-lasting intellectual
circle formed around Geddes from the summer schools through to the numerous sociological ventures of the 1920s.

18. Some discussion of the founding of the Sociological Society can be found in Halliday (1968) and Evans (1986).


20. The sources for this and the following discussion of membership are the printed membership lists and constitutions of the Sociological Society.

21. John C. Medd was a cousin of Walter H. Medd, who, in 1911, married Sybella Gurney's goddaughter Muriel Beatty.

22. Mavor had gone to Toronto at the suggestion of W. J. Ashley, who had moved to Harvard. Ashley was subsequently appointed to the chair at Birmingham for which Branford had applied. Mavor set out an account of his own life in Mavor (1923).

23. On Letchworth see Miller (1989) and Jackson (1985).

24. An interesting discussion of urban planning and postwar reconstruction ideas and debates is Slavitt (1994). Nettlefold's planning ideas were set out in Nettlefold (1905).

25. Built by Thomas Cubitt, Le Play House was at 65 Belgrave Road. This is now part of the Victoria Hotel.

26. The checkered history of the Le Play Society and the eventual demise of the Institute are recounted in Evans (1986). The Sociological Review became more academic and more successful and the LSE sociologists wanted to take it over completely (Harper 1933, 341). This was refused and in 1948 they left the Review and drew up plans for both the British Journal of Sociology and the British Sociological Association.

27. Hull House had been set up in 1887 by Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr.


29. They may also have had contact with each other through their mutual acquaintance with Earl Barnes, who knew Geddes through his involvement in the Child Study movement and who met Fels sometime after 1902. Child Study is discussed further in chapter 6.

30. Kropotkin lived at 6 Crescent Road, Bromley. Fels later acquired an additional London home at 10 Cornwall Terrace, Regent's Park.

31. NLS MS10571.

32. NLS MS10570, 90–93.

33. Mumford's life and work are discussed in Miller (2002) and also in his own autobiography (Mumford 1982). The correspondence between Mumford and Geddes held at the University of Pennsylvania is usefully collected in Novak (1995).

34. See the discussion of this debate in McBriar (1987).

35. The paper had been read at a meeting of the Sociological Society in October 1909.

36. Branford to Geddes, undated, NLS MS10557, 58.

37. Practical organization of the symposium had been undertaken by Mabel Barker. The book was based on lectures given by Geddes that were reworked by Slater and then completely rewritten by Victor Branford.

39. A brief note on Le Play was omitted from the revised edition.
40. The *Handbook of Animal Classification* includes a diagram of animal evolution drawn by Branford’s father. This is incorrectly bound in the British Library copy of the *Handbook*.

41. This viewpoint was later to be developed systematically by Frederick Soddy (1922, 1924, 1926; and see Merricks 1996; Martinez-Alier 1987).

42. *Ideas at War* (Geddes and Slater 1917) originated in a summer school on warrdom and peacedom organized in 1915 by Gilbert Slater at Ruskin College, Oxford. Geddes’s contribution appeared in the *Sociological Review* (Geddes 1915b) and was later compiled with other material to form the book.

43. See Scott (2009). Copies of the manuscript of *Orpheus and Eurydice* are held at the University of Keele and at the British Library. Unfortunately, proof corrections to Scott (2009), including a report on the British Library copy, were not incorporated into the published version.

44. Ben Branford’s wife, Edith Dagmar Branford, and his daughter, Violet, produced short volumes of prose and poetry exploring moral themes (Mrs. B. Branford 1923; Violet Branford 1939).

45. A list of some of the geographers influenced by Geddes can be found in Maclean (2004, 95).

46. Dorothy Herbertson wrote her account of Le Play between 1897 and 1899, passing it to Victor Branford for possible publication around the time of World War I. Branford edited and published the first three chapters in *Sociological Review* in 1920 but was depressed at the lack of response. Farquharson published the whole (minus Branford’s edits to the final chapters) in *Sociological Review* in 1946. This was the version published in book form in 1950.

47. Fawcett’s statement of federalism was presented as a paper in 1916 and was published in the *Geographical Journal* (Fawcett 1917) before its publication in book form.

48. MacIver was a Scottish expatriate and an early member of the Sociological Society. See his own account of his life in MacIver (1968).


**CHAPTER FOUR. ENVIRONMENT, REGION, AND SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION**

1. These ideas were developed in the second edition of Le Play’s work, published in 1877–79.

2. Lord Avebury’s *Scenery in England* (Lubbock 1906) is cited as an example of the mapping of places from a geological standpoint, and Hilaire Belloc’s *The Old Road* (Belloc 1904) is given as an example of the documentation of transport patterns. More generally the works of Herbert Fleure (see, for example, Fleure 1919) were invoked as exemplifying this approach.

3. This descriptive framework and general approach was very influential for the social investigations carried out by Charles Booth (1901–02) and Seebohm Rowntree (1901).
4. This cultural formation is seen as involving the “recapitulation” during socialization of the evolutionary achievements of the species. We discuss this developmental psychology in chapter 6 below.


6. The same distinction appears more recently in Jürgen Habermas’s (1981a,b) distinction between the steering “system” and the sociocultural lifeworld.

7. This possibly refers to the novel *The Pretty Lady* (Bennett 1918), though they refer to a wartime essay. The Arnold Bennett Society has been unable to identify a definite source in Bennett’s work.

8. This article of Branford’s originally appeared in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1926).

9. Geddes first introduced the word *megalopolitan* (Geddes 1904) and then *conurbation* (Branford and Geddes 1917). He finally settled on *megalopolis* (Geddes 1927).

10. The book was actually written in 1909–1910 and was republished in a shorter edition in 1949 by cutting some of the more historically specific sections.

11. In support of their argument they cite the work of Jane Addams (1910).


13. Branford paid particular attention to the relationship between sociologists and the theatre, his interest perhaps strengthened by the fact that both his own sister and Sybella’s brother had been actors.

14. Percey Mackaye, the playwright, dramatist, and poet, was the brother of Benton Mackaye, a close friend of Lewis Mumford, and who is discussed in chapter 5.

15. The studios of the GPO Film Unit were based at 47 Bennett Park, Blackheath.

16. On the Philadelphia study see Bulmer (1991, 173). The Pittsburgh study was published in six volumes in 1908–09, the best-known being that by Elizabeth Butler (1909). The Russell Sage Foundation had been organized by lawyers Robert and Henry De Forest.

17. Crawford was a boyhood friend of Harold Peake. His general approach was set out in his *Man and His Past* (Crawford 1921). See Hauser (2008).

18. Later attempts at such a project were the descriptions of the one-inch sheets published by the Geographical Association in its series “British Landscape through Maps.” Particularly notable is Fleure’s report on Guernsey (Fleure 1961).

19. Marr’s survey was undertaken for the Ancoats university settlement and Walker’s survey on behalf of the Dundee Social Union. On Walker’s survey see Lenman and Carroll (1972). Early surveys are discussed in Freeman (2002).

20. Presidents of the section at various times included Branford, Geddes, Fagg, Geoffrey Hutchings, Farquharson, Fleure, and Peake.

21. Branford’s Paraguay reports are all held in the Keele archives with the reference number shown: “British and Germans on the River Plate” (1906, VB279), “Regional Sociology: The Region of the River Plate” (1906, VB96), and “Paraguay Central Railway” (1912, VB32).

22. Hardy’s surveys at the Keele archive are: “Paraguay—Rediscoveries in South America” (1910, VB279) and “Notes on Agriculture in Paraguay” (1913, VB165). The 1910 survey is the survey that Branford had told his business associate
Rodriguez must be kept secret. During the discussion of Barclay's 1909 survey at the Royal Geographical Society, Follet Holt referred to the need for geographical surveys to lead the way for railway development and colonization, proposing that the RGS organize an expedition to connect the Paraguay railway into a transcontinental system.

23. The study of the War Factory is largely a participant observation study undertaken by Celia Fremlin.


CHAPTER FIVE. PLANNING THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

1. For a vigorous refutation of conservative surgery and upgrading, see Davis (2006).


3. Examples of Geddes's writings on regionalism include Geddes (1902; 1915), Geddes and Branford (1919), and his “Talks from the Outlook Tower” reproduced in The Survey (Survey Graphic) for 1925 and in Stalley (1972, 289–380).

4. As examples of the utopian thought that influenced Branford and Geddes, and the work of several close associates, see the volume edited by Hollins (1908).

5. The original Megalopolis was an ancient Greek city that was not large or polycentric enough to correspond to the meaning that Geddes gave to the term megalopolis. Gottmann (1961) further elaborated on the concept of megalopolis, associating it with an archetypal case, the urbanized northeastern seaboard of the United States.

6. See especially Galton (1904) and Geddes (1905). Both papers were delivered at the first meeting of the Sociological Society, held at the London School of Economics in April 1904.

7. By far the most sophisticated analysis of Geddes’s vitalism is Welter (2002), a very thorough exploration of how Geddes interlinked his activism with his scholarship on social and environmental sciences. For other insights, see Dehaene (2002) and Studholme (2007).

CHAPTER SIX. SOCIALIZATION, CITIZENSHIP, AND THE UNIVERSITY MILITANT

1. Related work on child study by Hall's colleagues at Clark University included Chamberlain's Child (Chamberlain 1903), Hodge's Nature Study (Hodge 1902), Starbuck's Religion (Starbuck 1899), and Sanford's Psychology (Sanford 1897).

2. This is also the judgment of his biographer Dorothy Ross (1972). See also Pruette (1926).


4. We are grateful to Kevin Brehoney for information on these points.

5. A useful critical assessment can be found in Arnett (2006).

6. Through Hall's sometime colleague Franz Boas, the book influenced the more cultural approach to adolescence undertaken by Margaret Mead in Samoa (1928).
and New Guinea (1930). It also influenced the later developmental psychology of Erik Erikson (1950, 1968).

7. Though he was not himself a recapitulationist, the social behaviorism of George Mead (1910, 1927) also owed a great deal to Baldwin’s emphasis on child development and the importance of play. Hall also drew on the English-born psychologist Preyer (1893), who spent most of his career in Germany. On the general approach see Noon (2005).


9. Theodora Thompson set out a psychology of the unconscious spirit, but saw this as the divinely inspired emotional “Light Within” (Thompson 1928, 2, 5). On Tansley see Cameron and Forrester (2000).

10. Modifications to the theory of sexual selection are discussed in Geddes and Thomson (1931, 102 ff).

11. Tayler partially justified the exclusion of women from employment on the grounds that they tire more easily than men and cannot sustain constant attention to any task. “Women naturally require frequent intervals of rest, and this explains why housework, which supplies varied employment and opportunity of little pauses, is so readily accomplished by women” (Tayler 1904, 223). Few today would accept such arguments.

12. This argument is elaborated in Lineham and Gruffudd (2001).

13. The recapitulation theory in relation to education was most influentially set out in Benchara Branford’s text on mathematical education (B. Branford 1908). He discussed the relevance of Le Play to the school curriculum in a later book (B. Branford 1916, 141ff.). On educational psychology and the advocacy of responsible citizenship see Roberts (2004).


15. According to his daughter Sabita, Archie Branford was rather critical of his parent’s apparent experimentation on him. His uncle Jack, however, felt that this view, derived from Defries’s biography (1928, 95), seriously misrepresented the project as if it were cold and manipulative (letter of Jack Branford to Violet Branford, in the possession of J. Scott).

16. On the rise of progressive schooling see Selleck (1972), Pekin (1934), and Stewart (1968).

17. Keele archives VB42.

18. One of the best-known pupils was the publisher Stanley Unwin, who attended the school between 1897 and 1899. His brother Sidney was a teacher at the school and a cousin was head boy (Unwin 1960, ch. 4). Geddes remained in contact with Reddie into the 1920s, when Reddie was living in Welwyn Garden City at 1 High Oaks Road.

19. Geddes was for a time president of the Governors of King Alfred School in Hampstead Garden Suburb.

20. Archie Branford was not academic and did not thrive at school. He and his younger brother Hugh completed their education at a small private school in Bletsoe, Bedfordshire.
21. The idea of a chivalrous order was heavily influenced by such Romantic novels as Maurice Hewlett’s *The Forest Lovers* (Hewlett 1898).

22. Their presentation of their psychological arguments rested also on the views of William James (1890) and William McDougall (1908) on habit and instinct.

23. The initial plan had been to also open a school on the site, but financial problems following Ernest’s death in a motor accident in 1922 meant that this plan was postponed.

24. In 1924 the Kibbo Kift, took a more political direction in support of social credit and corporatist, expert control of the state and economy (Moore-Colyer 2003). It was in this year that the Woodcraft Folk seceded and built on its links to the cooperative movement.

25. There is no evidence that the mainstream of the Order were involved in witchcraft or magic. It is clear, however, that Byngham’s activities and the fact that the Order did employ Pagan ideas and rituals gave it a particular reputation locally. When, in the 1950s, Gerald Gardner created his story of witchcraft initiation rites in a New Forest coven—the basis of contemporary Pagan Wicca—it is likely that he drew on this reputation to give credence to his story.

26. This view of leadership has some similarities to that of the American social psychologist Robert Bales (1950), who drew on the arguments of Talcott Parsons to distinguish the “adaptive” task leader and the “integrative” socio-emotional leader. See also Parsons and Bales (1956).

27. The school later moved to Walsham-le-Willows and then to Hazeleigh, near Malden, Essex.

28. Also taken to the 1924 folkmoot was Theodore Faithfull’s son Glynn, then aged twelve. Glynn’s daughter Marianne Faithfull, later a popular singer, was a visitor to Sandy Balls in her childhood during the 1950s.


30. Glaister and Revel in fact went through a civil ceremony in Islington, London, in the late spring of 1930.

31. Byngham had left the order in 1931.

32. Aubrey resigned from the OWC in 1935 and started charging for the use of the camping facilities at Sandy Balls. Folkmoot moved to Brockenhurst, to Savernake, and then to Abergavenny. The Grith Pioneers—the renamed Grith Fyrd—concentrated their activities at a site in Derbyshire, where the folkmoot eventually settled.

CHAPTER SEVEN. COOPERATION, FINANCE, AND CAPITALISM

1. Further information on Bonar and other Scottish businessmen mentioned in this chapter can be found in Scott and Hughes (1980).

2. The address in 1907 is given in *Scotsman*, August 31, 1907. Information on companies and business addresses, except where indicated, comes from the various annual volumes of the *Stock Exchange Yearbook*, the *Stock Exchange Official Intelligence*, and the *Directory of Directors*. Address information also appears in *Kelly’s London directory*. Further information on office addresses comes from dated letterheads in the Keele archives and the National Library of Scotland.

4. The company was eventually wound up in 1933. See National Archives BT 31/31563/54294.

5. Plunkett was a pioneer of agricultural cooperatives in Ireland but had spent many years on the Powder River in the United States where his path had crossed with that of Dundee financier and newspaper proprietor Sir John Leng. There may well have been a Dundee connection involved in his association with Geddes.

6. Branford's authorship of this article on the areal farm, a copy of which was retained by him in his files, is uncertain. However, its ideas clearly influenced his thinking.

7. Following several letters of default from the Registrar of Companies, sent to an out-of-date address, it was struck off the register in 1911 (National Archives BT 31/8091/58334).

8. National Archives BT 31/4263/27639 and BT 31/6783/47737.


10. The Branford papers at Keele include a copy of the 1902 prospectus and a newspaper cutting about Stilwell.

11. In 1908, J. de Goijen was a banker in Amsterdam and his offices were bases for the Amsterdam representation of the Guardian Trust and the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Trust.

12. This was a suggestion of Guus Veenendaal, confirmed by the inclusion of van Oss bankers in Branford's business address book (Keele Archives VB 48). We are grateful to Guus Veenendaal and Bert Schijf for archival help in tracing possible associates for Branford.


14. The ANR had been formed in 1887 to operate in the northern “Mesopotamia” region of Argentina. Its chairman from 1897–1913 was W. Bailey Hawkins. The ANR cooperated with the neighboring Entre Ríos Railway, whose chairman from 1891–1903 was R. J. Neild. He was succeeded by Jason Rigby (Stones 1993).

15. Villanueva was also a horse breeder at Los Arenales and Chapadmalal and was a president of the Jockey Club. On his death in 1933 he received a state funeral.

16. General information on foreign and domestic capital in Paraguay in this period can be found in Abente (1989).

17. Fred Perry’s company also acted as contractors to the railway.

18. Underdown had for long been a director of the Argentine North Eastern Railway. Warren (1967, 40) has suggested that Rodriguez may have begun to buy shares in the PCRC as early as 1899. He had already bought into the original syndicate controlling the ANER and had become a major shareholder in that company. In 1901 the ANER was based at 13 Devonshire Square and had as directors, in addition to Underdown, William Bailey Hawkins (chairman since 1897 and trustee for bondholders, based at 39 Lombard Street), Harry Gibbs (of Antony Gibbs), G. Zwlgmeyer (London manager of the Deutsche Bank), L. Cahers d'Anvers (of Paris), Sir Charles Arthur Turner, and Harrison Hodgson (civil engineer). Anvers had extensive interests in Paraguay and later became a close associate of Percival Farquhar.

19. The other directors of Uruguay Northern were Charles E. Gunther (of Corneille David and Co., 4 Fenchurch Avenue, and a director of Liebig's Extract of
Meat), Frederick C. Norton (barrister of Lincolns Inn), and Colonel Ernest Villiers (of 44 Lennox Gardens and chairman of Hotel Cecil and Birmingham Mint). All the ordinary shares were held by Livesey, Son and Henderson, engineers, who were contractors to the line.

20. Rodríguez had spent some time in London where he already had business connections with Underdown.

21. Ferreira, a pro-Argentine, came to power with a liberal coalition in 1906, succeeding two short-lived presidencies initiated in coups.

22. The Paraguayan government’s interests were represented by its holding of the preference shares.

23. Rodríguez seems to have been suspicious of Sigismund Mendl’s motives, despite his own close association with Charles.


25. Scotsman, August 31, 1907.

26. An unknown hand, most probably Alexander Farquharson, has annotated the relevant file at the Keele Archive (VB 254) with the statement that “Rodríguez duped him in the end.”

27. On the reconstruction see London Gazette, Nov. 26, 1907. And see London Gazette February 7, 1908, and March 13, 1908. The offices of Ashurst, Morris and Crisp were at 17 Throgmorton Avenue.


29. Dudden confuses Manuel Rodríguez with a Paraguayan president of the same surname.


32. In 1910, Edgar called H. E. Borradaile from Canada to become a partner in Sperling. Borradaile was almost certainly related to Branford’s early associate William Borradaile.

33. In 1907–08, the firm’s offices moved to 41 Threadneedle Street and were linked to those occupied by the Law Debenture Corporation, managed by R. C. Whitcroft.

34. In 1906 the United States Banking Company became a correspondent bank of the Bank of Montreal.

35. National Archives, BT 31/31981/95881.

36. The origins of this earlier company are unclear, but they may lie with a subsidiary of the Continental Telephone Company that had been organized by the Bell group to operate across Latin America (Rippy 1946).

37. The North American Trust itself was merged into the Mexican Trust Co. by Parker H. Sercombe, with William H. Hunt as president, and eventually became part of the International Banking Trust. The bank collapsed in 1903 and Hunt was jailed in 1905 (Schell 2001, 93–94).
38. National Archives BT 31/4141/26712.
39. In 1911, Conklin merged various Cuban sugar businesses into Central Cuba Sugar, obtaining financial backing from the United Railways of the Havana (Roberts 1992, 136). He went on to form the Jucaro and Moron Railway. The activities of the other major business interest operating in Cuba—the Cuba Company of William van Horne and his assistant Percival Farquhar—are discussed in Santamarina (2000) and Sibley (1913). See also Zanetti and García (1987).

40. F. J. Benson and Co were based at 11–12 Bloomfield Street; Prudential Deposit was at 16–17 Broad Street Avenue. The principal partner, and sometimes sole partner, in the company was Frederick Jessel Benson, a merchant living at 15 Belsize Avenue.

41. Solicitors for the trustees were Norton, Rose, Barrington & Co., of 57½ Old Broad Street. The accountants for HTC were Haskins and Sells, operating in both New York and London.

42. Ellis Island records show that a sailing from Havana in February 1907 included Roland Conklin and his wife, Emanuel Underdown, Walter Ogilvie, Frank Tiarks from Schroders of London, and John Orr. On Walter Ogilvie see van Ness (1986).

43. Underdown was associated with Schroders in the Chilean railways and was placed on the board of the United Railways when Schroders masterminded a reorganization of the company in 1897 (Roberts 1992: 104). See also letter of Rodríguez to Branford, July 14, 1907, at Keele Archives, VB 254.

44. Chaplin, Milne, Grenfell & Co., was the successor company to the London operations of Morton Rose. It was also described as the Canadian agent.

45. The directors of Prudential Discount Trust were Frederick Benson, Lord Elcho, John Archibald Grove, and Sir John Fowke Rolleston. In 1910, PDT changed its name to Brazilian, Canadian and General Trust.

46. Ralegh Buller Phillpotts, partner in Surtees Phillpotts and Co. Phillpotts had close business links with Speyer and Co. Information on travel to Cuba and the United States from the Ellis Island records.

47. National Archives BT 31/12364/97712.
50. His eldest son was given the name Greenwood, after another business associate.

51. The telegraphic address of Lisman’s company in 1908 was FARBRANG, suggesting a possible link with FARquhar and the BRAzil railway at that date, though “Farbrang” is also Yiddish for a joyful communication and gathering.

52. The New York offices of the Cuban Telephone Company were at 60 Broadway, from which office its affairs were managed by Daniel Boissevain, an affiliate of Gideon Boissevain’s Amsterdam firm Gebr. Boissevain. Boissevain in New York was run by David Boissevain, son of Gideon, and was involved in the reconstruction of the Kansas City railway (Veenendaal 1996, 19, 148–51). Gideon’s cousin Athanase Adolphe Henri Boissevain (1843–1921) operated in London as Blake, Boissevain and Co until 1901, after which he worked as sole partner.

53. 115 Broadway was a large office building with many companies located in it and these often had little or no connection with each other. One other company
located there and that may have been of relevance to the Branford interests was Alliance Realty, a property, mining, and railway investment company. Two of the directors of this company also sat on the board of the North America Company, based at 30 Broad Street. The latter, associated with General Electric and contractors J. G. White, was to become one of the largest utility holding companies in the United States.

54. Branford's Argentine syndicate, headed by Manuel Rodríguez, had been involved in negotiations with Farquhar for some time, even acting as a front for Farquhar, and in February 1911, Farquhar acquired the syndicate's holding in PCRC. Letter of B. G. Mummery to Branford, referring to letter of Branford to Rodríguez, February 15, 1911, Keele Archive VB 254.

55. For the interlinked histories of Percival Farquhar and William van Horne see Gauld (1964), Armstrong and Nelles (1988), and Hanson (1937). Earlier in the century Percival Farquhar had shared a New York office with Sir William van Horne at 80 Broadway. The general pattern of British investment in North and South American railways is discussed by Jenks (1951).

56. Financial difficulties in the Cuba Company in 1902 led Farquhar to negotiate the sale of a substantial stake in the company to Scottish financier Robert Fleming. The company was then renamed the Cuba Railroad Co.


58. Nickson (1993, 217) suggests that Farquhar began to invest in Paraguay in 1908 as an associate of Rodríguez but this seems unlikely.

59. Paraguay Land and Cattle later became part of International Products and then came under the umbrella of South American Assets as part of the rescue package for Farquhar's businesses.

60. MacDonald (1911) notes that by 1911 the ANER, Entre Ríos, and PCRC were operating in combination to provide a through service from Buenos Aires to Asunción. See also Lewis (1968, 209). In 1901 Farquhar and van Horne were involved in the formation of a company of the same or similar name to the Argentine Railway, the finance organized by George B. Hopkins and a ten-member syndicate (Knowles 2004).

61. Appointed by Farquhar as European manager of the Brazil Railway in 1911.

62. Kelly's Directory of London, 1915. There is a reference in a Scots Canadian genealogy to an Alois Pfeiffer as son-in-law of Francis W. Newman (brother-in-law of Cardinal Newman). He may be connected with a company also in the offices: Alliance Investment Company (Canada) Ltd.

63. Other representatives of the debenture holders were Bernard Crisp, stockjobber associated with the lawyers Ashurst Morris and Crisp, Cecil Grenfell, stockbroker, and John Heslop.

64. Draft response of Branford to U.S. Embassy in connection with his U.S. citizenship in Keele Archives VB 301.

65. In August 1918, Asuncion Tramway, of which Victor Branford was chairman, went into liquidation. Creditors were to send claims to Bernhard Binder at 80 Bishopsgate, with Ashurst Morris and Crisp acting as lawyers. See London Gazette, August 16, 1918, and November 5, 1918.

66. Its offices by this time were at 80 Bishopsgate.
67. Letter of Druces and Attlee, Solicitors, to Eliza Gurney, October 2, 1894, in Keele Archives, Sybella Gurney Box 1; Probate of will Eliza Gurney, 1907; http://www.brh.org.uk/articles/scandle.pdf.

68. Strathclyde University archives T-GED 9/1669, 9/1672, 9/1688/1, 9/1681, 10/2/1, and 10/2/2.


70. Probate copies of the wills, Probate Registry.

CHAPTER EIGHT. FINANCIERS, THE CREDIT SYSTEM, AND THE THIRD ALTERNATIVE

1. See also Hobson's (1898) own account of Ruskin.

2. The book on modern capitalism was originally intended to be written by William Clarke as an extension of his Fabian essay (see Shaw 1889), but he passed the contract over to Hobson.

3. The subsequent debate over the relationship between ownership and control is reviewed and assessed in Scott (1997).

4. References to these works by Veblen are given in Branford (1914, 241) and Geddes (1915a, ch. 6).


6. There is, surprisingly, no mention of the accountant as an agent of the financier. However, Victor Branford probably saw himself, as an accountant and bankers' agent, as a mere technician constrained to act in the interests of the financiers with whom he dealt.

7. Branford failed to reflect on the fact that he had been involved in persuading the financier Martin White to endow a chair in sociology at the London School of Economics (Husbands 2005a).

8. They are referring here to Trotter's (1908, 1909) analysis of the so-called herd instinct.

9. Zabern (or Saverne) is a small town in Alsace, occupied by German forces prior to World War I. It came to prominence in 1913 when a German officer insulted the local population. The name became a byword for the abuse of military authority.

10. Those who discuss the more recent origin of the idea of the Third Way generally trace the term to Mussolini in the 1920s—the prior works of Branford and Geddes are generally ignored. A recent discussion traces the idea only to the period after World War I (Bastow and Martin 2003, ch. 1).

11. Branford appears to be citing the traditional Scottish ballad “Thomas Rymer and the Queen of Elfland.”

12. Orage had first met Penty when working in Leeds and had moved with him to London in 1905. Orage and The New Age are discussed in Mairet (1936) and Martin (1967).

13. Cole (1920) set out a general social theory as a foundation for this political position. Hirst (1994, 1997) has described this emerging politics as “associationalism” and presents a statement of its contemporary relevance.

15. Ramiro de Maeztu (1875–1936) His book was first published in English while he was London correspondent for a Spanish newspaper. It was translated into Spanish in 1919.

16. Other influential guild socialist work that stressed a religious, but non-Catholic, dimension included that of Neville Figgis (1913) and Richard Tawney (1921).

17. It was in this year that Chesterton (1926) restated the basic principles of distributism.

18. See the discussion of this approach in Mirowski (1989) and Martinez-Alier (1987).

19. Branford brought together two articles as a privately printed pamphlet in 1911. “Banks and Social Selection” was reprinted from *The Statist*, circa 1901, while “Memorandum Re Proposed Central Co-operative Credit Agency” had been written in the previous year. The pamphlet was produced in connection with a proposed cooperative credit bill in Parliament.

20. Branford had proposed a mechanism for achieving this through Le Play’s categories in an early paper (Branford 1901).

21. The first statement of Douglas’s position was in an influential article for the *English Review* (Douglas 1918).

22. Douglas draws specifically on Veblen (1921) on this point.

23. Douglas did not see the nationalization of banking as essential. His emphasis was purely on the distributive mechanism.

24. Other members included the social credit writer Maurice Colbourne (1935; a revision of his 1933).


26. The editorship of the original *New Age* magazine had passed in the mid-1920s from Orage to Arthur Brenton, editor of a magazine called *Credit Power*, which had published the social credit work of Marshall Hattersley (see 1922, 1929). In 1934, Philip Mairet became editor of *New English Weekly*, following the death of Orage.

27. This group and its later development are discussed in Cornford (2002, 2001); Reed (2001); Moore-Colyer (2001a,b); and Brace (2003).


**APPENDIX A. WILLIAM BRANFORD**

1. Marriage registration, Southwell, September Quarter 1858, 7b 367. Mary’s mother, Ann Barlow from Lambley, may have given birth to her daughters as a result of a prior relationship, though this cannot be established with any certainty.

2. There is no sign of any fraudulent marriage by the pair. Unless they traveled abroad to marry, it must be presumed that they were unmarried.
5. This account of William Branford draws on the Scotsman of July 13 and November 2, 1869, September 6, November 22, and November 24, 1870, June 30, 1873, August 4 and 17, 1874, April 28, 1881. Some additional information is reported in Bradley (1923). Information on Branford's time in Edinburgh was provided from the Edinburgh University archives by Irene Ferguson, Assistant to the Archivist.
7. In 1873 the trustees formally required the principal, William Williams, to resign. His response was to establish a rival college, the New Veterinary College, to which he took a majority of the students and the whole of the library. The original college responded by adopting the name Dick Veterinary College and completely reorganizing its management.
8. We are grateful to Brendon McDonagh, Librarian at the RCVS, for archive information about William Branford's qualifications and career. See also Beinart (1997a,b; 2003, ch. 4).
10. Scotsman, June 25, 1887.
11. Veterinary Record, April 5, 1890, 543–44. Times, November 3, 1888, 11.
13. 125 Sinclair Road, Hammersmith.