

Nathaniel Cohen and the Beginnings of the Labour Exchange Movement in Great Britain

by P.J. CAMPLING

The first successful labour registry in England was established at Egham in February 1885 by Nathaniel Louis Cohen.¹ This was a notable pioneering experiment, some twenty-four years before Churchill and Beveridge introduced government-sponsored Labour Exchanges. And in 1960 when the Jubilee of Employment Exchanges in Britain was being celebrated, Lord Beveridge paid tribute to Nathaniel Cohen, whom he described as 'if not the pioneer of the movement, at least the first person to put it into practice'.² The Labour Exchange Act of 1909 defines a Labour Exchange as

any office or place used for the purpose of collecting and furnishing information, either by the keeping of registers or otherwise, respecting employers who desire to engage workpeople and workpeople who seek engagement and employment.

By this definition, the Egham labour registry was the first genuine public labour bureau run on modern lines.³

In fact, the principle of Mr Cohen's work had been anticipated by almost 250 years. The labour exchange idea found expression in a document issued under the authority of the Crown as early as 1637, when Letters Patent were granted by Charles I to Robert Innes to set up, in the Cities of London and Westminster, an 'Office of Intelligence'. This office was for the providing of masters and mistresses for any kind of servant, male or female, 'where the said servants may at any tyme enter their names with their respective qualities for their accomodation and preferment'. (Norman and Lee, 1928, 399-404) The first labour exchange of which any record exists was established by Henry Robinson under the title of the 'Office of Adresses and Encounters' in 'Threadneedle Street over against the Castle Tavern, close to the Old Exchange'. In 1650 he issued a pamphlet describing the office optimistically as a centre

Where all people of each Rank and Quality may receive direction and advice for the most cheap and speedy way of attaining whatsoever they can lawfully desire, or the only course for poor people to get speedy employment, and to keep others from approaching poverty, for want of employment.

The labour exchange work was apparently only one of the many functions of the office, but in the pamphlet this aspect of its work occupies the chief place. The office was also used as a market and registration centre for

buying and selling, leasing and hiring, chartering ships, stock exchange transactions, a second-hand clothing market, a travel agency, a lost property office, a matrimonial agency and a bureau of immigration to the Trade Plantations (Beveridge, 1914).

However, as Sir William Beveridge has pointed out, it had been a Frenchman who first put forward the idea of a *Bureau d'adresse et de rencontre* in 1612, citing Montaigne as an authority for his proposals. Backed by royal patent, it was in operation as a well-established institution from 1630-1644, unlike Robinson's 'Office' which probably had nothing more than a theoretical existence (Beveridge, 1914).⁴

It was Robert Owen, the philanthropist, who first used the name 'Labour Exchange'. The First Western Co-operative Union in London had added a labour bank to its shop in 1831-2. It intended to handle goods manufactured by its members and to use labour notes, but it appears to have ceased in 1833. It was a forerunner to Owen's experiments, but his 'Equitable Labour Exchange', founded in 1833, was very different from a modern Labour Exchange. It was not a public office for the employment of labour, but a private organisation to enable a group of co-operative societies to supply their members with work and commodities. 'Labour notes' were issued by the exchange. They were given for specified hours of work, and entitled the member to goods from the exchange's stores (Oliver, 1958).

In the late nineteenth century the most extensive agencies for dealing with the unemployment problem were the trade unions. Each union, composed of members of a particular trade, was favourably situated to acquire knowledge about the fluctuations of its trade. This knowledge gave it power to direct its unemployed quickly to vacant positions within its notice. The building trade was particularly active in this field (Dearle, 1908, 149-74). Nathaniel Cohen had no doubt observed the Egham Branch of The Operative Bricklayers' Society, which not only paid benefits to its members in sickness, but also found work for them, or helped them to find it for themselves by paying travelling expenses. However, the placing work of the trade unions was carried out for its individual members, and only a small percentage of workers were members of any union.

It was in 1884 that Nathaniel Cohen first became interested in the labour exchange idea. He was a widely travelled man and happened to be in Germany during 1884 where he had noted the labour exchange system which had been founded there a year earlier. During this period he had a country house, Round Oak at Englefield Green, which he had bought in 1883. He had quickly become involved in local activities and as a competent businessman, was welcomed on the management committees of various hospitals and charitable organisations. He was an extreme Tory in politics and once stood for Parliament at three days notice and was only narrowly defeated. He was very active with the Egham Conservative Working Man's Club and the local paper often records his presence on the platform proposing the vote of thanks. He was President of the Egham Literary Institute and also very interested in its offshoot, the Egham Mutual Improvement Society.⁵

In 1885, Egham was a large country parish with a normal population of around 7,000. In many ways it seemed to have been a microcosm of Victorian small-town life. It was politically active, with flourishing Conservative and Liberal Clubs. Political meetings were well attended by all classes. The desire for self-improvement among the working class was encouraged by the Mutual Improvement Society and the Conservative Working Men's Club. The establishment of the first Board School had been welcomed (Turner, 1926, 185). The population of Egham had been considerably increased for some years by the influx of workers concerned in the building of Royal Holloway College, Holloway Sanatorium and the Staines Waterworks. In some cases the contractors had built houses in Egham for these workers.⁶ However, by 1885 Royal Holloway College and Holloway Sanatorium were almost finished, and in February 1885 a stage in the Staines Waterworks was also completed, leaving a large number of unemployed workmen.

The situation had already become serious enough in December 1884 for the Church Wardens and Overseers of Egham to set up the Egham Bread Relief Fund.⁷ They refer to Egham at this time as 'this extensive parish with its teeming population'. The Bread Fund was open to any person of good character who applied, but limited to persons not in regular work. Its object was to prevent the semi-starvation which was prevalent in the parish. The relief was too plain to induce anyone to give up work, but the invitation was so universal as to prevent anyone who was in want being left out.⁸

It was in these circumstances that Nathaniel Cohen set up the first Labour registry in Egham. He records that he had also been impressed in the course of riding-tours about England by the numerous groups of respectable looking men, tramping in search of work, some long distances.⁹ These labourers appeared to rely entirely on wayside gossip and talk at public-houses for information as to available work. Cohen was appalled by the waste of time and energy. He noted the case of an Egham labourer, who had walked forty miles in a vain search for work, and then found all the time that employment had been available close to his home. It was this incident which prompted him to start, in conjunction with three other local gentlemen, the registry for unemployed at Egham (Cohen, 1887, 57-67).

The bureau was opened in February 1885, at the office of the sub-registrar for Births, Marriages and Deaths, who gave his services voluntarily. It was very quickly successful. On 21 February 1885 the local paper records an address, signed by a number of workmen on behalf of themselves and supporters which they presented to the subscribers and superintendents of the registry expressing 'their admiration and sincere gratitude for the founding of an institution so likely to benefit both masters and workmen'. In this first week there were already forty on the register wanting employment.¹⁰

The registry was made known by cards posted about the district, and by advertisements in the country papers. From the beginning the idea was

favourably received in the neighbourhood, and private employers and tradesmen applied to the registry when they had jobs vacant. In addition an abstract of the registry was posted periodically to all the principal employers in the area and a notice-board was always displayed outside the shop of the registrar. The initial rule of the registry was 'that the Registrar shall scrupulously abstain from interference in any question of wages or conditions or service or labour troubles'. Following this rule, the registrar declined to supply men to fill places of men on strike, and no record was made of membership of a trade union or wages previously received or required.¹¹

The registrar entered the names only of those whom he considered *bona fide* workmen out of employment, and since he was acquainted with most persons in the district, formal inquiries were hardly necessary. The local loafers were well known to him and after the first few weeks did not apply for registration. The bureau was open from 9.00 a.m. to 7.00 p.m. daily to local residents, although others could apply. If a vacancy occurred for which a local man was not available, an outsider could be sent. Each registered applicant for work was given a printed post-card addressed to the registrar, and was requested, if employment was obtained, to complete it, and post it back. No charge was made for registration. Applicants who found employment were invited to contribute if possible threepence per week during the first four weeks of their employment, but this contribution was entirely voluntary.¹² In special cases, loans were made to redeem craftsmen's tools out of pawn, and to take families to other districts for work. About 75% of the money so advanced was repaid.¹³ As Nathaniel Cohen saw it the scheme provided 'the minimum of almsgiving with the maximum of encouragement to self-help'.¹⁴

Mr Cohen felt that much of the success of the Egham registry was due to the local registrar, Mr W. H. Gardener, who was well acquainted with the district and very eager to help applicants. He felt that in setting up other registries a local tradesman could act as the registrar and that any respectable shop, coffee-tavern or non-political working-man's club could serve as the locale for the registry. The situation of the registry was less important than the choice of the right man to act as registrar. He stressed the importance of keeping the registry free from any political bias (Cohen, 1887, 60).

The registry was also used to record vacancies for boys and apprentices. A registry for women was envisaged later with local ladies acting as honorary supervisors. Nathaniel Cohen hoped that an efficient system of labour registries in country districts would counteract the tendency of the unemployed to drift into the big towns and serve as an improved modern substitute for the old hiring-fairs. The stated aim of the Egham registry was

to provide a free, easy and reliable medium of inter-communication between employers and workmen of authenticated good character; thus diminishing as far as possible the waste of time and energy in tramping for work.

It was hoped that future registries might be associated with Benefit Societies in the matter of registration. A registry could also serve a useful purpose as a focus for communicating with the working classes, informing them of government facilities for saving and conditions of service in Government and Municipal employment, including military and naval recruiting.¹⁵

The registrar was also supplied with the pamphlet of the Central Emigration Society, giving reliable details of emigration facilities. Ultimately, Mr Cohen hoped that the registry might be used in connection with local lectures to bring to the attention of the working class any practical or promising emigration schemes. Thus in March 1886, he arranged for a lecture in 'Our Colonies' at the Egham Literary Institute, but in proposing the vote of thanks to the speaker he stressed the need for thorough investigation of employment possibilities at home, saying that he did not look upon emigration as an infallible remedy for unemployment.¹⁶

The report of the Egham registry, dated 1 October 1886, gave the following statistics of applications received and employment obtained since its establishment in 1885 (see Appendix A). The large percentage of building and allied workers for a country parish was due to the completion of Royal Holloway College, Holloway Sanatorium, and the first stage of the Staines Waterworks, and contributed to the early success of the registry. The total working expenses of the registry, including a small fee to the registrar, were £7. 9s. 2d. for the period from 1 February to 1 October 1885 and £7. 18s. 4d. for the twelve months from 1 October 1885 to 1 October 1886 (see Appendix B). These expenses were defrayed by local subscription, of which Mr Cohen contributed £3. 3s. 0d on each occasion.¹⁷

The Egham experiment attracted considerable attention. Nathaniel Cohen, an indefatigable letter writer to *The Times*, explained details of the working of the registry in its columns. *The Times* showed some enthusiasm for the idea. In 1886 a leader discussing unemployment and the disturbances in the West End of London,¹⁸ suggested that

as a palliative for the prevailing depression, though not as a remedy... such excellent devices as the Egham registry, described by our correspondent, Mr Cohen, might well be copied in every town in the country.¹⁹

In fact, *The Times* became one of the most ardent supporters of labour bureaux. Cohen sent pamphlets and specimen stationery on the running of labour registries to everyone whom he thought might be interested, even in Ireland.²⁰ An undated letter from Sir Edward Stanhope from Revesby Abbey, Boston, to Nathaniel Cohen, says 'I am glad to see that your Free Registry goes on so well. I have had no time to devote to it or I should really have tried to start one near here.'²¹ The local newspaper reported in October 1886 that seventeen other registries in country districts had been established in the same plan as a result of Mr Cohen's efforts.²²

The Ipswich Bureau was opened in October 1885 only a few months after that at Egham, using similar but rather more elaborate forms. The management of the bureau was entirely in the hands of the Reverend Wickham Tozer, but he did want it to be taken over by the municipality. He thought that similar institutions should be established in all large towns and federated together, so as to 'facilitate the circulation of labour'. At Ipswich too registration was free and the expenses of the bureau were met by voluntary subscriptions. Although Ipswich was considerably larger than Egham, it did not deal with such large numbers of workmen. The largest percentage for whom situations were found were labourers, porters, grooms, gardeners and errand boys.²³ Tozer believed that the bureau should occupy itself only with the normal labour market. He wrote that

the old, physically incapable, and vicious must be left severely alone, to be dealt with by other agencies. An attempt to use the Bureau as a means of disposing of the submerged tenth is sure to be fatal to its success.²⁴

Tozer was criticised locally for supplying 'blackleg' labour particularly at the time of the London Dock Strike of 1889 (Ratcliffe, 1953).

As a direct result of the success of the Egham registry and Cohen's correspondence with Sir Edward Stanhope, a committee was formed in February 1886 to promote the idea of free registries in country districts and to collect statistics which might furnish some general guide as to their value and cost and the expediency of affiliation. Sir Edward Stanhope acted as chairman, with F. Gore Browne and H. E. Egerton as honorary secretaries. The Earl of Jersey, the Dean of Winchester, W. St John Brodrick, M.P., and Nathaniel Cohen were amongst those who served on the committee.²⁵ A pamphlet was produced briefly describing the scheme and giving practical details for the establishment of registries in country districts. A large number of these pamphlets were circulated throughout the country, and about twenty-five free registries were started in different villages, suburban districts and small country towns, either after correspondence with the honorary secretaries, or at the direct instigation of members of the committee. The honorary secretaries supplied them with stationery, registers, specimen advertisements for local newspapers, publicity material and the handbook of the Central Emigration Society. Little is known of any of these registries. Particulars of the work actually done were collected from eighteen of them. Two of these record that no use was made of them at all. The remaining sixteen sent lists in October 1886 which showed that 1,061 men had applied and 674 had been found work, but 325 of these were through the Egham registry (Cohen, 1887, 60).²⁶

The committee of which Nathaniel Cohen was a member had sought to promote the establishment of registries in country districts only, where information about available work might not be known to scattered residents. At first he doubted whether an organisation to provide easy communication between workmen and employers was needed in large cities.²⁷

He had no desire to injure societies, such as the trade unions. However, several registries were started independently in 1886 in London, at Kilburn and Marylebone. A registry for the unemployed of both sexes had been established at Paddington under the auspices of the Charity Organisation Society. Nathaniel Cohen was greatly impressed by the work done by one London registry established in 1886 as part of the scheme of the Labour Aid Society.²⁸ It was founded by Rev. Munroe, who had made a study of the unemployed in London, and James Branch, a manufacturer of Bethnal Green. It began by establishing a central office at Bow, organised by Rev. Munroe. It did not require residence within a limited area for a definite period as a qualification for entry on its lists. The Labour Aid Society sought to charge the bare cost of the service given instead of the high fees exacted by middle-men, 'in those industries where their [i.e. the middlemen's] profits reduced the wages of workmen to less than can support life with decency'. It supplied sewing-machines on easy terms and provided tools for approved destitute applicants, following the example set previously by the Board of Guardians for the Relief of the Jewish Poor.

Unlike the Egham registry, this scheme was extended from the outset to women in such occupations as charring, door-step cleaning, washing and sewing. Attached to the central office, it had large, airy rooms for sempstresses to work in. In all other respects it followed the methods pioneered by the Egham registry. Similar forms were used and the Society verified the references of all who applied to be entered on its lists, and recommended only such applicants as it believed to be reliable. And as at Egham, the Society announced its intention of assisting labourers to emigrate by bringing such people to the notice of the Mansion House Emigration Committee (Cohen, 1887, 63-4).

Sir Frederic Milner, appealing for contributions for the Labour Aid Society in *The Times* of May 1886 saw it as an answer to the Socialists who were 'taking advantage of the terrible distress to cram their pernicious doctrines down the throats of our people'. He felt that 'the best answer we can give them is to put our hands in our pockets and take care that our money is used for some practical purpose, and that capital and labour may thus be effectively brought together'. He was referring to the dissipation of the large Mansion House Fund, at that time attracting a lot of comment in *The Times*. He felt that this money might have been used to establish Labour Bureaux in London.²⁹

After this flurry of activity, little more was heard about labour bureaux until 1891/2. The famous Chamberlain Circular of 1886 which urged municipal authorities to provide relief work for the unemployed, reflected the popular attitude at that time.³⁰ The broader idea of the employment exchange as a bureau for quickly filling vacancies with workmen seeking employment remained undeveloped. The Egham registry continued to operate under the guidance of Nathaniel Cohen, but most of the other registries seem to have disappeared, with the exception of the Ipswich one. The government had become very concerned with the problem of the unemployed

and an inquiry had been undertaken by the Labour Department of the Board of Trade in 1893. During this period, Cohen's advice was much sought after and bureaux were opened at Chelsea, Battersea, St Pancras, Camberwell, Salford and Wolverhampton.³¹

A letter dated 31 March 1892 from H. Stafford Northcote to Nathaniel Cohen requested information as to the working of the Egham registry as Northcote was going to address a meeting on the subject of labour bureaux the following week.³² On 6 February 1893 Sir Edward Stanhope was again corresponding with Cohen on the subject from the House of Commons. He said 'I congratulate you on being the Pioneer in Labour Registries. They are evidently going to be much taken up in the future'. E. T. Scammell, honorary secretary of the Exeter and District Chamber of Commerce also requested information.³³ In his evidence given before the Royal Commission on Labour 1893, he refers to the help given by Mr Cohen and he dedicated his pamphlet on a National Labour Bureau 'To Nathaniel Louis Cohen, Esq., Founder of the First Free Labour Registry in England' (Scammell, 1893).

Mr Scammell proposed that a National Labour Bureau with affiliated Labour Registries was set up as an extension of the Labour Department of the Board of Trade, or as a separate department in affiliation with the Factory Inspectors Department and the Emigration Information Department. Despite all this interest, there was little further activity in the field until the first legislative attempt to establish public employment offices with the Labour Bureaux (London) Act of 1902, which enabled the council of any metropolitan borough to set up a bureau and deduct its cost out of the general rate. Since the Act was in no way compulsory, only eleven bureaux were established under its terms in London.³⁴

The Egham registry, which changed its name in 1893 to the Egham Free Registry and Employment agency, closed in 1894. Employment in the area had become difficult to find, and it was apparent that to gain the maximum advantage, the scale and sphere of work must be extended beyond what was practicable for the small philanthropic organisation. In these circumstances Mr Gardener, who had run the registry for ten years, felt unable to continue and it was decided not to maintain the agency.³⁵

It was not until 1909 that Nathaniel Cohen saw the complete development of his early pioneering work in the Labour Exchange movement. In May that year, Winston Churchill, President of the Board of Trade, introduced a bill 'to provide for the establishment of Labour Exchanges and for all other purposes incidental thereto'. It was received with favour by leading members of all parties and passed into law on 20 September 1909 as the Labour Exchanges Act. *The Times* always the champion of Nathaniel Cohen's work in this sphere, paid tribute to him in its leader discussing the bill on 21 May, 1909, pointing out that he had experimented successfully with the Egham labour registry as early as 1885.

APPENDIX A.

<i>Trades:</i>	1 Feb to 30 Sept 1885		1 Oct to 30 Sept 1885 1886	
	<i>Applica- tions</i>	<i>Employment obtained for</i>	<i>Applica- tions</i>	<i>Employment obtained for</i>
gardeners	19	10	36	34
carpenters	42	36	67	59
general labourers	52	46	118	99
painters	61	53	50	49
draughtsmen	1	1	—	—
stonemasons	10	5	6	3
bricklayers	23	15	42	35
coachmen and grooms	1	1	13	13
plumbers	14	14	5	4
gasfitters, whitesmiths	—	—	11	11
boys	—	—	26	18
	223	181	374	325

Source: Cohen, 1887, 61.

APPENDIX B.

THE EGHAM FREE REGISTRY 1885-1894

<i>Year</i>	<i>Costs</i>	<i>No. of Applicants</i>	<i>Employment obtained</i>
1885	7. 9. 2.	223	181
1886	7. 18. 2.	374	325
1887	9. 9. 6.	369	291
1888	9. 13. 0.	289	220
1889	10. 11. 6.	277	221
1890	11. 13. 0.	264	256
1891	10. 4. 0.	291	246

<i>Year</i>	<i>Costs</i>	<i>No. of Applicants</i>	<i>Employment obtained</i>
1892	12. 18. 10.	382	289
1893	10. 16. 0.	278	182
1894	16. 11. 0.	219	123
	<hr/> £107. 4. 2.	<hr/> 2,966	<hr/> 2,334

Sources: *Annual Reports of the Egham Free Registry for the Unemployed* (after 1893 known as *Egham Free Registry and Employment Agency*).

William Beveridge Papers (Collection B), Vol. 14.

NOTES

1. *Nathaniel Louis Cohen* (1847-1913). Moderate reformer and philanthropist. One of the founders of the National Association for Promoting the Employment of Discharged and Reserve Soldiers in 1885. L.C.C. member for the City of London, 1907-11. Helped to establish the Cambridge University Appointments Board in 1899-1900.
2. Sir William Beveridge to Sir Bernard Waley-Cohen.
3. A similar registry was opened at Ipswich in October 1885 by the *Reverend Wickham Tozer*, who was a local social reformer (1827-1903). Member of Ipswich Board of Guardians, of which he became Chairman in 1898. Founder and Chairman of the Lending Department of the Ipswich Free Library. A director of the London Missionary Society.
4. Philip S. Belasco (Belasco, 1927, 275-9) refers to T. Lawson's *An Appeal to the Parliament concerning the Poor, 1660*, in which Labour Exchanges were advocated as a method of poor relief in England.
5. *Windsor, Slough and Eton Express*, 1 August, 1885; 5 December 1885; 30 January, 1886.
6. These houses still exist—Albert Road, South Road, Armstrong Road, Englefield Green, Surrey.
7. *Windsor, Slough and Eton Express*, 23 January, 1886.
8. Report of Churchwardens and Overseers of Egham, 1884-6.

9. In fact the 'tramping' system had decreased in the second half of the century, although the tradition was still alive in the 1890's. See Hobsbawm, 1964, 34-63 and Dearle, 1908, 163-4.
10. *Windsor, Slough and Eton Express*, 21 February, 1885.
11. C7182/1893 *Report on Agencies and Methods for dealing with the Unemployed*, Board of Trade, 99.
12. William Beveridge Papers (Collection B), Vol. 14. *Eighth Annual Report of the Egham Free Registry for the Unemployed* (1892).
13. C7182/1893 *Report on Agencies and Methods for Dealing with the Unemployed*. 100.
14. Letter to *The Times*, 9 February, 1886 from N. L. Cohen.
15. *Eighth Annual Report of the Egham Free Registry for the Unemployed* (1892).
16. *Windsor, Slough and Eton Express*, 17 April, 1886.
17. *Windsor, Slough and Eton Express*, 16 October, 1886.
18. Organised by Hyndmans' 'Social Democratic Federation'.
19. *The Times*, 8 May, 1886.
20. Cohen, N. L., Private Correspondence.
21. Cohen, N. L., Private Correspondence, undated but probably late 1885. *Sir Edward Stanhope* (1840-93). Conservative M.P. President of the Board of Trade 1885-6. Secretary of State for the Colonies, July 1886-December 1886. War Office, 1887-92.
22. *Windsor, Slough and Eton Express*, 16 October, 1886.
23. C7182/1893 *Report on Agencies and Methods for Dealing with the Unemployed*, 102.
24. H. of C. 86/1906 *Report on Labour Bureaux to the President of the L.G.B. by Arthur Lowry*, 11.
25. *W. St John Brodrick*. Conservative politician, Secretary of State for War, 1900-3. Secretary of State for India, 1903-5.
26. Also *The Times*, 19 February, 1886 and 8 May 1886.
27. See Also William Beveridge Papers (Collection B), Vol. 1, Homeless Poor of London'. Report of a Special Committee of the C.O.S., June 1891.
28. The Labour Aid Society was formed to help the unemployed, particularly seamstresses in the East End of London.
29. Sir Frederick Milner, 'A Practical Scheme for the Relief of the Unemployed', *The Times*, 8 May, 1886.

30. *Sixteenth Annual Report of L.G.B.* (1886).
31. C7182/1893 *Report on Agencies and Methods for dealing with the Unemployed*, 103-11.
32. H. Stafford Northcote, second son of H. Stafford Northcote, first Earl of Iddesleigh. Member of Parliament and President of the Exeter Chamber of Commerce and closely connected with E. T. Scammell (*infra*) in advocating a National Labour Bureau.
33. Cohen, N. L., Private Correspondence; H. Stafford Northcote to Cohen, 31 March, 1892; Sir E. Stanhope to Cohen, 6 February 1893; E. T. Scammell to Cohen, 17 March, 1891.
34. H. of C. 86/1906 *Report on Labour Bureaux to the President of the L.G.B.* by Arthur Lowry, 3.
35. *Tenth Annual Report of the Egham Free Registry and Employment Agency* (1894).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Unpublished

- William Beveridge Papers (Collection B), British Library of Political Science.
- Cohen, N. L., Private Correspondence.
- Ratcliffe, R., 1953, 'History of the Working-class Movement in Ipswich in the Nineteenth Century'.
- Report of Churchwardens and Overseers of Egham 1884-6.

Published

Government Publications

- C7182/1893 *Report on Agencies and Methods for dealing with the Unemployed*. Board of Trade.
- H. of C. 86/1906 *Report on Labour Bureaux to the President of the L.G.B.* by Arthur Lowry.

Sixteenth Annual Report of Local Government Board (1886)

Books and Articles

- Belasco, P. S., 1927, 'Labour Exchange Ideas in the Seventeenth Century', *Economic History* (Economic History Series No. 2).
- Beveridge, W. H., 1914, 'A Seventeenth-Century Labour Exchange', *Economic Journal*, XXIV, 371-6.
- Chegwidden, T. S. and Myrddin-Evans, G., 1934, *The Employment Exchange Service of Great Britain* (New York).
- Cohen, N. L., 1887, 'Free Registries and the Marketing of Labour', *National Review*, X.

- Dearle, N. B., 1908, *Problems of Unemployment in the London Building Trades* (London).
- Gilbert, B. B., 1966, *The Evolution of National Insurance in Great Britain* (London).
- Hobsbawn, E. J., 1964, *Labouring Men* (London).
- Norman, F. A., and Lee L. G., 1928, 'Labour Exchanges in the Seventeenth Century', *Economic History* (Economic History Series No. 3).
- Oliver, W. H., 1958, 'The Labour Exchange Phase of the Co-operative Movement', *Oxford Economic Papers*, X, (n.s.).
- Scammell, E. T., 1893, *A National Labour Bureau with Affiliated Labour Registries* (Exeter).
- Seymour, J. B., 1928, *The British Employment Exchange* (London).
- Turner, F., 1926, *Egham, Surrey. A History of the Parish under Church and Crown* (Egham).

Newspapers

The Times.

Windsor, Slough and Eton Express.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am particularly indebted to Sir Bernard Waley-Cohen (grandson of Nathaniel Cohen) for his help and the use of the family correspondence.