



**Report of the Conference**  
ON  
**LABOUR REPRESENTATION**

HELD IN THE  
**MEMORIAL HALL,**  
**FARRINGDON STREET, 'LONDON, E.C.,**

**On Tuesday, the 27th February, 1900,**

At **TWELVE O'CLOCK (Noon), and FOLLOWING DAY,** in accordance  
with the Resolution of the Trade Union Congress at Plymouth,  
September, 1899.



TO BE HAD FROM  
**The Labour Representation Committee,**  
3, LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS, LONDON, W.C.

**J. RAMSAY MACDONALD, Hon. Sec.**

**OFFICERS AND MEMBERS**  
OF THE  
*Labour Representation Committee*

ELECTED 28th FEBRUARY, 1900.

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**TRADE UNIONS.**

**CHAIRMAN.**

FREDK. ROGERS - - - Vellum Bookbinders.

**VICE CHAIRMAN.**

THOMAS GREENALL - - - Miners' Federation.

**TREASURER.**

R. BELL - - - Amalgamated Railway Servants.

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PETE CURRAN, Gas Workers.		A. WILKIE, Shipwrights.
A. GEE, Textile Workers.		J. HODGE, Steel Smelters.

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**INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY.**

J. KEIR HARDIE. | COUNCILLOR JAMES PARKER.

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**SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION.**

JAMES MACDONALD, L.T.C. | HARRY QUELCH.

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**FABIAN SOCIETY,**

EDWARD R. PEASE.

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**SECRETARY.**

J. RAMSAY MACDONALD,  
3, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, W.C.

**Names and Addresses of Delegates attending the Special Conference on Labour Representation held at the Memorial Hall, London, on February 27th and 28th, 1900, the Names of the Societies and Number of Members which they represent, and the Number of Votes to which they are entitled.**

NAME OF SOCIETY REPRESENTED.	No. of Delegates.	No. of Members.	No. of Votes.	Delegates' Fees Paid to Parliamentary Committee.	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF THE DELEGATES.
Bakers and Confectioners, Amalgamated Operative	1	4,800	5	£ s. d. 0 10 0	J. Jenkins, 46, Percy Road, Shepherd's Bush, London.
Barge Builders .. .. .	1	400	1	0 10 0	W. C. Steadman, M.P., 49, Rectory Square, Stepney, London.
Beamers, Twisters, Drawers, etc...	1	3,808	4	0 10 0	W. C. Robinson, Lane End Cottage, Heywood. ( P. Walls, Exchange Buildings, Moss Bay, Workington.
Blastfurnacemen, National Federation	2	8,400	9	1 0 0	L. Fenwick, 26, Borough Road, West Middlesboro'.
Bookbinders' and Machine Rulers' Consolidated	1	3,700	4	0 10 0	J. Kelly, 59, Grosvenor Street, C.-on-M., Manchester.
Boot and Shoe Operatives, National	2	31,000	31	1 0 0	C. Freak, L.C.C., 34, Gladstone Street, Leicester. Councillor T. F. Richards, 181, Belgrave Gate, Leicester. W. J. Davis, 70, Lionel Street, Birmingham.
Brassworkers' National Amalgamated	2	9,400	10	1 0 0	W. C. McStocker, 54, Henley Street, Camp Hill, Birm'gham. J. Wybrow, 6, Derwent Buildings, Glengall Road, London, S.E.
Builders' Labourers, United ..	3	7,000	7	1 10 0	F. Kennedy, 13, Butterwick Cottages, Hammersmith, London. D. Haggerty, 6, Hungerford Street, Commercial Road, London, E.
Card Room Operatives, N.E.L. (Accrington District)	1	1,000	1	0 10 0	A. Eidsforth, Commercial Chambers, Accrington.
Chain Makers and Strikers ..	1	985	1	0 10 0	T. Sitch, Unity Villa, Sydney Road, Cradley Heath.
Cigar Makers' Mutual Association	1	2,000	2	0 10 0	B. Cooper, L.C.C., 60, Exmouth Street, Stepney, London.
Clothiers' Amalgamated Operatives	1	1,200	2	0 10 0	J. Young, 152, Camp Road, Leeds. ( H. Brill, Club Union Buildings, Clerkenwell Road, London.
Coal Porters' Union .. .. .	2	5,000	5	1 0 0	G. Shelly, Club Union Buildings, Clerkenwell Road, London. ( C. W. Bowerman, 7-9, St. Bride Street, London, E.C. H. W. Hobart, Garden Road, Ashford, Middlesex, London. F. Knee, 35, Tennyson Street, Queen's Square, Battersea, London.
Compositors, London Society ..	6	11,415	12	3 0 0	C. F. Davis, 16, St. Paul's Crescent, Camden Town, London. A. E. Holmes, 34, Woodville Road, Walthamstow, Essex. C. J. Beecher, 92, Wiesbaden Road, Stoke Newington London.

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				£	s.	d.	
Dock Labourers' National Union..	5	12,000	12	2	10	0	J. Sexton, 46, Hanover Street, Liverpool. M. Connolly, 46, Hanover Street, Liverpool. A. Smith, 46, Hanover Street, Liverpool. F. Kilkelly, 46, Hanover Street, Liverpool. P. Christopher, 46, Hanover Street, Liverpool.
Dock, Wharf, Riverside, etc., Union	5	10,000	10	2	10	0	B. Tillett, 425, Mile End Road, London, E. H. W. Kay, 425, Mile End Road, London, E. T. B. Davies, 25, Egerton Street, Middlesbro'. R. Dommett, 102, Caermarthen Road, Swansea. — Whitehead, "The Green," Shirehampton, near Bristol. J. W. Taylor.
Durham Colliery Mechanics' Association	1	2,400	3	0	10	0	F. E. Sims, Club Union Buildings, Clerkenwell Road, London.
Electrical Trades Union .....	1	956	1	0	10	0	J. Burns, M.P., 108, Lavender Hill, Battersea, London.
Engineers' Amalgamated Society..	3	85,000	85	1	10	0	G. N. Barnes, 89, Stamford Street, London, S.E. G. Wilson, 128, Earlsfield Road, London, S.W.
Engine and Crane Drivers .....	1	1,000	1	0	10	0	Councillor C. Skelton, 203, Barking Road, Canning Town, London.
Enginemmen, etc., National Amalgamated	1	3,284	4	0	10	0	J. Baker, 24, Victoria Avenue, Norton Hill, Stockton-on-Tees.
Enginemmen, National Amalgamated Union	1	4,439	5	0	10	0	Councillor G. H. Copley, Gerard Road, Rotherham.
Fabian Society .....	1	861	1	0	10	0	E. R. Pease, 3, Clement's Inn, Strand, London.
Fancy Leather Workers .. ..	1	343	1	0	10	0	P. C. Wilkins, 245, Eversleigh Road, Battersea, London.
Fawcett Association .....	2	3,000	3	1	0	0	W. B. Cheeseman, 28, Florence Street, Islington, London. W. E. Clery, Kirk Lynton, Sydenham Hill, London.
French Polishers' Amalgamated Society	1	2,816	3	0	10	0	C. F. Hawkins, 5, James Place, Nunhead, London.
Gas Workers and General Labourers	13	48,038	49	6	10	0	W. Thorne, 144, Barking Road, Canning Town, London. P. Curran, 144, Barking Road, Canning Town, London. A. Hayday, 144, Barking Road, Canning Town, London. J. Ward, 144, Barking Road, Canning Town, London. J. Gray, 144, Barking Road, Canning Town, London. T. Camp, 144, Barking Road, Canning Town, London. W. Blackwood, 17, Oswald Street, City, Glasgow. M. Hutchins, 8, Cavendish Terrace, Silver Street, Barnsley. W. H. Leach, 3, Neven Street, Hunslet. J. R. Clynes, 176, Union Street, Oldham.

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				£ s. d.	
Gas Workers and General Labourers— <i>con.</i>					S. Lakin, 180, Corporation Street, Birmingham. H. Lynas, 1, Sunderland Street, Sunderland. H. Brabham, "British Workman," New Street, Bristol.
Gas Workers, Brickmakers, and General Labourers	1	4,000	4	0 10 0	R. Toller, 115, Great Francis Street, Birmingham.
Hosiery Federation .. ..	1	3,354	4	0 10 0	Councillor J. Holmes, Exchange Buildings, Leicester.
House Decorators' and Painters' Amalgamated	1	4,548	5	0 10 0	H. Newell, 130, Withersley Rd., Battersea, London. J. Keir Hardie, Old Cumnock, Scotland. Councillor F. Brocklehurst, 107, Mauldeth Road, Withington, Manchester. Councillor P. Snowden, 28, Calton Street, Keighley.
Independent Labour Party ..	7	13,000	13	3 10 0	Alderman F. W. Jowett, 2, Grantham Place, Bradford. J. Burgess, 17, Oswald Street, Glasgow. Councillor J. Parker, Crossley Street, Halifax. J. R. Macdonald, 3, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, E.C.
Ironfounders, Friendly Society of	1	17,887	18	0 10 0	S. Masterson, 27, Pullens Buildings, Penton Place, Newington, London.
Iron Ore Miners (Cumberland) ..	1	3,000	3	0 10 0	J. Flynn, C.C., 22, High Street, Cleator Moor.
Iron and Steel Workers' Association	1	6,500	7	0 10 0	J. Cox, J.P., 6, Mount Pleasant, Darlington.
Labourers' Union, National Amalgamated	2	3,695	4	1 0 0	H. W. Williams, 29, Rutland Street, Swansea. G. M. Stenner, 11, Chester Place Cardiff.
Labour Amalgamated (Lancashire and Adjoining Counties)	1	1,650	2	0 10 0	J. Chatterton, 14, Lonsdale Road Levenshulme, Manchester.
Lithographic Printers, Amalgamated	1	3,724	4	0 10 0	G. D. Kelley, J.P., 63, Upper Brook Street Manchester.
Matchmakers' Union .. ..	1	400	1	0 10 0	W. Mewett, 112, Teviot Street St. Leonard's Road, Poplar London.
Metal, Wire, and Tube Makers' Amalgamated	1	1,650	2	0 10 0	J. Cuthbertson, 1, Tenby Street Birmingham. T. Aspinwall, J.P., 1, Liverpool Road, Skelmersdale, Lancashire.
Miners' Federation (Lancashire and Cheshire)	2	29,000	29	1 0 0	T. Greenall, 23, Frazer Street, Pendlebury, Manchester.
Miners and Quarrymen (Cleveland)	1	6,670	7	0 10 0	W. Walker, 7, Wharton Street, North Skelton, Cleveland.
Municipal Employés' Association	1	750	1	0 10 0	A. Taylor, 24, Clifton Road, Canning Town, London.
Musicians, Amalgamated .. ..	1	3,600	4	0 10 0	J. B. Williams, 1, Stockton Street, Moss Side, Manchester. J. Ward, 12, Great Emsleigh Road, Wandsworth, London.
Navvies, Bricklayers' Labourers, etc.	2	3,000	3	1 0 0	H. C. Rye, 47, Raynham Avenue, Raynham Road, Edmonton. J. Hutchinson, 19, Northbrook Road, Croydon.
Plasterers, National Association of Operative	2	11,436	12	1 0 0	M. Jones, 54, Bushey Hill Road, Peckham, London.

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Postal Telegraph Clerks' Association	1	5,500	6	£ s. d. 0 10 0	W. J. Ash, Ellen Villa, Rosebery Avenue, Manor Park, London.
Printers' and Stationers' Warehousemen and Cutters	1	573	1	0 10 0	A. Evans, 53, Fetter Lane, London, E. C.
Railway Servants, Amalgamated Society	4	54,000	54	2 0 0	G. J. Wardle, 29, Goring Road, Bowes Park, London. E. Garrity, 72, Acton Street, Gray's Inn Road, London. J. W. Benson, 30, Brook Street, Ilkley, Yorks. J. Lenthall, 4, Granville Road, Bowes Park, London.
Railway Workers, General ..	1	3,000	3	0 10 0	T. Grimshaw, 9, Coningham Rd., Shepherd's Bush, London.
Shipwrights, Associated .. ..	4	15,583	16	2 0 0	A. Wilkie, 3, St. Nicholas Buildings, Newcastle-on-Tyne. R. Johns, 45, Bell Terrace, Newcastle-on-Tyne. Councillor J. Jenkins, J.P., The Laurels, Grange Gardens, Cardiff. Councillor W. G. Millington, J.P., 16, Argyle Street, Hull.
Smiths and Hammermen, United Society .. .. .	1	1,141	2	0 10 0	J. Shea, 31, Abinger Road, Deptford, London, M. Judge, 14, Chesterton Terrace, Plaistow, London.
Social Democratic Federation ..	4	9,000	9	2 0 0	J. Macdonald, 2, Whitefriars Street, London, E.C. H. Quelch, 37A, Clerkenwell Green, London, E.C. H. R. Taylor, 39, Valentine Road, South Hackney, London. J. Billington, J.P., North View Terrace, Ashton-on-Ribble, Preston.
Spinners' Operative Amalgamated Association	2	18,151	19	1 0 0	A. H. Gill, J.P., 77, St. George's Road, Bolton. E. Mellor, J.P., 5, Leveson Street, Oldham.
Spinners' Operative (Oldham) Association	2	6,136	7	1 0 0	J. Smith, 24, Under Lane, Hollinwood, near Oldham.
Steel Smelters' (British) Amalgamated	1	9,776	10	0 10 0	J. Hodge, 115, Elizabeth Street, Cheetham, Manchester.
Steel and Iron Workers' Amalgamated	1	7,000	7	0 10 0	J. Cronin, 53, Waterloo Street, Glasgow.
Stevedores' Labour Protection League	1	3,420	4	0 10 0	J. Anderson, 113, Abbott Road, Poplar, London.
Tailors' Amalgamated (W. London District)	1	1,000	1	0 10 0	R. Macetrick, 16, Heddon Street, Regent Street, London.
The Workers' Union .. ..	1	4,172	5	0 10 0	T. Chambers, Bridge House, 181, Queen Victoria St., London.
Tin and Iron Plate Workers (E. London)	1	360	1	0 10 0	J. C. Gordon, 14, Blucher Road, Camberwell, London.
Trades Federation (Midland Counties)	2	16,000	16	1 0 0	Councillor J. Taylor, J.P., 63, Vicar Street, Dudley. Councillor W. Millerchip, J.P., 116, Pargeter Street, Walsall. R. Hackett, Campfield Chambers, 312, Deansgate, Manchester.
Typographical Association ..	3	15,000	15	1 10 0	A. W. Jones, Campfield Chambers, 312, Deansgate, Manchester. T. Shaw, 62, Fulton Road, Sheffield.

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Typographical Association (Scottish)	1	3,600	4	£ s d. 0 10 0	J. Templeton, 149, Hospital Street, Glasgow.
Upholsterers' Amalgamated Union	1	2,500	3	0 10 0	R. W. Jones, 67, Wendover Road, Harlesden, London.
Vellum (Account Book) Binders..	1	536	1	0 10 0	F. Rogers, 42, Nicholas Street, Mile End, London.
Waiters' Amalgamated Society ..	1	200	1	0 10 0	P. Vogel, 4, Clarendon Street, Pimlico, London.
Weavers' (Colne and District) Association	1	3,200	4	0 10 0	Councillor A. B. Newall, J.P., 2, Hall Street, Colne.
Do. (Nelson and District)	2	5,900	6	1 0 0	R. Hargreaves, 13, Mount Street, Barrowford.
Weavers' and Textile Workers' General Union	1	1,320	2	0 10 0	H. H. Sharpe, 6, Calder Vale, Barrowford.
Do. (Huddersfield District)	1	700	1	0 10 0	Allan Gee, Quarmby Road, Cliffe End, Huddersfield.
	129	568,177	591	64 10 0	A. Shaw, 134, East View, Lockwood Road, Lockwood, Huddersfield.



## Labour Representation Conference.

THE Conference on Labour Representation convened by the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress, acting upon instructions given by the last Trades Union Congress at Plymouth, was opened in the Memorial Hall, London, on Tuesday, February 27th. Invitations to send delegates were issued to the Trade Unions and Co-operative Societies of the United Kingdom, the Independent Labour Party, the Social Democratic Federation, and the Fabian Society. The invitations were accepted by all the various organisations, with the exception of the Co-operative Union, who, in the absence of any mandate from their last annual conference, were unable to pledge their organisations. Preliminary meetings were held by selected representatives of the various organisations. Messrs. Woods, Steadman, Thorne, Bowerman, and Bell represented the Parliamentary Committee; Messrs. Hardie and J. Ramsay Macdonald, the Independent Labour Party; Messrs. Taylor and Quelch, the Social Democratic Federation; and Messrs. Pease and Shaw, the Fabian Society.

This Committee agreed upon the agenda, which, after alterations by the Parliamentary Committee, was issued as follows:—

### AGENDA.

#### 1.—OBJECT OF CONFERENCE.

A resolution in favour of working-class opinion being represented in the House of Commons by men sympathetic with the aims and demands of the Labour movement.

#### 2.—LABOUR MEMBERS IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

A resolution in favour of establishing a distinct Labour Group in Parliament,

who should have their own Whips and agree upon their policy, which must embrace a readiness to co-operate with any party which, for the time being, may be engaged in promoting legislation in the direct interest of labour, and be equally ready to associate themselves with any party in opposing measures having an opposite tendency.

#### 3.—CONSTITUTION OF COMMITTEE.

The Executive Committee shall consist of twelve representatives from Trade Unions, ten from the Co-operative Societies, providing they are represented as a body at the Conference, two from the Fabian Society, two from the Independent Labour Party, and two from the Social Democratic Federation. Such members shall be elected by their respective organisations.

#### 4.—DUTY OF COMMITTEE AT ELECTIONS.

In the case of elections, the Executive Committee appointed for this purpose should collect information respecting candidates pledged to support the policy of the Labour Group, and recommend the United Labour Party to support them.

#### 5.—DUTY OF COMMITTEE.

This Committee should keep in touch with Trade Unions and other organisations, local and national, which are running Labour candidates.

#### 6.—FINANCIAL RESPONSIBILITY.

The Committee shall administer the funds which may be received on behalf of the organisation, and each body shall be required to pay 10s. per annum for every 1,000 members, or fraction thereof; also, that it shall be responsible for the expenses of its own candidates.

#### 7.—REPORTING TO CONGRESS, ETC.

It should also report annually to the Trades Union Congress and the annual

meetings of the national societies represented on the Committee, and take any steps deemed advisable to elicit opinion from the members of the organisations to which the Committee is ultimately responsible.

#### 8.—STANDING ORDERS GOVERNING THE CONFERENCE.

##### BASIS OF REPRESENTATION.

Societies, by whatever name they may be known, shall be entitled to one delegate for every 2,000 members or fraction thereof; and they must pay ten shillings for each delegate attending the Conference, and forward their names and addresses seven days prior to the date fixed for the meeting. No credential

card shall be issued to any society not having complied with the foregoing conditions.

##### VOTING.

(1) The method of voting shall be by card, to be issued to the delegates of trade societies according to their membership, and paid for (as per Standing Order) on the principle of one card for every 1,000 members or fractional part thereof represented. (2) Such cards to be issued to delegates by the Secretary to the Parliamentary Committee before the meeting of the Conference.

##### NUMBERS REPRESENTED.

There were altogether 129 delegates present, representing 568,177 organised workers.

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## REPORT.

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### OPENING PROCEEDINGS.

Mr. J. T. Chandler (Manchester), who, in his capacity as chairman of the Parliamentary Committee, presided at the opening of the proceedings, said the Parliamentary Committee had convened the Conference in accordance with instructions given them by a resolution passed at Plymouth. The object of that resolution was very clear. It was hoped by its movers that this Conference might be able to devise some scheme whereby they could unite the various forces of the Labour organisations throughout the country in a determination to focus their efforts upon the return of a much larger number of members of Parliament in sympathy with the Labour cause and prepared consistently and persistently to advocate it in that assembly. In giving effect to the resolution the Committee felt it would be a great advantage to the Conference if before the meeting they were able to ascertain the views of several of the Labour organisations which would be invited to take part in the proceedings. Consequently

they communicated with the Co-operative Union, the Independent Labour Party, the Social Democratic Federation, and the Fabian Society. The Co-operators were unable to see their way to take part in that meeting, owing, as he understood it, to their moving in the direction of Parliamentary representation in their own particular way; but the other three organisations sent representatives to meet the Parliamentary Committee, and they discussed the situation and devised practically the outlines of the scheme upon which in their wisdom they thought the Conference ought to proceed. It was not expected that the outline of a scheme which they had before them would in any way bind the Conference. This was submitted to a full meeting of the Parliamentary Committee, and certain amendments and alterations were made before the scheme was issued in its present form. He could only express a hope that the outcome of their deliberations would be that they would evolve a scheme which would command the support of the Trade Unionists and of the non-unionists of the country, and that as a

result they would have a much larger number of friends in the House of Commons in the future than they unfortunately had at the present moment. (Cheers.)

#### ELECTION OF CHAIRMAN.

Alderman WILL THORNE (Gas workers) moved that Mr. W. C. Steadman, M.P., be elected chairman of the Conference. He explained that Mr. Chandler was not a delegate to the Conference.

Mr. VOGEL (Waiters) formally seconded the proposition, which was carried unanimously.

Mr. STEADMAN, M.P., having taken the chair, said he recognised the position to be one of an important and honourable character. He was one of those Trade Unionists who believed, until the last ten years, that the workers of this country could attain their object in securing better conditions by voluntary efforts through their trade organisations. But the dispute which occurred in his own trade ten years ago for a reduction of the hours of labour had convinced him that the leaders of the advanced movement who believed in political action were right and he was wrong. (Cheers.) Therefore he was now as ready as any man to take political action to redress the grievances under which the workers suffered. He gave way to no man in his desire to see Labour better represented in the House of Commons than it was to-day. They had an illustration of the need that very day. The miners had secured a good position for the Eight Hours' Mines Bill, which came on on Wednesday in the House of Commons, and, while certain members were going to move and second that Bill, a large mine owner sitting in that House was down on the paper to move the rejection of that Bill. He had been a member of the House of Commons but a short time, but he had been there sufficiently long to know that every interest was represented and protected in that House (especially when privilege and monopoly were attacked) but the interest of labour. The great industrial army of the

country, the men who were endeavouring to raise mankind not by the shedding of human blood, but by the peaceful conquest of the ballot-box, were the only class who were insufficiently represented in the House of Commons. He hoped the result of the Conference would be a practical one. For the first time in the history of the Labour movement all sections in that movement were drawn together in that Conference, with the exception of the Co-operators, and the reason of their absence was that at their last Conference no mandate was given them to send delegates. Whether they formed a Labour Party or allied themselves to other political parties in the House of Commons, let them be represented by men of character, men who had borne the heat and burden of the day, and he hoped whatever opinions delegates might hold in dealing with the resolutions and amendments, they would deal with them in an honest and straightforward manner. (Cheers.)

On the proposition of Mr. JENKINS (Cardiff), Mr. W. J. Davis (Birmingham) was elected vice-chairman of the Conference.

#### ELECTION OF TELLERS.

The following were elected tellers: Messrs. Williams (Musicians), 45 votes; Clynes (Gasworkers), 44.

#### ELECTION OF STANDING ORDERS COMMITTEE.

The following were elected to be the Standing Orders Committee: Messrs. Curran (Gasworkers), 62; J. R. Macdonald (I.L.P.), 55; Greenall (Miners' Federation), 49; Brill (Coalporters), 41; Sexton (Dockers), 31.

#### "WORKING CLASS" REPRESENTATIVES.\*

Mr. R. W. JONES (Upholsterers) moved:—

That this Conference is in favour of the working classes being represented in the House of Commons by members of the working classes as being the most likely to be sympathetic with the aims and demands of the Labour movement.

He thought those men who had been through the mill as workers were those

\* THE RESOLUTIONS AND AMENDMENTS THAT WERE CARRIED ARE PRINTED IN ITALICS.

most likely to give adequate expression to the aspirations and demands of those of whom they once formed an active part. However sympathetic a man might be with their aims, if he had not actually been a worker he could not understand the needs and aspirations of the working classes.

Mr. PAUL VOGEL (Waiters) seconded.

Mr. G. BARNES (Engineers) moved an amendment:—

#### RESOLUTION 1.

*That this Conference is in favour of working-class opinion being represented in the House of Commons by men sympathetic with the aims and demands of the Labour movements, and whose candidatures are promoted by one or other of the organised movements represented at this Conference.*

He thought the Conference was more qualified to say who those candidates should be than any committee, however representative it might be.

Mr. JOHN BURNS, M.P. (Engineers) seconded the amendment because he wished to say a few words against the narrow and exclusive proposal before the Conference. If the Conference proclaimed in favour of working-class candidates only, it would be bad enough, but to give a definition of those working-class candidates would be infinitely worse. He was getting tired of working-class boots, working-class trains, working-class houses, and working-class margarine. He believed the time had arrived in the history of the Labour and social movement when they should not be prisoners to class prejudice, but should consider parties and policies apart from all class organisations.

Mr. MILLINGTON (Shipwrights) expressed the fear that the adoption of the amendment would lead the Labour Party into the danger of a rush of rival organisations to secure candidatures, and the one who got first into the constituency would claim to have the candidature.

Mr. BARNES pointed out that later resolutions would regulate the action of the various organisations.

Mr. T. ASPINWALL (Miners) thought the Conference ought first to lay down the programme of the party before deciding as to candidatures.

Mr. KEIR HARDIE (Independent Labour Party) asked whether, under the terms of the amendment, the Co-operators would be ruled out? He would not like that to happen as a result of any decision of the Conference.

The VICE-CHAIRMAN suggested that Mr. Hardie's difficulty would be met by the omission of the last three words of the amendment, and the substitution of the following, "*represented by the constitution which this Conference is about to frame.*" This was accepted.

The amendment was then carried by 102 to 3 votes.

#### A LABOUR PARTY IN PARLIAMENT

Mr. JAMES MACDONALD (Social Democratic Federation) moved:—

That the representatives of the working-class movement in the House of Commons shall form there a distinct party, with a party organisation separate from the capitalist parties based upon a recognition of the class war, and having for its ultimate object the socialisation of the means of production, distribution, and exchange. The party shall formulate its own policy for promoting practical legislative measures in the interests of labour, and shall be prepared to co-operate with any party that will support such measures, or will assist in opposing measures of an opposite character.

He said that a previous speaker had told the Conference that he was sick and tired of cheap workmen's this, that, and the other. They of the Social Democratic Federation were of the same opinion, but we should also be careful not to have too cheap a Labour Party in the House of Commons. (Laughter.) They wanted to know where they were, and not leave men free to abandon their cause at a particular moment of their history. They wished those who were selected as Labour candidates to recognise the class war. They wanted to form a Labour Party distinct and independent from all other political parties.

Mr. R. MACFETRICK (London Tailors) seconded the resolution.

Mr. A. WILKIE (Shipwrights) moved, as an amendment:—

Whereas, it is deemed desirable that a Labour Group be formed in Parliament, therefore be it meantime resolved that a

Labour platform be drawn up, composed of, say, four or five planks, embracing questions upon which the vast majority of the workers in the country are in agreement, all Labour representatives standing as Parliamentary candidates to pledge themselves to the same and agree to act together in the promotion and advancement of these questions, and likewise co-operate with any party which, for the time being, may be engaged in promoting legislation in the direct interest of labour or associate themselves with any party in opposing measures which would be detrimental to labour, the said representatives to be left entirely free on all purely political questions.

He urged that, as practical men, they could not possibly succeed in accomplishing more than was aimed at in the amendment. It would be a mistake to attempt to bind the Labour members on other than purely labour questions.

Mr. JENKINS (Shipwrights) trusted that the Conference would adopt the amendment as a practical step towards obtaining a strong Labour Party in Parliament.

Mr. SEXTON (Dockers) said the resolution was very magnificent, very heroic, but it was not war. The resolution seemed to be reviving a spirit which had been responsible for more recrimination and bad feeling in the Labour movement than anything else. He was with the spirit of the resolution, and would vote for it in any other place, but he could not understand why he should be called upon to vote for it there.

Mr. QUELCH (Social Democratic Federation) protested against the humbug of men professing to be in favour of a principle which at the same time they declared they intended to vote against. Such action suggested that some among them wished to be selected as official Progressive candidates.

Mr. ROGERS (Vellum Bookbinders) said the resolution, if carried, would place the Labour movement in the position of the boy who cried for the moon. Nothing could be more unfortunate for the Conference than to label across its front the words "class war."

The question was then submitted to the meeting, and the amendment adopted by 59 votes to 35. The amend-

ment having become the substantive proposition,

Mr. KEIR HARDIE (Independent Labour Party) moved, as a further amendment:—

#### RESOLUTION 2.

*That this Conference is in favour of establishing a distinct Labour Group in Parliament, who shall have their own Whips, and agree upon their policy, which must embrace a readiness to co-operate with any party which for the time being may be engaged in promoting legislation in the direct interest of labour, and be equally ready to associate themselves with any party in opposing measures having an opposite tendency; and further, members of the Labour Group shall not oppose any candidate whose candidature is being promoted in terms of Resolution 1.*

The amendment left no doubt as to its meaning. It aimed at the formation in the House of Commons of a Labour Party having its own policy, its own whips, and acting in all that concerned the welfare of the workers in a manner free and unhampered by entanglements with other parties. (Cheers.) Each of the affiliated organisations would be left free to select its own candidates without let or hindrance, the one condition being that, when returned to Parliament, the candidate should agree to form one of the Labour Group there, and act in harmony with its decisions. In this way they would avoid the scandal which in the past had pained earnest men on both sides of seeing Trade Unionists opposing Socialists, and *vice versa*. (Cheers.)

Mr. WARDLE (Railway Servants) seconded the amendment, which was accepted by Mr. Wilkie, who withdrew his motion.

Mr. J. BURNS: I want to know where we are now. (A voice: "The Memorial Hall.") I know that perfectly well, but I want to know where we are in this debate. I did not think the withdrawal of Mr. Wilkie's amendment necessarily meant that it was going to terminate discussion. (Hear, hear.)

The CHAIRMAN said that Mr. Keir Hardie's amendment had become the substantive proposition, but, as there was nothing else before the Conference, it appeared to be a waste of time to discuss it.

Mr. ASPINWALL (Miners) thought it would be a mistake to confine the action of the Labour members to labour questions. He wished to know where they would find a constituency in the kingdom which would return a man to the House of Commons whose action was to be confined to a few labour questions.

Mr. PETE CURRAN (Gasworkers) said it was time to have a separate Labour Party in Parliament, and for the organisations to have control of the members of that party. They found after adopting resolutions at the Trade Union Congress there were so-called Labour members ready to work with the capitalists against them in Parliament.

Mr. JOHN BURNS, M.P., said he was going to support Mr. Hardie's amendment, qualified by what he was going to say. There was a distinct Labour Group in Parliament, definitely organised for the past four or five years, of which Mr. Woods and himself were Whips. They had not called themselves independent, they had not worn Trilby hats and red ties, but they had done the work. He would, however, warn the Conference against too much dictation. The Labour Party were not united on all questions. Look at the war. They were not united about that, but he was glad to say that eleven out of the twelve Labour members were dead against that. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. CLERY: A point of order. I protest against Mr. Burns introducing this kind of thing here. (Cheers.)

Mr. BURNS, resuming, said there was the Miners' Eight Hours Bill, and on the following day three Labour members would vote against it and two for it, and the other Labour members would support the two. (Cheers.) But he did not know that those three men could be excluded from the counsels of labour. (Cheers.) They were men of capacity and ability and character. (Cheers.)

Mr. TILLET (Dockers) and Mr. DAVIS (Gasworkers) having spoken, Mr. Keir Hardie's amendment was put and carried unanimously.

The Conference then adjourned until 10 the following morning.

## SECOND DAY.

The Conference resumed its sittings at 10 a.m. Mr. W. C. Steadman, M.P., presided, and there was a full attendance of delegates.

### THE COMMITTEE.

Mr. BEN COOPER (Cigar Makers) proposed:—

*That the Executive Committee shall consist of twelve representatives from Trade Unions, two from the Fabian Society, two from the Independent Labour Party, and two from the Social Democratic Federation. Such members shall be elected by their respective organisations.*

He said that, as the overwhelming number of persons represented at the Congress were the Trade Unionists, who would have to find the bulk of the money, a proportionately large share of the members of the Committee ought to be Trade Unionists. Under these circumstances he did not think the other bodies could complain of having one-third of the representation on the Committee.

Mr. VOGEL (Waiters) seconded the proposition. He said he was in hearty agreement with the proposition, but he would have liked to see the Co-operators represented on the Committee.

Mr. T. B. DAVIES (Dockers) said he would have preferred to have seen the resolution moved in its original form, with representation given to the Co-operative societies of the country.

Mr. BEN COOPER: Is it not correct that the Executive Board of the Co-operators declined to take part in the movement?

Mr. T. B. DAVIES said that, while it might be perfectly true that the Co-operators had declined to attend the present Conference, they might follow the lead of other organisations and change their minds in the future. The way ought to be made easy for the Co-operators to be represented on the Committee.

Mr. J. BURGESS (Independent Labour Party) moved, as an amendment, to

delete all words after "representatives" and add the following:—

**RESOLUTION 3.**

*Seven of whom shall represent the Trade Unions, one the Fabian Society, two the Independent Labour Party, two the Social Democratic Federation. Such members shall be elected by their respective organisations.*

He said it was a matter of efficiency and economy that the Committee should be smaller than the 18 proposed. If the work of the Trades Union Congress could be managed by a committee of twelve members, it followed that this Committee could manage with a similar number of members. He admitted that the Trade Unions ought to have a majority on the Committee, but if they had seven out of twelve it would be as large a majority as was allowed on any Committee of the House of Commons.

[Mr. CURRAN (Gas Workers), chairman of the Standing Orders Committee, announced that this Committee recommended that no more amendments should be received, but that after this Agenda was disposed of, if any important matter came up the Conference might discuss it if so desired.

Mr. KEIR HARDIE (Independent Labour Party) moved that the report be referred back.

Mr. BARKER (Enginemen) seconded.

Mr. HODGE (Steel Smelters) moved, as an amendment, that the report be received, with exception of the last recommendation.

Mr. DAVIS (Dockers) seconded.

There voted for Mr. Hodge's amendment, 46; against, 14.]

Discussion then resumed.

Mr. KEIR HARDIE (Independent Labour Party), who seconded the amendment, said there was no question of principle involved in the differences between the resolution and the amendment—it was simply a question of cost. If they appointed a Committee of 18 members, each meeting of the Committee, composed of men gathered from

all parts of Great Britain, would cost not less than £30. Then, the smaller the Committee the more efficient would be its work.

Mr. A. WILKIE (Shipwrights) said that if Mr. Hardie's argument was to be carried to its logical conclusion a Committee of one was the best—(hear, hear). The Socialists were having an undue proportion on the Committee, according to the resolution, and Mr. Burgess proposed to accentuate the over-representation. They were at the starting of a new movement, and he urged them to move carefully if they wished to secure the support of the Trade Unionists.

Mr. QUELCH (Social Democratic Federation) agreed that the representation proposed to be given to the Socialist organisations was more than they were entitled to by their numerical representation at the conference. If any alteration were necessary the Fabians should be excluded altogether.

Mr. HOLMES (Hosier) suggested that there should be eight Trade Unionists, Mr. BURGESS was willing to accept, but the CHAIRMAN ruled that the printed figures had to be adhered to.

The question was then submitted to the Conference, and the amendment adopted by 44 votes to 38. A vote by card was demanded, with the result that the adoption of the amendment was reaffirmed by 331,000 to 161,000.

Some difficulty arose as to the method of appointing the Trade Union representatives on the Committee.

Mr. A. WILKIE (Shipwrights) suggested that a Provisional Committee should be appointed to act until the various Trade Unions who intended to join the organisation had appointed their representatives.

Mr. W. J. DAVIS (Brassworkers) proposed that the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress be the Provisional Committee until the permanent committee was formed, as was the case with the Trades' Federation last year.

The CHAIRMAN ruled this out of order.

Mr. G. BARNES (Engineers) moved :—

**RESOLUTION 3**—*continued.*

*That a Committee shall be appointed by this Conference, but in the event of any member of the Committee belonging to a society found afterwards to be not affiliated, such member shall retire, and his place be filled by a member whose society is affiliated.*

Mr. HARGREAVES (Weavers) seconded the motion.

The CHAIRMAN said he was simply holding a watching brief for his society, and he was not going to give any vote which would entail expense on his union. He would report to the members of the union, and it would be for them to decide as to their action. He felt, however, that unless a Provisional Committee was formed the whole thing would be valueless, and no result follow their labours.

Mr. CHANDLER, speaking on behalf of the Parliamentary Committee, which had retired and consulted, said that the Parliamentary Committee could foresee some difficulty as to the selection of representatives on the Committee from the Trade Unions, owing to the fact that many delegates were uncertain whether their Trade Unions would affiliate with the movement. The Parliamentary Committee were perfectly willing to accept the representation of the Trade Unions of the country, jointly with the other three organisations, until the next Conference.

Mr. F. BROCKLEHURST (Independent Labour Party) said the statement from the Parliamentary Committee suggested a way out of the difficulty by the appointment of the Parliamentary Committee to represent the Trade Union element on the Committee.

Mr. BEN TILLET (Dockers) said that, while he recognised the generosity of the Parliamentary Committee, he thought that to accept their offer would take from that meeting all its meaning and all its character. They had met there desiring to form an alliance with the several progressive bodies, and he did not think they ought to allow the Parliamentary Committee to assume a responsibility and an authority it had no

right to. If they would only give to their constituents a definite promise, and show them work done, he was confident they would have all the money that was necessary, and for them to accept the offer of the Parliamentary Committee was only to delay, to confuse, and to damn the thing itself.

Mr. LAKIN (Gasworkers) moved, as an amendment :—

That the seven representatives of the Trades Union movement shall be selected by and from the Parliamentary Committee.

Mr. HARGREAVES (Weavers) seconded the amendment.

Mr. A. WILKIE (Shipwrights) said the work of the Committee would be mere detail work to carry out the decisions of the Conference. The Parliamentary Committee had the machinery, and the majority of them were willing to carry out the work.

On the question being submitted, the amendment was rejected by 46 votes to 29. A vote by card was demanded (the CHAIRMAN asking that as the matter only affected Trade Unionists no other section in the Conference should vote), and resulted in 165,000 votes being given for the amendment and 344,000 votes against.

Mr. Barnes's resolution was thereupon carried unanimously.

**ELECTION OF COMMITTEE.**

The Conference then divided into sections, and each section elected its members on the Committee.\* For the Trade Union representation there were 22 nominations, and the voting was by card. The result was as follows :—

ELECTED.	
T. Greenall (Miners) .....	355
R. Bell (Railway Servants) ....	315
P. Curran (Gas Workers) .....	288
A. Gee (Textile Workers) .....	253
A. Wilkie (Shipwrights) .....	247
J. Hodge (Steel Smelters) .....	244
F. Rogers (Vellum Bookbinders)	229

The Independent Labour Party delegates were reported as follows :—

J. Keir Hardie  
Councillor James Parker.

The Fabian Society delegate :—  
Edward R. Pease.

\* The Social Democratic Federation delegates were not reported to the Conference, but they were afterwards nominated. They are James Macdonald and H. Quelch.

## SECRETARYSHIP.

Mr. J. WARD (Navvies) asked if Mr. Woods would act.

The CHAIRMAN replied that, as the Conference had taken the matter out of the hands of the Parliamentary Committee, he could not answer in Mr. Woods' absence.

Mr. BROCKLEHURST (Independent Labour Party) suggested two secretaries, but this met with no favour.

Mr. J. HODGE (Steel Smelters) then moved the election of Mr. F. Brocklehurst, of Manchester, as secretary *pro tem.* to the Committee.

Mr. J. B. WILLIAMS (Musicians) seconded the nomination.

Mr. BROCKLEHURST declined, and nominated Mr. J. Ramsay Macdonald (London), of the Independent Labour Party.

Mr. WARDLE (Railway Servants) seconded.

Mr. Macdonald was elected unanimously.

## ELIGIBILITY FOR COMMITTEE.

On the proposition of Mr. WILKIE (Newcastle-on-Tyne), it was unanimously resolved to add to Mr. Barnes's resolution :—

**RESOLUTION 3—continued.**

*But no member be eligible to act on said Committee unless his organisation subscribes to the funds of the Committee in accordance with clause 6.*

## POLITICAL DUTY OF COMMITTEE.

Mr. BEN TILLET (Dockers) formally moved :—

That, in the case of elections, the Executive Committee appointed for this purpose shall collect information respecting candidates pledged to support the policy of the Labour Group and recommend the United Labour Party to support them.

Mr. DAVIES (Dockers) formally seconded the resolution.

Mr. WILL THORNE (Gasworkers) moved, as an amendment :—

**RESOLUTION 4.**

*That the Committee appointed by this Conference shall prepare a list of candidates run in accordance with Resolution 1, shall publish this list as the official candidates of the United Labour Party, and shall recommend those candidates for the support of the working-class electors.*

It seemed to him that after the different organisations had selected their candidates and agreed to run them for the various constituencies, they should come before the Committee for their consideration, and he took it that if their programme was in accord with the wishes and aspirations of the Labour Party, those candidates would be recommended to the country as official candidates. There might be men come forward in some parts of the country and label themselves as Labour candidates that he would not go across the street to support. He was convinced that if there was agreement in the Labour Party they would be able to sweep the constituencies from one end of the country to the other. (Cheers.) He recognised they might have some difficulty with the official Liberal party, but he did not consider the official Liberal party had any more right to plank a man down in a constituency than the Labour Party.

Mr. W. J. DAVIS (Brassworkers) seconded the amendment.

Mr. KEIR HARDIE said there was this difference between the amendment and the resolution. The resolution bound them to support any adventurer or scallywag, no matter how unprincipled he might be, who came before them with a promise to support their programme. Reference had been made to working with the Liberals. If he (the speaker) saw anything which Labour had to gain by that, nothing would hinder him from agreeing to it. But every day tended more and more to confirm his belief in the folly of any such a course. It was supposed in some quarters that the amendment would restrain Labour men from voting in any constituency in which there was not an official Labour candidate. It would do nothing of the kind. They would be free to act as they thought best. A Labour candidate endorsed by the Committee should, however, have the support of all sections at this Conference.

The amendment was carried, with two voting against it.

Mr. J. HODGE (Steel Smelters) moved :—

**RESOLUTION 5.**

*That the Committee shall keep in touch with Trade Unions and other organisations, local and national, which are running Labour candidates.*

Mr. W. J. DAVIS (Brass Workers) seconded the resolution.

**AN ANNUAL CONFERENCE.**

Mr. VOGEL (Waiters) moved, and it was unanimously adopted, that there be added to the Mr. Hodge's resolution:—

*And shall convene a Labour Representation Conference in the month of February each year.*

The amended resolution was then carried unanimously.

**FINANCES AND CONTRIBUTIONS.**

Mr. J. HODGE (Steel Smelters) moved:—

**RESOLUTION 6.**

*That the Committee shall administer the funds which may be received on behalf of the organisation, and each body shall be required to pay 10s. per annum for every 1,000 members or fraction thereof; also that each organisation shall be responsible for the expenses of its own candidates.*

Mr. A. EVANS (Printers' Warehousemen) moved, as an amendment:—

*That the contribution be at the rate of 1d. per member per annum of all organisations affiliated, and that all expenses of candidates be paid out of the funds.*

He contended that it was absurd to ask for labour representation without providing the funds to obtain it.

The amendment having been almost unanimously negatived,

Mr. P. WALLS (Blastfurnacemen) moved a further amendment:—

*That each body shall be required to pay 2s. 6d. per annum for every 100 members or fraction thereof.*

He said that by adopting a similar system in the Workington district the workers had been able to obtain a majority on the Parish Council.

Mr. J. B. WILLIAMS (Musicians) seconded the amendment.

Mr. WILL THORNE (Gasworkers) said he was in sympathy with the spirit of the amendment, but was afraid Trade Unions would have difficulty in getting the 10s. per 1,000. It was all very well to say they ought to pay, but when they went to their members for

the money it was another matter. He admitted there was no difficulty in getting the money from Socialists, because they had a definite object before them, and knew what they were paying it for, but when they came to Trade Unionists it was another matter.

Mr. J. B. WILLIAMS: If they are not prepared to pay for it they don't want it and don't deserve it.

The amendment having been rejected, the original resolution was carried.

**REPORTING TO CONGRESS, ETC.**

Mr. WARD (Navvies) moved:—

**RESOLUTION 7.**

*That it shall also report annually to the Trade Union Congress and the annual meeting of the National Societies represented on the Committee, and take any steps deemed advisable to elicit opinions from the members of the organisations to which the Committee is ultimately responsible.*

Mr. G. BARNES (Engineers) said if they were going to undertake the work in a practical and serious manner, he did not think they ought to report to the Trade Congress or any other body. They would have their own annual meeting to report to.

Mr. W. J. DAVIS (Brassworkers) also considered that with separate machinery and organisation there was no necessity to report to the Trade Congress.

Mr. J. WARD (Navvies) said that if the movement was entirely separated from the Trade Congress, his own society would object to send delegates, and he believed that would be found to be the attitude of the Trade Unions generally. Their work was absolutely useless apart from the Trade Union movement.

The resolution was carried by 52 to 10, a decision which was re-affirmed on a card vote by 360,000 to 124,000.

**THE ADMISSION OF TRADES COUNCILS.**

Mr. BENSON (Railway Servants) proposed:—

**RESOLUTION 8.**

*That the Committee to be appointed be instructed in calling the next Conference to issue invitations to Trades Councils, and that the basis of representation be as follows: One delegate on the Committee and one delegate for every 25,000 members affiliated to the annual meeting. Payment of £5 to every 25,000 affiliated, or part thereof.*

Mr. J. LENTHALL (Railway Servants) formally seconded the motion.

The previous question was moved and lost, only 7 voting for it.

Amendment to add after the words "Trades Councils," "*Co-operative Societies.*" This was accepted, and the resolution was put, when there voted for, 48, against 11. On an appeal to cards, there were, for, 218,000; against, 191,000.

The CHAIRMAN said he would like to point out that in carrying the resolution they had entirely altered the constitution of the Conference.

Mr. SEXTON (Dockers) said that the Standing Orders Committee had seriously considered the resolution, but

found it came within the terms of the Plymouth resolution, and were compelled to receive it.

#### VOTES OF THANKS.

On the proposition of Mr. KEIR HARDIE, a vote of thanks was heartily accorded to Mr. Steadman, M.P., for presiding.

The CHAIRMAN, in responding, expressed the hope that the work of the Conference would result in the consolidation of the Labour movement, so that in the near future labour would be better represented in the House of Commons than it was to-day.

This concluded the business of the Conference.

