

REPORT

OF THE

Second Annual Conference

OF THE

LABOUR REPRESENTATION COMMITTEE

HELD IN THE

CENTRAL HALL,

CORPORATION STREET, BIRMINGHAM,

On Thursday, February 20th, 1902.



The Labour Representation Committee,

3, LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS, LONDON, W.C.

AC D

J. RAMSAY MACDONALD, Secretary.

OFFICERS AND MEMBERS

OF THE

LABOUR REPRESENTATION COMMITTEE,

ELECTED 21ST FEBRUARY, 1902.

Trade Unions.

Chairman :

R. BELL, M.P. - Amalgamated Railway Servants.

Vice-Chairman :

J. HODGE - - - - - Steelsmelters.

Treasurer :

F. ROGERS - - - - - Vellum Binders.

W. B. CHEESMAN, Fawcett Association	ALLEN GEE, Textile Worker
PETE CURRAN, Gasworkers	J. SEXTON, Dock Labourers
C. FREAK, Boot & Shoe Operatives	A. WILKIE, Shipwrights

Trades Councils.

WM. PICKLES - - - Huddersfield Trades Council.

Independent Labour Party

J. KEIR HARDIE, M.P. | COUNCILLOR JAMES PARKER.

Fabian Society.

EDWARD R. PEASE:

SECRETARY:

J. RAMSAY MACDONALD, L.C.C.,

3, LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS, LONDON, W.C

NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES ATTENDING THE CONFERENCE.

TRADE UNIONS.

SOCIETY.	DELEGATES.
Blastfurnacemen, National Federation	P. Walls, Moss Bay, Workington.
Bookbinders' and Machine Rulers' Consolidated Union.	Matthew Ridley, 5, Mulberry Street, Hulme, Manchester. James Kelly, 59, Grosvenor Street, C-on-M., Manchester.
Boot and Shoe Operatives, National Union of ...	C. Freak, 31, Alney Street, Leicester. Councillor J. F. Richards, 181, Belgrave Gate, Leicester.
Brassworkers, National Amalgamated	W. B. Hornidge, 12, Paton Street, Leicester. J. Ramsden, 70, Lionel Street, Birmingham. W. J. Davis, 70, Lionel Street, Birmingham.
Brushmakers, Amalgamated Society of	G. Freeman, 43, Wright Street, Small Heath, Birmingham.
Builders' Labourers Union, United	F. Kennedy, 4, Belmont Place, Chiswick, London. J. Wybrow, 6, Derwent Buildings, Glengall Road, Old Kent Road, S.E.
Carters' and Lorrymen's Union	Alfred Grundy, 77, St. George's Road, Bolton.
Carters' Association of England, United	A. Astles, 32, Grosvenor Street, Downing Street, Manchester. J. Downie, 27, Algeria Street, Beeston Hill Leeds.
Clothiers' Operatives, Amalgamated	J. Young, 37, Fenton Street, Leeds.
Coal Porters' Union	H. Brill, Club Union Buildings, Clerkenwell, London, E.C. J. Hopkins, Club Union Buildings, Clerkenwell, London, E.C.
Compositors, London Society of	G. Vernal, 29, Myrtle Road, Walthamstow, London, E. C. W. Bowerman, 7 & 9, St. Bride Street, London, E.C.
Dock Labourers, National Union	James Sexton, 46, Hanover Street, Liverpool.
Dyers, Amalgamated Society	Joseph Hayhurst, Trades Hall, Bradford. Wm. Henry Preston, 90, Sunbridge Road, Bradford.
Engineers and Firemen, Steam Fishing... ..	John Collins, 8, Riby Square, Grimsby.
Enginemen and Cranemen, National Amalgamated Society.	John Baker, 24, Victoria Avenue, Stock'on-on-Tees.
Enginemen's Association, Northern United ...	John Whitburn, 3, St. Nicholas Buildings, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
Fancy Leather Workers	H. J. Rostill, 50, Clevedon Road, Balsall Heath, Birmingham.
Fawcett Association	W. B. Cheesman, 49, Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C.
Gasworkers and General Labourers	Pete Curran, 214, Pentonville Road, London, N. S. Lakin, 180, Corporation Street, Birmingham.
Gasworkers, Brickmakers, &c., Amalgamated Society.	Henry Simpson, 9, Phillimore Road, Saltley, Birmingham.
Ironfounders	George Cranage, 7, Talbot Place, Talbot Road, Blakenhall, Wolverhampton.
Labour Union, National Amalgamated	C. M. Stenner, 14, Corporation Road, Cardiff. H. W. Williams, 29, Rutland Avenue, Swansea.
Labourers Amalgamated Union, General	R. Brewer, 38, North Street, Grove Road, London, N.W. J. Holleron, 154, Portland Road, Notting Hill, London, W.
Labour, National Amalgamated Union of	J. N. Bell, 4, Higham Place, Newcastle-on-Tyne. J. Burns, 47, High Street, Gateshead. P. McCullough, 38, Colville Street, Gateshead. J. Brown, 5, Portland Street, Bentinck, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
Lithographic Printers, London Society	G. Cooley, 76, St. Paul's Road, Balsall Heath, Birmingham.
Machine Workers, United	John W. Wheatcroft, 5, Wesley Street, Grey Mare Lane, Openshaw, Manchester. Councillor M. Arrandale, J.P., 24, Upper Brook Street, Manchester.

Miners, North Yorks and Cleveland	...	...	Joseph Toyn, 17, Ruby Street, Saltburn-by-the-Sea.
Miners, Cumberland Iron Ore	...	...	James Flynn, 22, High Street, Cleator Moor, Cumberland.
Navvies, Builders' Labourers, &c.	...	...	John Ward, 12G, Elmsleigh Road, Wandsworth, London, S.W. H. C. Bye, 94, High Lane, Burslem, Staffs.
Paper Stainers	...	...	William Atkinson, 57, Carr Street, Darwen.
Plasterers, National Association	...	...	Joseph McCarthy, 60, Lonsdale Street, Taylor's Road, Salford, Manchester. Thomas Patrick, 58, Biscay Road, Fulham Palace Road, London, S.W.
Postmen's Federation	...	...	H. Gardner, 80, Frederick Street, Islington, London, N. H. H. Miller, 46, Stratford Road, Sparkhill, Birmingham.
Power Loom Overlookers' Provident Association	...	...	James B. Cotterall, 24, Railway View, Mill Hill, Blackburn. Joseph Graham, 191, Whalley Old Road, Blackburn.
Railway Servants, Amalgamated	...	...	R. Bell, M.P., 72, Acton Street, Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C. James Guthrie, 127, Springburn Road, Glasgow. C. W. George, 123, Rishton Street, Everton, Liverpool. A. Lusty, 125, St. Paul's Road, Burdett Road, London, E.
Railway Workers, General	...	...	Thomas Lowth, 42, Oxford Street, Manchester.
Shipwrights, Associated	...	...	Alexander Wilkie, Wilkie Chambers, Eldon Square, Newcastle-on-Tyne. Councillor John Jenkins, J.P., The Laurels, Grange Gardens, Cardiff. Councillor W. G. Millington, J.P., 16, Argyle Street, Hull. Richard Johns, 45, Bell Terrace, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
Steel Smelters, British Amalgamated	...	...	John Hodge, 38, Bignor Street, Cheetham, Manchester John T. Macpherson, 72, Bignor Street, Cheetham, Manchester. Tom Griffiths, 35, Eastlands Road, Neath. Austin Thurston, 76, Manley Street, Scunthorpe. J. W. Jones, 80, Bethel Road, Eastwood, Rotherham, R.S.O. J. Millard, Pencil Green, Lansamlet, R.S.O., Glam.
Shop Assistants, National Union	...	...	James Macpherson, 55 & 56, Chancery Lane, London, W.C.
Typographical Association	...	...	O. Waddington, 26, Swayfield Avenue, Dickerson Road, Longsight, Manchester. H. Matthewman, 223, Great Western Street, Moss Side, Manchester.
Vellum Account-book Binders	...	...	F. Rogers, 39, Somerville Road, Queen's Road, New Cross, London, S.E.
Weavers and Textile Workers, General Union	...	...	J. Smith, 58, Sun Street, Haworth, nr. Keighley. A. Gee, Cliffe End, Longwood, Huddersfield.
Weavers, Northern Counties, Amalgamated (Colne District)	...	...	A. B. Newall, J.P., 2, Hall Street, Colne.
Woolsorters, National Union	...	...	James Ambler, 52, Montague Street, Little Horton, Bradford.
Willyers and Fettle's Union (Leeds and District)	...	...	Alfred Sixsmith, 14, Banker Street, Burley, Leeds.
Workers' Union	...	...	Councillor R. Morley, 34, Portland Road, Halifax, Yorks. John Beard, 36, New Street, Wellington, Salop.

TRADES COUNCILS.

Birmingham	...	...	...	...	Frank Spires, 30, Exeter Road, Selly Oak, Birmingham
Bolton	...	...	...	...	Arthur Eades, 145, Ombersley Road, Birmingham. Robert Tootill, Westward House, Bolton. William Forbes, 126, Beverley Road, Bolton.
Bradford	...	...	...	...	A. N. Harris, 17, Heath Road, Bradford. T. Warner, 17, Great Russell Street, Bradford.
Dewsbury and Batley	...	...	...	...	Ben. Turner, Weavers' Office, Batley.
Halifax	...	...	...	...	Councillor J. Sowood, 35, Horley Green Road, Halifax
Huddersfield	...	...	...	...	William Pickles, 70, Blackhouse Road, Fartown, Huddersfield.

Hull	...	...	...	...	...	R. Lazenby, 15, Denmark Avenue, Holderness Road, Hull.
						A. Gould, 11, Stepney Lane, Hull.
Leeds	...	...	...	...	...	A. Shaw, 3, Branston Terrace, Hillidge Road, Hunslet, Leeds.
						O. Connellan, 3, Faith Street, Leeds.
Leicester	...	...	...	...	...	W. Wheeler, 87, Mornington Street, Leicester.
Long Eaton	...	...	...	...	...	C. Loxstone, Willington Street, Long Eaton, Notts.
Manchester	...	...	...	...	...	G. D. Kelley, J.P., 63, Upper Brook Street, Manchester.
Rochdale	...	...	...	...	...	Councillor T. Hacking, 51, Industry Road, Rochdale.
Wolverhampton	...	...	...	...	...	C. Harper, 59, Walsall Street, Wolverhampton.
Woolwich	...	...	...	...	...	Wm. Barefoot, 83, Griffin Road, Plumstead, London, S.E.

SOCIALIST SOCIETIES.

Fabian Society	...	...	...	...	...	Edward R. Pease, 3, Clement's Inn, Strand, London, W.C.
Independent Labour Party	...	...	...	...	...	J. Bruce Glasier, 2, Hampden Terrace, Mount Florida, Glasgow.
						J. Keir Hardie, M.P., 53, Fleet Street, London, E.C.
						Philip Snowden, Cowling, Keighley.
						J. R. MacDonald, L.C.C., 3, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, W.C.
						Councillor J. Parker, 7, St. James' Street, Halifax.
						S. D. Shallard, c/o Fabian Society.
						Councillor F. W. Jowett, 2, Grantham Place, Bradford.
						Councillor John Penny, 10, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, London, E.C.
						Harry Brockhouse, Avondale, Hill Top, West Bromwich, Birmingham.
						Alf. Hunt, 148, Coventry Road, Birmingham.
						J. A. Fallows.

FRATERNAL DELEGATES.

Parliamentary Committee, Trade Union Congress: W. J. Davis, J.P.
 Birmingham Co-operative Society: E. Parish and W. H. Savage.

STANDING ORDER.

Voting shall be by show of hands, but on a division being challenged, delegates shall vote by cards, which shall be issued on the basis of one card for each thousand or fraction of a thousand members paid for to the Committee by the Society represented.

Report of the Committee,

1901-1902.



WE have again to congratulate organised Labour on the great progress made in the cause of Labour Representation during the past twelve months.

MEMBERSHIP.

When we met last year in Manchester, we reported that 41 Trade Unions, with a membership of 353,070, together with seven Trades Councils and the three National Socialist Societies, with a membership of 22,861, had affiliated. Our Affiliated Societies are now as follows:—

TRADE UNIONS.

		Subscriptions for 1901-1902.		
Bargebuilders	550	0	10	0
Blastfurnacemen, National Federation ...	8,000	4	0	0
Brassworkers, National Amalgamated ...	9,000	4	10	0
Bookbinders, London Consolidated Society ...	1,000	1	0	0
Bookbinders and Machine Rulers ...	4,000	2	0	0
Boot and Shoe Operatives, National Union ...	29,000	14	10	0
Brushmakers, Amalgamated Society of ...	560	‡	1	0
Builders' Labourers, United ...	12,000	6	0	0
Carters' and Lorrymen's Union ...	3,000	1	10	0
United Carters' Association ...	2,000	1	0	0
Clothiers' Operatives, Amalgamated Union ...	1,500	1	0	0
Clothlookers and Warehousemen ...	1,000	*	0	10
Coal Porters ...	3,000	1	10	0
Compositors, London Society ...	12,000	6	0	0
Cigar Makers, Mutual Association ...	2,000	1	0	0
Coopers, United Society ...	500	*	0	10
Decorators and Painters, Amalgamated Society of House ...	5,245	§		
Dock Labourers, National Union ...	12,000	*	6	0
Dock, Wharf, Riverside, General Workers ...	10,000	5	0	0
Dyers, Amalgamated Society ...	5,000	2	10	0
Dyers, Huddersfield and District ...	900	0	10	0
Engineers and Firemen, Steam Fishing ...	900	0	10	0
Enginemen and Cranemen, National Amal- gamated Society ...	4,016	2	0	0
Enginemen's Association, National United ...	1,000	1	0	0
Fawcett Association ...	3,000	*	1	10
Felt Hatters, Amalgamated Society ...	4,000	2	0	0
French Polishers, Amalgamated Society ...	3,000	§		
Gasworkers and General Labourers ...	45,000	22	10	0
Gasworkers, Brickmakers, &c., Amalgamated Society ...	4,000	2	0	0
Ironfounders ...	19,000	9	10	0
Labour Amalgamation, British ...	1,000	1	0	0
Labour, National Amalgamated Union ...	23,000	*	11	10
Labourers' Union, National Amalgamated ...	4,000	2	0	0
Leather Workers, Fancy ...	523	*	0	10
Lithographic Printers, London Society of ...	700	*	0	10
Machine Workers' Association ...	4,000	2	0	0
Masons, Operative Society of ...	20,000	10	0	0
Miners, Cumberland Iron Ore ...	4,000	2	0	0

§ Not Paid.

* Paid since Audit.

‡ Two Years' Payment.

Miners, North Yorks. and Cleveland	...	7,583	...	4	0	0
Musicians, Amalgamated Society	...	4,000	...	2	0	0
Municipal Employees' Association	...	750	...	1	0	0
Navvies, Bricklayers' Labourers, &c.	...	5,000	...	*2	10	0
Paper Stainers	...	217	...	0	10	0
Plasterers, Operative	...	11,000	...	5	10	0
Portmanteau and Trunk Makers' Society	...	192	...	0	10	0
Postmen's Federation	...	24,000	...	12	0	0
Power-Loom Overlookers, Blackburn	...	1,000	...	0	10	0
Printers' Warehousemen, National Amalgamated	...	1,000	...	1	0	0
† Railway Servants, Amalgamated	...	60,000	...	26	0	0
Railway Workers, General...	...	5,000	...	2	10	0
Steel Smelters, British Amalgamated	...	10,709	...	5	10	0
Shipwrights, Associated	...	19,000	...	9	10	0
Shop Assistants, National Union	...	11,000	...	5	10	0
Typographical Association	...	16,000	...	*8	0	0
Tailors, Leeds Jewish	...	1,000	...	0	10	0
Upholsterers, Amalgamated Union	...	2,500	...	*1	10	0
Vellum Account-book Binders	...	536	...	0	10	0
Waiters' Union	...	250	...	0	10	0
Weavers and Textile Workers, General Union...	...	1,000	...	1	0	0
Weavers, Northern Counties Amalgamated (Colne District)	...	3,600	...	2	0	0
Weavers, Todmorden and District	...	1,800	...	1	0	0
Willyers and Fettle's Union	...	200	...	0	10	6
Woolsorters, National Union	...	615	...	0	10	0
Workers' Union	...	4,000	...	*2	0	0
Zinc Workers' Society	...	104	...	0	10	0

455,450

TRADES COUNCILS.

Leeds, Leicester, Woolwich, Bradford, Birmingham, Sunderland, Manchester, Grimsby, Farnworth and District, Newcastle, West Ham, Ilkestone and District, Huddersfield, Todmorden, Colne, Long Eaton, Newport, Peterborough, Dewsbury, Hull, Portsmouth, Halifax. ... 23 0 0

SOCIALIST SOCIETIES. ||

Fabian Society ... 861 ... 0 10 0
Independent Labour Party ... 13,000 ... 6 10 0

13,861

Total Affiliated Membership ... 469,311

(Exclusive of Trades Councils.)

This shows a total of 65 Trade Unions, 21 Trades Councils, and two Socialist Societies; and an increase in Trade Union membership, exclusive of Trades Councils, of 93,380.

The Committee regrets that at its August Conference last year, the Social Democratic Federation adopted a resolution to withdraw.

Although further advances have been made to Co-operators, especially by inviting them to send delegates to local conferences, the Committee has not met with much success in this direction; but at its last meeting other action was decided upon, and it can only be hoped that this will do something to bring the Co-operative movement into better line with the political aspects of the Labour movement, as represented by this Committee.

* Paid since Audit. † A sum is deducted against the Scottish Membership of this Society. || Social Democratic Federation, since withdrawn, paid £4 10s.

SPREADING THE LIGHT.

In accordance with the instructions given by the delegates at Manchester last year, the Committee issued a four page leaflet on "Labour and Politics," and sent specimen copies to the Secretary of every Trade Union in the country. Over 30,000 of these leaflets have been sold, and the Committee has received information from a good many quarters showing that the leaflet has been most effective.

Immediately after the decision of the House of Lords on the Taff Vale appeal, the Committee prepared a circular letter to the Trades Unionists of the country, showing the bearing of the decision on the need for Labour Representation, and offered quantities for free distribution. In this way about 25,000 copies of the circular have been sent out.

CONFERENCES.

The Committee has been engaged during the past year mainly in getting into touch with all the labour sections in industrial constituencies, wherever it could get a Trades Council to co-operate; and this work is being still actively carried on. The method has been to get Trades Councils to call a conference of delegates from all Trade Union branches, Co-operative and Socialist societies in their districts, at which resolutions on Labour Representation have been discussed and passed. The Committee has been usually represented at these conferences by at least two of its members, who have, as a rule, addressed a public meeting on Labour Representation on the previous evening. Conferences or meetings have been held, since last February, in Birmingham, Sunderland, Leicester, Leeds, Middlesbrough, and Swansea, and several are now on hand, whilst a successful meeting of delegates was held in Swansea in connection with the Trade Union Congress. The Committee believes that until local feeling is stimulated in favourable constituencies, attempts to return a Labour contingent to Parliament, with a sufficiently free hand to pursue its own policy in Labour matters, will not be very successful. We are frequently told of the good-will of party leaders, but that good-will, even if it exists, is quite ineffective. Whilst it may place Labour candidates in risky constituencies where rich men do not care to fight, it cannot secure them places where victory is probable, because there the local political leaders are able to insist upon having their own way in the selection of a candidate. Such cases as that of Derby show that until there is a firm demand made locally for a Labour candidate who shall be independent in his candidature, our movement will not succeed. The Committee has therefore proceeded upon the assumption that, for the present at any rate, its most important duty is to promote our cause in selected constituencies, and has decided that the joint conference is the best means of gaining that end.

ELECTIONS.

Though the Committee has to leave Scottish Candidatures to the care of the Scottish Parliamentary Workers' Committee, a resolution was sent to Mr. Smillie, wishing him success in his candidature in North West Lanark.

The only bye-election in England and Wales which afforded the Committee any opportunity for activity, was that at Dewsbury. Up to a certain point there had been joint action, but later on the Social Democratic Federation refused to co-operate further except upon its own terms. The Trades Council, which is affiliated to us, and the local Independent Labour Party, objected to being controlled in this way, and refused to recognise the sectional nominee. Your Committee endeavoured by all means in its power to make peace and to secure union. Deputations from the Dewsbury Social Democratic Federation, Clarion Fellowship, Trades' Council and

Independent Labour Party, met the Committee in Leeds on the 15th of November, and put the case for each side before it. The following resolution was ultimately passed by the Committee, and sent to the parties concerned :—

That, having heard the deputations from the various Trades Unions and Socialist organisations in the Dewsbury Division, this Committee regrets that friction should have arisen in connection with the selection of an independent Trade Union and Socialist Candidate, and recognising the imperative need for unity in the Labour movement, hereby appoints the following committee, with power to convene and attend a joint conference of the various organisations in Dewsbury, and to make such suggestions as it may decide upon to ensure that only one Socialist and Trade Unionist Candidate shall go before the electorate, and strongly urges upon all sections of the movement to accept the recommendation loyally.

Mr. Allen Gee, Mr. John Hodge, and Mr. O. Connellan were appointed the Committee. They carried out their instructions, and reported as follows :

DEWSBURY PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION.

REPORT OF SUB-COMMITTEE.

“On Thursday, November 21st, 1901, a conference, convened by the Labour Representation Committee, was held in the Little Saddle Hotel, Dewsbury, for the purpose of meeting delegates of the Social Democratic Federation, the Independent Labour Party, the Clarion Fellowship, and the Trades and Labour Council, with the view of dealing with the Parliamentary vacancy impending at Dewsbury. The conference had been called to try and arrange the differences amongst the bodies interested from a Labour point of view, as it was felt that it would be detrimental to the interests of Labour to run two candidates. Messrs. A. Gee, O. Connellan, and J. Hodge represented the Labour Representation Committee, and there were three delegates present from each of the other bodies named, the delegates being as follows :—Trades and Labour Council, Messrs. Turner, Spurr, and Jacks; Social Democratic Federation, Messrs. Quelch, Lister, and Wood; Independent Labour Party, Messrs. Myers, Walton, and Brook; Clarion Fellowship, Messrs. Child, Oldroyd, and Cross.

“Mr. A. Gee, who occupied the chair, said it was almost unnecessary that he should state the object of the conference, as each one present knew as well as he did that they had been brought together for the purpose of securing a united Labour vote. He and his colleagues had decided a certain method of procedure, and he trusted that the delegates would agree to the procedure. Any questions to be asked or replied to should be made through the chair, and that there should be no cross-questioning as betwixt one delegate and another. He further hoped they would keep in view not men but principles, and that there would be no language of a recriminatory character, but that each and all would realise that it was essential in the interests of Labour that only one candidate should go to the poll.

“Mr. Hodge said it would probably be as well that those present should know that the L.R.C., after hearing the views of the deputations which waited upon them last Friday, expressed no opinion either for or against the attitude of either party; they viewed with alarm any split in the forces which should make for progress, believing it would be a national calamity for two Labour candidates to go to the poll. He and his colleagues came there that day with unprejudiced minds and having one hope, namely, to get all parties united if possible.

“A great number of questions were asked by various delegates of the representatives of the other bodies, and it would appear from the replies given, as well as from the questions asked, that the present difficulty has mainly arisen from imperfect information, and especially by the S.D.F. making inferences therefrom. For instance, the question was asked, “Was Hartley the nominee of the Trades and Labour Council?” to which the reply was

given "Yes!" which seemed to surprise the S.D.F. delegates. On behalf of the Trades Council it was also stated that an (the) impression that the body had been anxious to nominate a Liberal Labour man was not correct, as the resolution of the Trades Council was: "That a Trades Union and Socialist candidate should be run on independent lines," and the letter which was sent out to various possible candidates put the question plainly, "Were they prepared to stand on Trades Union and Socialist lines, independent of both political parties?" and the only man that agreed to the conditions was Mr. Hartley, and he was adopted by the Trades and Labour Council without a single dissentient vote, the resolution of the Council approving of Mr. Hartley's candidature being: "That they considered him a fit and proper person to represent Dewsbury, and they would act with other bodies in promoting his candidature."

"The foregoing resolution, therefore, disposed of the contention of the S.D.F. that the Trades and Labour Council were in favour of a Liberal Labour man. With respect to a further question, it was stated that at the conference at which the S.D.F. said Mr. Turner was ruled out by his own confession, such conference was called for the purpose of approving of Mr. Quelch or otherwise, and that the Trades Council representatives went to the conference merely to state that the Trades Council were not in favour of Mr. Quelch, and, having decided the business for which they were called together, they could not decide upon any new proposal without instructions from the Trades Council. It was further shown, in reply to a question, that the Trades Council had never rescinded their resolution in favour of a Trades Union and Socialist candidate. The S.D.F. delegates were evidently full of the idea that there had been a great deal of intrigue as against Mr. Quelch, one of their delegates saying that the "Labour Leader" had intimidated Messrs. Gee and Turner as probable candidates, as well as that Keir Hardie had attended a conference previous to the meeting he had addressed in Dewsbury.

"Mr. Gee said it was quite out of place to speak about newspaper paragraphs at that meeting; he had never been asked whether he would be a candidate or not, and Mr. Turner said that Keir Hardie had attended no conference previous to the meeting that he had addressed at Dewsbury. From a review of the proceedings it was quite evident, and not denied by the S.D.F., that they rushed their nominee (Mr. Quelch) into the field because of the fear that the Trades Council were going to nominate a Liberal Labour man when it became known that Mr. Oldroyd was going to resign. It could easily be seen from that day, which was a Friday, until the following Tuesday night, when the S.D.F. selected Mr. Quelch, that matters were rushed, and no opportunity given for concerted action.

"The proceedings having now lasted for fully two hours, a direct question was put by one of the delegates of the Clarion Fellowship to the S.D.F. and I.L.P. representatives, asking if they were prepared to withdraw the name of their candidate, and Mr. L. E. Quelch stated, on behalf of the S.D.F., that they were determined, whatever happened, to go to the poll; and acknowledged, in reply to a question by Mr. Hodge, that matters had been hastened because of the fear of a Liberal Labour man. Further, they had now become pledged to the Executive of their body and the public, and that they had received many subscriptions and could not draw back. Mr. Myers, on behalf of the I.L.P., said they were not willing to withdraw Mr. Hartley so long as the Trades and Labour Council accepted their nominee. It appears also that the I.L.P. have fought a contested election on a previous occasion with Mr. Hartley, and therefore had a prior claim to the nomination of a candidate. The discussion also revealed the fact that the S.D.F. were only a small body numerically as compared with the Trades Council or the I.L.P., and that it was a piece of sharp practice and not at all creditable to the S.D.F., in selecting Mr. Quelch as a candidate without the consent of the other bodies interested.

"At the conclusion of the conference, the Clarion Fellowship delegates said they would undertake to call a further conference of the various bodies with a view of getting the two names of Messrs. Quelch and Hartley withdrawn, and if possible, the substitution of another candidate acceptable to all parties.

"We, the undersigned, after hearing the whole of the statements, consider that Mr. Quelch cannot possibly secure the united support of the Labour bodies represented at the conference, and ought, therefore, to withdraw. Further, that as the I.L.P. had fought a contested election at Dewsbury on a previous occasion they have a prior claim, and that all sections represented at the conference ought to unite upon a candidate and do their best to secure his return in the interests of Labour."

(Signed), ALLEN GEE.
 O. CONNELLAN.
 JOHN HODGE.

The Committee could do no more. The Trades Council and Independent Labour Party finally decided to take no part in the contest. Mr. Quelch polled 1597, and there is no doubt but that this large vote would have been materially increased had the forces of labour been cordially united throughout the contest.

THE MOVEMENT GENERALLY.

The success of the Committee, however, is not to be measured by its membership or its own work. Its activity has had an indirect effect upon public opinion, which is evidenced by the fact that Labour Representation has been referred to in terms of misleading friendliness by nearly every leading politician during the past year, and that several Trade Unions, including the Miners' Federation, have balloted their members on the question of a Parliamentary levy. The Committee has watched with hearty approval all these movements. There is some danger, however, in action which makes the Labour member the representative of one trade rather than of the general interests of wage-earners. It is the wage-earner, and not only the miner, the engineer, or the railway servant who needs representation; and any method of carrying our ideas into effect which debars from Parliament capable men belonging to the smaller unions is a mistake. Whilst the Committee considers it proper that bodies making themselves responsible for candidates should show the genuineness of their desire by making special efforts to subscribe to their election expenses, and welcomes all such efforts, it hopes, nevertheless, that before the next General Election a fund, subscribed to by bodies and individuals interested in Labour Representation, will be in existence for the purpose of aiding *bona fide* Labour representatives, irrespective of the union to which they belong. Only in this way can our movement be one for *Labour* Representation, and not merely for *Trade* Representation.

OTHER ACTIVITIES.

Your Committee, believing that it was within its powers to take cognizance of events which tended to diminish the authority of the Parliament, and which also threatened to take from the democracy powers which they now enjoy, felt it to be its duty to pass the following resolutions:

1. **Voting Supplies without Discussion:** That this meeting of the Labour Representation Committee hereby puts on record its strong disapproval of the action of the Government in closing, without discussion, votes amounting to £13,000,000, as being unconstitutional and a serious encroachment on the legitimate functions of the House of Commons; and further, it approves the action of those members who protested against this action of the Government.

2. **Education** : That this Committee declares in favour of *ad hoc* elected bodies for educational purposes, and hopes that the Government Bill will be energetically opposed ; it also thinks that a simple enabling bill should be passed this Session, allowing School Boards to continue the work which the Cockerton judgment has rendered illegal.

As there was some doubt as to whether the Committee was within its powers in passing such resolutions, the matter is now reported for the consideration of the delegates.

FINANCE.

The increased activity of the Committee has strengthened its financial position. The income from January 22nd, 1901, to January 30th, 1902, was £285 16s. 7d., and the expenditure, £260 1s. 8d. The expenditure includes £21 honorarium to the Secretary, in respect of his services for the previous year, and £25 for office rent ; and there is a cash balance in hand of £83 16s. 3d. In view of the great increase of work in the office, the prospects of further additions to the membership, and the work ahead of the Committee, a resolution has been put down upon the agenda recommending the delegates to vote £75 for an assistant in the office. Mr. MacDonald has consented to continue to supervise and be responsible for the work of the Committee, and for his services in the past year the Committee recommends a renewal of the honorarium of twenty guineas.

Until the war has been settled and the popular mind has returned to its normal state, Labour and Social questions will continue to be neglected. But there is abundant evidence to show that the enemies of combined labour, the monopolists, all who live by the fruits of other people's labour, are determined to make a great fight for their interests. The sequel of the Taff Vale decision—of which, being still *sub judice*, we can say little—is an attempt to crush out Trade Unionism by claims upon its funds ; the attack upon Trade Unionism on its legal side is an attempt to restrain its action, so that its power to protect the workman will be but a shadow ; the articles published recently in the press—especially those by which the *Times* carried on the traditions of the Pigott forgeries and lies—are part of a well organised movement to prejudice public opinion against the industrial effects of Trade Unionism. Menaced on every hand in workshop, court of law, and press, Trade Unionism has no refuge except the ballot box and Labour Representation.

ALLEN GEE (*Chairman*).

A. WILKIE (*Vice-Chairman*).

PETE CURRAN.

FREDK. ROGERS.

JOHN HODGE.

BEN TILLET.

RICHARD BELL.

O. CONNELLAN.

J. KEIR HARDIE.

JAMES PARKER.

EDWD. R. PEASE.

J. RAMSAY MACDONALD, *Secretary*.

REPORT OF CONFERENCE.*



The Second Annual Conference of the Labour Representation Committee was held in the Central Hall, Corporation Street, Birmingham, on Thursday, February 20th, 1902.

AFTERNOON SITTING.

The Conference met at 2.15.

On the platform were representatives of the Birmingham Trades Council and organised Trades, and several ladies, including Mrs. W. J. Davis and Miss Davis, Mrs. Horton and Miss Horton.

ALLEN GEE, Chairman of the Committee, took the chair, and moved that W. J. DAVIS, J.P., be elected President of the Conference.

A. WILKIE (*Shipwrights*) seconded.

The motion was unanimously carried, and Mr. Davis took the chair, and called on J. KEIR HARDIE, M.P., who moved :

That this Conference of the Labour Representation Committee expresses its sincere sympathy with Thomas Burt, M.P., in his illness, and earnestly wishes him a speedy recovery.

R. BELL, M.P., seconded, and the resolution was carried unanimously.

BEN TURNER (*Dewsbury Trades Council*) moved, and ALLEN GEE (*Textile Workers*) seconded :

That a letter be sent to Mrs. Mawdsley expressing the sympathy of this Conference with her in her recent loss.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

A. EADES (*Birmingham Trades Council*) welcomed the Conference on behalf of the organised Trades of Birmingham.

TELLERS.

The President called for the nomination of Tellers, when the following were nominated and voted upon :

Ben Turner (<i>Dewsbury Trades Council</i>)	26
F. Morley (<i>Halifax Trades Council</i>)	... 19
A. Eades (<i>Birmingham Trades Council</i>)	17
Tom Griffiths (<i>Steel Smelters</i>)	... 11
J. Ward (<i>Navvies</i>)	... 23

Ben Turner and J. Ward were declared elected.

The PRESIDENT then proceeded to deliver his Address :

GENTLEMEN,

To George Odger, the famous Labour orator, who died in 1877, must be conceded the credit of being the first man to reveal to the Trade Unionists of the country that by the aid of the organised trades a National Labour Party could be formed ; and Henry Broadhurst was the first secretary to a National Labour League on modern lines.

That we are a National Labour Party is indisputable. We appear in Parliament, and all over Great Britain and Ireland we have members on City, Town, and County Councils, on School Boards, and on Boards of Public Institutions and Charities.

To tabulate where we are would be an enormous work ; and every year shows a gradual increase in the representative force of the party. The interest we represent, however, is so huge that the power we have is altogether inadequate.

The local force of direct Labour Representation took its rise in Birmingham as far back as 1875, when there was inaugurated a Labour Association to secure representation on the School Board. In 1876 it succeeded, and in January of 1880 made its inroad into the Town Council. For the first time in the history of the nation a Trade Union Secretary, as such, entered these assemblies. The movement was taken up in many towns, and the effort to secure a voice in the administration of local self-government has since been more successful year by year.

The Parliamentary Labour Representation commenced with Burt and Macdonald, who both entered the House of Commons at the General Election of 1874. Mr. Macdonald secured a seat in this district, and Stafford was proud of its member. The abolition of Truck—the enlarged Factory and Workshop Act—and the enactment of the Employers' and Workmen's Act, were, in the main, due to the able advocacy of these Labour representatives both in and out of Parliament.

* Motions and Amendments printed in Italics were finally adopted by the Conference.

At the General Election of 1880, the number of direct Labour representatives was increased to three by the return of Mr. H. Broadhurst for Stoke. In that year the Employers' Liability Act came into operation, and in 1882 the important Metalliferous Mines Act was made law. The first workman Inspector of Factories was appointed by Sir William Harcourt. In 1883 the Factory Act was extended to Bakehouses and White Lead Works, and the New Patent Act passed. In 1885 we obtained the extension of Polling Hours, a New Franchise, and a Redistribution of Seats Act.

By the Redistribution Act, however, much of the prestige of the National Labour Party was cut away by the creation of the single member constituency. This, it was said, was a democratic principle. That may be, but it is certain that its adoption was the cause of the downfall for the time being of the Labour party. A community of interest is often a whole city or town, and not a part of it. Leaving out London, were it the law to select Parliamentary candidates *en bloc*, Glasgow, Liverpool, Edinburgh, Manchester, Birmingham, Sheffield, and Bristol would each be safe for a Labour member, and none of these towns now have that honour. I saw its probable mischievous effect at the time; and induced the Labour Association of Sheffield, where I was then residing, to forward a resolution to the Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain against it. He replied that as Liberals he thought the members ought to support it. Before the single-membered constituency was devised, the Labour party negotiated in large towns with the principal men of public spirit, who, anxious to avoid a split, were compelled to respect any powerful interest. Had the Act provided for the increased members to be voted for by the whole constituency, this lever would have given representation to Labour. Now we have to meet narrow instead of broad-minded men; and suffer from the local prejudice of vestrymen. I have given expression to this disadvantage because I see another danger—another rock ahead—the second ballot. I am one who thinks great mischief is often done by splitting a party and losing a vote to those we are best able to control, a Progressive party; but, while generally holding to that view as a man of ardent nature, I recognise circumstances where we are badly treated, and, to teach a lesson, would go so far as even jeopardising a seat; but, with a second ballot, political parties would have no fear of a third candidate.

In the General Election of 1885, the number of Labour M.P.'s was increased from three to eleven. Sir George Trevelyan, as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, appointed four representatives of Trade Unions to the Magisterial Bench. For the

first time in the history of the country one of our number was appointed to the Ministry as Under Secretary of State. Mr. Henry Broadhurst rendered good service in this capacity, but made a great mistake in opposing the Miners' Eight Hours Bill, and lost his seat for West Nottingham as a consequence.

Mr. Mundella, President of the Board of Trade, created the Labour Department, and appointed the General Secretary to the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, Mr. John Burnet, as its correspondent.

After the defeat of the Progressive party in 1886, in which, on balance, we lost two members, Lord Chancellor Herschell, before retiring, made workmen Magistrates in Leicester and Sheffield. From 1886 to 1892 very little was gained except the Mines Consolidation Act, a mild amendment of the Truck Act, 1887, and the Fair Contract Resolution, 1889, followed by its general adoption by local self-governing bodies throughout the kingdom.

This failure of social legislation gave us a good programme for the General Election of 1892, which resulted in the return to the House of Commons of seven miners, and one each of the following interests or trades:

Agricultural Labourers,
Bricklayers,
Carpenters,
Compositors,
Engineers,
Sailors,
And Watchmakers.

This Parliament devoted much of its time to the question of Irish Legislation under Mr. Gladstone's last premiership.

The Employers' Liability Bill, out of which no employer could contract, was passed in the Commons and sent to the House of Lords, where, by an amendment of Lord Dudley, the contracting-out arrangement was introduced. It was in moving the discharge of the Bill that Mr. Gladstone made his famous protest against the persistence of the House of Lords in interfering with, and preventing the enactment of, Labour legislation. Fifteen additional workmen Inspectors of Factories were appointed, the rules forbidding government workers joining Trade Unions were abolished, and many workmen Magistrates were appointed all over the country. Since that time the classes have always added to the Commission of the Peace from their own ranks.

With Lord Rosebery as Premier much Labour legislation was attempted, but owing to an unseemly wrangle as to whether a commoner or a member of the Upper House should be at the head of the State, it came to an untimely end. This Government, however, abolished Income Tax on wages under £3 per week, and adopted a Conciliation Act.

The General Election of 1895 lost us three Labour representatives. The Government, under Lord Salisbury, utilised the main surplus of the funds which the Chancellor of the Exchequer had to dispose of in remitting school fees in perpetuity. The amendment of the Truck Act was passed, as well as the Workmen's Compensation Act.

The General Election of 1900 brought defeats and successes; notably in the latter category was our friend Richard Bell, who fought and won Derby. The return of J. Keir Hardie for Merthyr Tydvil, too, was a distinct gain for your Committee and the cause it represents.

The present Government have consolidated the Factory and Workshops Act, and promised an Education Bill.

We have now in the House of Commons six miners and one representing each of the following industries:—

Engineers,
Joiners,
Railway Servants,
Stone Masons.

There were three seats gained at Bye-Elections by S. Woods, F. Maddison, and W. C. Steadman; but these were lost at the last General Election.

This Labour force in the Commons must be strengthened. It is not fair to expect that a handful of men can, in a House of 670 members, wield an influence sufficient to induce a majority to go into the right Lobby on all Labour questions. The marvel is that they and the friends of Labour have done so much! We must go out and help them; and the aim and object of this body, which was set up in business on its own account by the Trades Union Congress, is to fulfil this mission. It is true we are suffering from inertia; inertia not so much with the leaders as the followers. We are living at a time when Parliament is not in touch with the people; when the purse commands the press and controls the preacher. The poor are pooh-poohed, and those who have too much are given more, and share by far the largest product in a land which yields, by its mineral abundance, a greater wealth than any country of its size in the world.

Why should Labour be largely represented in the House of Commons? The answer is: If it were it would be sure to look to its own interests before that of others.

Those who have sentimental ideas that the House of Commons legislates for the general interest of the community, I fear, do not understand human nature, and much less the present and past Houses of Parliament. They who greatly preponderate in that Chamber are themselves rich men, directly associated with landed property and commercial interests, which, perforce, must have the first lien on their attention and protection.

Members of Parliament would fain have you believe that this is not so, and that their desire is for the people's good—that no sacrifice is too great for them to make for the well-being of the country. This is undoubtedly true so far as the minority of the House is concerned. We are grateful to these friends, and to a number of gentlemen outside the House, and well know how to value their constant advocacy and work in the interests of the Industrial Community.

Not only does the House consist of 670 members, but, as a safety-valve, lest legislation should proceed on a too democratic line, the House of Lords is next door with its power to veto any measure which would aid the masses. Government is human prudence, and human prudence is adequate to man's nature. Therefore, it is natural that any interference with existing interests, or proposals to exchange them for principles and fundamentals, will suffer from the bias of this overwhelming wealthy representation.

I venture to submit that the case is not overstated. Parliament frames laws for all to obey. The majority of the House of Commons makes governments, and governments appoint judges to administer the laws. The appeals against judgments rightly go back to the framers of the law, but still to the class above. To cheapen the process of litigation would be a national benefit, but as it would be a disadvantage to the professional interest, it does not suit the welfare of this class to make it less costly. The Government appoints State Officials, Judges of the Supreme Courts, and every Stipendiary Magistrate, County Court Judge, and Chief Constable; and always from the class to which they themselves belong.

The incidence of taxation falls heavily on the struggling and commercial classes, and little—by comparison of means—on the wealthy; and no one understands the aphorism that "possession is nine points of the law" better than our rulers. Karl Marx forcibly describes the sensitive nature of capital. He says:—"The English Established Church will more readily pardon an attack on 38 of its 39 articles than on one thirty-ninth of its income."

What the National Labour party advocates, and strongly, is that Labour should imitate the policy of Capital by asserting itself in stronger force where laws are made.

Returning Officers' charges were made dear by Parliament as a barrier to able men in the ranks of Labour, but this buffer is not now very difficult to push back.

The working men must see that they have made a great mistake in selecting for their Parliamentary representatives gentlemen who have different ideas to their own democratic instincts. They have sent too many landholders and capitalists, and too few to

represent their own principles and wants. They have paid too much attention to the criticisms as to the personal motives of Labour candidates, and in the tumult and excitement of elections, whilst sawing off the sign, have sat upon the part which has precipitated themselves to the ground.

One fallacy they have listened to is the objection urged against class legislation. We have now class legislation and class exclusion with a vengeance, and the vengeance with all its might and main is used against the men who are influenced by the fallacy.

Another misrepresentation is that we want to return working men because they are working men. We never said so; we never thought it. In the ranks of Labour there are men of exceptional ability, who are able to hold argument, debate, and bring practical experience in committee work, of honour and integrity of purpose, who are possessed of correct and refined minds, and compare favourably with many born in a class above them. We say that these men should not be pulled back; but should have the opportunity to voice the opinions of their own class, and even be given a chance to buy their ransom from "those twin gaolers of the daring heart—low birth and iron fortune."

To succeed in a cause so noble as a fair representation of a whole nation in the House of Commons, it is necessary to adopt practical and natural methods, and not advocate too much principles which are a century ahead of the times. Shakespeare says, "Heat not a furnace so hot that it doth singe yourselves."

An important factor is that while discriminating, as to exceptions, by common-sense, you must be on your guard lest professional men, journalists, and adventurers creep into the movement to betray and sell you. Indeed, plausibility, or "one Pliable," as Bunyan has it, is a character to be very suspiciously regarded. I am not making an impeachment of party politics, but aim for a consolidation of the National Labour party. Would that we could get a State such as Macaulay says existed in Rome:—"Then none was for a Party; then all were for the State; then the great men helped the poor, and the poor man loved the great." The feuds of party strife will, unfortunately, continue to mar, as they always have done, Labour claims.

As, therefore, we are forced to submit to party exigencies, we must be a strong competing party, which, by its intellect, numerical importance, and its determination, makes majorities minorities and minorities majorities. This aim for political power is an ambition worthy the great efforts of industry, and should be broadly based on the people's will. Were it to succeed it would, by its force of character, lead to beneficent legislation, contentment, and prosperity.

The case is rather under- than over-stated. There are associations for:—

Land Nationalisation,
Financial Reform,
Improved Housing,
Old Age Pensions,
Education,
And many others.

None of these questions can be effectively dealt with except in the House of Commons. As that is the place where new laws are made, and as the vote was wrested from a reluctant Parliament by our forefathers and fathers, we shall do well to honour their efforts by returning members in support of measures to remove anomalies and strengthen the Constitution. A country's constitution is bulwarked by concession, whilst a refusal to concede weakens the pillars of a State. Rebellion and riot thrive, not on just, but unjust, laws. No popular rising was ever caused by giving a nation, on proved demonstration, what it wanted, but always through the rejection of legitimate demands. Our policy is to take away the food of sedition and provide better fare for the toilers. This constructive policy must gather friends and increase our supporters.

There is discernible by many who keenly watch the times evidence that the mind of the people is in a transitory state, and there is a growing disinclination to respond to the orthodox Party Whips. This unrest may develop; may lead to a determined effort by constitutional means to secure larger measures of reform than would have been cheerfully accepted by instalment.

There are various causes for the dissatisfaction. The displacement of labour by machinery, and the consequent difficulty of finding regular employment, is one. Another is that men are thought to get old sooner than years ago. A mechanic or a labourer, if on the wrong side of 45 years of age, when applying for work, is often told that he is too old. These and other new conditions are altering the whole phase of industrial life, and must, before long, become a serious problem for State intervention and solution. It may be that the Government of the Empire will have to be more paternal; will have to reform its Poor Laws by taking away their degrading influence, and substitute laws to make workhouses institutions for the public good.

At the present time, to maintain a father, mother, and three children in a workhouse, it costs the ratepayers £1 19s. per week, and yet no man in receipt of 10s. per week ever goes into the house. The £1 19s. is not expended on the skilly and the garb, as the cost of maintenance is not half that of the establishment charges. There is room here for much reconstruction, and, generally speaking, the administration of large local

funds, aided by grants from the National Exchequer, requires searching inquiry. The State, too, may yet find it necessary to regulate employment by fixing the hours of work in all trades. Many are the ways in which a Government, anxious for the real welfare of a nation, can stimulate and assist its people. Much of the political economy of Adam Smith, Mill, Ricardo, Marshall, and Rogers can be defended, but as political economists are but human, they alter—and wisely—their principles to fit the modern State.

We must have “the mighty hopes that make us men.” The King will soon be crowned—long live the King! A new Parliament may be wanted. Peace in South Africa may be declared. Talented ministers, with a good cry, may suddenly appeal to the people, and as they can seize on their best opportunity, we should not only be prepared for the emergency, but ready, and the time to begin is now. We want a sturdy, dogged persistence, such as possessed the early settlers in America and the followers of Cromwell. Our arms are not the sword and the rifle. We have advantages and power which were denied to the old veteran defenders of Liberty. These rights possessed by us could be made real magic wands. No fairy or supernatural power is required. We have the pass to “Open sesame,” the key to the royal road to power. A simple application only is wanted, and if applied with dauntless purpose, would yield a harvest of improvement. It lies in the act of filling the ballot boxes of Great Britain with voting papers in support of candidates chosen from the ranks of Labour. There are men who doubt if their position would be improved in this way; who even go so far as to question whether conferences, petitions, and meetings do any good. I appeal to all such to come over and help, and ask them to reflect and consider what a state a country would be in without protests, petitions, conferences, or meetings.

To sit down to things that are, and accept retrograde laws without a protest, would eventually lead to a re-enactment of slavery and all the horrors of a barbarous State. Our duty is to replace men who have a dirty slate by others on whom we can rely.

We are not altogether unarmed for the battle. The Miners' Federation of Great Britain see the importance of direct representation; and that section of the National Labour Party has now an income of £20,000 per annum as a fighting and maintenance fund.

It has been said that this is the age of sport. I do not doubt it, but gaming without an occasional win is a poor thing. If the working man will back himself he will get a bit to the good oftener than by putting all he has on others.

There are circumstances where discretion will restrain, where men of wealth fit constituencies. In such cases a factious opposition by us, or any other body, weakens and brings into ridicule those who attempt to force a cause where it is not wanted. One victory does more good than a series of defeats, even where a good show at the polls is made.

Although I support the National Labour party's policy of running on independent lines, and would oppose a proposal to merge into any other political body, I am sensible enough to know that no political force can be made which refuses aid or is independent of votes. Therefore, if you want to succeed, barter, coalesce, even join the ranks for the time being of others, and make alliances of offence and defence, provided always you keep your own association separate and distinct. There will always be degrees of thought on cardinal principles. Vie with each other if you like, but in friendly rivalry, as to which degree is adopted, then show the followers an example of unity worthy the cause, the men, and the times.

Take courage. There are good men in the country prepared to help us when we are ready to help ourselves. Mankind would be barren indeed if it were not so. “Heaven's Sovereign saves all beings but himself that hideous sight—a naked human heart.” Though the stoic will do all he can to thwart the path, the astute Parliamentary divert public attention into another channel, the indifferent refuse to lend their aid, and the ignorant mock and scoff, we shall yet, by persistent advocacy, sacrifice, and work, increase the intelligence of the people, and obtain a direct representation in the House of Commons, which, if not commensurate to the vast interests of industrial life, will be sufficient to influence British law-makers.

When this is done we shall be no more a National Labour party than we are now, but recognition, respect for success, and the alteration of bad laws, will receive the approval of men who have done nothing to help, but who will support the movement because of its success.

There are often given plausible reasons why men of wealth and culture are as able to represent Labour as those chosen from its ranks. The Right Honourable Joseph Chamberlain, of whom all Birmingham speaks with the greatest respect, and sometimes with fear and trembling, recently at a meeting gave the leaders of Labour some advice. After speaking on the virtues of a fund, which, by its munificence, divides two pounds per week among his constituents, he went on to infer that he (Mr. Chamberlain) was a good Labour representative. He defended combination in obtaining the highest wages, but said that Trade Unionists must do the best work. Were Mr. Chamber-

lain a direct Labour representative, he would know that many manufacturers will not permit Trade Unionists to do the best work, but compel them to take out the finish, smoothness, and beauty, in order that they can get into the market cheap. This is an instance of that practical knowledge which so much unfits gentlemen, worthy in other respects, from voicing the true conditions of Labour.

Those who are now fighting and making sacrifices to improve the lot of the workers, struggling against great odds, contending with avarice, ignorance, and ridicule, have the virtues of a good cause. The oldest of them will die before they can see the fruit of their labours; but they know well that true principles live on, that future and more happy generations of mankind will value, respect—nay, revere—the men who inaugurated and consolidated the National Labour party.

O. CONNELLAN (*Leeds Trades Council*) moved.

That this Conference tenders to the President its heartiest thanks for the Address to which it has just listened.

JOHN HODGE (*Steel Smelters*) seconded, and the resolution was unanimously carried.

The PRESIDENT, as the fraternal delegate of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress, addressed the Conference.

COMMITTEE'S REPORT.*

*See pp. 6-13.

The Conference resolved that the Report be taken as read, and discussed paragraph by paragraph.

The Report was accepted without discussion down to "Elections," page 5, when it was moved:

That the Conference adjourn until 10 a.m. next morning.

The resolution was carried, and the Conference adjourned.

FRIDAY'S SITTING.

The Conference resumed at 10 a.m. on Friday, W. J. DAVIS being again in the chair.

Alderman BOWERMAN (*London Society of Compositors*) moved:

That the Presidential Address delivered yesterday be embodied in the Report.

J. BAKER (*Enginemen*) seconded, and it was carried.

DEWSBURY BYE-ELECTION.

The Report of the Committee was again considered.

WILLIAM ATKINSON (*Paper Stainers*) drew attention to the comments of the Committee following the Report of the Sub-Committee, which went to Dewsbury to try

and promote unity. He pointed out that that Sub-Committee included no member of the Social Democratic Federation, and held that a poll of 1,597 was a healthy vote. If there was not solidarity at Dewsbury the Social Democratic Federation was not to blame.

C. W. GEORGE (*Railway Servants*) said it was disappointing that the Committee which went to Dewsbury did not say more distinctly than it had done that, owing to the position taken up by the Social Democratic Federation, Mr. Quelch ought not to be supported. Anyone apparently could now start a party, and run a candidate who could refuse to retire, and unless a strong lead were given we should not have Labour Representation at all. He hoped that the time had come when there would be a real union between all the Labour sections, but weakness on our part was not helping that union.

J. N. BELL (*National Labour Union*) said the Committee had done what it could. If the Social Democratic Federation was not represented upon it the reason was that the Federation had ceased to be associated with this movement, and we could not control their action. The Trade Unions would not modify their policy in order to follow the Social Democratic Federation, and if the Federation could not co-operate with them on a common basis it was no use talking as the first speaker had done.

C. FREAK (*Boot and Shoe Operatives*) was surprised that there should have been any comment on the very mild expressions of the Committee. The Social Democratic Federation would only join with us if we allowed it to rule us, and we were not prepared for that. We had done our best to secure the co-operation of every section of the working-class movement, and he hoped that the Federation would even now reconsider its position.

BEN TURNER (*Dewsbury Trades Council*) wished to say that there was no reflection cast upon the Socialist candidate by the attitude of himself and his friends. The Social Democratic Federation had withdrawn from the Committee, declaring it could not act with it, and that was the beginning of the trouble. The speaker went into the details of the fight, showing there was no waste of time from the moment it was known that there was to be a vacancy; that from the beginning of the contest the Social Democratic Federation made no satisfactory attempt to secure solidarity; that their policy was to force upon the united Labour movement their own sectional candidate; and that the Trades Council had insisted, from the beginning, that their candidate should be a Socialist and Trade Union candidate. The apparent waste of time was owing to the fact that, whilst it was easy to call a Club membership of 30 to 40 together, it was

much more difficult to get a mandate from a variety of Trade Societies. When the Trades Council got its mandate it did its best to promote harmony, and put itself unreservedly in the hands of the Labour Representation Committee. He particularly complained of the misrepresentations made by the Social Democrats regarding the decision come to by the Trades Council, and he read a letter which was sent to the gentlemen asked to become candidates on behalf of the Council. The letter was as follows :

"Dear Sir,—I am directed to ask you if you are willing to allow your name to be submitted, along with others, for selection as a Trade Union and Socialist candidate, on independent lines, for the forthcoming vacancy in the Parliamentary borough of Dewsbury. Kindly reply early and oblige."

He contended that this letter completely disproved all the allegations made against the Trades Council on the ground that it was conspiring to run a Labour candidate.

J. BRUCE GLASIER (*Independent Labour Party*) wanted to make it quite clear to the Conference that it was not true to say that the Socialists had left the Labour Representation Committee. The largest section of Socialists in the country, the Independent Labour Party, was still on the Committee. What happened at Dewsbury might happen again, and stronger steps ought to be taken to enforce the decision of the Committee should a similar case arise in the future. It was not the first case by any means, and though they were anxious to be tolerant he hoped that only those willing to co-operate with the Labour sections on the basis of this Committee would be regarded as *bonâ fide* Labour candidates. The Independent Labour Party regarded the action of the Social Democratic Federation at Dewsbury as most prejudicial to the Labour movement.

It was moved, and carried, that the question be now put.

The paragraph dealing with Dewsbury was then put and carried.

J. WARD (*Navvies*) hoped that the letter read by Ben Turner would be published in the Report. He was sure that a great number of London Trade Unionists had been misled by the statements appearing in "Justice" as to the action of the Dewsbury Trades Council. He himself had been misled, and the letter which had been placed before the Conference quite satisfied him.

The other sections of the Report were put and adopted, and the President moved the adoption of the whole Report, which was carried with four dissentients.

BALANCE SHEET.

J. HODGE moved and J. BAKER seconded :

That the Balance Sheet be received.

Carried unanimously.

TRADE UNION REPRESENTATION ON THE COMMITTEE.

The SECRETARY moved the Committee's recommendation :

That in view of the withdrawal of the Social Democratic Federation, and of the great amount of work devolving on the members of the Committee, two new members be added, and that the two members be elected by the Trade Union section.

ALLEN GEE (*Textile Workers*) seconded.

BEN TURNER (*Dewsbury Trades Council*) moved :

That one representative be elected by the Trades Council section, and the other by the Trade Union section.

WILLIAM PICKLES (*Huddersfield Trades Council*) seconded. The Trades Councils were becoming the political heads of the movement through the country, and they should have some more recognition than they had got.

J. SEXTON (*Dockers*) objected to these sectional discussions, and

O. CONNELLAN (*Leeds Trades Council*) and H. SIMPSON (*Birmingham Trade Council*) took part in the discussion.

For the amendment ...	...	39
Against ...	...	46

The resolution was then put and carried.

REPRESENTATION AT THE CONFERENCE.

A. WILKIE (*Shipwrights*) reported on the representation at the Conference as follows :

79 Delegates from 45 Trade Unions.
19 " " 14 Trades Councils.
12 " " 2 Socialist Societies.

110 Delegates.	61 Societies.
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Eighteen Trade Unions and twelve Trades Councils were affiliated to the Committee without sending representatives.

RESOLUTIONS.

SECRETARIAL ASSISTANCE.

1.—J. HODGE (*Steel Smelters*) moved :

That the Conference agrees to a vote of £75 for 1902-3, so as to provide for the employment of an Assistant Secretary.

He was quite certain that every delegate who understood the enormous amount of work that had been done by the Secretary during the last twelve months, as shown in the good results which this Conference demonstrated, must agree that the time had come for supplying an Assistant.

Mr. BELL, M.P., seconded.

J. MACPHERSON (*Shop Assistants*) thought that a Conference such as this should vote 30/- a week as a minimum wage, and he was prepared to move accordingly.

J. HODGE, on behalf of the Committee, accepted, and the resolution was amended.

J. KELLY (*Bookbinders*) wanted to know if the Conference would stand the payment.

The SECRETARY assured him that it would, as the income for next year would be considerably higher than the income for the past year.

J. TOYN (*Cleveland Miners*) moved that the payments be made direct to the Secretary. He thought that that was the more desirable way of doing it.

J. BAKER (*Enginemen*) and J. WARD (*Navvies*) made similar suggestions, and the resolution was ultimately carried as follows :

That the Conference agrees to vote 30/- per week for 1902-3 to the Secretary, in order to enable him to provide assistance.

2.—PARLIAMENTARY FUND.

PETE CURRAN (*Gasworkers*) moved :

That this Conference instructs the Committee to consider ways and means of raising funds to meet the expenses of those candidates who are run on our programme, and also for providing a Maintenance Fund for those who may be returned to Parliament.

He said that this Committee must be more than advisory. It should be a central administrative Committee for the Labour Political Movement, and it therefore should have more financial backing than it has. He was not in favour of sectional Labour Representation. He did not like to hear Labour members called "Miners'" Members or "Bricklayers'" Members. He wanted them to be recognised as representatives of British Labour. If we are ever to have a Labour Group working together in the House of Commons, we must send them there as representatives of all Labour interests, and they must be supported not from the fund of one Union, but from the joint fund of all Unions. Our aim should now be to organise Labour apart from Capitalist politics. We must revolutionise Parliament itself before we got many political changes of much consequence. He believed there was plenty of money to be had if the Trade Unions were approached by a body in which they had confidence, and Trade Unions could not spend money better than in the way he suggested.

R. BELL, M.P. (*Railway Servants*), seconded, as one whose election expenses had been paid, and who was supported in the House by a Trade Union. He did not think that was enough, however. The time had come for placing political finance on a more general basis, so that when men were returned they would not be merely the representatives of one Society, but of the whole Labour Movement. He was anxious that the Committee should represent all sections, and send its own men to Parliament. The Labour members were doing all they could, but they could not do very much. He

hoped the miners would come to see that it was not the best thing for them to confine their political activities to their own Union.

J. SEXTON (*Dockers*) moved to add :

And that the Committee send out its scheme to all Trade Unionists, asking for their support.

He thought this was a matter in which every Union should be asked to join. The Government might capture De Wet before the next Conference and declare for another election. But if the miners were to fight simply as miners, and the railway men as railway men, we should have confusion worse confounded. There was a very important division on the Factory Bill on the midday stop. The Government was determined to defeat the men, but that did not happen, not because the Labour members were in their places, but because the Irish had placed their votes at the disposal of the Lancashire Unions. Again, when the Labour members were asked what they were to do on the Taff Vale case, they said they did not know. He felt very sore that there was so little co-operation amongst the Labour members, and that they were not consulted on Labour legislation.

PETE CURRAN accepted the addendum.

J. FLYNN (*Cumberland Iron Miners*) moved, as an amendment :

That this Conference instruct its Committee to send out asking all representatives to take a Ballot of their members on the payment of 1s. per member per year for the maintenance of those who may be returned to Parliament.

If the Trades did not pay for representatives as a whole they should not object to sectional representatives. He was anxious to show everybody that this Party was in a position to fight, and to fight effectively.

P. WALLS (*Blastfurnacemen*) seconded. We ought not to wait. If once the active Unions had started their own funds, it would be difficult to get them to subscribe to a central fund. He believed that the Unions would be as willing to subscribe to a big central fund as to levy themselves for funds connected with themselves alone.

H. GARDNER (*Postmen*) spoke as a postman. It was necessary to have men returned with special knowledge of various Trades. The Federation to which he belonged felt that, and so it was to run its own candidate, but they had also affiliated with this Committee to show their interest in and support of the general movement. He believed that an appeal to the Trade Unionists would be successful.

O. CONNELLAN (*Leeds Trades Council*) hoped that the Conference would allow the Committee to decide what sort of scheme should go before the Trade Unions. All that was necessary to do was to pass the general

resolution, and allow the Committee to draft the details.

J. BAKER (*Enginemens*) hoped that the amendment would be withdrawn. In a matter like this the Committee ought to have a free hand. The Taff Vale decision had made a great difference in the minds of Trade Unionists, and a fund which was impossible some years ago was now possible. He thought the Committee was wise in postponing to the present time an attempt to raise such a fund. Had it moved in this matter before, not only would there have been no fund, but there would have been no Committee.

J. FLYNN being satisfied with the lines that the debate had taken withdrew the amendment.

WILLIAM ATKINSON (*Paper Stainers*) moved it again, but found no seconder.

J. HODGE (*Steel Smelters*) thought that the leaders had failed to educate their members. The Steel Smelters, after levying themselves for four years, had decided to pay out of their General Funds for their political work. He advised all the delegates present to go back and get their fellow-members educated up to a levy.

C. W. GEORGE (*Railway Servants*) said it seemed to him as though the Labour members were all separated in the House of Commons. By working from a central Committee that would be put an end to. No doubt we needed Trade Union Legislation, but we also needed general legislation, such as Old Age Pensions. The Society to which he belonged had just decided to levy its members 1/- per head per annum, and he was sure there would be no difficulty in paying into a central fund.

The Conference then adjourned.

AFTERNOON SITTING.

The Conference resumed at 2.10 p.m.

ELECTION OF COMMITTEE, ETC.

TRADE UNIONS.

The first business in the afternoon sitting was to receive a Report from the various Sections as to the Committee for 1902-3.

The SECRETARY, as Chairman of the TRADE UNION Section, reported that the vote had been as follows :

Elected—

John Hodge	...	...	...	360
Pete Curran	...	...	...	358
A. Wilkie	...	...	...	354
R. Bell, M.P.,	...	...	...	312
Allen Gee	...	...	...	311
C. Freak	...	...	...	292
J. Sexton	...	...	...	231
F. Rogers	...	...	...	215
W. B. Cheesman	...	...	...	131

Not Elected—

J. N. Bell	...	...	...	125
James Macpherson	...	...	...	105
James Flynn	91
J. Hayhurst	65
J. Graham	35

TRADES COUNCILS.

Elected—

W. Pickles	11
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Not Elected—

O. Connellan	10
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In the first Ballot, R. Tootill, Bolton, had been defeated.

INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY.

J. Keir Hardie, M.P.
Councillor J. Parker.

FABIAN SOCIETY.

Edward R. Pease.

SECRETARY.

There was only one nomination, that of J. R. MacDonald, and the Chairman declared him elected.

NEXT PLACE OF MEETING.

The nominations and voting upon the place of next meeting were as follows :

Newcastle-on-Tyne	...	...	...	36
Leeds	...	...	...	18
London	...	...	...	7
Leicester	...	...	...	6

Newcastle-on-Tyne was agreed upon.

J. BURNS (*National Amalgamated Union of Labour*) suggested that the Conference should be held at some other time than February.

J. BAKER (*Enginemens*) seconded.

The SECRETARY pointed out that we were meeting at present in February under our Constitution, and that if any alteration was to be made proper notice ought to be given.

ELECTION OF TWO AUDITORS.

The nominations and voting for Auditors were as follows :

B. Turner	...	...	...	38
Councillor Jenkins, J.P.	...	...	...	29
G. D. Kelley, J.P.	...	...	...	26
O. Connellan	...	...	...	17
J. Wybrow	...	...	...	7

Ber. Turner and Councillor Jenkins were declared elected.

RESOLUTION 2.

The discussion on Resolution No. 2 was resumed.

T. WARNER (*Bradford Trades Council*) said that Trade Union officials ought not to appear on the platform of Trade Union opponents. He hoped the Committee would see to it that it did not send out circulars

asking for contributions to be spent on members of Parliament who appeared upon the platforms of Liberals and Tories.

The motion that the vote be now taken was carried.

The resolution was put as amended, and carried unanimously.

F. SPIRES (*Birmingham Trades Council*) moved :

That this Conference declares its opinion that the most effective method of protecting and furthering the interests of the wage-earners is by the development and continued existence of a political Labour Party, both inside the House of Commons and in the country; and, therefore, urges upon all Trade Unions and other Labour Organisations to affiliate with the Labour Representation Committee, and to provide funds and candidates for the purpose of securing Labour representation on all local and national governing bodies.

He thought it was necessary to reiterate our principles at the present moment. Trade Unionism was being attacked, and had to carry the fight into politics. Capital was massing. In Parliament Labour interests—like Education, Taxation, etc.—were being sacrificed, and the resolution which he moved defined the only policy in which Trade Union security lay.

R. BELL, M.P. (*Railway Servants*), seconded.

COUNCILLOR PARKER (*Independent Labour Party*) moved an amendment to strike out the word "Labour" on the fourth line of the resolution, and insert "Trade Union and Socialist."

J. BRUCE GLASIER (*Independent Labour Party*) seconded. It was important that the alteration should be made, because it expressed the comprehensiveness of the movement. It was also important that the Committee should be recognised by everybody as standing apart from the Capitalist party. In towns like Blackburn the movement could only succeed if it was kept clear of Liberalism and Toryism. Orangemen voted for the Labour candidate in the North-West Lanark Election, because he stood as a Labour candidate. Independence was essential.

J. WARD (*Navvies*) pointed out the seriousness of the alteration. In spite of twenty years' agitation, many workmen had only a vague idea of what Socialism was. In the interests of Socialism the change should not be made. It would do the Committee a great deal of unnecessary harm.

J. TOYN (*Cleveland Miners*) said he had supported Alexander Macdonald in the first successful attempt that a workman made to enter Parliament, and he thought this movement had come to complete the work of the pioneers in Labour politics. His Society

would continue to support the Committee. He was not in favour of the amendment.

A motion that the question be now put was carried.

The amendment was put and lost.

G. VERNALL (*London Compositors*) moved as an amendment "to insert after Labour Party in the fourth line the words, 'who shall have no connection with either of the present two political parties.'"

Politics of to-day was a game of see-saw between two parties. Political tricksters were all over the place, and the workmen had to be weaned from such politicians. His amendment stated exactly how the Committee meant to stand.

The PRESIDENT ruled that as the amendment was covered by the constitution decided at London, he had to rule it out of order.

The resolution was then put, and was carried unanimously.

3.—TAFF VALE.

W. PICKLES (*Huddersfield Trades Council*) moved :

That this Conference hereby enters a firm and emphatic protest against the action of the Taff Vale Railway Company in making the unjust and outrageous claim they have done from the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, and its officials.

The idea of the Huddersfield Trades Council in moving this resolution was to show that the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants was supported by this Conference in its struggle with the Taff Vale Company.

ALLEN GEE (*Textile Workers*) seconded.

J. KEIR HARDIE, M.P. (*Independent Labour Party*), moved as an amendment to leave out all words after "against," on line 2, and insert :

The interpretation placed on the Trade Union Acts in the House of Lords in the case of the TAFF VALE COMPANY v. THE AMALGAMATED SOCIETY OF RAILWAY SERVANTS as being contrary to the spirit of the Acts, and a violation of the declared intentions of those by whom the Acts were framed.

He thought the resolution as it appeared in the agenda might be regarded as contempt of court. We had no right to complain of the Taff Vale Railway Company. It was naturally at war with the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants. We should rather protest against the decision of the House of Lords. He had no sympathy with attempts to get out of the present situation by legal quibbles. The matter ought to be fought out in the open.

W. PICKLES accepted the amendment.

W. BAREFOOT (*Woolwich Trades Council*) moved to add:

And that this Conference regrets that the decision of the Judges in the Taff Vale case was not raised by the Labour Members in the House of Commons by moving an Amendment to the King's Speech.

He was much surprised that no action had been taken on the King's Speech, and Trade Unionists, who took an interest in the matter, were also surprised that the Labour Members had not introduced the Parliamentary Committee's Bill, which was so much spoken about. If the Parliamentary Committee had to go to Front Bench politicians to do its work, what was the use of Labour Members in the House at all.

R. BELL, M.P. (*Railway Servants*) explained that he had not moved in the House, because he heard that the Parliamentary Committee were discussing the matter, and he did not consider that the decision of the Parliamentary Committee should have been anticipated.

J. KEIR HARDIE, M.P. (*Independent Labour Party*) also said that the blame did not rest entirely on the shoulders of the Labour Members. He had convened a meeting of Labour Members in the House immediately after the decision had been given, under the impression that action should be at once taken. The meeting decided to approach the Parliamentary Committee in the first instance, and offered to co-operate with it. He was instructed to send the resolution to Mr. Woods. Mr. Woods acknowledged, and said it would be acted upon. From that time he heard nothing until he read in the newspapers that certain Members of Parliament, none of them Labour Members, had been called into consultation with the Parliamentary Committee. Had he been able to be present at the opening of Parliament he would have moved an amendment to the King's Speech, as much in protest against the Parliamentary Committee's action, as in the hope that anything definite could have been done. He thought it was right that he should make this statement, as he knew that Trade Unionists were blaming the Labour Members when, as a matter of fact, the Parliamentary Committee was to blame.

The PRESIDENT said that if the Conference would allow him he would take part in this discussion, as a fraternal delegate sent there by the Parliamentary Committee. He agreed that a tactical mistake had been made by the Committee, but it was faced with many difficulties. It found that Liberal and Radical Members of Parliament were divided on what action should be taken, and that legal opinion was also divided. The Parliamentary Committee had invited Mr. Asquith, Mr. Haldane, Sir Robert Reid, and Sir Charles Dilke. He certainly thought that the Secretary was instructed to invite the Labour

Members to co-operate, and if the Labour Members would allow him he would apologise to them now if they had not been invited. He said, however, that the time to raise this matter was when the Trade Union Congress met.

J. BAKER (*Enginemcn*) asked the delegates present to get their Trade Unions and Trades Councils to pass resolutions urging upon Members of Parliament to be in their places when Richard Bell's resolution was before the House.

J. KEIR HARDIE, M.P., in reply to a question, explained a point raised by the President. There were two conferences called by the Parliamentary Committee. The Labour Members were not invited to the first one, and the second was only to accompany a deputation to ministers at the opening of Parliament, and he was not present at the Conference held at the opening of Parliament, not because he was not invited, but because the invitation was sent only on the morning of the Conference. He was not in town, and before it reached him the Conference had been held. He did not think that an invitation to such an important Conference should have been sent only on the morning of its meeting.

J. SEXTON (*Dockers*) thought the resolution did not quite state the facts. The decision given, in his opinion, was in accordance with the law as it stood. He also thought a great mistake had been made in overlooking the Labour Members.

A. WILKIE (*Shipwrights*) wished to state emphatically, as one who helped to pass the Acts referred to, that the recent decision given by the Lords was contrary to the intention of the framers of the Act.

The addendum was then withdrawn, and the resolution, as amended, was put and carried unanimously.

It was further agreed that copies of the resolution should be sent to the Lord Chancellor, the Home Secretary, and the First Lord of the Treasury.

ADJOURNMENT.

It was agreed that the Conference sit until 5 p.m.

RESOLUTION 5.

THE OFFICIALS OF AFFILIATED SOCIETIES.

COUNCILLOR RICHARDS (*Boot and Shoe Operatives*) moved:

That all associations affiliated with the Labour Representation Committee be requested to take the earliest opportunity to appeal, either through their official reports and circulars, or by special letters, to their local officers, asking every member of their association to support the candidates run under the auspices of the Committee, and accepted by the local associations. Further, to recommend all

officials in such constituencies, where such candidates are run, to give them all the support they possibly can.

This resolution followed naturally on the position of the Committee. We have had unpleasant experiences at places like Dewsbury, Barnsley, and Leicester of Trade Union officials opposing candidates run under the auspices of the Committee. It was only fair when a Union had decided to place Labour politics first that its officials should at any rate keep off Capitalist platforms and refrain from opposing Labour candidates.

C. FREAK (*Boot and Shoe Operatives*) seconded. The resolution contained two principles. It declared that the active support of the officials of affiliated Societies should be given to Labour candidates. It also recognised the Labour Representation Committee as being the approving authority for such candidates. He hoped the people in the localities would take full power to choose their candidates, and not allow men sitting in London to dictate that matter.

C. HARPER (*Wolverhampton Trades Council*) supported the resolution.

J. T. MACPHERSON (*Steel Smelters*) said the Steel Smelters had already sent their General Secretary and other officers to assist Labour candidates. They had also given branches powers to spend money on local elections, and if this resolution were not carried the whole movement would be stultified.

J. BRUCE GLASIER (*Independent Labour Party*) said it ought to be understood that local associations should not support men repudiated by the Labour Representation Committee.

F. KENNEDY (*United Builders' Labourers*) wanted to know when a candidate was *bona fide*, and thought that when this resolution was carried pressure should be brought to bear on impossible candidates to retire.

The resolution was put and carried.

RESOLUTION 6.

That this Conference instructs the Labour Representation Committee to urge upon the Government to bring in a Bill to limit the hours of employment of Waiters, Waitresses, and Bar Attendants.

The PRESIDENT thought the resolution did not fall within the purpose of this Conference.

RESOLUTION 7.

J. PENNY (*Independent Labour Party*) moved:

That in view of the possibility of a reconstruction of the educational administrative machinery, this Conference declares that educational affairs should be administered from an Education Department, by bodies

specially elected for that purpose. That a system of education complete from elementary school to university, including colleges for scientific and technical education, should be established, and that all grants and other income for educational purposes should be clearly set apart and administered by the Education Authorities.

He thought that the question of how an Education Authority was elected was one of the most important that could be taken up at a Labour Congress. We had now a fairly satisfactory system, but it was somewhat overlapping and chaotic. What we wanted was a properly constructed Education ladder from top to bottom, and we could only get it when we had one Education authority.

C. HARPER (*Wolverhampton Trades Council*) seconded. The Government had starved Education, and we were now finding the results in the pressure of industrial competition.

PETE CURRAN moved to add:

The Conference further urges that a liberal non-competitive system of maintaining scholarships be established, in order that the fullest educational opportunities may be within the reach of every workers' child.

The addendum was accepted.

E. R. PEASE (*Fabian Society*) moved to delete the first four lines, and the first four words of the fifth line. He did not think that the Conference should commit itself to *ad hoc* Educational authorities. The Capitalist was not against popular Education, but the ratepayer grudged its cost. The Government would not extend School Boards, and if we wanted something done we should not commit ourselves to a scheme which was certain not to be adopted. The Continental system was one of municipal authorities. The School Board system favoured the election of parsons and emphasised religious differences.

PHILIP SNOWDEN (*Independent Labour Party*) seconded. There was a keen division of opinion on the question of the constitution of the suggested new authority amongst those who were anxious for a thorough system of popular Democratic Education, and, therefore, the Congress should not commit itself to particular details. He favoured the expense of Education being met from the Imperial Exchequer.

J. R. MACDONALD, L.C.C. (*Independent Labour Party*) hoped the Conference would not think that the amendment was one of mere detail. If County Councils got the control of education the Education Policy of the country would be settled by one or two irresponsible men, and the control which the elected representatives had over it would be purely nominal. He thought there was a convenient distinction to be made between educational matters and other Municipal

affairs, and that if School Boards had more authority given to them they would be improved. He denied that the Continental system was a system of Municipal authority.

BEN TURNER (*Dewsbury Trades Council*) moved the adjournment of the debate, and the Conference rose to meet at 9.30 a.m.

SATURDAY MORNING SITTING.

EDUCATION DEBATE RESUMED.

The Conference resumed at 9.30 a.m., Mr. W. J. DAVIS, J.P. in the chair.

BEN TURNER (*Dewsbury Trades Council*) said that this Conference was demanding direct Democratic Control of Government, and the amendment asked it to vote in favour of indirect control. School Boards were not a failure. They had not done all that we wanted them to do, but they had done a vast amount of useful work.

J. HAYHURST (*Dyers*) pointed out that circumstances differed in places, and that uniformity would not work well. The Bradford Technical College was governed by trade experts, and not by educational experts. He hoped that both the resolution and the amendment would be withdrawn, as neither met the case.

G. D. KELLEY (*Manchester Trades Council*) said that his Council had carefully considered the matter, and had instructed him to support the original resolution.

J. PARKER (*Independent Labour Party*) said the School Boards were composed of men who polled best for Party reasons, not because they were Educationalists. In some places there was a 1½d. rate for Technical Education, showing that both the Town Councils and the ratepayers were willing to pay for it.

A. WILKIE (*Shipwrights*) said that it would be absurd if a Conference, such as this, were to vote for the amendment. Town Councils could not be elected upon an Education Policy, and an Education Policy was just as important as a Street and Drainage Policy. In Scotland, where education was held at a high value, and where the Education System was excellent, School Boards were most successful. Let the English Boards have the same authority as the Scotch Boards, and they would do better work.

J. BAKER (*Enginemen*) thought that Councils had already enough work to do. Besides, women were not eligible for Councils, and he would oppose any proposal which limited the opportunities of women engaging in Public Work.

F. WHEELER (*Leicester Trades Council*) thought that if Education was added to Town Council work it would be particularly heavy upon working men representatives, and if County Councils controlled Education workmen would have no voice in an Education Policy.

S. D. SHALLARD (*Independent Labour Party*) thought it a fallacy to say that the man who knows about drainage did not know about education. We wanted men who knew about civic life all round.

It was moved, and carried, that the question be now put.

The amendment was put, when 15 voted for it. Those voting against it were not counted.

The original motion, with the addendum, was then put.

It was agreed that the word "worker" should be omitted, and as amended in this way the resolution was carried unanimously.

LABOUR TROUBLES IN SPAIN.

J. KEIR HARDIE, M.P. (*Independent Labour Party*) read a telegram from Barcelona with reference to the Spanish Labour troubles. He desired to inform the Conference that the newspaper accounts of what was happening in Barcelona were largely concocted. The state of things in Spain was nearer a political revolution than anything else, and he had obtained leave of the Chairman to bring this matter before the Conference, so that if any appeal came from Spain to the English Trade Unions the delegates present might be able to warn their fellow Trade Unionists against accepting what might appear in the Press.

THANKS TO SECRETARY.

J. HODGE (*Steel Smelters*) thought that the Conference would not be doing its duty if it failed to pass to J. R. MacDonald its heartiest thanks. Few of the delegates present knew the amount of work that had been done, but they could recognise its value.

The PRESIDENT hoped he would be allowed to second the motion. The Committee and the movement were to be congratulated in having for its Secretary a gentleman so able as Mr. MacDonald. Before this Conference he had not the pleasure of knowing Mr. MacDonald as he did now, and he was sure that he will conduct the movement in a gentlemanly manner, and to a successful issue. If they would support the officers and the Committee loyally much good could be done; but it is not the officers and the Committee on whom the success of Labour representation depends, but upon them, the delegates, who represent hundreds of thousands, and will be able, by using their influence in all parts of England, to add to the numerical strength of the National Labour Party.

EXECUTION OF KRITZINGER.

JOHN PENNY (*Independent Labour Party*) asked leave to bring the question of the execution of Kritzinger before the Conference, but

The PRESIDENT thought that as he had been ruling all through the Conference that only business directly affecting the Labour Representation Committee should be discussed, he had now to rule Mr. Penny out of order.

VOTES OF THANKS.

ALLEN GEE (*Textile Workers*) moved that the heartiest thanks be given to the local Reception Committee for the excellent arrangements they had made for the entertainment and comfort of the delegates. He thought everything had gone off very well, and that the delegates had enjoyed their visit.

J. JENKINS, J.P. (*Shipwrights*), seconded, and the resolution was carried unanimously.

A. EADES (*Birmingham Trades Council*) suitably replied.

J. KEIR HARDIE, M.P., moved that the Conference tender its heartiest thanks to Mr. W. J. Davis for presiding.

W. G. MILLINGTON, J.P. (*Shipwrights*), seconded.

The resolution was unanimously agreed to, and Mr. Davis replied.

J. TOYN (*Cleveland Miners*) moved that the Conference thank the Press for the excellent reports of its proceedings.

BEN TURNER (*Dewsbury Trades Council*) seconded, and the resolution was unanimously carried.

The delegates then sang "Auld Lang Syne," and the Conference rose.

VISIT TO BOURNVILLE.

Over seventy delegates availed themselves of an invitation given by Mr. and Mrs. Cadbury to visit the interesting experiment in Housing shown on the Bournville Estate. Guides were provided at the village, and the delegates were shown all the most important features of the building scheme. After going round the village, the delegates were

entertained by Mr. and Mrs. Cadbury at lunch; after which Mr. J. R. MacDonald, L.C.C., asked Councillor Millington (*Shipwrights*) to move, and Mr. Joseph Toyn (*Cleveland Miners*) to second, a vote of thanks to the host and hostess.

The vote having been enthusiastically carried, Mr. Cadbury said he had been for forty-five years a teacher of an adult class in Birmingham, and well knew the suffering which existed among workers there; something like 200,000 persons living in courts, most of them close and unhealthy. He had had in the class something like 4,000 men, many of whom had been drunkards, and he knew the difficulty they had to find occupation when the day's work was done. He believed the only true remedy was to make it possible for men who worked in close factories by day to have a garden upon which they could find employment out of work hours. He believed that this was possible if the working men of England would think out these questions for themselves. He believed that, like the air and water, the land belonged to the people; that was the teaching of the Old Testament, and they would have to go back to it. He believed the world would never be truly happy until the policy of the country was guided by the teaching of Christ's Sermon on the Mount. The position of a Labour leader was by no means one to be envied. He had known so many who had been worn out in the service of the people, and then been left but poorly off. He should be glad of a body of fifty Labour members in the House of Commons; but few of the present members knew or cared to know much about the condition of the working men of the country. Days had recently been wasted on revising the methods of procedure in the House of Commons, and the only result had been that members might more easily go out to dine or get away to their beautiful places for the week end. We wanted men in our Parliament who knew the needs of our people, and whose great object was to increase the health and happiness of the workers of the country.



APPENDIX I.

The Interests that were represented in the House of Commons
on January 1st, 1902, and the number of Members
representing each Interest.

	No. of Members.
Aristocracy	23
Landlords	85
Army and Navy	59
Brewing (including Hotel Proprietors)	17
Civil Servants (including Ex-Indian)	10
Law (Barristers and Solicitors)	135
PROFESSIONS:	
General	30
Education	15
	45
TRADE AND COMMERCE:	
Bankers, Stockbrokers, &c.	39
Contractors	6
Engineering and Iron, &c.	29
Farmers	16
Manufacturers	40
Mineowners	13
Railway Directors	8
Shipowners	15
Miscellaneous	86
	252
Unclassified, belonging to above Sections	32
Labour	11

Note that it is often difficult to classify members as some of them should appear under several heads, *e.g.* there are more Railway directors than eight, but they appear under Bankers, or some other division of Trade and Commerce.

**PAST AND PRESENT LABOUR MEMBERS OF THE
HOUSE OF COMMONS.**

	1874	1880	1885	1886	1892	1894	1895		1900
ABRAHAM, W.	ret.	ret.	ret.	...	ret.	...	ret.
ARCH, J.	ret.	def.	ret.	...	ret.	...	resig'd
AUSTIN, M.	ret.	...	ret.	...	ret.
BELL, R.	ret.
BROADHURST, H.	ret.	ret.	ret.	def.	Bye Aug. 28 ret.	ret.	...	ret.
BURNS, J.	ret.	...	ret.	...	ret.
BURT, T. ...	ret.	ret.	ret.	ret.	ret.	...	ret.	...	ret.
CRAWFORD, W.	ret.	ret.	dead	...	...	...	...
CREMER, W. R.	ret.	ret.	ret.	...	def.	...	ret.
CREAN, E.	ret.	...	ret.	...	...
FENWICK, C.	ret.	ret.	ret.	...	ret.	...	ret.
HARDIE, J. Keir	ret.	...	def.	...	ret.
HOWELL, G.	ret.	ret.	ret.	...	ret.	...	def.
LEICESTER, J.	ret.	def.	...	...	...	...	...
MADDISON, F.	Bye ret.	def.
MACDONALD, A. ...	ret.	ret.	dead	...	...	...	...	...	...
PICKARD, B.	ret.	ret.	ret.	...	ret.	...	ret.
ROWLANDS, J.	ret.	ret.	...	def.	...	...
STEADMAN, W. C.	Bye ret.	def.
WILSON, J.	ret.	def.	ret.	...	ret.	...	ret.
WILSON, J. H.	ret.	...	ret.	...	def.
WOODS, S.	ret.	...	def.	Bye ret.	def.
TOTAL ...	2	3	11	9	15	...	12	...	11

CONSTITUTION OF THE COMMITTEE.

The following resolutions, passed at the London Conference and amended at Manchester and Birmingham, define the purpose of the Committee:—

LABOUR CANDIDATES.

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 affiliated societies.

LABOUR PARTY IN PARLIAMENT.

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 by one of our affiliated societies.

THE EXECUTIVE.

That the Executive Committee shall consist of 13 representatives, nine of whom shall represent the Trade Unions, one the Trades Councils, one the Fabian Society, two the Independent Labour Party. Such members shall be elected by their respective organisations.

CHIEF DUTIES OF EXECUTIVE.

(A) OFFICIAL LIST OF CANDIDATES.

That on the approach of an election, the Committee 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.

(B) ANNUAL CONFERENCE, etc.

That the Committee shall keep in touch with Trade Unions and other organisations, local and national, which are running Labour candidates; and shall convene a Labour Representation Conference in the month of February each year.

AFFILIATION FEES.

(A) NATIONAL ORGANISATIONS.

That each body shall be required to pay 10s. per annum for every 1,000 members or fraction thereof.

(B) TRADES COUNCILS.

That Trades Councils shall be entitled to affiliate and send one representative to the Conference on paying £1 per year, and may send one additional delegate for each 10s. paid.

STANDING ORDERS, etc, DELEGATES TO CONFERENCE.

Societies may be represented by one delegate for each 1,000 members paid for.