

# **REPORT**

OF THE

## **FIRST ANNUAL CONFERENCE**

OF THE

## **LABOUR REPRESENTATION COMMITTEE**

HELD IN THE

CO-OPERATIVE HALL,

DOWNING STREET, MANCHESTER,

On Friday, the 1st February, 1901.



**The Labour Representation Committee,**

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

**J. RAMSAY MACDONALD, Secretary.**

**OFFICERS AND MEMBERS**  
OF THE  
**LABOUR REPRESENTATION COMMITTEE,**  
ELECTED 1st FEBRUARY, 1901.

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***Trade Unions.***

**Chairman :**

COUNCILLOR ALLEN GEE - - Textile Workers.

**Vice-Chairman :**

ALEX. WILKIE - - - Shipwrights.

**Treasurer :**

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

PETE CURRAN, Gasworkers,	F. ROGERS, Vellum Binders.
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COUNCILLOR J. HODGE, Steelsmelters	B. TILLET, Dockers.
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***Trades Councils.***

COUNCILLOR O. CONNELLAN - Leeds Trades Council.

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***Independent Labour Party.***

J. KEIR HARDIE, M.P.	COUNCILLOR JAMES PARKER.
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***Social-Democratic Federation.***

HARRY QUELCH.	A. A. WATTS.
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***Fabian Society.***

EDWARD R. PEASE.

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**SECRETARY :**

**J. RAMSAY MACDONALD,**

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

# NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES ATTENDING THE CONFERENCE.

## TRADE UNIONS:

SOCIETY.	MEMBER-SHIP.	DELEGATES.
Blastfurnacemen, National Federation	10,000	{ P. Walls, 18, Exchange Buildings, Moss Bay, Workington.
Brassworkers, National Amalgamated	10,000	{ L. Fenwick, 26, Borough Road West, Middlesbrough.
Boot and Shoe Operatives, National Union	32,084	{ John Ramsden, 169, Park Lane, Aston, Birmingham.
Carters' and Lorrymen's Union ...	3,000	{ C. Freake, L.C.C., Silver Street, Leicester.
Clothiers' Operatives, Amalgamated Union	1,200	{ Councillor F. Richards, Cank Street, Leicester.
Coal Porters ... ..	5,000	{ John Parr, 77, St. George's Road, Bolton
		{ J. Young, 37, Fenton Street, Leeds.
Compositors, London Society... ..	11,415	{ H. Brill, Club Union Buildings, Clerkenwell Road, London.
Decorators and Painters, Amalgamated Society of House	5,245	{ C. W. Bowerman, 7 & 9, Bride Street, London, E.C.
Dock Labourers, National Union ...	12,000	{ F. Willis, 109, Copenhagen Street, Caledonian Road, N.
Dock, Wharf, Riverside, General Workers	13,829	{ H. Newell, 130, Wickersley Road, Battersea, London.
Dyers, Amalgamated Society... ..	5,000	{ J. Sexton, 46, Hanover Street, Liverpool.
Engineers and Firemen, Steam Fishing	900	{ B. Tillett, 425, Mile End Road, London.
Enginemen and Cranemen, National Amalgamated Society	4,016	{ H. Orbell, 425, Mile End Road, London.
Fawcett Association ... ..	3,000	{ J. Hayhurst, Trades Hall, Sunbridge Road, Bradford.
Gasworkers and General Labourers ...	48,038	{ John Collins, 8, Riby Square, Grimsby.
Gasworkers, Brickmakers, &c., Amalgamated Society	4,000	{ John Baker, 24, Victoria Avenue, Stockton-on-Tees.
Ironfounders ... ..	18,357	{ W. B. Cheeseman, 11, Bartholomew Close, London.
Labour Amalgamation, British ...	1,650	{ J. R. Clynes, 176, Union Street, Oldham.
Machine Workers, United ... ..	4,000	{ Pete Curran, 214, Pentonville Road, London, N.
Musicians, Amalgamated Society ...	3,600	{ H. Simpson, 115, Great Francis Street, Birmingham.
Miners, North Yorks and Cleveland	7,283	{ James Booley, 158, Chapel Street, Salford.
Miners, Cumberland Iron and Ore ...	4,000	{ Tom Fox, 44, Grosvenor Street, Charlton-on-Medlock, Manchester.
Navvies, Bricklayers' Labourers, &c.	5,000	{ J. Chatterton, 14, Lonsdale Road, Levenshulme, Manchester.
		{ Councillor M. Arrandale, J.P., 24, Upper Brook Street, Manchester.
		{ John W. Wheatcroft, 12, Woodhouse Street, Openshaw, Manchester.
		{ Jos. B. Williams, 1, Stockton Street, Moss Side, Manchester.
		{ Joseph Toyn, 17, Ruby Street, Saltburn-by-the-Sea, Yorks.
		{ J. Flynn, 22, High Street, Cleator Moor, Cumberland.
		{ John Ward, 12G, Elmsleigh Street, East Hill, Wandsworth, London.
		{ J. W. Gardner, 211, Beckton Road, Canning Town, London.

## TRADE UNIONS (Continued.)

SOCIETY.	MEMBER-SHIP.	DELEGATES.
Railway Servants, Amalgamated ...	60,000	{ G. Thaxton, 14, Telford Terrace, Hunslet, Leeds. T. Topping, 18, Grove Buildings, Bradford Road, Huddersfield. M. Taylor, 36, Adswood Lane, East Stockport. J. Holman, 69, Bold Street, Accrington. R. Bell, M.P., 72, Acton Street, Gray's Inn Road, London.
Railway Workers, General ... ..	4,000	Thomas Lowth, 42, Oxford Street, Manchester.
Steel Smelters, British Amalgamated	10,509	Councillor John Hodge, 115, Elizabeth Street, Cheetham, Manchester.
Shipwrights, Associated ... ..	18,000	{ Alex. Wilkie, 3, St. Nicholas Buildings, Newcastle. Councillor J. Jenkins, Laurels, Grange-town, Cardiff. Councillor W. J. Millington, J.P., 16, Argyle Street, Hull. Richard Johns, 45, Bell Terrace, Newcastle.
Shop Assistants, National Union ...	8,000	J. Macpherson, 55 and 56, Chancery Lane, London.
Typographical Association ... ..	16,000	{ A. W. Jones, Campfield Chambers, 312, Deansgate, Manchester. O. Waddington, Campfield Chambers, 312, Deansgate, Manchester.
Vellum Account-book Binders ...	536	F. Rogers, 62, Nicholas Street, Mile End Road, London.
Weavers and Textile Workers, General Union	1,900	{ Allen Gee, Cliffe End, Longwood, Huddersfield. W. Brook, 87, Moor End Road, Huddersfield.
Weavers, Northern Counties Amalgamated (Colne District)	3,400	A. B. Newell, J.P., 2, Hall Street, Colne.
Woolsorters, National Union ... ..	615	James Ambler, 52, Montagu Street, Horton, Bradford.
Workers' Union ... ..	4,000	{ Annie Lee, 5, Kenworthy Street, Openshaw, Manchester. R. Wade, 32, Thomas Street, Ardwick, Manchester.
	339,577	

## TRADES COUNCILS.

Birmingham ... ..	25,000	Frank Spires, 30, Exeter Road, Selby Oak, Birmingham.
Bradford ... ..	10,000	{ W. H. Drew, 38, Drewton Street, Bradford. A. N. Harris, 17, Heath Road, Bradford.
Leeds ... ..	15,000	{ O. Connellan, 3, Faith Street, Leeds. W. Wood, Gasworkers' Offices, Bond Place, Leeds.
Leicester ... ..	20,000	A. J. Smith, 64, Warwick Street, Leicester.
Manchester ... ..	24,000	{ F. Entwistle, J.P., 2, Hawthorne Grove, Ardwick, Manchester. G. D. Kelley, J.P., 63, Upper Brooke Street, Manchester.
	94,000	

### SOCIALIST SOCIETIES.

SOCIETY	MEMBER-SHIP.	DELEGATES.
Fabian Society ... ..	861	S. G. Hobson, 62, Ludgate Hill, London, E.C. ( J. Bluce Glasier, Chapel-en-le-Frith. J. Keir Hardie, M.P., Old Cumnock. France Littlewood, Grove House, Honley, Huddersfield. Councillor Philip Snowden, 28, Calton Street, Keighley. J. R. Macdonald, 3, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London. ( Councillor James Parker, Crossley Street, Halifax. Joseph Burgess, 33, Albert Drive, Crosshills, Glasgow. Councillor F. Brocklehurst, 107, Mauldreth Road, Manchester. Councillor A. Barrett, Ashton-under-Lyne. ( John Penny, 53, Fleet Street, London. H. Quelch, 37A, Clerkenwell Green, London. A. A. Watts, 20, Selwyn Road, Bcw, London. Albert Brookes, 156, Downham Street, Blackburn. ( Tom Hurley, 16, Myrtle Street, Blackburn. Dan Irving, St. James's Hall, Burnley. J. E. McGlasson, 7, Conway Street, Higher Broughton, Manchester. Will Atkinson, 57, Carr Street, Darwen. Dr. T. G. Garrett, 279, Moss Lane East, Manchester.
Independent Labour Party ... ..	13,000	
Social-Democratic Federation ... ..	9,000	
	22,861	

### FRATERNAL DELEGATE.

Parliamentary Committee, Trades Union Congress : S. Woods, 19, Buckingham St., London.

### 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 COMMITTEE, 1900=01.

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In presenting its first annual report, the Labour Representation Committee congratulates the affiliated societies on the success of the movement since the Conference held in the Memorial Hall on February 27th and 28th last.

## MEMBERSHIP.

The official report of that Conference, together with an invitation to the various sections of the Labour movement to affiliate with the Committee, were issued towards the end of March, so that this report only covers a period of nine and a-half months. The societies affiliated are as follows:—

### TRADE UNIONS.

Blastfurnacemen, National Federation	...	...	...	10,000
Brassworkers, National Amalgamated	...	...	...	10,000
Bookbinders, London Consolidated Society	...	...	...	1,270
Boot and Shoe Operatives, National Union	...	...	...	32,084
Builders' Labourers, United	...	...	...	9,000
Carters' and Lorrymen's Union	...	...	...	3,000
Clothiers' Operatives, Amalgamated Union...	...	...	...	1,200
Coal Porters	...	...	...	5,000
Compositors, London Society...	...	...	...	11,415
Cigar Makers, Mutual Association	...	...	...	2,000
Decorators and Painters, Amalgamated Society of House..	...	...	...	5,245
Dock Labourers, National Union	...	...	...	12,000
Dock, Wharf, Riverside, General Workers...	...	...	...	13,829
Dyers, Amalgamated Society	...	...	...	5,000
Dyers, Huddersfield and District	...	...	...	900
Engineers and Firemen, Steam Fishing	...	...	...	900
Enginemen and Cranemen, National Amalgamated Society	...	...	...	4,016
Fawcett Association	...	...	...	3,000
French Polishers, Amalgamated Society	...	...	...	3,000
Gasworkers and General Labourers...	...	...	...	48,038
Gasworkers, Brickmakers, &c., Amalgamated Society	...	...	...	4,000
Ironfounders	...	...	...	18,357
Labour Amalgamation, British	...	...	...	1,650
Labourers' Union, National Amalgamated	...	...	...	4,000
Leather Workers, Fancy	...	...	...	323
Musicians, Amalgamated Society	...	...	...	3,600
Municipal Employees' Association	...	...	...	750
Miners, North Yorks. and Cleveland...	...	...	...	7,283
Navvies, Bricklayers' Labourers, &c.	...	...	...	5,000
Railway Servants, Amalgamated	...	...	...	60,000
Railway Workers, General	...	...	...	4,000
Steel Smelters, British Amalgamated	...	...	...	10,509
Shipwrights, Associated	...	...	...	18,000

Shop Assistants, National Union	...	...	...	...	8,000
Typographical Association	...	...	...	...	16,000
Vellum Account-book Binders	...	...	...	...	536
Weavers and Textile Workers, General Union	...	...	...	...	1,900
Waiters' Union	...	...	...	...	250
Weavers, Northern Counties Amalgamated (Colne District)	...	...	...	...	3,400
Woolsorters, National Union	...	...	...	...	615
Workers' Union	...	...	...	...	4,000
					<hr/>
					353,070

## TRADES COUNCILS.

Leeds (15,000), Leicester (20,000), Woolwich, Bradford (10,000),  
Birmingham (25,000), Sunderland (7,000), Manchester (24,000).

## SOCIALIST SOCIETIES.

Fabian Society	...	...	...	...	861
Independent Labour Party	...	...	...	...	13,000
Social-Democratic Federation	...	...	...	...	9,000
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					22,861

Total Affiliated Membership ... .. **375,931.**  
(Exclusive of Trades Councils.)

The Committee regrets that the English Co-operators have not seen their way to help as yet, although the Co-operators in Scotland have joined a Committee similar to this with which we are harmoniously working. But the list of societies given above may reasonably be taken to indicate that the object of the Committee is felt by very large numbers of trade unionists to be one of pressing importance.

The work of the Committee has been directed chiefly in getting this membership together, and for this purpose eleven hundred Reports of the London Conference have been sent to trade union secretaries. Three thousand of these reports have also been sold, chiefly to trade unions. The Committee has also sent deputations to the Executives of trade unions and trades councils, and has sent speakers to conferences and meetings specially got up in Bradford, Halifax, Sheffield, Jarrow, Leeds, Norwich, and in Huddersfield in connection with the Trade Union Congress.

## HISTORICAL.

It is appropriate that the first Annual Report of this Committee should refer briefly to the various attempts that have been made to initiate a Labour Representation movement as an adjunct to Trade Unionism. Immediately after the Reform Act of 1868, which enfranchised working men in the boroughs, a movement started, both inside and outside the Trade Union ranks, demanding that an end should be put to the legal grievances which Trade Unions then suffered, by sending to the House of Commons a body of Trade Union representatives. The Labour Representation League, established for this purpose, was essentially a Trade Union Congress offshoot. It failed in its efforts to get its candidates recognised by the managers of either political

party, and was forced into "three-cornered" contests. A bye-election in 1869 was fought by Mr. George Odger on behalf of the Trade Unionists. In 1870, and again in 1873, the League had to split votes, and at the General Election in 1874 it proposed to contest seventeen or eighteen constituencies. Fourteen of its candidates went to the poll, and of these only four were allowed a straight fight:—A. Macdonald (Stafford); T. Burt (Morpeth); S. Mottershead (Preston); R. Cremer (Warwick). Ten were compelled to split votes:—B. Pickard (Wigan); G. Howell (Aylesbury); Henry Broadhurst (Wycombe); G. Potter (Peterborough); Halliday (Merthyr); Kane (Middlesbrough); G. Odger (Southwark); Morris (Cricklade); B. Lucraft (Finsbury); Walton (Stoke-on-Trent). Only Mr. Macdonald and Mr. Burt were elected. The most pressing of the legal disabilities were shortly afterwards redressed, and the Labour Representation League gradually disappeared. Little more was heard of such a movement (except amongst the miners, who had returned two members to Parliament in 1874) until a new kind of pressure began to be felt by Trade Unions—until the economic problem of capitalism took the place of the legal problem of anti-Trade Union legislation. Towards the end of the eighties, owing to depression in trade and the beginning of successful combinations amongst the employers, the attention of the Trade Unions was again turned towards Labour politics. The London Dock strike in particular marks the birth of the new political movement. The Congress which met in Belfast in 1893 resolved that the Unions should combine to form a Parliamentary Fund, but the Parliamentary Committee had to report next year that only two Unions had agreed to put the resolution in operation. The matter had to drop for the time being. In 1890 the Labour Electoral Association had been formed, but failed to impress the Unions with the necessity for its existence, and Congress itself could not be induced to take official action again until 1899, when the Railway Servants' resolution, which originated the present movement, was passed.

### COMMITTEE.

The Committee regrets that Mr. T. Greenall, who had been elected Vice-Chairman, had to resign his membership owing to the decision of his union not to affiliate. Mr. H. Brill, Coal Porters, being at the head of the unsuccessful candidates, took his place. Since the Conference the Social-Democratic Federation changed one of its representatives.

The Committee has met eight times, and the attendances have been as follows:—

F. Rogers, Chairman	...	...	6	R. Bell, M.P., Treasurer	...	...	5
A. Wilkie, Vice-Chairman	...	...	4	J. Keir Hardie, M.P.	...	...	6
H. Brill ( <i>possible</i> 4)	...	...	1	James Parker	...	...	7
Pete Curran...	...	...	5	H. Quelch	...	...	5
Allen Gee	...	...	8	A. A. Watt's ( <i>possible</i> 6)	...	...	6
J. Hodge	...	...	6	Edwd. R. Pease	...	...	7

### GENERAL ELECTION.

Unfortunately, the Committee had to face a General Election when only a few months old. At the dissolution in September, the membership was incompletely organised.

## WHO COULD BE CANDIDATES?

The Committee had to interpret the resolutions passed at the London Conference\* regarding the conditions under which it could recognise candidatures, and it decided that it could support only those candidates run by labour organisations affiliated, and that whilst it would be no bar to a candidate that he was receiving the support of either of the non-labour political parties, it must be clearly understood that his candidature was not promoted by either of them, and that he accepted the conditions of the second resolution of the London Conference.†

## THE RESULT.

The abuse of constitutional power by which the Government plunged the country into an election in order to snatch a hasty and unformed judgment from the electors, for its own partisan ends, made it impossible for the Committee to complete its plan of campaign. The Trade Union candidatures, for the lack of such an organisation as is now being built up, were specially backward, and were not so many as we should have wished, nor as they would have been had the election been delayed for a few months.

And yet, the Labour Representation Committee's list <sup>are</sup>d remarkably well. Two members of the Committee actually won seats for Labour (the only victories which Labour gained at the election), and, in every case but one, where comparison with 1895 is possible, its candidates improved their polls. The votes polled were 62,698 out of a total of 177,000. In ten cases the local organisations responsible for the Committee's candidates were strong enough to keep one of the ordinary parties out of the contest; in the other five constituencies they had to fight both parties. This favourable result is due, in no small measure, to the existence of the Committee, and its manifesto to the electors in the constituencies where its candidates were running was signed by representatives of all the sections of the Labour movement. This is a happy augury for the future. 222,000 of these manifestoes were supplied gratis to the Committee's candidates. The following candidates were run by affiliated organisations and consequently were supported by the Committee:—

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\* The Resolution passed by the London Conference was: "That this Conference is in favour of working-class opinion being represented in the House of Commons by men sympathetic with the aims and demands of the Labour movements, and whose CANDIDATURES ARE PROMOTED BY ONE OR OTHER OF THE ORGANISED MOVEMENTS REPRESENTED BY THE CONSTITUTION WHICH THIS CONFERENCE IS ABOUT TO FRAME."

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

Constituency.	Candidate.	Opponents.	Labour vote.	Total vote polled.	Representation before contest.	Representation after contest.	Remarks.
Derby .....	R. Bell.....	2 Cons. ....	7,640	15,000	2 Cons. ...	1 Lab. and 1 Lib.	Liberals ran one man and co-operated.
Merthyr .....	J. Keir Hardie...	2 Libs.....	5,745	13,000	2 Libs.....	1 Lab. and 1 Lib.	Trades Council loyally helped.
Gower (Glam.) ...	J. Hodge .....	1 Lib.....	3,853	8,129	1 Lib .....	1 Lib. ....	Straight fight between Liberal and Labour.
Sunderland.....	A. Wilkie .....	2 Cons. ....	8,842	19,102	1 Lib. and 1 Con.	2 Cons.....	Liberals co-operated
West Ham .....	W. Thorne .....	1 Con. ....	4,439	10,054	1 Con.....	1 Con.....	Vote inc. 460
Blackburn .....	P. Snowden .....	2 Cons. ....	7,096	18,000	2 Cons. ...	2 Cons.....	Liberals partly co-operated.
Bradford .....	F. Jowett .....	1 Con. ....	4,949	9,939	1 Con.....	1 Con. ....	Liberals did not officially co-operate.
Halifax .....	J. Parker .....	2 Libs. and 1 Con.	3,276	13,000	1 Lib. and 1 Con.	1 Lib. and 1 Con.	Labour organisations helped; both Liberals & Conservatives opposed.
Leicester .....	J. R. MacDonald	2 Libs. and 1 Con.	4,164	18,000	2 Libs.....	1 Lib. and 1 Con.	Trades Cncl supported Broadhurst and MacDonald. Increased vote 160.
Manchester, S.W.	F. Brocklehurst...	1 Con.....	2,398	6,415	1 Con.....	1 Con.....	Liberals did not co-operate.
Preston .....	J. Keir Hardie.....	2 Cons.....	4,834	11,500	2 Cons.....	2 Cons.....	Increased vote 53
Bow and Bromley	Geo. Lansbury...	1 Con.....	2,558	6,961	1 Con .....	1 Con.....	Increased vote 435
Ashton-u-Lyne ...	J. Johnston.....	1 Lib. and 1 Con.	737	6,100	1 Con.....	1 Con.....	Increased vote 322
Leeds, East.....	W. P. Byles.....	1 Lib. and 1 Con.	1,266	6,305	1 Lib .....	1 Con.....	Affiliated T. C. endorsed candidature.
Rochdale .....	A. Clarke .....	1 Lib. and 1 Con	901	11,290	1 Con.....	1 Con.....	Decreased vote 350

These figures compare so favourably with other Labour polls, and with the general result of the election, that they must convince everyone that Labour candidatures promoted by Labour organisations have as good a chance of success as when they are promoted by either of the old parties. What is needed is strong local organisations and a firm policy, so that the claims of the distinct Labour movement for representation in Parliament may be recognised by local political leaders in favourable constituencies.

The members of those organisations who ran candidates are to be congratulated on the success attained. Even where the candidates were not returned, the large amount of support received fully justified the outlay, and will, no doubt, prove a good investment and lead to an actual gain in future. The Committee hopes that these organisations will continue the good work they have begun, and that others, in their own best interest, as well as in that of the Labour Movement as a whole, will likewise take steps to increase further the number of Labour candidates at the first favourable opportunity.

## ORGANISATION.

The Committee thinks that joint committees of affiliated societies (*e.g.*, the trades and other labour councils, branches of unions, and Socialist organisations, and, where possible, co-operative societies) should be formed at once in likely constituencies for the purpose of organising the labour vote, and impressing constituencies with the reality of the union of the democracy for which this Committee stands. This work of organisation will now be proceeded with, and delegates are recommended to urge upon the respective branches of the societies

to which they belong the desirability of taking this matter of local organisation into immediate consideration. In places like Glasgow, Halifax, Birmingham, Leicester there are workers' committees, representative of Trade Unionism, Socialism, and Co-operation, which are responsible for local elections,\* and these committees should be taken as models.

## FINANCE.

The income of the Committee from March 1st, 1900, to January 22nd, 1901, was £243 13s. 2d., and the expenditure £186 16s. 8d., leaving a balance of only £56 16s. 6d. in hand.

The literature printed for the General Election cost £33, an expense not likely to be incurred again in the near future; and of £18 3s. 3d. expended on printing the Report of the London Conference, no less than £16 3s. 2d. was recouped by the sales.

Your Committee feels it its duty to draw the attention of the affiliated societies to the income and expenditure, because in its opinion the financial position of our Organisation is by no means so strong as it ought to be, and careful consideration must be given to proposals for adding to our resources. This is the more important because a growth in our expenditure appears to be inevitable.

Hitherto the work of the Committee has been carried on by an Honorary Secretary, and the office expenses charged in the accounts have been only out-of-pocket expenses incurred at the express order of the Committee. The Committee recognises that its work makes unreasonable demands on the time of an Honorary Secretary, and it proposes that the Conference should vote the sum of £21 to him as an acknowledgment of his past services.

For the future the Committee is of opinion that steps must be taken and funds provided for obtaining an office, and for making a fixed payment to the Secretary, who will thus be enabled to devote the necessary time to the work. This will make possible a large extension of the organising work, and will involve further financial responsibilities, which, however, is sure to be met by a rapid increase in membership.

Your Committee is assured that these proposals are necessary in order to enable every opportunity to be seized for promoting its object, the increase of the representation of Labour in the House of Commons.

FREDK. ROGERS, *Chairman.*

A. WILKIE, *Vice-Chairman.*

H. BRILL.

P. CURRAN.

ALLEN GEE.

J. HODGE.

J. KEIR HARDIE.

JAMES PARKER.

HARRY QUELCH.

A. A. WATTS.

EDWARD R. PEASE.

R. BELL, *Treasurer.*

J. RAMSAY MACDONALD, *Secretary.*

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\* In an appendix to this report, information regarding the composition and work of some of these committees is published. See pp. 22, 23 and 24.

## BALANCE - SHEET.

1st March, 1900, to 22nd January, 1901.

RECEIPTS.				EXPENDITURE.			
	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Affiliation fees ... ..	210	10	0	Printing—			
Sales of London Conference Report ...	16	3	2	222,000 Manifestoes—General			
Delegates' Fees, Manchester Conference	17	0	0	Election ... ..	33	0	0
				London Conference Report ...	18	3	3
				Circulars, &c. ... ..	9	1	9
							60 5 0
				Postage ... ..			15 18 11
				Stationery, &c. ... ..			4 10 3
				Typewriting and Clerical Assistance ...			7 6 1
				Eight Committee Meetings ... ..			84 16 3
				Railway and other Expenses of Deputa-			
				tions ... ..			12 18 0
				Advertising Huddersfield Meeting ...			0 18 0
				Bank Cheque Book ... ..			0 4 2
				Cash in Bank ... ..	£50	13	7
				Petty cash in hand ... ..		6	2 11
							56 16 6
							£243 13 2
	£243	13	2				

Audited and found correct, 23rd January, 1901.

ALLEN GEE. }  
 EDW. R. PEASE, } *Auditors.*

## REPORT OF CONFERENCE.



The First Annual Conference of the Labour Representation Committee was held in the Co-operative Hall, Downing Street, Manchester, on Friday, February 1st, 1901. The Manchester Trades Council co-operated with the Committee in making the arrangements.

### MORNING SITTING.

The Conference commenced sitting at twelve o'clock.

Councillor JOHN HODGE (*Steel-smelters*) was elected to the chair. He reminded the delegates that the movement was originated by a resolution passed by the Trade Union Congress in 1899. It was time for Trade Unionists to consider seriously their political position. Speaking for himself, he had some personal knowledge of political parties, and his experiences had compelled him to come to the conclusion that Trade Unionists must look after themselves in politics. It was getting almost impossible to find anything in either party for intelligent Trade Unionists to support.

### SATURDAY'S SESSION.

He regretted that owing to the death of the Queen the Conference would not receive the attention in the Press which it deserved. Moreover, the trains were to run on Saturday as though it were Sunday, and the delegates who had to get away from Manchester next day would find great difficulty in doing so. He would

therefore suggest that it would be convenient for everyone if the present sitting were prolonged until all the business was finished.

Mr. J. WARD (*Navvies*) thought that it would be a mistake to abandon Saturday's sitting, and he moved :—

"That, if the business of the Conference be not finished at five o'clock, the Conference shall meet to-morrow."

A DELEGATE seconded.

Mr. D. IRVING (*Social-Democratic Federation*) asked if there was any necessity for a motion. Let the Conference proceed with its work now, and if delegates desired later on to discuss Saturday's sitting let them do so.

Mr. J. JENKINS (*Shipwrights*) said he was there representing his trade, and he knew the feelings of his members. He did not wish to stultify the Conference and the movement it represented by pushing forward any opinion of his own. The delegates ought to recognise the general sentiments outside. He protested against meeting on Saturday.

On a vote being taken, there voted for Mr. J. Ward's motion 27, against 33. The vote was challenged and, on a show of cards, there voted :

For Mr. Ward's motion	147
Against	199

The Conference then agreed to finish business on Friday.

### DELEGATES AND NUMBERS REPRESENTED.

The Chairman announced that there

were 82 delegates at the Conference, representing Societies as follows :

Trade Unions with a membership of ...	339,577
Trades Councils with a membership of ...	94,000
Socialist Societies with a membership of ...	22,861
<hr/>	
Total numbers represented ... ..	456,438

#### TELLERS.

The Conference agreed that Mr. J. Macpherson (*Shop Assistants*) and Mr. J. B. Williams (*Musicians*), who had been asked by the Chairman to count the vote just taken, should be Tellers.

#### COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

The Report was discussed in paragraphs.

#### CO-OPERATORS AND THE COMMITTEE.

Mr. P. WALLS (*Blastfurnacemen*) thought that circulars should be sent to Co-operative Societies. The Annual Co-operative Congress was not representative, and its decisions should not be regarded as expressing the opinions of members.

The SECRETARY explained the policy of the Committee. After the decision of the Cardiff Co-operative Congress, it was felt that the energies of the Committee should be spent in consolidating a Trade Union support in the first instance. The hope that the Co-operators would come in had not been abandoned, but they were all the more likely to look favourably upon the Committee if it gained a substantial Trade Union support. Before the end of the next twelve months further steps would no doubt be taken.

#### FINANCE.

Mr. S. G. HOBSON (*Fabian Society*) wanted to know if the Committee had any proposals to lay before the Conference for increasing its income.

The CHAIRMAN said that the Committee did not propose to lay any proposals before this Conference. There was a balance in hand, although the Committee had had to meet exceptional calls upon its income made by the General Election. But the work of organising the membership would be expensive, and when the Committee got into full working order it would have to spend more money. The Committee simply wished to draw the attention of delegates to that fact, and if they accepted this paragraph of the Report, the new Committee would take it as an instruction to bring the matter before the next Conference. There was such a steady increase in the membership that it would perhaps be unnecessary to ask a future Conference to raise the affiliation fees. Until that was done delegates might rest content that their Societies would be liable for nothing beyond the 10s. per thousand members.

#### SECRETARYSHIP.

The CHAIRMAN explained that the proposed grant of £21 was in the shape of an honorarium. The sum charged for typing and office expenses was for help that had been paid for outside work, and was simply out-of-pocket expenses. The work of the Committee had been arduous, and it had been done well. They were not in a position to pay for it, but the Committee felt that this sum ought to be voted.

Mr. J. JENKINS (*Shipwrights*) thought the sum too small considering the nature of the work and the way it had been done. He desired to support the vote most heartily.

The recommendation of the Committee was formally put and unanimously agreed to.

Mr. F. ROGERS (Chairman of Committee, *Vellum Binders*), in moving the adoption of the Report, said: It was

a noteworthy departure in Trade Union policy to call together into one body the old and new idealists of the Labour world, to endeavour to find some common ground of action, and to have formed out of them an organisation, with a membership of nearly 400,000. The first thing the Committee had to do was to interpret the first resolution of the Conference held at the Memorial Hall, London, last February. They decided that this could best be done by giving their support and credentials to those candidates run by labour organisations affiliated, and that, whilst it would be no bar to a candidate that he was receiving the support of either of the non-Labour political parties, it must be clearly understood that he was not one of their ordinary candidates, and that he accepted the conditions of the second resolution of the London Conference. To the candidates who fulfilled those conditions the Committee issued its credentials, urging all Labour men in the division where they stood to vote for them. All there would agree that one of the best results of the General Election had been the return to the House of Commons of two members of the Committee, Mr. Richard Bell and Mr. Keir Hardie. If the work begun by this Committee was to go on, it must have a broader basis than at present. To the Trade Unions belonged the experience of three-quarters of a century of activity on behalf of Labour emancipation, and theirs ought to be the foremost place in the newer movement. It would be their own fault if it was otherwise. But in every industrial constituency where there was a chance of a Labour member being elected, a local committee ought to be formed, and every workmen's organisation should be asked to co-operate. Trade Unions, Friendly Societies, Co-operative Societies, Temperance organisations, Workmen's Diocesan Societies, Labour Churches and Workmen's Clubs should be asked to come together, and from these organisations should be elected a local committee to watch the ques-

tion of Labour representation, and take active steps when the time was ripe. The men who did not use their votes at the last election, did not do so because they found no inspiration in the ideals of either of the two political parties. Appeals were made to passion, to self-interest, to sectarian prejudice, to shadows dignified by the name of principles, but to no really democratic idea. It was for this Committee to alter that in future elections.

Mr. D. IRVING (*Social-Democratic Federation*) objected to the claim made by Mr. Rogers that the Trade Unions had taken the foremost place in this movement. The Socialist Societies had carried out the London resolutions better than the Trade Unions. He did not think that the purposes of this movement would be fulfilled by merely returning working men to the House of Commons. He wanted to know what were the political opinions of candidates.

Mr. P. CURRAN (*Gasworkers*) wanted to join issue with the previous speaker. The Trade Unions had done well by the Committee at the General Election, and those affiliated had carried out the resolutions.

The Report was adopted.

The Balance-sheet was also adopted.

#### ELECTION OF COMMITTEE.

The Conference then proceeded to elect the Committee for 1901-02, the various sections meeting independently and electing their own representatives. When the Conference resumed sitting the Chairman reported the elections as follows:—

#### TRADE UNIONS.

##### *Elected.*

Allen Gee (Textile) ...	287
A. Wilkie (Shipwrights) ...	255
P. Curran (Gas Workers) ...	245
John Hodge (Steelmelters) ...	222
R. Bell, M.P. (Railway Servants)	212
F. Rogers (Vellum Binders) ...	180
B. Tillet (Dockers) ...	136

*Not Elected.*

H. Brill (Coalporters) ...	113
J. Flynn (Miners) ...	92
A. W. Jones (Typographical)...	88
J. Hayhurst (Dyers) ...	69
J. Ward (Navvies) ...	67
Tom Fox (Amalgamated Labour)	48

## TRADES COUNCILS.

O. Connellan (Leeds Trades Council).

## INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY.

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

## SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION.

H. Quelch.  
A. A. Watts.

## FABIAN SOCIETY.

Edward R. Pease.

Owing to the addition of the Trades Council representative the Trade Union representation is increased from seven to eight.

The Conference adjourned at 1.45 to 2.45.

## AFTERNOON SITTING.

## ELECTION OF SECRETARY.

Mr. J. Ramsay Macdonald was the only one nominated and was elected unanimously.

## RESOLUTIONS.

## TRADES COUNCIL AFFILIATION FEES.

1. "*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. Trades Council delegates will be entitled to elect one representative from their number to serve on the Executive.*"

This was moved on behalf of the Committee. It was explained that most Trades Councils felt an annual payment of £5 to be so excessive as to prevent them from affiliating, and the Committee had drafted the resolution with a view to meeting the circumstances of Trades Councils.

Several delegates pointed out that the resolution put no limits upon the

voting power of Trades Councils if they cared to spend money, but it was pointed out that, as a matter of fact, Councils would have no inducement to acquire votes at the annual Conferences, the provision for extra payments having been inserted in the hope that some of the richer Councils would be willing to subscribe more than £1 to the Committee's funds.

Mr. F. SPIRES (*Birmingham Trades Council*) moved as an amendment:

"Strike out all words between 'affiliate' and 'paid,' and insert 'By paying annually a fee of 10s. per 1,000 members, and may send one delegate to Conference for each 10s. paid.'"

He wanted the Trades Councils to be brought into line with the Trade Unions. As the Committee's resolution stood, small Councils might be represented by as many delegates as large ones.

Mr. J. B. WILLIAMS (*Musicians*) pointed out that if the amendment were carried, a Trades Council like that of Manchester would have to pay a fee of £12, which was prohibitive.

Mr. C. FRAKE (*Boot and Shoe Operatives*) said that though for the purpose of the Trade Union Congress, Trades Councils should not be recognised, yet for the purposes of this movement they were important. This movement would have to work largely through Trades Councils, and the Conference would be making a great mistake if it placed its affiliation fees so high that Trades Councils could not afford the money.

Mr. F. ENTWISTLE (*Manchester Trades Council*) stated that if the amendment were carried, the Council he represented could not possibly continue its membership.

The amendment was put to the vote and was declared to be lost.

The resolution was then adopted.

## EVENING DEMONSTRATION.

At this point

Mr. J. PENNY (*Independent Labour Party*) asked if any decision had been come to regarding the holding of the demonstration in the Free Trade Hall that evening as advertised.

After some discussion, during which it was generally stated that under the circumstances it was impossible to get an audience worthy of the occasion,

Mr. J. WARD (*Navvies*) moved :

*"That the evening demonstration be not held, and that the matter of abandonment or postponement be left in the hands of the Committee."*

This was carried.

## CANDIDATES' QUALIFICATIONS.

It was moved on behalf of the Executive Committee :—

2 *"To amend Resolution 1 passed by the London Conference by inserting 'genuinely' before 'promoted' and 'and financed' after 'promoted.'"*

The SECRETARY explained that the Committee had found by experience that some such amendment was necessary. It ought to have the power of satisfying itself that the candidates promoted by affiliated bodies were genuinely promoted by them. The wording was not very definite. The cases, if any occurred, would be dealt with on their own merits, and no committee elected at such Conferences as these could ever abuse such little power as was asked for by the amendment. As the resolution passed in London stood, if an affiliated body asked a man to be its candidate the Committee was bound to recommend that such a candidate should be adopted, even though it knew that he was not really meeting the requirements which it was the intention of the London Conference to exact. The amendment would enable the Committee to inquire into the genuineness of a candidature, and to find out how the expenses of election were being paid.

Mr. J. WARD (*Navvies*) wanted to know whether, if a candidate were

financed by a capitalist, the Committee would refuse him its support. If the capitalist were Cecil Rhodes, there would be no difficulty. But supposing he were Mr. Cadbury. He doubted the propriety of the resolution.

The CHAIRMAN stated that in his opinion the Committee would not object to any candidate in whose candidature a man like Mr. Cadbury took an interest.

The resolution was then agreed to.

## FRATERNAL GREETINGS.

The CHAIRMAN announced that the Scottish Committee sent fraternal greetings; and that a telegram had been received from the Waiters' Union wishing success to the Conference.

The Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress had also appointed its Secretary, Mr. S. Woods, as fraternal delegate to attend the Conference.

## ISSUE OF LEAFLET.

A DELEGATE, on behalf of the Woolwich Trades and Labour Council, moved :

3. *"That this Conference instruct the Committee to issue at the earliest possible date a statement in leaflet or pamphlet form showing why trade unionists should join in this movement, and to take steps to supply trade unions with this literature on the most advantageous terms; and this Conference further urges upon the delegates present to use every effort to induce their Executives to supply each one of their members with a copy of this statement."*

Mr. P. CURRAN (*Gasworkers*): Has not this been done already?

The CHAIRMAN: Partly.

The resolution was agreed to.

## LABOUR MEMBERS' MAINTENANCE FUND.

Mr. S. G. HOBSON (*Fabian Society*) moved on behalf of the Fabian Society :

4. *"That this Conference expresses general approval of a scheme for a Labour Members' Maintenance Guarantee Fund, as framed by the Fabian Society, and instructs the Executive Committee officially to assist in its formation by all suitable means."*

We were caught napping at the recent election and we should not be caught napping again. One of the greatest difficulties in the way of Labour Representation was the maintenance of members in Parliament. We were not to have payment of members just yet. The Fabian Society in bringing this resolution before the Conference simply wanted the delegates to remember that the question had to be dealt with. It also desired the delegates to say whether they wanted this work to be done by the Labour Representation Committee, or whether they thought it should be undertaken by a separate committee.

The motion was seconded.

Mr. J. B. GLASIER (*Independent Labour Party*) moved as an amendment :

"That all words after Fabian Society be struck out and the following words inserted: 'but considers the time is not ripe for the Executive Committee to assist in its formation.'"

He did not wish to damp the democratic ardour of the Fabian Society, but this resolution was not opportune. It would raise prejudice. People who were opponents would say that the Committee was started to enable certain sections to get men into the House of Commons. That was false, but it had been said, and this resolution if passed would give further excuse for repeating the falsehood. Nor was there any need to pass the resolution. The present members of Parliament who were trade union officials were provided for by their unions; the others were also being provided for. He was also afraid that in the present state of feeling the fund would not meet with a liberal support.

Mr. J. TOYN (*North Yorks and Cleveland Miners*) reminded the delegates that the Miners' Federation had just decided to start such a fund, and that his society could not support any other similar effort. The Cleveland Miners would, however, continue to support the Labour Representation Committee, because they fully believed in it.

Mr. J. FLYNN (*Cumberland Miners*) also said his Society could not support the resolution. It was too soon to move. We did not know how we stood in this matter. The question should be deferred at least for twelve months.

Mr. S. G. HOBSON (*Fabian Society*) wished to reply to the discussion, and the vote was taken, when the Chairman declared the amendment to be carried. A vote by card was demanded.

For the amendment	...	227
Against	...	106

Mr. W. ATKINSON (*Social-Democratic Federation*) moved a further amendment as follows :—

"That this Conference expresses general approval of a scheme for a Labour Members' Maintenance Guarantee Fund, as framed by the Fabian Society, and instructs the Executive Committee to constitute a special sub-committee from themselves to arrange the details of a scheme for the purpose."

If the Conference had any confidence in the Committee it had elected it should entrust that Committee with such an important matter as a Labour Members' Maintenance Fund. Whatever scheme came before the Conference should be drafted by the Committee.

Mr. F. BROCKLEHURST (*Independent Labour Party*) thought it would not be advisable for the Socialist Societies to take the initiative in this matter. The opponents of the organisation said it had been brought into being to finance Socialist candidates. There was no immediate hurry, but if the Fabian Society wanted to do something let them do it themselves.

Mr. H. QUELCH (*Social-Democratic Federation*) said that if they were really going to form a Working-Class Party this would be one of the first things they would have to settle. They had that day allowed their Committee to enquire into the finances of candidatures; then let the Committee raise the finances itself. No other course could be satisfactory. The Socialists have always

paid their full share of costs when they joined with Trade Unionists, and they would do the same again. He protested against Brocklehurst seeming to imply otherwise. This organisation wanted to call the tune, let it pay the piper.

Mr. F. WILLIS (*London Society of Compositors*) said that they had met there as a united Labour movement wanting to return a powerful group of Labour representatives to Parliament. They ought not to raise sectional difficulties.

Mr. J. HAYHURST (*Dyers*) thought the Fabian resolution should have been withdrawn. The Unions could not be got to finance their members elected to municipal bodies, and it was, therefore, impossible to get them to support such a fund as was under discussion. If anything were done in this direction it should be done locally. To pass any binding resolution, then, would increase the difficulties of those who were trying to bring Unions into line with the Committee.

Mr. J. MACPHERSON (*Shop Assistants*) said there might be bye-elections and such a fund might be required at any moment. No money was being got because there was no representative body prepared to receive it. If the Committee would bring forward a scheme, money would be forthcoming.

Mr. T. TOPPING (*Railway Servants*) was of opinion that if such a fund were to be raised, the Committee should do it.

The previous question was then moved, when there voted for it 39; against 13.

#### TRADE UNION POLITICS.

Mr. J. SEXTON (*Dock Labourers*) moved on behalf of his Union:

5. "That this Conference declares that in view of the combinations of capital and the federations of employers, it is necessary for the Trade Unions of the country to use their political power to defend their existence and secure their demands, and while it deprecates the introduction of mere party politics into the Trade Union movement, it urges upon Trade Unionists the necessity of combining on an

independent platform for the following purposes: (1) The defence of the legal rights of combination; (2) The passing of such laws as will put an end to a system under which the producer of wealth has to bear an enormous burden in the shape of rents and profits which go to maintain large classes of non-producers."

The motion was carried unanimously without discussion.

#### MUNICIPAL TRADING.

Mr. P. SNOWDEN (*Independent Labour Party*) moved:

6. "That this Congress, recognising the enormous public benefit of Municipal Trading, views with alarm the insidious attempts now being made by interested parties to cripple it, and calls upon all friends of local government to exert themselves to protect existing municipal rights and to defeat all attempts to interfere with the legitimate development of municipal activities."

There was an insidious attempt being made in the House of Commons to put an end to municipal trading, and he thought that this Conference should express an opinion on the subject.

Mr. F. BROCKLEHURST (*Independent Labour Party*) seconded, and pointed out that the Parliamentary enquiry held recently upon this subject had refused to hear evidence and had closed its sittings before it had heard witnesses from important Chambers of Commerce and Trades Councils.

The mover accepted a suggestion that the word "legitimate" should be omitted, and the resolution thus amended was passed unanimously.

#### DEMOCRACY.

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

7. "That for the proper enfranchisement of the democracy this Congress declares the following reforms to be indispensable: (a) Adult suffrage; (b) the abolition of all hereditary political monopolies; (c) the payment from public funds of all legitimate election expenses and of all elected representatives."

During the discussion it was pointed out that political monopolies that were not hereditary had to be abolished, and the resolution without the word "hereditary" was unanimously agreed to.

#### IMPERIALISM.

Mr. J. BURGESS (*Independent Labour Party*) moved:

8 "That, inasmuch as modern Imperialism with its attendant militarism is a reversion to one of the worst phases of barbarism, is inimical to social reform and disastrous to trade and commerce, a fruitful cause of war, destructive of freedom, fraught with menace to representative institutions at home and abroad, and must end in the destruction of democracy, this Congress desires most earnestly to impress upon the working class the urgent need there is for combatting this dangerous and barbaric development in all its manifestations."

He argued that imperialism indicated a temperament which made the exercise of reason impossible and had a direct bearing upon the Labour movement.

The resolution was unanimously agreed to.

#### SOUTH AFRICAN WAR.

The resolution down in the name of the Independent Labour Party on the South African War was unanimously adopted without discussion as follows:

9. "This Congress, believing the harrowing war in South Africa to be mainly due to the corrupt agitation of the Transvaal mineowners, having for its object the acquisition of monopolies and a cheap supply of coloured and European labour, protests against the destruction of the two Republics as being contrary to all our ideals of national political justice, and respectfully invites the Government to endeavour to terminate hostilities by offering to submit to arbitration, under the provisions of the Hague Convention, all matters in dispute between Great Britain and the two States with which we are at war."

#### COLLECTIVISM.

Mr. J. B. GLASIER (*Independent Labour Party*) moved:

10. "This Congress of representatives of organised Labour, recognising that the inevitable tendency of privately-owned

capital is towards combination in monopolies known as Trusts, is of opinion that the ownership and control of such vast aggregations of capital by private individuals are disastrous to the welfare of the consuming public, inimical to the social and political freedom of the people, and especially injurious to the industrial liberty and economic condition of the workers, declares that the final object of all democratic effort must be to transfer all such private monopolies to public control as steps towards the creation of an Industrial Commonwealth founded upon the common ownership and control of land and capital and the substitution of co-operative production for use in place of the present method of competitive production for profit."

He wished to make it quite clear that this resolution was not intended to be a test resolution in respect to candidates. The Independent Labour Party desired to co-operate with Trade Unions in a fair and whole-hearted way. But it was advisable to declare the political ideal of this movement. It was a great pleasure to sit in union with so many Trade Unionists who did not agree with him on this point. His friends brought forward the resolution in a most friendly way believing that the principle it declared for would require to be adopted by the Labour Movement as a guiding idea in politics.

Mr. P. CURRAN (*Gasworkers*) believed that this was the time for the Conference to make a declaration. We wanted a resolution which would give a lead to politicians. None of the other parties would countenance our principles, and it is all the more necessary that we should educate public opinion. He thought that the resolution should really be a test question for our candidates.

Mr. J. BURGESS (*Independent Labour Party*) disavowed the suggestions of Curran. The resolution should be no test. The only test should be that to which we agreed at the London Conference. Annual Conferences should be free to express opinions which might or might not be accepted by candidates.

Mr. J. WARD (*Navvies*) thought it strange that after voting against a similar resolution at the London Con-

ference, the Independent Labour Party should put this down on the agenda. Whatever its supporters might say, it would be regarded as a test opinion for candidates. The resolution was out of place. Each locality should be allowed to determine its own programme.

Mr. H. QUELCH (*Social-Democratic Federation*) moved that the following words be added :

"And this Congress further declares that no candidate for Parliament should receive the support of the Labour Representation Committee who is not pledged to the above principles and to the recognition of the class war as the basis of working-class political action."

Possibly the Conference would reject this, but it would come up again. He and his colleague on the Committee had worked loyally with the Committee, but he considered it right that he should bring forward principles at these Conferences, which he believed should underlie the Labour political movement. If there was no class war, why was there a Trade Union Movement? They had to bring that feeling into politics. The movement could be too broad. It must have a basis before it had breadth. The way they were going on, they would never have a Working-Class Party. It was because they recognised the class war on the Continent that they had strong Working-Class Parties there. He asked whether it was not time for them

to recognise the antagonism of interests between workers and exploiters and make it the foundation of the political work of this Committee.

Mr. J. E. MCGLOSSON (*Social-Democratic Federation*) seconded.

Mr. J. SEXTON (*Dock Labourers*) said that the initial purpose of this movement was to bring the scattered elements of the Labour movement to agree on a common platform of independent representation of Labour. Personally he was in favour of the resolution, but he would not vote for it because he thought that in these Conferences no one side should ram their principles down the throats of the other side.

The previous question was moved and on a show of hands the chairman declared it to be carried.

#### NEXT PLACE OF MEETING.

Nominations were received for the next place of meeting, and the voting was as follows :

Birmingham	...	...	25
Leeds	...	...	11
London	...	...	10
Bradford	...	...	9
Middlesbrough	...	...	6
Liverpool	...	...	2

Birmingham was then fixed upon.

The proceedings then closed.



# APPENDIX.

## THE CONSTITUTION AND WORKING OF MUNICIPAL WORKERS' COMMITTEES.

**GLASGOW.**—Bodies Sending Representatives to Committee.—Trades Council, Co-operative Municipal Committee, Independent Labour Party Executive, Trade Union Branches, Co-operative Societies, Independent Labour Party Branches, Social-Democratic Federation Branches, Branches of the United Irish League.

**Composition of Committee.**—6 delegates from Trades Council, 9 from Co-operative Committee, 2 from Independent Labour Party Executive, and 2 delegates from each affiliated Branch or Society.

**Finance.**—Voluntary contributions from affiliated Societies. The Committee does not assume full financial responsibility for candidates, but makes grants, averaging about £10, to their expenses.

**Candidatures** are promoted by Ward Groups, but have to be sanctioned by the Committee. Candidates must pledge themselves to work with the party on the Council, and to assist its candidates.

**Work of Committee.**—It only contests for Town Council. It leaves propaganda work to its affiliated Societies, Ward Groups, &c. It issues nothing but an annual manifesto and programme.

**Representatives.**—Eleven members of its own on Town Council, and three others to whom it has given endorsement.

**Programme.**—48 Hours for Municipal Employees, Direct Employment, City "Common Good" Fund to be available for unemployed, Municipal Dairy Farms, Municipal Sanatoria for Consumptive Patients, Municipal Coal Mine and Banks.

Information supplied by Mr. J. Burgess, 33, Albert Drive, Crosshill, Glasgow.

**HALIFAX.**—Bodies Sending Representatives to Committee.—20 Trade Union Branches and Independent Labour Party.

**Composition of Committee.**—Branches elect delegates. 2 from each Trade Union and 9 from the Independent Labour Party.

**Finance.**—Local levies in some branches and voluntary contributions.

**Candidatures** are financed by Committee. Candidates must be members of affiliated body, accept programme, and work together. They are chosen by the Committee from names sent in by the affiliated Societies.

**Work of Committee.**—Contests Municipal, School Board, and Guardians Elections; visits branches and talks on Politics and Trade Unionism; issues literature only at elections.

**Representatives.**—2 on Borough Council, 2 on School Board, 1 on Guardians.

**Programme.**—Uniform Penny Tram Fares, Municipal Coal, Telephones &c., and usual Labour items.

Information supplied by Councillor James Parker, Crossley Street, Halifax.

**EDINBURGH.**—**Bodies Sending Representatives to Committee.**—Trades Council, Trade Union Branches (about 90), Co-operative Society, 2 Independent Labour Party and 2 Social-Democratic Federation Branches.

**Composition of Committee.**—Three delegates from each body, with an Executive elected by the delegates.

**Finance.**—Voluntary contributions, collecting-sheets at branches, &c. Committee finances candidatures.

**Candidatures.**—Delegates select and are under control of Executive.

**Work of Committee.**—Contests Town Council, School Board, and Parish Council. Candidates visit affiliated Societies. Open-air propaganda meetings are held.

**Representatives.**—1 on Edinburgh Town Council and 1 on School Board, 3 on Leith School Board.

**Programme.**—Housing, Municipal Coal Supply, Municipal Drink Traffic, and Consumptive Hospitals.

Information supplied by Mr. John Davidson, Edinburgh School Board, Edinburgh.

**LEICESTER.**—**Bodies Co-operating.**—Trades Council and Independent Labour Party. Conferences with these and Co-operative Society delegates have been held. There is no regular committee.

**Candidatures.**—Trades Council and Independent Labour Party select and join together, each paying half expenses. Trades Council pays for loss of time when necessary. Expenses paid from ordinary income of T.C. and I.L.P.

**Elections.**—Municipal, Board of Guardians, and sometimes School Board.

**Representatives.**—4 on Town Council, 2 on Board of Guardians.

**Joint Programme.**—24s. per week minimum, direct employment, Municipal Fire Insurance, Refreshment Houses, Bank, abolition of Aldermen, regulation of Street Hawking by Children.

Information supplied by Mr. T. Carter, 52, Ivanhoe Street, Leicester.

**DUNDEE.**—**Bodies Sending Representatives to Committee.**—As Edinburgh.

**Composition of Committee.**—Two delegates from each affiliated body.

**Finance.**—Annual affiliation fee 5s. as minimum, and voluntary contributions. Candidates financed by committee.

**Candidatures.**—Societies nominate, committee decides. Candidates only bound to accept programme.

**Work of Committee.**—Contests Town Council, Parish Council, School Board, and Parliament. Keeps in touch with unions by circulars and visits, labour literature, and by encouraging societies to ballot members on questions of candidatures, &c.

**Representation.**—2 members on School Board.

**Programme.**—Evening Meetings, 48 Hours per week for employees and 21s. Minimum, Municipalisation of Liquor Traffic, Direct Employment, Municipal Control of Labour, Municipal Banks.

Information supplied by Mr. William Smith, 8, Cleghorn Street, Dundee.

**BIRMINGHAM.**—**Bodies Sending Representatives to Committee.**—Trades Council and Independent Labour Party Federation.

**Composition of Committee.**—14 from Trades Council, 4 from Independent Labour Party, occasionally 2 from Socialist Centre. In future branches are to be recognised.

**Finance.**—By special levy. Candidates aided as in Glasgow.

**Candidatures.**—Joint Committee finally settles, and finds out-of-pocket expenses if candidate successful.

**Work of Committee.**—Election Literature, Influence to bear upon Trade Unions, emphasising *Independent* Labour representation.

**Representatives.**—Committee only just started, but affiliated bodies are represented on Town Council and Board of Guardians.

Information supplied by Mr. F. Spires, 30, Exeter Road, Selby Oak, Birmingham.

**BRISTOL.** The Bristol Committee is elected by the Trade Unions only, and is composed of 6 delegates from Trades Council, 2 from each of two branches of a local Labour Electoral Association, and 1 to 3 from Trade Union branches according to scale of payment.

**Finance.**—Voluntary levies varying from 6d. to 1s. from members of Trade Unions, private subscriptions, and trading profits. Candidatures are financed entirely by Executive.

**Candidatures.** Must be wage workers unconnected with political parties, and be in favour of labour policy. Executive finally decides.

**Work of Committee.**—Contests all local elections, marks on voting register the members of Trade Unions, and looks specially after them. Reports fortnightly to Trades Council. Personal visitation.

**Representation.**—3 on Town Council, 1 on School Board, 5 on Board of Guardians.

**Programme.**—Municipal Ownership of Monopolies, Direct Employment and Trade Union conditions.

Information supplied by Mr. J. A. Cunnington, 47, Ashley Road, Bristol.

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