

THE UNIVERSITY OF HULL

The Origins and Development of the Independent Labour Party
in Manchester and Salford, 1880-1914

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by

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Chapter 3

Propaganda

... When I was living in Sallie's home, one of the male boarders who called himself a Socialist showed me some articles in a Sunday paper written by Robert Blatchford, 'Nunquam', dealing with slums and sweated industries. These articles excited much interest, and many were the arguments in Mrs. J's house as to the rights or wrongs of the matter. Later on, when Blatchford and his friends, A.M. Thompson, E.F. Fay and Montague Blatchford founded the Socialist weekly, The Clarion, I began to read it and became deeply interested in the theories put forward. Feeling very lonely at the time I began to hang round Socialist meetings in the public square. In this way I heard many speakers who afterwards became famous in the political world. I found that some of the young men I knew were also being attracted to the Socialist movement. From one of these I learned that there were several women speakers in it. One night he asked me to go with him to hear one of them. She was to speak the following Sunday at a small chapel known as 'Duke's Alley' where the minister was sympathetic to the new cause. We found the chapel full when we arrived, but we managed to squeeze in and stand where we could both see and hear the speaker. She was Katherine ^{Leitch} St. John Conway, a slight girlish figure in a black frock with a Medici collar, and her hair swept back from her forehead; she looked as if she belonged to some religious order. Though not much older in years than myself, this girl was already a highly educated, well-trained personality.

Perhaps at first, I paid more attention to the speaker than to her speech, but heard enough to send me away with an inspiration which later sent me out to the street corners with the same message.

At my new lodgings, I found that one of the male boarders was a convinced and keen Socialist who was always ready to talk or argue on the subject, so my reading of The Clarion continued. My fellow lodger also lent me a number of books dealing with inequalities in the social system. This I was forced to admit, although not yet convinced of the soundness of the new teaching. Perhaps at first I was more interested in the propagandist than the propaganda. Apparently the interest was mutual and the friendship developed into an attachment which led to our marriage about two years later.

The above extract, from Hannah Mitchell's autobiography,¹ illustrates perhaps the most important factor concerning ILP propaganda; simply that

1 H. Mitchell, The Hard Way Up (1968) pp. 85-6

it cannot be regarded in a completely rational manner. Conversion to socialism was, for many individuals, an experience somewhat akin to that of St. Paul on the road to Damascus. It was dependent not just upon logical arguments, both spoken and written, but upon the influence and inspiration provided by individual personalities, the 'atmosphere' of an enthusiastic meeting, or the attitudes which prevailed among small groups of friends and acquaintances. Hannah Mitchell was not the only person finally converted to socialism by marrying a socialist. Thus in a sense the following chapter, on social life, is also a continuation of this study of propaganda. It is obviously necessary here to consider in detail such factors as types of meetings, lecture subjects, work of individual speakers, publications and literature distribution. But to do so without first commenting upon the general 'atmosphere' of ILP propaganda would be to omit perhaps the most crucial element in the process. The appeal of the ILP to the unconverted was never completely logical, and often highly emotional. Appeals to sympathy for children or the unemployed, and visions of a future 'Merrie England' were far more common - and more successful - than attempts to detail in hard economic terms the future process of nationalisation. Much of the propaganda took on a quasi-religious aura, reminiscent of a revival meeting, and the most popular speakers were those capable of inducing such an atmosphere. Muriel Nichol described the speaking style of her father, R.C. Wallhead, as being 'very histrionic ... very Henry Irvingish'.¹ Mrs. Plant, recalling Victor Grayson's speeches after more than half a century, commented:

My golly, ooh, he was a speaker! I was never one

1 Muriel Nichol. Tape, 9 November 1976

that was over-taken by rhetoric but Grayson could carry me away any time ... He really was good ...¹

The 'atmosphere' of ILP meetings was undoubtedly a major factor in the movement's success. Unfortunately it is the one aspect which defies description or logical analysis, and can only be glimpsed through contemporary accounts, or the reminiscences of older ILP members. But the ability simply to generate enthusiasm at meetings would scarcely have been sufficient to maintain a political party for two decades. To provide a firm foundation for this crusading socialism, lectures had to be organised, and pamphlets and newspapers printed and distributed. It is upon such practicalities that this chapter must principally concentrate, dealing in turn with the two broad aspects of meetings and literature.

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A. Meetings

Undoubtedly the most common point of contact between the ILP and the unconverted public were the open-air public meetings, generally the smaller gatherings on street corners. As Muriel Nichol explained,² there was nothing to keep people indoors. For large families living, most usually, in 'two up, two down' terraced houses (with, of course, the 'front parlour' generally out of commission), there was little opportunity to indulge in indoor leisure interests. To take a walk, meet friends and neighbours, and pass the time of day, was far less constricting than staying in the house. Street corner speakers provided at the very least free entertainment. One could stand and listen (or heckle), and still,

1 Mrs. Plant, tape, 6 August 1976

2 Muriel Nichol, tape.

if so inclined, have time to proceed to the pub. Thus in all but the very worst weather, it was comparatively easy for speakers to acquire an audience, and many people who would not deliberately have attended a socialist meeting came in this way to hear the propaganda of the ILP.

Most of the smaller open-air meetings were organised by local branches, either (literally) on street corners, or on any area of waste land in the district. Borrowed boxes, chairs and carts (where space permitted) served as platforms, but it was possible for an enterprising branch to purchase a custom-built speakers' platform. These were advertised in the Labour Leader, in April 1907, at the price of 21s.¹ Such meetings provided an ideal opportunity to sell literature, and also to recruit members. Manchester Central Branch decided, in November 1904, to have 2,000 forms of application for membership printed, for distribution at meetings.² However drawing even sympathetic open-air audiences into the ILP fold was not always a straightforward matter. North Salford branch was complaining, in December 1893, that a number of its open-air supporters remained unattached, and would not attend indoor meetings.³ The ILP continued, throughout the two decades in question, its attempt to recruit the 'unattached', many of whom, one suspects, were just not sufficiently politically-minded to actually join anything, but may well have made up a large proportion of the ILP voters.

Perhaps the most famous open-air meetings were those organised by Manchester Central Branch at Tib Street. During the summer of 1903 the branch sought an open-air pitch for Sunday meetings in the city centre

1 LL, 26 April 1907

2 Manchester Central Branch ILP, Minutes of meeting, 15 November 1904

3 WT, 23 December 1893

and, having dismissed Stevenson Square as a possible location, planned a meeting at Tib Street on 26 July.¹ Initially, however, they ran into difficulties with the Watch Committee, and it was only after protracted negotiations with the Chief Constable² that the scheme went ahead, the first meeting being held on 8 May 1904.³ Despite complaints of inadequate support from branch members, and renewed problems with the police,⁴ the Tib Street meetings made their mark upon the Manchester scene. In an article for the Labour Leader of 7 April 1905, entitled 'Manchester Meetings', 'W.F.B.' described a Sunday night visit to Tib Street,

... which will shortly celebrate its anniversary and, at the same time, create a record as the only place in these islands where an open-air meeting has practically been held all the year round, at a cost of energy and devotion, not to speak of organising ability, which only those concerned can fully appreciate.

On this occasion the speaker and chairman were both young men, '... and there were many earnest young faces in the crowd'...

But the presiding genius at all the meetings was the same - Sam Robinson, the indefatigable. Only those I am afraid, who have had the experience of other branches will be able to appreciate the real value of the Lecture Secretary of Central Branch.⁵

The speakers at Tib Street, their subject matter, and the ensuing literature sales, must all be considered separately. It is necessary here only to comment that the meetings were still continuing upon the outbreak of the First World War.

1 Manchester Central Branch ILP, Minutes of Meeting, 21 July 1903

2 Ibid., 11 August 1903

3 Ibid., 10 May 1903

4 Ibid., 21 June 1904; 18 April, 2 May 1905

5 LL, 7 April 1905. The author was probably W.F. Black

Perhaps the biggest problem for open-air meetings was not the Manchester climate (of which audiences proved remarkably tolerant) but the attitude of the police and local Watch Committee. Attempts to hold routine meetings could occasionally turn into a full-scale campaign for the right of free speech. In the early days of the ILP, the local authorities were still concentrating their attention on what, to them at least, seemed the greatest threat to public order: the anarchist remnants of the Socialist League. Chief Detective Inspector Jerome Caminada recalled that:

Towards the close of September, 1893, complaints were made by residents of obstruction, on Sunday mornings, at Ardwick Green, by a number of irresponsible young men who called themselves the 'Manchester Anarchist Communist Group' ... it was also complained that very strong language was used, which tended to a breach of the peace ...

According to Caminada, the Chief Constable tried to persuade the anarchists to change their venue to Stevenson Square, and only intervened when 'a gentleman who expressed disapproval of the speakers' views had to be protected by the police'. Consequently, on 1 October, several speakers were arrested at the meeting.¹

Two days before the arrests, the Executive of Manchester and Salford ILP had received a 'friendly warning', that a raid on all street meetings was contemplated for that Sunday. The ILP immediately concluded that the Watch Committee was attempting to suppress free speech, 'beginning with the weakest and most unpopular section of the Socialists first'. Thus the Workman's Times asked: 'Do the Manchester Watch Committee intend to suppress all political meetings, and is this attack on the anarchists a mere pilot balloon to see how the attempt will be treated?'²

1 J. Caminada, op. cit., (Manchester, 1895) p. 326

2 WT, 7 October 1893

The meetings and arrests, including those of some Social-Democrat spectators, continued through the autumn. ILP members were among the participants in meetings held in Stevenson Square, after successive arrests, to protest against police interference with the right of public meeting.¹ In December a 'Free Speech Defence Committee' was formed, 'for the purpose of resisting the arbitrary interference of the police and authorities with the rights of free speech and public meetings, and to carry on the struggle at Ardwick Green'. The committee initially consisted of Manchester Anarchist Group, South Salford SDF, North Manchester Fabian Society (which had a large number of members in common with the ILP) and the Jewish Working Men's Educational Club. All Labour and Socialist bodies were, however, requested to send a delegate,² and by 30 December West Salford ILP had complied.³ The West Salford delegates duly suggested that Albert Square should become an additional site for the free speech campaign, but the implementation of this scheme, on 7 January 1894, led to the arrest of William Horrocks.⁴

Some of the local ILP were, however, opposed to the party's involvement. It was unwise, considered one Workman's Times correspondent, to fight the battle for free speech under the auspices of the anarchists.⁵ Moreover ILP meetings had generally been free from interference. The only incident which can be traced occurred in Medlock Street Ward in October, when police had ordered a meeting at the corner of Jackson Street

1 Ibid., 21, 28 October; 4, 18, 25 November 1893

2 Ibid., 23 December 1893

3 Ibid., 30 December 1893

4 Ibid., 6, 13 January 1894

5 Ibid., 13 January 1894

and City Road to disperse, on the grounds that it was causing an obstruction.¹ The new NAC, which met in Manchester on 26 February 1894, promptly disavowed any connection with the Anarchists and advised ILP branches 'to refrain from taking such action as may in any way associate the two organisations in the public mind'.² The threat to the ILP's meetings however appeared more ominous in the summer of 1894. Stevenson Square was a pitch used also by the ILP, and in July the Anarchists, previously told that they would not be interfered with there, had a meeting broken up by Inspector Caminada. Moreover 'several ILP branches have been very needlessly harassed by the police of late, under the usual pretext of obstruction'.³ The Labour Leader warned its readers that:

ILP men, while not in any way identifying themselves with Anarchism, ought to bear in mind the fact that the police may now at any time suppress their meetings and arrest their speakers.

The right to hold socialist meetings in Stevenson Square appeared to be firmly vindicated after a mass demonstration of ILP, Labour Church and SDF had proceeded under the gaze of a solitary policeman!⁵ But the antipathy of many local officials towards socialist meetings remained, and as the Anarchists' activities petered out, it seemed not unlikely that the ILP would be the next victim.

The confrontation actually occurred in the summer of 1896. Boggart Hole Clough was an open space of some sixty-three acres, to the north of the city, (see Illustration 10) and had been used for meetings of the North Manchester Fabian Society in 1892, and by the ILP in succeeding

1 Ibid., 28 October 1893

2 Ibid., 3 March 1894

3 LL, 14 July 1894

4 Ibid., 28 July 1894

5 Ibid., 28 July 1894; C, 11, 18 August 1894

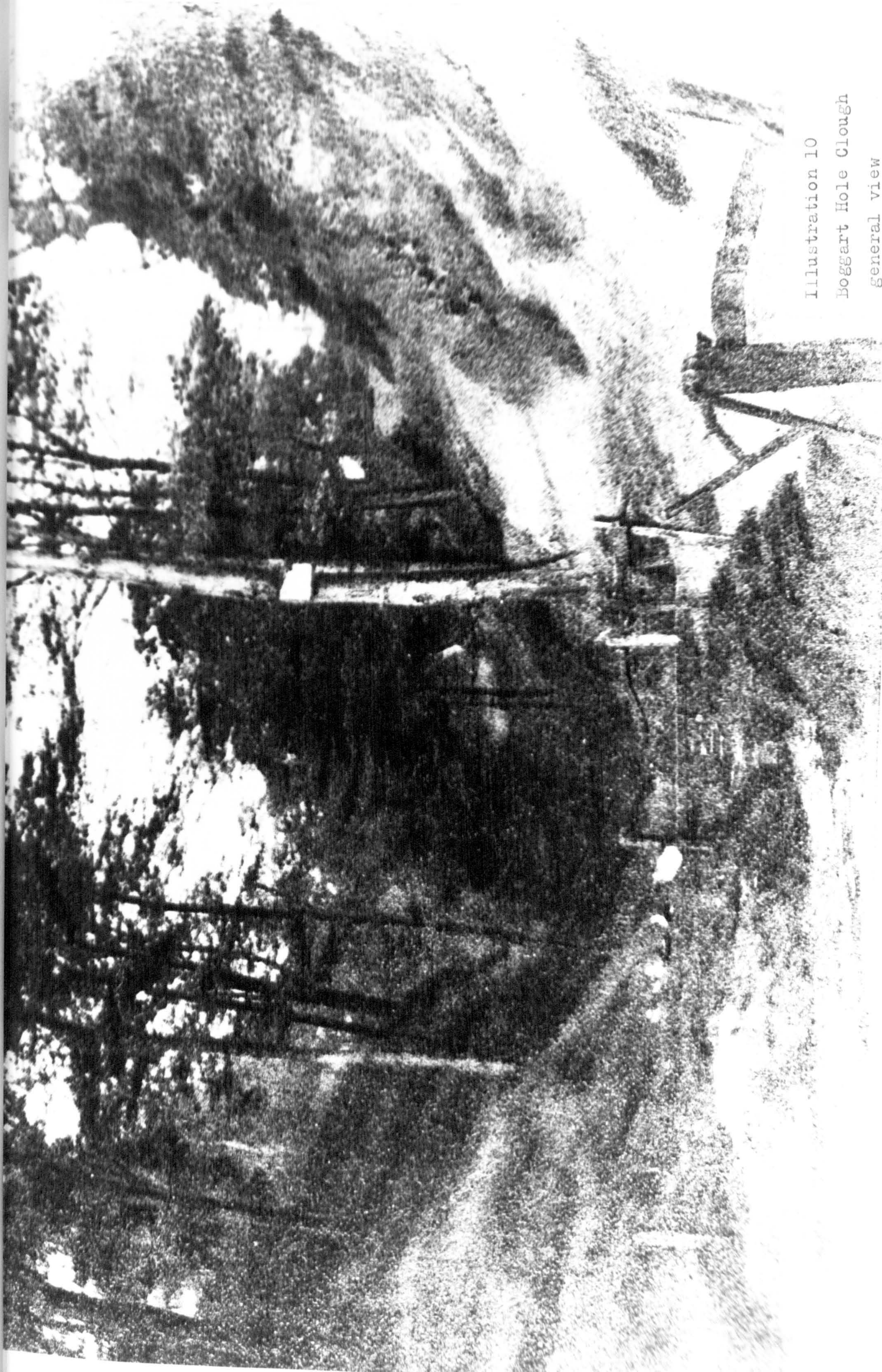


Illustration 10

Boggart Hole Clough

general view

BOGCART HOLE, CLOUGH, MANCHESTER.

years. At this time it was privately owned, but when, in 1895, it was acquired by Manchester Corporation, the summer propaganda continued, with the tacit sanction of the authorities. However in May 1896 the Parks Committee, under the chairmanship of ^{Conservative} Councillor George Needham, decided to put an end to the meetings of 'a certain Party'. On the 10th and 17th of that month, the speakers and chairmen were ordered to discontinue the meetings, and their names were taken upon refusal. The first summons was issued against John Harker (who had opposed Needham in the previous municipal elections). Harker was duly fined 10s. on the grounds that 'someone else might want to hold meetings in the same park and the result would be a disturbance'.¹

There could be little doubt that the motive of the Parks Committee was political. The Clough could easily accommodate a mass meeting without the general public being in any way inconvenienced. As 'Dangle' commented in the Clarion:

... So uneven is the surface, so deep are the ridges of this beautiful natural park, that in the days ere the City Fathers in their wisdom providentially decided to promote Manchester Socialism by trying to suppress the meetings, it must have been extremely difficult to find them, for two or three hundred people could be enveloped in a fold of these hills, and remain absolutely hidden from the knowledge of the passer-by.²

The Labour Leader on 20 June moreover suggested that the campaign against socialist gatherings was rooted in motives more sinister than the prejudices of the Manchester Parks Committee. Local authorities had attacked socialist meetings in other areas, including Liverpool, Bradford and Walthamstow, and H.C. Rowe commented:

We know that seventy and eighty years ago Lords Sidmouth

1 LL, 30 May 1896; C, 20 June 1896

2 C, 4 July 1896

and Castlereagh flooded Lancashire with urgent instructions to magistrates to use the full severity of the law on all Radicals and agitators, and also with agents provocateurs to supply the offenders. It has been suggested by some that this outbreak of local activity is not spontaneous.¹

Whatever their motives, the Parks Committee and the City Council in general seemed intent upon continuing their suppression of meetings.

When, on 3 June, the two ILP members, Sutton and Butler, tried to raise a discussion on the subject in a Council meeting by putting questions to Needham, they were ruled out of order. When Butler, at a Parks Committee meeting two days later, asked for a guarantee of no further prosecutions, this was also refused, and the committee endorsed the chairman's action in instructing for the summonses to be issued.²

The summonses in question, all heard at the Police Courts on 3 June, amounted to 20: two each against John Harker, Rev. Conrad Noel, Harry Henshall, Joseph Nuttall, S. Smalley, G. Vowers, Cash and Blunden, for nuisance and annoyance on 24 May, and 2 each against Rev. Conrad Noel and Tweedale, for like offences on 31 May. With Dr. Pankhurst appearing for the defendants, Mr. Headlam, the stipendiary magistrate, ordered fines of £5 with costs against Harker and Noel, and 40s. with costs against Henshall, Nuttall, Smalley, Vowers and Cash. The summons against Blunden was withdrawn, he having been away from Manchester on the day in question, but Cash was fined in spite of evidence that he also had not taken part. The second cases against Noel and Tweedale were adjourned.³

1 LL, 20 June 1896

2 Ibid., 13 June 1896

3 Ibid., 13 June 1896

The ILP at a special meeting the following Saturday, decided that the Boggart Hole Clough meetings should be continued, under the charge of the EC, and that members should be levied to provide funds until the question was settled. Thus the Sunday meeting was held as usual, with Leonard Hall addressing a crowd of some 2,000 despite a downpour of rain.¹ As a result of this meeting, Hall, Harker, Vowers, Brierley, Smalley, Tweedale, Mrs. Pankhurst, 'the veteran Chartist Moss' and John Hemsall (ex-Elective Auditor) all appeared in court on the following Friday. Prosecuting on behalf of the Parks Committee was William Cobbett (grandson of the famous Radical). All the summonses except those against Brierley, Harker and Hall were dismissed, and if the Clarion's account of the defendants' activities is accurate, then evidence against them was flimsy in the extreme. Harker, it claimed, was prosecuted for writing a note and passing it to the speaker; Brierley for holding an umbrella over his head when it rained; Smalley for helping a park attendant in keeping order; Vowers for 'nothing in particular'; Tweedale and Moss for standing quietly for 10 minutes at the edge of the crowd; Hemsall for smoking a cigar within 6 yards of the speaker; Mrs. Pankhurst for lending her umbrella for the purposes of the collection; and Hall 'for the unpardonable crime of opening his mouth! Brierley, Harker and Hall were all fined £5 with costs, or three months' imprisonment. Harker, 'much to his disgust', was set at liberty, and a distraint order served upon him. Brierley, on the advice of Fred Brocklehurst (who was then studying law), allowed the ILP to pay his fine, 'as it would have meant the loss of his means of livelihood' had he been imprisoned. Leonard

1 Ibid., 13 June 1896

Hall was duly taken off to Strangeways.¹ There he was treated as a common thief; denied books and paper, writing materials or visits, and limited to prison diet. His wife applied for him to be entered as a first class misdemeanant, but the request was refused.²

The following week's meeting at the Clough again resulted in the prosecution of the speaker, Fred Brocklehurst. Upon his refusal to pay the £5 fine and costs, he joined Leonard Hall in jail. Brocklehurst, conducting his own case, stated that the police had confessed that he had violated no by-law. He had also elicited from the parks superintendent the fact that the latter had been instigated to take action by the Chairman of the Parks Committee. Prominent among the collectors at that meeting had been Mrs. Pankhurst, whose activities the prosecution studiously ignored. Thus on the following Sunday she delivered the principal speech at the Clough, a well-chosen address on 'The Life and Times of William Cobbett'. Spectators crowded into the Clough in a long procession, and sang 'England Arise' to open the proceedings. After Mrs. Pankhurst's address, the collection was taken, but instead of the usual practice of receiving contributions in an upturned umbrella, women and girls (including the speaker's elder daughters) went round with collecting boxes and received over £11.

The names of Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Harker and several other collectors were duly taken, but the Parks Committee now faced a dilemma. To prosecute and even imprison working men was one thing; to treat in the same manner the wife of an eminent local barrister was quite another. Mr. Needham declined to take responsibility for

1 C, 20 June 1896

2 LL, 20 June 1896

prosecuting the women. He duly consulted Mr. Cobbett, the Town Clerk and Lord Mayor, with the result that a special meeting of the Parks Committee was held to consider the matter. A tacit understanding was then reached, that there should be no further prosecutions until after the forthcoming Council meeting. As the Labour Leader remarked: 'and yet we are continually being told that social status counts for nothing'.¹

The situation soon reached stalemate. Mrs. Pankhurst, interviewed by 'The Pilgrim' for the Labour Leader, announced that she was prepared to go to jail.² The City Council, merely voting as to whether an enquiry should be held into the whole affair, was divided with 25 in favour, 36 against, and 43 neutral. On Friday 3 July the ILP women appeared for trial. With Katharine Bruce Glasier and Mrs. Pankhurst were:

Mrs. Smalley, quiet and serious but resolute, though under medical treatment; Mrs. Lily Bennett, breathing defiance through a red bow at her throat; Mrs. Harker, strong with the consciousness of the justice of the side she had taken, though suffering much from bodily weakness; Mrs. Mellor, trained for this work in the Salvation Army and who disdained even to question the witnesses, thereby showing her contempt for the whole crowd of champions of lor' n' order.

The NAC meeting, then taking place in Manchester 'had adjourned, that the members might see the proceedings for themselves'. Thus Tom Mann, Keir Hardie, Russell Smart, Pete Curran and France Littlewood were all in court, with Enid Stacy and Caroline Martyn sitting at the back. There were, however, no spectacular scenes. Still hoping to avoid sentencing the women, the stipendiary announced that the summonses would be adjourned for a week, with the outcome being dependent upon what happened on Sunday. That evening 12,000 people in Stevenson Square

1 Ibid., 27 June 1896; C, 27 June 1896

2 LL, 4 July 1896

cheered as the NAC and 'prisoners' declared that 'There wasn't a member of the ILP that wasn't prepared to go to jail if necessary in defence of the sacred right of free speech'.¹

The whole 'affair' of Boggart Hole Clough was turning into a massive ILP propaganda exercise. As 'Dangle' commented in the Clarion:

However the struggle may end, its enormous assistance to the Socialist cause in Manchester is already assured. It has not only welded all the local sections of the party together in one determined common aim, but it has immensely advertised the principles of Socialism, and brought to our side at least temporarily, all the sincere friends of Democracy in the district.²

The non-Socialist press also expressed sympathy for the ILP's case. The Manchester Guardian asserted that Hall should never have been prosecuted, and that the Parks Committee could have set aside a convenient place in the Clough for meetings.³ From the Manchester City News came another reminder that meetings had taken place in the Clough long before its take-over by the Corporation, and that they were held far from any footpath. The by-laws did not provide power to prohibit meetings and, asserted the City News, Councillor Needham had issued the prohibition order on his own initiative, and before he consulted his colleagues.⁴ More important, was the fact that vast numbers of people, who otherwise might never have attended a socialist meeting, all flocked to Boggart Hole Clough. Before the prosecutions only a few score people attended the meetings. Since then ...

People have been attracted from all parts of Greater

1 Ibid., 11 July 1896

2 Ibid., 4 July 1896

3 MG, cited in C, 27 June 1896

4 Manchester City News, cited in C, 4 July 1897

Manchester, and last Sunday (28th June) there must have been five or six thousand people within reach of Mrs. Pankhurst's voice, and twice as many more on the opposite hillsides and lining the main avenue. For an hour after the meeting Rochdale Road from the Clough to Queen's Park was practically blocked with the stream of people going towards Manchester. In anticipation of the crowds the carriage company put on twenty extra cars for the occasion.¹

On Sunday 5 July Mrs. Pankhurst, now accompanied by Keir Hardie, took the platform (see Illustration 11).² Dr. and Mrs. Pankhurst, with their children, Hardie and Miss Goulden drove up to Boggart Hole Clough in an open barouche. Travelling along Piccadilly and Rochdale Road, they passed and were cheered by, crowds of people going to the Clough. Trams were packed, while the Clarion Scouts were out in force on their bicycles. Socialist literature sold well at the meeting, and the collection amounted to £20. 2s. Hardie, subsequently summoned for his part in the events, 'staggered the bench by stating that he had 473 witnesses, including Liberals and Conservatives, to prove that the meetings were orderly and well conducted'.³

Legally the whole situation was becoming a farce. The case against Mrs. Pankhurst was repeatedly adjourned, while Bruce Glasier, having twice refused to pay a £5 fine, was still at liberty. Hall and Brocklehurst, however, were still in jail for the same offence.⁴ The prisoners naturally

1 C, 4 July 1896

2 The photograph is loose in the Pankhurst Collection. Newspaper Cuttings Book - Dr. Pankhurst 1896 No. 7. All the cuttings in this volume refer to Boggart Hole Clough, and although no information is provided on the photograph, Hardie as the speaker and the Clarion 'Board' surrounded him are easily identifiable. LL, 11 July 1896 advertised photographs of Boggart Hole Clough for sale, with profits to the cause, and it seems likely that the photograph in the Pankhurst Collection is one of these.

3 LL, 11 July 1896, 2 October 1913

4 *Ibid.*, 18 July 1896

Illustration 11
Boggart Hole Clough:
Keir Hardie speaking



received enthusiastic welcomes upon their release, and on each occasion a mass meeting at Stevenson Square followed in the evening.¹ But the Council hesitated to imprison any more ILPers, particularly the women, and in court the adjournments continued.² It now turned its attention to a new by-law, passed at a special meeting on 28 July, which prohibited meetings and collections in the parks unless permission was previously granted by the Corporation.³ (To the ILP this move by the Council appeared as proof that it had lacked such powers at the time of the prosecutions). The by-law was finally accepted by the Home Secretary in January 1897, 'in the confidence that the discretionary power of allowing meetings, which the by-law gives to the Council, will be exercised as to meet any reasonable demand'. Needham duly announced that the feeling of the Parks Committee 'was that they should not sanction the meetings of a certain Party'.⁴ However his later attempts (confined to Council meetings) to ban ILP meetings in the Clough proved unsuccessful, and in May 1897 North Manchester ILP opened its summer campaign in the Clough with an audience of 2,000.⁵

Thus, apart from the sufferings of Brocklehurst and the Hall family, the whole affair of Boggart Hole Clough had been a great triumph for the ILP. Its real culmination came in November 1897, when Councillor Needham lost Harpurhey ward in the municipal elections - to none other than Fred

1 Ibid., 18, 25 July 1896

2 Ibid., 25 July 1896

3 Ibid., 1 August 1896

4 Ibid., 16 January 1897

5 Ibid., 17 April, 15 May 1897

Brocklehurst.¹ The local, and national, ILP had been united by a common aim, and the cause of free speech and general publicity had drawn into the ambit of the ILP many people who might not have been attracted to routine socialist meetings. After the 'battle of Boggart Hole Clough' ILP meetings generally remained free from interference by the local authorities, although there were occasional difficulties with the police over the Tib Street pitch.² To some extent the Boggart Hole Clough affair must have proved a salutary warning to the local authorities, regarding the legal difficulties of prosecuting public speakers. But with the passage of time, the growing labour vote, and the presence of an increasing number of Labour and Socialist members on the City Council, also served as protection. In September 1913, Manchester and Salford ILP Federation celebrated its Coming-of-Age by holding a demonstration in Boggart Hole Clough, with Keir Hardie as chief speaker, and Tom Fox in the chair.

As the Labour Leader commented:

If those persecuting officials had had any idea that in 1913 the ILP would have held a meeting at that pitch, with an MP as chief speaker and that his chairman would combine in one person the chairman of the National Labour Party, the vice-chairman of the City's Parks Committee, and a member of

1 Ibid., 6 November 1897 gave the election result. Apart from the detailed week-by-week accounts of the Boggart Hole Clough affair in both the Clarion and Labour Leader, references from other newspapers are contained in the Pankhurst Collection. Newspaper Cuttings Book - Dr. Pankhurst 1896 No. 7. These include: Courier, 23 May 1896; Manchester Guardian, 23 May, 4, 6 June, 10 July, 6, 10 August 1896; City News, 6 June, 8, 15 August 1896; Evening News, 19 June 1896; Evening Mail, 19 June 1896; Reynolds Newspaper, 19 July 1896. Other sources include H.C. Rowe, The Boggart Hole Contest (Manchester, 1896) 18 pp, an illustrated account of the proceedings, and personal recollections of his experiences in F. Brocklehurst, I Was in Prison (1899). References are also contained in: E.S. Pankhurst, op. cit., pp. 136-9 and L. Thompson, The Enthusiasts, pp. 99-101. It should be added that Sylvia Pankhurst, op. cit., p. 137, stated that Harker was imprisoned, but this is not mentioned in other sources.

2 Manchester Central Branch ILP, Minutes of Meetings, 23 April 1912, 5 August 1913; LL, 7 August 1913

its Watch Committee, the backing down process would have started much earlier.¹

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But if the open-air meetings provided for many of the unconverted perhaps their first contact with the ILP, as well as an atmosphere of excitement and crusading fervour, a more detailed exposition of party policy was likely to be heard at one of the indoor gatherings. Lectures were of course part of the regular week-by-week life of the branches throughout the two decades in question, and because of their sheer volume can only be considered in terms of general topics and leading local speakers. There were, however, some series of indoor lectures, organised for Manchester and Salford as a whole, which are worthy of mention. During the winter of 1897-8, the central party arranged a series of Sunday evening lectures in the Lesser St. James' Hall. The programme for the end of 1897, advertised in the Clarion, comprised:

October	31	Fred Brocklehurst	-
November	7	Tom Mann	-
"	14	Rev. T. Horne (Christian Social Union)	'Industrial Combination and Commercial Conspiracy'
"	21	J. Bruce Glasier	-
"	28	Joseph Burgess	'The Revolt of the Radicals'
December	5	Miss Ada Nield	'Society, Past Present and Future'
"	12	Dan Irving	'Socialism and Freedom'
"	19	Pete Curran	'Trade Unionism: its Scope and Sphere'

Manchester Socialist Choir were billed to sing on 31 October and alternate Sundays thereafter; Labour Church Hymn Books were used for singing by the audience.² By November 27, the Labour Leader was able to report that the

1 LL, 2 October 1913

2 C, 16 October 1897

lectures were a 'distinct success'; 'already there are reports of numerous converts being made through the meetings'.¹ When the series ended, at the close of March 1898, a total of 22 meetings had been held, with an average attendance of 375 and, a point not to be ignored, no financial loss. The literature sales had amounted to £18 for the series.² So successful had been the venture, that arrangements were made for a further series of lectures the following winter, to commence on 2 October. Among the speakers engaged were Fred Brocklehurst, Pete Curran, Enid Stacy, John and Katharine Bruce Glasier, Leonard Hall and James Johnston.³ During the beginning of 1899 several lectures were held in the Free Trade Hall, including Keir Hardie on 'Is Democracy a Failure', Eleanor Keeling (of Liverpool) on 'Universal Brotherhood', and Bruce Glasier on 'Socialism and the Coming Conflict of Races'.⁴

The untimely death of Dr. Pankhurst prompted the Manchester, Salford and District ILP to hold a memorial meeting in the Free Trade Hall Assembly Room, on 16 October 1898. With Tom Cook in the Chair, and an audience of about 700, Fred Brocklehurst delivered an address on 'The Life and Times of Dr. Pankhurst'.⁵ To mark the next anniversary, Keir Hardie delivered the address,⁶ but the memorial meetings failed to become a regular annual event, probably because of the timing of the 1900 General Election. His memory was however to be retained by the

1 LL, 27 November 1897

2 Ibid., 2 April 1898

3 Ibid., 24 September 1898

4 Ibid., 28 January, 4, 25 February 1899

5 Ibid., 22 October 1898

6 Ibid., 28 October 1899

building of Pankhurst Hall, where regular series of winter lectures became an important feature, and catered for a far wider public than the actual membership of North Salford branch ILP.¹

Winter lecture series appear to have been neglected around the turn of the century, but past successes had not been forgotten. On 6 October 1905 the Labour Leader published a letter from Thomas Winnett, who asked if the ILP branches were doing anything about organising indoor winter lectures in a public hall, after the style of the old St. James' Hall Sunday afternoon ^[sic] meetings. He suggested that a meeting be arranged at once in the Lesser St. James' Hall, with ILP councillors and guardians taking an active part. This should be followed by weekly lectures. On the general propaganda situation he remarked: 'Judging by the very few lectures and meetings advertised in the Labour Leader, I conclude that the movement is almost lifeless'.² But for several years, ILP lectures appear to have been confined to Pankhurst Hall and the local branches. In November 1908, City of Manchester branch did attempt to run a series of lectures by Percy Redfern, entitled 'Toward a Human Socialism', at the Onward Buildings, 207 Deansgate. Redfern should have lectured every Friday until 18 December, but the scheme was marred by his illness.³

Fortunately the winter of 1908 also marked the beginning of a far more successful venture, the Grand Theatre lectures. During that first season speakers included Russell Smart, Mrs. Bridges Adams, Belfort Bax,

1 For examples of the Pankhurst Hall lectures, see Illustration 3 above

2 LL, 6 October 1905. The meetings which Winnett recalled had been held on Sunday evenings, not afternoons. (See above, p. 479).

3 C, 15 November 1908. LL, 1 January 1909 stated that Redfern was unable to attend four of the lectures.

Edward Carpenter on 'Socialism and Modern Industry', Frank Rose on 'For the Labour Party', Mrs. Despard on 'The Problem of Poverty', Mary Macarthur on 'Women in Industry', James Parker MP on 'Socialism and Unemployment', Rev. J. Stitt Wilson, Ramsay MacDonald, Rev. Conrad Noel, Joseph Burgess, Keir Hardie, and G.H. Roberts MP. Moreover, the series also made a profit.¹ Not surprisingly plans were made to repeat the scheme for a second winter, and on 8 October 1909 the Labour Leader was able to list the speakers engaged for the season: Philip Snowden, Cecil Chesterton (Church Socialist League), J. Macpherson MP, Leonard Hall, Edward Carpenter, J.R. Clynes, Denis Hird, J.A. Seddon MP, Frank Smith, T.P. Sykes (NUT), Mrs. Despard, Pete Curran, Mrs. Bridges Adams, George Lansbury, J. Pointer MP, Frank Rose, W.C. Anderson and Rev. Conrad Noel.²

Visiting speakers, particularly MPs and 'big names', could always be anticipated to draw crowds of the 'unconverted', in search of information or sheer entertainment. Thus any well-known socialist visiting the district might expect his or her talents to be utilised to the full. The most obvious opportunities for such gatherings arose when the NAC held one of its regular meetings in Manchester. Thus the first executive meeting, held on Saturday 18th and Sunday 19th March 1893, was turned into a big 'occasion'. The actual NAC meeting was planned for 10 am on the Saturday, at the Douglas Hotel, Corporation Street. That evening a dinner was arranged at the hotel, at which delegates would be invited to meet the Manchester Committee. A social was then to follow. On the

1 LL, 2, 16, 30 October, 6, 13, 20, 27 November, 18 December 1908; 8, 22, 29 January, 19 February, 12 March, 9 April 1909

2 Ibid., 8 October 1909

Sunday, after any necessary continuation of the NAC meeting, a procession and demonstration were planned. Sympathisers were to meet in Stevenson Square at 1.45, and follow the Labour Church Brass Band through Oldham Street, Piccadilly, Market Street, Deansgate and Peter Street, to the Free Trade Hall. Here a demonstration, organised by the ILP and Labour Church, was to be chaired by Robert Blatchford. Speakers billed for the occasion included John Trevor, Cunninghame Graham, Shaw Maxwell, Dr. Aveling, Pete Curran, J.C. Kennedy, Katharine St. John Conway, and John Lister.¹ Similar celebrations ensued on the weekend of 27 and 28 October 1900, when the NAC visit 'gave Lancashire the chance of celebrating Keir Hardie's return to Parliament', and enabled Hardie 'to make the best speech he has ever made in Lancashire'. Again the Saturday evening was taken up by a dinner, 'a cold collation', for the NAC and local socialists. On the Sunday afternoon, again in the Free Trade Hall, Hardie, Bruce Glasier, John Harker and Mrs. Pankhurst all spoke, while John Hodge publicly declared his adherence to the ILP.²

Longer campaigns, featuring visiting speakers and including both lectures and demonstrations, marked perhaps the high-watermarks of ILP propaganda. Of such a type was the 'Manchester and Salford for Socialism' campaign, which preceded the 1895 municipal elections. Between October 22 and 25, meetings were held in various localities, with speeches by Tom Mann, Fred Hammill, Dr. Pankhurst, Joseph Burgess, James Johnston, Caroline Martyn and the ILP municipal candidates. There followed, on Saturday 26 October, a social at the Central Hall Restaurant, while on the Sunday, Blatchford took the chair for a demonstration in the Free

1 WT, 18 March 1909

2 LL, 27 October, 3 November 1900

Trade Hall.¹ During the summer of 1912 a 'campaign for Socialism' was initiated by the national ILP, and meetings arranged in the various federations,² but for Manchester and Salford at least perhaps the biggest campaign of this nature was that organised in 1913, to mark the ILP's 'Coming of Age'. The plan, formulated at the end of June, was that the Manchester and Salford party should hold public meetings and distribute literature in all the localities during the week ending 28 September, concluding the proceedings with a demonstration for the whole city and district.³ Much of the organisation naturally devolved upon the branches; West Salford ordered 15,000 leaflets for distribution and Longsight 24,000,⁴ while North Manchester, due to celebrate its 21st birthday at the beginning of the campaign week, organised a social evening for the occasion and duly invited 'their veteran comrade, Mr. A. Settle, of North-West Ham.'⁵ North Manchester's social and 'Grand Demonstration' at the Queen's Park Picturedrome on Sunday 21 September, marked the opening of a campaign comprising some 50 meetings. Many of the speakers were of course local: T.R. Marr, Joseph Billam, Joseph Fogarty, Sam Hague, W.T. Jackson, Annot Robinson and Ellen Wilkinson, but the campaign culminated with Hardie's address at Boggart Hole Clough.⁶

While the majority of visiting speakers tended only to stay overnight in Manchester, deliver one or two lectures, and continue their travels,

1 Ibid., 19 October, 2 November 1895

2 Ibid., 11 July 1912

3 Ibid., 3 July 1913

4 Ibid., 3 July, 28 August 1913

5 Ibid., 14, 28 August 1913

6 Ibid., 14, 28 August, 2 October 1913

occasionally the district would have the services of a visiting speaker for up to a fortnight. Thus Enid Stacy spent a few days in Manchester and Salford at the close of January 1898, her programme being:

Thursday	-	Cheetham Public Hall	-	'Socialism and Religion'
Friday	-	Openshaw	-	'Socialism and Trade Unionism'
Saturday	-	West Salford	-	'Modern Shams'
Sunday	-	St. James' Hall	-	'Should all Christians be Socialists'

Concerning the campaign, the Labour Leader was able to report 'Good and enthusiastic audiences at all meetings, and already bearing fruit in the way of converts'.¹ Not that the process was simply one-way; Manchester and Salford's leading members were regularly absent on lecture tours. At the end of September 1894 Leonard Hall went on a 5-day lecturing tour of Liverpool,² while Fred Brocklehurst was booked to lecture in Scotland between 18 and 28 December 1897.³

The big public lectures and campaigns had a dual function; they attracted the unconverted who were curious to see MPs and other prominent personalities, and at the same time boosted the morale of rank and file party workers. What mattered was not so much the content of the speeches, instructive though they may have been, but the general 'atmosphere' in a large, crowded hall, the 'presence' of the principal speaker, and the rendering of 'England Arise' by a mass audience of enthusiastic socialists. But having been drawn to the ILP by public meetings, the convert, unless he wished to remain 'unattached' would be likely to pursue most of his future activities under the aegis of his local branch. The meetings and demonstrations mentioned above, although the most noteworthy, in fact

1 Ibid., 29 January 1898

2 Ibid., 6 October 1894

3 Ibid., 11 December 1897

formed a very small proportion of the sum total held by Manchester and Salford ILP. The majority of socialist lectures were those arranged by the branches, either open to the public or as a sequel to a routine business meeting, and the speakers generally local. Because of the sheer volume of activity, it is possible only to consider in general terms some of the local speakers, and their most popular subjects.

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It should initially be stated that virtually all the most active ILPers spoke in public at some time in their careers. Enthusiasm for the cause, and willingness to spread the socialist message from a soap box, usually went hand-in-hand. The needs to project one's voice in the open air, and to 'hold' a previously transient audience may in part explain the interest which many ILPers showed for dramatic societies and the theatre.¹ There was much to be learned from observing actors as well as politicians. But while most ILPers attempted public speaking, inability to do so did not deter the enthusiastic. Blatchford himself was perhaps the most eminent example of a non-speaker. Not to be forgotten however was Sam Robinson who, according to Mrs. Plant, suffered from a speech defect which rendered public speaking impossible.² Robinson made his mark as an organiser, serving at various times as Secretary and Propaganda Secretary to Manchester Central Branch, and as delegate to the Manchester and Salford ILP Council, the Lancashire and Cheshire Federation, and national conferences at Huddersfield and Derby. His most enduring contribution was undoubtedly the institution of the Tib Street meetings.³

1 Mrs. Plant, Tape, 6 August 1976

2 Ibid.

3 Manchester Central Branch ILP, Minutes of Meetings 30 May, 25 July 1905; 22 May, 14 June 1906; 19 March, 7 May 1907; 7 April, 21 October 1908

But Robinson, the organiser and committee man who never occupied the rostrum, was the exception rather than the rule. Any activist with the potential ability to address a meeting was expected to make the attempt, thus there was no division between the party's writers and public speakers. Young enthusiasts were encouraged, occasionally with the assistance of 'classes' in economics or public speaking, to mount the platform. First experiences of addressing an open-air meeting could be somewhat alarming; Muriel Nichol, then better known as the young daughter of R.C. Wallhead, later recalled her 'debut' at Hazel Grove when in an extreme state of 'stage fright', she forgot her prepared speech and also tore into pieces the cards bearing her notes.¹ Less traumatic were the experiences of some other young speakers. On 2 March 1906 the Labour Leader reported that at Tib Street on the previous Sunday, Willie Taylor of Crumpsall gave an 'excellent "first" address', while the surprise of the evening had been the debut of George Benson, son of T.D. Benson, who made an 'admirable little speech'. Moreover on the Saturday Harry Pankhurst, then aged 16, had 'very pluckily made his first effort as a debator during a stormy party meeting'.²

But while the ILP regularly produced competent speakers from among its ranks, to find a really outstanding orator was a rare event. On 15 November 1904, Sam Robinson reported to Central Branch that he had accepted an offer from A.V. Grayson to deliver three lectures on Socialism,

1 Muriel Nichol, Tape. It should be added that Mrs. Nichol survived the experience to become a regular ILP lecturer, and eventually a Labour MP in 1945.

2 LL, 2 March 1906



at Tib Street, for 5s. His action was duly endorsed.¹ Victor Grayson, then a student at Owen's College, first spoke at Tib Street on 5 November 1904 (see Illustration 12). Whether this lecture was part of the arrangement with Robinson is uncertain. However he did manage to draw one of the largest crowds of the year at the pitch,² and on the following Sunday, 'He again drew and 'held' a big crowd made up of young men and women'.³ Thereafter Grayson became a regular speaker at Tib Street, his subjects including 'The Message of Socialism to the Idler', and 'The Message of Socialism to the Churches'.⁴ On December 3rd, 'a large crowd stood for an hour in the rain while Victor Grayson and his college chum, Irvine Lister, exposed the puerility of Campbell-Bannerman's speeches re the unemployed'. By February 1905 Grayson's name was appearing in capitals in the Labour Leader's notices of meetings,⁵ and his reputation as a speaker was growing. Clearly ILPers were expected to comprehend reports such as: 'After inspiring appeals had been made by a certain young Socialist - the branch absolutely refuse to divulge his name - and by Dr. Percy McDougall, the Tib-street (Manchester) crowd subscribed 17s. 4d. to the LRC Russian Strike Fund'.⁶

In an article for the Labour Leader, entitled 'Socialism in Manchester', 'WFB' recounted a visit to the city on the previous Sunday,

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- 1 Manchester Central Branch ILP, Minutes of Meeting 15 November 1904
 - 2 LL, 11 November 1904, reports the Tib Street meeting. For details of Grayson's student career and early life, see W. Thompson, Victor Grayson, his life and work; an appreciation and a criticism (Sheffield, 1910) pp. 10-14; R. Groves, The Strange Case of Victor Grayson (1975) pp. 9-15, 18-19; J. Bardoux, L'Ouvrier Anglais d'aujourd'hui (1921) pp. 156-8.
 - 3 LL, 18 November 1904
 - 4 Ibid., 25 November, 2 December 1904
 - 5 Ibid., 9 December 1904, 3 February 1905
 - 6 Ibid., 10 February 1905



Illustration 12
Victor Grayson

during which he sought out a few Socialist comrades. He went with Councillor Nuttall to Tib Street:

I was anxious to meet S.R. (Sam Robinson), and discover whether his extravagant eulogies of a certain young Socialist were justified.

A young fellow was on the chair, with a deep rich voice, just made for the open-air - he told me afterwards that it was the open-air that had made it! - and he was giving his audience plain, strong, and richly-defined Socialism. Nothing petty or mean, no appeal to unworthy motives, or even to the misery of things, but an uplifting, elevating, manly propaganda speech, addressed to the crowd as men. In his answers to several acute questions, also, the lecturer showed consummate skill and tactfulness. The same reasonableness that had distinguished the address, and a careful dealing with and disentanglement of the points that would have done credit to a K.C! It was indeed a pleasant surprise. In Mr. Victor Grayson, student and orator, the Manchester men have found a prize indeed, and Socialism has gained another valuable asset.¹

Thirty years after Grayson's rise to fame, Harry Henshall recalled something of his charisma:

He had a wonderful gift of eloquence, was a ready speaker without notes, and these together with a striking appearance and a powerful voice made him by far the most valuable 'spell-binder' in the Socialist movement.

Of the memorable Free Trade Hall debate, between Grayson and Johnson-Hicks, Henshall wrote:

As the two combatants made point after point half the audience cheered itself hoarse and the other half booed. At the end of the debate the inevitable happened - both sides were delighted, and the meeting closed by half the audience singing the Socialist Song by Edward Carpenter - 'England Arise' - and the other half the National Anthem.²

Grayson's ability as an orator was the one aspect of his career about which there was no controversy. Even his antagonist of later years, Philip Snowden, admitted that 'He was an unusually attractive speaker'.³

1 Ibid., 3 February 1905

2 Stockport Express, 10 September 1936. The debate, on 'socialism', was held on 14 February 1902. (See also pp. 518, 1102 below)

3 P. Snowden, An Autobiography, Vol. I, 1864-1919 (1934) p. 164

Joe Toole reminisced that Grayson 'was the greatest platform attraction we had'. He also commented that:

Hyndman, Hardie, MacDonald, Snowden and others were not at all happy about this new figure, this youth who was filling every theatre and hall in the country - where they themselves had difficulty in drawing even enough to justify the expense. Whenever Victor Grayson was announced to speak thousands were unable to gain admission.¹

This latter comment applies, of course, to the era after Grayson's victory at the Colne Valley by-election, in July 1907.² Prior to this event, much of his speaking took place in the Manchester and Salford area, where he also became chairman of the new Manchester University Socialist Society.³ There were also full weeks of propaganda (presumably during the summer vacation) at Rochdale and Farnworth,⁴ with visits to Liverpool and the Colne Valley.⁵ As an increasingly controversial MP, Grayson still returned to Manchester, but his lectures were not, on the whole, for official ILP functions. Thus he spoke at Withington and Chorlton-cum-Hardy Socialist Societies, at several Clarion Scouts' demonstrations, and on behalf of Dan Irving in the NW Manchester by-election.⁶ Grayson's career after his adoption as a parliamentary candidate must be considered elsewhere, in the light of his political attitudes, rather than his ability as a propagandist. But during his student days in Manchester, the local ILP had indeed 'found a prize'.

1 J. Toole, op. cit., pp. 110-11

2 For the election campaign, see LL, 19, 26 July 1907

3 Ibid., 9 March 1906. Information concerning Grayson's speaking engagements during this period appeared almost weekly in the LL.

4 Ibid., 21 July, 4 August 1905

5 For examples, see *ibid.*, 26 May 1905, 8 June 1906, 12 April 1907

6 Ibid., 4 October 1907, 13 March, 24 April, 1, 15 May, 25 September 1908; 12 March 1909

Grayson's meteoric rise should not however be allowed to put in the shade the impressive, and often more lasting, speaking careers of some of his comrades. The routine weekly meetings continued largely as a result of the work of local members, many of whom were almost unknown beyond Manchester and the surrounding towns. Among the exceptions should be included R.C. Wallhead, a decorator and craftsman who was a regular ILP speaker in the area after 1903. He also acted as manager of the Labour Leader and national organiser of the Clarion Scouts before becoming a full-time, free-lance propagandist for the ILP in 1908.¹ Another ILP speaker whose career led to parliament was John Edward ('Jack') Sutton. A checkweighman at Bradford Colliery, and miners' Agent, he was elected to the City Council for Bradford Ward in 1894 and continued to hold the seat until he entered Parliament for Manchester East in 1910.² Sutton does not appear to have been an orator and propagandist after the style of Wallhead. Certainly he must have had considerable ability on the platform to achieve such electoral successes, but his speeches concentrated upon the immediate and practical, rather than on the history or philosophy of the movement. Sutton was thus more likely to be found reporting on his council work, supporting the locked-out engineers, or advocating the 'Right to Work'.³

Not to be omitted from the list of future MPs is W.C. Anderson, who

1 Dictionary of Labour Biography, Vol. 3, pp. 195-9. This does not however mention Wallhead's Clarion Scouts activities (LL, 30 March 1906 named Wallhead as President of the Clarion Scouts).

2 C, 14 July 1894; LL, 10 November 1894, 6 November 1897, 10 November 1900; 7 November 1903; 9 November 1906; Clayton Divisional Labour Party, Memorial Souvenir to the late Charles Priestley (n.d. ?1926) 64 pp. p. 11

3 LL, 18 August 1905, 21 August 1897, 4 September 1908

from 1904 was a regular speaker at ILP meetings in Manchester, combining his propagandist activity with work as an organiser for the National Union of Shop Assistants. After unsuccessfully contesting Hyde for the ILP in 1909, he became National Chairman of the ILP the following year. During his years in Manchester he was a member of Central, then City, branches, and spoke at all the best-known pitches, including Tib Street and Stevenson Square, as well as Pankhurst Hall and the Queen's Theatre.¹

John and Katharine Bruce Glasier had both played a prominent part in the Boggart Hole Clough affair, and had spoken at meetings in Manchester before they actually took up permanent residence in the area. In 1898 they moved to Chapel-en-le-Frith which, although it had not yet become a Manchester commuter suburb, did afford easy rail access into the city. Then in January 1905 the Labour Leader was transferred from Glasgow to Manchester, with Bruce Glasier becoming its new editor. Both John and Katharine became increasingly involved in propaganda activity in Manchester after this date. Katharine lectured for branches including North and West Salford, City of Manchester and Gorton, addressed suffrage meetings, opened North Salford's Garden City Bazaar, and spoke at the opening of Gorton's new Labour Hall. John was to be found on the platform in Albert Square; he spoke at Newton Heath and the Grand Theatre, opened the conference on Militarism, and played a leading part in the demonstration organised to welcome home Keir Hardie.²

Katharine Bruce Glasier was perhaps symbolic of the young women

1 Dictionary of Labour Biography, Vol. II, pp. 11-16; P. Snowden, An Autobiography Vol. II 1919-34 (1934) pp. 546-50 included a biography of Anderson. See also Manchester Central Branch ILP, Minutes of meeting, 19 September 1905

2 L. Thompson, The Enthusiasts, pp. 111, 140. Hardie had been on a world cruise. (See I. McLean, *op. cit.*, pp. 127-31 and LL, 8 May 1902)

propagandists who made their mark upon ILP platform. Indeed, for an open-air speaker to actually be a woman was still something of a novelty, which might in itself help to attract the crowds - sympathetic or otherwise. The general role of women within the ILP, together with contacts between that party and the suffrage agitation, must be considered at a later stage. It would, however, be impossible to discuss ILP speakers without mentioning that before the era of the WSPU, Mrs. Pankhurst was a leading member of Manchester and Salford ILP, whose speaking activities were not confined to Boggart Hole Clough. Admittedly she was never a regular lecturer, but her husband's eminence in the locality, together with her own elected position on Chorlton Board of Guardians, did make her a well-known 'name'.¹ Far more of a propagandist was Mrs. Pankhurst's later associate in the WSPU, Theresa Billington. A teacher in Manchester, she had played an active part in the Manchester University Settlement, and also helped to found the Teachers' Equal Pay League, before joining Central Branch ILP in February 1904. She became a regular speaker at Tib Street, and also travelled further afield after her appointment as the ILP's first woman National Organiser. In the autumn of 1905 Theresa Billington organised the party's municipal election campaign in Manchester, and the 1906 General Election found her working for Philip Snowden and J.W. Taylor. However in March 1906 she resigned as ILP organiser, to take up a similar position for the WSPU. She did however retain her membership of the ILP for a time, although coming near to being expelled (together with Christabel Pankhurst) as a result of her activities at the

1 Mrs. Pankhurst was elected to Chorlton Guardians on 17 December 1894 (see LL, 22 December 1894). She subsequently became a Vice-President of Manchester and Salford ILP (*ibid.*, 19 January 1895)

Cockermouth by-election.¹ Another of the WSPU members who took part in ILP propaganda was Annot Wilkie. Originally from Dundee, she joined Central Branch in June 1907, and made her first speech at Tib Street two months later. Although continuing for a time her suffrage activities, the period of dissension within that movement found her becoming increasingly active in ILP work. This swing towards the ILP was no doubt influenced by Sam Robinson, whom she married in January 1908.²

Two of the ILP's women propagandists later became MPs: Ellen Wilkinson and Muriel Wallhead. Ellen Wilkinson, a native of Manchester and former pupil-teacher, first became active in the ILP while a history student at Manchester University, and continued after her graduation in 1913, when she became an Election Fighting Fund organiser for the NUWSS. She acted as secretary for the Women's Labour League, speaking on the occasion of the visit to Manchester of the South African labour leaders' wives, addressed a joint suffrage and labour meeting in Newton Heath, and was a regular speaker for the ILP, at Tib Street, Gorton and New Cross, as well as in the Coming-of-Age Campaign. Her speeches often concerned the role of women in society, but in October 1913 she was to be found lecturing to a class on industrial history, at Chapel Street, Salford.³ Muriel Wallhead's training as an ILP propagandist had really begun in her schooldays, when she travelled to meetings in the Manchester area with her father. From 1911 she was herself a regular speaker at local

1 Manchester Central Branch ILP, Minutes of meetings, 23 February 1904, 19 August 1905. J. Edwards (ed.), Reformers' Year Book, 1907 p. 155
A.J.R. (ed.), The Suffrage Annual and Women's Who's Who (1913) p. 182

2 Manchester Central Branch ILP, Minutes of Meeting, 18 June 1907

3 LL, 14 August, 23 October, 20 November 1913; 5, 12, 26 March, 7 May, 2 April 1914. See also T.D.W. Reid, draft biography of Ellen Wilkinson (in possession of author)

meetings: Gorton, City of Manchester, Manchester Central and North Manchester branches all billed her as a lecturer. Like her father, she took an interest in art and the career of William Morris, also speaking on 'Socialism and Childhood'. Her career as an ILP propagandist was however interrupted in September 1913, when she was appointed organiser for the NUWSS in North Monmouthshire.¹

Not to be omitted from the list of the ILP's *list of women* propagandists were Dora Walford and Daisy Halling. Dora Walford, who joined Central Branch in August 1905, began her activities as a regular speaker in the Manchester area only a month later. Living in Rusholme, she was also one of the leading figures in Longsight Socialist Sunday School. In September 1907 that body, reporting an increase in its attendance, added that 'Miss Walford is doing wonders!'. In 1910 the Labour Leader recorded her as being from Manchester University, but whether she was a student throughout this period is uncertain.² Daisy Halling was exceptional among the female propagandists in that she was neither university-educated, nor associated with the suffrage movement. In fact she came from a theatrical family, and first appeared on the stage at the age of about six. Having played the current round of children's parts, she emerged into adult roles at sixteen, becoming a 'leading lady' and receiving acclaim in The Stage and Era. As a result of travelling around the country, Daisy Halling received little formal education. However she utilised the public libraries, and spent days reading in her room, before setting out to the theatre in the evening. This self-education was then supplemented by Ruskin School Correspondence

1 The NUWSS appointment was reported in the LL, 18 September 1913

2 Manchester Central Branch ILP, Minutes of Meeting, 5 August 1905; LL, 1 April 1910

Classes. After studying the socialist movement for a long time, and being spurred on by the Anti-Socialist campaign to make her own contribution, she left the stage to become a propagandist in 1908. That summer, while permanently resident in Manchester, she spoke in Lancashire, South Wales, the West of England, and Yorkshire, as well as in Manchester and Stockport (where she addressed the Labour Church). In 1908 and 1910 she also turned to writing pamphlets.¹

But if the women speakers were always particularly newsworthy, they still remained in a tiny minority. Most of the regular weekly lectures were delivered by male socialists who were too numerous to be listed. Selecting only a few of the leading figures, one must mention Joseph Billam, Tom Cook, Tom Fox, Tom Goddard, Joseph Nuttall, Richard Robinson, E.J. Hart, W.T. Jackson, Frank Lawler, Alfred Ogden, Walter Sanders, Frank Rose, J.F. Thomson, R.C. Hall, and John Harker. Also notable were Ben Purse, secretary of the National League of the Blind, who in 1907 joined Central Branch and campaigned vigourously for state provision for the blind, and J.R. Ferrey. Ferrey had been a member of the ILP from its inception, and was a prominent worker in the co-operative movement, as well as serving on the executive of the Railway Clerks Association. In November 1907 he was appointed organiser of the South East Lancashire ILP Federation, but in the realms of public speaking he was most famous for his recitals. His version of Dickens' A Christmas Carol drew audiences year after year.²

However perhaps the most original platform style belonged to Walter

1 Biographical information appeared in Daisy Halling's pamphlet: Mrs. Grundy - the Enemy (Stockport, 1908) 14 pp., and in Stockport Labour Church, Our Winter Work, 1908-9 and 1909-10. For further details of her pamphlets, see below, p. 103

2 For all biographical information, see Appendix II below.

Hampson, better known as 'Casey' (see Illustrations 13 and 14). Born in Ireland, Hampson's home for much of his life was in Stockport. However he was a well-known figure on socialist platforms in Manchester and Salford, as well as in many other parts of the country. Turning from his boyhood occupation of chimney sweep, he became an accomplished violinist, both teaching the instrument and playing in orchestras. However he directed his talent towards the socialist movement and, often assisted by his young accompanist Dolly Pickard, he combined violin recitals with socialist lectures. John Paton later described how 'Casey' infected an audience with his own enthusiasm for great music, and used it as a vehicle for the message of socialism:

He'd preface his performance with a brief lecture on the nature of 'shoddy' in the arts and particularly in music. He'd pour out a stream of devastating wit and sarcasm at the expense of the pretentious humbug and vulgarity of what he described as 'capitalist art'; everything evil was traceable to the profit-making motive. He'd preface his selections from the music of the Masters by vivid thumbnail sketches of their lives and work; and everything he said or played was effective material for socialist propaganda.¹

Thus in an era when the public speech was a vital element in communication and propaganda, most ILP activists mounted the platform at some time in their careers. Central Branch at least had a list of its own members, who might be called upon to speak, but a quick glance at the list, compiled in the back of its first minute book, reveals a pool of talent far greater than that at the disposal of the average constituency branch: Victor Grayson, R.C. Wallhead, Theresa Billington and Mrs. Pankhurst. The list itself, with its deletions and amended addresses,

¹ Biographical information on 'Casey' appeared in his obit., Stockport Advertiser, 15 July 1932. The description of his platform style is from J. Paton, Proletarian Pilgrimage (1935) p. 300. Paton here described Hampson as coming from Nottingham, but in fact he was born in Dublin and spent most of his adult life in Stockport.



Illustration 13
Walter Hampson:
propagandist

WALTER HAMPSON
("CASEY," of "The Labour Leader").

(COPYRIGHT.) The People's Press, Moscow Road, Stockport. Publisher
of "Keir Hardie's Life Story." Fully illustrated.
ONE PENNY.



Illustration 14
Walter Hampson:
violin teacher

seems likely to have been more typical. For branches seeking speakers from further afield, the names and addresses of potential lecturers were readily available. ILP Annual Conference Reports after 1906 were particularly helpful. Whereas the 1906 Report contained a 'Directory of ILP Speakers',¹ the 1908 Report even provided a classification of lecturers thus:

- a = suitable for Indoor Educational Lectures
- b = suitable for addressing Trade Union Branches
- c = suitable for Open-Air Propaganda Meetings²

Even more assistance to branches was provided in earlier years by the Labour Annuals. Thus the 1895 volume, in publishing a socialist lecture list, added a reminder that arrangements had to be made direct with the lecturer, and that travelling expenses only were expected. Entries for individual speakers also provided their range of topics, for example:

Barlow, John, 21 May Grove, Levenshulme, Manchester.
'Applied Christianity (or Socialism)', 'The Right to Live',
'The White Slaves of England and their Emancipation'.³

In later years, however, the Labour Annuals and Reformers' Year Books were to limit their information simply to names and addresses.⁴ Apart from these annual publications, the Labour Leader included advertisements placed by active socialists, offering their services as speakers. Thus on 3 October 1912, J.T. Walton Newbold advertised for winter bookings, offering as his subjects 'Growth of Modern Industrialism' and 'Capitalism - Ancient and Modern'.⁵

1 ILP, Report of the 14th Annual Conference, 1906, pp. 96-8

2 ILP, Report of the 16th Annual Conference, 1908, pp. 123-6

3 Labour Annual 1895, p. 60

4 The Labour Annuals were published from 1895 to 1900, after which the title changed to Reformers' Year Book and Labour Annual

5 LL, 3 October 1912

The problems of arranging a programme usually rested with the branch lecture secretary. Mrs. Plant recalled how she and her husband, on their summer holidays, spent their time drawing up a list of suitable speakers for the coming winter season at Pankhurst Hall.¹ Leaving the task too late would of course mean that the more popular lecturers were already booked-up, and even when arrangements were finally made, illnesses and cancellations were a constant problem, often obliging the branch stalwarts to stand-in. Local branches were sometimes assisted by a Federation booking a speaker to be in the area for a given period. Thus on 13 April 1895 a notice appeared in the Clarion, that the Lancashire and Cheshire Independent Labour Federation had engaged Leonard Hall from 22 April to 3 May inclusive. A few dates were still left; 'For terms apply Wm. Brewer, 41 Blakewater St., Blackburn'.²

Few ILP lecturers ever received much more recompense for their services than train fares and out-of-pocket expenses. There is certainly no record of anyone managing to earn a comfortable living purely as a speaker; the few full-time propagandists usually supplemented their earnings by journalism. Meals, and overnight accommodation when required, were usually provided by members of the host branch. Visitors to Manchester fared comparatively well, for the local party always contained a proportion of lower-middle class and professional people, who were in a financial position to offer comfortable hospitality. Many of the Pankhurst Hall speakers stayed with the Plant family.³ However for ILP speakers travelling outside the urban areas, life was generally extremely hard;

1 Mrs. Plant, tape.

2 C, 13 April 1895

3 Mrs. Plant, tape. Walter Plant was a hat-block manufacturer

difficult journeys, often involving long walks in bad weather, might be followed by primitive and overcrowded accommodation and frugal meals, which nevertheless represented the best that poverty-stricken hosts could provide. Moreover enthusiastic socialists from remote villages, who rarely encountered an ILP speaker, were apt to prolong discussions into the early hours of the morning. The life of an ILP propagandist was thus far from glamorous,¹ and took its toll both in terms of ill-health and disillusionment. Among the disillusioned might be numbered Fred Brocklehurst, who in 1901 commented:

In sacrificing a career for the sake of the Labour Movement ... I held the opinion that, as its servant, I should never at least be allowed to starve. I was speedily disillusioned. At the end of a very short experience I found it necessary to sell books in order to buy bread ... I do not know of any lecturer for the Labour Movement who is not compelled to eke out his precarious income by writing for newspapers unconnected with the movement.

Brocklehurst now wanted to prevent the young men of Ruskin Hall 'from wasting their lives in peripatetic lecturing'. He held that men could serve the Labour Movement best if they did so in their spare time, and were economically independent of it.²

The organisation of lectures also came in for criticism. On 8 July 1904, a letter entitled 'The Decline of Lecturing' was published in the Labour Leader. Signed simply "'Il Penseroso', Manchester", it maintained that the progress reported weekly in 'The Movement' column of that paper, was more imaginary than real in many instances. Lectures were being invited, but few people turned up, because the lecture had not been

1 For an insight into the life of lecturers, see in particular L. Thompson, The Enthusiasts, pp. 91-6; J. Paton, op. cit., passim.

2 LL, 2 February 1901

advertised. Thus lecturers ended up speaking to 'crowds' of 15 or 20:

Branch members are indifferent, apathetic and wanting in business tact. The lecturer becomes careless, depressed and cynical, gives up preparing for audiences that never come, and eventually retires from active lecturing, glad to be rid of the hack work that few or nobody appreciates.

Until meetings are fewer, better advertised, with a much larger turn-up of members, I am being forced to the conclusion that to wash my hands of the business, and mind my own business, by private study, congenial reading, and healthy recreation, will be far more satisfactory to everybody concerned than in wasting time, money, health and happiness for a movement almost absolutely lacking in the most elementary ideas of political organisation.¹

But if some ILP lecturers did, perhaps with some justification, become slightly jaundiced, there were always enthusiastic members whose ambitions were directed towards the speaker's platform. J.R. Clynes recalled an incident, in about 1905, thus:

... I had been addressing a large public meeting, and when the applause died away I walked to the station with a local friend. He was eager to become a speaker in my cause. He said quite simply that he would like to ask me a question.

'Can you tell me, Mr. Clynes, how I may become eloquent?' Eloquent! Lord!²

Among the would-be lecturers was George Cole, who in 1897 moved to Manchester from Glasgow, and made his debut in the new area before the Medlock Street branch. The Labour Leader reported that: 'He is a capable speaker and energetic worker. Branches in the midland counties in want of speakers should keep Comrade Cole in mind.' In the same issue, the 'Answers to Correspondents' column provided advice to 'G.C. (Manchester)', who seems very likely to have been Cole:

You will require to make yourself known before there

1 Ibid., 8 July 1904

2 J.R. Clynes, op. cit., p. 107

is any chance of a permanent organiser's position. Get the directory of the branches and circularise all within moderate distance offering your services, giving titles of lectures and fee. This will bring you engagements and in time the other will follow.¹

Whether George Cole ever achieved his ambition is uncertain, but there is no further record of him as a speaker in the Manchester area.

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Having considered the lecturers themselves, it is necessary to turn to the actual content of their speeches. It is here the intention to deal with the routine lectures, both indoor and outdoor, which took place in most of the branches. Most obvious was the need to explain ILP beliefs to the unconverted. Thus in April 1905, A.P. Hardy at Tib Street spoke on 'The Policy of the Party',² while on 22 November 1903 Pete Curran, then Labour candidate for Jarrow, described 'The Political Outlook from a Labour Standpoint' at Pankhurst Hall.³ Socialism as a broader movement had also to be discussed, hence George Titt on 'The Philosophy of Socialism',⁴ and W. Simpson at North Manchester on 'Why I oppose State Socialism'.⁵ Dealing with the practicalities of establishing a socialist society were three local MPs. On 3 December 1911 at the Grand Theatre, G.J. Wardle, (MP for Stockport), J.R. Clynes and J. Sutton, together with Councillor Billam, all spoke on 'The Nationalisation of the Railways'.⁶ The international aspect of the movement was considered by Dan Irving, who

1 LL, 27 November 1897

2 LL, 14 April 1905

3 Ibid., 21 November 1903

4 Ibid., 8 December 1911

5 Ibid., 6 February 1897

6 Ibid., 1 December 1911

on 26 February 1905 spoke at the Whitworth Hall for Openshaw ILP, on 'The Parliament of Man'. This lecture dealt more specifically with the Amsterdam Congress.¹ Anarchists were also invited to express their views on ILP platforms. On 7 February and 28 November 1897 Alfred Barton spoke to North Manchester branch, on 'Socialism and Anarchism' and 'Society and the State'.² Herbert Stockton at Gorton, in July 1893, simply explained 'Why I am an Anarchist'.³

Socialist policies on a more immediate and practical level were dealt with by the ILP's elected representatives on public bodies, it being expected that they should make regular reports on their activities to their constituents. Such was the meeting held by local councillors in East Manchester, in August 1904.⁴ At Pankhurst Hall, on 26 February 1905, W. Hunt, the Elective Auditor, spoke on 'Municipal Affairs',⁵ while in September 1912 Councillor Sam Hague described 'Work on a City Council' for the City of Manchester branch.⁶ In Moss Side, Mrs. Katie Garrett's 'Experiences of a Socialist Guardian of the Poor' was followed by a discussion.⁷ Future policies, as well as past activities might also be considered. Thus Councillor Hayes, addressing West Salford branch at Broad Street Baths, posed the question: 'Is an Extension of Municipal Trading Desirable?'⁸

1 C, 24 February 1905

2 Ibid., 6 February 1897; LL, 27 November 1897

3 C, 1 July 1893

4 LL, 19 August 1904

5 C, 24 February 1905

6 LL, 26 September 1912

7 Ibid., 15 November 1907

8 Ibid., 15 June 1906

Two movements closely associated with the ILP were the unemployed agitation, and the campaign for women's suffrage. These must be considered in detail elsewhere, but it would give a false impression of ILP lecture topics to omit any reference to them. Apart from the participation of the party and its individual members in the campaigns and larger demonstrations, local branches also heard lectures on the subjects, hence Frank Booth on 'The Unemployed Problem' at Tib Street, on 16 October 1904; W.C. Anderson on 'Unemployment and its Remedies, True and False', at Pankhurst Hall, on 29 October 1905, or A.F. Dunkley on 'The Unemployed Question' at Moss Side's club in Creame Street, in November 1906.¹ Many of the ILP's leading women speakers were themselves active in the suffrage campaign, and always ready to proselytise the feminist case from a socialist platform. These speakers included Theresa Billington, who in April 1905 addressed West Salford ILP on 'The Women's Enfranchisement Bill: What it is and what it is not';² Mrs. Gordon, who addressed Chorlton Socialist Society in November 1906, on 'Socialism and the Woman Question';³ and Eva Gore Booth, speaking on Democracy and Women's Suffrage' at Levenshulme Labour Church in November 1909.⁴ The view that the implementation of WSPU policy would actually militate against the advance of socialism, was pointed out by W. Sanders. In March 1906 he addressed North Manchester ILP at its Club House in Churnet Street, on 'Socialism versus Women's Suffrage'.⁵ Concentration upon the suffrage issue did also tend to obscure the broader questions

1 Ibid., 14 October 1904; 27 October 1905; 16 November 1906

2 LL, 14 April 1905

3 Ibid., 16 November 1906

4 Ibid., 26 November 1909

5 C, 2 March 1906

concerning women's role in society. This was to some extent remedied by Ellen Wilkinson, speaking in March 1914 on 'Women's Place in the Social Order'.¹

All major aspects of current affairs were of course dealt with by ILP lecturers, but speeches relating to topics such as the Boer War, the actions of the post-1906 Liberal Government, or the armaments race, are best considered at a later stage, in terms of general ILP policy. One issue which raised a recurring dilemma was that of alien immigration. In the Manchester area the influx of poverty-stricken Russian and Polish Jews, at least in the period before the 1905 Aliens Act became effective, meant that the question was never far below the surface. Although socialism was supposed to be international, and a few immigrants did join the ILP, particularly Central Branch,² the great mass of rank-and-file ILP, and public, opinion was hostile to the immigrants. The principle, and most valid reason behind this was opposition to cheap, largely non-union labour,³ but it must be added that some ILP writers did reveal anti-semitic undertones, Blatchford himself being among the chief offenders.⁴ Manchester and Salford ILP did, however, make attempts to educate public (and some members') opinion, by providing a platform for

1 LL, 12 March 1906

2 J.A. Fincher, MS notes of interview with Leon Locker

3 See Leonard Hall's article, 'That "Alien" Question', C, 12 October 1895. See also L.P. Gartner, The Jewish Immigrant in England 1870-1914 (1960; 2nd ed. 1973) *passim*

4 Blatchford was inclined to equate the description of 'Jew' with 'wealthy capitalist' or 'moneylender'. Thus in Merrie England (1894 ed.) p. 67, he explains the concept of interest, beginning 'Suppose a rich Jew has lent a million to the Government at 3 per cent ...' He ends: 'And the worst of it is that the money the Jew lent was not earned by him, but by the ancestors of the very people who are now paying his descendants interest for the loan of it'.

Jewish speakers. Thus on 3 November 1895 South West Manchester branch, at Elvington Street Hall, heard J.I. Loewy on 'Alien Immigration and the Brotherhood of Man'.¹ Once the Alien's Bill had come before Parliament, the local ILP took part in the protest against it. A. Lewis and E. Schoor of the Jewish Tailors' Union spoke at Tib Street on 29 May 1904, and the Labour Leader, on reporting the event, announced that branch secretaries 'who would care to hear the alien point of view', could communicate with the two speakers via J. Deschman, the union secretary.² Lewis and Schoor subsequently spoke against the bill at Stevenson Square and West Salford, while Sam Robinson became one of the joint secretaries of the Manchester Protest Committee against the bill.³

Whereas the immigration question was a current political issue, the ILP also provided a platform for 'progressive' views on more general topics. Campaigns against vaccination,⁴ and against vivisection,⁵ received ILP support, while Esperanto drew enthusiastic students from within the party. As well as lectures by Helen Fryer,⁶ regular columns in the Labour Leader were provided to encourage study of the new international language. ILP members also provided an audience for a lecture on Eugenics, by Dr. Vipont Brown:

1 LL, 2 November 1895

2 Ibid., 3 June 1904

3 Ibid., 17 June, 1 July 1904

4 C.E. Hart was one of the leading spokesmen against vaccination (see LL, 2 March 1906)

5 For example, see ibid., 31 March, 19 May 1905

6 Ibid., 16 November 1906; Manchester Central Branch ILP, Minutes of Meeting, 27 November 1906

He claimed that along with social reforms, which improved surroundings, the science of Eugenics should be promoted to improve stock. He showed that modern warfare picked out the finest manhood for slaughter, while the unfit were rejected as too weak to be killed, but were good enough to reproduce ... He urged the segregation of the criminally inclined and feeble minded.¹

It should be added that this lecture was delivered only a few months before the outbreak of the First World War. However the ILP, like the Clarion movement,² did provide a platform for many fads and fancies, among the most enduring of them being vegetarianism.

If the ILP was willing to provide a platform for many of the then 'avant garde' subjects, on the matter of religion it was far more cautious. Despite Blatchford's God and My Neighbour³, few ILPers would have gone so far as to emulate his current agnosticism. Although many ILPers preferred to attend Labour Churches and Socialist Sunday Schools, rather than the traditional places of worship, they did retain basic Christian beliefs. Avowed atheists or 'freethinkers' were rare in ILP circles;⁴ presumably the politically-minded would have been more attracted to the SDF. Thus the general attitude within the ILP was that 'true' Christianity and socialism were not only compatible, but in practice very similar. While the churches as institutions might be criticised for failing to combat social problems, or to cater for the poorest section of the community, the basic tenets of Christian belief were firmly upheld. (This may well have been another reason why the ILP

1 LL, 12 March 1914

2 For the association between the Clarion movement and vegetarianism, see J.A. Fincher, op. cit., p. 148

3 R. Blatchford, God and My Neighbour (1904) passim. For a discussion of Blatchford's attitude towards religion, see L. Thompson, Robert Blatchford, Chapter XIII 'God and Robert Blatchford', passim.

4 Mrs. Plant (tape) stated that few of the ILPers were freethinkers; most retained some religious beliefs.

generally failed to attract the immigrant Jewish population). Thus lectures on religious topics were generally aimed at demonstrating the 'socialist' nature of Christianity, hence Caroline Martyn on 'The Social Teachings of Jesus',¹ Rev. Conrad Noel on 'St. Paul the Agitator',² or T.A. Leonard's lecture to North Manchester branch, 'Why a Christian ought to be a Socialist'.³ Not entirely divorced from religious belief was the attitude of ILPers to drink. Lectures like F.W. Lawler's 'The Drink Traffic'⁴ suggested that Blatchford's views (and habits) were again not unanimously supported.

While the topics of ILP lectures are obviously too numerous to consider individually, perhaps three broad fields remain which merit attention. The first may be termed simply 'the arts', for the belief was widely held among ILPers that socialism involved the aesthetic, as well as the economic, needs of society. Interest in art and crafts was in part a reaction against commercialism and the prevailing ugliness of industrial cities; it was also associated with the hopes of greater leisure and freedom which a socialist society might provide. The connection between art and socialism was best described by William Morris,⁵ and accounts of his life and work thus provided a popular lecture topic. R.C. Wallhead, himself a designer, was one of the leading speakers in the field,⁶ and his daughter Muriel followed in his footsteps, with subjects

1 LL, 19 October 1895

2 C, 16 May 1896

3 LL, 8 December 1911

4 Ibid., 7 December 1906

5 In particular see William Morris, 'The Worker's Share of Art', in Commonweal, April 1885; reprinted in A. Briggs (ed.), William Morris, Selected Writings and Designs (Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1962) pp. 140-3

6 Muriel Nichol, tape.

such as 'Arts under Socialism'.¹

Manchester and Salford ILP also became closely involved in the campaign organised by the National League of the Blind, to obtain state aid for the blind. This was largely due to the activity of Ben Purse, who was both Secretary of the League, and a member of Manchester Central Branch ILP.² Not only was Purse himself a regular speaker, but the ILP was prepared to hold a protest meeting when a blind workman was victimised for his trade union work,³ or to hold a special meeting in aid of the League.⁴ Also providing many lectures for the ILP in his own particular field was R.C. Hall, Lancashire Organiser for the Land Nationalisation Society. Hall had served as secretary of the local LRC,⁵ and organising secretary of Manchester and Salford ILP before taking up the post, apparently in 1905.⁶ From this date, until his death in July 1911, he was a constant speaker for the ILP, and also acted as agent for J.R. Clynes in the General Election of January 1910.⁷

If these basic lectures formed the core of ILP meetings, they were not the only type of indoor propaganda available to the branches. Lantern

1 A lecture delivered in Longsight in December 1911 (LL, 1 December 1911)

2 Purse joined Central Branch on 8 January 1907 (Manchester Central Branch ILP, Minutes of Meeting 8 January 1907) but was supported by the ILP in a Guardians election in Broughton as early as March 1899 (LL, 11 March 1899)

3 LL, 23 March 1901

4 Ibid., 28 September 1906

5 Ibid., 21 October 1904

6 Ibid., 20 January 1905. This report described him as the organising secretary of Manchester and Salford ILP, and stated that he 'had accepted another engagement'. In later reports he was referred to as organiser of the Land Nationalisation Society.

7 Obit., LL, 21 July 1911

lectures were also popular, after their introduction by William Palmer ('Whiffly Puncto'). In February 1895 he began a series of 'Merrie England' lantern lectures, which were announced as comprising 150 pictures of 'life in town and country, and in palace and slum'.¹ He was eventually to give the lecture 130 times in various parts of the country, and travel 10,000 miles.² Some Manchester branches, however, had comparatively long to wait; it was not until March 1896 that Palmer delivered the lecture in Moss Side.³ Subsequent lantern lectures ranged from the educational, such as Dennis Hird's 'Evolution and the Progress of Man',⁴ to the more recreational, in the form of J.A. Rowbottom's 'A Tour in Scotland'.⁵

Also popular among local branches, and more readily available than the lantern lectures, were debates. These were particularly popular in the autumn of 1895. Thus the Clarion of 5 October that year reported arrangements by Medlock Street group to hold debates on Sunday afternoons, on subjects ranging from Anarchism to 'Young England patriotism', unattached socialists also being invited to attend. West Salford branch was holding lectures and debates on Monday evenings at Brindle Heath Road, while New Cross branch, in its Labour Hall in Walker Street, planned debates for Friday evenings.⁶ The most popular debates were those in which a non-socialist guest speaker opposed an ILP member. Thus in

1 C, 16 February 1895. See also Lord Rusholme. Tape, 13 April 1975

2 See Labour Annual, 1896 p. 82 for biography of Palmer

3 LL, 7 March 1896

4 Ibid., 26 November 1896

5 Ibid., 5 December 1895

6 C, 5 October 1895

October 1904, West Salford branch arrange a debate at Broad Street Baths between A.A. Purcell and F. Jennings of the Good Templars on 'Would the nation improve without the Drink Traffic under present economic conditions?'.¹ City of Manchester branch, holding its first outdoor meeting of the 1907 winter session, organised a debate between Councillor J.M. McLachlan and the Conservative, G.B. Hertz, on 'Public or private ownership of the means of life: which is the better calculated to ensure justice and well-being to humanity?'.²

While the ILP itself ran a vast range of propaganda meetings, its cause also benefitted by the work of other organisations, most notably those associated with the Clarion. Although the Clarion movement as a whole is strictly beyond the scope of the present work,³ failure to mention the Clarion Scouts or the Clarion Van would lead to a somewhat distorted picture of socialist propaganda. Lawrence Thompson, in his biography of Blatchford, claimed that '... because of their more human approach, the Clarion propagandists achieved conquests in territory denied to the ILP and the SDF'.⁴ He was, however, writing of the '90s, when the Clarion movement was in its heyday, and had not yet reached the parting of the ways with the ILP. It seems likely that many Clarion converts did in the course of time join the ILP, although concrete evidence in terms of numbers is not forthcoming. Judith Fincher⁵

1 LL, 14 October 1904

2 Ibid., 1 November 1907

3 For a detailed study of the Clarion movement, see J.A. Fincher, op. cit., passim.

4 L. Thompson, Robert Blatchford, p. 130

5 J.A. Fincher, op. cit., pp. 154-60 passim

described the propagandist activity of the Clarion Scouts from their formation in July 1894, stating that the movement in Manchester was already in decline before the 1895 General Election. She recorded three branches in Manchester and Salford as having survived until 1896, when they apparently disbanded or merged with the Clarion Cycling Club. The ILP then established its own section of ILP Scouts in 1908. However it does appear that the Clarion Scout organisation in Manchester was re-formed in 1905. The Labour Leader on 16 June of that year announced that an effort was being made to form a body of Clarion Scouts for Manchester and district, with the object of carrying socialist propaganda into country districts. Names of helpers were to be sent to A.K. Feinberg, 50, Herbert Street, Hightown. The initial meeting took place at the beginning of July, and was attended by about 18 enthusiasts. Central Branch, Ardwick, Crumpsall and others 'sent some of their best fighting material'. The first propaganda meeting was held at Cheadle Green a week later, with Holmes of Salford in the chair, and F. Booth of Cheadle Hulme and R.C. Wallhead (then of Wilmslow) as speakers. Further meetings were held at Cheadle Green and Longsight.¹ Wallhead was among the most regular speakers, and the Labour Leader on 30 March 1906 named him as President of the Clarion Scouts.² The Clarion Scouts appear to have assisted both ILP and SDF meetings. On 22 September 1905, the Clarion reported a successful meeting at the corner of Stockton Street and Moss Lane, held by Moss Side ILP and the Scouts. 'Dick' Wallhead, in a forty minute speech, pleaded for socialist representation on municipal and other bodies, while 'our lady recruit' (unnamed) recounted her

1 16 June, 7, 14, 21 July 1905; C, 25 August 1905

2 LL, 14 July, 8 September 1905, 30 March 1906

experience as a teacher in an elementary school. The Clarion Scouts' next meeting was planned for Stretford on Saturday 23 September, and members reminded that: 'We want a strong attendance of Scouts and sympathisers to give this, an SDF branch, a good lift'.¹ The Clarion Scouts appear to have remained in existence until at least the autumn of 1908, organising demonstrations to inaugurate the Anti-Poverty Crusade on 27 September. Only a week later the Labour Leader advertised a 'Manchester ILP Scouts meeting', and after this time the history of the Clarion body became somewhat obscure. On 27 March 1909 Manchester Clarion Scouts held a Socialist Reunion and Carnival, Concert and Dance, with guests including Blatchford, Grayson, Margaret Bondfield, Harry Quelch and William Horrocks. The most likely eventuality is that this represented the winding-up of the Clarion Scouts, with members either concentrating their energies on other aspects of the Clarion movement, or, like R.C. Wallhead, joining the ILP Scouts.² Thus although the later development of the movement continues to remain unclear, the Clarion Scouts did have a longer existence than has previously been suggested, and provided assistance for ILP meetings, as well as pursuing their own propagandist activities.

Socialist propaganda campaigns based upon the Clarion Vans began in the summer of 1896.³ Usually a series of meetings was held in a district, addressed both by the 'Vanner' and local speakers. Such was the scheme in mid-August 1904, when a van paid one of its visits to Manchester. For

1 C, 22 September 1905

2 LL, 25 September, 2 October 1908; 12 March 1909

3 A collection of photographs, illustrating various aspects of the Clarion movement, including the Vans and the Handforth club house, is contained in Appendix VI

three days, 14-16 August, meetings were held on behalf of Moss Side ILP, at Park Gates and Great Western Street.¹ The van moved to Newton Heath, then Levenshulme. At the latter 'splendid meetings' were held on both nights, with audiences of 300-400. Together with Fred Bramley, the 'Vanner', local councillors T. Drinkwater and J.M. McLachlan spoke, while music was provided by the Openshaw Clarion Choir.² The following week found the van again in Moss Side, from Sunday to Tuesday, whence it departed to Stockport.³ The van returned to Manchester in the following December, but with rather less success, the problems being described as fog, rain, snow, frost - and the visit of Campbell-Bannerman. Meetings were held in Moss Side Liberal Club, where five people came forward to join the local ILP, and at the Rusholme and Islington Public Halls. The Rusholme meeting, attended by only 50 people (in a hall which could seat 700), was addressed by Victor Grayson and R.C. Wallhead, with Dr. Garrett in the chair. Further meetings were listed thus:

December 2-6	-	North Manchester
" 7	-	Crumpsall
" 8	-	North Manchester
" 9	-	Openshaw

After a visit to Stockport the van returned to North Salford, where Fred Bramley's meetings were announced as:

December	13	-	Broughton Town Hall
"	14	-	Prestwich Co-operative Hall
"	15 and 16	-	Pankhurst Hall ⁴

Response to the December visit to the Clarion Van was considered poor. The Clarion commented: 'The socialist revival in Manchester has up to now

1 LL, 12 August 1904

2 Ibid., 19 August 1904; C, 19 August 1904

3 C, 26 August 1904

4 Ibid., 2, 9 December 1904

not been very exciting, but the hard facts and solid arguments are taking root, ...'.¹

G. Palmer, with Van No. 2, arrived in the Manchester district in the summer of 1905, and after assisting the SDF in South West Manchester, began a week's work for Moss Side ILP. On the Monday, Tuesday and Thursday, meetings were held on waste ground in Princess Road, but the van's visit to Alexandra Park gates on the Wednesday was hampered by rain. In accordance with the Clarion philosophy, the van was thus assisting both the SDF and ILP, and some of the local speakers appear to have shared this philosophy. Thus Palmer, reporting on the contribution of some Social-Democrats, remarked that:

... the way in which these members of the SDF have turned up to help me in Moss Side district, where the meetings are being held under the auspices of the ILP, would gladden the hearts of those who are anxious for fusion.²

Of the other Clarion organisations, the Cycling Club undertook propagandist activity in more rural areas, and concentrated more upon social activity. It is in this context that the remaining aspects of the Clarion movement must be considered.³ What all the various branches of the Clarion organisation did however emphasise, was that the important task was to spread the message of socialism. What mattered was that a convert was made for the 'cause', and whether he or she subsequently joined the ILP or SDF was largely irrelevant.

Joint propaganda activities by the ILP and SDF were also pursued outside the aegis of the Clarion movement. Local ILP branches might invite an SDF speaker. Thus in May 1905 the Tib Street meeting was

1 Ibid., 23 December 1904

2 Ibid., 4 August 1904

3 See below, pp.627-9

addressed by Richard Robinson, 'an SDF comrade' and R.J. McKern. Central Branch announced that: 'These Saturday meetings are being made the occasion of practical Socialist unity'.¹ Joint meetings were most necessary when a prominent figure in the international socialist movement paid a short visit to Manchester. On 30 and 31 May 1896, Karl Liebknecht arrived in the city, and his welcome was arranged by a joint committee, under the auspices of Manchester Central Branch of the SDF. All branches of socialists in Lancashire were invited to send delegates to meet him at a dinner on the Saturday evening (30th), and join in presenting an address of welcome. To make the actual presentation, James Leatham of the SDF and Dr. Pankhurst of the ILP had been selected. On the Sunday afternoon a public demonstration was arranged in the Free Trade Hall, with Edward Aveling in the chair. Admission was by ticket only, but these were available (at 1s. 6d. and 3d.) from all the socialist and labour clubs in the Lancashire area.² In July 1901 James Connolly, of the Irish Socialist Republican Party, and editor of the Dublin Workers' Republic, visited Manchester and Salford. A series of meetings was held under the joint auspices of West Salford ILP and South Salford SDF, and attendances, collections, and sales of literature were all reported as 'excellent'.³

The ILP also engaged in propaganda activities with various branches of the broader labour movement, the most obvious result being the annual May Day demonstration. Not that its efforts were confined simply to

1 C, 19 May 1905

2 Ibid., 9 May 1896

3 LL, 20, 27 July 1901

Manchester and Salford; Central Branch in particular played a leading role in spreading the Socialist message to outlying areas.¹ However within the city area the sum effect of the lectures, demonstrations and meetings described above, was virtually a blanket coverage of socialist propaganda in all the localities, and at more or less weekly intervals, for two decades. It would have been extremely difficult to live in Manchester or Salford during the period and not encounter the ILP and hear, at least in passing, something of its policy.

For those who were convinced by the arguments, commitment to the cause took the form of attendance at a local branch meeting (although this does not appear to have been obligatory), and election to membership of the ILP. Branch meetings however appear to have been the least inspiring form of ILP activity. In the absence of a major feud to enliven the proceedings, the business meetings of any organisation are seldom particularly scintillating. If the example of Central Branch was at all typical,² attendance was generally poor, comprising chiefly the officers, a few stalwarts, new members in the first flush of enthusiasm, and anyone with a particular policy to promote. But there were complaints occasionally of local meetings, even when they included a lecture, being particularly dull. Thus in an article for the ILP News, entitled 'Dundreariness', 'H.R.S.' commented that:

... The average Socialist lecture is a deadly and gruesome affair, the quintessence of Dundreariness, not to be attended without much chastening of spirit, and calculated to produce a moral depression upon the unconverted, to which a funeral procession would form a welcome and hilarious relief. As a rule, the room or hall in which the meeting is held is destitute of colour or decoration; occasionally it is not too clean.

1 See above, p.441

2 See Manchester Central Branch ILP, Minute Books, passim.

Fresh air ... is carefully excluded. Punctuality is held in such contempt that no habitual visitor dreams of attending till at least half an hour after the advertised time. Should there be a hymn on the agenda a pianist has to be sought for at the last moment, and frequently a mild squabble, audible to the few members of the audience, takes place as to who is to fulfil the onerous duties of Chairman. Then after a hymn sung more or less out of tune and time, the occupant of the chair, in a few disjointed and uneasy remarks, introduces the lecturer, who is fortunate if his chairman does not mar his best points by a premature and bald treatment.

He added that lectures often lasted between $1\frac{1}{4}$ and 2 hours, whereas church sermons were only of 20 minutes of half-an-hour duration. Admittedly the article did not refer specifically to Manchester and Salford,¹ but it does serve as a salutary reminder that not all ILP gatherings were on the level of the Victor Grayson/Joynson Hicks debate at the Free Trade Hall.² Meetings and lectures at every level were, however, supplemented by literature, whether it was free leaflets, or pamphlets and periodicals for sale. In order to present a full picture of ILP propaganda, the literature produced by the party must in turn be considered in some detail.

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B. Literature

Any attempt to survey the vast subject of ILP literature must necessarily include three basic facets; local publications, the reading habits of party members, and methods of distribution. In the case of Manchester, however, 'local' publications are by no means simple to define. Long before the era of the ILP, Manchester was the leading provincial centre of the printing industry. For a movement like

1 ILP News, Manchester 1899

2 For comments on Grayson's oratory on this occasion, see Muriel Nichol, tape.

the ILP, which drew much of its support from the North and Midlands, as opposed to London, Manchester had obvious attractions as a publishing centre for the national party. ILP publishing in Manchester and the local movement were obviously inter-linked, for national figures in the party came to the city in their journalistic capacity, and in turn became prominent in Manchester and Salford ILP. Obvious examples were J. Bruce Glasier and Fenner Brockway, both drawn to Manchester by the Labour Leader. Thus the broad topic of 'local publications' in fact comprises several distinct strands: the general publication of literature for the national party; attempts by local members to produce newspapers and periodicals for actual and potential converts in the immediate area; and publications (regardless of where they were actually printed) emanating from local members. But while these topics must be considered separately, the intention is rather to convey a picture of intense activity throughout the general field of written propaganda.

The emergence of local ILP was, of course, inextricably linked with the crusading socialism of the Clarion. For the first three years of its existence, the Manchester and Salford party had the advantage of a weekly newspaper which was both local and national in scope. Extensive coverage was given to events in the district, opinions of local members readily found their way into print (as, for example, in the instance of the 'Fourth Clause' controversy, which followed the Bradford Conference), and the Clarion 'Board', although unable to claim distinction as orators, were a definite 'draw' at local events. Until he resigned from the office, in August 1893, Blatchford was president of Manchester and Salford party,¹ and could usually be relied upon to 'appear' at major events, such as the

1 WT, 5 August 1893

ILP/Labour Church demonstration in the Free Trade Hall, in March 1893, or the North East Manchester election meeting in February 1894.¹

The close connection with Manchester and Salford ILP did not, however, turn the Clarion into a highly profitable concern. In June 1894 Blatchford complained that the paper was not making enough money to pay its staff proper wages. This drew forth a large number of letters of sympathy and offers of help, presumably from individual members, but ...

... not a line has come from any official of the large Labour clubs, from any official of the ILP, or from any prominent Socialist or Labour man. Why nearly all the Labour leaders from the day we started our paper have so fervently and constantly neglected to give us any help or encouragement is a question which they may be able to answer, but which I cannot.²

Blatchford, who was essentially a journalist as opposed to a Manchester ILPer, came to regard the local nature of the Clarion as contributing to its problem. In a letter to A.M. Thompson, dated simply 'Wednesday', but obviously written about this time, he commented:

I don't see what good we should do by going to London. But I think it will be well just now to put some matters of general interest into the paper and made it less local, and Fay must send us some London stuff. The best thing that can be done for the Clarion just now is to let me loose as much as possible to get some London reputation.³

The chief problem for the Clarion was undoubtedly the Labour Leader, which from March 1894 was converted into a weekly paper, published in London and Glasgow.⁴ The antipathy between Blatchford and Hardie prevented

1 Ibid., 18 March 1893; C, 17 February 1894

2 C, 2, 9 June 1894

3 MS. Letter Robert Blatchford to 'Alec' (A.M. Thompson) 'Wednesday' n.d., in Autograph Letters Robert Blatchford to A.M. Thompson, Vol. I.

4 L. Thompson, Robert Blatchford, pp. 134-5; I. McLean, op. cit., pp. 54-5

any amicable arrangements concerning the future of the two papers. When the new Labour Leader first appeared, Blatchford wrote to Thompson: 'Did you ever see such drivel!' But Hardie was the President of the ILP, as well as the owner of the Labour Leader, and his paper was thus generally regarded as being the mouthpiece of the party.¹ As Blatchford had realised in June 1894, the Clarion had no hope of any 'official' assistance from the ILP, thus the only chance of survival seemed to be to increase its circulation, particularly in the Labour Leader-dominated London area. The decision to move was finally made in 1895, and Manchester lost the paper which had played so vital a role in the creation of its ILP.²

The Clarion had not, however, been the only paper read by ILPers to emerge from Manchester. From January 1892, John Trevor's Labour Prophet was published in the city by John Heywood. While giving full details of local activities relating to the Labour Church, it also provided news and comment upon the wider Labour movement, as well as articles by personalities whose reputation was essentially local. Thus the October 1892 issue contained an article by Alfred Settle (then Secretary of Manchester and Salford ILP and candidate for Harpurhey Ward), which was accompanied by his portrait.³ The firm of John and Abel Heywood had a long tradition of printing and wholesale distribution for the labour and socialist movement.⁴ However obtaining the services of

1 L. Thompson, Robert Blatchford, pp. 134-5

2 Dictionary of Labour Biography, Vol. 4, p. 38 (entry on Blatchford)

3 Labour Prophet, January, October 1892

4 For example, see their correspondence with Commonweal office, 1885-7 (Socialist League Archives 1703/1-1708/2)

a commercial printer was not considered, by some of the Manchester socialists at least, as attractive a proposition as setting up their own publishing organisation; hence the birth of the Manchester Labour Press Society Ltd.

The origins of the Society may be traced back to a particular Saturday night, when the North Manchester Fabian Society began a discussion as to the best means of spreading their principles. The story is, however, best recounted by Harry Henshall, when interviewed by 'Autolycus' (Joseph Burgess) for the Workman's Times:

..."As a result of the discussion about a dozen of us began to distribute leaflets from house to house. This was a failure. Sometimes we found that one of our leaflets, 'Why are the many Poor', for instance, had been taken away by a tract distributor and a Wesleyan tract left in its place. We then began to think and talk of a newspaper."

"A LABOUR NEWSPAPER?"

"Of course. We had some idea of starting a local one to be sold at one halfpenny. This led some member to make the brilliant suggestion of

WHY NOT START A LABOUR PRESS

that will print anything and everything, and also be a Labour literature that will print anything and everything, and also be a Labour literature depot and a trade unionist house generally? Immediately another fellow jumped up and proposed that we should start a printing office. The idea took at once. We got a committee formed at a special meeting of the group called for that purpose, and we drew up a prospectus and application forms, and issue them to the public."

"And what sort of response had you?"

"Very poor. We could only raise ten shillings amongst us, and that was planked down by Buttle, who often looks round in wonder at the result that has come from his ten bob, and we were between the devil and the deep sea for about three weeks, when we had shares taken up to the value of £10, which caused us to throw up our hats and shout

'HOORAY, THE CAUSE IS SAVED.'"

"What was your next step?"

"The next step? I was engaged as compositor, warehouseman, manager, and general staff. It was put to me whether I could

earn a living on this ten pounds, and start a printing office. I was out on strike at the time, and drawing a special victimised pay from my society of 35s. a week, but I said I would drop that, and see what could be done on the ten pounds, with the result that I got neither wages nor strike pay for about five weeks."¹

According to the Clarion, the North Manchester Fabian Executive meeting in question took place in December 1892.² In the following February both the Clarion and Workman's Times announced the sale of 10s. shares, to provide a total capital of £500.³ The society was described as having been formed 'to carry on the trade of Newsagents, Booksellers, Printers, Publishers, Stationers and Bookbinders', its object being:

To supply Trade Unionists, working men generally, and all persons interested in Labour problems, with a ready means of purchasing books, pamphlets, or leaflets dealing with Labour problems, either by keeping a stock of such as are in most demand, or by procuring others at the request of customers. To spread a knowledge of the principles and objects of every movement calculated to improve the condition of the labouring classes.⁴

The assistance which the Labour Press aimed to give to the working class movement was not simply confined to the field of propagandist literature.

Rule 8 of the society stated that:

The profits arising from the business of the society shall be allotted as follows:- (1) In paying a dividend on capital at the rate of 5 per cent per annum; (2) 10 percent annually to the repayment of the share capital, until each member, society, or company holds only one share; (3) 10 percent to the formation of the reserve. The balance to the further

1 WT, 3 March 1894

2 C, 15 April 1893

3 Ibid., 11 February 1893; WT, 18 February 1893. M.J. Harkin, 'Notes on the Labour Press. The Manchester Labour Press Society Ltd.', in Society for the Study of Labour History, Bulletin No. 28, Spring 1974, pp. 22-5, stated that the prospectus was originally issued in November 1892, and re-issued in February because insufficient shares were taken up.

4 C, 11 February 1893

extension of the business, or it may be devoted from time to time for the assisting of any movement having for its object the betterment of the condition of the working classes, as shall be agreed upon at a special general meeting of the shareholders. This rule shall include assisting labour candidates at municipal, school-board, parliamentary and other elections, contributing towards labour organisations, demonstrations, and in defending the interests of labour at law. The obtaining of surplus, however, shall not be esteemed a primary object of the society, but rather the full development of the business with special regard to fair wages, fair hours, and good value, and in always making it an example of workmen's co-operative effort.¹

Despite the public sale of shares, the leading figures in the Society continued to be the North Manchester Fabians. The lynch-pin of the whole organisation was Henshall himself, described by 'Autolycus' as ...

... a big man in a little compass. Not much over five feet in height, and slim in proportion, his spare frame is crowned with a longish head and beardless face, out of which his honest laughing eyes flash a hearty welcome to every visitor. Henshall is perennially enthusiastic. Gifted with a sanguine nature, he sees unbounded possibilities in every new enterprise, and with a dogged perseverance sets to work to realise them ...²

Among the other Fabian promoters of the Society were its President Allen Parks, described by Henshall as 'Parks the redoubtable'; the Secretary, H.S. ('Harry') Hobson; Richard ('Dick') Roberts, the first treasurer; Robert Fovargue, 'a rare good worker', and J.H. Lewis. Also involved, at least by March 1894, were T.A. West, an artist who provided the illustrations for the Workman's Times' feature on the Labour Press, and Buttle, a joiner, who was to undertake all the joinering work involved in the Society's later removal to Tib Street, make all the frames, and

1 WT, 3 March 1894

2 Ibid., 3 March 1894

supervise the alterations.¹ The Society was particularly lucky in obtaining staff. As has been mentioned, Henshall was officially on strike when he was appointed, and at some stage in the proceedings he was finally 'sacked' by the firm. The Labour Press was, however, to have one success at the expense of his previous employer. To quote Henshall:

When we were in a very queer way with the Labour Press, and it was likely we should have to give up the battle, the foreman came to see me, and noticed we had one or two things that we were good, and he went back and arranged what he was to buy; but since then he has made application to me for employment, and he is coming here to work, and then we shall have

EVERY MEMBER OF THE COMPOSING STAFF

of that firm on the staff of this firm. The employer used to be very proud of his staff, and say what a good staff it was, and I think that will say something for the quality of our men.²

The early history of the Manchester Labour Press Society did not, however, include many such instances of good fortune. Its first location was a small back bedroom over a provision shop in Harpurhey,³ and work there for Henshall and his colleagues was by no means easy. Their early struggles were recounted by Henshall to 'Autolycus'...

..."We got a few ounces of type and a small platen machine. If we got two jobs in we had to distribute one before we could 'set' the other. Then came the crucial moment in our history ... We got a pamphlet to print. It was Russell Smart's 'The Independent Labour Party: its Programme and Policy'. We printed that on the platen machine two pages at a time. The first edition was [?3,000] copies, and we spent

FOUR NIGHTS OUT OF BED

treadling the machine. All the fellows took a turn at treadling,

1 C, 11 February 1893; WT, 3 March 1894

2 WT, 3 March 1894

3 Labour Annual, 1896, pp. 22-4

and between their turns lay on the floor in all directions getting forty winks. Our premises at that time were a back bedchamber up at Harpurhey, the rent of which was eighteen pence a week."

"Those were hard times for you?"

"Hard times! They were frightful times. On the Saturday we had no money in the house to pay the boy's wages, let alone mine. We got the pamphlet printed, and then I set out with a bundle under my arm to raise sufficient capital to pay the boy. There was a demonstration at Rochdale that weekend, and

I WALKED TO ROCHDALE

with a big bundle to sell to pay me something towards my wages. We often had to do that in those days. I've seen the members of the committee march off with a bundle of pamphlets to sell at various meetings so that wages could be paid. In fact we used to get up meetings on purpose to attract a crowd and sell our literature".

"But the tide turned?"

"Yes, but not just yet. We got a few orders for printing. But at last we reached such a critical condition that we lost heart, and we approached the

MANCHESTER AND SALFORD INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY

with a proposition that they should take over the business, re-form the directorate, and work the concern as their own".

"And was that the turning point?"

"Not a bit of it. They fought shy of us, and left us severely to our own resources. In fact we have had little help from the ILP, and we have not more than half-a-dozen shareholders who are members of the ILP on our books ...

We then approached the trade unions and asked them to receive deputations to explain our aims and objects, and in every case, without one single exception, they received our offer favourably, and the result was we got

EIGHTEEN OR NINETEEN TRADE UNIONS

discussing the matter, and they all either took up shares or individual members took up shares, and from the moment we got started with the trade unions we have experienced no difficulty whatever: money is forthcoming from every quarter, work rolls in, the trade unions themselves being a guarantee of plenty of work ...¹

1 WT, 3 March 1894

In June 1893 the Society held its first general meeting of shareholders and issued the first balance sheet. The latter, showing a profit of 7½% on the first quarter, was duly published in an advertisement column of the Workman's Times, together with an appeal to trade unions to invest money on loan, thereby enabling the Society to purchase new machinery. It was in this era of prosperity that the Society introduced an 8 hour day, without a reduction of wages, for its employees, and removed its operations to larger premises at 59 Tib Street.¹ In March 1894 Henshall was able to state that:

The book and literature department grows day by day: the trade unionists, co-operators, and friendly societies take a greater interest in us every week, and altogether there seems a prospect of the Society becoming the pioneer in these parts of

THE NEW CO-OPERATIVE PRINCIPLE

of paying no dividend except on share capital. Since coming here we have had to take an additional room for our machinery; and now we have taken a third room as large as the other two combined for our literature depot, office, and folding room. We have eight men in the composing room,

ALL SOCIALISTS,

and we are about to increase the staff. We have only just put in a new Wharfedale machine, and another ordered. Our employees are paid from 5 to 15 and 17 per cent. more than the standard wages ...²

By this time the Society had also become the proprietor of the Workman's Times, the progress of which must be examined at a later stage.³ For the Labour Press, at least, the success story continued for several years. In the first half of 1895 sales amounted to nearly £2,000, and continued to increase rapidly. Numerous publications had been issued; there was a shop on the premises selling a large stock of advanced

1 C, 10 June 1893; WT, 8, 15 July 1893

2 WT, 3 March 1894

3 Ibid., 3 February 1894. See below, pp.529-30

literature; and still more capital was wanted to extend the business.¹ In 1897 the firm, now employing 30 people, could claim an annual turnover of £5,000. During the four years of its existence it had sold some 1½ million pamphlets, of which ½ million comprised its own publications. Moreover, as well as pioneering the 8 hour day in the district, the Labour Press also paid the best wages for the trade. Still larger premises were sought in 1897, and the firm removed to the Arkwright Mills, in Miller Street.²

Four years later, however, the firm was in voluntary liquidation, having met a net deficiency, on 11 June 1901, of £2,080. Henshall, now managing director, was bankrupt.³ The obvious question is: why? M.J. Harkin⁴ has suggested that the basic cause lay in the increasing publishing activities of other organisations: the SDF, ILP, Fabian Society and Clarion. In these cases, the publishing venture had the support of a powerful parent organisation, which the Manchester Labour Press, as an independent printing and publishing firm lacked. He has also related how, in 1896, the Manchester Labour Press published, and failed to sell, Edward Carpenter's Love's Coming of Age. The London firm, Fisher Unwin, had already reversed their decision to publish the book, after the trial of Oscar Wilde and the notoriety gained by Carpenter's pamphlet Homogenic Love, had revealed that public opinion remained unsympathetic towards 'advanced' ideas on sexual matters. Mr. Harkin has not drawn any generalisations from the fate of Carpenter's publications,

1 Labour Annual, 1896, pp. 22-4

2 Labour Annual, 1897, p. 246; M.J. Harkin, loc. cit., p. 23

3 M.J. Harkin, loc. cit., p. 23, citing London Gazette, 14 June, 2 December 1901, 10 January, 19 August 1902

4 M.J. Harkin, loc. cit., pp. 23-5. By 1896 Edward Carpenter was in fact a director of the Manchester Labour Press.

but the affair may be cited as an example of the Labour Press' growing lack of support, and failure to keep in tune with its potential market. In the mid-90s, the era of crusading socialism, pamphlets such as those published by the Labour Press could readily be sold at public meetings to sympathetic, if still uncommitted, audiences. The outbreak of the Boer War, and the onset of 'Jingoism' placed socialists very much on the defensive, and greatly diminished the wider market for pamphlets. Within the ILP at least, comparatively little was actually published during the Boer War period.¹ There is also the possibility that trade unions were devoting to the LRC money which might have assisted the Labour Press.

The Manchester Labour Press may have been an independent organisation continuing its activities in an era of declining demand. But it had been of great service to the Socialist movement, as a mere glance at a list of its publications will reveal.² Why did some 'official' branch of the movement not come to its aid? Little could have been expected of the SDF or the Fabians. Both were London-orientated, and although the Labour Press had originated from a Fabian group, Manchester Fabians and London Fabians were two very different species. But what of the ILP, which in the mid-'90s had relied so heavily upon the services of the Labour Press?

The ILP as a national organisation appears to have been far from helpful towards independent socialist publications. This attitude was

1 This statement is based upon an examination of the publications by members of Manchester and Salford ILP, listed in Appendix IV, and of the general holdings of ILP pamphlets catalogued in Manchester Public Library.

2 M.J. Harkin, loc. cit., pp. 25-7 listed books and pamphlets by the Manchester Labour Press which have been located in Manchester libraries.

revealed by the demise of the Workman's Times. After the Clarion began, Burgess acquired the copyright of the Workman's Times, and formed a company to run it, which was not sufficiently capitalised. In the summer of 1893 the paper moved to Manchester, taking over the office vacated by the Shop Assistants' Union. The tasks of printing and issuing were then entrusted to the Manchester Labour Press, with Burgess remaining as editor. But the Workman's Times only survived until the following spring, its last issue appearing, without any hint of imminent demise, on 17 March 1894.¹ It had thus co-existed in the North of England with the Clarion for over two years, only to expire in the very month that Hardie's Labour Leader began weekly publication in London. Clearly the ILP's President, at least, had no reason to wish to save the Workman's Times. As Lawrence Thompson comments: 'The competition of the Labour Leader took the wind out of the Clarion's sales and sank Joseph Burgess's Workman's Times without trace'.² In the case of the Workman's Times, the national ILP simply failed to render assistance. When the Labour Press itself entered its decline, the party deliberately took trade away from it. In 1898 the ILP News, a monthly publication designed largely to provide information for members, was being produced by the Labour Press. The June edition complained of falling circulation and scanty support; an estimate, based on its circulation over the past 11 months, anticipated a loss of some £50 the following year. To anyone examining the ILP News throughout its five-year lifespan,³ the reasons

1 WT, 24 June, 15 July 1893; 3 February, 17 March 1894; LL, 13 October 1894

2 L. Thompson, Robert Blatchford, p. 140

3 The ILP News was published monthly from April 1897 to April 1902

for its lack of popularity are obvious. Much of its column space was devoted to information which the Head Office wished to convey to members; lists of branches, conference reports, election results and cash receipts (which in some issues occupied a full page). Moreover many rank-and-file members considered it to be simply the mouthpiece of a mere handful of the NAC. They believed that the NAC should come to terms with one of the other Labour papers, to publish the party's official information, and drop the ILP News.¹

The NAC however appears to have believed that the fortunes of the ILP News could be improved by changing its printers (presumably on the grounds of economy). In accordance with the NAC decision, tenders were therefore invited from 'a number of fair houses', among which the Manchester Guardian's proved to be the lowest. Thus in May 1899 ILP News announced that 'on the grounds of economy the NAC had no option but to accept the offer'.² The following month's issue was therefore printed by Taylor, Garnett, Evans & Co. Ltd., of Blackfriars Street, which announced itself to be a firm of 8 hour day and trade union printers!³ This arrangement was to be comparatively shortlived. After some months it was already proving unsatisfactory, 'not on account of any fault of the printers, but because our editor did not live in Manchester, and it was sometimes impossible for him to see it through the press at the right time'. Thus in February 1900 the printing was moved to a London firm.⁴

1 For examples, see Labour Annual 1899, pp. 70-1; ILP, Annual Conference Report 1899 p. 50. At the 1899 conference this view was put forward by Hadfield, a delegate from Openshaw.

2 ILP News, May 1899

3 Ibid., June 1899

4 ILP, Annual Conference Report, 1900, pp. 11

Not surprisingly the paper continued to make a loss, although the NAC still wanted it to continue.¹ By 1902 the NAC was moving towards the belief that what the part really needed was a national weekly paper, under its own control.² In 1903 Hardie agreed in principle that control of the Labour Leader should be transferred to the ILP,³ and it can hardly have been a coincidence that the ILP News ceased publication that year.

Whether the NAC had deliberately wished to take its business away from the Manchester Labour Press, or whether it was so desperate to save the ILP News that it considered only possible savings on costs, can only be a matter of conjecture. But clearly the national ILP made no effort, at any stage in the history of the Manchester Labour Press, to render it any assistance. Nor was the Manchester and Salford party completely blameless. As Henshall remarked, the local party had turned down the proposition that they should take over the press, and few ILP members had numbered among its early shareholders.⁴ The Society did receive the contract to publish the ILP Gazette for Gorton branch in 1894, but appears to have been involved in some controversy over plans to launch a weekly Manchester Citizen in 1896. When in May 1899 Manchester and Salford ILP launched its monthly, Manchester, the printing and publishing was undertaken by Albert C. Lindley.⁵

Whether the Labour Press would have enjoyed a longer existence, had it benefitted from ILP support, is, of course, purely a matter of

1 ILP, Annual Conference Report, 1901, p. 17

2 ILP, Annual Conference Report, 1902, p. 10

3 I. McLean, op. cit., p. 107

4 WT, 3 March 1894

5 See below, pp. 560-1

speculation. Certainly the Boer War period did not provide the most congenial climate for Socialist publishing. But after examining the progress of the Society, there lingers a suspicion that 'official' ILP circles had little sympathy towards an organisation which was both Socialist and independent of party. Concerning the trade unions, which had assisted the Society in its early days, there is no evidence upon which to draw conclusions. But trade unions were not by nature propagandist organisations in the way that the ILP was or, according to some of its members, should have been. For the downfall of the Manchester Labour Press also coincided with the ILP's movement from crusading socialism towards the Labour alliance and the pursuit of Parliamentary goals.

The ILP finally achieved its ambition of a national weekly newspaper by taking over control of the Labour Leader on 1 January 1904.¹ The actual purchase of Hardie's business was undertaken by a company formed for the purpose, the Labour Leader Ltd. Shares were offered to ILP members through the Labour Leader itself, and through branches of the party. At a total cost of £1 each, they might be obtained by a number of payments.² At its meeting on 26 July 1904, Manchester Central Branch decided that its secretary should issue a circular to members, asking them to take up shares. Mrs. Pankhurst, at the next meeting on 9 August, moved that the branch should take up shares, but apparently the prospectus did not make the procedure very clear, for the members were not certain how the branch could hold shares, and the secretary was instructed to make enquiries.³ Of the shares eventually taken up,

1 I. McLean, op. cit., p. 107. Hardie was in fact ill at the time.

2 D. Hopkin, loc. cit., pp. 176-8

3 Manchester Central Branch ILP, Minutes of meetings 26 July, 9 August 1904

the NAC held 250, in the name of J. Ramsay MacDonald. T.D. Benson, a Director of the Company and Treasurer of the national party, who was also a member of Central Branch, took up 102 shares, the third largest individual holding. As an estate agent, he had been able to raise the £1,000 needed to acquire the Labour Leader, and had provided the ILP with an interest-free loan, in March 1904, to complete the deal. Among the numerous individual shareholders were also to be found Edward Carpenter, Joseph Edwards (editor of the Labour Annual/Reformers' Year Book), and W.C. Anderson. Local branches generally were poorly represented in the Company, holding less than 4% of the total shares.¹

As a business, at least, the Labour Leader did not prosper. During the first year the Company made a loss of £400 and at the end of 1904, presumably in the hope of cutting down costs and increasing circulation, the printing was transferred to Manchester.² John Bruce Glasier, then living at Chapel-en-le-Frith, was appointed editor, at a salary of two guineas per week, and was almost reduced to despair by the sight of the first issue, which appeared on 5 January 1905:

It was as poor a looking thing as I ever saw. The printing is terrible especially on the outside sheet. There are a crowd of errors of spelling etc. And the paper is dark and fragile. I hardly know whether to smile or weep.

On the following day he commented:

The very look of the Leader on the table gives me a sick feeling. It is so badly printed, so shabby looking; and there are so many typographical errors. In numerous places our proof corrections were never carried out, and the setting of the pages has been altered ...³

1 D. Hopkin, loc. cit., pp. 179-81. For information on Benson, see Manchester Central Branch ILP, Minutes of Meeting 6 June 1903 (at which he was elected a member); LL, 19 August 1904

2 ILP, Report of the 13th Annual Conference, 1905, p. 16

3 L. Thompson, The Enthusiasts, p. 140

The Labour Leader was published by the Hotspur Press, in Whitworth Street West,¹ and an attempt was made to bolster its financial position by attracting advertising revenue.² The result was that Glasier took an intense dislike to the patent medicine advertisements, and although the circulation did increase, printing costs also rose steeply. In June 1906 R.C. Wallhead, the manager, stated that the printing bill was now double what it had been in January.³ Moreover the Labour Leader also encountered persistent criticism from rank-and-file ILPers. In February 1907 Manchester Central Branch, considering amendments to resolutions for the Annual Conference, resolved 'that this conference expresses its dissatisfaction with the Labour Leader the official organ of the ILP, and requests the NAC to use all its influence to improve the paper and make it more worthy of the party'.⁴ Although much of the background related to the ILP's internal politics and must, at a later stage, be viewed in that context, the affair does also provide an insight into the attitude of some rank-and-file members towards the party's official newspaper. On 12 May, H.C. Anderson introduced a resolution which, after re-drafting, received unanimous support:

That the Manchester Central Branch, while recognising the efforts of the Editor and staff of the Labour Leader to increase the power and influence of the Party organ upon the politics of the country, is disappointed with the result.

It is of opinion that the unnecessary and unfair attacks upon prominent members of the Socialist movement and the partiality shown to others, is calculated to create a serious division in the ranks of the Party and to forfeit the confidence of the general public.

It desires also to record its substantial agreement with

1 LL, 14 July 1905; ILP, Report of the 16th Annual Conference 1908, p. 7

2 L. Thompson, The Enthusiasts, p. 141

3 Ibid., p. 141; LL, 8 June 1906

4 Manchester Central Branch ILP, Minutes of Meeting, 26 February 1907

the opinions expressed by Comrade Russell Smart in the Huddersfield Worker of May 2nd inst. on the conduct of the business at the late Conference and its resultant effect upon the position and policy of the ILP, and commends him for the service he has rendered to the Party in doing so.

Copies of this resolution to be sent to the Editor, Labour Leader, and the Editor, Huddersfield Worker.¹

Behind this resolution lay the growing dissatisfaction of many rank-and-file members with the Labour Party in Parliament, and with the lack of activity on behalf of the unemployed. The complaint about 'attacks upon prominent members of the socialist movement' seems most likely to be related to Victor Grayson, who had recently been elected MP for Colne Valley in spite of 'official' ILP disapproval, but may also have been a comment upon the NAC's attitude towards the recent candidature of ^c Social Democrat, Dan Irving, in North-west Manchester.² The Labour Leader's role in the controversy had been made clear by Russell Smart in his article for the Huddersfield Worker: 'The NAC ... is like the Cabinet; it has an inner circle. Four men - Hardie, MacDonald, Snowden, and Glasier - have assumed control of the whole organisation, including the newspaper. All the wires are in their hands ...'.³

Upon receipt of the Central Branch resolution, Glasier replied that he intended to bring it to the notice of the Directors of the Labour Leader and Council of the ILP. He also requested the branch to send a copy of the notice convening the meeting, and a statement of the members present,

... As it is desirable, I think, in a matter of this

1 Ibid., Minutes of Meeting, 12 May 1908

2 See below, p. 949

3 LL, 8 May 1908, citing article by H. Russell Smart in Huddersfield Worker, 2 May 1908

kind which reflects personally upon me as a comrade and as an official of the party, that there should be no anonymity respecting those who 'unanimously' passed the resolution of censure ...

H.C. Anderson, as Central Branch secretary, replied on 14 May that he would communicate with the branch Committee concerning the request. On the following day he informed Glasier of its decision:

I am instructed by the branch committee, in view of the extraordinary nature of your request, to withhold the information you seek, and submit the matter to the Directors of the Leader and to the NAC to have their opinion as to the legality of your action.

Anderson proceeded to write to both the Directors of the Labour Leader and Francis Johnson, Secretary of the ILP, complaining that Glasier's request was 'a very grave offence against the spirit and constitution of the party'. He also emphasised that the resolution had been passed 'for the sole purpose of freeing the policy of the ILP and its official organ from the unwholesome influences at work thereon'.¹ R.C. Wallhead, Secretary of the Labour Leader Ltd., and Francis Johnson both wrote expressing their confidence in Glasier's editorship, but Central Branch members were not appeased. The branch decided that a summary of its case against the action of the Labour Leader, in asking for the names, be drawn up, and published in the Glasgow Forward and Huddersfield Worker.²

1 Manchester Central Branch ILP, Minutes of Special Emergency Meeting, 17 May 1908. (The meeting was held at the Robinson's home, 73 Caroline Street, Ancoats). The members who passed the original resolution on 12 May were Sam and Annot Robinson, J. O'Connor, H.C. Anderson, and H.E. Carp. At the emergency meeting on the 17th were the Robinsons, O'Connor, Clapham and Anderson, together with A.J. Edwards and G.D. Wilkie. Although the members involved were few, this was not a case of a small group 'fixing' meetings! There were very few other active members of the branch at this time, and the composition and size of both meetings was typical.

2 Manchester Central Branch ILP, Minutes of Meeting, 26 May 1908. The letter from Wallhead was dated 18 May, that from Johnson, 20 May.

It is interesting to note the press outlets for protests against the Labour Leader and NAC policy generally. The Huddersfield Worker, subtitled 'The Organ of the Huddersfield Socialist Party', had been in the forefront of Victor Grayson's election campaign.¹ Forward, founded by Tom Johnston in 1906, was intended to serve as a socialist propaganda paper for Scotland, and also appears to have been free from party ties.²

Having publicised their views concerning the Labour Leader, the Manchester ILPers could exert little real influence. The shareholders among them appear to have taken an active part in locally-held meetings, such as the AGM of the Labour Leader Ltd., held in the Albion Hotel in February 1909. Presiding over the event was Richard Robinson, Chairman of the Company, who had been a member of Manchester Central Branch until its split over the women's suffrage question. He then appears to have joined the breakaway group which formed the City of Manchester Branch.³ Taking part in the discussion were two future authors of the 'Green Manifesto', J.M. McLachlan of Levenshulme and C. Douthwaite of Romily, together with A. Thomas (Pendleton), W. Anderson (Hyde) and A. Ogden (Cheetham). When one member of the Board resigned, on grounds of ill-health, Joseph Nuttall was elected.⁴ But whereas some of the Manchester

1 See The Worker, Election Issue No. 1, 3 July 1907 and *ibid.*, 27 July 1907 (in Labour Party Archives, LP/CAN/06/2/57 and 69)

2 E. Hughes, 'Running a Socialist Weekly' in Plebs, Sept., 1937, Vol. XXIX No. 9

3 LL, 19 February 1909. Robinson joined Central Branch in February 1905, giving his address as 8 Exchange St., Manchester (Manchester Central Branch ILP, Minutes of Meeting, 21 February 1905). After the split in Central Branch he was not listed among those members who indicated their continued adherence (*ibid.*, 8 October 1907) and became a regular speaker for City of Manchester Branch (LL 24 May 1907; 7 Feb., 11, 18 Sept., 16 Oct., 1908)

4 LL, 19 Feb., 1909. W.C. Anderson had been elected to the NAC in 1908 and has been described as 'adroit in avoiding too close an involvement with any particular faction', Dictionary of Labour Biography, Vol. II, pp. 11-16 (entry on Anderson).

shareholders did attempt to influence the Company's meetings, many ILPers who disliked its editorial policy were less constructive. As the NAC report at the 1909 Conference stated: 'We have to complain that many branches of the Party do not seem alive to the importance of giving the official organ of the Party first place on their literature stalls'.¹ Central Branch, even less subtle, simply failed to pay for copies of the Labour Leader which it had received. In September 1909 the debt amounted to £8. 13s. 0d.² The branch was genuinely small, and in constant financial difficulties, but its attitude towards the Labour Leader was made clear in the minutes of a meeting on 9 October 1910; the Labour Leader account had not been paid, because the branch might want the money.³

For the three years ending September 1908, the Labour Leader trading account showed a serious loss. Several staff changes were made in 1908, including the appointment of Edgar Whiteley, from Huddersfield, as manager, and F.H. Rose as parliamentary correspondent, and the addition of C.L. Everard to the editorial staff.⁴ Hardie, once full of praise for Glasier, became more critical of the editor, and admittedly Glasier could have obtained more advertising revenue had he been less selective. MacDonald criticised the paper's staff, writing to Glasier: 'I do not think that you are being well served by your staff, the work of which seems to be too perfunctory ... They seem to write casually, and instead of the Leader being a weekly journal, it might too often be anything'.

1 ILP, Annual Conference Report 1908, p. 13

2 Manchester Central Branch ILP, Minutes of Meeting 28 September 1909

3 Ibid., Minutes of Meeting 9 October 1910

4 ILP, Annual Conference Report 1909, pp. 12-13

Glazier himself was more realistic, commenting: 'The slight fall in circulation is not due to the editorship, but to the dissent in the party and to the paper's loyalty to the NAC'. Finally disillusioned, he resigned at the 1909 Conference.¹

The NAC however believed that the financial situation at least could be improved by a reorganisation of the party's publishing activities. The ILP had a Publications Department in London, managed by Rowland Kenney, which was also responsible for the publication of Ramsay MacDonald's Socialist Review; 'Ramsay's luxury which the movement never could afford and did not want, was a burden too heavy for the Literature Department to bear'.² Having investigated the printing and publishing of the Labour Leader and Socialist Review, the NAC concluded that economies could be made if a National Press was established, to amalgamate the present printing work of the Party, with possible extensions.³ The outcome of their scheme was the National Labour Press Ltd., officially opened in Manchester on 30 October 1909.⁴

The end of the Labour Leader Ltd, came on 4 September 1909, when an extraordinary meeting of the company was held in the Albion Hotel, Manchester. With Richard Robinson in the chair, the shareholders decided that the business property and goodwill of the company be sold to the National Labour Press, and that the Company should be wound up voluntarily. Shareholders, with fully paid-up shares in the paper, were to be credited with deferred shares in the National Labour Press of equal amount. The

1 L. Thompson, The Enthusiasts, pp. 155-7

2 R. Kenney, Westering (1939) pp. 109-10, 151

3 ILP, Annual Conference Report 1909, pp. 12-13

4 ILP, Annual Conference Report 1910, p. 13

assets and liabilities of the former Publications Department were also transferred, while the Labour Leader of 10 September published, as part of a full page advertisement for the National Labour Press, a form for sending loans. Stock would then be issued two months after the company had been formed. By these means some £3,500 capital was raised.

The Labour Press was firmly under the control of the NAC. Of its Board of Directors, 5 were members of the NAC and the other 3, representing the bondholders, were all appointed by the NAC. Hopes of success ran high; in its report to the 1910 Conference the NAC cited the example of the Vorwärts Printing Press in Berlin, which employed a staff of 300 and made an annual profit of £7,000 for the (Social Democratic) Party's work.¹ The formal opening was carried out by Hardie on 30 October 1909, in the presence of between two- and three-hundred representatives of ILP and trade union branches in the area. W.C. Anderson presided, and other leading personalities present included G.N. Barnes, T.D. Benson (Treasurer of the ILP), Glasier, J.F. Mills (who had succeeded Glasier to the editorship of the Labour Leader), Edgar Whiteley, Councillor Tom Fox and Ben Riley.²

The premises of the new company were located at 30 Blackfriars Street, on the Salford site of the Irwell. It was thus conveniently near to both Exchange and Victoria Stations, and was also assured of a constant stream of passers-by, who might be attracted to its literature sales. The shop contained books and pamphlets 'on every phase of socialism', ... 'and the windows, well stocked with socialist literature of all kinds, are never without their little crowd of interested toilers'. Behind the shop was the manager's office, and adjoining it the editorial offices. The

1 Ibid., p. 13; LL, 10 September 1909

2 LL, 5 November 1909. Mills succeeded Glasier as acting editor in May 1909 (ILP, Annual Conference Report 1910, p. 13)

basement, which looked out over the Irwell, had a concrete floor which was divided into two sections; the major part was used for composing and printing the party's publications, including the Labour Leader, while the remainder was used as a warehouse. The company was able to boast of 'linotype machines of the latest pattern'.¹

Of the numerous books and pamphlets which were subsequently produced by the National Labour Press, those written by Manchester and Salford ILPers must be considered at a later stage, in the light of their authors' opinions rather than the development of the Company. Concerning Manchester's role as a centre for ILP publishing, two aspects remain to be considered: the later history of the Labour Leader, and the attempt to launch a national Labour daily.

The resignation of Glasier by no means solved the problems of the Labour Leader. The sub-editor, J.F. Mills, was duly appointed as acting editor, and after a year was made editor, with full control of the paper. However during the year of his editorship, the Labour Leader incurred three legal actions, two for libel and one for infringement of copyright. The NAC was legally advised against going to court, and the legal charges and damages cost the Press £426. In an attempt to make the paper brighter, several new contributors were engaged, at the extra expense of £132. Thus at the ILP Annual Conference, in May 1912, these two items were shown to be responsible for £558 out of the total loss of £696 on the Labour Leader.²

1 LL, 5 November 1909. F. Brockway, Inside the Left (1942; 2nd impression 1947) pp. 29-30. The only disadvantage was the proximity of the Irwell itself, which Lord Brockway described as 'almost like a sewer - so dirty' (Lord Brockway, tape, 20 May 1975)

2 ILP, Report of the 20th Annual Conference 1912, p. 13

Unfortunately Mills was also far from being an inspiring personality. He lived in Bolton and was, according to Mrs. Nichol (Muriel Wallhead), quite a good journalist, but a 'crusty old bachelor' and a bad mixer.¹ Fenner Brockway later referred to him as 'a tall, thin, gloomy man, who kept his hands deep in the pockets of a long coat and always seemed cold'.² Politically he appears to have been rather colourless. To quote Fenner Brockway again: 'He wasn't a very positive person. I was with him for a year. A rather lonely person. But I haven't any lasting impression of any strong political views, except that he was a member of the ILP'.³

Fenner Brockway had joined the Labour Leader as Mills' sub-editor in 1910, at a salary of £2. 10s. per week. Asked whether his was a political appointment, he recollected:

I think it was due to the fact that, first, Keir Hardie had been very kind to me, almost treated me as a son, and I interviewed W.C. Anderson - I'm not sure whether he wasn't chairman of the ILP then - and he was very pleased with the interview - and they both thought I was the person to join the Labour Leader staff. I joined in 1910 as assistant editor and when Mr. Mills the editor retired in 1911, they made me editor. There I was, 24 years old, editor of the organ of the Independent Labour Party, rather to my surprise.

Asked whether Mills had actually 'retired', or been dismissed, Lord Brockway commented:

I wouldn't like to say. I think a decision was that he should finish his appointment. I think probably when that decision was indicated to him, he retired.

Was this on political grounds?

No. I think entirely on the grounds that the paper

1 Muriel Nichol, tape.

2 F. Brockway, op. cit., p. 30

3 Lord Brockway, tape. F. Brockway, op. cit., p. 31 stated that Mills was dismissed.

needed more vigour and more enterprise. I mean, for example, when I went to it, I had attended a lecture by George Bernard Shaw. I had taken a verbatim note of it - on socialism - and that verbatim note of his lecture went over three issues. Well now, that was something quite new for the Labour Leader, that it should invade that kind of circle. It was very popular, and I brought that kind of element into it.¹

Many of the most vocal delegates to the 1912 Annual Conference however took the view that Mills had been dismissed. E.P. Wake, in moving a reference back on the NAC Report, asserted that: '... so far as the libel actions were concerned undoubtedly the former editor of the Labour Leader had been sacrificed because of the damages paid ... He asked for justice to J.F. Mills, who had served their cause faithfully and well'. Annot Robinson joined in the defence of Mills, against what was universally described as his 'dismissal'. Eventually a resolution was carried by 126 to 122, regretting the dismissal of Mills and calling for a full enquiry.² Whether the enquiry was ever held is uncertain; at the 1913 Conference it was simply stated that Mills was in Germany, and had said that he would get in touch with the NAC when he returned.³ The apparent absence of any further investigation leaves one only with speculations. Was the sympathy for Mills simply the result of a feeling that he had been made a scapegoat, or was there any idea that Fenner Brockway was Hardie's appointee, and the means of exerting the NAC's continued influence? It can only, however, be speculation.

As the new editor, Fenner Brockway had no desire to make any definite changes, simply ...

... To make it more lively and to make the ILP more

1 Ibid.

2 ILP, Report of the 20th Annual Conference 1912, pp. 43-51, 87

3 ILP, Report of the Annual Conference held at Manchester, March 1913, p. 48

associated with the living socialist convictions which were then taking place outside just the working class, but in intellectual circles. To link up intellect with the working class and socialist activity.

He intended the paper to continue its dual function of conversion to socialism, and informing the converted:

Undoubtedly it was a paper for ILP activists - reports of their activities. But I sought also to make it an organ to convert those who were non-socialists, and convert them particularly on the shop floor, and at open-air meetings where the working class gathered.¹

Upon moving from London to Manchester, Fenner Brockway took lodgings in Burnage Garden Village, and joined Levenshulme ILP branch. Among his neighbours were Edgar Whitely and R.C. Wallhead.² Wallhead was then manager of the Labour Leader, although according to his daughter (Muriel Nichol), he was not very interested in the management side, and did not have much flair. He was appointed because he was popular and enthusiastic for the paper. Moreover it was generally known that he had had a business (as a decorator and craftsman), and was therefore assumed that he could run it. He actually spent much of his time going off to speak at meetings, but fortunately he had a very good chief clerk, Jack Rigg, who actually did more managing than Wallhead. Muriel Wallhead herself joined the Labour Leader staff, which only had one other women member. She was Florence Riley, who later married the ILP's Lancashire organiser, J.H. Standring.³ Also prominent on the Labour Leader staff, as a writer of editorials, was W.C. Anderson, who had originally met Brockway in Finsbury, and had apparently had some

1 Lord Brockway, tape.

2 Ibid.

3 Muriel Nichol, tape

influence on the latter's appointment.¹ Weekly humorous articles were provided by Walter Hampson, as 'Casey'. Although the published versions are eminently readable, Fenner Brockway had a major task when sub-editing these contributions. Spelling, grammar and punctuation were all 'atrocious' and, according to Lord Brockway, 'I often had to cut out what he remarked because he was inclined to be a bit blue ...'.²

Two appointments for which Fenner Brockway as editor was responsible, were those of Clement Bundock and J.B. Nicholas. Clement Bundock had been an office boy on the staff of the Christian Commonwealth when Fenner Brockway was its assistant editor. Now he moved to the Labour Leader as assistant to Brockway, who described him as '... the most Cockney of Cockneys'. On Monday evenings, when the Labour Leader went to print, Brockway and 'Clem' used to go to the Gaiety Theatre (with press tickets). When he saw 'Man and Superman', 'Clem' became converted, 'just like a religious conversion'. His character changed, '... This shy Cockney became challenging; determined to overcome his Cockney pronunciation. He finally ended up as secretary of the National Union of Journalists. A marvellous Victorian orator in perfect English'.³ J.B. Nicholas first saw the Labour Leader in Wales, and arrived in Manchester with the ambition to draw cartoons for it. All three moved to lodgings in Red Row, Marple, and besides their journalistic functions, undertook platform

1 Lord Brockway. Tape. Fenner Brockway was a member of Finsbury ILP, which asked Anderson to become its Parliamentary candidate. Anderson went round the constituency, spoke 'brilliantly', but subsequently turned down the nomination. For Anderson's influence upon Fenner Brockway's appointment, see Dictionary of Labour Biography, Vol. II.

2 F. Brockway, op. cit., p. 31. Lord Brockway, tape.

3 Lord Brockway, tape.

engagements as the 'Labour Leader trio'.¹ Lord Brockway reminisced:

Clem would deliver a kind of Bernard Shaw oration - very brilliant and startling. J.B. Nicholas would draw sketches, and the audience would have to recognise of whom the sketch was, and when he did recognise he was given the sketch. And these occasions were very popular indeed in the whole of Lancashire and particularly, of course, in the Manchester and Salford area.²

But although the Labour Leader staff appear to have formed an integral part of the local ILP, and been popular as individuals, the paper itself continued to come in for a great deal of criticism. Many of its problems were common to the Labour Press as such, and must be considered in that context. However complaints against the Labour Leader were often extremely harsh. Thus at the 1913 Conference, J.F. Hall of Hereford remarked that it did not strike any distinctive literary note; 'from the literary and artistic point of view the paper was beneath contempt'. He wanted writers who could inspire the movement. Hall further remarked that: 'For his own part he took the Labour Leader out of sheer loyalty to the movement, but it bored him to death every time he tried to read it'. Glasier tended to blame the problems of the Labour Leader on the 'lack of earnestness in the movement', while Brockway, attending the conference as the delegate from Marple, admitted that the Labour Leader was not as good as some other Socialist papers, from a literary and artistic point of view, simply because they were not able to pay writers at such high rates.³

At the April 1914 Conference, the most hopeful statement concerning

1 F. Brockway, op. cit., p. 32

2 Lord Brockway, tape.

3 ILP, Report of the Annual Conference held at Manchester, March 1913 pp. 49-50

the Labour Leader was simply that the loss had been reduced, by reducing its size and issuing it to the trade to order only.¹ Just before the outbreak of war, the Labour Leader did become a mouthpiece for the anti-war movement,, publishing articles such as Walton-Newbold's exposé on the 'War Trusts'.² How far this helped to extend its circulation, particularly among pacifists outside the ILP, is uncertain, but does appear to have increased its popularity in comparison with that of the Clarion. Lord Brockway commented: 'I should have said probably until the war the Clarion probably had a larger circulation than ours, but when Blatchford became very pro-war, I think probably our circulation was bigger than theirs'.³

At the 1913 ILP Conference, the falling circulation of the Labour Leader was blamed largely upon the appearance of other papers, most notably the Daily Citizen, which is somewhat ironical in view of the fact that the desire for a labour daily paper had been of long-standing within the ILP. As far back as the 1897 Annual Conference, the Stockport delegate moved that the NAC take immediate steps to start an official Socialist newspaper. On this occasion Harry Henshall warned the conference, 'to beware of taking on something they could n ot manage. He had some knowledge of Labour papers, and he and Joe Burgess had had their hearts broken many a time'.⁴ No action was taken until after the establishment of the National Labour Press. Then, at the 1911 Annual Conference, in Birmingham, a vote was taken in favour of starting a socialist daily as

1 ILP, Report of the Coming of Age Conference held at Bradford, April 1914 p. 12

2 See below, p.1000

3 Lord Brockway, tape.

4 ILP, Annual Conference Report, 1897, p. 27

soon as possible.¹ On this occasion a committee was formed to organise the scheme, under the chairmanship of W.C. Anderson, and with Clifford Allen as Secretary. The plan was for a limited company, Labour Newspapers Ltd., to be created early in 1912, and Allen was particularly active in canvassing for shareholders.² The response from the ILP does not appear to have met his expectations. In an article in the Labour Leader of 24 November 1911, entitled 'The Coming of the Labour Daily', he reminded readers that, although the ILP had originated the scheme for a paper, its branches were not responding to the appeal to take out shares 'with anything like the enthusiasm of other sections of the Socialist and Labour Movement'.³ That December, Manchester Central Branch, in common no doubt with many others, received a circular asking it to do its best to take up shares, and also to get outsiders to join in raising the necessary capital.⁴

Perhaps one of the reasons for hesitancy among ILP branches was simply the fact that the proposed paper was not to be specifically ILP or socialist in allegiance. The first Board of Directors, with Ramsay MacDonald as chairman and Anderson as Vice-Chairman, consisted of three representatives each from the Labour Party, ILP and trade unions, and one representative from the private subscribers.⁵ The main article of

1 ILP, Annual Conference Report 1911, p. 89

2 Dictionary of Labour Biography, Vol. II, p. 13. R. Harrison, G.B. Woolven and R. Duncan, The Warwick Guide to British Labour Periodicals 1790-1970. A check list (1977) pp. 125, 843 described the Daily Citizen as being 'owned by the Labour Party and the Trades Union Congress', which is not strictly accurate.

3 LL, 24 November 1911

4 Manchester Central Branch ILP, Minutes of Meeting 12 December 1911

5 Daily Citizen, 8 October 1912

association of the new company stated that its object was to: '... establish, print, and publish a newspaper or newspapers and other publications in the interests of and to promote the policy from time to time of the political party known as the Labour Party'. Moreover in April 1912, six months before the Daily Citizen finally appeared, the Daily Herald emerged as a morning paper. It had begun as a printers' strike sheet in 1911 and now, inspired by George Lansbury, established itself as an unofficial, militant voice of the labour movement.¹

Requests for assistance from ILP branches, and presumably from other sympathetic organisations, continued. In August 1912 Manchester Central Branch received two appeals, asking it to form a sub-committee to organise the collection of orders; a month later came a request for a report of work done, to be sent at once, and on 1 October the branch took up an offer of advertising space.² Ten trial issues, some containing peculiar errors, were then printed between 4 and 8 October, when the new daily officially commenced. Printed by the National Labour Press and costing $\frac{1}{2}$ d., it provided both national and international news, a full page of labour news under the title of 'The Story of Work and Workers', together with sports and book features, and a serial story.³ On the front page of the 8 October issue, under the title 'Our Purpose', the new daily set out its aims:

1 Dictionary of Labour Biography Vol. II, pp. 2, 13 (entries on Anderson and R. Clifford Allen)

2 Manchester Central Branch ILP, Minutes of Meetings, 6 August, 3 September, 1 October 1912

3 The trial issues, dated between 4 and 8 October 1912, are located in Manchester Public Library, Social Sciences Library. Among the errors are the back page on one 8 October edition, which gives 'Manchester Guardian. 1 October 1912'.

The Daily Citizen is to fill a niche in British Journalism. It is to be a newspaper but more than a newspaper. It is to be the voice of that hitherto inarticulate movement of working-class thought and feeling which is represented in Parliament by the Labour Party, and in the country by the innumerable efforts, suspicions, resentments, and claims which together make up what is known as Labour Unrest. Our journal is to be an organ of Trade Union activity, Labour Party policy, and Socialist thought.

Our task is to give expression to the impulses which are moving the hearts of the people, to guide them, to make them available for calm, orderly use by those political and other reformers who are not afraid to go on continuing to build the City of God in this world.

The paper also aimed to work for a better understanding between Britain and Germany:

An Anglo-German understanding would arrest the growth of armaments which crush down both peoples, and would lay the foundation stone of the future peace of the world.¹

Unfortunately the Daily Citizen's aims were not always compatible, the most obvious conflict being between 'Labour Party policy' and Socialist thought. In February 1913 the contributor of the Labour Leader's 'Lancashire Notes' (J.S. Standring?) commented:

I do not think there can be any doubt that the branches in this area are doing more spade work on behalf of the Daily Citizen than is being done in any other part of the country. But I am bound to say that there is none the less a considerable amount of dissatisfaction with the definite tendency of some of the Citizen's columns to strengthen the conviction held by some that the Labour Party in Parliament is, at the best, merely a rebellious-and carefully rebellious - section of the Liberal Party.²

Less than two months later, commenting upon the Daily Citizen's financial problems, the Labour Leader remarked that the paper 'as the organ of the whole Labour movement, has not always satisfied the ILP, the Party's advanced wing'.³

1 Daily Citizen, 8 October 1912

2 LL, 13 February 1913

3 Ibid., 3 April 1913

Although it may not have been sufficiently socialist for many ILPers, the Daily Citizen would undoubtedly have been more successful without the competition from the Daily Herald. Not that the Herald enjoyed any greater stability;¹ it was simply a case of the two papers dividing between them a readership which might have sustained one daily. However the real breach between the ILP and the Citizen came with the outbreak of war, when the Citizen followed the official Labour Party line, and carried large recruiting advertisements amid reports and photographs of the war.² The surprising fact was not that the Daily Citizen ceased publication in May 1916, but that it survived for so long!³ Just before the outbreak of war, the Daily Citizen at least looked as though it might prosper; at the April 1914 Coming-of-Age Conference, the NAC announced that it had a circulation which placed it among the first six daily newspapers in the country.⁴ But the underlying difficulty, common to all labour and socialist publications, was also mentioned. Even for the broader-based Daily Citizen, advertisements were extremely difficult to obtain, and equally difficult to retain. The climate of strikes and labour unrest after the Citizen's foundation did tend to heighten its problem, but the general lack of advertising revenue appears to have been common throughout the field of ILP publishing. It was a vicious circle; the papers themselves, because of

1 Dictionary of Labour Biography, Vol. II, p. 217 (entry on George Lansbury)

2 For example, see Daily Citizen, 4, 7 January 1915

3 Dictionary of Labour Biography, Vol. II, p. 2 (entry on Clifford Allen)

4 ILP, Report of the Coming of Age Conference held at Bradford, April 1914, p. 12

their political views, did not attract commercial advertising; their circulation was never sufficient to make them completely self-supporting, and the ILP, to which they looked for subsidies, was itself regularly in financial difficulties. Basic cash problems were undoubtedly at the root of the ILP's failure to back any publishing ventures outside its own organisation, hence it took no steps to save the Workman's Times or Manchester Labour Press Society. However one does suspect that there was, among the party hierarchy, a certain dislike and distrust of independent socialist propaganda activities.

The location of much of the ILP's publishing in Manchester did bring many prominent personalities to the city, in their turn to play an active role in the local party. If this was the advantage gained, then the disadvantage was surely that any political controversies centred upon the publications were heightened in the immediate area; for example, Central Branch's dispute with Glasier. The close relationship enjoyed by the Clarion with Manchester and Salford ILP was never emulated by any of the papers subsequently located in the city. The Labour Leader, although in Manchester, was never of Manchester. During much of its local era, the party was itself torn by internal conflicts and the Labour Leader, frequently regarded as the mouthpiece of the NAC by local dissidents, was certainly never an expression of local ILP opinion. Such expression must therefore be sought in essentially local periodicals and in the books and pamphlets written by members of the Manchester and Salford party.

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Local, as opposed to national, periodicals, did have some obvious attractions for a branch or federation. The mere production of the paper served as a unifying link between existing members, and provided a stimulus

for constant activity. New members might more easily be attracted when provided with details of local secretaries and meeting places, accounts of work done by local councillors, and general news of people who were not just 'names', but of whom they might already have some personal knowledge. But to counterbalance these attractions was the major problem of resources. With only a limited circulation, publishing costs still had to be met, and ILP branches were morally obliged to take their trade to a union 'shop', where fair wages were paid.

Any attempt to survey the local publications of the ILP encounters an obvious difficulty in that periodicals were ephemeral and many have failed to survive; they are known to have existed only because they were advertised or simply mentioned in other sources. Some of the earliest ILP publishing activity in the Manchester area seems to have been concentrated in Gorton, where the ILP Gazette appeared in 1894. It was issued free, at monthly intervals, and was printed and published for Gorton ILP by the Manchester Labour Press Society. A copy of No. 5, dated November 1894, survives in the Bodleian, which would date its commencement as July 1894.¹

The Gazette appears to have been short-lived, for on 23 February 1895 the Gorton ILPers began issuing a halfpenny local paper, The Dawn, and it is extremely doubtful whether the branch could have sustained two periodicals. According to the Labour Annual, 'Its aim is to give people the pill of Socialism, coated with the sugar of other interests ...'.² The Clarion, on 2 March, announced that the Gorton comrades had had 10,000 copies of The Dawn published, and it was 'going like wildfire'.³

1 R. Harrison, et. al., op. cit., p. 217, No. 1446

2 Ibid., p. 127, No. 856, citing Labour Annual 1895

3 C, 2 March 1895

Two months later the Labour Leader contained an advertisement:

'THE DAWN'

-

All Manchester and District Socialists
should read
'THE DAWN'

-

The brightest halfpenny weekly
Socialist paper extant.¹

No further information was provided, either in this or in any later publication, and one can only assume that the reference was to the Gorton paper. Certainly the Gorton ILPers were ambitious in attempting to produce a weekly, and it seems unlikely that it enjoyed a long run. The most likely reason for this spate of propagandist activity in the area was the approach of the General Election; it was in the summer of 1894 that the matter of running a parliamentary candidate for the division was first broached, and Dr. Pankhurst finally contested the seat in July 1895.²

Hitherto activity appears to have been confined to Gorton, but in June 1896 a weekly socialist newspaper was planned for Manchester. The Citizen is something of a mystery; no copies of the paper are known to have survived, and doubts have been raised as to whether it was ever actually published. Deian Hopkin,³ whose views were also quoted in the

1 LL, 4 May 1895

2 No copies of The Dawn appear to remain in existence, and there is no reference to it in Dr. Pankhurst's collection of material relating to the 1895 election (see Pankhurst Papers. Cuttings Collection - Dr. Pankhurst. Vol. 4)

3 D. Hopkin, 'Local Newspapers of the Independent Labour Party 1893-1906' in Society for the Study of Labour History, Bulletin No. 28, Spring 1974, p. 29

Warwick Guide¹ commented:

There is no evidence that the Citizen (Manchester) or The Labour Herald ... ever actually appeared. There was some confusion about the former when the Manchester Labour Press, who had decided to launch a Citizen in 1896, discovered that an independent group of ILP members were advertising a forthcoming newspaper with the identical title at the same time. After some acrimonious correspondence the breach was healed, but there is some doubt about the survival of either scheme.

The events surrounding the establishment of the Citizen are extremely difficult to trace, and the correspondence in the press is capable of more than one interpretation. However, one fact which does emerge from a study of the references in the Clarion and Labour Leader is that the Citizen did actually appear.

The first indication that a publishing scheme was afoot came in the Clarion on 27 June 1896, when the 'Notes to Clarionettes' announced:

IMPORTANT - It has been proposed to start a Socialist Weekly Newspaper for Manchester and District, in connection with the Labour Press Co-operative Scheme. Will all friends interested meet at the York Restaurant, 104A Tib Street, on Monday next, at 8?²

No further details can be found in the press until 5 September, when the Labour Leader published a letter from Edward Carpenter (a member of the Labour Press Committee). Dated 29 August, and headed 'The Manchester Labour Press and a Co-operative Newspaper', it claimed that a document, purporting to come from the Labour Press, which announced the issue of a Co-operative newspaper, had not been signed by anyone, and had been sent out without the knowledge of some of the Committee. According to Carpenter, the last meeting of the Committee decided that the scheme should stand over for further consideration. Only a week later, however,

1 R. Harrison, et. al., op. cit., p. 82, No. 560

2 C, 27 June 1896

Alfred Dugdale Jn., Honorary Secretary of the Manchester Labour Press Society, stated that a sub-committee had been entrusted with the whole matter of initiating the proposed co-operative newspaper, and that, at a special meeting of the Labour Press Committee on 7 September, the action of the sub-committee in issuing the circular was endorsed. The scheme now depended upon the response from branches.¹ This correspondence does not, however, indicate the existence of two separate groups planning independently to launch their newspapers, but rather a lack of communication between members of the Labour Press Society.

Howard C. Rowe's account of The Boggart Hole Contest would appear to have been published during the first week of September 1896. This pamphlet, one of the products of the Manchester Labour Press Society, proclaimed itself to be No. 1 in the 'Manchester Citizen series', and at the back there appeared an advertisement for 'The Manchester Citizen Newspaper and Publishing Co. (Title Registered)':

Objects: To issue a WEEKLY NEWSPAPER in the interest of the Socialist Movement in the City, and, from time to time, such OTHER LITERATURE as may seem desirable.

It is proposed to issue the above paper at ONE HALFPENNY weekly, and to devote it to City Matters, Labour News, Football, Cycling, and other Sports.

Interesting and Important developments are contemplated, which it is not advisable to publish at present.

SUBSTANTIAL SUPPORT has already been secured for the venture. Persons interested can obtain full particulars on application to

H.C. ROWE
GLEBELANDS ROAD, SALE.

N.B. In view of the APPROACHING ELECTIONS, it is proposed to start at a very EARLY DATE. Intending shareholders should

1 LL, 5, 12 September 1896

therefore apply at once for further details.¹

On 10 October both the Clarion and Labour Leader carried an advertisement for the Manchester Citizen, a new $\frac{1}{2}$ d. weekly. It was described as: 'An organ of Municipal Politics, Social and Industrial Questions, and Athletics'; 'The First Socialist Newspaper devoted to Manchester ...'. The advertisement claimed that:

The MANCHESTER CITIZEN will give publicity for the first time, to the important meetings and demonstrations frequently held in connection with the ILP, Labour Church, and SDF Propaganda. Hitherto we have seen, even in the leading Manchester journal, in the same issue a report three inches long given to a meeting of six thousand Socialist workers in the Great Free Trade Hall, and beside it a report a column and a quarter long given to a local clergyman speaking at the YMCA.

This order will be reversed in the 'MANCHESTER CITIZEN'. The best speeches given during the week will be specially reported. Great attention will be paid to the CITY COUNCIL PROCEEDINGS. We do not deny that there are on the Council good men, who deserve well of the city, but there are also others. It is notorious that the party Press, for party reasons, helps to defraud justice by hushing up the details of the many cases of flagrant mismanagement. The 'MANCHESTER CITIZEN' will establish, so far as it can, a REFERENDUM to the people's judgement in these matters.

The TRADES COUNCIL will be adequately reported, and also the doings of the principal unions.

Three editions were to be published; the first on Friday evening, the second on Saturday afternoon, and the third, 'The Athletic Special', on Sunday morning. The latter was to carry athletics and football results, together with reports of big matches, while the paper generally planned to provide information on cycling and the theatre. The first issue was announced for 16 October, to be published by the 'Manchester Citizen' Newspaper and Publishing Company, 14 Fennel Street. Some shares had still not been taken up, and 'Socialists with small capital' were invited

1 Ibid., 5 September 1896; H.C. Rowe, op. cit.

to apply to the Secretary for a Prospectus.¹ A fortnight later the Labour Leader was able to announce that the first edition of the Manchester Citizen had sold out. However there had been an 'unfortunate breakdown in the publishing department', as a result of which the Sunday Special did not get on the market in time to supply the 'numerous demands made for it'. Newsagents were advised that they could obtain the paper from all wholesalers, or from the Labour Press at 59 Tib Street.²

But although it is certain that the first issue of the Citizen did actually appear, its subsequent fate remains a mystery. The sheer lack of information suggests that its life was extremely short, and the general state of socialist newspaper publishing would tend to substantiate this view. If the Clarion, with its established reputation and readership, not to mention the talent of Blatchford, could not pay its way in Manchester, then a new venture must obviously have faced enormous difficulties. Moreover the Citizen, as the product of an independent company, could expect no financial aid from ILP funds in the event of commercial failure. Not surprisingly, the next periodical to emerge from the Manchester socialist movement was rather less ambitious, being produced only at monthly intervals, and had the official backing of the Manchester and Salford ILP.

Manchester. A Monthly Journal of the Manchester and Salford Independent Labour Party was first published in May 1899. It was to some extent an outcome of the new, central scheme of organisation, which both rendered the conveying of information to members a more difficult task,

1 C, 10 October 1896; LL, 10 October 1896

2 LL, 24 October 1896

and at the same time provided the centralised funds to finance a publishing venture. A quarterly meeting of members, held on 29 April 1899, accepted the EC's recommendation:

That 1,000 copies of a four-page paper be issued monthly, each member to be supplied with a copy free, along with the ILP News, and the remainder to be distributed in districts. Three pages of the paper to be devoted to local and labour news, and one page to advertisements.

However it was decided to issue an additional 3,000 copies of the first number, for free distribution at the Labour Demonstration on May 7th.

The journal which was eventually produced was roughly A4 in size, with each page divided into a double column, and the quality of paper and printing were both good. Its aims were further explained by John Nuttall, party Secretary, in his 'Notes to Members' in the first number:

One of the most beneficial adjuncts to the life of a political organisation is a systematised method of conveying information to its members respecting the workings of the organisation and its representatives on public bodies. The progress made by the ILP in Manchester and Salford, the growing acceptance of Socialist principles by all classes, and the new central scheme of organisation, with its large membership, make it all the more necessary that the party should have an organ of its own for the purposes indicated, as well as for the purpose of clearly stating its position on all public questions pertaining to the life and government of Manchester and Salford. Hence the appearance of our local journal Manchester which we hope will be appreciated by the members. Arrangements have been made for questions relating to Municipal Government, Education, Poor-law Administration. Trade Unions and other matters being dealt with month by month, and a column will be reserved each month for a talk to the members respecting the party organisation. The journal will be distributed free to members along with the ILP News, and the surplus copies will be distributed at the ILP meetings. By this means we hope to foster, and, if possible, to increase that spirit of comradeship which the ILP has always striven to attain, and at the same time materially add to the strength of our organisation by an increased membership.¹

1 Manchester, May 1899

Manchester certainly did fulfil its task of informing both party members and potential converts, covering a full range of ILP and municipal activities. In the November 1900 issue it was announced that the size of the paper was to be increased to 8 pages, as an experiment until the Annual Party Meeting. It was still to be distributed free; extra costs were to be met from advertising revenue.¹ However it should be added that one did need to be at least interested in the ILP to be attracted to Manchester. Straightforward information was amply provided, but there was no material which might attract the apolitical recipient and lead him by subtle means to the basic tenets of socialism, after the style of the Clarion. Thus in January 1901 W. Sanders, in a letter to the editor, suggested that the paper should be converted into a propagandist journal, with articles to catch the public eye, and that its circulation should be increased to 5,000 copies per month. He commented: 'At present Manchester is of interest only to the "saved". Let it be a means of converting the "sinners"'.² Moreover the paper was making a loss, and at the annual meeting on 27 January, a Special Committee was appointed, 'to go into the whole question of the publication of Manchester - to take into consideration how best to increase its usefulness as a propagandist organ, and to devise steps for decreasing the estimated annual loss on the paper'.³

The Committee duly made its proposals to an EC meeting on 4 March. The paper was to be retitled The Manchester and Salford Socialist Journal, and while retaining its 8 pages, should have a coloured cover for

1 Ibid., November 1900

2 Ibid., January 1901

3 Ibid., February 1901

advertisements. Circulation should be increased from the present 1,000 to 3,000 copies per month, to be sold at 1d. each. Efforts were to be made to gain a circulation for the paper by placing it with newsagents for sale and supplying them with contents bills. Moreover '... whilst not shutting out national questions and the discussion of several socialist principles, the special feature of the paper should be its attraction to the local and municipal life of Manchester and Salford and district,...'¹ The Quarterly Meeting of members, held at St. James' Hall on 28 April, accepted the proposals, with the exception of that concerning the title. It was finally agreed that the journal be re-named The Social Reformer: A Monthly Journal of the Manchester and Salford Independent Labour Party.²

When the Social Reformer appeared in June 1901, its contents were indeed far more general in nature; articles included J. Taylor Kay's 'Ancient Land Tenure: its Curiosities' and 'Social Manchester', which described St. Ann's Square. At the same time there was less detailed information concerning branch activities.³ The Labour Leader commented on The Social Reformer: 'It is one of the best of the local Socialistic magazines, and in both the variety and quality of its reading matter reflects great credit upon those responsible for its management'.⁴ The new journal's circulation increased by August, bringing forth the comment that 'If our revenue from advertisements would only keep pace with our circulation, we should have nothing to complain of'.⁵ However The Social

1 Ibid., April 1901

2 Ibid., May 1901

3 The Social Reformer, June 1901

4 LL, 8 June 1901

5 The Social Reformer, August 1901

Reformer was only to survive for another month. Although the September 1901 issue contained no warning of imminent demise, it was in fact to be the last Social Reformer ever published. What had happened? It seems apparent that both Manchester and The Social Reformer had been run at a loss to the Manchester and Salford ILP. During the era of centralisation the party had been willing to subsidise it, simply because it needed a medium for disseminating news and information. In August 1901 however the decision was taken to revert to the old branch system.¹ Not only was the journal rendered less vital to party organisation, but the consequent decentralisation of funds would also render its financing more difficult.

When chronicling the fate of Manchester/The Social Reformer, it is interesting to compare a contemporary publishing venture in neighbouring Pendlebury and Swinton. The Pioneer, described as 'The Local Organ of the Independent Labour Party. A Journal of Labour and Progress for Pendlebury and Swinton' began in November 1898, being printed and published by Peter Lindley, of 10 Stanwell Road, Swinton. It was similar in format to Manchester, (which suggests some connection with the A.C. Lindley who published the latter journal), and was distributed free to householders in the area. Although it contained occasional articles by national figures such as Hardie and Blatchford, it generally concentrated upon local affairs, being particularly concerned with housing and sanitation. 'Local affairs' did not usually include events in Manchester,² although occasional references were made to the activities of

1 See above, p.318

2 The Pioneer, November 1890 - February 1908 passim. Lindley was by 1913 a local councillor for Pendlebury and Swinton, and represented its ILP branch at the Annual Conference (see ILP, Report of the Annual Conference held at Manchester, March 1913, p. 8)

Manchester Corporation, and Fred Brocklehurst did provide an article on Local Government.¹ The Pioneer also had a steady circulation of c. 3,000,² but appears to have been less dependent upon finance from general party funds. The March 1899 issue announced that 'the entire cost of our journal has so far been met by voluntary subscriptions of members and friends, who have responded most heartily in providing the necessary funds'.³ Nor was the Pioneer so narrowly devoted to ILP affairs; its first issue emphasised the need for 'a new and real People's Press - papers that are not wedded to any class, or clique, or creed ... Accordingly the local ILP start the Pioneer as a FREE 'Popular Educator' specially devoted to the interests of the Workers (by hand or brain)!⁴ Perhaps for these reasons the Pioneer managed to outlive Manchester/ The Social Reformer; its last surviving issue is dated February 1908.

It is doubtful whether even the most enthusiastic ILPer really believed that a local party periodical would ever actually pay its way. Debate was more likely to hinge around the question as to whether the benefits, ^{were to merit the subsidies which} likely would undoubtedly be required. In April 1907 there was a proposal for Manchester and Salford ILP Council to issue a monthly paper, but nothing seems to have materialised.⁵ City of Manchester Branch did issue a monthly Branch News in 1911, but how long this lasted is impossible to ascertain, for only a copy of the March 1911 issue remains

1 The Pioneer, January 1899, March 1904

2 Ibid., March 1899, January 1908

3 Ibid., March 1899

4 Ibid., November 1898

5 Manchester Central Branch ILP, Minutes of Meeting 23 April 1907. At this meeting a circular was read concerning the proposal to issue a paper. The Central Branch decided simply to await the Council's decision.

in existence.¹

The only other pre-war venture into publishing a local periodical was not, in fact, as local as its name implies. Manchester Weekly Citizen began its existence on 7 October 1911, being printed and published by the National Labour Press. Its object was to be 'the mouthpiece of the overwhelming body of industrial workers' in Manchester, and to deal with the affairs of workers' representatives on public bodies.² Costing 1d., the Weekly Citizen was an 8-page publication, of the size and format of a typical daily newspaper.³ Some features, including the serial story, were run in common with the Leeds and District Weekly Citizen.⁴

The two Weekly Citizens were in fact financed by the Labour Press. In the NAC Report for 1911-12, delivered to the ILP's Annual Conference at Merthyr, it was stated that the Press had 'endeavoured to meet a long-felt want in many of our larger towns' by launching the papers; '... these ventures point the way to the future development of the press and to an important service to the Party'. According to the NAC Report, ever since the Labour Press started, it had been in the minds of its Directors to start local journals. The actual scheme materialised in October 1911, with the Manchester paper at last making its debut on the 7th of that month. The Labour Press expected a loss of £200 on each paper before they could be made to pay, and by the time of the Merthyr

1 R. Harrison, et. al., op. cit., p. 83, No. 569. The one surviving issue is in the ILP Archive.

2 Ibid., p. 305, No. 1986

3 Manchester Weekly Citizen, 10 February 1912. This is the only issue which survives in Manchester Public Library, Local History Library

4 R. Harrison, et. al., p. 305, No. 1986

Conference (27-8 May 1912) the papers were paying the cost of their production, but without meeting any 'printing, profit or establishment charges'. The Press had already been approached to start similar papers elsewhere, but lacking the necessary capital, had suggested that local committees should be formed to raise the £200 in question. However by the 1913 Conference, hopes for the local papers had been dashed. Owing to lack of support, the Press had ceased their publication, and the total loss incurred on the ventures, amounting to £942, had been written off. Apart from their obviously limited circulation, the papers had suffered from the usual problem - failure to attract advertising revenue. When, at the 1913 Conference, Councillor A.W. Brown from Bradford claimed that the losses of the Labour Press were due to 'shocking bad management on the part of someone', T.D. Benson (Treasurer) replied that when they tried to get advertisements for the local weeklies, they were simply told that they would first have to show that the papers were going to live.¹

The local presence of the Weekly- and Daily Citizen, not to mention the Labour Leader, must have rendered the demand for Manchester and Salford ILP publications less urgent in the immediate pre-war years. At this stage the initiative seems to have been taken by the branches. On 14 January 1913 the Labour Leader referred to a scheme of literature

1 ILP, Report of the 20th Annual Conference ... 1912, pp. 12-13 and Report of the Annual Conference held at Manchester, March 1913, pp. 11-12, 46-7; R. Harrison, et. al., op. cit., p. 305, no. 1986 dated the Manchester Weekly Citizen from 7 October 1911-1 November 1912, and stated that it was 'absorbed by its "younger brother" the Daily Citizen'. Ibid., p. 279, No. 1827 gave the Leeds and District Weekly Citizen as commencing on 21 October 1911, continuing under this title until November 1915, and still (1977) being published as the Citizen. The paper was attributed to 'Leeds Labour Publishing Society Ltd.', and the entry contained no reference to the National Labour Press. It would appear that when the Labour Press ceased operations, the Leeds paper was taken over by a local organisation.

distribution planned by Miles Platting ILP. A. James, LRC organiser for North East Manchester, announced that a start had been made ...

... and the first issue of our local monthly, 'Our Opinion', will be inside 5,000 houses before the week ends. It was felt that a localised paper would help (in a district like Miles Platting) the scheme more fully than having the standard literature, though publications specialising in certain subjects will be used when occasion demands.¹

Less than two months later Longsight ILP launched a similar scheme. In May 1913 the Longsight Monthly Herald made its first appearance, 3,000 copies being distributed free. This was a 4-page sheet, printed by the National Labour Press, which dealt with local government from the socialist point of view.²

Thus although Manchester and Salford ILP never managed to produce a periodical of its own for a long period, it is arguable as to whether such an effort (and expense) would have proved worthwhile for propaganda purposes. To potential recruits at meetings, national weeklies such as the Labour Leader or Clarion, together with pamphlets, may have provided a more attractive introduction to socialism than any periodical which the local party's resources would have enabled it to produce. The longest-surviving local publication, Manchester/The Social Reformer, was designed for internal party communication during the era of centralisation, nor specifically for general propaganda. What really mattered was that, at any stage in its history, the local ILP had at its disposal a wide range of literature; to inform members or to proselytise potential converts; to provide facts and figures for debate or appeals to the emotions; but above all to keep the ILP in the forefront of public attention as an active propagandist body.

1 LL, 16 January 1913

2 Ibid., 8 May 1913

ILPers, actual and potential, were by no means confined to the periodicals of that party alone for up-to-date news and information. During the late 1890s there were also available the Labour Annuals, Municipal Reformer, Labour Chronicle, Northern Weekly, and British Socialist News.¹ After the turn of the century appeared F.W. Pethwick-Lawrence's Labour Record and Review, published between March 1905 and May 1907² and, for a brief time, The Majority. The latter, which ran from 10 July 1906, is unlikely to have survived for long. Indeed only a copy of its first issue remains extant, but it does contain a full report of the seizure of land in Levenshulme by the Manchester unemployed.³

1 The Labour Annuals, issued from 1895 to 1900, were edited by Joseph Edwards and published by the Manchester Labour Press Society. The series was followed by the Reformers' Year Book, 1901-9 (R. Harrison, et. al., op. cit., p. 252, No. 1670) The Municipal Reformer appeared between October 1898 and November 1904. It was published in Bolton, then in Manchester (by John Heywood). Allen Clarke, H. Bodell Smith and W.P. Price-Heywood acted as editors at various times (Ibid., p. 326, No. 2121 names only the two latter editors, however the advertisement for the paper in Clarion, 26 November 1898 gives Allen Clarke as editor, while ibid., 18 February 1899 names Clarke and Bodell Smith). The Labour Chronicle, issued from July 1894 to December 1899 was a 'monthly record of Labour, Trade Union, and Advanced Political Movements in Liverpool and District' (R. Harrison, et. al., op. cit., p. 254, No. 1681) and was advertised in the Clarion (see C, 18 February 1899). Less overtly political but labour in its sympathies was the Northern Weekly, which began as Teddy Ashton's Journal. Edited by C. Allen Clarke, and with frequent changes in title, it survived until May 1915 (R. Harrison, et. al., op. cit., p. 542, No. 3504. C, 4 March 1899 advertised it as the Northern Weekly). The British Socialist News, edited by Tom Mann and Ben Tillet, began on 27 October 1899. It was a weekly, costing 1d., and the C, 14 October 1899, announcing its appearance, stated that 'SDF, ILP and Trade Union speeches and meetings will be reported ...' (R. Harrison, et. al., op. cit., p. 52, No. 361 simply dated its commencement as 1899, and gave a reference, from the Reformers' Year Book, 1901, to the closing of a journal of this title in Accrington).

2 R. Harrison, et. al., op.cit., p. 267, No. 1751. An advertisement in in the Clarion for the paper's commencement stated that it would bring together information from all trades and localities (C, 10 March 1905)

3 R. Harrison, et. al., op. cit., p. 301, No. 1965. A copy of the 10 July 1906 issue is in the possession of E. & R. Frow.

Also of interest to many ILPers were the periodicals associated with the women's movement; Central Branch at least appears to have had an account for the Woman Worker (possibly to sell on its bookstall).¹

Beside this wide range of socialist and labour periodicals were to be found a vast number of books and pamphlets. Even to attempt to describe the material available would be far beyond the scope of this work.² Almost all ILP publications themselves contained lists of new books and pamphlets available, or recommendations for further reading. What must, however, be examined are the writings of the Manchester and Salford ILPers themselves. Not only were their publications most likely to be read by other local members and sympathisers, but in this field at least, the important contribution of the Manchester and Salford party to the national movement can be distinguished.

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The Manchester and Salford authors, listed together with their publications in Appendix IV below, clearly included some of the ILP's leading publicists. Blatchford would undoubtedly have been an outstanding figure in any locality, and although he left Manchester in 1895, his works were some of the most widely read by ILPers. If Merrie England and Britain for the British represented the message of socialism for a mass readership, some of his other works raised more controversial topics among party members. God and My Neighbour set out the case for agnosticism, in a climate which generally equated socialism with Christian ethics

1 Manchester Central Branch ILP, Minutes of Meeting, 3 April 1909

2 A general idea of the pamphlets available in Manchester may be gained from the catalogue of holdings in the city's Social Sciences Library, currently being prepared by M.J. Harkin.

(as indeed had Blatchford himself in his earlier work, Altruism: Christ's Glorious Gospel of Love against Man's Dismal Science of Greed)¹

Blatchford's contribution to Andrew Reid's The New Party represented an attempt to remodel the movement in the cause of Socialist unity,² while his warnings of the approaching war with Germany rendered him extremely unpopular with a large number of ILPers.³ It is noticeable that Blatchford, between the time of transferring his allegiance to the BSP and the outbreak of the war, published nothing in the book/pamphlet fields. Disillusioned with political life, he had retreated to his Norfolk cottage in 1910, and never put at the disposal of the new movement the literary talents which had played such a vital role in ILP propaganda.⁴

Of the authors listed below,⁵ Blatchford was not the only professional journalist. Apart from A.M. Thompson, Fred Brocklehurst also for a time earned his living in this manner, as did Leonard Hall and the Glasiers. The one pamphlet listed under the name of Fenner Brockway represents the very beginning of a career which came into greater prominence after the outbreak of war. Leading figures in the national party, for example W.C. Anderson, Victor Grayson, T.D. Benson, might also

1 God and My Neighbour (London, Clarion Press, 1904) 197 pp.; Britain for the British (London, Clarion Press, 1902) 175 pp.; Altruism: Christ's Glorious Gospel of Love against Man's Dismal Science of Greed (London, Clarion Pamphlet, No. 22, 1898) 16 pp.

2 A. Reid (ed.) The New Party (1894)

3 Germany and England: the war that was foretold (London, Associated Newspapers Ltd., 1914) 48 pp. (reprinted from Daily Mail 1909)

4 Dictionary of Labour Biography, Vol. 4, pp. 34-42 (entry on Robert Blatchford)

5 See Appendix IV for details of books and pamphlets mentioned.

be expected to make their contribution to ILP publications; what is particularly interesting to note is rather the quality and volume of material produced by essentially local rank-and-file members. Alfred Settle's The Meaning of the Labour Movement and Russell Smart's The Independent Labour Party, its programme and policy, both provided the sort of general information which might be required for potential recruits. Smart went on to deal in his pamphlets with some major points of ILP policy. Thus The Economics of Temperance was intended to refute the argument that drink was a root cause of poverty. According to Smart, 'Poverty is the cause of Drink', and only by the removal of evil environments could the consumption of alcohol be reduced. His Socialism and the Budget was an argument for graduated property and income tax to replace indirect taxation, thereby providing the financial resources for minimum wages, old age pensions, and the payment of MPs. He included detailed figures of how the next Budget could be balanced to provide these demands. Smart's later Lords, Commons and the People then suggested reforms for both Houses of Parliament.

Although he died in November 1894, Samuel Washington ('Elihu') was long regarded as one of the ILP's leading pamphleteers. The Case for the Fourth Clause was one of the clearest expositions of the fundamental principles upon which the Manchester and Salford party was founded, and to which a section of its membership long continued to adhere. Thus he stated:

... The foundation idea underlying the fourth clause is a clear conception of the fact that the business we are entered upon as a party is a class war; a contest in which Labour is to strive against Capital ...

He also argued that '... under the policy of the Fourth Clause the Labour Party, declaring itself independent, would go straight for the one imperative task of educating the people'. If there was no labour

candidate, the ILP would be best engaged in holding its own propaganda meetings throughout the contest, an approach which would save the party 'from the ridiculous indignity of thus seeing our representatives aping the dress and manners of the capitalist and obediently dancing to any tune the capitalist parties find it convenient to set'.

The most important feature of Washington's pamphlets was that they each conveyed one fundamental message, in a manner which could appeal to both the party member and the casual reader. A Parable related in biblical language the difficulties experienced by socialists when attempting to convert the apolitical masses. Simple Division pointed out that the working class spent only about 1½ hours per day actually working for themselves; the rest of their time was engaged in producing capitalists' profits. The demand for public enterprise featured in Milk and Postage Stamps; if the production and distribution of postage stamps had been undertaken by the state, why could it not fulfil the same role with respect to milk, bread, meat or clothing?

Some of the pamphlets which emerged from Manchester and Salford ILPers dealt not simply with the fundamental tenets of socialism, but with controversial policies which were to divide the party. The 'Green Manifesto', Let us Reform the Labour Party, must be considered elsewhere in the light of its political implications. Leonard Hall's The Next Thing to Do advocated a concentration upon a policy of land nationalisation, while Grayson's The British Socialist Party: who is ready? heralded the long-avoided split within the ILP ranks.

Many of the works by local authors did not call for political decisions, but simply chronicled events in which they had been involved. Thus H.C. Rowe described The Boggart Hole Contest, while Fred Brocklehurst's I was in Prison detailed a personal aftermath of the protest. Walter

Hampson ('Casey'), having provided several articles for the Labour Leader on the Burston School Strike in 1914, produced a pamphlet on the subject in July 1915, all the proceeds from which were to go to the strike fund.¹ The Manchester and Salford ILP itself found a historian in Arthur Woollerton, whose The Labour Movement in Manchester and Salford traced the party's origins back to the South Salford SDF and Clarion Movement, and detailed major events up to the time of publication (1907).

ILPers also attempted to undertake research into major issues and provide factual information. Just before the outbreak of the First World War, J.T. Walton-Newbold provided a major expose of the arms race. In How Asquith Helped the Armour Ring he argued that the war scare of 1909 had been engineered by capitalists for their own interests. The War Trust Exposed named five firms, 'Universal Death Providers', which built war material for foreign countries, and named the men behind the 'war trust', including members of the House of Lords and Commons with interests in the Companies. With less immediate effect, Walter Hampson and T.R. Marr both made their contributions to research. Hampson in Who are the Bloodsuckers?.. listed the country's leading landed proprietors, together with details of the amount of land which they owned, and its annual rental. Marr's Housing Conditions in Manchester and Salford provided detailed descriptions of findings relating to the state of housing, occupancy and health of inhabitants, including the results of house-to-house enquiries undertaken in 1902. His conclusions were in favour of more municipal undertakings, backed by greater powers, and the provision of cheap and convenient public transport (trams and

1 LL, 29 July 1915

trains) to enable workers to move to the outskirts of the town. Also of interest to those involved in local government was J.M. McLachlan's Urban District Councils; how they work, and how to work them.

Apart from the outstanding example of Katharine Druce Glasier, women members of the ILP were not prominent among the publicists. This may well be related to the fact that some leading women ILPers entered the movement in the years immediately preceding the First World War while still very young, and only began writing for the movement after 1914. Thus Ellen Wilkinson, whose works would figure prominently in a survey of the later period, at this time contributed only occasional letters to the press. Many ILP women were also involved in the suffrage movement and, like the Pankhursts, produced their reminiscences after women's franchise became a reality.¹ Thus the ILP women suffragists who did publish in this period represented the older generation, for example Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy, or the disillusioned, as in the case of Theresa Billington-Greig. Most unusual among the women publicists was Daisy Halling, the theatrical leading lady turned socialist propagandist, whose Mrs. Grundy - The Enemy provided a contrast between the lives of the working class and the wealthy^{and 'respectable'} (symbolised by Mrs. Grundy).

While concentrating upon books and pamphlets, it should be remarked that many of these works originated from articles in the press. Walton-Newbold's expose of the armaments ring first appeared in the Labour Leader,² Leonard Hall's Land, Labour and Liberty was taken from the Clarion³ while Brocklehurst's I was in Prison was originally a daily

1 For example, Hannah Mitchell's autobiography, The Hard Way Up (1968) was not published until after her death.

2 LL, 16, 23 July 1914

3 C, 3 December 1898

feature in the Manchester Evening News.¹ Local ILPers who did not publish books or pamphlets often found an expression for their views in the socialist press, hence J.H. Hudson on 'Why Teachers should be Socialists' or Ellen Wilkinson's letter on 'Trade Unions for Wives'.²

Thus ILPers in Manchester and Salford had every opportunity to express their views, and many played a leading role in informing or helping to formulate the opinions of socialists elsewhere. Some indeed helped to spark off division and dissent within the national party. But perhaps the survey of local publications given below is most notable for its sheer size and scope. Activity in the field of written propaganda was constant, although perhaps at its peak in the '90s. Pamphlets, usually priced at 1d., could easily be afforded by a working man or woman in employment, and were generally designed to make a point in a lucid, attractive, and easily understandable manner. Nor did one need to attend ILP meetings to have access to this vast range of publications, for the party placed high priority on literature distribution, and did not rely upon the unconverted always to make the first move.

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Meetings did obviously provide the ideal opportunity to introduce a potential convert to the movement, and branches usually had plenty of periodicals and pamphlets available for sale. Material was often obtained by literature secretaries on a 'sale or return' basis. Thus on 6 June 1905 Central Branch paid 2s. 6d. for 50 tracts on The Unemployed

1 Manchester Evening News, 31 May-4 June 1898

2 LL, 31 July 1913

Bill on these terms.¹ Actual members of the ILP sometimes had no option but to purchase literature. In 1898 the membership subscription of 6d. per month (minimum) was designed to include NAC dues, and a copy of ILP News.² It should not, however, be assumed that members needed much pressure to purchase literature, although the ILP News, as mentioned above, was not particularly popular. At large indoor meetings, a literature stall was generally organised, with Central Branch regularly undertaking the responsibility. This in 1907 the Secretary of the ILP Council wrote asking the branch to undertake the provision and sale of literature at a demonstration in St. James' Theatre on 10 March.³ Nor were such activities confined solely to ILP meetings. In 1905 Central Branch's Secretary applied to the Women's Trades and Labour Council, for permission to sell literature from a stall, and otherwise, at a meeting to be held at the Free Trade Hall on 12 February. If permission was given, the branch planned to order twenty dozen Labour Leaders, and a group of volunteers, including Mrs. Harker and Adela Pankhurst, were all prepared to help with the sales.⁴ Not every sales attempt was so carefully pre-arranged. At the end of June 1908, a few young members of West Salford ILP took some literature to the gates of Heaton Park, where a temperance demonstration was being held, and sold 15s. worth of socialist books and pamphlets.⁵

However ILPers generally realised the need to extend their

1 Manchester Central Branch ILP, addition to Minutes of Meeting 30 May 1905

2 LL, 29 October 1898

3 Manchester Central Branch ILP, Minutes of Meeting 5 March 1907

4 Ibid., Minutes of meeting 7 February 1905

5 LL, 3 July 1908

propaganda distribution beyond the crowds at meetings. Most famous of the literature sellers, Joe Waddington, claimed that Labour papers often owed their continued existence to enthusiastic vendors and helpers, and attributed his own success to the adoption of the methods of T.P. Barnum and the Salvation Army'.¹ To encourage the sales of the paper by 'Waddington's Clarion Brigade', he promised the boy who sold the most copies by Whit Monday an excursion ticket to Blackpool and 1s. pocket money.² Although the ILP generally attempted to emulate Waddington's policy of going to potential readers, rather than waiting for them to make the first approach, most of the vendors tended to be enthusiastic party members, rather than boys. Thus in the autumn of 1900 a Socialist Literature Distribution Association was formed, with its HQ at the Elvington Street Club. Each member, who paid 1d. per week, was to be in charge of 100 houses, and to distribute from house to house 25 leaflets per week. Membership of this organisation had, by 3 November, risen to 22.³ Household distribution was always popular as the surest means of approaching the unconverted. At the time of the Coming-of-Age celebrations, Longsight branch acquired 24,000 leaflets, 'for the densely-packed householders in the neighbourhood'.⁴

Free distribution on a large scale was however feasible only for relatively cheap leaflets. To publicise more expensive literature, branches often arranged for it to be made available in public libraries. Thus in August 1899 Openshaw ILP applied for the Clarion, Labour Leader,

1 WT, 13 May 1893

2 C, 14 January 1893

3 Ibid., 3 November 1900

4 LL, 28 August 1913

and Justice to be placed on the tables of Openshaw branch library.¹ At the same time, Manchester Corporation Libraries Committee agreed to Manchester being supplied to its libraries and reading rooms.² West Salford branch was successful in its request for the Daily Citizen to be made available in public reading rooms in the borough.³ Most enthusiastic were the members of Moss Side Socialist Society, who presented a parcel of some 30 books on socialism and kindred topics to Moss Side Public Free Library.⁴

The real aim, however, was to persuade new readers to actually buy socialist literature. On this subject the Social Reformer had some advice. Published in July 1901 was a list of suggestions, 'How You can help the Social Reformer':

1. Order 2 copies from a newsagent, one for yourself and one for a friend.
2. Send a copy to the minister of your parish or your representative on the city or borough council.
3. 'Leave one on the seat at your barber's'.
4. 'Drop a postcard to the office instructing us to send you a dozen copies per month for sale amongst your friends and workmates'. Ninepence for 13 copies post free, on a sale or return basis.
5. Secure an advert for the advertising columns from a friend or acquaintance in business.⁵

ILPers generally aimed to encourage sales by newsagents. One scheme, described by F.W. Coates of Higher Broughton in 1905, was for 12 members

1 C, 19 August 1899

2 ILP News, August 1899

3 LL, 19 June 1913

4 C, 5 November 1898

5 The Social Reformer, July 1901

each to undertake to get 6 subscribers to the Labour Leader. Each ILPer then took the six names to a newsagent and gave him the order, on condition that he displayed a contents bill.¹ For enthusiasts potentially the most expensive scheme was that they should encourage retailers to sell Labour literature by buying up any left in the shops on the last Saturday of the month.²

However perhaps the greatest contribution to literature distribution was made by Central Branch, with its stall at Shudehill market. The scheme was first agreed to by the branch in June 1906, and three of the members, Hart, Hallows and Lewis, were duly appointed to look round the market, and try to obtain a convenient place.³ The stall opened in mid-July, with £2 worth of stock, and managed to yield 4s. 3d. in sales on the first Saturday, and 11s. 8d. on the second.⁴ A new stall and cover were soon purchased,⁵ and sales increased (albeit with some fluctuations) from 19s. 9d. on 25 August, to 30s. on 6 October and £1. 18s. 10d. on 10 November. At the end of the year the face value of stock amounted to £10. 10s.⁶ At the beginning of 1907, the branch found it necessary to make more detailed plans for running the stall. A committee, initially of 12 members, was to share responsibility for running the stall each Saturday, between 2.30 and 10.00 pm (9.30 pm in winter). They were to man the stall in pairs, and be responsible also

1 LL, 8 December 1905

2 WT, 2 September 1893. The suggestion came from John H. Owen, of 34A Great Ancoats Street.

3 Manchester Central Branch ILP, Minutes of Meetings, 12, 26 June 1906

4 Ibid., 10, 24 July 1906

5 Ibid., 7, 21 August 1906

6 Ibid., 4 September, 16 October, 6 November 1906; 8 January 1907

for erecting it and taking it down. At some time during the day they were to take a rough estimate of stock (as required for insurance purposes), keep a list of books ordered (which the literature secretary would then forward to the wholesalers), and pay the toll and all other incidental expenses, which would then be repaid by one of the secretaries. There was to be no pre-payment and no credit.¹

The stall thus became an important means of distributing Socialist literature, although it never made much profit for the branch. At the end of the first year the total profit amounted to £8. 9s. 8½d. and that included stock in hand to the value of £6. 18s. 1d.² There appears to have been quite a wide range of literature; in February 1907 the branch decided to acquire 'a small stock of cheap publications on scientific works'. At the beginning of 1908 Rationalist publications were on sale, while in November 1910 the literature secretary had received a consignment of American socialist literature, and books and pamphlets 'dealing with all aspects of sociology' were currently available.³ Thus Central Branch Secretary, J.G. Clapham, in his letter to members at the beginning of 1911, was able to report:

The stall has shown signs of development during the past month. Several branches of the SDP are now drawing most of their supplies from us - we having terms with the Twentieth Century Press which enables us to supply them at a little profit. We have also done very well with the American literature, having at last secured terms which enable us to sell the fifty cent books at 1/6, and others, of course, in proportion. The stall itself had had to have a new roof and several improvements in the interior. Thanks to the comrades this has been done at the bare cost of material. One thing it wants, and wants badly,

1 Ibid., 19 February 1907

2 Ibid., 23 July 1907

3 Ibid., 19 February 1907, 4 February 1908; LL, 25 November 1910

is an improved light. This is receiving the careful consideration of all concerned, ...¹

In March 1908, at a total cost of £7. 11s. 6d. the branch also acquired a literature van, chiefly as a result of the efforts of J.G. Clapham, then Literature Secretary.² In September 1908 Clapham and Anderson attempted to canvass for new recruits at the stall.³ For a time literature sales continued to increase; the total income for the year ending March 1912 was £62. 12s. 3d.⁴ However just before the outbreak of war there came an indication that the scheme was no longer generating the enthusiasm which had hitherto sustained it. In a letter dated 4 July 1914 Arthur Sternberg announced his decision to retire as Literature Secretary:

For several years I have given up my Saturdays and never any relief, and so long as things went smoothly the Members of the Branch were content ... when one has to turn out week after week in all kinds of weather one is bound, in time, to become 'fed up' and I have reached that stage.

Secondly, I am of the opinion that the stall is getting played out. The receipts are on the down grade, and unless some enthusiasm and new life is infused into the Socialist movement it will continue so, and I am not going to waste my time selling cheap novels; after all profit is not our aim, and if we were doing good propaganda work I would not be so pessimistic as I am, but we are not.⁵

The Literature Staff, whatever its problems in the months immediately prior to the outbreak of war, did make a particular contribution

1 Manchester Central Branch ILP, typed letter enclosed loose in Minutes, n.d. (? early 1911)

2 Ibid., Minutes of Meetings, 3 March, 28 April 1908

3 Ibid., 2 September 1908

4 Ibid., 30 May 1911, 5 March 1912

5 Ibid., 7 July 1914

to propaganda distribution, in that it made socialist literature available in a politically neutral setting. It also made available to readers a wider range of material than was generally handled by branches or newsagents, for example, the American publications. This desire to expand socialists' horizons was also shared by the Clarion Social Club. In January 1900 Harold Elliott, reporting on plans for the club's library and reading room, listed the newspapers and periodicals which it planned to provide: Vorwärts, Die Social Reform, Avante, L'Humanité Nouvelle, Die Neue Welt, Sozialistische Monatshefte, Social Democrat, Tocsin, Herald, People and Collectivist, The Worker, Herald of the Golden Age, Vegetarian, Herald of Health, Brotherhood, The New Order, Abolitionist, Coming Nations, Personal Rights, Musée Social, Revista Populaire, Anglo Russian, Free Russia.¹

Socialist literature was virtually a self-perpetuating cycle; almost all publications included advertisements or lists of other material available. Obviously the ILP tended to advertise its own pamphlets,² although a leaflet, What to Read on Socialism,³ which probably dates from 1909 or 1910, recommends four books; Emile Vandervelde, Collectivism and Industrial Evolution; Professor Enrico Ferri, Socialism and Positive Science; and Jean Jaures, Studies in Socialist; as well as Ramsay MacDonald's Socialism and Society. Wider in scope was the advice offered in the syllabuses of Stockport Labour Church. There is no reason to suppose that socialist reading habits showed any marked variations in

1 C, 27 January 1900

2 The ILP News, April 1900 drew attention to the City Branch Pamphlets of which two had then been produced.

3 (Anon.) What to Read on Socialism (n.d., ?1909/10) leaflet (in possession of E. & R. Frow)

Stockport and Manchester, and the lists reproduced below from the 1908-9 and 1910 Syllabuses (See Illustration 15) do list some of the contemporary socialist 'classics'. Blatchford was obviously extremely popular, but the works of Ruskin and Carlyle, which had inspired the earliest converts, were not neglected. The absence of William Morris from the lists is rather surprising; certainly individual ILPers from the Manchester area recollect having taken a particular interest in his works.¹

Even individual branches might sometimes have their own small libraries for the use of members, although contents often depended upon what had been donated, rather than upon any deliberate selection. Thus when W.F. Black died, Central Branch bought some of his books, and was given others by his widow. A bookcase was duly acquired, and Sam Robinson appointed curator of the branch library.² Some books were even loaned to branches for long periods. Thus in February 1906 E.J. Hart offered '2 volumes of "Das Capital" (sic) to Central Branch for two months', which was duly accepted.³

The whole subject of ILP publications is a vast field, which has only recently received any attention from historians. In the space available here it is impossible to do justice to any of the ILP's extensive propaganda activities. In Manchester and Salford at least the ILP never ceased to be a propagandist party, for throughout the period in question there was constant activity: regular indoor and outdoor meetings, lectures, educational classes, campaigns, and the production

1 Muriel Nichol. Tape, 9 November 1976; Jim Simmons and Elsie Huckbody. Tape, 23 April 1975

2 Manchester Central Branch ILP, Minutes of Meetings, 20 February, 6, 20 March 1906; 7 May 1907

3 Ibid., 20 February 1906

BOOKS TO READ.

ONE or two lectures will not tell you all there is to know about Socialism. They will only start you towards finding out. We want you to do some solid reading and hard thinking. A full appreciation of the principles of Socialism can only be obtained by a careful consideration of the statements of its advocates.

Socialism is not an emotional insanity; it makes converts through the intellect. There are thousands of penny pamphlets dealing with all sides of the movement. The following books are recommended:—"Britain for the British," 3d., and "Sorcery Shop," 2/6, both by Robert Blatchford; "Common objections to Socialism answered," 1/., by R. B. Suthers. "Fabian Essays," 1/., edited by Geo. B. Shaw. "Socialism," 1/., by J. R. Macdonald, M.P. "The Jungle," 6d., by Upton Sinclair. "Socialism and the Drink Traffic," by Philip Snowden, M.P.

The following books in the STOCKPORT FREE LIBRARY may also be read with advantage:—

Name of Book.	Author.	Library No.
"Historical Basis of Socialism"	H. M. Hyndman	D 7802
"History of Socialism"	Kirkup	
"An Inquiry into Socialism"	Kirkup	
"Ethics of Socialism"	Belfort Bax	D 8026
"Students' Marx"	Aveling	D 8076
"Socialism in England"	S. Webb	D 7779
"Studies in Socialism"	Jean Jaures	D 7650
"Socialism and Society"	J. R. Macdonald	D 7666
"Riches and Poverty"	L. G. C. Money	D 8429
"Contemporary Socialism"	J. Rae	D 8255-8350
"Problems of Poverty"	J. A. Hobson	D 7795-8011
"Unto this last"	Ruskin	D 7502
"New Worlds for Old"	H. G. Wells	

Read the "Socialist Review," monthly, 6d.; "Social Democrat," monthly, 3d. "Clarion," 1d.; "Labour Leader," 1d.; "Justice," 1d.; "New Age," 1d.; "Woman Worker," 1d.; all weekly newspapers.

"How many a man has dated a new era in his life from the reading of a book."—THOREAU.

Stockport Labour Church, Our Winter work. being a syllabus of the Lectures and other work arranged by the Stockport Labour Church for the winter session, September, 1908, to April, 1909;...

On Books and Reading.

OUR excellent list of lectures—which, by the way, cannot be excelled by any city or town in the country—will not tell you all that is possible. We want you to follow them up by solid reading and hard thinking. Socialism is a Science, and to be able to understand and convert our opponents we must study all the various phases of the Socialist and Political World. If you wish to fully understand all about Socialism, why not read Socialist literature. There are thousands of books and pamphlets written by some of the most brilliant intellects of our time. They have written these words of wisdom for your benefit; why not take advantage of it?

In the Stockport Public Library

There are over eight hundred books dealing with Socialism and kindred subjects. We select a few that might be read with advantage:—

Name of Book.	Author.	Library No.
"Historical Basis of Socialism"	H. M. Hyndman	D 7802
"Socialism in England"	Sydney Webb	D 7779
"Ethics of Socialism"	Belfort Bax	D 8026
"Studies in Socialism"	Jean Jaures	D 7650
"Socialism and Society"	J. R. Macdonald	D 7666
"War of the Classes"	Jack London	D 8373
"Riches and Poverty"	L. G. C. Money	D 8429
"Six Centuries of Work and Wages"	Thorald Rogers	D 8234
"New Worlds for Old"	H. G. Wells	D 8473
"Fabian Essays"	Edited by G. B. Shaw	D 8204
"Past and Present"	Thomas Carlyle	D 7503
"Unto this Last"	John Ruskin	D 7502

Read our Socialist Weekly Newspapers:—"Clarion" (expunged from the Public Library), 1d.; "Justice," 1d.; "New Age," 1d.; "Labour Leader," 1d.; "Woman Worker" (a sensible paper for Women, not dolls), 1d.

Read the Monthly Reviews:—"Socialist Review," 6d.; "Social Democrat," 3d.

Or following pamphlets:—"100 Points for Socialism," 1d. (the most effective broadside that the Free Traders and Tariff Reformers have yet encountered); "Behind the German Dreadnoughts," 1d.; "The New Religion," 1d.; "The Pope's Socialism," and the famous P.O.P. Pamphlets; also "Britain for the British," 3d.; "Merrie England," 3d.; "Common Objections to Socialism," "God and my Neighbour," 3d. Any of above publications from all Newsagents, or our Book Stall.

"Only be clear about what is finally right, whether you can do it or not; and every day you will be more and more able to do it if you try."—RUSKIN.

Stockport Labour Church, Our Winter work. being a syllabus and other work arranged by the Stockport Labour Church for the session September 5, 1909, to April 24, 1910;....

Chapter 4

The Socialist Way of Life

Our ILP branches are curious compounds. In every branch I know personally there is a serious little group of Socialist politicians. They read books on political economy, study politics, turn up at the lectures, attend to the business routine, and generally do the dry part of the work. To them Socialism is something more than religion. They are almost fanatics in their earnestness.

Around this group you have the lighter men and women, individuals who profess a belief in Socialism, but who cannot, owing to temperament, go very deeply into it. They are kept in the branch partly by sentiment and partly by the amusements. They dance, sing, cycle, ramble, and endeavour to get as much enjoyment out of the movement as possible.¹

The composition of ILP branches, described above by John Penny in the Clarion, might be considered typical of many political organisations, past and present. But perhaps the strength of the ILP lay in the fact that the second group of members, Penny's 'lighter men and women', formed an integral part of the movement, and were not regarded by their more earnest comrades simply as a source of funds and a means of delivering election literature. For the aim of the ILP was to establish socialism as a way of life, to create Blatchford's 'Merrie England', not simply to bring to power a political party which would institute state control of the means of production, distribution and exchange! The ultimate goal of ILP socialism was not the creation of an all-powerful state, but the organisation of society, so that the physical needs of the population might be met by co-operative effort, while at the same time providing individuals with a healthy and pleasant environment, and sufficient leisure in which to satisfy their mental needs: knowledge, culture, art, music, sport, travel and recreation. Socialism was the means by which

1 C, 24 January 1902

and distribution of periodicals and pamphlets. Members were expected to speak, write, and above all, read. To be informed, to educate oneself, were highly-regarded occupations. Perhaps this factor actually helped to generate some of the ILP's internal problems however. Members who read, thought, argued, and reached their own conclusions, could never be treated as mere 'election fodder'. They would not be prepared simply to turn out dutifully for election work, attend routine business meetings, and then generally leave the party's policy decisions to its annually-elected executives. Views and actions were constantly questioned by an informed rank-and-file, and if the vast amount of propaganda helped to produce an increasing number of Labour voters, it also produced a large group of grass-roots socialists, who questioned the policies and ultimate aims for which they were voting. Literate, well-informed branch members, constantly questioning party policy, did not tend to produce an election-machine party. Manchester and Salford, by virtue of its long-established role as a publishing centre, may be regarded as one of the hubs of ILP propaganda. The fact that it was also a hub of dissent within the party may not be completely unrelated.

the individual was to be liberated, not enslaved by the state as he had once been enslaved by the capitalist system.¹ As Blatchford commented in the Clarion:

What a strange hallucination it is to suppose that a Socialist should never do anything but preach Socialism: or study it. It must be all study and propaganda. No social intercourse, no holidays, no music, no literature, no art, no ease nor laughter. Why, it's worse than the black and sour routine of the old Cromwellian Puritanism.²

Merrie England, like William Morris' News from Nowhere,³ may have been utopian, insular, and filled with nostalgia for a pre-industrial Golden Age. Nevertheless it placed an emphasis upon the quality of human life which more theoretical and scientific treatises on socialism tend to neglect. Merrie England was not the blueprint for a socialist revolution, but a vision of life as it might be lived.

The aim of this chapter is to examine the impact of this concept of socialism upon the lives of its advocates. Thus the field of study cannot be confined strictly to the ILP. Members of the SDF may have devoted more attention to the study of economics, and to Marxist theory, but it can be argued that their vision of life under socialism did not differ significantly from that of their comrades in the ILP. So too must be considered the Clarion socialists and the members of the independent societies which flourished throughout the period in question. Initially it will be necessary to consider the background from which these socialists emerged. Did ILP/Clarion socialism attract any particular social and occupational groups; was it a life-long commitment or a passing phase; and how did it affect their careers? Unfortunately hard statistical

1 Robert Blatchford, Merrie England passim

2 C, 28 September 1901

3 William Morris, News from Nowhere (first published in Commonweal, January-October 1890)

evidence is lacking, and it is possible only to examine the biographical data collected in Appendix II, and to make tentative suggestions. Nevertheless such a survey used in combination with published and oral evidence can portray the socialist movement in the broader context of pre-First World War society.

From this general survey it will then be necessary to proceed to an examination of more detailed biographical information, in order to ascertain the impact of socialism upon its adherents. Initially an attempt will be made to describe the distinctive socialist life-style. Later sections will consider the role of women in the ILP, together with the interaction of the socialist and women's suffrage movements, and the contribution of socialists to local public life. The chapter as a whole is intended to substantiate the hypothesis that the ILP was not just a political party, but a much broader social and intellectual movement, which has long failed to achieve recognition as such.

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I The Activists

Who were the socialists in pre-1914 Manchester and Salford? The question may appear simplistic, but the fact remains that the majority of their number are forever destined to remain anonymous. One of the more unfortunate consequences of the party's decentralised structure is that the Head Office failed to maintain a comprehensive list of its members throughout the country. Moreover minute books of Manchester and Salford branches have long since disappeared, with the exception of those belonging to Manchester Central. However an examination of these volumes¹

1 Manchester Central Branch ILP, Minute Books 1902-14 passim.

quickly reveals that branches were far from systematic in their book-keeping. The first volume of minutes contains a three page list of members' names, variously ticked and deleted, and a two page 'Revised list' dated 8 February 1905. Thereafter names and addresses of new members were recorded in the minutes of the meetings at which they were accepted, but no consistent attempt was made to ascertain their continuing adherence. Some members, having officially joined, never appeared at a single meeting. Beyond these minute books the only membership list in existence is that which Mrs. Elizabeth Davies compiled from memory in 1970, of the members of Openshaw Socialist Society.¹

Faced with such a dearth of information, the researcher is obliged to resort to a piecemeal accumulation of biographical data from the full spectrum of sources, particularly newspapers, periodicals, and annual reports. The results of such a search are detailed in Appendix II. It has here been possible to identify 652 men and women who took part in the socialist movement in Manchester and Salford at various times between 1893 and 1914. This group is by no means a scientifically compiled sample; it merely lists those socialists whose names at some time appeared in print - or were recalled by the few surviving members. It is however likely that the list includes the most active members of the different groups; the branch secretaries, conference delegates, public speakers, publicists and election candidates. Beyond this no claim can be made as to its representative nature.

When considering the list of socialists as a whole, one immediately remarks that they were predominantly male! Yet ILP membership was open to both men and women above the age of 16, and there is no evidence of

1 J. Mahon, op. cit., pp. 497-501.

discrimination by the other organisations. Among the few women included are however some noteworthy political figures; the Pankhursts, Ellen Wilkinson, Annot Robinson, Theresa Billington, Annie Kenney, Alice Milne and Katharine Bruce Glasier. Remarkable for their absence are the mass of ordinary working women and housewives. The role of women in the socialist movement however merits particular consideration, and will largely be confined to Section III below.

The social background from which the ILP and other socialist movements drew their recruits is of particular interest and hitherto a relatively unexplored aspect. In the International Review of Social History in 1975¹ Deian Hopkin analysed the occupations of ILP members by utilizing shareholders lists of the Labour Leader Ltd. This revealed the involvement of a disproportionately large group of professional workers, followed by the clerical group, supervisors and foremen. Employers and skilled manual workers were also well represented, while semi-skilled and unskilled workers were notably absent. In her study of the Clarion movement, Judith Fincher Laird² noted the adherence of white-collar workers, particularly clerks and commercial travellers. Also active were skilled manual workers such as the engineers. The poorest section of the community was again virtually unrepresented. Before compiling Appendix II, the present writer managed to interview some of the few surviving members of the pre-1914 socialist movement in Manchester and Salford, In the course of the conversation they were asked about the type of person who joined the movement and, although the interviewees had belonged to various organisations and in different districts, their replies were extremely consistent. Mrs. Plant became involved in the activities of Pankhurst

1 D. Hopkin, 'The Membership of the Independent Labour Party'.

2 J.A. Fincher, op. cit., passim.

Hall after initially joining the Dramatic Society in 1907. She recalled a 'very poor neighbourhood' surrounding the hall, but its members tended to be 'mostly skilled workers', 'the settled type of working class', 'not the rough type'.¹ Mrs. Somerville's parents joined the ILP before the 1906 General Election and sent her to the Socialist Sunday School at Milton Hall. Although describing as 'dreadful' the housing conditions in this area of Salford, she noted that the people who joined the ILP were not the poorest; they were not 'middle class' but 'the better-off skilled workers'.² In suburban areas the social status of ILP members appears to have risen accordingly. Mrs. Elsie Huckbody's³ parents were among the ILP members who founded Morris Hall, Urmston, in 1910. When the hall opened the branch comprised 40-50 members. They were 'a bit inclined to be the intelligentsia', 'nearly every type', but they were 'people who read and had ideas', 'not usually artisans'. Mrs. Huckbody's father was a warehouseman and her uncle a farmer. She also remembered a foreign correspondent, the head chemist of an engineering firm, doctors, parsons, railwaymen, businessmen, and generally 'people who worked in town' (central Manchester). Mrs. Huckbody recalled trade unionists in general as 'not very interested' and the poor as 'not interested in societies', although she admitted that Urmston itself was fortunately devoid of slum property. Lord Brockway once commuted from rural Mellor to the Labour Leader offices in Manchester. He joined the ILP branch in Marple, which he remembered as being composed largely of middle class and professional members.⁴ Mr. Jack Adams,⁵

1 Mrs. Plant, tape 6 August 1976.

2 Mrs. Somerville, tape 10 May 1975.

3 Mrs. E. Huckbody and J. Simmons, tape 23 April 1975.

4 Lord Brockway, tapes 23 July 1974 (interviewed by T.D.W. Reid) and 20 May 1975.

5 J. Adams, tape 7 March 1978.

although not himself a member, provided details of the branch in Chapel-en-le-Frith which was led by John and Katherine Bruce Glasier. He too described the members as 'middle class'.

Beyond the confines of the ILP, oral evidence provides a similar picture of occupational background. Alfred Williams,¹ born in 1906, claims that he 'was weaned on Hyndman Hall'. Before the First World War he was taken to the club by his parents and watched the proceedings while drinking lemonade! He maintained his association with the club until 1935/6 and recalled the members of the early days as 'the more thinking type' and 'artisan type'. Apart from Tom Savage, he could not remember any unskilled workers. Openshaw Socialist Society was recalled by Mrs. Elizabeth Davies, who remarked upon the high percentage of metal workers. Asked to suggest a reason for this, she commented 'Socialism was science, so is engineering'.² Comparisons between the ILP and BSP were drawn by Mrs. Elizabeth Dean,³ who joined the SDP in 1912, just before it merged into the BSP. She attended the 'very big' club in Jackson Street, Hulme, and described its members as 'ordinary working people'. However she could only recall that one was a shoemaker and another worked at glass embossing. Some had 'very badly paid jobs', but they 'had brains' and 'read a lot'. Mrs. Dean considered that the ILP was 'more middle class' than the BSP, an 'intellectual party'. This comparison between the two parties must be considered later. However, oral evidence does present a consistent pattern; the socialists tended to come from skilled working- or professional classes, with the latter group more in evidence in suburban areas. Notable for their absence were the

1 Mary and Alfred Williams, tape 17 March 1978.

2 Mrs. E. Davies, tape 20 June 1978.

3 Mrs. E. Dean, tape 1 March 1975.

mass of very poor, unskilled workers.

Analysis of the biographical data in Appendix II substantiates this general view. Of the 652 socialists listed, the occupations of 381 can be ascertained, and are classified in Table 9 below, under the headings used in the 1921 Census. The table reveals a disproportionately large number of professional people, the 64 represented being 16.8% of the total of 381 listed. The size of this group may well be inflated as a result of the additional information about Central Branch. This was established in 1902 specifically to cater for socialists who worked in the city centre or had no branch in their home districts (which were often suburban). Thus it tended to attract more business and professional people than would a branch in a predominantly working class residential area. The inclusion of students has also increased the size of the professional group, but only those students who actually took part in branch activities, not all the members of the university socialist organisations, have been added. When however it is remembered that the socialists described in Appendix II represented the activists of the local movement, not a cross-section of its rank and file membership, then it is apparent that the professional men and women were extremely influential. Obviously they were a comparatively affluent section of the community, who did not need a socialist revolution in order to attain their desired standard of living. But they also had the intelligence, educational background and inclination to read, which would enable them to appreciate the more philosophical and theoretical aspects of socialism. It might also be added that the very nature of their work brought some of them into contact with the poorest section of the community. Clergymen, nurses, teachers and doctors would both witness the problems of poverty at first hand and be in a position to theorize about their solution. The large number of journalists is hardly surprising for, outside London, Manchester was the chief centre of socialist publishing. The Clarion, Workman's Times,

Table 9

OCCUPATION OF SOCIALISTS 1893-1914 (listed in Appendix II below)

Notes

Classification of occupations is in accordance with that used in HMSO, Census of England and Wales 1921. General Report with Appendices (1927) Table L, pp. 128-9. This has been utilized in preference to the 1911 Census because the latter concentrated largely upon industrial, rather than occupational groupings. Groups I and II (fishermen and agricultural workers) have been omitted for obvious reasons. For the purpose of this analysis students have been added to the list of professional occupations, but only those who took part in the socialist movement outside the university have been included. Because some socialists' occupations are inadequately described, two groups of unclassified occupations have been added: unskilled and skilled/professional. Finally, paid employees of trade unions and political organizations have been listed separately.

	<u>Occupational Group</u>	<u>Number of Socialists</u>
III	Coal miners and other workers associated with mining industry	3
IV	Coke oven workers and makers of lime, cement, patent fuel, etc.	0
V	Makers of bricks, pottery, earthenware and glass ..	1
VI	Workers in chemical processes (inc. makers of paint, oil, grease, soap, etc.)	2
VII	Metal workers	48
VIII	Workers in precious metals and electro plate ..	0
IX	Electrical trades	2
X	Makers of watches, clocks and scientific instruments	1
XI	Fur and leather trades (excluding shoes)	6
XII	Textile workers	5
XIII	Makers of textile goods, clothes and footwear ..	12
XIV	Makers of foods, drink and tobacco	2
XV	Workers in wood	15
XVI	Paper trades: 1. Paper makers	0
	2. Printing trades	22

XVII	Builders, bricklayers, contractors	..	..	..			9
XVIII	Painters and decorators	..	..	..	..	..	6
XIX	Rubber workers	..	..	..	..	..	3
XXII	Transport and communication workers:						
	1. Railway workers	..	..	..	..	2	
	2. Road transport workers	..	..	..	..	1	
	3. Water transport workers	..	..	..	..	2	
	4. Postmen and post office sorters	..	..	..	..	6	
	5. Messengers and porters	..	..	..	..	<u>1</u>	12
XXIII	1. Commercial, financial and insurance occupations (excluding clerks)	..	..	..	..	..	22
	2. Proprietors and managers of dealing businesses	..	..	..	..	..	32
	3. Commercial travellers	..	..	..	..	..	3
	4. Salesmen and shop assistants	..	..	..	..	..	8
	5. Newspaper sellers	..	..	..	..	..	2
XXIV	Persons employed in public administration (inc. police)	..	..	..	..	..	7
XXV	Professional:						
	Clergymen and ministers	..	..	..	..	..	8
	Barristers	..	..	..	..	..	1
	Solicitors	..	..	..	..	..	0
	Registered medical practitioners	..	..	..	..	..	7
	Teachers (and lecturers)	..	..	..	..	..	13
	Consultant Engineers	..	..	..	..	..	3
	Architects	..	..	..	..	..	2
	Analytical chemists	..	..	..	..	..	1
	Journalists	..	..	..	..	..	18
	Students	..	..	..	..	..	11
XVI	Persons engaged in entertainment and sport	..	..	..	..	..	7
XXVII	Persons engaged in personal service (domestic servants, innkeepers, publicans, barmen, waiters, hairdressers)	..	..	..	..	..	11
XXVIII	Clerks and draughtsmen	..	..	..	..	..	25
XXIX	Warehousemen, storekeepers and packers	..	..	..	..	..	8
	Unclassified occupations - unskilled	..	..	..	..	..	10
	Unclassified occupations - skilled and professional	..	..	..	..	..	8
	Employees of trade unions and political organisations (e.g. general secretaries, organisers etc.)						
	Trade union	..	..	..	..	..	18
	ILP	..	..	..	..	..	3
	LRC	..	..	..	..	..	1
	WSPU/NUWSS	..	..	..	..	..	2
	Other	..	..	..	..	..	<u>1</u>
							25
							<u>381</u>
							<u><u>381</u></u>

and Labour Leader were all based in the city at various times, as was the Labour Press. The professional group also contains a high proportion of the women activists, to whom reference must later be made.

The role of students in local socialist movements before the First World War is a subject which seems to have been ignored by historians. Yet Manchester University undoubtedly produced some prominent personalities: Christabel Pankhurst, Ellen Wilkinson, J.T. Walton Newbold and Victor Grayson. The period witnessed two student socialist groups. Manchester University Students' Socialist Society, founded in February 1906, had an initial membership of about 40, and a committee comprising Victor Grayson as Chairman, Christabel Pankhurst and F. Marquis as Vice-Chairmen, E.W. Smith as Treasurer and Ada Lee and D. Pearson as Secretaries. They resolved to ask Professor Alexander to act as President.¹ By May 1908 M.E. May and Walton Newbold had taken over the secretaryship, and were appealing to socialist students and teachers from all universities and colleges to establish contact with local organisations during the long vacation. In constituencies where a socialist or labour candidate at the next general election was likely they could join in the campaign. In areas which boasted only small branches or a mere handful of socialists, students might attempt to hold meetings and discussions, or simply engage in newspaper correspondence.²

Whether the society ceased to exist, or whether it simply changed its name is uncertain. However at the close of 1911 the Labour Leader carried correspondence concerning the Manchester Students' Fabian Society.³ Continuity was provided by Walton Newbold, now Treasurer, while Oliver

1 LL, 9 March 1906

2 Ibid., 22 May 1908

3 Ibid., 29 December 1911

Ellis became Secretary.¹ According to Newbold:

We are bound by a long tradition so long as we are at college to be Fabians, and not, as many of us would prefer, to form ILPs; we hope and expect before very long to be linked in one Inter-University Federation.²

The society duly elected Ramsay MacDonald (then Chairman of the Labour Party) as its President, and took part in election work in Oldham.³ Newbold and his associate A. Lawton Doyle were however convinced that the University Fabian Societies were generally the most sectional and least useful of all socialist bodies. Their solution was for the societies to form a national federation in order to take their place as a 'integral part of the British Labour and Socialist movement'.⁴ Their plans reached fruition in the following April, with the formation of the University Socialist Federation.⁵ Oliver Ellis became its first Vice-Chairman, while philosophy student Susie Fairhurst was elected to the Executive.⁶

Thus while the university socialists were obviously a small group, they were particularly active in their attempts to lead the student movement into the mainstream of socialist politics. Why did Manchester produce such an active student socialist movement? One can only speculate, but part of the answer must lie in the fact that the new Victoria university was not the preserve of upper class, ex-public school students to the same extent as were Oxford and Cambridge. The student socialists, although of undoubted academic ability, were not characters who would have

1 Ibid., 19 January 1912

2 Ibid., 29 December 1911

3 Ibid., 19 January 1912

4 Ibid., 26 January 1912

5 Ibid., 26 April 1912

6 Ibid., 4 July 1912

fitted easily into the Oxbridge mould. Grayson had served an engineering apprenticeship before commencing his studies for the ministry. Christabel Pankhurst's career as a law student was preceded by active involvement in the ILP and women's suffrage movement. Ellen Wilkinson had been a pupil teacher, while Newbold, a Quaker from Buxton, and Doyle, both entered university already conversant with the wider socialist movement. Indeed Doyle's brother had been manager of the Leicester Pioneer. Newbold's decision to remain in Manchester for a further year after graduation (1912), appears to have stemmed less from his urge to obtain an MA than from his desire to direct the affairs of the University Fabian Society during the year in which the ILP Conference would meet in Manchester. The student socialists also had some sympathisers among the staff. Katharine Bruce Glasier had a brother who was Professor of Latin¹ while Sidney Chapman, a member of the ILP since 1892, was in 1901 appointed to the Chair of Political Economy. Both Chapman and his fellow-lecturer S.E. Maltby provided classes on Industrial and Economic History for the ILP.

Like the students, the clergymen and ministers who joined the socialist movement were far from representative of their social caste. Although Rev. Charles Peach was involved in the SDF in the mid-'80s, most of the group confined their activities to the Church Socialist League, Christian Socialist Union or ILP. Several can be identified as belonging to Nonconformist denominations with a radical tradition: H. Bodell Smith and John Trevor were both Unitarians and William Westerby a Congregational

1 Information concerning Newbold and Doyle is provided in the 'Autobiographical Details of Newbold's Political Life', in MSS Newbold Papers, John Rylands University Library of Manchester. (Newbold provided no pagination, and at the time of examination the MSS appeared to be in a state of disorder.)

minister. To a greater extent than many other professional groups they were likely to witness the extremes of poverty, and consider the means of its amelioration. Rev. Thomas Horne, rector of St. John the Baptist in Hulme, held Sunday conferences on 'the Gospel of the Poor', and in 1896 was appointed Workhouse Chaplain by Chorlton Guardians.

From Table 9 the second largest occupational group among the socialists appears to be the metal workers. Again the number may be somewhat inflated through the nature of the source material. Mrs. Elizabeth Davies was able to recall a large number of metal workers who were members of Openshaw Socialist Society, and indeed that society accounts for just over half the group of 48. Mrs. Davies stressed the appeal of socialism to the scientific mind, but there are more mundane considerations. For engineers the period was one during which their employers sought to impose technical and organizational change. Within the ASE at least socialists managed to place themselves in influential positions by allying with the movement against the inroads of machines, piecework and unskilled workers.¹ Metal workers were also comparatively easy for socialists to recruit and organise locally. 'Gorton Tank' employed some 4,000 men, the majority of them skilled. As in the case of Harry Pollitt, it was not difficult for a young apprentice to find socialist mentors, or indeed for the converted socialist to obtain an audience.²

The third largest group in Table 9 is the 'proprietors and managers of dealing businesses'. Most of them were shopkeepers, including a newsagent, tobacconist, fruiterer, draper, confectioner, several grocers, a wine and spirit merchant, and the proprietor of a fish and chip shop.

1 H.A. Clegg et al., op. cit.

2 J. Mahon, op. cit., pp. 14-15.

One suspects from their location that many of these shops were small family businesses. Radical political movements had traditionally drawn support from this social group; such shopkeepers were an integral part of their working class neighbourhoods although they tended to enjoy greater financial security. Moreover their activity in the socialist movement was not restricted by any fear of discrimination from employers. A few of this group were themselves employers. The Plant brothers, Will and Walter, were the second generation to run the family business of hat block manufacturing. Will first became acquainted with the socialist movement through the minister at his Wesleyan Chapel, and while assisting at a soup kitchen for the unemployed. Walter followed his brother into the ILP, but the rest of the family remained unconverted. J.D. and Walter Sutcliffe, also brothers, ran the Sutcliffe Ventilating and Drying Company. They appear to have moved into the socialist movement via the Clarion Cycling Club.

'Commercial, financial and insurance occupations' also produced a relatively large number of socialists. In the context of the socialist movement however the census terminology can be somewhat misleading, for most of the group were confined to the lower echelons of the commercial world; bookkeepers, cashier, and a number of insurance agents. The preponderance of insurance agents is hardly surprising. For the socialist the job had the attraction of requiring no special qualifications or training; hours were flexible (and could to some extent be arranged to fit in with political commitments); there was greater freedom than in a shop or factory; and clients were obvious targets for propaganda. The Friendly Societies, unlike employers in other fields, were not averse to socialists, whom they found to be intelligent and adept at verbal persuasion. Insurance rounds often proved the salvation of men victimised

for political or trade union activities as, for example, Edmund Holt.¹

Some socialists did however rank more highly in the Manchester commercial world. T.D. Benson and his son George were estate brokers with offices in York Street. The former's support for the ILP began in 1895 and, as the Labour Leader commented in 1919, 'His knowledge of financial and business affairs has been of immense service to the Party'.² He was assistant treasurer of the ILP's election fund in 1895, treasurer in 1900, thereafter becoming treasurer of the national party. His commercial background also made him an ideal director of the Labour Leader Ltd. Benson's assistance to the ILP however extended beyond official duties. He provided the Manchester and Salford party with offices and, on many occasions, made available ready cash from his own pocket. The manner in which the NAC purchased the Labour Leader from Hardie was by no means exceptional.³ The ILP had the wisdom to avoid inverted social snobbery; if someone like Benson was prepared to assist the cause, the party was only too willing to utilize his talents and resources. Prominent public figures, such as Dr. Pankhurst or Dr. Arthur Wyndham Martin, Medical Officer of Health for Gorton, were welcomed into the ranks, and valued both for their ability and for their enhancement of the ILP's public image. With such adherents, the ILP looked like a potential party of government.

The influence of white-collar workers in the socialist movement was further enhanced by a number of clerks, whose role in the Clarion movement

1 C.S. Davies, North Country Bred. A Working-Class Family Chronicle (1963; 3rd impression 1964) pp. 113-5.

2 LL, 8 April 1919.

3 For Benson's role in the transaction, see L. Thompson, The Enthusiasts pp. 138-40.

has already been noted. As Judith Fincher Laird commented,¹ they were a group who valued self-help and self-education, but for whom opportunities for social and economic advancement were limited. Their salaries, while providing a reasonable standard of living, could not cater adequately for their tastes and aspirations. Excluded from Manchester's affluent middle class circles, but with no taste for the more hedonistic working class pleasures, they appear to have been particularly attracted to the social and cultural life of the ILP.

The addition of full-time political and trade union secretaries and organisers further increases the number of white-collar workers. With their number may also be included the men and women employed in public administration, for example an inland revenue officer, a school attendance officer, and police sergeant Peter Milne. Thus more than half the socialists listed in Appendix II may be placed in the 'white collar' category.

Apart from the metal workers, the largest distinctly working class groups were formed by the printing workers, the makers of textile goods, clothing and footwear, and the woodworkers. Like the metal workers, the printing trades tended to be skilled and comparatively well paid. Their status too was threatened by the introduction of new machinery.² The textile/clothing workers and woodworkers were also likely to have established trades; tailor, boot and shoe maker, carpenter, joiner or turner. Morris Mendelsohn, the anarchist mackintosh maker, was the exception rather than the rule. There is no real indication of the poorest section of the clothing trade, the sweated workers or the Jewish immigrants, playing a significant role in the socialist leadership.

1 J.A. Fincher, op. cit., pp. 181-5

2 Initially the compositors were successful in negotiations concerning the use of linotype machines, but nevertheless the long-term threat remained. See H.A. Clegg, et al, op. cit., pp. 147-8.

One group of men and women who did tend to cut across social barriers were the members of the acting and musical professions, for example actress Daisy Halling and musicians Walter Hampson, J.B. Williams and Moses Baritz. The close contacts between socialists and the theatre have already been noted, but it is fitting here to repeat Lord Brockway's claim, that the leading actors and actresses of Manchester's Gaiety Theatre were all in fact members of the ILP.¹

The socialists who did not come from a professional or skilled background were comparatively few in number, and far from typical of their social group. One striking example was Sam Robinson, for many years literature secretary of Central branch, a staunch feminist, and an extremely competent organiser. His background was described by his daughter, Helen Wilson, as 'pure Salford working class'. His father and stepmother worked in the mills, while his grandmother had carried coal on her back in a Wigan pit. In such an environment, Sam's major disadvantage was that he 'could not use his hands', 'a tragedy for a working class man'. His fascination with books was unappreciated by all except a verger at St. Ann's Church, who took an interest in his progress and wanted him to train for the ministry. But Sam Robinson also had a bad stammer, which virtually debarred him from any career involving public speaking. He therefore scraped a living in a variety of unskilled jobs, alleviated only by his army service in the First World War when, being too old for active service, he was made soldiers' librarian in Dalhousie.² Like Robinson, Joe Toole also came from the overcrowded and poverty-stricken district near Salford Cathedral. The eldest of seven children (who had survived from a family of 13) he left school at 12 and helped to support

1 Lord Brockway, tape 20 May 1975

2 Mrs. H. Wilson, tape 11 December 1979

the family by a series of unskilled jobs. Like Sam Robinson he sought to improve his scanty education by reading. In an attempt to gain some spare time for this, while still earning as much as possible, he deliberately sought out unpleasant jobs, such as shouldering coffins for a local undertaker.¹ Also among the ranks of the unskilled were William Horrocks, a coal heaver who had pioneered the local socialist movement in the '80s, and Charles Rowley, a scavenger who eventually joined the National Executive of the Workers' Union, and became Vice-President of Manchester Labour Party.

One suspects from the evidence of their later careers that the unskilled workers in the group were just as able and intelligent as their more fortunate comrades, but tended to come from poorer families. Apprenticeships were not usually within the reach of sons of unskilled men, and the educational system was of little help to the child whose family needed his pay-packet at the age of 12. For an intelligent man thus condemned to a succession of unskilled jobs, the socialist movement could provide a new way of life; comrades who accepted and shared his love of books, opportunities to continue his self-education, and perhaps even a new career. Thus the comparatively few unskilled workers who joined the socialist movement were far from typical of their class. In their desire for self-education and broader cultural horizons they were more akin to the white-collar and skilled workers, with whom they now made common cause. If the socialists are considered in terms of social status and income, then the Manchester and Salford movement contained an extremely broad spectrum. However in terms of cultural activity and aspirations they were remarkably homogeneous.

1 M. Toole, Our Old Man (1948) pp. 1-6 passim.

Just as it lends itself to occupational analysis, Table 9 also provides data concerning the different socialist groups and the periods during which individuals are known to have been active. The most obvious question which arises is, simply, was there any major difference between adherents of the ILP and SDF/BSP? Biographical information about Social-Democrats is generally more difficult to accumulate, for whereas the ILP press was at times Manchester-based and always provided ample coverage of branch events, Justice was very much a London periodical. Branch activities and information concerning local members were not a major consideration, and the lists of branches did not always reveal even secretaries' home addresses. Thus the number of Social Democrats whose occupations can be traced is in fact extremely small - only 26 if one excludes the few people who changed allegiance during the 1893-1914 period. To draw conclusions from such a tiny group is impossible, but there is an indication that the social composition varied slightly from that of the socialists as a whole. Although the SDF did have some professional men among its adherents, notable William Maben, the consultant engineer, and Doctors Shand and Garrett (together with the latter's wife, Katie), there is no indication of a large proportion of white-collar workers. Social-Democrats' occupations included knocker-up, mantle maker, traveller, confectioner, tailor, docker, cycle repairer, house painter, engineer, compositors, warehouseman, insurance agent, coal heaver, electrician, labourer, engraver to calico printer, rubber worker, caretaker, bootmaker, clerk and law writer. As has previously been mentioned, the practice of tracing occupations through the Directories is more likely to yield information on professional men, and result in their number being comparatively over-represented. Among the SDF this group, together with the clerks and commercial workers, is far less apparent, and more distinctly working class occupations are revealed. Did this stem

from the nature and recruiting appeal of the SDF itself? Certainly the party, with its atheism and desire to abolish the monarchy was popularly considered less 'respectable' than the ILP, and may therefore have deterred some white-collar workers. But the geographical development of the socialist movement must not be overlooked. Just as Openshaw Socialist Society reflected the engineering industry of Gorton and Openshaw, so the SDF, which developed initially in Salford and Hulme, might be expected to portray the social composition of those areas, which tended to be poorer working class districts. In the suburban areas, with their higher proportion of white collar residents, the ILP and independent socialist societies reigned supreme. Mrs. Elizabeth Dean's reflection that the ILP was 'more middle class'¹ does therefore appear to contain some substance.

A general analysis of the data in Appendix II can also provide some interesting indications of the mobility and career patterns of socialists. Too close an analysis of the dates provided for individual entries can be misleading, for these represent only the known extent of political activity. As the introduction to the Appendix emphasises, most socialists were active for years before, and years after, the short time during which they might have served as delegates or committee members, but of this no evidence has survived. The branches or districts shown do however suggest that most of the socialists tended to spend their known political careers in one local area. It was not usual, for example, for a man to move between Salford, Gorton and the different districts of Manchester. Again this may throw some light upon the continuing allegiance to the SDF in South and SW Manchester. Salfordians tended

1 Mrs. E. Dean, tape.

to remain in Salford, and Joe Toole's emigration from Spire Street, Salford, to a large house in Oak Drive, Denton, was the exception, not the rule. Recording addresses (in the attempt to trace occupations) leads one to suspect that many socialists moved house quite frequently. Between rented houses or furnished lodgings this was not a particularly onerous task. But they did tend to move very locally, perhaps a few streets away within the same district. The desire for improved housing was usually tempered by a need to get to work easily. Only the socialists in professional occupations tended to commute; the Bruce Glasiers moved out to Chapel-en-le-Frith, Fenner Brockway to Mellor, and H.C.D. Scott from Higher Broughton to Flixton.

But although comparatively loyal to their particular local districts, many socialists did move much longer distances when job prospects arose. H.C. Anderson is recorded as leaving the country in 1910; Eugen Barnako departed to America in 1907; Charles Buzzo had worked on behalf of the seamen, firemen and dockers in Wales, Antwerp and Rotterdam before making his last home in Salford; Victor Grayson departed to Australia and New Zealand in 1915, with Frederick Leeming preceding him to Australia in 1913. Apart from the obvious groups of students, journalists and trade union officials, not to mention the socialists who eventually became MPs, many other socialists were quite mobile within Britain. Alfred and Eleanor Barton went in 1897 to Sheffield, where they turned from anarchism to the ILP and both became City Councillors; Theresa Billington settled near Glasgow in 1914; Annot Robinson moved to Ancoats upon her marriage in 1908, after commencing her career in the suffrage movement in Dundee. Leonard Hall not only removed to Birmingham, but also became the founder of Birmingham Socialist Party. Manchester Central Branch's treasurer, A. Lea, resigned his office in June 1906 in order to undertake a business

voyage to South America. James Leatham arrived in the district from Aberdeen in 1893, only to depart to Peterhead four years later. Moreover most of the leading WSPU members spent some time in London. Thus although the Manchester and Salford socialist movement, and the party branches within it, can be related to distinct localities, it was by no means inbred. Many of the members moved around the country and abroad, and when the travels of socialists lecturers are also taken into consideration, then it is clear that the socialists were generally a geographically mobile section of society.

The evidence which has been accumulated on the later careers of socialists also suggests a high degree of upward social mobility. Many advanced in status through the movement itself, for the ILP at least contained a number of future Labour MPs. George Benson was to represent Chesterfield; W.C. Anderson was elected MP for Attercliffe in 1914; Fenner Brockway became MP for East Leyton, then for Eton and Slough, before being created a peer in 1964. J.R. Clynes, having won his parliamentary seat in 1906, was to become Deputy Leader of the Commons and Home Secretary. John Hodge, who accompanied him to Westminster in 1906, became Minister of Labour in 1917, and Minister of Pensions in 1923. J.E. Sutton retained his East Manchester seat from 1910 to 1918, then represented the city's Clayton division in 1922 and from 1923-31. Joe Toole, having prophesied as a young man that South Salford would eventually be won for socialism, became its Labour MP from 1923-4, and 1929-31. R.J. Davies won the Westhoughton division in 1921. R.C. Wallhead was Labour MP for Merthyr in 1922-34, while his daughter Muriel, by then Mrs. Muriel Nichol, entered the Commons in 1945 as MP for Bradford North. Her friend Ellen Wilkinson, after representing both Middlesbrough East and Jarrow, became Attlee's Minister of Education. More unusually

J.T. Walton Newbold, youthful acquaintance if not lifelong friend of them both,¹ was elected Communist MP for Motherwell. Victor Grayson's career in Colne Valley was short but meteoric.

The pre-war socialist movement was also the training ground for many local public figures. Leonard Cox, Tom Fox, W.T. Jackson, George Titt, E.J. Hart and Joe Toole all became Lord Mayor of Manchester. The ILPers who became City and Borough Councillors are noted in Appendices II and V below, but it might be added that George Hall, Annie Lee and James Johnston all rose to the Aldermanic bench. Hannah Mitchell served for 20 years as a Manchester magistrate. Apart from the Bartons' success in Sheffield, Michael Deller was elected to Lewisham Borough Council. Not all careers were purely political however. Clement Bundock, the Labour Leader's office boy, became Secretary of the National Union of Journalists. Raymond Unwin, having forsaken his youthful anarchism, was appointed Chief Architect to the Ministry of Health after the First World War, and became a pioneer of Garden Cities.

However these success stories must be countered by some examples of genuine hardship and suffering for the cause. William Horrocks, who had helped to found the Salford SDF and devoted much of his life to socialist propaganda, died penniless in 1918. His comrades from Hyndman Hall had to collect funds in order to buy a plot in Weaste Cemetery and pay for his funeral. Annot Robinson, whose marriage to Sam broke up soon after the war, was a successful organiser for the Women's International League until 1922. Then, as a result of the slump, she lost her job and eventually returned to teaching in Scotland. The only post available was in a remote Gaelic-speaking hamlet near Loch Torridan, and she had to

1 Mrs. M. Nichol, tape 9 November 1976.

leave her two young daughters with her sister, to attend school in Glasgow. Eventually she was appointed to a school at Flisk, near Dundee, but was reunited with her daughters for only three months before her sudden death. Annot left nothing - she had 'lived from month to month'. The WIL opened an 'Annot Robinson Memorial Fund' which yielded £177 14s. 9d., to be administered by Annot's sisters on behalf of her daughters.¹ George Evans died in 1893 after devoting much of his time and energy to the SDF and Labour Church. He left no provision for his wife and family, which also included an adopted orphan child, and both the ILP and SDF began collections.

Socialists were also obvious targets for victimisation. Joseph Nuttall lost his job as a stamp cutter in 1895, and was unable to find more work because his trade union and School Board activities had rendered him so unpopular among employers. Fortunately the ILP was able to appoint him organiser and election agent. Discrimination might however be more subtle. Dr. Pankhurst, who had hitherto been a successful barrister, found that many of his legal clients drew away after he joined the ILP in 1894. Manchester City Council ceased to call on his services in legal matters, and the customary invitations to attend functions at the Town Hall ceased.²

Perhaps those socialists who suffered most severely for their principles were the men who, in accordance with the ILP's anti-war stand, became conscientious objectors. Among the most vivid reminiscences of their plight are those of Fenner Brockway.³ A less prominent member of

1 Mrs. H. Wilson, tape.

2 E.S. Pankhurst, op. cit., pp. 119-20

3 F. Brockway, Inside the Left, pp. 82-108 and Towards Tomorrow (1977) pp. 43-57 passim.

the No Conscription Fellowship was ILPer Percy Smith, a Manchester postman. He was called up in June 1916 and subsequently arrested at Newton Street post office. He made no attempt to resist, despite current rumours that COs might be shot. After court martial he was sentenced to hard labour and imprisoned in Walton Gaol, Liverpool, for a year, before being transferred to a road-building project in the north of Scotland.¹ J.H. Hudson was teaching at Salford Municipal Secondary School for Boys when war broke out. Salford Council considered dismissing him in December 1915, on the grounds of his political and anti-war activities (in the No Conscription Fellowship and Union of Democratic Control). He was however imprisoned the following year, as a conscientious objector, serving his sentence in Wormwood Scrubbs (with Fenner Brockway), Wandsworth Gaol and Kenmel Camp. He was released from Strangeways in April 1919.

Although many socialists did undoubtedly suffer periods of hardship, most of those who were young (and healthy) did develop satisfying and rewarding careers, often associated with the Labour or trade union movements. The energy, enthusiasm and ability which brought them to the fore in the Manchester parties eventually obtained wider recognition. But while most socialists retained their beliefs (notwithstanding the eventual movement of ILPers into the Labour Party), there were a few instances of a change of heart. Fred Brocklehurst had been imprisoned for his activities at Boggart Hole Clough and had represented the ILP on Manchester School Board and City Council, and at the LRC, as well as in the 1900 General Election. But after he was called to the Bar, in 1903, he withdrew from his party commitments and in 1905 acted as

1 Mrs. J. Smith, tape 8 May 1978.

counsel in a case against a socialist Councillor in Altrincham. He subsequently contested the Prestwich division of S.E. Lancashire as a Conservative and ended his life in comparative affluence in Stockport, where he joined a local Conservative Club. Harry Henshall also moved to Stockport, where he was expelled from the local ILP, apparently for taking a left-wing stand, in 1909. He then devoted his energies to the Tariff Reform League, of which he was already a member, and in 1914 became a recruiting officer. Like Brocklehurst, he joined a Conservative Club but also, in 1917, became Yorkshire secretary for the National Party formed by Sir Henry Page Croft. Such defections to the Conservative camp do however appear exceptional. Most socialists remain socialists, although some youthful enthusiasms may have tempered over the years, and family and job commitments at times prevented active participation. Mrs. Elizabeth Dean left the BSP when it moved into the Communist Party and joined Hulme Labour Party instead. During the war Mrs. Somerville went to work in Shrewsbury, where there was no ILP branch, and when she returned to Manchester in 1919 her nursing training at Withington Hospital prevented her from attending meetings. But among interviewees, at least, there were no regrets for a youth spent in the socialist movement. It is however to their way of life during that period that we must now turn.

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II From the Cradle to the Grave

The means by which the ILP recruited its activists have been examined in the previous chapter; public meetings, literature and personal contacts all played their part in drawing a new member into his or her local branch. But, as former ILPers are quick to point

out,¹ membership did not involve simply the payment of subscriptions and routine appearances at business meetings. Adherence to socialism could involve the adoption of a new way of life, affecting family, friendships and job prospects as well as leisure hours. In contrast to the usual concentration upon the development of the socialist movement, this section aims to explore, often from oral evidence, the impact of socialism upon individual men and women.

It is doubtful whether the meeting or literature, which provided a future socialist with his or her initial introduction to the movement, sowed the first seeds of doubt concerning the established order. Most converts had in fact been questioning their own beliefs for some time before making contact with the movement. Mrs. Plant's rebellion had begun in her early teens, when she tackled her High Church father on the subject of Home Rule, and sympathised with the activities of the suffragettes. At the age of about fourteen she was duly sent to Confirmation classes at St. Luke's Church, Cheetham Hill. However her feminist attitude led her to object to the idea of 'churching' and the association of sex with sin. She gave up both Confirmation classes and church attendance! A few years later Mrs. Plant, then aged 17, was reciting at a concert when she was asked by the producer to join Pankhurst Hall Dramatic Society. He needed a juvenile lead for a forthcoming production. She went on to play roles in 'She Stoops to Conquer' and 'David Copperfield', but also joined the adult class of the Socialist Sunday School. Here Fred Coates introduced her to the writings of Darwin, Haeckel, Ingersoll and Tom Paine. She recalls that 'Darwin threw over the Bible' for her. The combination of socialism and freethought initially shocked Mrs. Plant's family, but within a few

1 Mrs. Plant, tape.

years her mother shared her enthusiasm, and her brother and two sisters joined her at Pankhurst Hall. Her father was never converted, but there was no major breach within the family. At 21 she married Walter Plant, who was now superintendent of the Socialist Sunday School, having initially been converted by his brother Will.¹

Religious doubts were not however the most common preliminary to socialist conversion. Personal experience or simply a general awareness, of social injustice appears to have been more usual. Joe Toole was one of the brightest pupils at Mount Carmel School, and dreamed of office work and a chance of further education. But his father earned at most 19s. per week to keep the family of seven children, so Joe, as the eldest son, was obliged to take the 'Labour exam.' and seek well-paid work. His regular searches for jobs led him into the Free Library, where he read the 'Wanted' columns before turning to works of philosophy and economics: Adam Smith, Ricardo, Herbert Spencer, Huxley, John Stuart Mill, Emerson and Ruskin. Later he moved on to Blatchford, William Morris, Wells, Shaw and Dickens. Toole commented:

Study always left me with a deep feeling that there was so much amiss with the world The apathy of those who appeared to suffer most appalled me ...

My greatest annoyance was the apparent disregard by all my mates for the social conditions of the period, and especially by those who had most to gain by a change. Taking things as God-given and never to be altered.

It was in this frame of mind that Joe Toole stopped to listen to SDF speakers on Trafford Road one Sunday morning.²

R.C. Wallhead was aged about eighteen and searching in vain for work

1 Ibid.

2 J. Toole, op. cit., pp. 49-50

in London when he happened to stop at a coffee stall near King's Cross Station. He commented to the stall owner about the general shabbiness of the station and the fact that, although it needed painting, he, a skilled painter and decorator, could not find work. His acquaintance did not understand the situation either, but remarked that someone was writing about it in a paper called the Clarion. He gave a copy to Wallhead, who subsequently became a regular reader of Robert Blatchford. Wallhead then became 'almost fanatical' about the work of William Morris, who he found was also a socialist. After returning to Nottingham, Wallhead went on to study the continental socialists and became an agnostic (much to the distress of his wife's family!). However, it was only after his removal to Wilmslow that he actually joined the Clarion movement and ILP.¹

For many of the women members, the path to socialism led through the suffrage movement. Elizabeth Dean, like Joe Toole, reached Standard 7 in elementary school and she wanted to become a pupil teacher. Her family could, she believed, have afforded to let her remain at school, for her father was a weaver in regular work and the other children, all older than her, were now earning. However her father not only forced her to leave school, but also told her that she owed him £100 for keeping her until that time. Mrs. Dean thus undertook domestic service, and later factory work, while attempting to improve her education by reading. She joined the WSPU in 1908 and was also very bitter against the church ... 'they made chattels of women'. At 21 she married a socialist and refused to have a church ceremony because she would not promise to obey him. They married in a Registrar's office and her father, who was very religious, refused to attend. Plenty of acquaintances proceeded to tell her that

1 Mrs. M. Nichol, tape.

she 'wasn't really married'. It was apparently through her husband that Mrs. Dean joined the SDP in 1912, just before it merged into the BSP.¹

It does therefore appear that socialist converts were men and women who had already begun to question the existing state of society and their own personal beliefs. But although the change in attitude was not sudden, the impact upon the convert's family could be far-reaching. Mrs. Daisy Somerville was the daughter of a police sergeant, Peter Sandeman Milne. The nine children were strictly brought up, and all were regular churchgoers, attending morning service, Sunday School in the afternoon, and evening service. The family was poor - all the children wore clogs and the second-hand clothes which mother's 'well off' family sent them. But their mother was a good housekeeper and a good cook; everything was in order in the house. Then the parents joined the ILP, although Mrs. Somerville did not know exactly why. However she did comment, 'our whole lives changes when the old folks turned over to socialism. From being the placid, conservative, churchgoing people they were completely different'. Her parents went 'head over heels on socialism'; 'everything went to pieces' when they joined the ILP. There was no cooking done, no cleaning, no washing. Church attendance ceased. They were always at meetings. Younger children were left to be cared for and fed by older brothers and sisters, but all were sent to the Socialist Sunday School at Milton Hall. If Mrs. Milne neglected her domestic chores she did not however neglect her children's education. Daisy Milne was sent to Owen's College to study botany and to Hyde technical school for chemistry. With her sister Alice she studied English, shorthand and typewriting at Davis' Academy on Lower Mosley Street.

1 Mrs. E. Dean, tape.

'A doctor who had been tutor to the Tsar's children' taught the family French on Sunday afternoons.¹

Among the pre-1914 socialists interviewed, Mrs. Somerville was unique in being able to remember the impact of her parents' conversion. Most of the interviewees were 'second generation' socialists, whose earliest memories were of parents already dedicated to the cause. However from their reminiscences, from published biographies, and from the details of social activities provided by the press, it is possible to portray the impact which socialism might have upon family life, literally 'from the cradle to the grave'.

Joe Toole recollected that in Trafford Street, Salford, 'It was part of the religion of the women-folk to have a new baby once a year. The midwife was never out of our street'. He also recalled the midwife's stock reassurance to the poor mothers, '... God never sends a little mouth to feed but He sends something to feed it with'.² For the socialist who also questioned accepted religious beliefs, the idea of a large, poverty-stricken family and the consequent high infant mortality rate was an anathema. Hannah Mitchell commented:

Limiting the population as a means of reducing poverty was one of the new ideas, new to me anyhow. I soon came to believe as indeed I still do that although birth control may not be a perfect solution to social problems, it is the first and the simplest way at present for the poor to help themselves, and by far the surest way for women to obtain some measure of freedom.

She survived the difficult birth of her son with 'the fixed resolve to bring no more babies into the world'.

I felt it impossible to face again either the personal

1 Mrs. E.W. Somerville, tape

2 J. Toole, op. cit., p. 3.

suffering, or the task of bring a second child up in poverty.

Fortunately my husband had the courage of his Socialist convictions on this point, and was no more anxious than myself to repeat the experience.¹

Before 1914 the socialist press was already carrying discreet advertisements for contraceptives, and it was among socialists that Marie Stopes' works later found a readership. In 1923 Mrs. Plant, then living in Stockport, arranged for Marie Stopes to hold a meeting in the town. Married Love had recently been published, and in anticipation of a large audience the Labour Fellowship forsook its Central Hall in Hillgate, and booked the larger Armoury. That evening not only was the Armoury filled, but the meeting overflowed into the Armoury Square, where local Roman Catholics had gathered to heckle.²

For the infant in a socialist family, a traditional church Christening might be replaced by a naming ceremony. In December 1911 Keir Hardie opened an ILP bazaar in the Congregational Schoolroom at Harpurhey. He then withdrew to an ante-room, where he performed the 'socialist christening ceremony' for San and Annot Robinson's five month old daughter, Helen (now Mrs. Wilson). The Daily Sketch, which bore a photograph of the occasion, recorded that:

Baptismal rites and the usual formula attaching to a christening were entirely dispensed with. The few words with which Mr. Hardie welcomed the baby girl 'into the Socialist movement' together with a short prayer from the Rev. Mr. Ripponer, of Queen's Park Congregational Church, were the extent of the proceedings ... After naming the infant and bestowing a solemn kiss on her forehead Mr. Hardie pinned on the child's coat the badges of the Women's Labour League and the ILP.

1 H. Mitchell, op. cit., pp. 88-91, 102.

2 Mrs. Plant, tape.

3 Undated cutting from Daily Sketch [?December 1911] (in possession of Mrs. H. Wilson)

Fenner Brockway recalled that his daughter Audrey was named at the Socialist Sunday School at Nelson or Colne.¹ Mrs. Plant's daughter Joyce was named by Dora Walford Taylor at a service in Stockport in 1922. The socialist tune book provided special songs for the occasion and there was by this time a set form to guide the naming service. The most important feature was generally regarded as the speech, made by the visitor while holding the child in his or her arms.²

Socialist Sunday Schools were a means of ensuring the continuity of the movement, by providing for the socialist education of new recruits below the age of 16 (which was the minimum age for membership of the ILP), and also by maintaining the loyalty of 'second generation' socialists, the sons and daughters of existing members. The schools might therefore develop from ILP or SDF branches, from Labour Churches or Cinderella Clubs. There were obviously slight differences in their teaching, with the ILP-based schools learning more towards ethical teaching, while those of the SDF sought to implant the rudiments of Marxism.³ South Salford SDF Sunday School, which opened on 1 April 1894, announced that:

The instruction given is secular and embraces various subjects suitable to the ages of the children, the instilling of the principles of socialism with their inevitable accompaniment of truthfulness, kindness, and human brotherhood being, of course, the main feature.⁴

The school opened with 22 scholars, the number on roll then rising to 89 in January 1896 and 88 in April 1897. It was not financially dependent upon the SDF, having resorted to the fund-raising method used by

1 Lord Brockway, tape 23 July 1974.

2 Mrs. Plant, tape.

3 S. Pierson, op. cit., p. 243.

4 J, 17 April 1897.

temperance societies; each child paid $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per week for 12 or 13 weeks, and at the end of this time enjoyed a tea party or trip. The committee organised a drum and fife band for the boys and there were monthly concerts.¹ By 1908 the school was running separate gymnastic classes for men and women, a propaganda and economics class, and a grammar class, presided over by Tom Purves. But by this time complaints were being voiced of poor attendance and the need for new scholars.²

Although the Sunday Schools did aim to attract children and teenagers, their role in political education led them to cater also for the slightly older recruits who wished to improve their knowledge in fields such as economics. After his removal to Stockport, Walter Plant taught the young men's class at the Socialist Sunday School in the Central Hall. The Stockport school was sufficiently large for the children to be divided according to age.³

The children who attended the Socialist Sunday Schools usually learned the 'Socialist Ten Commandments', which extolled love, mercy, courtesy, learning, respect for parents, and justice, while emphasising that 'the good things of the earth are produced by labour'. To enjoy wealth without working was to steal 'the bread of the workers'. Mrs. Laura Roberts, who attended Longsight Sunday School, Mrs. Somerville at Milton Hall, George Watson at Hyndman Hall, and Mrs. Plant's daughter, Amy, at Stockport all learned the Ten Commandments.⁴ Most could remember at least some of them fifty years later. Sunday School services did however vary. George Watson's class began by making an affirmation, then

1 Ibid., 11 January 1896, 17 April 1897.

2 Ibid., 22 February 1908.

3 Mrs. Plant, tape.

4 S. Pierson, op. cit., p. 244.

reciting the Socialist Ten Commandments before proceeding to songs from the Socialist Sunday School Hymn Book. Mrs. Roberts remarked on the absence of prayers and the singing of 'The Red Flag' by scholars. However at Milton Hall Mrs. Somerville, who also recalled singing 'The Red Flag', both began and ended her Sunday School sessions with prayers (although the 'prayer' which she could remember contained no reference to a deity). There was no Bible teaching however, but singing, reciting, some sketches, and discussions of social conditions. Children also enjoyed dancing, parties, rambles on Sunday mornings, and concerts from the Clarion choir.¹

By the turn of the century the Sunday Schools in different areas had achieved some cohesion from their organisation into regional unions. They also had their own journal, the Young Socialist, which began in 1900.² There were also attempts to institute national youth movements. In 1894 the Labour Leader launched the 'Labour Crusaders' and proceeded to publish names of adherents. In the first list of 56 there were no Manchester children, but within a fortnight H.M. Reade's children, John and Daisy, had joined.³ What became of the movement is however uncertain. There is no evidence of local activity, and the lists of members soon disappeared from the Labour Leader. Equally obscure was the Young Socialist League, which was intended to be a counterbalance to the Boy Scout movement, and had branches in Manchester and Salford in 1909-10.⁴ The latter organisation may have been an offshoot of the Socialist Sunday

1 Mrs. Plant, tape; Mrs. E.W. Somerville, interviewed by Judith Fincher, 18 August 1968; Mrs. Laura Roberts, interviewed by Judith Fincher, 12 August 1968; Biographical notes on George Watson by Professor John Saville (the last three items are with Dictionary of Labour Biography material, Department of Economic and Social History, University of Hull.)

2 S. Pierson, op.,cit., p. 244.

3. LL, 2, 16 June 1894

4 C, 14 May 1909; ILP Year Book for 1910 (Salford, 1910) pp. 9-10.

Schools, but appears to have received no local publicity.

One suspects however that the demand for a distinct and separate youth movement was limited. Social life within the socialist movement was very much a family affair, and apart from business meetings children were usually taken to functions with their parents. Mrs. Plant's daughter, Amy, grew up in the Stockport socialist movement of the '20s, but her reminiscences would have been equally typical of the pre-war era:

I started my life at the Central Hall ... you had all your ethical/spiritual side, and your Sunday School. You had all your entertainment, your dances, your socials, and you used to have Saturday night entertainments ... concert parties. Then of course Sunday evenings were always your meetings: Sunday afternoons were your Sunday School. You belonged to the Rambling Society and there was always the Drama Section ...

She recalled whole families attending the functions; four members of the Manning family, seven of the Spencers, and Bob Seaton's family. It was just like church. As her mother remarked, in a movement which embraced whole families all had their place, whereas a youth movement tagged on to the adult section was invariably in a state of rebellion and the subject of criticism.¹

Clearly the children of socialists were brought up to feel themselves part of the movement. Indeed it was often the socialist movement which provided the memorable events in their lives. Mary Ellen Larrad, daughter of Tom Larrad, wrote:²

... one of the earliest recollections I have is of an occasion when I was very small and at a big rally and meat tea which was organised at Belle Vue. The guest speaker, none other than Kier Hardy (sic), took me on his knee and (my name being Mary) he sang Bonnie Mary of Aygyle (sic) to me. I also remember the annual May Day Parades when all the various districts

1 Mrs. Plant, tape. Bob Seaton, who became a local Alderman, was joint superintendent of the Socialist Sunday School. A Conscientious Objector in the First World War, he served part of his sentence in Chester Jail with Fenner Brockway.

2. Miss M.E. Larrad. Letter to author, 20 April 1975

vied with each other to create the best tableaux firstly on horse drawn drays and later on motor lorries. I also attended the Socialist Sunday School in Mayfield Road, Levenshulme in a room behind the Cooperative Store where Bruce Glacier (sic) and his wife also were leaders.

I remember my mother embroidering a banner which was carried at the May Day Parades.

My father of course was a leading light in the ILP and we used to go to the social functions in the rooms above the Coop Store in Longsight on Stockport Road opposite to Plymouth Grove. Later when my father became the Agent for Tom Louth he had an office at the Ardwick ILP rooms on Ashton Old Road near Pin Mill Brow and we used to go rambling every Sunday, mainly in the Peak District.

But outside the socialist circle, life for the younger generation was not always so easy. Wilmslow was not a district in which socialism was particularly popular and R.C. Wallhead's daughter, Muriel, found that she was ostracised, not so much by the other children as by their parents. If a children's party was being arranged, she was not invited. Fortunately her admiration for her father prevented her from being particularly upset. Her father also directed her reading. On Friday afternoons the elementary school children would take a book to read while teachers were attending to their registers. Wallhead selected 'suitable' books for his daughter, who envied the girls reading What Katy Did.¹ Christabel and Sylvia Pankhurst were almost refused admission to Manchester High School for Girls; the headmistress pleaded, albeit unsuccessfully, with the Governors not to admit the daughters of a 'Republican and an Atheist'.² Parents who were socialist lecturers were often obliged to spend time away from home. Annot Robinson had little option but to continue public speaking while her daughters were young, for Sam was unable to support the family. Annot, who undertook relief

1 Mrs. M. Nichol, tape.

2 E.S. Pankhurst, op. cit., p. 121.

work among unemployed women, found Mrs. Edwards in a state of near-starvation and asked her to become her housekeeper. The wage of 10s. per week (together with her keep) seemed a fortune to the old lady, who lived in and looked after the girls during Annot's absences.¹ The Glasier family, once installed in Chapel-en-le-Frith, also relied upon a housekeeper, Jennie Davies.² It was however unusual for children to have both parents away from home in the service of socialism.

The focal point for the life of a socialist family was undoubtedly the local socialist hall. The largest halls could accommodate a wide variety of social activities. Mary and Alfred Williams remembered Hyndman Hall as a very narrow, high building. On the top floor was a large room, decorated with socialist slogans, which accommodated dances and the Socialist Sunday School. Below it, on the first floor, the large room was used for lectures and concerts. There was a big open fire at one end, around which were arranged long tables with forms and chairs. Here members would gather for political discussions. At the other end was a large bookcase, containing 'hundreds of books', as well as a long table where the 'old fellows' used to sit to play crib and cards. There were also two billiard tables. Outside, across a small narrow passage, was a little room with a bar, selling beer and spirits. The ground floor appears to have been taken up by cloakrooms and a cottage for the caretaker. The Williams remember it being occupied by a railway clerk, Herbert Addy, and his wife Lizzie who did the cleaning. Downstairs a basement provided storage space for Dramatic Society props.³

1 Mrs. H. Wilson, tape.

2 L. Thompson, op. cit., p. 112.

3 Mary and Alfred Williams, tape.

Openshaw Socialist Society's hall in Margaret Street was actually built by members. The large upstairs room had a parquet floor (laid by Tom Pickering and Mr. Bowcock) and a large mural of 'Cornucopia', painted by an artist named Powell, whose wife even painted a pattern on the bottom of the curtains. There were cloakrooms and a members' room, but no bar. The Openshaw socialists were of the opinion that bars ruined clubs; members could go to the pub on the corner if they wished. Initially the cleaning was undertaken by members. Mrs. Elizabeth Davies finished work at 1 pm on Saturdays, and duly went to help clean the hall, ready for the evening whist drives (which provided much of the funds).¹ Elsewhere in the district Pankhurst Hall, Elvington Street Hall, Milton Hall and Morris Hall in Urmston bore witness to the talents and devoted attention of their members, as did the meeting rooms of smaller branches.² Such halls provided the focal point for the life of the branch; a round of business meetings, lectures, discussions, debates, dances, socials, concerts and bazaars. The social activities served not only to unify the members, but also provided revenue with which to subsidise both the accommodation and political activities.

Beyond their own branches, and the activities organised by Manchester and Salford District ILP, there was a further range of social activities available. Music played an important part in the socialist movement, providing a 'draw' for the audience at both indoor meetings and open-air demonstrations. Manchester Socialist Choir appears to have continued its activities at least from 1897 to 1906. It seems to have drawn its members from both ILP and SDF; on Christmas Eve 1905 the two organisations

1 Mrs. E. Davies, tape.

2 For general details of socialist halls, see above pp.420-1, 429, 435, 438-9.

received a guinea each as a result of its efforts.¹ In 1896 the ILP published its own Song Book, compiled by Harry Henshall. The selection included 'England Arise', 'O Beautiful, my Country', 'Lift up the People's Banner' (to the tune of 'Stand up! Stand up!'); 'We're Marching on to Liberty ...' (by Bruce Glasier - to the tune of 'Marching through Gorgia'), 'Ye Sons of Freedom, Wake to Glory' (to 'The Marseillaise'), 'Come Gather, O People, for soon is the Hour' (to 'Hearts of Oak'); 'Think not that Martyrs die in vain' by Robert Nicoll (presumably the Anarchist!) and 'Toilers of the Nations' (to 'Onward Christian Soldiers').² The ILP also published a sheet of Socialist and Labour Hymns, apparently intended for distribution among audiences. The selection comprised 'The Marseillaise', 'The Red Flag', 'March of the Workers' (with words by William Morris, to the tune of 'John Brown'), 'Hark the Battle Cry' (to 'Men of Harlech'), 'True Freedom' (to the march from 'Norma'), 'England Arise', 'Onward, Friends of Freedom' (to 'Onward Christian Soldiers'), 'Sons of Labour' (to 'Anstria'), 'When Wilt Thou Save Thy People?', 'Lift up the People's Banner', 'Truth is Growing', and 'O High Rocks'.³ Orchestral music was provided by South Salford SDF brass band, which held its first rehearsal on 8 September 1895. By mid-October the band had carried out two theatre engagements and paraded the Trafford Bridge ground on the occasion of lectures by Widdup and Hobart.⁴ In 1910 the Margaret Street Hall provided the headquarters for Openshaw Socialist Orchestra. Membership appears to have been open to socialists from all movements in the area;

1 C, 1 May 1897, 5 June 1903; LL, 5 January 1906.

2 The ILP Song Book, compiled from various authors (by H. Henshall) (Manchester and London, n.d. ?1896) passim.

3 ILP, Socialist and Labour Hymns (n.d.) 4 pp.

4 J, 19 October 1895.

in August 1910 the secretary, R. Rowbottom, was advertising in particular for a double bass, trombone and 'cello players; by December an 'experienced conductor' and 1st Violins were in demand.¹

Socialists whose talents were athletic rather than musical tended to gravitate towards the Clarion movement. In 1894 Manchester and Salford ILP instituted the ILP Wheelers, which was intended both as a recreational organisation, and also as a means of commencing socialist meetings in outlying villages.² But the movement soon evolved into a local Clarion Cycling Club.³ A clubhouse, providing recreation, refreshments, and accommodation for local Clarion cyclists was established in 1897 near Knutsford. The club then removed in 1902 to an old farmhouse at Handforth. All the work on the new premises was undertaken by members; R.C. Wallhead carried out much of the design in William Morris style; he stencilled curtains and even made leaded lights.⁴ Other members laid out tennis courts. The club house was run by a steward, but visitors had to help with the work; Ernest Oakley described how those who received a 'lucky ticket' at the table had to stay behind to wash up.⁵ Stella Davies recalled a weekend party which helped to pick and store apples and damsons from the clubhouse's orchard.⁶

Also associated with the Clarion movement were the Scouts, the Cinderella Club, the Glee Clubs and Field Clubs.⁷ The latter appear to

1 C, 5 August, 2 December 1910.

2 Ibid., 28 April 1894.

3 Ibid., 21 July 1894.

4 Mrs. M. Nichol, tape. See photographs in Appendix VI.

5 E. Oakley, tape 19 April 1975.

6 C.S. Davies, op. cit., p. 135.

7 See J. Fincher, op. cit., pp. 149-78 passim.

to have been rambling clubs which concentrated upon the collection and study of natural history specimens. In December 1895 the Manchester Field Club gathered over 40 members for its annual reunion. It reported to The Scout:

Collection of fossils, shells, plants and insects on view by favour of Mr. Hibbert. Messrs. Randall, Reid and Brierley lent microscopes. Tea, music, poetry and science, filled up a delightful evening.¹

Clarion readers and sympathisers also formed the somewhat amorphous Fellowship, which tended to centre round the cycling clubs. In 1901 Blatchford asserted:

The Fellowship is not a political organization. It is not a Socialist organization. It is not an organization at all. It is not intended to supplant the SDF, nor to supplant the ILP. It is intended, when it shall be ready, to support and assist the organised Socialist Party in its own way and by its own means.²

But in spite of Blatchford's intentions, the Fellowship did develop as the political wing of the Clarion movement, eventually becoming the rallying ground for critics of the Labour alliance. Inspired by Julia Dawson, the Clarion also led to the formation of Handicraft Guilds. At the end of October 1904 the Guild held an exhibition at the Athenaeum, Manchester, opened by the Lord Mayor of Manchester, the Duchess of Sutherland, the Countess of Warwick, Walter Crane and Robert Blatchford.³ Manchester Clarionettes also had the additional facility of the Clarion Social Club, opened in Market Street in December 1899. Membership was available to men and women 'in sympathy with the spirit of the Clarion and the ideal and principles that it advocates'. Annual subscriptions,

1 The Scout, December 1895.

2 C, 23 February 1901.

3 C, 5 October 1901, 2 September 1904.

which could be paid quarterly, were 10s. for ordinary members, and 7s. 6d. for country members (who lived not less than eight miles from Manchester). 'Visiting members', including members of the musical and dramatic professions, were admitted at monthly rates.¹ Like the socialist halls, the club provided social evenings, debates and concerts, together with a library and reading room, facilities for billiards, chess, draughts and cards, and a refreshment bar.²

Clearly the socialist movement could cater amply for all its adherents' political, recreational and cultural needs. Moreover in the early '90s the ILP also attempted to branch out into the field of practical co-operation. While the co-operative ethic attracted the sympathy of socialists, the prices and quality of goods provided by Manchester and Salford Equitable Co-operative Society did not! The ILP then, as always, needed a firm financial base, and in February 1892 Ben Bilcliffe managed to convince the Manchester and Salford Executive that members were 'simply throwing money away in big profits to our enemies'; money which could by means of a Trading Scheme accrue to party funds. With a Central Trading Committee established to transact the business, and a distribution network through the branches provided by Divisional Trading Committees, the ILP branched out into trade in imperishable goods: coal, packet tea, soap, blacking, matches and sauce. But the Trading Department was both under-financed and under-manned; moreover it had no legal standing. Therefore in November 1893 it was re-organized as the Independent Labour Party Co-operative Society Ltd., and 5s. shares were made available.³ However

1 Ibid., 9 December 1899.

2 Ibid., 3 February 1900.

3 Ibid., 18 November, 2 December 1893.

problems still remained; insufficient shares were taken up and doubts expressed as to the ability of the management.¹ A further reorganisation led to the formation of the Social Trading Co., which induced subscribers to take up the 1,500 £1 shares by allotting 50% of profits to shareholders. Previous schemes had earmarked all profits for socialist bodies. The company now sold bread, groceries and clothing, as well as coal (from a lorry with 'Independent Labour Party' painted on the front board), 'Social Sauce' and 'Social Tea' - available at 1s. 4d., 1s. 8d. and 2s. per pound. True to its principles, the company paid the highest wages, and refused to buy shirts made by sweated labour.² However the indications are that it failed to flourish. Possibly through lack of capital, lack of markets, mismanagement (or all three), it faded from the local scene in the mid '90s.

Admittedly some socialists did put their faith in the established co-operative movement. James Johnston had, by 1899, been active for a quarter of a century in the co-operative movement and believed that it would develop, in conjunction with municipal and national collectivism into a practical system of carrying on the industries of the country on a collectivist basis. Johnston became honorary secretary, then chairman, of the Education Department of the Co-operative Union, and served for six years as president of Manchester and Salford Co-op.³ John Harker joined the local co-operative society in 1894, eventually representing it at Annual Co-operative Congresses, in Exeter in May 1902 and Doncaster in June 1903. He was also elected to its Board of Management in

1 LL, 1 and 22 September 1894.

2 C, and LL, 17 November 1894.

3 Manchester Faces and Places, Vol. X, No. 4, January 1899.

January 1907.¹

Such involvement with the co-operative movement was comparatively rare, but socialists did generally extend their enthusiasms to a wide range of activities outside their own movement. Educational pursuits were always popular, for most socialists were dedicated to self-improvement. William Mellor, having left school at the age of ten, attended the Lower Mosley Street Schools and Bennett Street Sunday Schools as a young man. He developed a taste for the humanities, in particular for English Literature, and moved on to the Ancoats Recreation Lectures before winning a scholarship to Oxford (presumably to Ruskin College).² Mrs. Elizabeth Davies remembers going from Openshaw to the Ancoats Brotherhood with her father. She recalled the lectures, the music which was always an integral part of the proceedings, and the personality of Charles Rowley, 'who always had something interesting to tell when he came on the platform.'³ Other socialists studied Esperanto, in the belief that a universal language would break down the barriers which divided people of different nations, and promote international solidarity.⁴ The Labour Leader ran regular weekly Esperanto features in 1908, while South Salford SDF held its own classes early in 1907.⁵ Economics was always a popular subject for socialists, and in 1909

1 Co-operative Union Ltd., 34th Annual Co-operative Congress 1902 ... (Manchester, ?1902) pp. 146, 149-52, 158, and 35th Annual Congress, 1903 ... (Manchester, ?1903) pp. 317-8; Co-operative News, 2 May 1908.

2 Manchester and Salford Trades and Labour Council, 48th Annual Report ... 1914, p. 2.

3 Mrs. E. Davies, tape.

4 Mary and Alfred Williams, tape.

5 For example, see LL, 24 April 1908, C, 1 February 1897.

Manchester branch of the WEA advertised a tutorial class in economics, which could accommodate 30 students 'drawn from the wage-earning portion of the community.'¹

The Manchester and Salford area also boasted a wide range of societies which, while not specifically socialist, were compatible with such beliefs and often attracted considerable socialist support. Among them were the local branch of the Friends of Russian Freedom and the Manchester Tolstoy Society. The English Land Restoration League wanted to abolish all taxation on labour and earnings, and at the same time increase the tax on land values until the whole annual value of the land was taken in taxation for public purposes. The Land Nationalisation Society sought to abolish landlordism, placing the land under the control of representative authorities, as the property of the whole nation. Also campaigning in this field was the Single Tax Movement, which did not aim to disturb the existing users of the land but proposed to levy an annual tax on land values, for the benefit of the whole community. Many socialists supported, if they did not actually join, the Anti-Vaccination League, which held that to 'stamp disease out by stamping disease in' was 'illogical, useless and dangerous'; only proper sanitation could prevent disease.² Added to the advocates of these causes were vegetarians and teetotallers, who regularly provoked debates on 'Drink in Labour Clubs'.³

How far did socialism affect other fundamental beliefs, particularly those concerning religion? For many individuals socialism represented a

1 C, 8 October 1909.

2 Ibid., 22 September and 20 October 1900, 22 May 1903; The Reformer's Year Book: 1902, pp. 33, 35-6, 69.

3 LL, 8 June 1895. See article of this title by Fred Brocklehurst, who maintained that 'Drink is the enemy which the Labour movement has most to fear'.

movement away from established religion although not, in the case of ILP and Clarion socialists, the adoption of atheism. For many of the 'ethical socialists' the Labour Church, which regarded socialism itself as a religion, provided moral and spiritual sustenance. A smaller section of the socialist movement regarded themselves as Christian Socialists, in that they wished to found socialism upon the Christian faith, as defined in the New Testament.¹ In 1907 the Church Socialist League was formed at Morecambe. This organisation was confined to baptised men and women in communion with the Church of England.² In Manchester Sam Robinson organised a Catholic Socialist Society, which went on to establish branches in some Lancashire and Yorkshire towns.³

The socialist movement could, and did, cater for converts of all or no religious persuasions, and the atmosphere generally appears to have been one of toleration. Indeed religious debate only arose in the wake of Blatchford's God and My Neighbour,⁴ and one suspects that it was then confined more to the columns of the Clarion than to personal discussion. Religious differences among local members were revealed only rarely, one occasion being a Sunday in July 1905, when the Lord's Prayer was said before a meeting in the Ardwick Empire. A contributor to the Labour Leader commented that:

Its introduction savours distinctly of an attempt to impose sacerdotal forms upon the public ... public meetings - especially Labour and Socialist ones - must not fall under

1 C, 28 July 1894.

2 J, 13 February 1909.

3 C, 13 March 1908; ILP Year Book for 1909, p. 7.

4 L. Thompson, Robert Blatchford, Chapter XIII 'God and Robert Blatchford', pp. 166-77 passim.

the suspicion of lending themselves to either church or chapel propaganda.¹

Richard Robinson thought the tone of the meeting had been improved by its commencement, while Sam Robinson, who appears to have been responsible for the prayer, hastened to explain his position. He had sent tickets for the meeting to all the sympathetic clergy in Manchester, as well as to members of local elected bodies.

Many of those present would have felt conscientious scruples had all religious observance been omitted at a Sunday meeting. It was under these circumstances that I ventured to ask a Socialist parson to invite those of his audience who cared to do so to join him in a prayer - a prayer which you admit no broadminded Jew or Agnostic can take exception to. I had no intention, and the Rev. Arthur Dale had no intention, of waging a Church propaganda ...

It is perhaps as desirable for members of the party to occasionally break the conventions that tend to become iron-bound in Socialist₂ meetings as it is to break other repressive conventions.²

It does however appear that, even in the ILP,^(as compared to the SDF) adherence to organised religion was not general. Leonard Hall's statement to Robert Blatchford, that 'ninety per cent of your readers are "free" thinkers in the broad sense of the term' may well have been accurate.³ Several of the leading figures in the ILP, including Victor Grayson and Fred Brocklehurst, had abandoned their training for the ministry to join the socialist movement. Admittedly some reverted to religion in later years; H.M. Reade's publication of From Socialism to the Kingdom of God marked his reversion to Christianity, after a lifetime spent in the secularist and socialist movements.⁴ Less dramatically, Mrs. Somerville

1 LL, 7 July 1905.

2 Ibid., 14 July 1905.

3 C, 6 March 1906.

4 H.M. Reade, From Socialism to the Kingdom of God (Leicester, 1908) 23 pp.

was confirmed in the Church of England while still an active member of the ILP. She regarded her move as unusual and certainly her mother, once converted to socialism, did not encourage churchgoing. But Mrs. Somerville was 'not quite convinced' by the Socialist Sunday School, which embraced no belief in God or in an after-life. Churchgoers were, she considered, a minority in the ILP.¹ Perhaps the most important consideration is that the ILP was essentially a tolerant movement. Even if the majority of its members no longer adhered to an established religion, there is no evidence of prejudice against those who did.

Despite the number of branches which the socialist movements established in Manchester and Salford, and the variety of organisations to which their members adhered, most of the leading activists appear to have been acquainted with one another. This factor is particularly noteworthy in regard to the ILP and SDF, whose members in other areas were perhaps less inclined to socialise.² ILPers could usually recognise other members of their own party by their badges. This was 'an artistically prepared gold and enamelled badge ..., bearing the words, "Issued by the National Administrative Council", and the letters "ILP"'. They retailed at 1s. each and were usually sold by branches (which could make a 25% profit for their funds from sales).³ ILPers also seem to have recognised one another by more subtle means. Jim Simmons, who had joined the ILP in Gateshead, moved to Urmston where he was not initially acquainted with any other socialists. At work one day he walked to the

1 Mrs. Somerville, tape.

2 See below, Part III Chapter 1 passim, for an examination of relations between the ILP and SDF. All the interviewees revealed their acquaintance with a large number of fellow-socialists from outside their own branches.

3 LL, 22 September 1894.

firm's tool drawing office behind a man who was whistling 'England Arise'. Simmons stood behind him and, instead of whistling, added the words. The man commented, 'Oh, another one' and they began a conversation.¹ As in most organisations, the leading activists and their families formed a social nucleus. In the early '90s the focal point appears to have been the Clarion. Not only did its staff form a closely-knit unit, but their families were all acquainted. Lord Rusholme, son of the paper's artist William Palmer, recalled going across Alexandra Park to Robert Blatchford's house in Springfield Road. He knew Blatchford's daughters and son Corrie, as well as A.M. Thompson's daughters, Hilda and Mildred.² The Clarion was wont to regale its readers with 'in' jokes, like the references to A.M. Thompson's speech (which lasted all of two minutes) at the New Islington Hall. Thompson commented:

The intimacy between Clarion readers and writers was such in Manchester that the point of a personal jest like this could be guessed even by those who did not know the facts.³

The Labour Leader never created quite the same atmosphere, but its offices in Manchester did form a link between groups of friends and acquaintances. The combined evidence of tape recorded interviews and published biographical material suggests a complex grapevine of acquaintanceship, mutual knowledge, and just plain gossip. Among the leading figures in the local ILP everyone appears to have known everyone else, either personally or by reputation.

Socialists away from home also sought the company of comrades in the movement. Visiting speakers traditionally received hospitality from local activists. Mrs. Somerville recalled that her parents occasionally put up visiting speakers, 'I wouldn't say very comfortably because there was such

1 J. Simmons and E. Huckbody, tape.

2 Lord Rusholme, tape 13 August 1975.

3 A.M. Thompson, op. cit., pp. 125-6.

a lot of us. But in an emergency the old lady would see to things'.¹ Bruce Glasier, one of the most widely travelled speakers, kept at the back of his diary a list of addresses, of members who would provide hospitality. In 1893, when he was still based in Scotland, he noted the addresses of Fred Dean in Middleton, Mrs. Scott in Chorlton-cum-Hardy, Rev. T.C. Loudon of Salford, Mrs. S. Washington, and J.A. West in Harpurhey. Visits to the Manchester area were a terse record of meetings and hosts; for example:

16 October (1895) : B. Manchester. Municipal Elections.
Stay with Burgess at Henshall's.

6 November : B. Macclesfield. I stay overnight with
Jas. Johnstone C.E. Excellent man.
Glasgow wife.

9 November : We stay overnight at Dr. Pankhurst's.²

Less prominent socialists also sought hospitality from their comrades. On April 25 1896 'Our Women's Letter' in the Clarion announced that a young railway worker would have a free pass to London in July and would like to be there during the Socialist Congress, but he could not afford lodgings. He therefore wanted a home for six days.³

Most of the socialists spent a considerable portion of their leisure time in the movement. Some were dedicated to the extent that they devoted the last months of their lives to it. John Smith of S. Salford SDF died in 1893, at the age of 30, after two years of suffering. But although confined to bed he had supervised the parliamentary election contest, and blocked out all the division for canvassing.⁴ Frank Waters, of the same

1 Mrs. Somerville, tape.

2 J. Bruce Glasier, Diary, 1895 (Sydney Jones Library, University of Liverpool).

3 C, 25 April 1896.

4 J, 1 April 1893.

branch, died two years later when only 26. He had always been physically weak and unable to take part in the more active work, but had held office as auditor for six months, conducted shorthand classes for branch members, and taken part in the discussion class.¹ Charles Fleming, whose premature death was attributed partly to his constant round of public speaking, was remembered in 'a little white-covered neatly printed volume' entitled Charles Fleming: In Memory of a Noble Life, which contained the impressions of his friends and fellow workers.²

For the socialist who died in harness, the last tribute of the movement took place at the graveside. When William Horrocks died his immediate family lacked the necessary funds to provide for a funeral. However a grave in Weaste Cemetery was purchased by his comrades and, after a procession from Hyndman Hall behind the Red Flag, he was buried on 27 April 1918. There was no religious service. Represented at the cemetery were the BSP, ILP, Manchester and Salford Labour Party, the LRC Divisional Council, Manchester and Salford Trades Council, the Clarion movement, and the Socialist Sunday Schools. In Horrocks' memory the socialist and labour organisations of Salford instituted a fund, both to purchase a memorial stone and to send a suitable student to the Labour College.³ George Evans' funeral, at Salford Borough Cemetery on 8 April 1893, was more in the nature of a socialist demonstration. A large number of comrades assembled at his home in Ellesmore Street, Hulme, where four members of the SDF wearing red sashes and acting as

1 Ibid., 4 May 1895.

2 C, 20 January 1905; LL, 21 April 1905.

3 Salford City Reporter, 4 May 1918; printed handbill: William (Bill) Horrocks' Memorial Fund (n.d. ?1918) (in possession of E. and R. Frow).

carriers took up positions at each corner of the hearse. The coffin was covered by the old Red Flag of South Salford branch, and numerous wreaths. A procession formed behind the Labour Church band, which carried its banner and played the 'Marseillaise' nearly all the way. Members of the ILP and Labour Church followed. SDF members from various branches in Lancashire, as well as from South Salford, formed up behind their banners, while the members of the 'True as Steel' Division of the Sons of Temperance (of which Evans had been a member) appeared in their regalia. Also present were some of Evans' fellow-workmen, so that by the time the procession reached the cemetery gates it was almost a thousand strong. It was 'no mournful procession, but ... a triumphal march'. The cortege passed through the gates, with the band still playing the 'Marseillaise', and a crowd assembled around the temporary platform which had been erected at the graveside. Fred Brocklehurst delivered the address, and the Grand Worthy Chaplain of the Sons of Temperance read the funeral service of the order. Horrocks then spoke, and Ben Bilcliffe read a letter from John Trevor, who was absent because of illness. Robert Blatchford, who spoke on behalf of the ILP, concluded by asking the band to play the 'Marseillaise' over the open grave.¹

Dr. Pankhurst's funeral at Brooklands Cemetery in July 1898 was also a secular affair, attended by contingents from all the Socialist organisations as well as public bodies, and with speeches from Fred Brocklehurst, Leonard Hall, Bruce Glasier, Mrs. Scatcherd of the Women's Franchise League and Rev. Thomas Horne, Chaplain of Withington Workhouse.² At W.E. Skivington's funeral in 1910, the singing of the 'Red Flag'

1 WT and J, 15 April 1893

2 C, 16 July 1898

ended the ceremony. 'A beautiful red flag tied with a knot of black ribbon draped the coffin, and was raised aloft by comrade George Hall'. A number of unemployed men carried a sign 'The Manchester Unemployed express their sympathy and regret for the loss of a gallant fighter for the outraged workers'.¹ Funds for the widows and children of deceased comrades were often a necessity, although Mrs. Pankhurst refused to accept money from people whose circumstances, she said, were no better than her own, and suggested a memorial associated with her husband's work.² The Pankhurst Memorial Lectures and Pankhurst Hall were both to bear witness to her decision.

While it is thus possible to depict a distinctive life-style among pre-First World War socialists, the extent of such dedication should not be exaggerated. Although some men and women spent most of their leisure time, and perhaps even their working lives as well, in the service of the movement, many did lead a more balanced existence. A run with the Clarion Cycling Club on a Sunday, and perhaps a meeting on one night of the week might be the more usual extent of their activities. Percy Smith joined the ILP in 1913, when he moved from Goole to Manchester. His future wife was not particularly interested in politics and did not attend any indoor meetings with him. He was however responsible for introducing the speakers at meetings held at Alexandra Park Gates, so Jessie Smith went to these meetings for about ten minutes, until the speaker was installed, after which they would go for a walk in the park. The ILP did however provide the social side of their lives, and they would occasionally go for a run with the Clarion Cycling Club if there was a big rally. But

1 J, 26 November 1910.

2 LL, 30 July, 3 September 1898.

when the war broke out Percy Smith joined the NCF and was sentenced to hard labour as a conscientious objector. Jessie, whom he married in 1920, later joined the Women's Co-operative Guild, in which she played an active part for thirty years.¹

Their political careers, perhaps more than those of the ILP's leading figures, reveal the strength of the pre-war socialist movement. With its wide variety of activities, social as well as political, and catering for virtually all tastes, it could draw into its ambit families and friends of members, as well as recruits who were initially more inclined towards social than political life, and enable them to make their own particular contribution to the wider socialist movement.

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III Women in the Socialist Movement

The women's suffrage movement has received far more attention from historians (as well as from erstwhile members) than have the ILP and SDF. In general its activities and achievements are outside the scope of the present work. However there can be no doubt that, in the early years of the 20th century, the movement did have an important effect upon the ILP, particularly in the Manchester area. The relationship between the two movements therefore merits consideration. However a more interesting, but less well documented, aspect which arises from this is the general role of women within the socialist movement: the background of women who became socialists, their role within the parties, and any attempt by the parties to cater for their particular needs.

1 Mrs. J. Smith, tape.

It has already been noted that, of the active socialists listed in Appendix II, only a small proportion are women - just over 10%. Why were so few women involved? In seeking an answer one must examine both the general pattern of female life during that period, and the attitude of the parties. In general women had less opportunity to become involved in politics than had men. As children their educational opportunities were less than those of their brothers. Throughout society girls were envisaged as needing training chiefly to become wives and mothers. In many working class homes this often involved looking after younger children and helping mothers with chores. Girls were then expected to leave school as soon as possible, preferably beginning part-time work after passing the 'Labour Exam'. Reading was not a regular occupation in the poorest homes, but was more likely to be tolerated when indulged in by boys; girls were expected to 'do something useful'.¹ This discriminatory attitude was to be found throughout society. Although the daughters of 'white collar' and professional workers might receive more encouragement to read, their formal education was often neglected. Stella Davies' father was a manager of a co-operative stores who subsequently ran his own shop and became a commercial traveller when the business failed. Her eldest brother went to theological college; three other brothers attended Hinckley Grammar School. However her two eldest sisters left school at 12. Stella and a younger sister spent only a few months at a Methodist School, then removed to a Dame's school, where much emphasis was placed on deportment, sewing, knitting and embroidery. Stella Davies also left school at 12, but her later educational achievements suggest

1 R. Roberts, op. cit., pp. 50-1; J. Liddington and J. Norris, One Hand Tied Behind Us. The Rise of the Women's Suffrage Movement (1978) pp. 30-6 passim.

that her intelligence and aptitude were in fact greater than those of her brothers.¹ It might be added that Mrs. Pankhurst's ideas were no more advanced than those of her contemporaries. Thus Sylvia recorded:

We learnt dancing from the Websters, an old dancing family in Manchester, and Christabel, who hitherto had never cared much or longed for anything, roused herself to unexpected efforts to excel everyone in the class. Mrs. Pankhurst was delighted; ... Of all things, she now desired most that Christabel should become a professional devotee of Terpsichore, and that she, her mother, should travel with her to all the great cities where she would perform. With this much-cherished project in view, Mrs. Pankhurst regarded the teaching given at the High School with the utmost contempt, and kept us away on the slightest pretext ...

One Sunday morning when Christabel was about sixteen, the Doctor spoke of her future. "Christabel has a good head," he ejaculated, "I'll have her coached; she shall matriculate!" Mrs. Pankhurst burst into tears, protesting that she would not have her daughters brought up to be High School teachers.

When Christabel finally abandoned the idea of becoming a dancer, her mother assumed she would assist in her shop, Emerson's. It was only under the influence of Esther Roper and Eva Gore Booth that Christabel finally decided to study law.²

Most girls thus left school equipped to undertake only unskilled and poorly paid work. Apprenticeships were available only in trades such as millinery and dressmaking, not in fields which would involve any further academic or technical education. Often working with small groups of other women, female workers lacked both trade union protection and the wide range of contacts which might lead to acquaintance with political activists. Moreover outside the realms of domestic service, and living-in jobs in shops or restaurants, girls traditionally remained in the parental home until they married. Thus again they lacked the

1 C.S. Davies, op. cit., pp. 56, 59-60, 63, 71-2, 79-80

2 E.S. Pankhurst, op. cit., p. 124

freedom enjoyed by their brothers, for household chores and, in some cases, childminding also continued to occupy what might have been their leisure hours. Both fathers and the mistresses of girls in 'service' voiced great concern for the 'morals' and 'virtue' of their charges, which in effect meant that innocent social activities in mixed company were restricted and curtailed. It was not, in the circumstances of the era, easy for a girl to go out alone and spend an evening at a political meeting.

But despite such restrictions, most girls enjoyed their greatest freedom at this time of their lives. Marriage to a poorly-paid, unskilled worker might oblige a woman to continue paid work, as well as running her home. Wives in more prosperous circumstances usually remained at home, but housework without any labour-saving equipment was an exhausting and time-consuming occupation. It was not the accepted custom for a husband to help with either housework or children, and once they had families most women had little opportunity for outside interests: cultural, educational or political. As Stella Davies commented, 'it was thought to be a reflection on the mother that she desired a relief from domesticity'.¹ Life for working class mothers did become slightly easier with the passage of time, as older daughters in their turn provided assistance. But by this stage the effects of drudgery and child-bearing were only too apparent, and few women had the energy or incentive to seek new interests outside the home. Further up the social scale, wives of professional men, who could afford domestic assistance, were tied by the need to 'maintain appearances' and take their place in their husbands' social round. Freedom from scrubbing the steps was not necessarily equated with

1 C.S. Davies, *op. cit.*, p. 193. See also R. Roberts, *op. cit.*, pp. 41, 49; J. Liddington and J. Norris, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-6.

freedom to engage in political activities.

Thus many of the possible encounters with socialist propaganda: public meetings, literature, contacts with socialists at work or at trade union meetings, were less likely for women than for men. One suspects, but cannot prove, that many of the women who did become socialists were influenced by personal contacts, perhaps parents, husband, or some member of the family joined the movement, or a friendship was struck up with someone who happened to be a socialist. Opportunities for involvement might also be greater when family constraints were removed. Hannah Mitchell and Stella Davies had both left home and were living in lodgings when they first made contact with the socialist movement.¹ When considering the women socialists listed in Appendix II, their family contacts with the movement merit close consideration.

But while circumstances undoubtedly militated against the involvement of women in the socialist movement, there were two dissimilar groups who enjoyed greater freedom. Most important in the Manchester area was the group described by contemporaries as the 'university women'. Well-educated, capable of supporting themselves in a comfortable if not affluent style, accustomed to the social contacts and free discussion of university life, they were unhampered by many of the constraints experienced by the working girl or middle class housewife. Also enjoying greater freedom and mobility were the women in the theatrical profession. Considered by some sections of society as hardly 'respectable', an actress had greater licence to engage in unconventional political activities.

Attempts to trace the occupations of women socialists listed in Appendix II have not been particularly successful. The socialist press

1 H. Mitchell, op. cit., pp. 85-6; C.S. Davies, op. cit., p. 83.

often described them as 'Miss' or 'Mrs.', without a Christian name or even initial, and seldom provided references to their occupation or trade unions. Searches in Directories proved only that most women were not householders! A few of the socialists did work in industry; Mary Louisa Pollitt was a weaver and Annie Kenney a cardroom operative until she engaged in full-time work for the WSPU. Hilda and Mary Chatterton both worked for a handkerchief manufacturer and Minnie Craig at the Co-op. shirt factory. Annie Lee, whose exact occupation is uncertain, was a member of the Workers' Union. Alice Milne was a machinist. Other women socialists were shopkeepers, but the largest group was found within the 'professional' category: teachers, nurses and university students. There were also women like Ellen Wilkinson and Katharine Bruce Glasier, who progressed from university to full-time work in the trade union, socialist or suffrage movements. Engaged in artistic occupations were actress Daisy Halling and Helen Fisher of Ancoats Art Museum. Again, it must be emphasised that the socialists listed in Appendix II are in no way a representative sample of the membership, only the activists who can be traced from the contemporary press and annual reports. There is however little doubt that the women who became leading figures in the movement were usually well-educated; far better educated than most of their male comrades. As the introductory paragraphs suggested, such women initially had greater opportunity to engage in political activity. One might also suggest that only with a record of proven academic achievement were they accepted on equal terms by the male socialists!

From examining Appendix II it is clear that many of the women socialists did have fathers or husbands who were active in the movement. It would also be extremely interesting to know how many women became socialists on their own initiative and then met their husbands in the

movement, and how many actually joined because their future husbands were involved. All the women interviewed seem to have become socialists as a result of family influence. Muriel Nichol, Daisy Somerville, Mary Williams and Elsie Huckbody all had parents in the movement. Jessie Smith and Elizabeth Dean both began attending meetings with their future husbands, who were already active socialists. It should however be added that Mrs. Dean was already a member of the WSPU, and this raises a further question, which must be considered at a later stage, of the extent to which the suffrage and socialist movements obtained recruits from one another.

How did the socialist parties regard their female recruits? In theory at least both the ILP and SDF welcomed women as members on equal terms with men, and included adult suffrage in their programmes.¹ Neither party however devoted much attention to the position of women, either in contemporary society or in a future socialist state. Hyndman and Morris' A Summary of the Principles of Socialism made only passing reference to the plight of women and children working in factories.² Both William Morris in News from Nowhere and Blatchford in Merrie England referred to the drudgery which was the lot of the working woman, but neither offered a solution which could be described as emancipation. Morris' glimpse of the future contained the following conversation:

"Very well", I said, "but about this woman question? I saw at the Guest House that the women were waiting on the men: that seems a little like reaction, doesn't it?"

"Does it?" said the old man; "perhaps you think house-

1 LL, 23 June 1894, urged ILPers to attend a Women's Suffrage Society mass meeting at the Free Trade Hall on 25 June. For the SDF programme, see J, 25 October 1884.

2 H.M. Hyndman and William Morris, op. cit., pp. 36-7.

keeping an unimportant occupation, not deserving of respect. I believe that was the opinion of the 'advanced' women of the nineteenth century, and their male backers ...

... don't you know that it is a great pleasure to a clever woman to manage a house skilfully, and to do so that all the house-mates about her look pleased, and are grateful to her? And then you know, everybody likes to be ordered about by a pretty woman ...

The old man further added:

... the ordinary healthy woman ..., respected as a child-bearer and rearer of children, desired as a woman, loved as a companion, unanxious for the future of her children, has far more instinct for maternity than the poor drudge and mother of drudges of past days could ever have had."¹

In Merrie England Blatchford's remedy for drudgery was the establishment of communal facilities, laundries, kitchens and dining halls, in which 'we appoint certain wives as cooks and laundresses, or, as is the case with many military duties, we let the wives take the duties in turn'.² Neither of ethical socialism's most popular writers had considered that women might want an alternative to domestic life!

Both the Clarion³ and Justice carried occasional articles on the role of women. Of the leading Social Democrats, Hyndman had little sympathy with feminism and Belfort Bax, a member of the Men's Anti-Suffrage League, was apt to discourse upon the 'inferiority' of women. He even wrote a pamphlet on The Legal Subjection of Men. Justice was apt to wax lyrical about the joys of motherhood. Hence Alice Hart's article on 'Lancashire Motherhood' argued against the system which obliged a mother to go out to work. She should be able to 'fill her

1 William Morris, 'News from Nowhere', reprinted in Three Works by William Morris, with an Introduction by A.L. Morton (4th printing, 1977) pp. 241-3.

2 R. Blatchford, Merrie England p. 20

3 For an examination of the Clarion attitude, see J. Liddington and J. Norris, op. cit., pp. 119-21.

proper place by making her home bright and happy and being indeed a true mother in the fullest sense of the word'.¹ In November 1910 'Our Women's Circle' commented:

The more consideration that is shown to the mother in the home the less likely she is to leave it. Possibly the anti-suffrage gibe should be reversed. Give the woman the vote in order that she may 'stop at home and mind the baby'.²

The only radical reappraisal of woman's role in society came from Edward Carpenter, whose Love's Coming of Age was an attack on conventional marriage. However he lacked the readership enjoyed by Blatchford, Morris or the socialist press.³

How were women received when they actually joined the socialist movement? One must initially differentiate between the female members. Many of the 'university women' rapidly became public figures in the movement, as speakers, writers or organisers. Theresa Billington was already secretary of the Equal Pay League when she joined the ILP. Then within the space of eighteen months she spoke at the ILP Conference and was appointed as a national organiser by the NAC.⁴ Annot Robinson was speaking in the Rhondda when she met Sam. Upon her marriage she left Dundee, where she had first become involved in the suffrage and socialist movements, and resumed her lecturing in the Manchester area.⁵ Katharine Bruce Glasier was an established writer and speaker when she moved to Chapel-en-le-Frith.⁶ Such women of proven ability were welcomed into the socialist movement, and appear to have been treated on equal

1 J, 1 August 1908.

2 Ibid., 5 November 1910.

3 J. Liddington and J. Norris, op. cit., pp. 121-2.

4 LL, 26 May 1905.

5 Mrs. H. Wilson, tape.

6 L. Thompson, The Enthusiasts, p. 111

terms with male members. A similar reception was afforded to women who were already established figures in public life. Mrs. Pankhurst was adopted as ILP candidate for Manchester School Board in July 1894, although she did not actually resign from the executive of the Lancashire and Cheshire Union of Women's Liberal Associations until the following September.¹ Daisy Halling espoused the cause of socialism on the occasion of the NW Manchester by-election, in May 1908, and was greeted with acclaim by the Clarion:

Miss Halling gave a farewell performance as leading lady at the Prince's Theatre, Accrington, and went straight to the Socialist platform at Manchester to support Irving in the by-election. There she found the work so engrossing that she was not present at the first performance of her new play.

Miss Halling has always had socialistic inclinations, and she has found her stage elocution extremely useful on the platform. It is usual for actors and actresses to sign contracts giving their whole services, and as several managers complained of her appearances on the socialist platform she decided to abandon the profession.²

After the turn of the century the ILP, and particularly Manchester Central branch, gained recruits who had already been active in the suffrage movement, and whose political careers merit separate consideration. But how did the socialist movement cater for its less prominent members, for ordinary working women and housewives?

There were occasional instances of discrimination by local organisations. Sylvia Pankhurst recorded that:

Whilst I was working on the decorations at the Pankhurst Hall, a part of the building was already in use. I learnt, with astonishment, that women were not permitted to join that branch of the ILP. The reason given was that a social club, open to men who were not members of the ILP, but closed to all women,

1 E.S. Pankhurst, op. cit., p. 119.

2 C, 1 May 1908.

was attached to the branch. The excuses made for this state of affairs were worse than the fact itself, and aroused so much indignation in my family that they proved the last straw which caused Mrs. Pankhurst to decide on the formation of a new organisation for women.

The organisation was, of course, the WSPU.¹ The establishment of the Clarion Social Club in Market Street also raised the question as to whether women should be admitted. However the report of the 1st Annual Meeting, in January 1900, 'agreed to the admission of ladies without discussion'.²

In most cases the problem for women socialists was the general attitude of their male comrades. Hannah Mitchell recalled:

I soon found that a lot of the Socialist talk about freedom was only talk and these Socialist young men expected Sunday dinners and huge teas with homemade cakes, potted meat and pies exactly like their reactionary fellows ... They expected that the girl who had shared their weekend cycling and rambling, summer games or winter dances, would change all her ways with her marriage ring and begin where their mothers left off.³

Admittedly this attitude was not confined to men. Hannah Mitchell once provided hospitality for a woman speaker who assumed an air of intellectual superiority and treated her almost as a servant in her own home, while reserving her animated conversation for Hannah's husband. By contrast Will Chapman, seeking her assistance with his election address, was quite prepared to look after her baking while she wrote the address!⁴ Elizabeth Dean was often the only active woman member attending meetings at Jackson Street BSP club. She recalled that a few members brought their wives, but they took no part in the political activities, being occupied with

1 E.S. Pankhurst, op. cit., p. 167.

2 C, 2, 9 December 1899, 20 January 1900.

3 H. Mitchell, op. cit., pp. 96-7.

4 Ibid., pp. 118-9, 129.

washing-up and cleaning, 'and the men let them, believe me'. Mrs. Dean, although she did not mind providing occasional assistance, was not prepared to confine herself to a domestic role.¹ After she had become an MP, Ellen Wilkinson asked the readers of Plebs, 'Why is it that the more hard-boiled a Marxian a man is, the more he is convinced that woman's place in the scheme of things is to wash up?' She recalled the problem of one of her female constituents who 'had run socials to raise money for every conceivable good Socialist object, and for once she wanted to sit down quietly and learn a bit about the causes she loved'.²

Such a prevailing attitude, and the fact that initially most branches tended to have few female members, may well have deterred further recruitment. Julia Dawson, regular contributor of 'Our Women's Letter' to the Clarion commented:

ILP and SDF branches don't know what they miss when they do not specifically encourage the membership and attendance of women. Frequently women write to me that they don't like to offer themselves as workers, because only men are seen attending the meetings.

Many of her correspondents felt that male members did not want their 'interference'.³

One response within the local ILP was the formation of a separate women's organisation. It appears that Joseph Burgess had urged the women of North Salford to take a greater interest in the movement, and to attend the meetings, which were hitherto a largely male preserve. But

1 Mrs. E. Dean, tape.

2 Ellen Wilkinson, 'Should Women Wash Up? or, The Marxist and his Missus' in Plebs, Vol. XX, January 1928, No. 1, pp. 13-14.

3 C, 24 July 1897.

at the first meeting the women resolved to form a separate branch with their own officers and funds. The first women's branch formed in North Salford was Hightown, with Burgess' wife as president, and Mrs. Sarah Hayes (wife of John Hayes) as Secretary. A second branch was then opened at Duke Street, Lower Broughton. Burgess commented that 'the members of these women's branches are in almost every case the wives, sisters, sweethearts, or friends of the members of the North Salford Independent Labour Party'. Women also organised their own branches in Hollinwood, and made preparations in Rochdale, Gorton and Accrington. The Hightown women were aware that they were not pioneers, for similar organisations had been in existence for some time in Newcastle and Glasgow. Burgess reported:

All that they are anxious to impress upon their sisters in other places is the necessity of forming a federation which shall work alongside and in harmony with the men's National Independent Labour Party, with a view to the ultimate amalgamation of the two organisations.

They regard this independent organisation for a probationary period as being essential to success. They say truly that they are only novices in Socialism, and if men are admitted to their meetings it has a tendency to check the flow of question and discussion amongst the women themselves. On this account they have decided, while availing themselves of the services of men lecturers, few women being as yet available, to allow only the lecturer to attend their semi-private meetings. In the case of public meetings to be held when some special star lecturer is secured of course the meeting will be open to both sexes.

... The women say they have been kept in the background too long. Their husbands and brothers have been too wrapped up in the Independent Labour movement as in a man's movement to ever think of taking the women along with them.¹

For a couple of years the women's branches appear to have progressed. Hightown branch arranged for some women lecturers, Margaret MacMillan and Katharine Bruce Glasier, who spoke on 'Politics and the Home'.²

1 WT, 3 March 1894.

2 C, 10 February 1894; WT, 10 March 1894.

Annie Reade (wife of H.M. Reade) was elected as delegate to Manchester and Salford Executive,¹ and on the occasion of the Executive's visit, the Hightown women endorsed the candidature of Kate Taylor of Glasgow for the position of Inspector of Factories.² A group of women in Nottingham wrote to Sarah Hayes, asking for assistance in starting a branch, and Sarah Burgess went to speak for the Gorton branch, on 'Women's Work in the Labour Movement', in the course of which she stressed the need to get women on the School Board. By the time of her lecture, in March 1894, the Gorton branch had about 40 members.³ Apparently influenced by Blatchford, the Duke Street branch abolished the office of President, and members took turns in the chair. The branch undertook canvassing, assisted at men's meetings, and supported the School Board election fund with surplus money (which was something few other branches seem to have accumulated!).⁴ In February 1896 a meeting was held in New Cross, to inaugurate another branch of the women's ILP. The following May this branch planned to hold sewing and reading classes, and it is quite possible that it simply evolved into the 'Women's Improvement Class' which Julia Dawson described in the Clarion in May 1898. She announced that 'They are going to begin by discussing such books as 'Alton Locke'. While one reads, the others will be busy making new gowns and things. Each member of the class promises to bring in strangers as often as possible'.⁵ Also part of the socialist women's movement was the Clarion

1 C, 3 March 1894.

2 WT, 17 March 1894.

3 Ibid., 10, 17 March 1894

4 C, 26 January 1895.

5 Ibid., 22 February, 9 May 1896; 7 May 1898.

Women's Van, which set off from Chester in June 1896.¹

However the whole idea of separate women's branches soon came under attack. Mrs. Harker announced in the Labour Leader that this form of organisation served only to intensify the line of demarcation between the sexes. If it had come about through men's prejudice, then women should strive to remove it; if it was because of women's lack of interest in public matters, they would benefit by attending a mixed branch.

There is nothing to be gained by women's separate branches, we want to see men and women work together more instead of less, and this barbarous reactionary sex discrimination done away with.²

But perhaps more practical was Christabel Pankhurst, who commenced the women's column of Manchester and Salford ILP's Social Reformer by remarking that 'It is to be hoped that in time there will be no further need of a women's column in such a paper as the Social Reformer. Today, however, the inferior position which women occupy in society necessitates the separate consideration of many questions from the woman's standpoint.'³

The SDF had a Women's Committee, but in 1904 declared that it had no intention of forming separate branches or a women's party.⁴ However less than two years later the South West Manchester branch established a women's section, with Emma Roberts as secretary. They held meetings on Monday evenings, when 'comrades of both sexes' opened discussions 'upon the fundamental truths of socialism'. All women were invited,

1 Labour Annual, 1897, p. 185. For details of the van, see J. Liddington and J. Norris, op. cit., pp. 132-4.

2 LL, 11 April 1896.

3 Social Reformer, September 1901.

4 C, 24 June 1894.

the idea being to educate them in order to qualify for membership of the branch. Five of its recruits had already joined the main branch, which they had assisted by inaugurating a system of literature distribution.¹ Both S.W. Manchester and Salford SDP branches had Women's Socialist Circles in 1909.² Upon its foundation in 1906 the Labour Party also inaugurated its own women's section, which became the Women's Labour League. Membership was open to women members, and wives and daughters of members, of societies eligible for affiliation to the Labour Party (which thus included trades unions, trades councils, local LRCs and Socialist Societies). Members were to work with the party locally and nationally for labour representation.³ Margaret MacDonald became the League's President, and in 1910 Ramsay MacDonald invited Annot Robinson to become one of the part-time organisers in Lancashire.⁴

How successful these women's sections were in providing recruits to socialism can never be accurately judged. Clearly they aroused antipathy among some of the more articulate and probably better-educated women, who could have held their ground in any mixed branch. But for working women, who were only too conscious of their own lack of education and opportunities to read, a separate group which provided both social activity and political education could prove advantageous as an introduction to the socialist movement. By 1906 however most women's organisations were experiencing internal divisions over the suffrage issue, and it is to the impact of that question that we must now turn.

1 J, 19 May 1906

2 Ibid., 17 April 1909

3 LL, 16 March 1906

4 Part of a letter (from J.R. MacDonald) to Annot Robinson, 1 January 1910 (in possession of Mrs. H. Wilson).

The campaign for women's suffrage was established in the Manchester area long before the socialist parties. In 1867 the Manchester National Society for Women's Suffrage was formed under the secretaryship of Lydia Becker. It affiliated to the Central National Society for Women's Suffrage in 1894, and in 1897 became known as the North of England Society for Women's Suffrage, after the formation of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies at the Unity Conference in Birmingham. Their object was the extension of the parliamentary franchise to women on the same terms as it was enjoyed by men. After the Local Government Act of 1894 married women, as well as spinsters and widows, gained the right to all local franchises, and became eligible for election as Poor Law Guardians, and Parish or District Councillors. However neither the Conservative nor the Liberal party was prepared to adopt women's parliamentary franchise as its official policy, and the only hope of the suffragists appeared to lie in a Private Member's Bill, or an amendment to a relevant government bill. The ILP for its part was committed to adult suffrage, but this did not render all its members as sympathetic to the cause of women's suffrage as might be supposed. Since the male parliamentary franchise was dependent upon property qualifications, its extension to women on the same terms was regarded by some as liable to increase the property vote, give additional support to the Conservative and Liberal parties, and further impede the cause of socialism. For many socialists extension of the franchise had to be full adult suffrage - or nothing!¹

1 For a detailed examination of the early history of the women's suffrage movement, see E.S. Pankhurst, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-97, 164-8; J. Liddington and J. Norris, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-83, 143-166; S.M. Bryan, 'The Women's Suffrage Question in the Manchester Area 1890-1906' (Manchester University, 1977, dissertation in part fulfilment of requirements for M.A.) *passim*; D. Morgan, Suffragists and Liberals (Oxford, 1975) pp. 8-22 *passim*. See also Manchester National Society for Women's Suffrage, Reports 1881-95 and NUWSS, Reports of the EC of the North of England Society for Women's Suffrage 1898-1906 (in Suffrage Collection, Manchester Public Library, Archives Department).

During the 1890s there was not a great deal of contact between the socialist and suffrage movements in Manchester. From 1895 to 1900 the ILP had no MPs, and could not therefore provide a channel for the introduction of a suffrage bill into parliament. It has already been suggested that the party at this time had comparatively few active women members, and many of the male socialists were either disinterested in the whole issue or adhered to the party's adult suffrage policy. Moreover the established suffrage movement in the area did have close ties with Liberalism; Mrs. Jacob Bright, Bertha Mason, Margaret Ashton and, until 1894, the Pankhursts, were all prominent Liberals.¹ Admittedly there was a radical group within the suffrage movement in the area. Led by Esther Roper and Eva Gore Booth, its adherents demanded 'womanhood suffrage' to include all women over the age of 21. In effect this would entail adult suffrage, since no government was likely to omit from an extension of the franchise the men who still lacked votes. The group conducted its campaign among working women of the Lancashire cotton towns, and attracted to its ranks leaders of local working women's organisations, in particular Sarah Reddish, Selina Cooper, Helen Silcock, and Sarah Dickenson. In the summer of 1903 these radical suffragists formed a separate organisation: the Lancashire and Cheshire Women Textile and Other Workers' Representation Committee. But although the aims of this movement were more in keeping with ILP policy, there is no evidence of close contact with the Manchester party; there were comparatively few working women in the local ILP, and the leaders of the radical suffrage movement who were ILP members, Ada Nield, Selina Cooper, Alice Collinge and Ethel Derbyshire, were not in Manchester branches. Jill Liddington

1 E.S. Pankhurst, *op. cit.*, pp. 119-20; J. Liddington and J. Norris, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

and Jill Norris,¹ commenting upon this lack of contact between the two movements, argue that the ILP was not particularly attractive to the radical suffragists. They realised that women's suffrage was not the party's chief consideration, and might be dropped as an issue at any time to suit political priorities. Broader-based organisations, such as the Women's Trade Union League, the Co-operative Guild, and the Clarion Van, could more easily accommodate feminist propaganda.

By the turn of the century many of the women within the ILP were however becoming dissatisfied, both at their continuing lack of the franchise and at their own party's apparent unconcern. However neither the North of England Society, nor its radical wing, really met their needs. They wished to act as a pressure group from within the ILP and, since many of them were the wives of professional^a and 'white-collar' workers, they had no roots in the broader labour movement. It was among these women that Mrs. Pankhurst formed the Women's Social and Political Union. Recent historians of the suffrage movement argue that too much emphasis has traditionally been placed upon the WSPU and the role of the Pankhurst family. In the context of women's suffrage, their argument appears to be justified, but when considering issues from the viewpoint of the ILP one is obliged to revert to the traditional bias. For the WSPU was the movement which developed within the party and, particularly in the Manchester area, it had more impact upon the ILP than had any other suffrage organisation.

The foundation of the WSPU was essentially a family affair. Emmeline and Richard Pankhurst had been involved in the suffrage movement of the late '80s and early '90s, but after the campaign to secure local

1 J. Liddington and J. Norris, op. cit., pp. 20-9 passim, 131-3.

franchises for married women had culminated in the 1894 Local Government Act, both appear to have devoted much of their time and energy to the ILP, which they joined in September of that year. Dr. Pankhurst stood as the party's parliamentary candidate for Gorton in 1895, served on the NAC, and until his death in 1898 was one of the prominent figures in the Local party.¹ His wife stood as a United Labour Party candidate for Manchester School Board, and was elected to Chorlton Guardians. At Boggart Hole Clough she discovered the impact of militant action, but her energies continued to be directed towards the peaceful attainment of socialism. After her bereavement she attended ILP Annual Conferences, was elected to the NAC and to Manchester School Board. She also served as ILP delegate to the local LRC. Thus by 1903 Mrs. Pankhurst was perhaps the leading woman member of Manchester and Salford ILP² and for almost a decade she had not demonstrated any particular interest in the cause of women's suffrage.

Family involvement in the suffrage movement appears to have been prompted by Christabel Pankhurst, who in 1901 became friendly with Eva Gore-Booth and Esther Roper. Under their influence she entered Manchester University as a law student, and also joined the North of England Society for Women's Suffrage. Christabel became increasingly disillusioned with the ILP and the LRC, which appeared to take little interest in the suffrage question.³ On 13 March 1903 her letter to

1 LL, 20 April, 8 June, 27 July 1895; 1 April, 30 May, 13 June, 15 and 29 August, 26 September 1896; 30 January, 24 April 1897.

2 'Mrs. Pankhurst' in Manchester Faces and Places, Vol. X, No. 10, July 1899, pp. 181-3; LL, 6 October, 8 and 22 December 1894, 19 January 1895, 11 April, 4, 11, 18 and 25 July 1896, 30 July and 22 October 1898, 1 April 1899, 24 November 1900, 5 April 1902.

3 E.S. Pankhurst, op. cit., pp. 164-7; J. Liddington and J. Norris, op. cit., pp. 167-72. See Christabel Pankhurst's letter, 'Woman Suffrage. A Word to Trade Unionists', in LL, 31 August 1901. In October 1902 she lectured in Glasgow on 'Women and Direct Labour Representation', when she appealed to her audience to make women's suffrage the foremost plank in the Labour representation movement (see *ibid.*, 1 November 1902).

the Clarion announced:

Working men declare that from their point of view the Liberal and Conservative Parties are equally unsatisfactory. The Women of England are justified in going further, and saying that neither Liberal, Conservative, nor Labour Parties are their friends.¹

Her attack also became personal. She refused to speak to Philip Snowden when he came to Pankhurst Hall, because Isabella Ford had told her that he was actively hostile to women's suffrage. John Hodge came under fire, for having failed to mention the question in his election address at the Preston by-election.² When Bruce Glasier stayed at the Pankhurst's home in Nelson Street, on the night of 18 October 1903, Mrs. Pankhurst and Christobel belaboured him from 10 pm until 1.30 am for having neglected the suffrage issue in his capacity as party Chairman. Glasier responded in his diary:

At last get roused and speak with something like scorn of their miserable individualist sexism, and virtually tell them that the ILP will not stir a finger more than it has done for all the women suffragists in creation. Really the pair are not seeking democratic freedom, but self-importance.

Somewhat embittered, he added on the following day:

Christabel paints her eyebrows grossly and looks selfish, lazy and willful. They want to be ladies, not workers and lack the humility of real 'heroism'.³

Glasier appears to have found Christabel and her mother equally militant. It does however seem that their attitudes differed to some extent^{and} that Mrs. Pankhurst was far more hopeful of persuading the ILP and LRC to take up the cause of women's suffrage.⁴ But although

1. C, 13 March 1903

2. E.S. Pankhurst, op. cit., pp. 167-8; J. Liddington and J. Norris, op. cit., pp. 172-3. Isabella Ford, of Leeds, was elected to the NAC in 1903 (see E.S. Pankhurst, op. cit., p. 167)

3. J. Bruce Glasier, Dairies. Entries for 10 and 19 October 1902.

4. J. Liddington and J. Norris, op. cit., p. 174. Mrs. Pankhurst's letter to the LL, 2 August 1902 on 'The Clitheroe Election', emphasised the importance of the women textile workers' support for Shackleton. She announced that Shackleton's declarations on the subject of women's suffrage 'have been very satisfactory'.

Christabel was only 23, she did have considerable influence over her mother. According to Sylvia Pankhurst, Emmeline was intensely jealous of Christabel's friendship with Esther Roper and Eva Gore Booth.¹ Thus she may have become more involved with the suffrage question than would otherwise have been the case, simply to avoid alienating Christabel. Mrs. Pankhurst attended the 1902 ILP Conference at Liverpool, as delegate for Chorlton-on-Medlock, and here she proposed a resolution in favour of women's suffrage on the same terms as men's, which was passed unanimously. But she did not appear to raise the issue at local meetings. On 19 August she took part in the formation of Manchester Central branch and became one of its nine committee members. The minutes of the branch meetings survive, but there is no evidence of Mrs. Pankhurst attempting to raise the suffrage issue until October 1903. To all appearances her energy and enthusiasm were directed towards the ILP, for she was elected branch delegate to the 1903 Annual Conference in York, where she was appointed to the Standing Orders Committee, and seconded a resolution for the abolition of child labour. She was also a delegate to the local LRC.² It seems hardly a coincidence that Christabel attended her first branch meeting on 6 October 1903, her mother withdrew as delegate to the LRC at the same meeting, and the WSPU was formed on 10 October.³

Sylvia Pankhurst claimed that her mother decided to form a new

1 E.S. Pankhurst, op. cit., pp. 164-5.

2 Manchester Central Branch ILP, Minutes of Meetings 31 March and 28 July 1903; ILP, Report of the Eleventh Annual Conference 1903, pp. 2, 15, 32.

3 Manchester Central Branch ILP, Minutes of Meeting 6 October 1903; E.S. Pankhurst, op. cit., p. 168.

organisation for women after the discovery that women were excluded from the ILP branch at Pankhurst Hall. After several years of Christabel's feminist propaganda, this may indeed have been the 'last straw' - and Emmeline Pankhurst was impulsive by nature. She proposed to call this new organisation the Women's Labour Representation Committee, but again was influenced by Christabel. Esther Roper and Eva Gore-Booth had just formed the Lancashire Women Textile Workers' Representation Committee, and Christabel felt that her mother's choice bore too close a resemblance. Mrs. Pankhurst acquiesced - and opted for the title 'Women's Social and Political Union'. The title is significant, for at the time she was not concerned solely with the extension of the parliamentary franchise to women. She intended that the group should be a political parallel to the ILP, and be composed mainly of working women. She also planned to conduct social work, including the provision of maternity benefit to members.¹

On 10 October 1903 Mrs. Pankhurst invited a few women members of the ILP to a meeting at her home at 62 Nelson Street. Here the WSPU was formed. Unfortunately the organisation kept no records in its early stages, and the identities of the founder members remain obscure. It is however known that the first secretary and treasurer were Rachel Scott and Helen Harker.² Rachel Scott was the wife of H.C.D. Scott, who had joined Manchester and Salford ILP prior to the Bradford Conference, and served several terms as party treasurer since that date.

1 E.S. Pankhurst, op. cit., pp. 167-8.

2 Ibid., p. 168; J. Liddington and J. Norris, op. cit., p. 175; C. Pankhurst, Unshackled (1959) pp. 43-5. In her capacity as Secretary, Rachel Scott advertised the WSPU meeting for 26 October 1903 in the Labour Leader, 24 October 1903.

His occupation is unknown, for he was listed in the Directory as a 'private resident'. But the location of his home in Flixton, and the fact that he rented the Central branch office at 116 Portland Street in his name (in order to obtain a vote in Manchester) suggest that he was not without means. It is therefore extremely unlikely that Rachel Scott went out to work. Helen Harker is also likely to have been a housewife, for her husband, John Harker, was the manager of the CWS shirt factory in Broughton. He was one of the founder members of Manchester and Salford ILP, and Helen had also worked for the party since 1894. She had known Mrs. Pankhurst at least since 1896, when they were both summoned for collecting at Boggart Hole Clough, and she was also a member of Central branch. Another founder was Leonard Hall's wife, Pattie. According to her daughter, Mrs. Hall-Humpherson, the WSPU was started by Mrs. Pankhurst and one of her daughters, Pattie Hall, and three other women 'who had to do with the Labour Party' - which still leaves the identity of one ILPer undiscovered. Other early members included Annie Kenney, Theresa Billington and Mrs. Morrisey. Theresa Billington was a teacher who in 1902-3 acted as Women's Secretary of Manchester University Settlement Associates. In 1903 she helped to found the Teachers' Equal Pay League, and first contacted Mrs. Pankhurst in the latter's capacity as a member of the Education Authority. Mrs. Morrisey appears to have been the wife of Councillor Morrisey of Liverpool. The only obviously working class member of the WSPU in its early days was Annie Kenney, a cardroom operative who joined after hearing Christabel Pankhurst speak at a meeting held by Oldham Trades Council.¹

1 See Appendix II below.

The general development of the WSPU is beyond the scope of this survey. It is however necessary to consider the impact of the movement upon Manchester and Salford ILP. In its early months the WSPU's aim was to campaign through the ILP, to persuade the Labour Representation Committee to take up the cause of women's rights. Thus the two organisations were compatible, and many women were members of both. Of course time and energy were limited, and it does seem likely that the additional commitment to the WSPU reduced the level of many women's activity in the ILP. Alice Milne became involved in the ILP when her parents joined and, apparently through the party, she became acquainted with the Pankhursts. Her younger sister, now Mrs. Somerville, recalled visiting the Pankhurst family as a child, and meeting both Annie Kenney and Mrs. Despard at their home. The Milne sisters also happened to attend the Oliver Typewriting School with Flora Drummond. Alice Milne soon became 'acutely interested' in the suffrage movement and, through her influence, her mother also became keen. Both remained members of the ILP, but their enthusiasm was now concentrated upon the WSPU, of which Alice Milne eventually became secretary.¹

However it is also possible that the WSPU brought new members into the ILP. In the hope of exerting pressure on the Labour movement, WSPU recruits, who had not previously been members, joined the party - in particular the Manchester Central branch. Rachel Scott, who had probably joined another branch at an earlier date, moved to Central with her husband on 20 October 1903; Theresa Billington joined on 23 February 1904, and Adela Pankhurst on the following 13 December.

1 Mrs. Somerville, tape.

Sylvia Pankhurst appears to have joined on 10 January 1905 and her brother, Harry, who joined on 11 July, completed the family group. Dora Walford and Miss M. Byrne joined the following September, and Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy and Annie Kenney in December 1905. Mrs. Morrissey augmented their ranks on 6 March 1906.¹ It was therefore with some justification that Bruce Glasier described the branch as a 'family affair'.² The WSPU also enjoyed the support of Sam Robinson, who was one of the most active members of Central Branch. In January 1907 he married Annot Wilkie, who had been a member of the WSPU in Dundee, and she too joined Central Branch.³

It seems likely that the WSPU decided to concentrate its ILP activity in Central branch in order to 'capture' it, and promote their own policies. The branch was eminently suited to their purposes, for it was intended to cater for members who either worked in central Manchester and found the location convenient, or who had no branch near their homes. Thus it had no distinct geographical catchment area. Moreover many of the members came from the business and professional classes, thus there was no strong trade unionist element, which might serve to counterbalance the growing influence of the WSPU. It might also be added that, until 1907, the ILP and WSPU shared the same office, at 116 Portland Street (rented by H.C.D. Scott).⁴ Central branch was by no means typical of the ILP branches in the district, and its takeover

1 Manchester Central Branch ILP, Minutes of meetings 1903-6 passim.

2 Letter J. Bruce Glasier to EGF, Chapel-en-le-Frith, 7 September 1906 (Glasier Papers, Sydney Jones Library, University of Liverpool).

3 LL, 3 January 1908; Mrs. H. Wilson, tape.

4 Manchester Central Branch ILP, Minutes of Meeting 7 August 1906, including letter from H.C.D. Scott, 30 July 1906.

by the WSPU does not appear to have been emulated elsewhere. The branch does however provide a focal point for an examination of WSPU tactics within the ILP.

Initially the WSPU directed its propaganda towards Labour organisations and prospective parliamentary candidates. Thus in December 1903 a deputation from the WSPU called upon John Hodge to pledge that, if elected, he would introduce a bill giving the parliamentary franchise to women on the same terms as men.¹ The following month Isabella Ford addressed N. Salford ILP on 'The Place of Women in the Labour Movement', arguing that until women had perfect equality with men there could be no hope of real progress.² However the major opportunity to influence the ILP was at its forthcoming Conference, at Easter 1904. Central branch nominated both Mrs. Pankhurst and Isabella Ford for the NAC and Mrs. Pankhurst proposed that the branch submit a resolution:

That conference instruct the NAC to prepare and introduce through its elected representatives a Bill to amend the Representation of the People Acts, that words imputing the masculine gender shall include women.³

However when the agenda for the Cardiff conference was drawn up, Central branch's resolution was coupled with another, from Stockport, advocating adult suffrage. Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. Scott were duly appointed by the branch to negotiate with Stockport, 'and endeavour to induce them to come to some arrangement with them on the resolution'.⁴ Apparently the two WSPU members proved persuasive for, at Cardiff, Mrs. Pankhurst

1 C, 4 December 1903.

2 LL, 23 January 1904.

3 Manchester Central Branch ILP, Minutes of Meetings 24 and 26 January 1904.

4 Ibid., Minutes of Meeting 22 March 1904.

moved the Central branch resolution, which was carried unanimously. She was also elected to the NAC.¹

Within the national ILP the suffragettes had a powerful ally in Keir Hardie, whose support more than compensated for Bruce Glasier's continuing hostility. Whether his motives were purely altruistic, whether he was influenced by personal feelings for Mrs. Pankhurst or Christabel, or whether he wished, as Glasier claimed, 'to figure in history as the women's champion' is impossible to ascertain. But he did circularize ILP branches in order to discover the proportion of women municipal electors who might be described as working class. The replies were used to substantiate the claim that the extension of the franchise to women would create a far greater proportion of working class (and potentially Labour) voters than upper and middle class voters. Hardie also helped Christabel Pankhurst to publish (through the ILP) a pamphlet on The Citizenship of Women. A Plea for Women's Suffrage.² But the LRC remained unconvinced by WSPU propaganda, and at its conference in Liverpool in January 1905 adhered to the demand for adult suffrage. However Sylvia Pankhurst persuaded Keir Hardie to introduce a private member's bill if he was successful in the ballot. He proved unlucky, but with Mrs. Pankhurst he managed to persuade the successful MP, Bamford Slack, to introduce the bill. The ILP Conference, held at the Free Trade Hall in April 1905, supported the bill, but less than a

1 ILP, Report of the 12th Annual Conference ... 1904, pp. 30-1

2 D. Mitchell, Queen Christabel (1977) pp. 51-3. Only about 50 out of approximately 300 branches replied to the questionnaire, and since its terms were not clearly defined, the results were not statistically significant. It appears that they were accepted by Hardie and the WSPU but not by the majority of the Labour movement.

month later it was talked out at its second reading.¹

During this period there was close co-operation between the ILP and WSPU. The suffragettes' activity was chiefly concentrated upon addressing public meetings and the ILP regularly provided the platform (as, for example, at Tib Street) as well as a 'bodyguard' to protect the speakers from disruptive elements in the audience.² At the 1905 municipal elections, Manchester and Salford ILP and the WSPU shared the services of an organiser, Theresa Billington. She arranged meetings especially for women in wards where Labour candidates were standing, and women speakers, including Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. Aldridge, gave talks on housing, sanitation, or the feeding of school children.³

But Christabel Pankhurst, at least, was by no means convinced that patient propaganda from within the ILP would ever prove successful. Impressed by the impact which unemployed demonstrations appeared to have upon government action, and no doubt with vivid memories of Boggart Hole Clough, she determined to resort to more militant methods. After careful planning, she and Annie Kenney staged their demonstration in support of 'Votes for Women' at Sir Edward Grey's meeting at the Free Trade Hall on 13 October. Both women were dragged from the hall, and sentenced to the imprisonment which they desired - seven days for Christabel Pankhurst and three for Annie Kenney. Theresa Billington as ILP organiser, and one of the few suffragettes privy to their plans, was largely responsible for arranging the protest which ensued. When

1 Ibid., pp. 57-8; ILP, Report of the 13th Annual Conference ... 1905, p. 35; E.S. Pankhurst, op. cit., pp. 180-4.

2 D. Mitchell, op. cit., p. 61; H. Mitchell, op. cit., p. 129.

3 C, 13 October 1905; Manchester Evening News, 8 March 1907, letter to the Editor from Sam Robinson.

their imprisonment was announced, a protest meeting was held in Stevenson Square, with ILPer H. Dean in the chair. Speakers included John Harker, Theresa Billington, Hannah Mitchell, Mrs. Pankhurst, and a Liberal, Miss Thomson. Annie Kenney's release brought in its wake another meeting at the same venue, attended by about 2,000 people and addressed by Leonard Hall as well as the leading WSPU speakers. When Christabel Pankhurst was also released, Central branch ILP arranged a demonstration at the Free Trade Hall, on 20 October, to welcome the two suffragettes and protest against their treatment. Arrangements were made by Theresa Billington and Sam Robinson, and the platform was filled with ILPers and representatives of nearly every women's organisation in Manchester and District - Keir Hardie, Leonard Hall, John Harker, Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy, Sarah Dickenson (Secretary of the Women's Trades and Labour Council), Eva Gore-Booth and, of course, the two ex-prisoners.

Thus the initial resort to militancy by the WSPU did not alienate the ILP. The protest on 13 October was after all a protest against Liberal policy and against the treatment of the protestors. There was however a sign that some members of Central branch at least felt that the ILP should not become too heavily committed to the suffragette cause. When the branch met on 18 October, Theresa Billington reported that the NAC wanted a protest meeting to be held in the Free Trade Hall. As time was so short, they thought that Central branch should arrange it, but they would pay at least the expenses of hiring the hall, and allow Hardie and Isabella Ford to attend as representatives of the NAC. At this point Lea moved, and Booth seconded, that the meeting be left to the responsibility of the women (i.e. the WSPU). R.C. Wallhead then moved that the branch accept the NAC offer, and take the entire

responsibility for organising the meeting. He was seconded by Sam Robinson, and the motion carried. There is no indication that Lea and Booth were opposed to women's suffrage, but it does seem that they did not wish the branch to become too deeply involved in WSPU affairs.¹

After their success at the Free Trade Hall, the WSPU continued to disrupt Liberal meetings generally, amid ILP approbation. Thus in December WSPU members made their demands for votes for women at a Liberal demonstration in the Free Trade Hall. Stewards rushed to where the women were sitting. ILPer Lindsey Martin, who was sitting behind the suffragettes, expostulated with the steward for his rough methods, and was promptly hit in the face!² Such sympathy and support for protesters from male members of the ILP seems to have been fairly common,³ but again there are signs that some ILPers doubted the wisdom of backing the WSPU. In the 1906 General Election Winston Churchill and Joynson-Hicks contested N.W. Manchester, and Christobel Pankhurst determined that the WSPU's opposition to the Liberal Government should be concentrated upon Churchill.⁴ However amid ILP and Labour circles there was considerable sympathy towards Churchill. After the election the Labour Leader commented upon local exultation at Balfour's defeat and added, 'The next most popular results were the election of Winston Churchill and J.R. Clynes.' Churchill was initially the nominee of the Free Trade League (which also included among its adherents G.D. Kelley, John Harker and John Hodge), and he had supported the Trade Disputes

1 Manchester Central Branch ILP, Minutes of Meeting 18 October 1905; LL, 20 and 27 October 1905; D. Mitchell, op. cit., pp. 62-8; J. Liddington and J. Norris, op. cit., pp. 189-92; E.S. Pankhurst, op. cit., pp. 189-92.

2 LL, 15 December 1905.

3 E.S. Pankhurst, op. cit., pp. 194-5.

4 D. Mitchell, op. cit., pp. 74-5.

Bill. In 1904 Hodge had even wanted to support Churchill's campaign, but the LRC had deemed the latter to be a Liberal candidate, and had expressly forbidden such a move.¹ Probably because it feared that ILPers would become involved in Churchill's campaign, the ILP's Election Conference resolved that members in N.W. Manchester should abstain from voting. The WSPU policy therefore militated against both the ILP's policy of neutrality, and the personal preferences of many members.²

When Manchester Central branch met on 9 January 1906, A. Lewis received permission from the chair to bring forward 'a matter of importance to the branch'. He eventually seconded a motion, proposed by A. Lea, 'That this branch of the ILP condemns the conduct of those lady members who are publicly opposing one of the candidates for N.W. Manchester'. Although Mrs. Pankhurst, Christabel and Sam Robinson were present at the meeting, their supporters were in a minority, and the resolution was carried.³ At the next branch meeting, on 23 January, the WSPU members and sympathisers were more in evidence. Sylvia Pankhurst was in London at the time (as, probably, was her mother), but Christabel attended with Harry and Adela for support. Sam Robinson now moved the deletion of the minute passed at the previous meeting, concerning the lady members' conduct, and his motion was passed 9-5. At the 6 February meeting Adela Pankhurst even moved 'That the secretary write to the lady members of the branch regarding the deletion of the minute ...'.⁴ Clearly the WSPU had considerable support

1 LL, 19 January 1906; LRC 14/150 Letter from John Hodge to J.R. MacDonald, 19 April 1904; LRC 14/156 typed unsigned letter (LRC) to John Hodge, 20 April 1904; LRC 14/157 unsigned letter (LRC) to John Hodge, 19 May 1904 (Labour Party Archives, Transport House).

2 Manchester Central Branch ILP, Minutes of Meeting 9 January 1906.

3 Ibid., 9 January 1906.

4 Ibid., 23 January and 9 February 1906.

in the branch, but members were divided, and the composition of individual meetings could be a crucial factor.

During the first half of 1906 there were indications of an eventual breach between the WSPU and ILP. The WSPU decided to move its headquarters to London, in order to exert more direct pressure upon the new Liberal government. The consequent separation from the ILP and from the radical suffragists of Lancashire was also seen by the suffragettes as being advantageous.¹ Moreover some of the socialists became increasingly concerned at the WSPU's militant tactics. Thus Julia Dawson of the Clarion, herself an adult suffragist, commented that the methods adopted by Mrs. Pankhurst and her followers did not appeal to her, nor did she think that they would forward the women's suffrage movement.² In Parliament the Labour Party drew up a list of measures which should be introduced if its members were successful in the ballot. Hardie alone pressed for the inclusion of votes for women among the measures. He was, of course, out-voted, but promised Mrs. Pankhurst that, regardless of the party decision, if he won a place, either for a Bill or for a Resolution, he would use it for 'votes for women'. Hardie's support for the WSPU, against the interests of the ILP and Labour Party, was not destined to improve relations between socialists and suffragettes.³ Moreover the militant activities of the WSPU also tended to draw women away from the mainstream of the ILP. Theresa Billington, at the request of Mrs. Pankhurst, gave up her post as ILP organiser in Manchester, and began work for the WSPU in London.⁴ But the two movements were not as yet incompatible.

1 J. Liddington and J. Norris, op. cit., pp. 200-1.

2 C, 23 March 1906.

3 E.S. Pankhurst, op. cit., pp. 201-5.

4 J. Liddington and J. Norris, op. cit., p. 200.

ILPers continued to defend suffragettes at public meetings and, in July 1906, demanded the insertion of a women's enfranchisement clause into the Plural Voting Bill then before Parliament.¹

The conflict of loyalties between the ILP and WSPU really became obvious in August 1906, when Bob Smillie stood as ILP candidate at the Cocker-mouth by-election. Christabel Pankhurst and subsequently Theresa Billington appeared on the scene and, since Christabel requested and received hospitality from the local ILP, it was initially assumed by local activists that they would be working for Smillie. However it soon became apparent that their aim was to oppose the Liberal candidate in the interests of the WSPU, and Christabel made it clear to the electorate that she cared little whether they voted Conservative or Labour! She even arranged rival meetings on the same pitch as the ILP.² Although the Labour Leader was prepared to print letters justifying the women's actions, its editorial on 10 August commented:

Women who are disposed to sacrifice the interests of the Socialist and Labour movement at the polls in pursuing their own policy for obtaining the vote, are not likely to convince us that they would not as readily sacrifice those interests for some other policy once they are possessed of the vote. Nevertheless, women are entitled to the vote whether they support or oppose Labour candidates and the ILP push their claims resolutely. How far, however, women or men who oppose our candidates, or even remain neutral, are entitled to be regarded as loyal members of our party, is a question for the party itself to decide.³

Manchester and Salford ILP called a special meeting, on 25 August,

1 LL, 27 July 1906, reporting a women's franchise demonstration at Stevenson Square, recorded that 'a stalwart army of reliable ILPers' had taken up positions as a bodyguard around the platforms several hours before the start of the meeting.

2 E.S. Pankhurst, op. cit., p. 220; D. Mitchell, op. cit., pp. 84-5.

3 LL, 10 August 1906

to consider the conduct of the two members.¹ It concluded that they had 'acted in a manner hostile to the cause of Independent Labour', and called upon their branch (in which such power resided) to demand their immediate resignation. However Central branch, meeting on 4 September, registered its disapproval of the resolution, and concluded that the two members had simply endeavoured to promote one of the objects included in the party's official programme, namely the immediate extension of the franchise to women.² Faced with such an impasse, Manchester and Salford ILP held a special meeting at which it reaffirmed the previous resolution, and called upon the NAC to decide whether Theresa Billington and Christabel Pankhurst should retain their party membership.³

Clearly the Cocker mouth affair had alienated a number of the WSPU's sympathisers within the ILP. However there was still some support from women ILP members who, apparently at this time, compiled their Manifesto to the Women's Social and Political Union. This expressed 'warm appreciation and high admiration' for the work done by the WSPU - particularly by those members who had suffered imprisonment. The manifestists further asserted their 'profound belief that no real and lasting progress will ever be made apart from the complete enfranchisement of women'. Signatories included Margaret McMillan and Isabella Ford of the NAC, and 22 members of Manchester branches, including Alice Milne, Mary Helen

1 C, 17 August 1906.

2 Manchester Central Branch ILP, Minutes of Meeting 4 September 1906. Also contained loose in the minute book is a letter from F.C. Toulmin, Secretary of Manchester and Salford ILP, to the Secretary of Manchester Central Branch, 28 August 1906. This contains the resolution passed by the Manchester and Salford party, and asks the branch to consider the matter.

3 C, 14 and 28 September 1906; Manchester Central Branch ILP, Minutes of Meeting 18 September 1906.

Harker and Mrs. Morrisey.¹

In Manchester the suffragettes could still rely upon the support of Central Branch, while in the national party they retained a staunch ally in Hardie. But the Cocker-mouth by-election really marked the parting of the ways between the ILP and WSPU. The ILP was still officially in favour of adult suffrage, rather than the limited extension of the franchise to women, and while the latter campaign had been accommodated and supported when it did not conflict with party loyalty, it could not be permitted to destroy the ILP. Bruce Glasier commented in his diary:

The women's movement is not socialist but individualist in feeling. The Pankhursts, Billingtons, etc., are rebelling as much against honest work as against sex repression. They want to be public people speaking etc.: they hate work and obscurity.²

Of the Manchester dispute, he commented to his sister:

The Central Manchester branch to which the Pankhursts and Miss Billington belong is virtually a family affair. The majority of its members take no part in the Socialist movement. Hardie I fancy now realises that the position of Mrs. (sic) Pankhurst and Miss Billington is impossible.³

Hardie was already the subject of criticism for other aspects of his policy, and his continued support for the WSPU did nothing to ease the situation. The 1907 Labour Party Conference, meeting in Belfast in January, turned down a motion urging the immediate extension of the franchise to women on the same terms as men. After the vote Hardie even indicated that he might leave the party.⁴ Glasier at least did not

1 Manifesto to the Women's Social and Political Union (by women of the ILP) (Keighly, n.d.) 12 pp. (Suffrage Collection, Manchester Public Library Archives Department).

2 J. Bruce Glasier, Diaries. Entry for 6 February 1907 (Glasier Papers).

3 J. Bruce Glasier letter to EGF, Chapel-en-le-Frith, 7 September 1906 (Glasier Papers).

4 L. Thompson, The Enthusiasts, pp. 148-9; I. McLean, op. cit., pp. 121-4.

credit him with the most altruistic of motives:

Indeed all through I fancy I can detect a conscious desire on his part to figure in history as the women's champion. What I object to in this is that his power to champion them is derived from us - our work and cohesion - but that we must all serve, and be sacrificed as reactionaries on the question, all to enable him to triumph.¹

The question of Christabel Pankhurst and Theresa Billington's ILP membership was to be referred to party conference. Central Branch thereupon adopted an amendment to a conference resolution, expressing its continued support for the WSPU members, and also elected Mrs. Pankhurst and Sam Robinson as delegates. There had always been some dissent over the branch's attitude to the WSPU, and the decisions concerning conference now proved to be the proverbial 'last straw'. On 20 March 1907 a group of members, led by R.C. Wallhead, resigned from the branch, and proceeded to establish a new City of Manchester ILP branch.²

When the ILP Conference met in Derby on Easter Monday 1907, London members moved and seconded a motion, declaring that 'the action of certain members of the party in the contests at Cockermouth and Huddersfield' had been detrimental to the party. It soon became clear that the ILP women were themselves divided in their attitude. Margaret MacMillan stated that she brought a message of peace from a number of women members, including Mrs. Despard, Mrs. Cobden Sanderson, Ethel Snowden and Isabella Ford, which stated 'We pledge ourselves never to go down to any constituency or take any part in elections unless we are going to help the Labour Party'. At this time the chairman suggested that the resolution be withdrawn,

1 J. Bruce Glasier, Diaries. Entry for 26 January 1907.

2 Manchester Central Branch ILP, Minutes of Meetings 26 February, 19 March 1907; LL, 29 March 1907.

whereupon Mrs. Pankhurst promptly disclaimed all connection with the declaration. She said that she had considered resigning from the ILP the previous year, but had decided that, if returned as delegate again, she would await the decision of the conference. She declared that women could not afford to wait until the ILP came to power;

Where she a man she admitted her action would be disloyal, but as a woman with no political rights she pleaded for special consideration. She was loyal in every other point to the cause of socialism and the ILP.

The mover of the resolution had been prepared to withdraw, but upon hearing Mrs. Pankhurst he refused. After a commotion the Chairman accepted a motion for the adoption of the 'previous question'; conference thus officially declined to take cognisance of the resolution. When delegates to the next ^{Party} ~~labour~~ conference were elected, Mrs. Pankhurst was placed second out of five candidates.¹ She had not completely eroded the sympathy of the ILP.

But although the ILP continued to tolerate the WSPU, the militants no longer desired to retain their foothold in the party. The WSPU now concentrated its activities in London. Mrs. Pankhurst resigned the registrarship on 21 March 1907 and at the same time gave up her Manchester home. Moreover the WSPU became increasingly anxious to recruit middle class women who enjoyed prominent positions in society and, according to Theresa Billington, working class members were dropped without hesitation.² Thus it can have caused little surprise at the Central branch meeting on 17 September 1907 to receive the written resignations of Emmeline and

1 LL, 5 April 1907.

2 E.S. Pankhurst, op. cit., p. 261; J. Liddington and J. Norris, op. cit., pp. 206-8.

Christabel Pankhurst.¹

When the above events are considered from the viewpoint of the ILP, it appears that the WSPU initially fulfilled the need for a pressure group among women members. In 1903 women constituted a small minority of the party, but in order to increase their recruitment the ILP needed to provide a more specific appeal; and promote their social and economic, as well as political, demands. The WSPU began with this aim, but under the influence of Christabel Pankhurst rapidly moved to the narrower platform of votes for women, and eventually abandoned its Northern, ILP roots. It is clear that the militant suffragettes eventually simply used the party for their own - non-socialist - ends, and discarded it when the occasion suited them.

The departure of the Pankhursts from Manchester represented the end of an era, during which the affairs of the local ILP and suffrage movement were closely interlinked. Neither the increasingly violent activities of the London-based WSPU, nor the regular schisms within its ranks, are properly a part of the history of Manchester and Salford ILP. But many local ILP members had joined the suffrage movement. How did they manage to reconcile their divided loyalties, to a socialist party and to a militant suffrage movement, which was prepared to intervene in elections against a Socialist or Labour candidate, and which now aimed to attract the support of wealthy Conservatives? Since neither organisation maintained membership lists, any general analysis is impossible. However the reminiscences of some local socialists who joined the WSPU are available

1 Manchester Central Branch ILP, Minutes of Meeting 17 September 1907. D. Mitchell, op. cit., p. 102, states that Emmeline and Christabel Pankhurst had resigned from the ILP by the end of April 1907, however the letters recorded in Central Branch minutes were dated 13 and 14 September.

and their personal attitudes are worthy of consideration.

Of the women socialists who have provided written or oral records of their activities, nearly all left the WSPU before 1914. Indeed the first schism in the WSPU was largely the work of Theresa Billington (by then Mrs. Billington-Greig). She became increasingly opposed to the autocratic methods of Mrs. Pankhurst, complaining that the society came to be governed by decisions made at little private conferences in a private apartment, which were then announced as settled policy. In September 1907, about a month before the Annual Conference was due to take place, Mrs. Pankhurst called a committee meeting at which she declared the conference cancelled, the constitution annulled, and the rights of members abolished. She then proclaimed herself as sole dictator of the movement. This attitude was opposed by Theresa Billington-Greig, Mrs. How Martin, Mrs. Despard and others, who declared that the conference could be cancelled and the constitution abrogated only by the will of the members. They duly summoned the delegates to attend the conference, which elected a new committee, and they then opened new offices. For some months there were two societies in existence, which both claimed to be the WSPU. However in January 1908 the self-governing section changed its name to the Women's Freedom League. According to Theresa Billington-Greig, Mrs. Pankhurst's section regarded these rebels as renegades who had plotted to sell the movement to the Labour Party! Her only shadow of evidence was that Mrs. Despard was still a member of 'a Labour society' (the ILP). Theresa Billington-Greig remarked that, though herself preferring a 'free-lance position', she had 'joined this society at Mrs. Pankhurst's request, but had resigned before she did'. She added that a large section of the original Manchester members, who remained with Mrs. Pankhurst, continued to regard the Union as a branch

of the Labour movement.¹

Theresa Billington-Greig's last remark is particularly worthy of note. With the WSPU based in London, and run in an increasingly autocratic manner, the original Manchester members were to some extent left to their own devices. Mrs. Pankhurst might have left the ILP, but many of them still believed that socialism and women's suffrage were compatible, and continued their dual membership. The situation is somewhat similar to that which existed between the ILP and SDF. On an official, national level the two movements were distinct and largely incompatible. Locally the division became blurred, and individuals tended to follow their own inclinations.

There is no indication that Theresa Billington-Greig ever re-joined the socialist movement. However by 1911 her beliefs were more akin to those of the socialist adult suffragists, for she came to oppose both militant tactics and concentration upon the narrow issue of the parliamentary franchise. She complained that:

The emancipation-in-a-hurry spirit has eaten up the spirit of emancipation. It has cut down its demand from one of sex equality to one of votes on a limited basis. It has gradually edged the working class element out of the ranks. It has become socially exclusive, punctiliously correct, gracefully fashionable, ultra respectable, and narrowly religious ...²

According to Theresa Billington-Greig, 'The Vote cannot secure any single woman's emancipation. It is a tool; ...' The militant suffragettes had failed to see that large areas in which emancipation was needed lay entirely outside the scope of the vote. Indeed they did not even believe

1. Theresa Billington-Greig, The Militant Suffrage Movement, Emancipation in a hurry. (1911) pp. 86-9.

2. Ibid., p. 13.

in the complete emancipation of women. At the time of writing, she had resigned from the Women's Freedom League and urged that, rather than starting a new movement, feminists should concentrate their attention upon working conditions, 'the slaveries of wives', the personal and economic freedom of housewives, and the problem of unwanted babies.¹

Hannah Mitchell was one of the local women who transferred her allegiance to the Women's Freedom League and also retained her membership of the ILP. She had worked as a part-time organiser for the WSPU and, as a result of overwork, suffered a nervous breakdown at the time when the movement split. Upon her recovery she joined the Women's Freedom League, partly because of its more democratic organisation, and also because of the attitude of the Pankhursts. She recollected: 'I was so deeply hurt by the fact that none of the Pankhursts had shown the slightest interest in my illness, not even a letter of sympathy. I felt it would be impossible to work with them again'.² Hannah Mitchell's attitude to the ILP and the militant suffrage movement is worthy of quotation, for it appears to have been shared by many of her local contemporaries. After the WSPU split, her family moved from Ashton to Manchester;

We joined the Manchester ILP and helped in its propaganda work, although my chief interest was in the suffrage fight, now being waged with intense vigour ...

When the women began to destroy letterboxes and set fire to churches, I could not bring myself to blame them ...

Personally, I did not like the destruction of an ancient church, or the burning of letters which may have contained poor people's money ...

1 Ibid., pp. 172-4, 217.

2 H. Mitchell, op. cit., pp. 167, 169-70.

After all I don't think I was a very good militant; I didn't mind badgering politicians at their meetings, or ringing their doorbells, but I think my most lawless act was fly-posting on church doors and letterboxes ...

... Then the WSPU adopted the policy of attacking the leaders of all political parties. I did not agree with this. I felt it was wrong to attack men like Keir Hardie and George Lansbury. Neither of these great souls ever wavered in their support for our cause. We should have made splendid exceptions for our friends in any party ... Perhaps we owed most gratitude to the ILP, for even when they strongly disapproved of militancy, they would lend us their platforms and stand by to protect us from the hooligans.¹

Hannah Mitchell's sentiments - continuing loyalty and gratitude to the ILP; sympathy with the militant suffragettes coupled with a personal distaste for their activities; and objection to the autocratic attitude of the Pankhursts - were echoed by several other women.

Alice Milne was also among the secessionists from the WSPU in 1907. On 20 September 1907, when she was the Manchester branch secretary, the Labour Leader reported that she intended to resign rather than sign the pledge prohibiting members from supporting Labour candidates. The following week she denied this, claiming that she had always been in favour of complete independence of political parties. She had however resigned,² and her sister, Mrs. Somerville, recalls that she remained in the ILP, as did most local suffragists. Apart from one occasion when she chained herself to the railings of the House of Commons and received ten days' imprisonment,³ her work for the WSPU had been onerous and far from glamorous. Aged only eighteen, she was left in charge of the Manchester office as the Pankhursts, Annie Kenney, and Theresa Billington increasingly concentrated their activities upon London. She hated

1 Ibid., pp. 175-7.

2 LL, 20 and 27 September 1907.

3 Mrs. Somerville, tape.

speaking, but with Hannah Mitchell, and often with the assistance of Sam Robinson, she managed to deputize for the absent leaders. On visiting the London office she found 'the place full of fashionable ladies in silks and satins. Tea and cakes were handed round, and then the organisers each made a speech. The ladies were much impressed and promised to return the following Monday with friends ... What a fever our Union members in Manchester would have been in if such ladies made a descent on us'.¹ Alice Milne's later political career is obscure, but she started to attend the Christian Science Church in Moss Side and trained as a nurse at Withington Hospital, after which she became a health visitor for Stretford.² It therefore seems unlikely that she returned to the militant suffrage movement.

Annot Robinson twice suffered imprisonment for her WSPU activities. Barely a month after her wedding in January 1908, she served six weeks in Holloway for a 'furniture van raid' on the Commons. Another, three week, sentence followed in June.³ However her daughter, Mrs. Helen Wilson, believes that Annot left the WSPU before she and her sister were born (in 1909 and 1911).⁴ This tallies with the surviving correspondence, which links Annot Robinson with the WSPU only until July 1908.⁵ Ellen

1 H. Mitchell, *op. cit.*, pp. 138-9, 152, 163; J. Liddington and J. Norris, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

2 Mrs. Somerville, tape.

3 Letter Annot to Sam Robinson, 4 Clements Inn, 10 February 1908; telegrams Annot to Sam Robinson 11 February 1908 and 12 February 1908; letter Jennie Baines to Sam Robinson, 3 June 1908; letter Beatrice Scott to Annot Robinson, 2 July 1908 (in possession of Mrs. H. Wilson).

4 Mrs. H. Wilson, tape.

5 Letter Jennie Baines to Sam Robinson, 8 July 1908 (in possession of Mrs. H. Wilson).

Wilkinson later wrote that 'At the crisis in the affairs of the WSPU, caused by Mrs. Pankhurst's imperious dictatorship, Mrs. Robinson seceded'.¹ However it does appear that she remained in the WSPU for some months after the formation of the Women's Freedom League, and there is no evidence that she joined the League. In January 1910 Ramsay MacDonald asked her to become a part-time organiser for the Women's Labour League,² and she later worked as an Election Fighting Fund organiser for the NUWSS.³ It seems that Annot Robinson came increasingly to dislike the Pankhursts' attitude and methods. Both she and Sam were friendly with Hannah Mitchell, and aware of the way in which she had been treated. Mrs. Wilson remarked that Mrs. Pankhurst was 'quite willing to kill the people who worked for her with overwork'. She was 'utterly ruthless' and 'just finished with you'. Once Annot Robinson had left the movement, there was no more communication from the Pankhursts. Annot, according to her daughter, was 'more balanced and calm than Mrs. Pankhurst'; she was 'an academic, not a fighter and killer'. Her sympathy with the WSPU declined even further as its activities became increasingly violent. Her daughter particularly remembers the attitude she later expressed towards the blowing-up of Lloyd George's new home, and the suicide of Emily Davison. Annot felt that endangering lives was going too far and, like many other women, she did not want deaths on her conscience.⁴

1 Women's Leader, 6 November 1925. Obit. of Annot Robinson, by Ellen Wilkinson.

2 Part of a letter (J.R. MacDonald) to Annot Robinson, 1 January 1910 (in possession of Mrs. H. Wilson).

3 Women's Leader, 6 November 1925.

4 Mrs. H. Wilson, tape.

The violent activities of the WSPU lost it the support of two other local activists. Muriel Nichol admitted to having been in the militant suffrage movement 'for a bit', but she too disliked the things they did, such as putting jam in letterboxes. She thought they were doing it 'for kicks'. Mrs. Nichol remained a loyal member of the ILP, although criticising the party for not doing enough for women. She recalled that most keen ILP women were suffragists, and that the serious-minded men in the party supported them. Her father, R.C. Wallhead (who was involved in the split in Central Branch) also objected to the destructiveness of the militants. As an artist and designer, he was particularly incensed when they destroyed pictures in Manchester Art Gallery. Like many socialists, the Wallheads were inclined towards pacifism, and believed in the power of intellectual argument. They felt that Mrs. Pankhurst would go to any lengths, and was quite prepared to wreck the ILP. As a consequence, Muriel Nichol transferred her allegiance to the NUWSS, and went to speak for them in South Wales.¹

Mary Helen Barker had been a founder member of the WSPU, and was described by Mrs. Pankhurst as her 'No. 1'. But when suffragettes burnt down the Exhibition Hall in Rusholme, in 1912, she too decided that their tactics were too extreme. She retired to 'a less active position', but remained sympathetic to the cause of women's suffrage.²

The acts of violence committed by the WSPU clearly repelled many local women. But as one Manchester member, Mrs. Elizabeth Dean, pointed out, working class members in the provinces often suffered more violence than ever they committed. Working women could not leave their homes to

1 Mrs. M. Nichol, tape.

2 MG, 17 March 1953.

go to London and take part in the widely-publicised campaigns. They largely confined themselves to attending meetings by political figures, and asking questions about votes for women. Often they received rough treatment - from women as well as from the men in the audience.¹ Indeed both Mrs. Plant and Mrs. Dean remarked that much of the opposition came from women rather than men!² Local ILP women generally praised both the attitude of male comrades on the suffrage question, and their more practical role in defending suffragists at meetings.

There were of course some ILP women who were prepared to follow the Pankhursts' lead, and abandon their political allegiance for the sake of the WSPU. Among them were Leonard Hall's wife, Pattie, and their daughter Nell (later Mrs. Hall-Humpherson). The Hall and Pankhurst families were close friends before the foundation of the WSPU. Apparently Leonard Hall was responsible for bringing Dr. Pankhurst into the ILP, and their wives became friends. According to Mrs. Hall-Humpherson, Mrs. Pankhurst was older than Pattie Hall, 'but they were alike in a lot of ways'. For some years, apparently until 1907, the Hall family lived in Cheadle Hulme, and Mrs. Pankhurst and her daughters were regular visitors. Pattie Hall appears to have known of Mrs. Pankhurst's intention to leave the ILP, and shared her views. Mrs. Hall-Humpherson commented:

My mother and Mrs. Pankhurst decided to walk out of the Labour Party - they'd had all they wanted of it - all they wanted women in for was because the women did all the work but they didn't make any decisions ...

They were disgusted with the other ILP women who didn't follow suit and join the WSPU, but most of the women 'were terrified of damaging the

1 Mrs. Elizabeth Ann Dean, tape recorded interview by Dermott Healey, Institute of Advanced Studies, Manchester Polytechnic, 8 October 1974.

2 Ibid.; Mrs. Plant, tape.

party'. Leonard Hall also left the ILP 'in protest' and never had anything more to do with it up to his death in 1916. His wife and daughter both joined the militant activities of the WSPU. Pattie was imprisoned three times, 'her militancy was breaking Home Office windows - she always said that the Home Office belonged to her - and whenever there was a jaunt to London on a smashing spree mother was always left with the Home Office.' Nell, after leaving boarding school, moved to an apartment in London and received an allowance from her father. She assumed the name of Marie Roberts and, aged only sixteen, was eventually arrested under that name for her militant activities. She was tried at the Old Bailey and was in prison, on hunger strike and undergoing forcible feeding, when the war broke out. Her sister Emmeline (Mrs. Pankhurst's god-daughter) was arrested 'by accident' when only fifteen, and saved from a sentence in Holloway by Josiah Wedgewood, who 'got up in the House of Commons and made a scene'.

Mrs. Hall-Humpherson later became Mrs. Pankhurst's secretary and never found her difficult to work with, 'but then you see I wasn't like anybody else. I had known her from being $3\frac{1}{2}$ years old - she was my sister's godmother - I had never thought of her as anybody but almost as a member of the family'. Their friendship with the Pankhurst family undoubtedly affected the attitude of Pattie and Nell Hall towards the WSPU. It is also possible that the Halls felt some resentment towards the ILP, for Leonard had suffered both in health and financially as a result of his imprisonment for the Boggart Hole Clough affair. The improvement in the family fortunes occurred when the oil company, in which he had become a partner, suddenly began to make a lot of money. It appears that his wife and daughters were not obliged to work for a living. He provided his daughters with allowances and supported their suffragette

activities. Nell admitted that she couldn't have done many of the things she did while a militant, and at the same time live so comfortably, without her father's support.¹ Thus by the time the Pankhursts broke away from the ILP, the Hall family were far from typical of local rank and file ILPers.

It is impossible to draw any conclusions as to the post-1907 relations between the local ILP and WSPU on the strength of a few reminiscences. However it does seem that ILPers tended to object both to the autocracy of Mrs. Pankhurst and to the violent tactics which her followers employed. But the ILP remained essentially a local movement, and after the departure of the Pankhursts to London it seems that local suffragettes were left very much to their own devices. The two organisations co-existed quite amicably on a practical day-to-day basis, although theoretically their policies diverged. It was not considered incongruous to be an ILP member and an adult suffragist, and still come to the aid of a WSPU speaker who was being heckled by a hostile crowd. Elizabeth Dean recalled Ellen Wilkinson speaking for the WSPU, but could not remember whether she was actually a member. In fact Ellen Wilkinson only actually joined the Women's Labour League and later the NUWSS. But as Mrs. Dean remarked, 'We all co-operated together. We didn't know one from the other really'.²

The local ILP was generally a tolerant body, but there are indications that other branches of the socialist movement were less sympathetic towards the suffragettes. Mrs. Dean, who was a member of the BSP,

1 Typed transcript of interview with Mrs. Nell Hall-Humpherson by Linda Walker at Grafton, Ontario, Canada, 23 September 1975 (copy in possession of author); J.B. Smethurst, op. cit., pp. 1:13-14.

2 Mrs. Dean, interview by Dermot Healey.

contrasted the helpful attitude of the ILP to the opposition she encountered in her own party. She joined the WSPU in about 1908 and later, with her husband, joined the SDP just before it merged into the BSP. They attended the BSP branch in Jackson Street, Hulme, but members there had little sympathy for her suffragist allegiance. The BSP stipulated that its members should not be affiliated to any other political movement, and since it considered the WSPU to be a political movement, the branch threatened to expel her. The matter was duly considered at a meeting, but Mrs. Dean still found herself a member! The BSP was not in theoretical mood on this occasion; afterwards a male member explained the decision with the words 'It's because you're very nice looking'. Many of the WSPU women Mrs. Dean knew met with opposition from their husbands. She recalled: 'My husband smashed me - broke my badge, and tore up my card ... He was a very understanding man, very fair-minded. And it took me a long long time to get him to see my way, and to understand it, which eventually I did.' But in her experience the BSP members, with very few exceptions, were opposed to the women's movement.¹ Their attitude was not altogether surprising. By the time the party was formed, the WSPU had long since abandoned its local socialist roots, and neither the violent activities of comparatively wealthy women, nor their demand for what amounted to a property franchise, were likely to endear them to the BSP.

The breakaway by the WSPU did not have an entirely negative effect upon the socialist and labour movement. It became clear that if the movement was to attract and retain the loyalty of women members it must do more than simply accept their adherence and utilise their skills in its fund-raising events. The formation of the Women's Labour League in

¹ Ibid.; Mrs. Dean, tape.

1906 may thus be seen as a response to the challenge of the suffrage movement. The League was open to women members, and the wives and daughters of members, of societies affiliated to the Labour Party. It was intended that they should work with the Labour Party to promote Labour representation, both locally and nationally. They were to educate themselves on political and social questions, and take an active interest in the work of public bodies, also to watch the interests of working women in their own neighbourhoods. Moreover the League was to work to get women equal voting powers with men, and the right to sit on all public authorities.¹ The League did in fact advocate adult suffrage, and on a national level this led to controversy and the resignation of some members, including Ethel Snowden.² But locally the League, whose members included Annot Robinson and Ellen Wilkinson, paid far more attention to the needs of working women than the WSPU had ever done. Thus in 1910 the Central Manchester branch of the League joined with the Women's Trades Council, the Women's Trades and Labour Council, and Manchester and Salford Trades and Labour Council, to demonstrate in support of better wages for women workers. They also made an appeal for relief work for middle aged unemployed women. Mrs. Edwards, the branch's first secretary, visited a laundry and sewing room which had been opened as a training school.³ In 1914 the League concentrated upon

1 Handbill The Women's Labour League (1906) (contained in LRC, Minutes, letters and papers collected by Edward Pease, bound in two volumes under the title 'The Infancy of the Labour Party', Vol. II. British Library of Political and Economic Science.).

2 J. Liddington and J. Norris, op.cit., p.236.

3 LL, 29 July 1910.

a campaign for better housing conditions.¹

The Women's Labour League did not however satisfy the needs of suffragists, militant or otherwise. But the reconciliation between Labour and women's suffrage did not take place until 1912, when the Labour Party conference resolved that, although supporting adult suffrage, the Parliamentary party must oppose any franchise bill which did not include women. That May the NUWSS decided to support any party in the Commons which adopted women's suffrage as part of its official programme - in practice this meant support for Labour electoral candidates. An Election Fighting Fund Committee was set up and 61 organisers were chosen, from among NUWSS members sympathetic to the Labour Party, to work in the constituencies.² Ellen Wilkinson and Annot Robinson organised work in NE and N. Manchester and Gorton, on behalf of Clynes, Sutton and Hodge. In October 1913 James Parker, Vice-Chairman of the Labour Party, spent a week in the two Manchester constituencies and with Clynes made an appeal to a public meeting to support women's suffrage. It was resolved to form a Suffrage Club, 'with a view to getting together a body of workers who would be keen in support of both suffrage and Labour'. By January 1914 it had recruited 75 members. The Manchester Society for Women's Suffrage, the North-West Federation of the NUWSS, the ILP and other organisations produced a contingent of over 600 men and women, to take part in the Great Women's Suffrage Pilgrimage. On 5 July 1913 they marched to Stockport, where the speakers at a meeting in Mersey Square included Fenner Brockway. A number of the Manchester Society members then

1 (For details of the campaign, see T.D.W. Reid, draft biography of Ellen C. Wilkinson, MP)

2 J. Liddington and J. Norris, op. cit., pp. 247-9.

accompanied the Pilgrimage all the way to London.¹

The reconciliation between the suffrage movement and the Labour Party came about too late to be of much benefit to the ILP. Although the party had been the most sympathetic towards the women's cause, it had suffered most as a result of their campaign. In March 1920 Herbert Bryan, in a letter to C.H. Norman, reflected that:

... from 1908 to 1914 the ILP was rent and torn by a succession of considerable disruptive movements.

Among them he listed ...

The militant suffrage movement, when the vast majority of the active women members of the ILP transferred their energies to the Women's Social and Political Union, Women's Freedom League, and other bodies, while a very large number of active young men transferred their energies to such bodies as the Men's League for Women's Suffrage, Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement, and the United Suffragists.²

The extent to which Manchester and Salford ILP lost the active support of members is impossible to gauge. Certainly few branches were as affected by the suffrage movement as was Manchester Central - and few departures from the ILP ranks were as dramatic as that of the Pankhursts. One suspects, but cannot prove, that many ILP women both retained their party allegiance and sympathised with 'Votes for Women' without becoming too deeply involved in either movement. Most local members were not ideologically inclined, and could quite happily adhere to two organisations, one of which advocated 'Votes for Women' and the other adult suffrage. What the ILP really lost was the allegiance of a few prominent

1 NUWSS, 46th Annual Report of the Manchester Society for Women's Suffrage (Manchester, 1914) 49 pp., pp. 14-17.

2 Letter Herbert Bryan to C.H. Norman, Bournemouth, 25 March 1920 (ILP Papers, Herbert W. Bryan Collection, Section 6. British Library of Political and Economic Science)

women, and a great deal of time, energy and enthusiasm from rank and file members throughout the branches. Part of the responsibility for this lay with the ILP itself, which had not made a specific appeal to women. But in order to improve the lot of women in society, the party first needed to achieve political power. The ILP had its priorities - and socialism came before women's suffrage!

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IV Socialists in Public Life

In a previous section an attempt has been made to consider the lifestyle which active socialists might adopt. However even before 1914 some local socialists emerged as public figures in the city; as elected representatives who had to play their part in the established machinery of local government while still attempting to adhere to their socialist principles. Hitherto local elections have been considered in the light of their propaganda value, and in terms of the relationship between the ILP and other parties. But some socialists were in fact elected. What did they actually achieve, and what impact could they make upon public life?

The ILP did of course have fundamental, longterm aims in local government. These included the taxation of ground values and municipalisation of tramways, docks, wharves, local railways, and the drink traffic, with the progressive extension of the public services to the supply of common necessities, such as milk, bread, meat, clothing and housing. They planned to abolish the slums by the strict enforcement of the various Artisans' Dwellings Acts, ^{advocated} cheap workmen's trains to the suburbs, the erection of artisans' dwellings by the corporation, and the provision of baths in all new cottage property. Public baths and wash

houses were to be free. Socialists emphasised the need to insist upon free education, and advocated the provision of food and clothing for needy school children. A public works department was to be established to undertake tasks hitherto assigned to contractors and middlemen, while useful employment was also to be found for unemployed citizens. The Poor Laws were also to be more extensively reformed. The increased number of corporation employees were all to enjoy an eight hour day, trade union wage rates, with full liberty of combination and, it may be emphasised, equal payment to males and females for similar work. Corporation employees over the age of 60 were to receive pensions. There were also to be administrative changes; payment of all public representatives, a second ballot, abolition of the aldermanic bench, the holding of Council and Committee meetings in the evenings - and with the admission of the press, evening courts of justice for petty cases, and the enforcement of acts of parliament relating to working hours, public health, and weights and measures.¹

But, as the details provided in Appendix V reveal, before 1914 local socialists never achieved sufficient representation on any elected body either to form a majority or to have a decisive influence on general policy. On the City or Borough Council, School Board, or Board of Guardians, the socialist found himself (or herself) as a lone voice in the wilderness or, at best, as one of a small group. How does the picture change if one considers the ILPers after 1903 as part of the local LRC? In practice most of the 'Labour' candidates were individual members of socialist organisations. To take the example of Manchester City Council, before 1914 the only Labour members who cannot be

1 WT, 5 August 1892; Manchester, August 1899

identified as socialists were James Greenall and Thomas Higginson (both elected for Gorton North in 1908), Patrick Martin (1906-7), Issac Platt (who served from a by-election in April 1910 until the November municipal elections) and Tom Lowth (who sat as a Liberal from 1904-6 before transferring his allegiance to the LRC).¹ Thus the addition to their number of trade unionist Labour men did not significantly alter the power and influence of the socialists. The situation bore no resemblance to that of the post-1910 House of Commons, in which ILPers formed part of a Labour group who held the balance of power. There were never more than a dozen socialists on Manchester City Council at any one time before 1914. In a body comprising over 100 Aldermen and Councillors, all they could hope to do was to influence members of other parties by their arguments, expose the fallacies or even malpractices perpetrated by Liberals or Conservatives, and pay particular attention to the more individual problems of their working class constituents. Municipal socialism was a vision of the future, and only piecemeal moves in that direction could be aspired to.

Salford Borough Council was no more amenable to socialist influence. In 1902 it comprised 16 Aldermen and 48 Councillors. The socialists achieved their first election victory in that year, but even at the height of their pre-war power, in 1906, had only 7 councillors. Both the Manchester and Salford School Boards had 15 members, elected triennially. In this period only Joseph Nuttall ever attained a seat on the Salford Board, and Mrs. Pankhurst and Fred Brocklehurst on that for Manchester. Although they were marginally more successful in

1 T. Regan, 'A chronological, and alphabetical record of the Labour Group on the Manchester City Council 1894-1966' (1966) (typescript in Manchester Public Library, Archives Department).

obtaining seats on the various Boards of Guardians, yet again their position was that of a minority. Socialists fared best in the contests for the posts of Elective (or 'Citizens') Auditors. In both Manchester and Salford two such posts were open to annual elections, and although they afforded little in the way of status or power, they did afford their holders access to financial records. The socialists were particularly assiduous in utilising these powers to the full.

Thus socialists on local elected bodies cannot be considered as a group intent upon carrying out a specific programme. They did have their longterm goals, but in the circumstances of the time it was possible only for them to propose measures which might attract support from other parties; to expose the fallacious arguments, or even inefficiency and mismanagement of opponents, to support measures which would generally benefit working class inhabitants, to make the occasional protest against gross injustice, and to provide help of a more individual nature to constituents. Their achievements which, in the circumstances, could be neither spectacular nor revolutionary, are best examined from the point of view of individual socialists. Like Hardie in his early days in the Commons, they simply did what they could whenever the opportunity arose.

John Edward ('Jack') Sutton was a miners' checkweighman who was elected to Manchester City Council for Bradford ward in 1894, and retained his seat until he became MP for East Manchester in January 1910. By this time he had also been made a JP. Sutton and Jesse Butler (representing Openshaw ward) were the first socialists to gain Council seats, and Sutton immediately broke with tradition. It was generally accepted that a new councillor should wait for some time before speaking. Sutton however got up to move a resolution, in favour of an eight hour day for corporation employees. Not surprisingly he was defeated, but in Committees he

continually pursued his campaign. More successful was his resolution in favour of the municipalisation of the tramways. This secured the appointment of a committee to consider the matter - and the committee subsequently recommended a takeover to the Council. Of particular benefit to his own ward was Sutton's motion that public baths should be erected there. The Council agreed, and land was purchased in Victoria Street to erect the baths and a hall. He also had considerable success in his campaign for fair contracts, by exposing those contractors who paid below the standard wage rates, also revealing instances of sub-standard work by contractors. Like all socialists, he emphasised the principle of public accountability, demanding - albeit unsuccessfully - the abolition of the Aldermanic bench. But at least he persuaded the Council to make reports of its proceedings and committee work available in public libraries. Perhaps of most immediate interest to his constituents, during 1900 he managed to secure for over a thousand workmen a wage increase varying from 1s. to 5s. per week.¹

Fred Brocklehurst and William Maben joined Sutton and Butler on the Council in 1897. Brocklehurst paid particular attention to the question of land values. Since local land values were increasing, he wanted the Council to retain all surplus land acquired for the purpose of public improvement. As an example of the extent to which this policy would benefit the ratepayers, he cited the example of 25 yards of land near Manchester Cathedral. The Corporation had sold it for £200. Twenty-five years later the Corporation required the land again, and the owner wanted £7,000 for it! Brocklehurst also advocated the taxation

1 LL, 23 May 1896, 30 November 1901; ILP News, May 1900; Manchester, December 1900, 'Councillor John Edward Sutton'.

of land values, which would recoup for the ratepayers some of the enormous sums drawn out of the city by ground owners, who were paying back nothing in return. Supported only by Sutton, Brocklehurst backed the corporation carters' demand for a 1s. per week wage increase. He advocated Fair Contracts, and protested against the payment of fees to Corporation Directors on the Manchester Ship Canal Company board. Shortly after his election to the Council, Brocklehurst also achieved a place on Manchester School Board, where he campaigned for free education in all the Board's elementary schools, and succeeded in securing improved pay and staffing levels for teachers.¹ In May 1901 Brocklehurst and Mrs. Pankhurst, as members of the School Board, gave evidence before a committee appointed by the Home Office and Education Department, to inquire into the employment of school children.²

During his second term of office on the City Council, Brocklehurst was studying for the Bar, and there can be little doubt that his legal training proved useful. Much of William Maben's contribution to municipal work was dependent upon his knowledge of the building trade. He campaigned for better housing, particularly for municipal houses to be erected at low rents (a shilling per room per week) before, not after, the slums were demolished. He also argued the case for building artisans' dwellings in the suburbs, and providing cheap workmen's trams and trains for their occupants. Much impressed by the well-equipped municipal wash-houses in Glasgow, he advocated their provision in Manchester. All municipal building work should, he believed, be carried out by a public

1 Manchester, November 1900, 'Councillor F. Brocklehurst, M.A.'

2 Evidence before Inter-Departmental Committee on Employment of School Children, M of E 1902 XXV Qs 7422-640

works department, rather than by private contractors. Maben also exposed irregularities within the cleansing department and, with the aid of S. Norbury Williams (a sympathetic Radical Elective Auditor), he prevented a costly and inefficient sewerage scheme from being rushed through the council. After he had also exposed the abuses and scandals connected with the culverting of Manchester, the Clarion recalled 'his heroic effort from Hulme to Miles Platting, where he personally lifted every manhole till he found the source of the poisonous gas that had destroyed poor men's lives'. Among his other notable achievements were his campaign against the smoke nuisance, his exposure of the insanitary and overcrowded conditions in Hulme, and his successful efforts to improve the conditions of corporation labourers.¹

Socialists who later joined the City Council also brought specialist knowledge, as well as longterm political aims. T.R. Marr was a member of Manchester Central branch ILP, who was elected to the City Council for New Cross ward as an Independent in 1905. He was Warden of the Ancoats University Settlement, and the previous year had published his survey of Housing Conditions in Manchester and Salford. In 1906 he became chairman of the Council's Housing Sub-Committee.² James Johnston represented St. George's ward from 1898 to 1901, and Blackley and Moston from 1902 to '16, as well as serving as a JP. He was a consulting engineer whose technical and business expertise was often utilized by the Council. Like Maben he was concerned with smoke pollution, indeed

1 J, 17 October 1896, 14 July 1900, 12 January 1901; C, 24 October 1896; Manchester Evening News, 3 January 1901; MG, 4 January 1901.

2 Manchester Central Branch ILP, Minutes of Meeting 23 December 1902; LL, 13 May 1904, 10 November 1905; A. Redford, History of Local Government in Manchester (1940) 3 Vols. Vol. III, p. 130.

he was called the 'Anti-Smoke Friend'. He became chairman of the Smoke Abatement League, and as a magistrate enforced the full penalty upon factory smoke offences. Johnston was appointed Chairman of the Works Committee of the Tramways, and saved the ratepayers £2,000 in the cost of new sheds. He prevented the Council from paying 12s. 6d. per yard for over 1,000 yards of land, which he discovered already belonged to the Corporation. The exposure in 1900 of scandals concerning Manchester City Police was entirely due to Johnston's action in demanding publicity.¹

Although the socialists did not manage to obtain any seats on Salford Borough Council until 1902, the members once elected were particularly successful in some of their efforts. By the end of 1904 there were 3 ILP representatives, Joseph Nuttall, John Hayes and J.F. Thompson, who could often rely on the support of G.T. Jackson (General Secretary of the Tramway Workers). Thus at a council meeting in December 1904, Hayes moved that the minimum wage paid to all adult able-bodied employees of the corporation (then 18s. per week) should be not less than 25s. Nuttall seconded, and Thompson and Jackson both supported him. The motion was carried, as was a scheme prepared by Hayes to reduce the hours of public baths attendants. They were currently working between 57 and 74 hours per week. Through the employment of additional attendants, these hours were to be reduced to between 48 and 53½, a considerable improvement.²

Hayes went on to press for the adoption of a Fair Contracts Clause,

1 The Pioneer, No. 29 March 1901, 'Councillor James Johnston, JP of Manchester'.

2 C and LL, 16 December 1904; Salford Reporter, 19 May 1906.

and for the Highways Committee to undertake some street improvement by direct labour instead of contract. Although outvoted, he later moved that a Special Committee be appointed, to inquire and report upon the desirability of establishing a direct works department. Hayes was responsible for dealing with the Housing of the Working Classes Act in Salford. He wanted cottage dwellings to be built, and the Health Committee sent him on a deputation to Letchworth, to inspect the cottages which had been erected at a cost of £150 each, and to attend a Conference of Municipal Associations on the housing question. Hayes also advocated experimental $\frac{1}{2}$ d. tram fares, which had proved successful in Glasgow.

The Labour group on Salford Council pressed for the abolition of school fees, and for the provision of free breakfasts. They wanted a new school for crippled children to be built on the outskirts of the borough, to replace the old one in a slum area. Hayes and Mottershead, who both represented St. Thomas' ward, also managed to get better lighting for their constituents. Nuttall, who in 1906 was a member of the gas committee, took part in the movement for the reduction in the price of gas to slot meter consumers (generally the poorest section of the community).¹

Particularly in Salford the Socialists, once they gained access to the inner circle of municipal life, uncovered a great deal of inefficiency and even corruption. John Hemsall, a Social-Democrat, became Elective Auditor for Salford in April 1894, and was re-elected for the following year. William Hunt of the ILP was then elected in 1897, with the support of the SDF. He served for nine years, retiring in March 1906 because of his commitments in the Typographical Association. Hemsall immediately

¹ Salford Reporter, 16 June, 29 September 1906.

met with a great deal of obstruction from the officials in certain corporation departments. When Local Government Inspectors went to see the Town Clerk, in 1894, he kept raising questions which the Inspectors thought proper, but which were not sanctioned by the Town Clerk.¹ However he did manage to bring several instances of mismanagement to light. In 1894 he was taken by one of the Guardians to visit a workhouse. Here he talked to a man who had been working for the Guardians 15 hours a day for 13 years - for nothing. Women inmates were not provided with adequate clothing; they were given only a thin chemise, one petticoat, and a thin print dress. Pigs, eggs, and vegetable produce from the workhouse farm were sold at wholesale prices - and the Guardians then bought them back at retail prices!² The Salford Guardians also refused to adopt the Board of Trade regulation of 7s. 6d. per day expenses for deputations. Mrs. Jordan formed one of a deputation to Rainhill and, after deducting her own reasonable charge of 2s. 6d. for lunch, found that the other 10 members of the deputation had charged an average of 16s. 6d. per head for food and drink alone.³ In 1895 Hemsall also discovered that the Borough Registrar, Mr. Bagshaw, was illegally overcharging 3d. upon each certificate required for a child going on the half-time system.⁴ The families which suffered through this practice were of course some of the poorest in the town.

Before the end of 1895 an Investigation Committee had been appointed to inquire into the working of Salford borough engineer's department.

1 LL, 17 November 1894.

2 J, 15 December 1894.

3 C, 30 November 1895.

4 Ibid., 27 April 1895.

It reported that the officials were 'drunken, negligent, incapable, and wilfully misleading'. But at a special meeting of the Council it transpired that the same officials were still in the service of the Corporation - and still conducting business in the same manner! In its statement of expenditure the Night Scavenging Committee made a mistake of £1,000 (in the simple addition of one short column), but this passed through three sets of hands undetected. The Highway Department made an omission of £550.¹ In 1896 the Clarion revealed that, some 16 years ago, the Rivers Conservancy Committee had been authorised to conduct some experiments as to the best method of disposing of sewage. It had just reported - not because it wanted to, but because it had been compelled by an order of Judge Parry. Alderman Walmsley then wanted an expert to report on the scheme; apparently he hoped to put a 'job' in the way of one of his friends!² In December 1894 Justice claimed that 'just now Hemsall is probably one of the most popular men in Salford, on account of his recent exposure of corporation extravagance.'³ Two months later, when he rose to address a meeting of ratepayers in the Town Hall, he received a 'splendid ovation', as a mark of appreciation of the good work he has done by unearthing the rottenness and the corruption existing in the corporation's affairs.⁴ By May 1895 Hemsall had produced an account of his activities in pamphlet form. Apparently issued by the SDF, it was entitled Muddle in Salford.⁵

1 Ibid., 30 November 1895.

2 Ibid., 11 January 1896.

3 J, 8 December 1894.

4 Ibid., 2 February 1895.

5 Ibid., 11 May, 8 June 1895.

However there was plenty of work left for William Hunt. In 1901 Councillors Correy, Huddart and Howarth were found guilty of having tendered for and obtained work for the Borough Council. Correy resigned, but Hunt had to campaign for the resignation of his two associates.¹ Socialists naturally advocated a Direct Works Committee,² but obviously leaving Salford Corporation to run an enterprise was not a complete solution! In May 1901 the Corporation took over the tramways and within a week Councillor Duckworth was compelled to resign, for having supplied the new regime with 500 tons of hay! Instrumental in his resignation was the campaign conducted by Hunt, in conjunction with H.C.D. Scott (treasurer of the ILP).³ Nuttall later turned his attention to the Corporation's legal department, and found that Salford had had six Bills in Parliament during the last seven years, at a cost of £26,000.⁴ The post of Elective Auditor was not regarded as particularly prestigious, which is possibly why the socialists managed to retain it for so long, often unopposed. But the post gave its holder access to minute books, requisition and order books, accepted tenders, deeds of properties purchased, and bonds and mortgages paid off.⁵ Thus a keen and conscientious auditor, who had no interest in protecting his social and business associates, could and did manage to uncover a large number of discrepancies which were detrimental to working class ratepayers.

As Guardians of the Poor, the socialists again had to make the best

1 LL, 4 May 1901.

2 Manchester, No. 8 December 1899

3 LL, 18 May 1901

4 Ibid., 20 February 1904

5 IDP News, October 1898. See J. Taylor Key, 'An Elective Auditor's Notes'.

of their limited power and influence. The main plank of their policy was that Town Councils and Boards of Guardians should provide work, at trade union rates, for the unemployed, rather than indoor relief. Meanwhile they could only urge that the Guardians be provided with powers and funds to afford adequate relief. In the last resort they hoped to make life in the workhouse more humane for its inmates. Mrs. Pankhurst was elected to Chorlton Board at the height of the local unemployed agitation in 1894. She urged the socialist policy regarding the provision of employment, but would have proved unsuccessful had not that particular meeting been disrupted by the arrival of a procession of unemployed, led by Dr. Pankhurst and Leonard Hall. After this disruption, the meeting decided to send a deputation to the City Council, urging it to find immediate work for the unemployed, and take joint action with the Guardians. In September 1895 Mrs. Pankhurst read a paper at the North Western Poor Law Conference at Ulverston. Actually prepared by her husband, it reviewed the historic powers invested in Guardians to provide work for the unemployed, and acquire land and materials for the purpose. These powers, she argued, had never been withdrawn, but had simply remained unused as a result of the restrictive actions of the Poor Law Commissioners and their successors, the Local Government Board.

Particularly as a result of this paper, Mrs. Pankhurst gained sympathy for the socialist policy on unemployment from influential people, notably Sir Walter Foster MP and Sir John Hibbert, who might otherwise have paid it little attention. On Chorlton Board she also found non-socialist sympathisers, including the Clerk, David Bloomfield, and a Roman Catholic, Mrs. Sale. They unearthed many instances of official corruption, and both discovered and secured amelioration for many hardships suffered by

the inmates of the workhouse. Mrs. Pankhurst was also active in the scheme to build cottage homes in the country for children who had hitherto been confined in the workhouse. She served on the building committee, and was so enthusiastic about the homes that she argued in favour of increased powers for the Guardians to remove children from unsatisfactory homes. Her daughter Sylvia later condemned this policy,¹ but as opinion among modern sociologists tends to fluctuate, perhaps she should not be judged too hastily.

Also serving on the Chorlton Guardians was ILPer Dr. Arthur Wyndham Martin. One of four candidates, he was elected with a large majority in December 1894. His election address emphasised the powers which Guardians had, and should utilise, to mitigate poverty and assist the poor. Dr. Martin brought to his office considerable practical knowledge and professional expertise, for since 1887 he had been serving as Medical Officer of Health for Gorton. Apart from his efforts in such fields as sanitation and the control of infectious diseases, he managed to persuade Manchester City Council to admit school children to the public baths upon their purchase of $\frac{1}{2}$ d. tickets.²

Until 1902, when the Education Act abolished the School Boards and vested control of elementary and secondary education in the county and county borough councils, socialists also sought election to the School Boards. The political alliances associated with their campaigns are best examined elsewhere,³ but their collaboration with progressives and trade

1 E.S. Pankhurst, op. cit., pp. 130-2.

2 Manchester Faces and Places, Vol. 10, No. 6, March 1899, pp. 108-11.
'Dr. A.W. Martin'.

3 See below, pp. 763-6

unionists served only to strengthen their demand for free Board school education to be provided in every district, for the feeding of school children, and also for improved pay and conditions for elementary school teachers. Unlike the Social-Democrats, who did not obtain any representation during this period, the ILPers did not press for secular education. When Fred Brocklehurst was elected to Manchester School Board, Joseph Nuttall had already served the first of his two terms of office on the Salford Board. Like Brocklehurst, he managed to get an improved scale of teachers' salaries - but it took two years of agitation. He protested against the rule, introduced in Salford in 1895, that school doors should be closed at 9.15 am and 2.15 pm, with no children being admitted late. Nuttall argued that such a hard-and-fast rule would inflict hardship in many cases, but could not find sufficient support against it. He later tried to get infants' departments exempted from the rule, but found only three supporters. Another move which he supported, the use of schools for Recreative Evening Classes, was however successful. Nuttall attempted to persuade the Board to build its schools by direct employment of labour. He supported his argument with reports from the London County Council, but failed to convince his colleagues. However he did prompt the Board into issuing public advertisements for tenders, and accepting the standard rate of wages for contracts. In 1896 he proposed that schools be painted during the winter, when he knew that the painters needed work.¹

Salford's School Board was no less corrupt than were other aspects of municipal life. In 1894 the Board decided to enlarge a Wesleyan School,

1 Manchester and Salford Trades and Labour Council, Twenty-Ninth Annual Report ... 1895. See 'School Board Report' by J. Nuttall, pp. 12-20; LL, 10 April 1897; Salford Reporter, 16 June 1906.

and made the arrangement that the trustees would pay a sum not exceeding £540 and the ratepayers the remainder. The enlargement was to become the ratepayers' property in 30 years. But there were loopholes in the agreement, and within a year the ratepayers had contributed £800. When an account for extra money was presented to the Board, Nuttall moved that the trustees pay half. A Progressive, Mr. Broxap, however moved that the account be paid - he was one of the trustees!¹ In June 1895 a vacancy occurred on the Board, following the death of Alderman Harrison. It was usual in such circumstances to select either the highest defeated candidate, or a candidate of the party to which the late member belonged. Nuttall argued that the socialist J.F. Thomson, who fulfilled the former condition, should be co-opted, but the Church Party sought to break with both customs, and fill the vacancy with their own nominee.²

It is perhaps significant that, in his advocacy of Thomson, Nuttall could not even find a seconder. The socialists who achieved elected office in Manchester and Salford before the First World War were not contenders for power, but simply individuals, or at the best small groups, who could often do no more than make their views known. Their achievements may not have been spectacular, or always even tangible, but should not be ignored. Initially their election campaigns provided propaganda for the movement. They did manage to institute or support some measures of benefit to working people in their area and, most obviously in Salford, they did gain access to information which enabled them to expose widespread mismanagement. Socialist elected representatives always placed great emphasis upon their own public accountability, providing either written

1 C, 27 July 1895

2 LL, 22 June 1895

reports or accounts of their work to public meetings. Once the socialists entered its ranks, local government was forced to become more open and more democratic. For the socialist movement, the early successes of its members in local elections created a favourable public image, and this was perhaps the major long-term benefit. In order to achieve power, socialists needed electoral support beyond their own ranks. Once a few members gained access to local government, they became public figures whose views and actions became of interest to a much broader section of the population - to people who might never have bothered to read the socialist press, or listen to an open-air speaker. And many hitherto hostile inhabitants, who had regarded socialists as young firebrands intent upon revolution, must have been favourably surprised by the public work of men such as Brocklehurst, Nuttall or Maben. Local or even national administration by socialists became credible. The socialists' beliefs and social activities may to some extent have set them apart from the rest of the community, but the work of some of their members in local government demonstrated their integral role in public life.

PART 3

SOCIALISM AND LABOURISM 1893 - 1914

Chapter 1

ILPers and Social-Democrats: a study of local inter-party relations, 1893-1906

The Manchester and Salford ILP was one of the most avowedly socialist of the local organisations represented at Bradford in January 1893. Indeed its very origins can be seen as a local attempt to create a united socialist party. Social-Democrats, Fabians, former members of the Socialist League, together with adherents of the Labour Church and Clarion socialism, had all taken part in its foundation. But the extent of socialist co-operation experienced in Manchester was not to be repeated on a national scale. At Bradford both the SDF delegates (representing Lancashire branches) and the London Fabian Society declared that they would be unable to join the new party.¹ The Fabians in the Manchester and Salford area who, as has already been demonstrated, had little in common with the London society, were in later years to merge into the local ILP² and did not therefore represent any real fragmentation of socialist forces. But the SDF at its 1892 Annual Conference had already rejected a resolution advising its members to assist in the formation of the Independent Labour Party, and had instead adopted a policy of 'benevolent neutrality'³. The fact that six Lancashire SDF branches did send delegates to Bradford demonstrates a greater degree of support for the ILP in that area than was to be found among the party's national leadership, but even so the conference ended without their adherence to the new party. Thus the ILP emerged in 1893 in a somewhat ambiguous

1 H. Pelling, Origins of the Labour Party ... pp. 116, 120

2 See above p.352 for the merger of the North Manchester Fabian Society.

3 H. Pelling, *op. cit.*, p. 111

position. It had declared its independence from the Liberal and Conservative parties, but had rejected the Manchester Fourth Clause, which would have made that independence absolute. It was avowedly socialist, yet outside its ranks, and politically to its 'left', there remained the older established socialist party, the SDF.

In the context of Manchester and Salford in 1893, this official division between ILP and SDF was completely illogical. The two parties had a common core of leading members. They had undertaken propaganda and fought elections together. Above all their members formed a tiny socialist minority in the hostile environment of one of the world's largest commercial centres. But if local circumstances drew the ILP and SDF members together, their national parties tended to move them apart. Hyndman did not consider the ILP to be sufficiently socialist, and disliked the 'queer jumble of Asiatic mysticism and supernatural juggling which we call Christianity put forward by Keir Hardie and Tom Mann as the basis of a social and economic propaganda.'¹ Certainly the adherence to the fundamental tenets of Christianity and general ignorance of Marxism common among ILP members did create a theoretical gulf between the two parties, but on a local level they did not prevent united action. Nationally the major obstacle to unity was what Mann described as the 'considerable difference in temperament between the two organisations,'² which might also be described as the considerable difference in temperament between Hyndman and Hardie.

In this chapter the local, practical contacts between the ILP and SDF before the 1906 General Election must be considered. Not only is

1 Quoted in C. Tsuzuki, op. cit., pp. 100-1

2 T. Mann, op. cit., p. 130

this an aspect of ILP politics which has generally been neglected by historians, but it also forms the background to the role of the local ILP and its leading members in the national debate on socialist unity, which will be examined in the following chapter. The role of local socialists in the labour movement and the formation of the 'labour alliance' will then be considered in Chapter 3, together with events surrounding the 1906 General Election. The last chapter of this section details the conflict between socialism and labourism after the advent of the Labour Party, and emphasises the influence of Manchester and Salford activists upon national events.

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Before considering the local aspects of socialist unity, the SDF as an organisation must be placed in perspective. Did it tend to decline under the impetus of the ILP? Did it attempt to compete with the ILP in terms of recruitment and propaganda in the various constituencies? Or did the two parties simply reach a modus vivendi based upon geographical development? The importance which will be placed upon the geographical development of the SDF is based upon two premises which have previously been considered in relation to the ILP; namely that the two parties drew their recruits from the same general pool, and that proximity to an active local branch was a crucial factor in a convert's choice of party.

The background of socialist converts has been considered at length in the previous section. Suffice it here to reiterate the view that converts to the SDF were seldom already convinced Marxists, but simply men and women who wished for a radical change in social conditions, came into contact with SDF propaganda, and then progressed in their more theoretical studies of socialism after enrolment. ^{one} such example was

Joe Toole, who reminisced:

When a man or woman with a shilling or two to spend at the end of the week has bought the trivial luxuries that fall to the lot of those who are always living from hand to mouth, time hangs heavily between one Sunday morning and another, and that was one of the reasons why the propaganda pitch in Trafford Road was so popular. Strolling down there very casually one summer evening, I was attracted by a speaker delivering an address from what was then known as the Red Van. It was sent down from London to Lancashire by the proprietors of the Socialist weekly, Justice ...

... My personal studies had implanted in me a feverish desire to see some kind of change in the material and social conditions under which we were compelled to live. The vanner seemed clearly to understand that there should be a change, and not only that, but when there came a change what to do with it.¹

It was in this manner that the future Labour Lord Mayor of Manchester and MP for South Salford was recruited to the SDF. Toole was far from being a dedicated Marxist, and had he initially encountered the ILP's propaganda, might well have joined that organisation instead.

It is therefore suggested that to a great extent the ILP and SDF shared a common pool of potential converts. Which body did actually recruit them depended to a large extent upon geographical presence. The realisation that political activity had to be provided near to the homes of converts was expressed in September 1900 by Joseph Chatterton. In a letter to Justice he remarked that:

Within a radius of five and a half miles of the Royal Exchange we have a population of 2,000,000 (two millions) of people and only four branches of the SDF. Large and populous districts like Ardwick, Openshaw, Forton, Harpurhey, Bradford, Stretford, Longsight, etc., are without a branch of our organisation, and seldom or never hear the voice of the Socialist propagandist. There are Socialists in all these districts, doubtless, but they are unorganised and will remain so whilst they are removed a distance of four or five miles from the nearest SDF branch.²

1 J. Toole, op. cit., pp. 76-7

2 J, 22 September 1900

Thus on a local level relations between the two socialist parties were influenced by factors such as whether they attempted to rival one another in terms of recruitment and propaganda in the different districts, or whether they were prepared to make a realistic appraisal of their own, and one another's, strengths and weaknesses, and develop in comparative harmony.

When the geographical distribution of SDF branches in the 1893-1906 period is considered, it becomes apparent that the two parties did develop a modus vivendi. Basically the ILP made little effort to develop in areas which had old-established SDF branches, while the SDF, when subsequently attempting to extend its branches, organised in areas where the ILP was either weak or non-existent. Thus the most obvious forms of rivalry were generally avoided, and although members did occasionally criticise one another's parties, and in a few cases change allegiance, relations on a local level were generally amicable.

The 'cradle' of the SDF in the district was undoubtedly South Salford. As has been described above,¹ the ILP maintained a comparatively weak and spasmodic presence in the area until the era of centralisation. Its virtual disappearance after the turn of the century has already been explained in the words of C.W. Fraser: 'The fact that there is no ILP in South Salford and no SDF in West Salford is mainly due to a disinclination to split the militant forces'.² Thus, virtually with the blessing of the ILP, South Salford SDF continued its development as one of the principal branches in the region. In November 1892 it had taken new premises at 43 Trafford Road. Originally a Conservative Club, the building had been

1 See above, p.410

2 J, 14 December 1901. See also p.411 above.

redecorated and formally opened by Robert Blatchford. With two rooms capable of seating 2-300 people, and about a dozen smaller ones, it provided an attractive centre for local recruitment and activity.¹ At the close of 1894 the branch could boast 216 financial members, a total income for the preceding quarter of £177, and an average weekly sale of 161 copies of Justice². The branch opened a Sunday School on 1 April of that year, with 22 scholars, and three years later had quadrupled their number.³ Although in May 1895 the branch was divided up in the process of forming a Salford District Council,⁴ it appears to have been reconstituted by June 1897.⁵

Admittedly South Salford SDF did face problems of a financial nature after the turn of the century. By October 1904 it had changed its venue to 57 Trafford Road;⁶ exactly why is not clear. The premises, obviously rented, proved too expensive and the branch became increasingly aware of the amount it had been paying out in rent and rates: more than £1,300 in the past 13 years. A scheme was therefore launched to form a limited liability society, the Salford Social-Democratic Land and Builders Society Ltd., which aimed to raise £500 capital in 2,000 shares of 5s. each, and build its own premises on a suitable site then available on Trafford Road.⁷ Shortly afterwards the branch moved its headquarters to West High Street,⁸

1 Ibid., 19 November 1892

2 Ibid., 19 January 1895

3 Ibid., 17 April 1897

4 Ibid., 18 May 1897

5 Ibid., 26 June 1897

6 Ibid., 15 October 1904

7 Ibid., 11 February 1905

8 Ibid., 22 April 1905

but in May 1906 the Society negotiated the purchase of a local Conservative Club for £600.¹ In September 1906 it was opened as Hyndman Hall.² Thus even at the time of financial difficulties the branch had plans and prospects which might serve as a rallying point for its members. Throughout the period in question South Salford SDF maintained its tradition of meetings at Trafford Bridge and these, together with electoral and propagandist activities, not to mention the social life of the Trafford Road club, produced a flourishing and active branch, which the ILP never really attempted to rival.

By contrast, West Salford was very much the preserve of the ILP, and the amicable relations between that branch and the SDF have already been noted. An SDF branch was formed in West Salford in May 1895, but as a result of a general reorganisation of the local party, rather than a spontaneous upsurge of Social-Democratic activity in that particular area. On 18 May 1895 T.H. Sutton announced in Justice that 'the large branch' (presumably South Salford) had been split to form branches now known as Regent, Ordsall, Trafford, West Salford, Weaste, Crescent and Islington, which together formed a Salford District Council, with headquarters at the Trafford Road Club.³ West Salford branch was in fact formed on 25 April, and commenced propaganda on 12 May. From this date until the end of the quarter (25 September) it held 34 meetings and sold some 5,000 socialist papers and pamphlets.⁴ In 1897 the branch was holding propaganda meetings at Langworthy Road and Broad Street Baths,⁵

1 Ibid., 5 May 1905

2 Ibid., 29 September 1906

3 Ibid., 18 May 1895

4 Ibid., 2 November 1895

5 Ibid., 2 January, 3 July 1897

but its payments that August, of 4s. 8d. in dues and 4s. 4d. to the Central Election Fund suggest only a small group of activists.¹ The branch appears to have remained in existence until almost the turn of the century² but thereafter even open^{air} propoganda appears to have ceased, and no evidence of the branch's existence can be found. It might be added that in 1901 West Salford ILP was augmented by members from the former South Salford branch of the party, and moved into the Fellowship Hall.³ Thus the progress of the ILP and SDF in these two Salford constituencies suggests not rivalry, but a willingness to reach an amicable modus vivendi and moreover avoid a waste of effort and resources by both parties.

Relations between the SDF and ILP in North Salford were never so clearly defined. North Salford SDF was established before the foundation of Manchester and Salford ILP⁴ but does not appear to have continued in a particularly flourishing state. After its first annual social, on 29 December 1894, the branch reported that '... we are such a decrepit old lot, that though we are honoured with a splendidly organised opposition, we are too ungrateful to die out, and are still presuming to creep along'.⁵ In June 1895 the branch was holding business meetings on Tuesdays at 12 Sussex Street, Lower Broughton, with discussion classes on Fridays.⁶ Towards the close of the 1897 outdoor propoganda season, a report in Justice commented that the branch had had 'a good many disappointments in

1 Ibid., 14 August 1897

2 See lists of meetings published weekly in *ibid.*

3 See above, p.411

4 J., 5 March 1892 reports a joint meeting of North and South Salford branches to hear H.M. Hyndman

5 Ibid., 12 January 1895

6 Ibid., 15 June 1895

getting speakers, even those who promised sometimes failing to turn up; but our brethren of the branch have readily and manfully filled the breach when necessary'. On a more positive note the report continued: 'The branch has nearly doubled in numbers during the six months, and is actively engaged in pushing forward a scheme for acquiring a hall and clubrooms of its own, ...'¹ The branch did achieve its ambition, for on 5 March 1898 the Lancashire District Federation held its special meeting at the North Salford Branch Club Room, 63 Great Clowes Street, Lower Broughton.²

Reference to a street map of Salford and to the account in the preceding section of the progress of the ILP in the constituency will reveal that the North Salford branches of the two parties were functioning in close proximity. Both concentrated their activities in the Lower Broughton area, just north of the Irwell and particularly towards the Manchester boundary. Moreover at the end of March 1899 the ILP opened Pankhurst Hall.³ There are no indications of overt rivalry or antipathy between the two organisations, nor apparently was the SDF deterred by the ILP's progress. On 1 April 1899 the North Salford SDF reported its attempt to form a Manchester District Council, a scheme which had however been dropped because of a lack of enthusiasm from other local branches. They were approaching the end of a series of 13 lectures on 'The Rise and Development of English Town Life' by Frank Edward Chester MA, the curate of St. Phillips, Salford. Although not an SDF man, he was 'an

1 Ibid., 4 September 1897

2 Ibid., 5 March 1898

3 See above, p.419 and map7.

outspoken, robust, and enthusiastic socialist'. Through the Working Men's Clubs Association they had secured the assistance of K.T.S. Dockray BA, in the study of economics. On the anniversary of the Paris Commune the branch held its celebration, when about 40 people sat down to tea. With the approach of the outdoor propaganda season, the branch planned meetings outside the club and at Blackfriars Baths.¹ In August 1901 North Salford SDF opened a new meeting place at Great Cheetham Street.² In May 1902 it began its openair propaganda session with meetings near the Co-op stores in Cheetham Street.³ Thereafter no mention of the branch can be traced in Justice, and the obvious assumption is that it had been eclipsed by the ILP and the counter-attractions of Pankhurst Hall.

On 11 February 1893 Justice recorded the existence of 15 SDF branches in Lancashire, including North and South Salford, and a branch in the course of formation at Eccles. If this list was complete, then at the time of the foundation of the national ILP, there was no SDF branch in Manchester itself.⁴ Since the SDF had been expanding into Manchester during the preceding years,⁵ this would suggest that the emerging ILP drew the support and enthusiasm which had previously been directed towards the SDF. However the SDF, and indeed some erstwhile ILP members, were not prepared to accept this status quo. In April 1894 the SDF established a branch in the Hulme district,⁶ towards which some of its earlier

1 J, 1 April 1899

2 Ibid., 17 August 1901

3 Ibid., 10 May 1902

4 Ibid., 11 February 1893

5 See above, pp. 112-14

6 J, 7 April 1894

propagandist activity had been directed.¹ Thereafter no information concerning the branch emerged in the columns of Justice, and it is possible that it was only short-lived. However in March 1895 a statement appeared in Justice, to the effect that the St. George's (Hulme) ILP had resolved to become a branch of the SDF.² This should not, however, be taken as an example of SDF 'poaching'. In fact St. George's ward ILP branch had previously been in dispute with the Manchester and Salford EC, and in January 1895 the NAC had confirmed the local executive's ruling that the branch be dissolved and abolished. 'Loyal' ILP members had been invited to join the nearby Medlock Street branch. That the renegade ILPers decided to move en masse into the SDF was not so much as a symbol of rivalry between the two parties, but of the similarities between them at grass roots level. St. George's was not obviously more 'left wing' than the other local ILP branches, and its stand over the rules for municipal candidates was supported by its own prospective candidate, Richard Anderson.³ It might be added that when Anderson had contested the ward in 1894 he had been supported by the local Irish community and received the endorsement of the far from socialist Trades Council.⁴ He was thus an unlikely leader for a Marxist takeover of an ILP branch.

However the SDF failed to thrive in Hulme at this time, possibly because of the rival attraction of an independent socialist society. In January 1896 'Spectator', reporting the propagandist activities of Moss Side Socialist Society in Justice, asked what had become of the Hulme SDF. He remarked that 'The Moss Side boys are new to the work, yet they

1 See above, p.133

2 J, 9 March 1895

3 See above, p.391

4 LL, 22, 29 September 1894

can organise a successful meeting and fill a large room not more than seven minutes walk from the SDF club.¹ Although SDF meetings continued in Hulme until April 1897, the branch apparently collapsed at some time during the next six months.² On 6 November 1897 Justice published a letter to the editor from David Menzies, who planned to start an SDF branch in Hulme. Optimistically Menzies wrote:

We believe that with a little hard work we can form a splendid branch of the SDF in this district, and we feel deeply that this division has not now a branch of the pioneers of Social-Democracy.

All interested readers were requested to write to Menzies, at the South Salford SDF club.³ The first meeting of members of the proposed branch was called for 9 December; the venue being the ILP rooms in Elvington Street!⁴ The occasion was marked by an 'encouraging attendance' and, as the majority of members paid three months' subscription in advance, the new branch began with cash in hand, and no debts. They planned to meet at 11.30 on Sundays, when a business meeting would be followed by a paper, read by one of the members and a debate.

We do not intend going in for club land, as we are under the impression that there is more important work to do than card playing, gossiping, and cackling like so many old women of both genders.

But the most significant portion of J.B. Hudson's report was perhaps that relating to the meeting place:

Until we can obtain a suitable room we shall hold our meetings at the ILP hall, Medlock Street, which has been

1 J, 4 January 1896

2 Ibid., 3 April 1897, advertised a meeting on Chorlton Road. The Hulme SDF branch, located at 69 Upper Moss Lane, was last recorded in the 'SDF Directory' columns of Justice on 16 January 1897.

3 Ibid., 6 November 1897

4 Ibid., 4 December 1897

kindly placed at our disposal by the local branch of the ILP.¹

It might also be added that Hudson was himself a former ILPer; in 1893 and '4 the Workman's Times and Clarion had both described him as being of SW Manchester ILP.² By the spring of 1896 he was a member of the SDF, but still spoke at ILP meetings.³

The new Hulme SDF, known as the South Manchester branch, continued to meet at the ILP rooms until the close of 1900. Then, on 15 December, a notice appeared in Justice, that the South Manchester SDF had severed all connection with the Elvington Street Hall and that the Sunday afternoon public meetings would be discontinued, pending the acquisition of new premises.⁴ Neither SDF nor ILP sources revealed the reason for this move, but it is likely that the problem related to the premises themselves, rather than to interparty relations. In November 1901, when a meeting resolved that it was in the interests of socialist unity to join the existing SDF branch in Hulme.⁵ South Manchester SDF was still holding Sunday propaganda meetings at the Junction, Wade Street, in April 1901⁶ but thereafter information concerning the branch is lacking. It is not, perhaps, a coincidence that at the beginning of 1901 a South West Manchester SDF branch began to flourish in the Hulme area.

1 Ibid., 25 December 1897

2 WT, 9 September, 23 September 1893; C, 21 April 1894

3 C, 9 May 1896 advertised Hudson as an SDF member who was to speak at New Cross ILP. LL, 16 November 1895 advertised him as the speaker at East Manchester ILP.

4 J, 15 December 1900

5 Ibid., 30 November 1901. See above, p.

6 Ibid., 20 April 1901

Exactly when the SW Manchester branch was established is uncertain. The first reference to it which has been traced in Justice was on 2 February 1901, when the 'SDF Directory' listed the branch as being located at 279 Moss Lane East, under the secretaryship of H.E. West.¹ That summer the branch held open^{air} meetings at Welcomb Street, Stretford Road,² despite some earlier problems with the police. By July West was able to record an increased membership and 'a most enthusiastic branch, all being active workers'. They had discovered^{that} two or three of their own members could speak very well, and were on the point of taking over new premises.³ J. Jones, who spent that August in Manchester and Salford as an organiser,⁴ appears to have been well satisfied with the branch. West later wrote: 'As Comrade Jones says, this is the best district around Manchester for our propaganda; ...'.⁵ By January 1902 the branch had moved into a club room at Pownall Street, Hulme,⁶ which it used as election headquarters the following March, for W.E. Skevington's campaign in the Guardians' election.⁷ A.H. Watson, the Secretary, later commented that no outside assistance had been forthcoming, except a donation from some ILP friends.⁸ For a time the branch met at Wheeldon's Cafe in Stretford Road, Hulme, while seeking premises for a club.⁹ They held

1 Ibid., 2 February 1901

2 Ibid., 15 June 1901

3 Ibid., 20 July 1901

4 Ibid., 31 August 1901

5 Ibid., 28 September 1901

6 Ibid., 18 January 1902

7 Ibid., 29 March 1902

8 Ibid., 26 July 1902

9 Ibid., 21 June 11 October 1902

two outdoor meetings each Sunday during the summer of 1902.¹

By August 1902 the South-West Manchester branch had achieved its ambition of a club, at 177 York Street, Stretford Road. Will Gee of Northampton arrived for a week's organising expedition, and as a result of his efforts fourteen more members were enrolled.² Thereafter the branch was able to provide regular reports for Justice of active propaganda, an increasing number of speakers, participation in the Guardians' and municipal elections in 1904-5, and a campaign on behalf of the unemployed.³ A Sunday School was opened at the close of 1904,⁴ and by February 1905 French and shorthand classes were being held, as well as discussion groups and openair propaganda meetings.⁵ Clearly, after the South Salford branch, the SW Manchester SDF was the most active and enthusiastic in the area.

SDF activity therefore tended to be concentrated in the Southern and Western part of the Manchester-Salford conurbation. The SDF was itself aware of its geographical limitations, but was not particularly successful in its attempts to remedy the situation. On 16 June 1894 Justice announced that a branch of the SDF was about to be formed in North Manchester, 'where our comrades have taken nearly all the life out of the ILP.'⁶ Thereafter there emerged no information concerning any such branch, but the 'Manchester (North) Socialist Union' described above⁷ may represent Social Democrats combining for a time with ILP

1 Ibid., 26 July 1902

2 Ibid., 22 August 1903, 19 March 1904

3 Ibid., 2 July, 10 September and 26 November 1904, 11 February 1905

4 Ibid., 17 December 1904

5 Ibid., 11 February 1905

6 Ibid., 16 June 1894

7 See above, p.352

and Fabians in the area.

Central Manchester was the obvious target for SDF expansion, and at the beginning of 1895 plans were formulated to establish a branch in a very large room in Market Street, which could boast an electric light and lift, but had the disadvantage of a £100 annual rental. There were rumours that this would necessitate a shilling per week subscription, but the sum eventually suggested was 2s. 6d. per month. Even so the South Salford members in particular were extremely critical of the scheme. They claimed that the subscription fee was too high to allow working men to join, and that an attempt was being made to set up class distinctions in the SDF.¹ 'SPY' in Justice commented:

I think that there are hundreds of men and women in our movement who would like to see a transformation from depressing and uncomfortable lecture rooms with empty benches to more beautiful and more exhilarating meeting places, with a certainty of large if not crowded meetings.²

But when the branch was actually established, and the occasion duly celebrated with a dinner at the County Forum on 4 April, accommodation proved a problem. As John Jackson explained, they had difficulty in getting a meeting room because of the organisation to which they belonged.³ In January 1897 the Manchester Central branch of the SDF was still meeting at the County Forum,⁴ but after 1897 no references to the branch can be traced. It obviously dissolved at some stage, to be reformed on 1 July 1900. The branch was revived with an initial membership of 5, but by December 1900 the numbers had increased to 24, including 3

1 J, 19 January, 2 February 1895. There is no proof that this comment was intended as a reflection upon the middle-class leadership of the national party, but it does at least serve as a further indication of the working-class composition of South Salford SDF.

2 Ibid., 2 February 1895

3 Ibid., 20 April 1895

4 Ibid., 2 January 1897

speakers. Meetings, at first held in the Piccadilly Restaurant, soon removed to the Swan Restaurant in Swan Street. The target for the branch's propaganda was the Bradford district, which had already returned J.E. Sutton to Manchester City Council on three occasions, and seemed a likely venue for another SDF branch. Attempts to form a Bradford branch had in fact been made during the spring and summer of 1900, chiefly by ex-ILPer Arthur Woollerton, but the whole scheme appears to have fallen through when the Central branch was reformed.¹

The renewal enthusiasm of Central branch appears to have been shortlived. In March 1901 the Manchester District Committee commented that:

The Central Branch may as well be dead for all the information the committee has been able to obtain to the contrary ...²

However a Central branch was in existence in August 1904 when, under the secretaryship of J.E. McGlasson, meetings were being held at Lockhart's Cafe in Market Street,³ a venue to which it still adhered in February 1905.⁴

Clearly the SDF had been unsuccessful in its attempt to become established in the Bradford area, although events concerning the 1906 General Election suggest some SDF support in the area. Areas which

1 Ibid., 10 February, 10 and 17 March, 7 and 21 July 1900. Ibid. 7 July 1900 actually stated that a new branch of the SDF had been formed in Bradford, Manchester, with Woollerton as secretary, but a fortnight later stated that this should have been called the Central Manchester branch, which 'would include comrades in Manchester who had not up to present been members of any of the existing branches in Manchester and Salford.'

2 Ibid., 9 March 1901

3 Ibid., 13 August 1904

4 Ibid., 11 February 1905

could produce Labour victories at the polls were not necessarily good recruiting grounds for the SDF. Nor were other efforts to expand into the Manchester area much more successful. Attempts to form a branch for Failsworth, Moston and Harpurhey in June 1900,¹ and for Rusholme in July 1901² seem to have had little effect. A branch was formed in New Cross in June 1902 with 12 members, and was still in existence that October, but no information concerning its later progress can be found in Justice.³ During the autumn of 1905 new branches were formed in Stretford and N.E. Manchester,⁴ but the latter only really began to flourish after the 1906 general election.⁵

The local distribution and progress of SDF branches has been considered in detail for several reasons. Most obviously the examination shows a marked concentration of SDF activity in a limited geographical area, Salford and South and South-West Manchester (particularly the Hulme area), where the SDF had been in evidence before the foundation of the ILP. Thus in a great many districts of Manchester the SDF had no local branch, and the ILP virtually had a free hand in terms of socialist propaganda and organisation. In South Salford the ILP came to an understanding with the Social-Democrats, and in North Salford and the S. and SW Manchester areas, where both parties did operate, there can be traced no signs of overt rivalry or hostility, but examples of co-operation, such as the SDF's use of the ILP's Elvington Street rooms.

1 J, 16 June 1900

2 Ibid., 20 July 1901

3 Ibid., 21 June, 5 July and 11 October 1902

4 Ibid., 30 September, 14 October 1905

5 Ibid., 17 March 1906

Why did the SDF not prove more successful in Manchester? The most obvious answer is that in 1892-3 socialist activity in the area concentrated upon the formation of the ILP, and that party quickly established both a network of local branches and a district organisation. The SDF was always weak in this middle tier of organisation. Thus its Manchester District Council was reformed in January 1895, and had disintegrated by the following May.¹ A further attempt to reform it failed early in 1899,² and the actual existence of a District Council cannot then be traced until January 1901.³ Since the centre of power within the SDF was firmly concentrated upon London, the local branches were left much to their own devices in expanding the movement, with occasional assistance from an outside speaker or organiser. Even given the same number of potential converts as the ILP, the SDF by virtue of its structure and organisation would have had greater difficulty in mobilising them.

The pattern of activity detailed above demonstrates not only why there was no real need for rivalry between the two organisations on a local level, but also serves as a background to the events after 1906 General Election. Any marked expansion of the SDF could only indicate a change in either party's methods or organisation (which were not apparent) or a swing of support from the ILP to the SDF.

While the ILP had no real reason to complain of 'poaching' upon its territory and membership by the SDF, and therefore no grounds for hostility, why did its members, as part of the obviously stronger organisation, feel the need to make overtures for an alliance with the

1 Ibid., 12 January 4 May 1899

2 Ibid., 1 April 1899

3 Ibid., 26 January 1901

SDF? Obviously the prospect of a large united socialist party was the major attraction on both practical and theoretical grounds. But it should also be added that the SDF in Manchester and Salford area was a much more important political force than either its numbers or geographical presence might suggest. In part this stemmed from the nature of the SDF; like most other Marxist parties it was intensely political, and did not include among its members people who merely paid subscriptions without engaging in any real political activity, or people simply attracted to club life. Members had to be politically committed, perhaps to a greater extent than those in the ILP, where social life proved a stronger unifying force.

Thus the SDF did number among its members some extremely able political activists, whose adherence would certainly be an asset to any united socialist party. Indeed some of them had helped to found Manchester and Salford ILP, but had retained their allegiance to the SDF. Thus William Horrocks, although he had served on the Executive Committee of Salford LEA¹ and actually attended the foundation meeting of Manchester and Salford ILP,² never apparently joined the new party, but remained one of the leading propagandists in South Salford SDF. However his election contests, for St. Paul's ward, Salford, in 1893, and for Pendleton Guardians in 1893, '94, '97 and 1904, were all undertaken with ILP support.³ In November 1904, when Hardie arrived to speak at the

1 WT, 28 August 1891

2 L Thompson, Robert Blatchford ... p. 89

3 C, 10, 17 and 24 June 1893, 15 December 1894, 27 March 1897, 18 March and 8 April 1904; J, 15 April, 17 June, 22 July 1893, 10 November 1894, 17 April 1897; LL, 3 April 1897, 5 March and 9 April 1904.

Free Trade Hall, 'SDFers, like Bill Horrocks and Parkinson, sat alongside Christian Socialists' on the platform.¹ E.H. Parkinson spoke for both S.W. Manchester and W. Salford ILP branches between 1892 and 1908,² but retained his membership of the SDF, which dated back to 1885.³

Of the other founders of the ILP, Thomas Morton Purves had, in October 1892, combined his activities on the Executive Committee of Manchester and Salford ILP with the chairmanship of the general purposes committee of the Labour Church and membership of the SDF.⁴ How long the SDF/ILP dual membership lasted is uncertain, but even after he became Lancashire District Secretary of the SDF in December 1892, he continued to speak at ILP meetings.⁵ Giles Horsfall, once better known as 'Fidus Achates' of the Workman's Times had, by April 1895, become treasurer of South Salford SDF.⁶ However on 23 April 1912 he was to join Manchester Central Branch ILP.⁷ W.K. Hall appears to have retained his SDF membership while serving as Vice-President of Manchester and Salford ILP in 1892, for in May 1894 he became SDF Lancashire district organiser.⁸ Unfortunately there is no evidence as to how long these local socialists retained joint ILP/SDF membership. Robert Blatchford, who was to advocate such a dual allegiance as a step towards socialist unity⁹ was

1 LL, 25 November 1904

2 WT, 3 September 1892; C, 14 October 1893; LL, 27 May 1904, 1 September 1905, 14 September 1906, 16 August 1907, 21 August 1908.

3 J, 4 April 1885

4 WT, 29 October 1892

5 Ibid., 3 December 1892, 9 September 1893; LL, 28 September 1895, 10 November 1905; C, 16 July 1898, 27 December 1901

6 J, 20 April 1895

7 Manchester Central Branch ILP, Minutes of meeting 23 April 1912

8 WT, 4 February 1892; LL, 12 May 1894; J, 19 May 1894

9 See below, p.737

himself described as a member of the SDF in the 11 August 1894 issue of Justice.¹ It seems likely that after 1892-3 the majority of socialists simply continued as paid-up members of only one organisation, but even so the social contacts, exchange of visits as speakers, and above all goodwill of the founder members of the two local parties, appears to have continued.

The formal contacts between the local SDF and ILP, in terms of electoral activities, joint campaigns and exchange of speakers will be considered below. The aim here is simply to emphasise the continuing personal links between the two movements. The personal antipathy which existed between Hyndman and Hardie was certainly not emulated by the Manchester and Salford leaders of the two parties. But what of the SDF in later years? As the local ILP developed as part of a national party, which failed to make common cause with the SDF, did the local movements tend to polarize? Again, to concentrate initially on the personal aspect, co-operation appears to have been the rule rather than the exception. A.A. Purcell joined both the ILP and SDF while living in London. After his removal to Manchester he remained active in the SDF and, on 21 November 1905, joined Manchester Central Branch ILP. Apart from speaking for both local parties, he stood as their joint candidate for the Ordsall and St. Paul's Wards, Salford, in 1904 and '5, before being elected for the latter in 1906. Purcell was also General Secretary of the Amalgamated Society of French Polishers, serving as its delegate to Manchester and Salford Trades Council. In 1905 and '6 he was elected President of the Trades Council. Thus perhaps the most influential of the younger generation of local activists himself provided a practical

1 J, 11 August 1894

example of socialist unity.¹

John Hemsall, the candidate of South Salford SDF, became an Elective Auditor for Salford in April 1894, and retained his position unopposed the following year. He also spoke at ILP meetings, taught at the ILP's Education Class in South Salford in December 1895, and took part in the free speech campaign at Boggart Hole Clough. In September 1896 the ILP selected him as municipal candidate for Trafford Ward, Salford, although he later withdrew, while in November 1897 he fought Ordsall Ward as a socialist.² At the 1900 General Election Hemsall stood for Accrington, under the auspices of the local SDF, ILP and unattached socialists. But in October 1900 the SDF Executive Committee announced that: 'As no information was sent to the Executive concerning the adoption of Hemsall, as should most certainly have been done in accordance with the rules of the organisation, the Executive decline to sanction the candidature'.³ He emerged at the bottom of the poll,⁴ and resumed local political work in South Salford SDF.⁵ William Hunt, who served as an Elective Auditor for Salford between April 1897

1 R. Hayburn, D.E. Martin and J. Saville, entry on A.A. Purcell in Dictionary of Labour Biography, Vol. I, pp. 275-9; Manchester Central Branch ILP, Minutes of meeting 21 November 1905; LL, 21 October, 4 November 1904, 1 September, 13 October and 10 November 1905, 5, 19 October and 9 November 1906; J, 22 October, 5 November 1904, 30 September, 11 November 1905, 10 November 1906; C, 28 October, 4 November, 20 October, 10 November 1905, 12 October, 9 November 1906.

2 J, 7 April 1894; C, 30 March 1895, 6 November 1897, 29 September 1900; LL, 17 November 1894, 21 December 1895, 20 June, 11 July, 19 and 26 September 1896, 30 January and 6 November 1897.

3 J, 6 October 1900

4 J. Vincent and M. Stenton, op. cit., p. 139. Hemsall polled 433, and his Liberal and Conservative opponents 6585 and 5993 respectively.

5 J, 10 November 1900, 18 January 1902; LL, 7 July 1900, 30 May 1903.

and March 1906, was also a nominee of both the ILP and SDF, although he was in fact a member of the ILP and, in October 1898, secretary of its Hightown branch.¹

It may already have become apparent that ILP/SDF joint candidatures at local elections were comparatively common in districts where the SDF had any real influence. The areas in question and voting figures must be considered later, but of the men who served as practical examples of socialist unity, it is necessary to mention J.F. Thompson, who won Trafford Ward in a by-election in April 1904, as an ILP candidate, and retained his seat with the backing of both ILP and SDF in the following November.² Less successfully W.H. Cuddeford, Alfred Acton and J.H. M'Garvie contested the Salford Guardians election in April 1897.³ Henry Mottershead failed in his fight as Labour/Socialist candidate for Pendleton Guardians in March 1904, but was elected to the Salford Town Council for St. Thomas' Ward in October 1905. The latter campaign was under the auspices of W. Salford ILP, but Justice's description of him as a 'Socialist' candidate suggested continuing SDF support.⁴

Apart from the electoral candidates of the two parties, there were

1 C, 27 March, 10 April 1897, 22 October 1898, 30 March 1906

2 C, 8, 22 April 1904; J, 5 November 1904, Thompson also fought school board elections in Salford under the auspices of the ILP and United Labour Party, and was a member of the provisional committee of the Land Nationalisation Council for Lancashire. See C, 14 July and 29 September 1894, 13 and 27 November 1897, 17 and 24 November 1900, 9 December 1904.

3 LL, 3 April 1897; C, 27 March 1897. All the men were SDF members. In November 1895 M'Garvie contested St. Matthias' Ward, Salford, for the SDF, while later that month Acton fought a by-election in Ordsall Ward.

4 LL, 5, 26 March, 9 April 1904, 13 October and 3 November 1905; C, 8 April 1904, 15 September, 20 October, 10 November 1905; J, 11 November 1905. In September 1905 Mottershead was financial secretary of Manchester, Salford and District Branch of the Postmen's Federation.

many prominent local socialists who worked for the ILP and SDF, even though they were not necessarily members of both. At the 1892 May Day demonstration which led directly to the founding of Manchester and Salford ILP, R. Abrahams acted as chairman of the Jewish platform. He remained a member of the local SDF, serving as Secretary of the Lancashire District Council in 1896. However, he spoke for West Salford ILP and in January 1897 lectured on economics for the S. Manchester branch.¹ David Menzies was also an active Social-Democrat who, in November 1897, was engaged in trying to form a branch of the party in Hulme. In March 1907 he was still being described as an SDF member but had, since September 1905, been a regular speaker at Tib Street. Then in August 1907 the Labour Leader advertised him as a member of City of Manchester ILP, who was billed to speak for Crumpsall and Cheetham ILP branch. He continued to speak for ILP branches until July 1909, but also addressed S. Salford SDF. His exact party affiliation at any point of time is therefore difficult to pinpoint, but more important is the fact that he was obviously welcomed by both ILP and SDF branches.²

Also moving between the parties was Dr. T.J.G. Garrett. In 1896 he served as secretary of Manchester Central SDF, and in January 1901 represented South Manchester SDF at the Labour Representation Committee's 1st Annual Conference. He stood unsuccessfully for Openshaw Guardians in

1 WT, 7 May 1892, 16 September 1893; C, 16 January 1897; J, 20 April and 4 May 1895, 8 February and 22 August 1896, 13 February 1897. Abrahams left Salford for London in March 1897, and in January 1898 was elected Secretary to the Mantle Makers' Union.

2 J, 6 November 1897; C, 13 November 1897, 22 October 1898. LL advertised Menzies as a speaker regularly between 1 September 1905 and 2 July 1909. Ibid., 29 March 1907 described him as being of the SDF, while ibid., 30 August 1907, labelled him as City of Manchester ILP.

March 1906, and was eventually elected to Chorlton Guardians in April 1908. But Garrett's activities were not confined to the SDF. On 12 August 1899 the Labour Leader, reporting the 19th Annual Conference of the SDF, commented that 'Fred Brocklehurst and Dr. Garrett were the most prominent ILPers present'. One can only assume dual membership. Apart from speaking at ILP meetings, Garrett also acted as Secretary of Manchester Clarion Cycling Club in 1898, and two years later became Vice-President of Manchester Clarion Social Club.¹ Other Social democrats worthy of note for their assistance to the ILP were J. Edward McGlasson, Secretary of N. Salford, then of Manchester Central SDF branches, who also ran a discussion class for N. Salford ILP and spoke for the N. and W. Salford branches of that party,² and Eugen Barnakø a member of S.W. Manchester SDF, who assisted the Clarion van campaign on behalf of the ILP in Moss Side.³

The extent to which individual members changed their affiliations is impossible to gauge, but certainly those who did so appear to have been immediately acceptable to the other socialist party. Thus Arthur Woollerton spent much of the first half of 1900 establishing an SDF branch in Bradford, Manchester, for which he became Secretary. On 19 August 1902 he attended the inaugural meeting of Manchester Central

1 J, 4 April, 9 May 1896, 26 January 1901; C, 9 April 1898, 20 January 1900; LL, 12 August 1899, 30 March 1906, 13 March and 10 April 1908. Dr. Garrett's wife Katie (Mrs. C.E.M. Garrett) was elected to Openshaw Guardians in April 1906 (see LL, 6 April 1906)

2 J, 4 September 1897, 19 November 1898, 13 August 1904, 11 February 1905; LL, 27 February 1904, 16 June and 6 October 1905, 2 February and 20 July 1906, 27 September 1907, 5 February 1909, 4 February 1910.

3 J, 17 December 1904; C, 4 August 1905. Barnakø departed to America in September 1907 (*ibid.*, 27 September 1907).

Branch ILP, and was promptly elected to its committee. In 1907, having taken part in the schism which formed the City of Manchester ILP branch, he produced that branch's first pamphlet, The Labour Movement in Manchester and Salford, which placed great emphasis on the local role of the SDF.¹ Also moving from the SDF to the ILP was J.W. Field, who in August 1893 became Secretary of the latter party's South Salford branch.² J.B. Hudson was, in 1893, a member of S.W. Manchester ILP. By 1896 he had joined the SDF, but nevertheless went to speak for the ILP at New Cross.³

The personal contacts between the ILP and SDF in Manchester and Salford have been considered in detail because they formed the fundamental basis of the generally amicable relations between the two parties. The dissension between their national leaders will be considered below, but it is a reasonable hypothesis that if local socialists had been as antipathetic towards one another as were Hyndman and Hardie, or Blatchford and Hardie, or even Hyndman and John Burns, then they would undoubtedly have attempted to reduce the extent of inter-party activity.

Apart from the contacts through prominent individuals, the general social activities engaged in by the two parties tended to draw their rank and file members together. The social life which formed an integral part of the ILP has already been discussed in detail. It should not, however, be assumed that such activities were exclusively for ILP members, setting them apart from other local socialists. It appears that socials and mass meetings organised by the SDF or ILP in the area

1 J, 10 February, 10 and 17 March, 7 July 1900; Manchester Central Branch ILP, Minutes of meeting 19 August 1902. For Woollerton's pamphlet, see above, p.

2 J, 5 August 1893

3 C, 18 February, 26 August 1893, 9 May 1896; WT, 21 October, 23 December 1893; J, 28 March 1896

were generally open to members of the other party. Thus when the Manchester and Salford ILP held its 6th Grand Annual Social at St. James' Hall on 25 February 1898, tickets were available from both ILP and SDF Clubs, as well as from the Labour Press and ILP office.¹ Tickets for the ILP demonstration in the Free Trade Hall, attended by Hardie and Snowden on 20 November 1904, were obtainable from ILP and SDF Secretaries and clubs,² while the SDF used the clubs of both parties for distributing tickets for its Free Trade Hall meeting on 8 December 1895, the 'first provincial meeting' organised by the SDF's Executive Committee.³ Branch activities, apart from business meetings, might also be open to both socialist parties. Thus S. Manchester SDF's classes in economics, held during the winters of 1898 and '9, were advertised in October 1899 as being free for SDF and ILP members, while non-members were required to pay a shilling for the course.⁴

Other social organisations outside the two parties also tended to draw their members together. The Social Trading Company, formed in 1894, 'Mainly to help in financing the movement for the enfranchisement of labour', allotted 50% of its profits to socialistic bodies. The ILP, SDF and other organisations were to participate in proportion to their support.⁵ Also composed of SDF and ILP members, and dividing its funds between them was the Manchester Socialist Choir. Just before the 1906

1 C, 19 February 1898

2 Ibid., 4 November 1904

3 J, 23 November 1895

4 C, 19 November 1898; J, 14 October 1899

5 C and LL, 17 November 1894

General Election it sang in S.W. Manchester on behalf of the SDF 'war chest' and ILP election fund, and duly sent a guinea to each organisation.¹ Plans for a central meeting place for all socialists were mooted at intervals during the period in question. In March 1895 a Central Socialist club had been formed in temporary premises at 80A Market Street. However it proved somewhat disappointing to a Clarion observer:

I believe it has been decided to affiliate with the SDF. This, I think, is a mistake. Here is a splendid chance of initiating the unity of Socialism by the formation of a central Socialist club for Manchester, irrespective of the ILP, SDF, or Fabian Society, and I hope the committee will see their way to the adoption of this idea, or it will degenerate into a mere sectional branch, and altogether miss the aim of the originators.²

In November 1896 the idea was again raised by Joseph Nuttall in a letter to the Labour Leader. He wanted to see a Central Socialist Club for Manchester, to contain a large hall for meetings, lectures and balls, small rooms for committee meetings, refreshment room with restaurant attached, smoke room, billiard room and bedrooms for lecturers.³ More successful however were S.W. Manchester's running of a United Socialist Club in 1899-1900,⁴ and the arrangements for a central dining room in Manchester, which provided a daily rendezvous for socialists working in the city centre.⁵ Perhaps the principal reason why the more ambitious schemes did not come to fruition was not associated simply with finance, or a lack of rapport between local socialists, but simply the fact that

1 LL, 5 January 1906

2 C, 16 March 1895

3 LL, 28 November 1896

4 C, 18 February 1899; Manchester, December 1900

5 C, 25 November 1904. The originator of this scheme was T.D. Benson.

the Clarion movement tended to fulfil this need for an 'umbrella' organisation. The Clarion club and cafe have already been mentioned above, as have the propagandist activities on behalf of both ILP and SDF undertaken by the Clarion Scouts.¹ Not only was the Clarion the mouthpiece of the national movement towards socialist unity,² but also at a local level its organisations drew together ILP and SDF members as well as the 'unattached socialists'.

The exchange of lecturers also formed a bond between local ILP and SDF branches, which may perhaps have been too strong in the eyes of the latter party's national leadership. When 'Autolycus' of the Workman's Times urged SDF speakers to lecture for the ILP on every possible occasion, 'AJAX' countered the suggestion by reminding readers of Justice that the first duty of SDF lecturers was to strengthen or form SDF branches.³ However not only did the Manchester and Salford socialists share local lecturers, they also combined to arrange mass meetings on the occasion of visits by leading national or international personalities. Thus August 1894 found John Trevor, H.M. Hyndman and Dr. Pankhurst together on the platform of the Free Trade Hall, at a socialist demonstration to welcome the continental delegates to the Textile Workers' Conference.⁴ When Karl Liebknecht visited Manchester in May 1896, a joint committee was formed under the auspices of Manchester

1 See above, pp.627-8

2 See below, p.775. The Clarion also provided the means of exchanging information on a local level between the socialist organisations. Thus on 8 June 1895 'Hawkshaw' asked secretaries of branches 'not only of the ILP, but also of the SDF and other organisations' to send any items of interest.

3 J, 29 July 1893

4 Ibid., 4 August 1894

Central Branch SDF to make arrangements for his welcome. All branches of Socialists in Lancashire were invited to send delegates to meet him at a dinner on Saturday 30 May, when an address of welcome was presented by James Leatham for the SDF and Dr. Pankhurst for the ILP. On the next day a public demonstration was arranged in the Free Trade Hall, and tickets were available from all Socialist and Labour clubs in Lancashire.¹ In July 1901 W. Salford ILP and S. Salford SDF combined to arrange a series of lectures by James Connolly. So successful was the venture that Connolly paid return visits the following October and in July and August 1902. The last visit fell just before Connolly's departure to America, so the local ILP and SDF members duly arranged a social and 'send-off' for him, in the SDF's Trafford Road club, on 16 August.² The two local socialist organisations combined with the Manchester and District Trades Councils on 2 July 1905, to hold a demonstration in Heaton Park. From four platforms resolutions were submitted, dealing with the Unemployed Bill, the feeding of school children, the trades dispute bill, and labour representation.³

Not only did the ILP and SDF make common cause over the arrangements for mass meetings, but also over the defence of free speech. In August 1894 they invaded Stevenson Square to establish their right of free speech, while two years later Justice solicited contributions towards the

1 LL, 2 May 1896; J, 9 May 1896; C, 9 and 16 May 1896

2 C, 29 June 1901, 4 July, 8 and 15 August 1902; LL, 20 and 27 July, 5 October 1901; J, 27 July 1901, 19 July 30 August 1902. Connolly organised the Irish Socialist Republican Party in 1896 and was editor of the Dublin Workers' Republic. He sailed to the USA on 30 August 1902 in order to undertake a lecture tour under the auspices of the Socialist Labour Party of America. For details of Connolly's career, see S. Levenson, James Connolly (1977) passim.

3 C, 23 June 1905

expenses incurred at Boggart Hole Clough.¹ The most obvious occasion for joint ILP/SDF activity was of course May Day. In the early '90s the Trades Council remained aloof from the whole affair, and voluntary committees were formed each year to organise the demonstration, being composed of ILP, SDF and a few of the 'advanced' trade unions. Before 1895 the organisers also encountered opposition from local Parks Departments and Watch Committees. However in February 1898 the Manchester and Salford Trade Council adopted a resolution to organise that year's demonstration, and the ensuing procession from Albert Square to Peel Park, Salford, comprised not only ILP and SDF branches, but also contingents from the Labour Church, Clarion Cycling Club and 27 different trade unions.² Such united action does not, however, appear to have continued beyond the turn of the century. The report in Justice proved extremely critical of the 1900 May Day rally in Alexandra Park. Held under the auspices of the Trades Council, the demonstration included contingents from about twenty societies representing Manchester and Salford ILP and trade unions. No mention was made in the report of an SDF contingent.

The feature of the demonstration was the passing of a jingo resolution of congratulation on the relief of Mafeking, etc. This resolution was submitted from the whole of the five platforms, and supported mainly by Socialists (sic.). Such a contribution to the jingoism of the moment must have naturally helped to fan the flame of public passion in Manchester, and will completely neutralise any good the demonstration might otherwise have achieved.³

As will later be demonstrated, the ILP generally shared the pro-Boer sentiments of ^{most of} the SDF, but the mass of trade unionists tended

1 C, 18 August 1894; J, 30 May 1896

2 LL, 11 May 1895, 9 May 1896, 26 February, 2 and 28 April, 7 May 1898, 15 May 1899; C, 2 and 23 April 1898; J, 7 April 1898

3 J, 2 June 1900

to support the war. Thus May Day 1900 was perhaps symptomatic of ILP/SDF relations; while the ILP remained independent and distinctly socialist, the local parties worked closely together. But once the ILP became involved in alliances with non-socialist and labour and trade union organisations, then their paths diverged. In 1901 the Lancashire District Federation of the SDF organised a demonstration for its own members in Blackburn.¹ Manchester and Salford Trades Council continued to organise local demonstrations, but in 1902 dispensed with the usual procession. That year the crowds at Gorton Park 'were not nearly so large as on previous occasions'.² Although in 1904 the SDF did approach Manchester Central Branch ILP to consider the advisability of holding a May Day demonstration,³ the ILP branches generally decided against joint action. According to the report in Justice,

The Manchester and Salford branches of the SDF had the matter in hand this time, assisted to some degree by the West Salford ILP, but the remainder of the ILP branches and trade unions could not see their way to act with us.⁴

However before attempting to analyse the growing divergence between the two parties after the turn of the century, it is necessary to explore more fully the factors which forged numerous links between them. The local socialists were generally united in their approach to foreign affairs, being opposed to the capitalist element in imperialist expansion and to the Tsarist regime in Russia. Thus when a major event merited a socialist protest or demonstration, the ILP and SDF tended to make joint plans.

1 Ibid., 20 April 1901

2 LL, 10 May 1902

3 Manchester Central Branch ILP, Minutes of Special Meeting 29 March 1904

4 J, 7 May 1904

Thus early in 1897 famine in India led Hyndman in particular to become increasingly critical of British policy in the sub-continent. With his friend Dadabhai Naoroji he travelled the country, agitating 'against the English-made famine in India'. Their meeting at the Free Trade Hall on 28 February was held as a result of co-operation between the ILP and Lancashire branches of the SDF.¹

The aspect of imperial policy which had most impact upon local socialists was undoubtedly that concerning South Africa. Neither group of socialists entertained any sympathy for the capitalist Uitlanders or their demands for political rights, and their views were best expressed in a resolution passed on 1 September at a special members' meeting of the ILP:

That this meeting of Manchester and Salford Independent Labour Party, being conscious of the fact that two hundred millions of Her Majesty's subjects in India and hundreds of thousands of men in Great Britain and her Colonies are unjustly deprived of their political rights, enters its emphatic protest against the methods being adopted by Her Majesty's Government to force a quarrel upon the Transvaal Republic, and considers that any attempt to use force against the Boers will be an act of gross injustice, which no factor in the case can possibly justify.²

The NAC, meeting at Blackburn on 9 September, then proceeded to adopt a similar resolution, adding that British policy ...

can be explained only on the supposition that their intention has been to provide a war of conquest to secure complete control of the Transvaal in the interests of unscrupulous exploiters.³

1 C. Tsuzuki, op. cit., pp. 126-7

2 C, 9 September 1899. For the background to the Boer War, see E. Halevy, A History of the English People. Epilogue (1895-1905) Book 1: Imperialism (1926; Pelican ed. 1939) pp. 116-215 passim. For Hyndman and the national SDF's attitude towards the war, see C. Tsuzuki, op. cit., pp. 125-30. ILP policy is considered in H. Pelling, The Origins of the Labour Party ... pp. 187-9

3 C, 16 September 1899

On the morning of Sunday 6 August 1899, immediately before the SDF annual conference began in the Coal Exchange, Manchester, William Horrocks presided at a Trafford Bridge meeting, which protested

against the overwhelming power of the British Empire being used to coerce a small, non-aggressive population of only 130,000 Boers on behalf of the motley inhabitants of Johannesburg ... who were no worse off re political rights or personal wellbeing than millions of Englishmen at home.¹

Members of both parties joined the Manchester Transvaal Committee,² and were united by their common cause in the face of widespread Jingoism. ^{they now came into closer contact with} But the anti-war Liberals, and such was their desire to exclude supporters of the war from the local councils, that the Fourth Clause election policy was finally abandoned.³ The war also drove a wedge between Manchester and Salford ILP and its founder. Blatchford, who had generally been the leading figure in the campaign for a united socialist party, now took up the role of a patriotic ex-soldier.⁴ He was duly condemned by the SDF in Justice,⁵ and many ILP branches and clubs broke off their contacts with the Clarion. Such a boycott was hardly justified, as Blatchford pointed out:

Why, Dangle and The Whatnot are pro-Boers. Mont is almost neutral. Since the war broke out the Clarion has said ten words against the war for every one in its favour. Even I wrote against the war before it began, and since it began I have only said in a mild way that England was not alone to blame, and that I as an Englishman loved England better than I loved any other country.

He had, moreover, opened the columns of the Clarion to 'an honest debate'

1 J, 12 August 1899

2 For examples, see J, 3 February and 7 April 1900

3 See below, p.765

4 For Blatchford's views, see L. Thompson, Robert Blatchford ... pp. 154-7

5 J, 4, 11 November 1899

on the war.¹

Thus the Manchester and Salford ILP and SDF were now linked in opposing Blatchford's stand on the war, as they had once been linked by his crusading socialism. They also joined in denouncing any supporters of the war within the local socialist fold. In January 1900 J. Jackson of South Salford SDF made himself unpopular when, at Elvington Street Labour Hall, he quoted instances of what he considered to be official jobbery and maladministration in the Transvaal, and stated that these merited interference by the British government. Such views met with 'the strongest possible opposition and condemnation', not only from Hudson and Selby of the SDF, but also from Whitehead and Sanders of the ILP.²

Wider publicity was given to the recalcitrant within the ranks of the local ILP: Fred Brocklehurst. In February 1900 he was quoted in the ILP News as having stated at a public meeting that:

Being embarked upon it (the war) he believed that everything of national safety, everything of national influence, compelled that it should be prosecuted until the Boers lay at our mercy.

The leading article, by Russell Smart, went on to claim that:

A sentence such as this is nothing but rank treachery to the party. Mr. Brocklehurst is put forward as an ILP candidate to advocate a definite set of opinions. If he finds those opinions are fundamentally opposed to his own then he is bound to resign his candidature and membership, and to continue in both is distinctly dishonourable.³

1 C, 28 April 1900

2 J, 3 February 1900

3 ILP News, February 1900. The speech in question was made on 29 January in Hulme Town Hall. Smart was then editor of the ILP News; Brocklehurst was prospective parliamentary candidate for S.W. Manchester.

The article raised a storm within the ILP, which did not subside until the Annual Conference in May. Hardie supported the demand for Brocklehurst's resignation and correspondence, most of which was far from amicable in tone, filled the columns of the ILP News, Labour Leader, Clarion and Justice.¹ Brocklehurst defended himself by pointing out that ILP members were entitled to formulate their own views on foreign policy, since no official decision had been taken by the party conferences. More important, he maintained that his speech had been quoted out of context. His speech as a whole had strongly condemned the war, as had his lectures, delivered throughout Lancashire and Yorkshire over the past seven months. Indeed he had been pilloried as a traitor by the Manchester press on account of his work for the Manchester Transvaal committee. All he had said on the occasion in question was that

... war could not be stopped like an eight-day clock; it had to be pursued until a crisis arrived in which one or other of the contending forces acknowledged defeat. In view of the immensity of interests involved I could not desire that the British forces should be defeated.²

Both Brocklehurst's Election Committee in S.W. Manchester, and the Manchester and Salford ILP, protested against the attack upon their candidate³ but amicable relations between Brocklehurst and the NAC were only restored at the Annual Conference, when Brocklehurst's speech finally made it apparent that his opinions were in harmony with those

1 For full details of the controversy, see ILP News, February - May 1900; LL, 1 March - 14 April 1900; C, 7, 14 April 1900; J, 7, 14 April 1900; ILP, Report of the 8th Annual Conference ... 1900. p. 24; ILP, NAC Minute Book 4. 1899-1904. Minutes of NAC meeting, 53 Fleet Street, London. 1 March 1900.

2 ILP News, April 1900. Letter from Brocklehurst to editor

3 LL, 17 March, 7 April 1900; ILP News, March 1900

of the NAC and party as a whole.¹ Once the ILP had settled its internal dispute, the anti-war movement continued to unite local socialists. When Hardie spoke at the Free Trade Hall on 29 June, to protest against the annexation of the South African Republics, John Hemsall of the SDF took the chair, and both ILP and SDF were well-represented on the platform.²

But while the Boer War drew local ILP and SDF members into common action against the popular jingoism, it also produced setbacks for the wider movement towards socialist unity. Blatchford's popularity witnessed a marked decline, and the anti-war Liberals now became allies, who might even be supported at elections.³ The controversy over Brocklehurst's speech also revealed the degree of intolerance which existed within the NAC, and intolerance was hardly an asset in the quest for socialist unity.

After the Boer War, the foreign affairs of most interest to socialists concerned Tsarist Russia. Again such interest was not the sole preserve of members of the two socialist parties. In December 1900 there was in existence a Manchester and District Branch of the Friends of Russian Freedom. The branch held a public meeting at the Memorial Hall, Albert Square, on 14 December, at which the speaker was J.F. Green, secretary of the movement's Central Committee, and a member of the International Arbitration and Peace Association. In the chair was Professor Weiss, of Victoria University, who later gave lectures and classes for the ILP.⁴ The extent to which ILP or SDF members were

1 ILP News, May 1900

2 LL, 7 July 1900; ILP News, July 1900

3 See below, pp. 873-4 For the implications of the ILP's wartime alliances, see H. Pelling, Origins of the Labour Party ... pp. 187-91

4 C, 15 December 1900. For Professor Weiss's later work for the ILP, see LL, 18 September 1908, 26 November 1909, 17 March 1911.

involved in this movement is virtually impossible to ascertain, but in February 1905 resolutions from S.W. Manchester SDF and Manchester Central ILP were among those sent to Justice after the shooting of workmen in St. Petersburg.¹

Socialist sympathy for the victims of Tsarism did also extend to the immigrants who arrived in Manchester. In December 1895 the Jewish Trade Unions of Manchester held a meeting in the Free Trade Hall, to protest against the resolution opposing pauper alien immigration, passed at the Cardiff TUC. Thomas Norton Purves of South Salford SDF took the chair, while other local socialists on the platform included Harry Henshall and Terence Flynn, General Secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Tailors. They all urged English and Jewish workers to unite against their common enemy, capitalism.² When Parliament began to consider a bill against alien immigration, socialists again opposed the move. Manchester Central Branch ILP called a meeting at Tib Street on 29 May 1904, at which Messrs. Lewis and Schoor of the Jewish Tailors' Union were billed to speak on 'The Aliens Bill'. In the Clarion Sam Robinson announced that:

... a resolution will now be moved emphatically protesting against the Aliens Bill now being considered by Parliament. If there is a Fellowship, now is the time to prove it, if only for the sake of Peter Kropotkin, Felix Volkofsky, and Stepniak.³

At Tib Street a resolution was carried unanimously:

That this meeting of Manchester citizens declares the present Aliens Immigration Bill, now before Parliament, to be

1 J, 11 February 1905

2 Ibid., 28 December 1895

3 C, 27 May 1904

a reactionary measure, and against all the best traditions of the English people. It also declares that, if passed in its present form, it will greatly prejudice the right of asylum for people who are compelled to leave their respective countries through political and religious persecution.¹

A Manchester Protest Committee was formed in opposition to the Bill. This body, with H. Duckman and J. (sic. Sam?) Robinson as its joint secretaries, organised a further protest meeting in Stevenson Square on 19 June, 'to be addressed by prominent English and Alien Trade Unionists.'²

It was obviously rather easier for socialists to unite in denouncing the Tsar than in deciding upon more immediate issues affecting Manchester and Salford. Although there was an element among local socialists which relegated election activity to a secondary place, and put more emphasis upon propaganda and the conversion of individuals to socialism, the 'official' relations of the ILP and SDF largely hinged upon their electoral policy. To what extent did they ally to fight local elections and, also of vital importance, to what extent did either party ally with organisations not acceptable to the other?

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Although locally the ILP and SDF exercised a good deal of freedom, they were both constituent parts of national parties, and as such were expected to comply with a national policy. The official attitude of the SDF to the ILP changed slightly in the latter party's early years, from the 'benevolent neutrality' of 1893 to the 'dignified neutrality' expressed at the 1894 Conference.³ In Manchester and Salford the SDF

1 Ibid., 3 June 1904

2 Ibid., 17 June 1904

3 C. Tsuzuki, op. cit., p. 101. For details of policy decisions by national parties on socialist unity and co-operation, see below, p.775 ff.

not only avoided opposing ILP candidates, but in many instances co-operated in selecting and running a candidate, or offered the services of its members for election work. It should be added that the nominees of independent socialist societies might receive similar support. The major question at issue was whether the candidate was a socialist. On the whole the SDF was not prepared to work for non-socialists, whether or not they might be trade unionists. The ILP, while also avoiding opposition to the SDF, tended to adopt a more opportunist policy, which revealed certain geographical differences.

One of the principal reasons for considering the development of the SDF in some detail above was to demonstrate the fairly limited geographical distribution of its branches. In Salford and in the South and South-west Manchester constituencies, it had comparatively strong branches, club rooms and election workers, not to mention support among the local electorate, who had been exposed to SDF propaganda and election campaigns long before the ILP was even founded. In these areas the ILP and SDF worked closely together. But in many of the Manchester constituencies there was no SDF presence during much of the period in question. It is not being suggested that ILP members in these areas were any less socialist, or any less enthusiastic about socialist unity than were their comrades in Salford and S. and S.W. Manchester. They simply had no local SDF branch with which to make electoral agreements.

The origins of the local Labour Representation Committee should rightly be considered in a later section.¹ However it is of crucial importance here to note that when, on 29 July 1903, a meeting was held 'to take further steps in the matter of Labour representation for Manchester',

1 See below, p.756 ff

the SDF delegates decided 'that they could take no part in a Labour party not committed to socialism'.¹ It might be expected that this decision represented the parting of the ways for the ILP and SDF, but as 'Labour' candidates became the norm in most of the Manchester elections, in the old-established SDF strongholds elections continued to be fought by SDF/ILP or 'Labour and Socialist' candidates. It therefore appears that where the SDF was a physical presence, the socialist, rather than labour, alliance was preferred. Again this is not to imply a greater inclination towards labourism as opposed to socialism among the Manchester ILPers, or the reverse in Salford and southern Manchester. Such examples are merely intended to illustrate the argument that where opportunities for co-operation with the SDF existed locally, they were widely utilized by ILPers. For specific examples of such socialist unity at elections, it is necessary to consider in turn the various elected bodies in the Salford and southern Manchester areas in question, and also to examine what effect, if any, the establishment of a Labour Representation Committee had upon the tradition of socialist representation.

Elections in Salford appear to have been regarded by local socialists as a combined fight against the capitalist parties, with which any accommodation was unacceptable. In June 1893 a vacancy was created in St. Paul's ward, when the Liberal Councillor J. Lindsay became bankrupt. Plans were made for William Horrocks to stand as a socialist candidate, with the full support of the ILP as well as the SDF. The Liberals then approached Horrocks, with the request that he should stand on their behalf as a Labour candidate. However when Horrocks declared that he could describe himself only as a socialist,

1 J, 8 August 1903

they decided to proceed with their own nomination. The ensuing three-cornered fight left Horrocks at the bottom of the poll with 146 votes. But the fact that the Conservative had polled 116 more votes than the Liberals led the latter party to declare that Horrocks had robbed them of their victory!¹ To the socialists, however, Horrocks' determination to fight the seat under the socialist banner and independent of established parties was of paramount importance. When a further by-election became necessary in St. Paul's ward, in September 1894, an ILP member was adopted. Fred Barrett was a former Secretary of the Labour Church Cinderella Club and a 'well-known trade unionist', who had previously contested Grosvenor Ward for the ILP. He was supported by local trade union officials, as well as by the ILP and SDF, but encountered 'mean and dirty' tactics from his Liberal opponent. Not surprisingly St. Paul's ward again failed to elect a socialist.²

In reply to the united socialist opposition at the polls, the Liberal and Conservative parties in Salford made a compromise over the 1895 municipal elections, agreeing not to oppose one another, but rather to maintain the status quo. As a result only eight Salford seats were contested, six of them by the joint efforts of the ILP and SDF. Thus Joseph Nuttall, already an ILP member of the School Board, contested Grosvenor Ward, while James Dudley, former president of West Salford

1 C, 10, 17, 24 June 1893; J, 17 June 1893. Apparently some 900 electors abstained. A letter then appeared in the press, apparently from an ILP man, stating that these abstentions were all ILPers! As T.M. Purves commented in J (22 July 1893), 'Some people may believe this, yet how a group of men under 200 strong can claim to have a following of 900 is more than I can swallow!' J.W. Field, a former member of the SDF who was now secretary of South Salford ILP, quickly asserted that the letter did not represent the views of the ILP (*ibid.*, 5 August 1893). While there is no concrete evidence, one suspects that the accusation stemmed from Liberal pique, rather than socialist disharmony!

2 LL, 15, 22 September 1894; C, 28 October, 4 November 1893, 8, 22, 29 September 1894

ILP and representative of the Bleachers', Dyers' and Finishers' Association on Manchester and Salford Trades Council, contested Charlestown. J.H. McGarvie of the SDF contested St. Matthias Ward for the second time that year. At a by-election in July he had lost to the son of a Tory Councillor by 378 votes to 515.¹ None of the candidates sponsored by the combined socialist forces was successful and the elections, which followed closely after a General Election, were 'the lamest and quietest held for a number of years'.²

Probably because he was already a public figure as well as a full-time ILP organiser, Nuttall appeared to be the socialists' best hope for Salford Borough Council. However he was to contest Charlestown Ward in 1896, and at a by-election in June 1897, as well as Albert Park Ward in 1898, before finally being elected for the latter in 1902. His 1898 campaign was organised from both the SDF Club at 63 Great Clowes Street, and the Labour Hall in Hightown.³

It is impossible to ascertain with any accuracy just how formal the electoral arrangements between the two socialist parties were. The 1897 Labour Annual listed in its 'Directory of Socialist, Economic and Political Reform Organisation' a 'Federal Council of Socialist Bodies in Manchester district, to facilitate political work and organisation and to concentrate local efforts in all electoral work'. But apart from the claim that 60 branches sent delegates and the fact that the secretary was A.J. Emery, of 78 Cross Street, Manchester, no further information was provided.⁴ Nor is there

1 C, 6 July, 5 October 1895; LL, 5 October, 9 November 1895; Salford Reporter, 5 October 1895

2 LL, 9 November 1895

3 Ibid., 26 September, 7 November 1896, 26 June 1897, 21 May and 5 November 1898, 8 November 1902; C, 22 October 1898

4 Labour Annual 1897, p. 106.

any indication as to why John Hemsall of the SDF fought Ordsall Ward in the 1897 Municipal elections simply as a 'Socialist'.¹ However the absence of further information on these points does not detract from the overall picture of continuing socialist co-operation.

In the S./S.W. Manchester area the division between the ILP and SDF was blurred by the change in allegiance of the St. George's Ward socialists already noted above, and by the activities of William Maben. In September 1894 when Richard Anderson contested a by-election in the ward on behalf of the ILP, William Maben served as his election agent. The following month the St. George's Ward ILP branch refused to accept the set of rules for election candidates drawn up by the Manchester and Salford E.C. As a result, the Executive suspended the branch from the district party, and referred the matter to the NAC, which in December, declared the branch dissolved and abolished. The members however refused to disband their organisation and, in March 1895, resolved to become a branch of the SDF. In 1896 Maben himself fought the seat on behalf of the SDF, and lost by only a narrow margin. He emerged second in a three-cornered fight, obtaining 1191 votes against the 1208 of the retiring Conservative Councillor. Bottom of the poll was the Independent candidate, with only 203 votes. The size of Maben's poll, on the first occasion the ward had been fought on behalf of the SDF, suggests a transfer of allegiance by former ILP voters.

However the SDF appears to have been unable to maintain a branch in the Hulme district after the beginning of 1897. Thus in the following November Maben, although still a member of that party, contested St. George's Ward as the candidate of Hulme Socialist Society. In a straight

1 LL, 6 November 1897

fight, he defeated the sitting Conservative member by 1778 votes to 1575. Thus a ward without even an SDF branch had returned a Social-Democrat to Manchester City Council. The picture presented is thus one of socialists, regardless of their labels, working for the return of a socialist candidate.¹ To add further complication to the local scene, both the Hulme and Moss Side Socialist Societies appear to have been independent organisations,² inspired perhaps by the Clarion movement. Moreover in 1899 a Manchester United Socialist Club was meeting in Elvington Street.³ Maben's political career was perhaps symptomatic of the long established and broadly-based socialist movement in the area.

The extent of the unofficial alliance between the ILP and SDF in the areas where the latter had branch organisations is however best illustrated in the period after 1900. The Labour Representation Conference, held in the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, London, on 27-8 February of that year, should rightly be considered in detail elsewhere. However it must simply be mentioned here that the national SDF did send delegates and formally affiliate to the new organisation. Not surprisingly the LRC, both on this occasion and at its 1st Annual Conference in Manchester in February 1901, refused to be committed to the 'class war'. As a consequence the SDF, at its own conference in Birmingham the following August, voted in favour of withdrawal from the LRC.⁴

1 Ibid., 22 September 1894, 7 November 1896, 25 September and 6 November 1897; C, 24 October, 7 November 1896, 25 September and 6 November 1897; 17, 24, 31 October, 7 November 1896

2 See above, pp.393,401

3 C, 5 August 1899

4 See below pp.863-4. See also LRC, The Labour Party Foundation Conference and Annual Conference Reports 1900-1905 (1900-1905, reprinted Hammersmith Bookshop Ltd., 1967). See also C. Tsuzuki, op. cit., pp. 105-6, 136

In Manchester the national example of the LRC led to a conference being called at the Coal Exchange on 18 August 1900, to consider the formation of a United Workers' Municipal Election Committee for Manchester and Salford. The conference was actually convened by the ILP, but invitations were extended to all trade union, co-operative and socialist organisations in the district. Only the Co-op's apparently failed to send delegates to the conference, which unanimously adopted a resolution 'affirming that the time was ripe for the closing up of the ranks of the workers and the consolidation of the labour vote in municipal affairs'. A provisional committee was duly elected and a second delegate meeting arranged for 9 October at the Piccadilly Restaurant. On this occasion a committee was elected, comprising A. Near as President, T. Cook and J. Lewis as Vice-Presidents, H.V. Herford (Treasurer), J.E. McGlasson and W. Hunt (Auditors), and T.H. Gunning (Secretary). Thus apart from Herford of the Labour Church, and McGlasson of the SDF, ILP members predominated.¹ The Committee seems to have faded into oblivion, and certainly at the 1900 Municipal Elections there were no distinctly 'Labour' as opposed to ILP candidates put forward under its aegis.² However the SDF does appear to have been willing to co-operate in this venture.

The real breach between the local SDF and Labour Representation movement came in July 1903 when, as has already been mentioned, a meeting was convened which led to the formation of the local LRC. This meeting was overwhelmingly trade union dominated, although it should be added that many of the trade union delegates were individual members of the ILP. Nevertheless 55 trade unions were represented, as opposed to 5 ILP and

1 LL and C, 25 August 1900; Manchester, September and October 1900.

2 See municipal election results in LL, 10 November 1900.

2 SDF branches. The Social Democrats of S.W. Manchester and S. Salford had jointly sent a resolution 'urging upon the meeting the necessity for the recognition of the class struggle as a basis for all Labour representation, and the necessity of a Labour Party having for its aim the socialisation of the means of life and the overthrow of the present system.'¹

A somewhat embittered account of the whole affair was provided for Justice by Alec Henry. Describing as it did the refusal of the local SDF to become involved in a non-socialist Labour Representation Committee, and disappointment with the attitude of the ILP, it merits quotation at some length. At the meeting, chaired by Councillor J.E. Sutton, the SDF resolution was proposed by W.E. Skivington. A.H. Watson rose to second it.

He had not been speaking many minutes when he was pulled up by another interjection on the part of the chairman, who advised the SDF members not to bring the subject up here, but to leave it to the committee to decide. He then allowed a whole fusillade of speeches to be made by trade unionists, and so on, but would not allow Mr. Watson to finish his speech, preferring studiously to smother the Socialists and their resolution. At length, after continued protests from the Social Democrats, the chairman, from the platform, urged someone to move the previous question, which was seconded, and then carried amid tumult.

Now, one would not have been surprised at the trade unionists taking such a course, but what was most striking was the attitude which the ILP representatives took up. During the whole of the proceedings on this particular resolution the ILP men never made one effort to back up the resolution, notwithstanding the fact that they have been considered by most people in Labour circles as Socialists.

On the election of committee another scene took place because the Social-Democrats desired to be represented. They had promised financial support conditionally on the result of the meeting being satisfactory to their organisation, but the meeting was determined to oust them, and as a consequence a delegate moved: 'That no organisation shall be represented on the Committee which has not given a definite promise to pay

1 C, 7 August 1903

towards the expenses'. This was seconded and carried with only the protest of the Social-Democrats against it.

Having completed the elimination of the SDF as an active factor, as they thought, they then proceeded to elect the committee, select constituencies, and would have elected men had there been time, without even one moment's consideration being given to a programme.

From the trade unionist point of view of mere independence the meeting did right in excluding Socialism from their consideration and their programme, but what is the amazing feature is that the men who call themselves socialists, and who form the ILP, should have allowed the meeting to go forward without the slightest attempt to put forward Socialism or back it up when put forward by the SDF. One feels inclined to query whether they really believe in their principles, seeing that they were willing to subordinate it to a Labour party without even the shadow of a programme.¹

The Manchester and Salford ILP was now committed, in local as well as general elections, to an alliance with the trade unions. Thus the 1903 municipal elections produced a rash of 'Labour' candidates. However in the Salford and S. and S.W. Manchester areas, candidates continued to be distinctively socialist, and John Hayes was duly elected for St. Thomas' Ward, Salford, under the auspices of the ILP.² In the following November Councillor J.F. Thompson was re-elected as ILP and SDF candidate for Trafford Ward (Salford), while SDF candidates Robert Whitehead and A.A. Purcell fought unsuccessful campaigns in St. George's and Ordsall Wards respectively. In Moss Side West J. Archer fought a losing battle for the ILP.³ Purcell returned to the fray in 1905, to contest St. Paul's Ward (Salford) as ILP and SDF candidate. The chairman of his committee was Thomas Purves of the SDF, while he had an ILPer,

1 J, 8 August 1903

2 C, 6 November 1903

3 Ibid., 1 July, 21, 28 October, 11 November 1904; LL, 4 November 1904; J, 5 November 1904

C.W. Fraser, as election agent. Purcell lost by only 17 votes, while in St. Thomas' Ward H. Mottershead of W. Salford ILP (and described in Justice as a 'Socialist') was elected with a majority of 55.¹ In order not to overstate the case it should be emphasised that many of the candidates in other wards were ILP men, as opposed to non-socialist trade unionists. However it is clear that no attempt was being made to end the existing tradition of co-operation with the SDF.

Having established this continuing pattern of SDF/ILP co-operation in municipal elections, it is necessary to examine activity concerning other elected offices; the Boards of Guardians, Elective Auditors and School Boards, before finally considering the General Elections. Guardians' elections in Salford were very much a combined effort. Thus in December 1894 the ILP ran J.F. Thompson as its candidate for Broughton Township, while in Pendleton and Salford Townships Social-Democrats ran with the support of the ILP: William Horrocks, J. Beardsley and J. Heywood in Pendleton; Alfred Acton, W.H. Cuddeford, H. Whittaker, J.H. Johnson and William Rae for Salford.²

Arrangements for Guardians' election campaigns became more formal in the next two years. In March 1897, when elections for both Salford Guardians and a Borough Elective Auditor approached, a joint committee was formed representing SDF and ILP branches and the Labour Church, and operating from the ILP Club in West Craven Street. William Hunt of the ILP topped the poll in the Auditor's election on 1 April. Four days later the Guardians' candidate proved less successful. Alfred Acton, William Horrocks, J.H. McGarvie, Bracegirdle and Cuddeford, all of the

1 LL, 13 October, 3, 10 November 1905; C, 20 October 1905

2 J, 10 November 1894; C, 15 December 1894

SDF, were among 31 candidates contesting 10 seats. The group emerged in places between 17th and 21st in the results. As Justice commented, '... all the old gang were re-elected, in spite of our comrades having exposed their inhumanity and jobbery'.¹ Such results did not however detract from the socialists' enthusiasm to re-enter the contest the following year. Thus on 3 February a preliminary conference of delegates from the ILP, SDF, Labour Churches and other socialist organisations in Manchester and Salford, was held to arrange for united action in the Guardians' elections that April. It was decided to recommend the running of 3 candidates for Manchester Union, 3 for Chorlton, 4 for Prestwich, and 2 for Salford. A second conference was then planned for 16 February, to receive reports on the recommendations.²

It thus appears that concerning the Guardians' elections the ILP acted only as a result of agreement reached with other socialist organisations. It was not just a case of candidates from one party being assisted by workers and speakers from others, but of a united socialist campaign. In March 1899 a special ILP meeting, called to consider the question of contesting the Guardians' elections, resolved 'That a conference of the Socialist bodies in the Hulme district be held to consider the question of jointly contesting the Hulme Guardians elections.' Invitations were duly sent to Hulme SDF and Hulme Socialist Society, to meet in conference with the ILP on 8 March. As a result, Thomas Yardley and T.H. Gunning, both ILPers, were nominated. Their campaign was run from the Labour Hall in Elvington Street, and all socialists,

1 J, 17 April 1897. See also ILP News, April 1897; LL, 3 April 1897

2 ILP News, February 1898

both 'attached' and 'unattached' from all parts of Manchester, were asked to assist.¹

The major question is obviously to what extent such socialist co-operation survived in the era of the Labour alliance. Certainly in 1902 Justice, reporting that the S.W. Manchester SDF had contested the local Guardians election, complained that no outside assistance had been forthcoming except a donation from some ILP friends.² Obviously there had been no formal conferences as in previous years. However in 1904, after the establishment of the local LRC, Salford ILP Council decided to contest the forthcoming election of Poor Law Guardians for Pendleton Township, in co-operation with South Salford SDF. With 5 seats up for election, the socialists ran the 'full ticket'; Mrs. Sarah Hayes (wife of Councillor John Hayes), William Horrocks, Jonathan T. Simpson, Mrs. Elizabeth Davies and Henry Mottershead. None was elected, but clearly the tradition of joint action was continuing and, moreover, all the candidates were endorsed by Manchester and Salford LRC.³

Whereas the Guardians' elections produced formal arrangements between the two socialist parties, but no victories, the campaigns to return a socialist elective auditor for Salford proved eminently successful. On 1 April 1897 William Hunt of Hightown ILP was duly elected to the office, as the joint ILP/SDF candidate. He was then re-elected at annual intervals until April 1899. After a year out of office he regained his seat, finally retiring 'after nine years good work' on 30 March 1906, because his

1 LL, 11, 18 March 1899; C, 11, 25 March 1899

2 J, 26 July 1902

3 LL, 5, 26 March 1904 C, 5, 18, 25 March, 8 April 1904

official trade union position prevented him from seeking re-election.¹ It might be added that in the two years prior to Hunt's election Salford had a Social-Democrat auditor, in the person of John Hemsall. Hemsall's contacts with the ILP have been considered above and his career, when considered with that of Hunt, illustrates one field in which socialist co-operation was combined with success at the polls.

In the case of the School Board elections however, the ILP's desire for electoral victory drew it into an alliance unacceptable to the SDF. The exact details of the alliances formed for the promotion of School Board candidates are by no means clear. However it appears that before the 1894 election the ILP attended a conference of all the groups supposedly of 'Progressive' tendencies, at which the possibility of an electoral alliance was discussed. However according to Leonard Hall,

... it was to be gathered that Manchester 'Progressivism' signifieth nothing in particular but nebulosity, or something worse, on those questions as to which real progress demands the most determined and vigorous affirmation. For instance, the feeding of the little bodies belonging to the little brains which our side understand to be chiefly affected.

As a result of such differences, the Labour and socialist groups appear to have decided against involvement with the Liberal Progressives. The ILP subsequently joined with the Manchester and Salford Trades Council, the Building Trades Federation, and the Progressive Committee of the ASE, to contest the elections as the 'United Labour Committee'.² The

1 C, 27 March, 10 April 1897; 31 March 1900, 8 April 1904, 30 March 1906; LL, 10 April 1897, 30 March, 13 and 20 April 1901, 11 April 1903, 30 March 1906. Hunt was a member of the Typographical Association.

2 C, 8 September, 17 November 1894

SDF remained apart from this arrangement but did, in April 1895, take part in the first meeting of Manchester and Salford Education Association. The function of this body is uncertain, but it was described by the Clarion as comprising all shades of 'advanced' opinion - ILP, SDF, and Labour Church.¹

The ILP's relations with the Progressives deteriorated further after the elections, and the arrangements with the Trades Council also led to problems. When a seat on Salford School Board became vacant upon the death of a member, the 'United Labour Party's' representative, John Nuttall, claimed the seat for J.F. Thomson, who at the election had received the highest poll of the unsuccessful candidates. The Progressives however managed to bring onto the Board the Rev. A.F. Dolphin who had actually emerged at the bottom of the poll, with about 3,000 votes less than Thomson. To add to the ILP's problems, the Trades Council then prevaricated when the suggestion arose that it should share with the ILP Nuttall's out-of-pocket expenses (which would have cost it about £4).²

Such setbacks did not however deter the ILP from all forms of united action in the School Board campaign. Elections were triennial, and it was therefore in 1897 that the Manchester and Salford District Education Association (of which the ILP was still presumably a member) and the Manchester and Salford School Board Progressive Parties asked the Trades Council to appoint delegates to a conference on election policy. However after considerable discussion the Trades Council decided against representation, 'in view of the attitude of the Progressive Party on labour

1 Ibid., 25 May 1895

2 Ibid., 22 June, 24 August 1895

matters', and proceeded instead to convene a conference of labour organisations. A committee was subsequently formed of members of the Council and representatives from 'other outside organised labour bodies', which decided to nominate two candidates for Manchester and two for Salford. It was therefore under the aegis of this 'United Trades and Labour Party' that Councillor Fred Brocklehurst and R.S. Crossman contested the Manchester seats, and Joseph Nuttall and J.F. Thomson those in Salford. When both Brocklehurst and Nuttall were elected, labour alliances appeared a promising venture.¹

It is doubtful whether the SDF took any part in the electoral arrangements outlined above and when, in 1900, an alliance was eventually formed between the Progressive Party, Trades Council and ILP to run candidates as the United Educational Party, Social Democrats were particularly scathing. J.E. McGlasson in Justice asserted that:

... the ILP have compromised their independence for the sake of expediency, and perhaps capturing another seat on the Manchester and Salford School Boards. They have joined hands with a party which Comrade Nuttall, the present ILP representative on the Board, told us in his report were his enemies, and who, finding that they made no impression on Comrade Nuttall - who, it should be said to his credit, kept a straight line in face of the opposition of the Church and Progressive Parties - then adopted another policy, one of conciliation, with the result that they captured the ILP.

The SDF did not disapprove of the points included in the United Educational Party's programme: free education in all Board Schools, adequate salaries for teachers, the enforcement of the fair contracts

1 Manchester and Salford Trades Council, Thirty-first Annual Report ... for the year ending December 31st 1897 (Manchester, 1898) 48 pp., pp. 4-6. This report gives the complete programme of the United Trades and Labour Party. For election results see ILP News, December 1897, p. 6. See also L. Bather, op. cit., pp. 147-9. Crossman was the Trades Council delegate from the Operative Stonemasons' Union.

clause, and efficient and well-equipped Board schools in every district of the borough where they were required. Their chief complaint concerned what was omitted from the programme, namely secular education and state maintenance for all children attending Board schools. These items had, claimed McGlasson, been sacrificed by a Socialist body for the sake of expediency.¹ Brocklehurst and Mrs. Pankhurst were both elected to the Manchester School Board that November, but the loss of the Salford seat was described in Justice as 'The first-fruits of ILP candidate (Hunt) and Trades Council candidate (Thomson), both Socialists, running with the Progressives.'² Thus again the picture was clear; the SDF was prepared to support socialists from other organisations in election campaigns, but not in alliance with non-socialist bodies, particularly the Progressives.

Much the same pattern emerged in the General Election campaigns. W.K. Hall's fight in South Salford in 1892 had been a rallying point for united socialist action. In the summer of 1894 plans were made for H. Gaylord Wilshire to contest the constituency at the next election, on behalf of the SDF.³ However before the end of the year the candidate was obliged to undertake a lengthy business trip to America, and H.W. Hobart was duly adopted in his place.⁴ Asked in an interview for the Salford Reporter whether he was assured of ILP support, Hobart replied that:

Every member of the Independent Labour Party in or

1 J, 15 September 1900

2 Ibid., 24 November 1900. The 'Salford seat' in question was that won by Nuttall in 1897 (see above, p. 765). He retired in 1900 and did not seek re-election.

3 C, 7 July 1900

4 J, 7 December 1894

near South Salford has promised to make every effort in his power to secure my return. That is most emphatic and there is no hesitation about it in any way whatever.¹

Although Hobart emerged at the bottom of the poll, with only 813 votes as opposed to over three thousand polled by each of his opponents, the socialist co-operation witnessed during Hall's campaign had continued. Justice commented that 'The members of the ILP lent yeoman service in the cause, both by speakers, canvassers, and literature distributors.'²

The 'Khaki Election' of 1900 happened to fall during the brief period when the SDF was, officially if not altogether in spirit, a constituent member of the Labour Representation Committee. Moreover locally both socialist parties were united by their opposition to the Boer War. Of the local candidates Fred Brocklehurst in S.W. Manchester and Councillor William Ward in Gorton were both ILPers, while James Johnston and John Hemsall contested Ashton-under-Lyne and Accrington as Socialists.³ Some three years after the event John Penny apparently suggested that the local SDF had failed to assist Brocklehurst. This charge A.H. Watson denied, adding:

It was our comrade, J.B. Hudson, who proposed the fit and proper resolution at Mr. Brocklehurst's first meeting, and all our comrades worked extremely hard during the whole of the election, while some of the best canvassing was done by them. My own personal experience of that particular election confirms this, and, moreover, we hold in our possession a

1 Salford Reporter, 2 March 1895

2 J, 20, 27 July 1895. The ILP fought Gorton and N.E. Manchester at this election. Both campaigns are considered in Chapter 5 below. Suffice it here to state that neither district had an SDF branch at the time.

3 LL, 13 October 1900; J, 6 October 1900. The SDF refused to sanction Hemsall's candidature since it had not been informed, in accordance with the party's rules (see above, p.733)

letter from Mr. Brocklehurst thanking us for the good work we did at that fight.¹

There was as yet no crisis of conscience for the Social-Democrats, for 'Labour' candidates were all ILPers. The real problems were likely to arise when the LRC ran non-socialist trade unionists as candidates.

The events surrounding the 1906 General Election should properly be considered below. However the selection of candidates actually took place long in advance, and two controversies surrounding this process are worthy of note, as a portent of things to come. In 1903 G.D. Kelley was selected as prospective Labour candidate for S.W. Manchester. While Kelley's long career in the Amalgamated Society of Lithographic Printers and in Manchester and Salford Trades Council rendered him an extremely worthy figure in trade unionist eyes, he was hardly the man to gain socialist support in an area with a long socialist, as opposed to labour, tradition. It was not until after his selection, early in 1904, that he publicly dissociated himself from a long allegiance to the Liberal party, and his opposition to socialism in the '90s was far too recent to evade the memory of his constituents. Even the Labour Leader realised a need to reassure its readers as to his political leanings:

GD is not an ILPer. As a matter of fact, in the early days of the movement he fought us most vigorously, but that was before Taff Vale, and before the LRC was formed. There is not the slightest possible doubt but that GD will, if elected, 'go straight', notwithstanding his previous leanings to official Liberalism.²

1 C, 25 September 1903

2 LL, 12 December 1903. For Kelley's career, see entry by D.E. Martin in Dictionary of Labour Biography, Vol. II, pp. 211-14.

In 1903 John Penny asserted that the Social-Democrats had declared their hostility to Kelley. By way of reply, two letters from S.W. Manchester SDF provided firm statements as to that party's policy.

A.H. Watson in the Clarion announced:

Because we disagree with Mr. Kelley in our political opinions, it does not follow that we shall actively oppose him. The circumstances of the time will decide that; but of one thing Mr. Penny may be assured - that is, that we Social Democrats will not be in the position of the ILP at that election, their hands tied as far as Socialism is concerned, but we shall force the lesson to the notice of the worker, and use every opportunity of impressing upon the workers the need for a definite Social^{ist} Party. Labour representation is all very well in its way, but it is only trade union representation, and can in no sense be representation of the unorganised workers; and till the Labour Party bases its programme on Socialist lines it will fall short of the qualifications for a workers' party.¹

In Justice J.W. Dixon denied that the branch had declared its hostility to Kelley; they had already made it known locally 'that our branch is neither hostile nor enthusiastic about him'.

Why he (Kelly) [sic.] is a mere political nonentity, and apart from his trade unionism would scarcely be known. He is undoubtedly a very nice chap, a J.P., and an extremely mild sort of Liberal, who tries to accomplish the impossible - i.e. to reconcile capitalism and trade unionism, and of necessity generally fails, because he lacks the knowledge that the interests of the 'exploited' (Taff Vale)^[sic.] are opposed and antagonistic to those of the 'exploiting capitalist'. In short, he seems to be a mere Labourite.²

That the SDF would not support a 'mere Labourite', to whose candidature the ILP was committed the portent of a breach in the long-standing socialist alliance in Manchester. But perhaps of even greater significance for the future was the attempt by some ILPers to join with the Clarion socialists and SDF to promote a Socialist, as opposed to Labour, parliamentary candidate.

1 C, 25 September 1903

2 J, 19 September 1903

The arrangements made by the LRC prior to the 1906 General Election will be considered in a later chapter. As background to the incidents under discussion, it is necessary only to remark that in October 1905 there had been no Labour or Socialist candidate selected for East Manchester. The constituency was then the seat of the Prime Minister, A.J. Balfour, and as such offered little hope of a Labour victory. But to socialists, and particularly the Clarion group, who believed in contests for the sake of socialist propaganda, failure to run a candidate appeared a wasted opportunity. Thus on 20 October 1905 a letter appeared in the Clarion from Mrs. C.E.M. (Katie) Garrett, suggesting that Fred Bramley, the Clarion vanner, should oppose Balfour.¹ The proposal was later endorsed by her husband, Dr. Thomas Garrett, also a prominent member of the local Clarion movement, and the suggestion was taken up by A.M. Thompson. Bramley himself joined in the municipal election work in the constituency, and awaited a decision.²

But candidatures were no longer decided upon by socialists alone. Joseph Nuttall as Secretary of Manchester and Salford LRC pointed out that the Committee had already decided upon S.W. and N.E. Manchester for future contests. He continued:

Our executive committee are strongly of the opinion that the introduction of a Socialist or Labour candidate in East Manchester would seriously damage the good prospects of their candidates in South-West and North-East Manchester Divisions, and would tend to upset the cordial relations at present existing between the trade unions and Socialist organisations for independent political action, which has taken years to bring about.

In view of these circumstances they feel it would be a mistaken policy for the CLARION to put forward a Socialist

1 C, 20 October 1905

2 Ibid., 27 October, 3 November 1905

candidate for East Manchester, and one which they, as the representative body of the Labour and Socialist bodies in the district, appointed for the specific purpose of running Parliamentary Labour candidates, could not countenance.¹

The decision by the local LRC Executive was made on 2 November, and there can be little doubt that the news would immediately be related to the East Manchester socialists. It therefore seems most unlikely that the group of about 24 socialists who met on 3 November were ignorant of official policy. The group comprised members of the ILP and SDF, secretaries and treasurers of Clarion Cycling clubs, and included prominent local personalities such as Councillor E.J. Hart, Harry Beswick, R.C. Wallhead, H. Green and Dr. Martin. Their meeting then appointed a deputation to confer with the two branches of the ILP in East Manchester which, as the Clarion pointed out, 'constituted the only Socialist organisations in the division', on the candidature of Fred Bramley.

A meeting was duly arranged for 20 November, when a deputation met members of the two ILP branches at the Bradford Ward Labour Hall. It was however adjourned for a week, to allow the presence of the three socialist Councillors for the ward. Official policy had however made itself felt, and Councillor Fox now moved, and Councillor Sutton seconded, a resolution that the East Manchester branches of the ILP would not consent to the candidature without the agreement of Manchester and Salford LRC. However an amendment was now moved by Hunt (of Bradford branch) and seconded by Jones (or Ardwick branch):

That we, members of the Ardwick and Bradford branches of the ILP, although, on account of our affiliation with the LRC, are unable to promote any candidature in East Manchester, cannot withhold our consent to the promotion of the candidature of F. Bramley for the division by the CLARION BOARD.²

1 Ibid., 10 November 1905

2 Ibid., 1 December 1905

This amendment was carried by 49 to 27.

Once it had been made clear that the ILP could provide no backing for the candidature, the East Manchester socialists soon abandoned the plan. A.M. Thompson reiterated an earlier statement, that the Clarion was not a political organisation and could not run candidates under its own aegis. He has also heard that Hardie had been invited to stand against Balfour, and had not yet declined.¹ To put an end to the matter, Fred Jowett firmly declared:

It cannot be too clearly understood that no branch of the ILP can promote a candidature, and at the same time be loyal to the constitution of the Party, without the sanction of the National Council.

He reminded Clarion readers of the heavy responsibilities already undertaken by the LRC and, whether intentionally or not, contradicted the Clarion socialists' fundamental policy by asserting that, 'The necessity for Socialists in the next Parliament is too great to excuse us if we fail through fighting wildly and aimlessly'.² There was however a sequel to the affair. The NAC meeting, held at the Albion Hotel, Manchester, on 18 December 1905, was confronted with an application from West Salford ILP for the endorsement of Fred Bramley as Parliamentary Candidate for the constituency. Not surprisingly, it was resolved 'that a strong letter of disapproval be sent'.³

When these events surrounding general election campaigns are considered in conjunction with other aspects of the local relations between the two socialist parties, a clear pattern can be seen to emerge. Relations between the ILP and SDF, as well as with other independent

1 Ibid., 1 December 1905

2 Ibid., 8 December 1905

3 ILP, NAC Minutes 1904-9, Minutes of NAC Meeting held in the Albion Hotel, Manchester, 18 December 1905

socialist bodies such as the Clarion organisations or the socialist societies, were generally extremely good. Of course there were occasional incidents which marred the general picture of harmony. In October 1893 W.K. Hall, on his way home from delivering a lecture, came across an indoor meeting in favour of an ILP candidate 'in a mining centre, not a hundred and one miles from Pendleton'. According to T.M. Purves,

Hall offered them a couple of hundred of the SDF "What Use is A Vote?" leaflets. They were accepted; but on seeing "Social Democratic Federation" at the top, they were sent back to Hall with a request that he would cut off the heading. Hall, of course, refused to do so, and the leaflets were returned!¹

Reading the reports of such incidents in Justice, one cannot help but feel that the national leadership of the SDF welcomed, rather than regretted, their occurrence. To the Manchester and Salford socialists however, any such dissension or misunderstanding between the parties was generally regarded as unfortunate. By comparison with the fields of co-operation however, such minor controversies between the ILP and SDF were few.

Had the national leaders been as compatible as the local members, and paved the way for a united socialist party, there can be little doubt that all sections of the Manchester and Salford socialists would have welcomed the move. What the SDF was not prepared to accept was any compromise in socialist principles, and this included any alliance with trade unionists which was not dedicated towards specifically socialist ends. By its involvement in the LRC, the ILP virtually brought to an end the long-standing socialist alliance. Yet there are clear indications, particularly in Salford and the S. and S.W. Manchester

1 J., 21 October 1893

areas, where the SDF was strongest, that a section of the ILP preferred socialist to labour representation. The abortive affair of Bramley's candidature for East Manchester was a sign of future rebellion in the ILP ranks, a rebellion which was to prove containable only until the effects (or lack of effects) of a Labour Party in Parliament were finally revealed.

This survey of local events in Manchester and Salford clearly demonstrates that practical co-operation between the socialist parties was widespread, particularly in the pre-LRC era. It now remains to examine the extent to which local socialists became involved in the national debate on socialist unity. Manchester and Salford ILP began its existence as one of the most distinctively socialist local parties. How far did it attempt to inculcate its own attitude into the national movement, and bring into being a united socialist party?

Chapter 2

The National Quest for Socialist Unity, 1893-1905

If three or four of the disinterested advocates of the co-operative Commonwealth could have agreed in those days of enthusiasm to work together, Britain would now be a Socialist state.

But Jno. Burns, Keir Hardie, and Hyndman could not work together, and the history of the labour movement in the 'nineties is largely a tale of their dissensions.¹

A.M. Thompson may have been somewhat hopeful concerning the socialist state, but certainly the antipathy between the socialist leaders was one of the major factors which prevented the formation of a united socialist party in the pre-LRC era.

When considering the subject of socialist unity, perhaps the most important consideration is the fact that the ILP was never really united behind one leader. From the very formation of the party, it was obvious that the Clarion socialists did not altogether share the aims and political methods of the official NAC leadership. This factor has been considered above, but must be emphasised in the present context, for in many cases it was the Clarion group which pressed the case for a united socialist party. With a belief in socialism as a cause which took precedence over party or electoral campaigns, the Clarion socialists saw a united socialist party as an obvious and necessary step towards their goal of a co-operative Commonwealth.²

Blatchford, who always denied being a 'leader', but was nevertheless regarded as such by a large number of Clarion socialists, never lost his initial antipathy towards Hardie. In an article in the Clarion on

1 A.M. Thompson, op. cit., p. 94

2 J.A. Fincher, op. cit., pp. 189-332 passim.

24 January 1902, he expressed the belief that Hardie had harmed the socialist cause and alienated potential recruits; indeed he had often led Blatchford himself to consider retiring from the movement.

He has often caused me to regret that one of us was not a Tory. And if he can produce so strong an effect of revulsion on the mind of a Socialist, what effect must he produce on the minds of men and women outside our ranks.¹

This personal dislike of Hardie was shared by A.M. Thompson, who also commented, 'Indeed I felt more at home with Hyndman than I ever did with Hardie'.²

Much of the long-standing feud between Blatchford and Hardie stemmed also from the fact that the Labour Leader was not only edited by Hardie, but was also the official mouthpiece of the ILP. Blatchford was generally opposed to the idea that the ILP should have a President; for that President also to be the editor of the party's paper went completely against his conception of democratic organisation.³ Defending his view in the Clarion on 25 June 1898, Blatchford wrote:

What I had in mind was a feeling that Mr. Hardie would not be a good president, nor a good leader, and that if at any time it was advisable for the Clarion to criticise Mr. Hardie or the ILP, the cry would at once be raised that we were jealous of the Labour Leader.⁴

In the same vein he wrote to Bruce Glasier:

I don't think I dislike Hardie. But I do seriously believe that he is a great hindrance to the spread of Socialism, and, believing that, how can I speak with approval of his work in or out of Parliament? I have, on the other hand, muzzled myself for years, because if I criticised the ILP they would say it was from enmity to Hardie, and if I criticised Hardie

1 C, 24 January 1902. See Blatchford's article, 'Socialism and the ILP'.

2 A.M. Thompson, op. cit., p. 98

3 C, 27 October 1894

4 Ibid., 25 June 1898

they would say I wanted to smash the ILP. Now to avoid splits I have held my tongue. With the result that there is a strong anti-Clarion party in the ILP. Men who suspect us because we leave Hardie and the party alone. 1

Long after Hardie had died, and Blatchford himself was over 90, the old man wrote to Thompson:

You know I have always felt you were too lenient to Hardie and Hyndman. They were both ambitious and conceited. Hardie wanted to be the great leader of British democracy. That was why he took his contemptible paper to Manchester. He hated us because he thought us an obstacle in his way - But the fact was he had neither brains nor guts for the job.²

The very real political differences between Clarion socialism and Hardie's aspirations for a Labour Party in Parliament have been considered above. Particularly in the '90s there is every reason to believe - although, admittedly, no absolute proof - that the Clarion was the greater influence upon Manchester and Salford ILPers. Until it removed to London in 1895 it was, after all, a local paper, which had played a major role in founding Manchester and Salford ILP, and the readership and popularity which it had built up in those early years was not suddenly eradicated upon its departure. The growth and strength of the Clarion organisations in the Manchester area bore a continuing testimony to its influence.

Not only was the Clarion critical of Hardie's leadership of the ILP, it also campaigned at regular intervals for a united socialist party which in practice would involve some form of rapprochement between the ILP and SDF. Because the Clarion was not an 'official' paper of

1 Typed copy of letter from Robert Blatchford to A.M. Thompson (undated) in Autograph Letters, Robert Blatchford to A.M. Thompson. Vol. I. (Manchester Public Library, Archives Department)

2 Letter from Robert Blatchford to A.M. Thompson, 27 August 1942 in *ibid.*, Vol. II

any party, it was not dependent for its policy upon conference votes or Executive decisions. Although Blatchford had little regard for Hyndman personally (having in 1894 written to Thompson of 'the blather and humbug of Hyndman'), the Clarion and the SDF generally remained on amicable terms. As Blatchford's biographer put it, 'The Clarion and Hyndman's paper, Justice, could box one another's ears, and the staffs enjoyed a drink together afterwards'.¹ There was none of the bitterness which was the hallmark of the Clarion's relations with Hardie and the Labour Leader.²

Much of the subsequent campaign for socialist unity centred around the Clarion. Read widely by ILP members, but unencumbered by 'official' party policy, it was both hostile towards Hardie's labourist, as opposed to socialist, leadership, and on amicable terms with the SDF. It should also be emphasised that the Clarion's policy had been moulded in Manchester, in an era when the existing socialist and independent labour groups in the city were moving towards united action. The party founded after May Day 1892, and inspired by the Clarion, had indeed been a united socialist party, with SDF members among its leading founders. The Bradford Conference had failed to produce such unity on a national scale, and it is hardly surprising that the Clarion and some of the leading Manchester socialists tried to recreate for the country as a whole the type of united socialist party which had once existed in Manchester and Salford, in the days before Hardie's influence became paramount.

1 L. Thompson, Robert Blatchford ..., p. 138

2 For an example of the attitude of the C and J towards one another, see J, 11 August 1894 and C 18 August 1894.

While the Clarion did provide the mouthpiece for the socialist unity debate, other leading socialists shared its aims, and many of them were also men who had their roots in the Manchester movement. Although the Labour Church can hardly have held great attraction for many Social-Democrats, John Trevor was sympathetic both towards the party and to the ideal of unity. Taking the chair for William Morris at the Free Trade Hall, in March 1894, he expressed ...

... his high regard for the work of the SDF. He was deeply indebted to the work of the Federation himself and above all to a few members of the South Salford Branch ... He was hopeful that the various organisations which had the Socialist ideal in view would endeavour to work in harmony together, and he wished to indicate that they of the Labour Church were anxious to work along with all those who had in view the harmonious development of manhood and womanhood.¹

More influential in the actual movement towards a united socialist party were Leonard Hall (again a founder member of Manchester and Salford ILP), and the young student who made his political debut at Tib Street in 1904, Albert Victor Grayson. The leadership of Manchester personalities in the socialist unity debate, finally culminating in the foundation of the BSP in Salford, cannot be regarded as pure coincidence.

The disappointment which many Manchester and Salford ILP members felt as a result of the 1893 Bradford Conference first found its expression in a local rather than national form. The Lancashire and District Federation of Independent Labour Parties and Socialist Bodies has already been considered in detail above.² It was basically an attempt to create a united socialist party 'from the bottom up' - to unite the

1 J, 17 March 1894. Although religion and Marxism were (and are!) hardly compatible, there were individuals, such as George Evans, who were active in both the SDF and Labour Church.

2 See above, p.326

socialist movement of the Lancashire district in the hope that other areas would follow suit. It also represented a scheme to re-model the ILP from within, thereby turning it into the socialist 'umbrella' movement, which had been the aim of some of its earliest members.

Not surprisingly it was the delegate of the Lancashire Federation, Ben Bilcliffe, who proposed the resolution in favour of socialist unity at the 1894 ILP Conference. He moved that the Conference instruct the NAC to approach the National Executive of the SDF and the Fabian Society, 'with the object of forming one national Socialist party, under a constitution, name or title, to be decided at a future joint conference of the three bodies'. His resolution was however rejected by the Conference. As Ben Tillett said: 'There was no one squabbling with any other parties as to whether one or the other was the right sort of party. Let them go on doing their work, and the other parties doing theirs'.¹

The 1894 Conference also witnessed attempts to establish the Fourth Clause as national policy, and to change the name of the ILP. To many committed socialists within its ranks, the party's failure to announce its socialist principles as part of its title was a grave omission. As Blatchford declared in the Clarion, just before the Conference:

The ILP is, in fact, a Socialist Party, or it is no party at all. The whole pith of its programme is Socialistic; the bulk of its most capable and earnest members are Socialists; the only arguments by virtue of which it can justify its existence as a separate Party are Socialistic arguments; and in so far as it may ever deviate from Socialistic lines, or may enrol in its ranks men who are out of sympathy with socialism, it is bound to become weaker and less united.

The Bradford Conference, he asserted, had avoided a distinctly socialist title for the party because many delegates represented newly-formed or

1 ILP, Minutes of the Second Annual Conference ... 1894, p. 7

timid bodies, or themselves were but half-converted. The name of Socialism had been regarded as a bogey, which would make it difficult to win adherents. However Blatchford insisted now that honesty demanded the party should call itself by its true name. Moreover a socialist title would prevent any confusion of its aims and policies with those of the Liberal party. He also argued that a large number of socialists had held aloof from the ILP, who would have no reason for such an attitude towards a distinctively socialist party.¹ These 'unattached socialists' were to loom large in Blatchford's arguments for a united socialist party. While both ILP and SDF had little time for men and women who called themselves socialists but remained outside the party ranks, Blatchford was to regard them as an important element which might be attracted into a united movement. The justification of his argument was to lie in the number of independent socialist societies which eventually entered the BSP.²

The lack of support at the 1894 Conference for socialist unity, or even a more obviously socialistic ILP, tended to draw the campaign away from 'official' channels and into the press. June 1894 saw the publication of Andrew Reid's The New Party, with a contribution by Blatchford.³ Reid, himself a former Liberal, not only attacked that party but called for a New Party - the Isocratic Party or the Party of Equality - to be composed of all classes united by socialism. The Clarion announced enthusiastically:

The important fact to be siezed upon is the fact

1 C, 27 January 1894. H. Pelling, Origins of the Labour Party ... p. 171, suggested that converts to socialism might feel that there was an element of compromise about a party which failed to call itself 'Socialist' in its title.

2 See below, Chapter 4, p.993

3 C, 16 June 1894

that at last the hour seems to have struck, and the time for uniting all the scattered forces of the New Democracy under one flag seems to have arrived. What we want is a Socialist Party, and of that, it seems to us, Mr. Reid's book will hasten the formation.¹

Reid insisted that he had no wish to interfere with the ILP. But, he pointed out, there were thousands of socialists, from all classes of society, outside its ranks. As for readers of the Clarion,

Let them join the Independent Labour Party by all means, where its machinery is locally in working order. When they have joined it, let them keep to it with all their strength. There are numbers of people who have written to me in consequence of my book, 'The New Party', and they want to form 'THE SOCIALISTIC PARTY'.²

While Reid's ambition appears to have centred primarily upon organising the hitherto unattached socialists, Blatchford immediately took up the campaign for a united socialist party. In the Clarion of 28 July 1894 he set forth his arguments in an article entitled 'Class Interests versus National Justice'. There were, according to Blatchford, five 'clans' whose aims were socialistic: the SDF, Fabians, Christian Socialists, Labour Church, and ILP. Of these only the ILP and SDF could be regarded as organised political bodies, but the SDF was not prepared to join the ILP, nor were the ILP and other 'clans' willing to join the SDF. From which Blatchford deduced:

... whether the refusal or disinclination of the people to join the SDF is or is not founded upon solid reasons, we are obliged to recognise the fact.

If the people want a Socialist party, and do not want that party to be a mere extension of the S.D.F., the wisest course is to form a new Socialist party to which the S.D.F. and all other Socialists may belong.

After all, it is chiefly a matter of a name. We want one party instead of half-a-dozen. None of the names borne by the existing parties will satisfy us all. Let us find a new name. Let us call ourselves The Socialist Party.

1 Ibid., 23 June 1894

2 Ibid., 28 July 1894

Let us unite, and organise our forces, and get ready for action.

I should suggest that as a preliminary step we appoint five secretaries, one from each of the five bodies above named, who shall receive the names of men and women willing to act as delegates to a National Socialist Conference. That these names be submitted by the secretaries to the various branches of the S.D.F., the I.L.P., the Fabians, the Labour Church, and the Christian Socialists, who shall elect by ballot about 50 delegates.

Let these delegates meet, and draw up a scheme for the formation of a National Socialist party, and let that scheme be submitted to all the branches for amendment and approval.

If the scheme is a reasonable and a simple one, as it certainly should be, it will be adopted.

All the branches will then be branches of the Socialist party, and can at once set about the election of an executive council and the drawing up of a programme.

If this is done I am sure that we shall find ourselves with a National Socialist party at least three times as strong as all the five parties now existing would be, in numbers, even if they were united, which they are not.¹

The scheme evoked little enthusiasm in SDF circles. The leadership of that party continued to hold the view that anyone who was truly a socialist should simply join the SDF. This uncompromising attitude was clearly set out in Justice on 8 September, in an editorial reply to Blatchford's letter on 'Socialism, Collectivism, and the National Party'. Blatchford, claimed Justice,

... does not quite understand the difference between the SDF and the ILP. It is not that the SDF refuses to work with mere Collectivists; it is that the ILP will not accept the position of the SDF as a definite revolutionary Social-Democratic party and not a mere political party. Briefly, the ILP is an Independent Labour Party - the SDF is a Social-Democratic Party. It is a wide difference. The object of the ILP is the formation of an Independent Labour Party in the House of Commons - the object of the SDF is Social-Democracy by political or any other means. True, the ILP has the collective ownership of the means of production inscribed on its programme. So have some trade unions and any number of

1 Ibid., 28 July 1894

Radical clubs; but that does not make these organisations of Socialists nevertheless.¹

Moreover the ^{Salford}South SDF, generally more tolerant than its national leadership, tended to share the same view, adopting a resolution:

That this branch is of opinion that the SDF is the only National Socialist Party, and recommends all real Socialists to become members of the SDF.²

What Blatchford tried to explain, and what none of the Social-Democrats was prepared to accept, was that there were genuine socialists who agreed with the aims and policy of the SDF, but not with its organisation and leadership.

It does not follow that because the men who formed the ILP were Socialists, and agreed with the principles of the SDF, it was treason for them to start another party. For it may be that they were agreed with the SDF principles, but did not approve of the SDF methods or machinery. Which was, in fact, the case.³

Unlike the SDF leadership, Blatchford believed the cause of socialism to be above individual organisations and parties, and saw no justification in the SDF's proposal for ILPers simply to join its ranks. '... To put it bluntly, that isn't good enough. To absorb the ILP into the SDF would be very much like Jonah swallowing the whale'.⁴

Perhaps the chief difference between the two parties was the London-orientated, centralised organisation of the SDF, as opposed to the essentially provincial ethos and large extent of local autonomy which existed in the ILP. As Blatchford stated in his Clarion article

1 J, 8 September 1894

2 Ibid., 15 September 1894

3 C, 11 August 1894, 'The Need for a National Socialist Party' by Robert Blatchford

4 Ibid., 25 August 1894, 'One Socialist Party' by 'Nunquam'

on 'One Socialist Party', on 25 August 1894:

The fact is that a great gulf exists between London and the Provinces. The North of England is as remote from the Londoner's ken as Paris or New York. This state of affairs will not do. The London men and the North men must be introduced to each other. I see very clearly that our friends of Justice do not at all understand or appreciate the ILP. I acknowledge frankly for my own part that I know hardly anything about the state of affairs in London.¹

He put the case more frankly in a letter to Justice:

I say that if you ask the ILP to sink its name and organisation and simply become a part of the SDF under a centralised London management you ask too much.

My idea is to form a National Party, which party should elect a new executive and take a new name and code. I object to a London executive not from any local jealousy, but because I see no reason why London should be made the centre of a national movement. I prefer the ILP system of a moveable council of delegates from many centres.

It is nonsense to speak of London as the centre of the Socialist movement. The Socialist movement has not got any centre. Little Burnley is almost as strong as big London; and when the first good advance is made it will start from Scotland and the north of England.²

Even though Blatchford was clearly determined to avoid the new party being dominated by London or the SDF, ILP circles were far from enthusiastic. Perhaps most constructive was Joseph Burgess, who through the medium of the Workman's Times advised federation rather than amalgamation.³ Hardie, for his part, was just as dogmatic as the SDF leadership, and showed far more sign of personal antipathy towards Blatchford. After stating in the Labour Leader that the ILP was itself capable of uniting all forces, he went on both to commend the non-socialists who provided assistance at the polls, and to condemn the socialists who

1 Ibid.

2 J, 8 September 1894

3 C, 25 August 1894

remained outside the party. He commented:

So far as I can gather the difficulty with those who want to come in but don't, is the name independent Labour party. If we would call ourselves the Socialist party all would be well. But I am prepared to maintain that the name we are now known by is a safeguard against the admission of a not too desirable class of persons. There is a type of middle class Socialist, with all the prejudices of his class thick upon him, who objects to the name Labour because he is not a labourer in the commonly accepted definition of the term. He wants a party with which he can be connected without sacrificing any of his caste.¹

Clearly Blatchford and the Clarion were poised between two dogmatic and uncompromising forces, in an attempt both to unite them and to retain for a wider socialist movement the allegiance of many men and women who were also aware of the shortcomings of the ILP and SDF. To Hardie he replied:

It is bad policy and bad manners for ILP men to sneer at the unattached socialists as 'superior persons'; quite easy for the unattached to ask why, if the ILP is a Socialist party, it declines to call itself so.

He also commented:

I don't think the ILP is sufficient; I don't think it can do the work alone; I know that it is not doing the work alone, and I know that it never has done the work alone. 'The movement' is not composed solely of the ILP ...

The movement was before the ILP was heard of; and many of the men who made the movement, and many of the men who are now doing yeoman service in the movement, are not members of the ILP.²

Blatchford's concept of socialist unity did, however, win some support, and not simply from the 'unattached'. William Morris, on behalf of Hammersmith Socialist Society, wrote to express the view that a united socialist party could be formed without interfering with

1 LL, 6 October 1894

2 C, 13 October 1894

existing organisations.¹ The Labour Leader on 13 October announced: 'It has been proposed to take a ballot of the Manchester branches on the question of 'One Party', i.e., one new one'.² Whether the ballot was ever taken and, if so, its outcome, remain undisclosed, but individual branches made their opinions felt. Thus:

In the opinion of the New Cross Ward ILP, Manchester, the time is fully ripe for the formation of One Socialist Party that shall absorb and supersede the various Socialistic bodies now existing, and voice the principles of Socialism through a single organisation.³

From Droylesden ILP came a resolution:

... that the time is fully ripe for the formation of One Socialist Party, as we believe the objects for which Socialists are working could be more easily attained through one organisation.⁴

In his Labour Annual for 1895, Joseph Edwards argued the case for 'A National Socialist Federation':

Everywhere the necessity and the wisdom of this step are becoming more clearly recognised. Very briefly I would urge the members of every reform body mentioned in this Annual to devote the year 1895 to a thorough understanding of the benefits that would accrue from Federation.⁵

The debate continued until the ILP's Newcastle Conference, in April 1895, but without any action being taken. Blatchford himself moved to a more gradualist approach. In December 1894 he advised that ILP and SDF members who favoured one party should join one another's organisations while, wherever possible, members of the Clarion Scouting corps should join both SDF and ILP. In this way the old prejudices might die out, the ideas of the two organisations would be assimilated,

1 Ibid., 3 November 1894

2 LL, 13 October 1894

3 Ibid., 17 November 1894

4 C, 8 December 1894

5 Labour Annual 1895, p. 33

and the 'One Party' difficulty would be solved without friction, disorganisation or risk.¹

In theory Blatchford's campaign for a united socialist party was a logical, obvious and necessary step. Yet perhaps the leaders of existing parties realised more clearly than he did that any definite steps towards one party might well split both the SDF and ILP. Thus 'Tattler' in Justice on 1 September 1894 prophesied that if a coalition took place, the SDF would split over adherence to it. The mere labourists of the ILP would drift into 'labourism' pure and simple, and there would in fact be three parties instead of two.² Blatchford was aware of the non-socialist element within the ILP and would not, apparently, have regretted its loss. On 22 December 1894 he wrote:

A true Socialist party should consist of Socialists, and of none others but Socialists.

Now, the Independent Labour Party does not consist wholly of Socialists. It has in its ranks very many men who are not Socialists. These men are a source of danger and of weakness.³

Whether he realised that a split might well be created in the SDF is, however, quite another matter. It may be remarked that in 1911 the SDF joined in the formation of the BSP only after the 'Impossibilists' had left its ranks.⁴

When the ILP's Newcastle Conference was held in April 1895, a General Election was looming upon the horizon, and most members of the

1 C, 22 December 1894. For other statements by Blatchford, Hardie and Tom Mann, see *ibid.*, 20 October and 22 December 1894, 26 January 1895.

2 J, 1 September 1894.

3 C, 22 December 1894

4 See C. Tsuzuki, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-9; see also C. Tsuzuki, 'The "Impossibilist Revolt" in Britain. The origins of the SLP and the SPGB' in International Review of Social History, Vol. I, Part 3, 1956, pp. 377-97 *passim*.

party were primarily concerned that nothing should mar its chances at the polls. Thus both Fred Brocklehurst and Mrs. Pankhurst opposed any change in the party's name. Victories won under the present title proved, in the opinion of Mrs. Pankhurst, that it was good enough to rally people to the cause. On the subject of the SDF, the Conference was chiefly concerned that there should be no controversy between the parties when running election candidates. It was however agreed that the NAC should circularise all Socialist Societies, to ascertain their views concerning one socialist organisation.¹

The 1895 General Election was a great disappointment to the ILP, not least in Manchester. If the party as a whole lamented Hardie's loss of S.W. Ham, the Manchester members were particularly concerned over Dr. Pankhurst's defeat in Gorton. Much more so than James Johnston in N.E. Manchester, he had entered the contest with a reasonable expectation of success. With their party now completely outside parliament, and faced with a decline in national membership, ILPers began to seek a new impetus for the movement. Leonard Hall, writing in the Clarion, first attempted to diagnose the problem:

The present dead halt in the Socialistic advance - a stagnatory tendency which no active man in the movement will attempt to dispute or ignore - is due to: (1) Our appeal being largely misconceived and misdirected. (2) Our policy being too "classy" and exclusive. (3) Our programme being uncertain, unwieldy, and unstatesmanlike.

Hall's proposed solution was to make an appeal to the self-interest of the lower-middle classes by concentrating upon the single plank of land nationalisation. With the transfer of the rent of land to the state, monopoly and interest would, according to Hall, inevitably disappear, and all workers would enjoy the full product of their labour.² Hall insisted

1 ILP, Report of the 3rd Annual Conference ... 1895, pp. 7-8, 16-17

2 C, 8 February 1896, 'Where are we?' by Leonard Hall

that he was not attempting to form any new organisation, merely to create a national movement, '... with a defined, sound, and practical reform as its objective, and engineered with a spirit and upon lines sufficiently broad to make its immediate popularity and ultimate triumph a certainty.'¹

The plan does not appear to have been well-received in the party. Russell Smart complained that it would only accentuate the differences between socialists, and make 'One Socialist Party' a hopeless dream: 'Land nationalisation, pure and simple, as a political force is a negligible quantity, and as an economic principle is more vague and difficult to understand than the Socialist formula'. Some points of Hall's argument did, however, make an impact: the need to gain the support of the lower-middle class, the problem of the cumbersome and unwieldy programme of the ILP, and the need to appeal to self-interest as opposed to pure altruism.² Hall did not seek re-election to the NAC at the 1896 conference in Nottingham³ and continued to press the case for land nationalisation as opposed to purely palliative measures, on the grounds that 'the most dangerous weapon the revolutionary party can wield against reconstructive revolutionary economic changes'.⁴ For Hall himself the campaign may well have marked the beginning of his movement away from the mainstream of ILP thought.⁵

1 Ibid., 7 March 1896, 'Where are we?' II by Leonard Hall

2 Ibid., 28 March 1896, 'A One-Plank Programme' by H. Russell Smart

3 C, 11 April 1896

4 Ibid., 1 May 1897, 'Some Remarks on the ILP Conference' by Leonard Hall

5 On the land question, Hall subsequently wrote Land, Labour and Liberty (Clarion Newspaper Co. Ltd., 1899) 16 pp, and The Next Thing to Do (Birmingham, 1911) 16 pp. For Hall's later roles as co-author of the 'Green Manifesto', founder member of the BSP, and syndicalist, see below, pp.975-7, 989-92

Many ILP members still continued to pin their hopes upon a united socialist party, but the tentative approaches made by the NAC as a result of the Newcastle Conference had not proved encouraging. On 11 September 1895 the SDF replied that its EC 'propose to seriously consider the matter for some time before expressing their opinion on it'. More enthusiasm was shown by the Labour Church Union, which wanted to see the co-operation of all socialistic bodies for a common object, and by Chorlton-cum-Hardy Socialist Society. The latter, replying on 20 September, considered 'the time is ripe for the formation of a National Socialist party by the conjunction of all existing Socialist bodies'. However the Chorlton socialists had never presented any real problem. Having received no further reply from the SDF, Tom Manns Secretary of the ILP wrote to his counterpart, H.W. Lee, on 28 November. On 18 December Lee duly replied that 'under no circumstances would the general body of the members of the SDF consent to any step being taken which would require the giving up of the name, the abandonment of any portion of their programme, or the modification of any detail of their policy'.¹

The North Manchester ILP delegate, John Harker, arrived at Nottingham in April 1896 to move a resolution: 'That this Conference appoint a Committee to confer with other Socialist organisations with a view to the formation of One Socialist Party'. But, apparently arriving late for the debate, he was ruled out of order,² and the conference subsequently accepted a proposal from the NAC, that it be authorised to convene a British Socialist Congress in conjunction with other Socialist and Trade Union bodies.³ The involvement of trade unions was much more

1 ILP, Report of the 4th Annual Conference ... 1896, pp. 16-17

2 C, 11 April 1896

3 ILP, Report of the 4th Annual Conference ... 1896, p. 17

the fabric and purpose of utilising the municipal and parliamentary vote and machinery to further our ends, wherever and however we can. The long and the short of it is that Socialism cannot afford to neglect any legitimate means of advance of which it can possibly avail itself. We neither regard Parliament as a sacred fetish to be worshipped, nor as a bogey to fight shy of.

To emphasise his point, Hall added:

It is not a question of tolerating the non-Parliamentarians, but of whether we have a stronger love for party than for Socialism. If non-Parliamentary Socialism is to be tabooed and repudiated by the ILP, the sooner some of us get out of the ILP and acquire the freedom to push Socialism in all and every one of its manifestations and developments that may be open to us, the better for Socialism and our personal reputations for intelligence, whatever may be the result for party.¹

Leonard Hall's comments are important, not so much for their impact upon immediate events, but as a portent for the future. Once the hopes of many ILP members became shattered by the Labour alliance, the non-parliamentary element, which had always existed among the Clarion socialists, did indeed 'get out of the ILP and acquire the freedom to push Socialism ...' And Leonard Hall, by then based in Birmingham, was to be one of the leading figures in their movement.²

Also disillusioned by parliamentary election failures was H.M. Reade. In a letter published in the Clarion on 30 January 1897 he commented:

I was glad to read your remarks about the futility of parliamentary propaganda, which I think will be echoed throughout the rank and file of the Socialist movement. Some of us who can speak of a 12-years' active work in the fight have at last grown disgusted with parliamentarianism. We recognise that we have not been consistent with the teachings of modern science in attempting to grapple first with the most complex (parliamentary) instead of the simple concrete (the village, district, or town), and that to be

1 Ibid., 22 August 1896

2 See below, Chapter 4

successful we must commence from the unit or individual, and spend our force upon converting individuals instead of attempting to capture parliamentary seats, with the necessarily extravagant expenditure and minimum of results.

Reade's proposal was to utilise the money, which might otherwise have been spent upon election campaigns, in socialist propaganda. He suggested that a Bureau of Socialist Literature be formed, to cater for the propaganda requirements of all the socialist organisations. The Bureau, formed of delegates from each of the various groups - ILP, SDF, Fabian Society, Clarion, Labour Leader and Freedom, could send out parcels of literature upon request to groups throughout the country, receive reports of their work, and send a resumé of all the reports back to the groups.¹

While Hall and Reade sought united socialist action on a national level, similar aims were being pursued locally by the Lancashire and Cheshire Independent Labour and Socialist Federation. Now outside the official framework of the ILP, it had widened its contribution to admit any Socialist bodies agreeing to independent political action.²

Despite such schemes outside the realms of official ILP policy, many of that party's members still desired to draw it into some form of union with the SDF. In 1897 the two parties agreed to institute a 'Court of Appeal', comprising three members from each party, who should intervene if the ILP and SDF sought to put forward candidates in opposition to one another. Its services had not, however, been required by the time of the

1 C, 30 January 1897

2 Ibid., 17 October 1896. See Annual Report of the Lancashire and Cheshire Independent Labour Federation.

ILP's Birmingham Conference in 1898.¹ More important was the fact that, despite the TUC's decision in September 1896 not to take part in a Conference, the ILP and SDF delegates went ahead with plans for an informal meeting on 29 July 1897. The five members of the NAC and five of the SDF's Executive involved proceeded to recommend that the ECs of the two bodies should act in concert until a Joint Conference could be called. In November a statement was sent out to branches, accompanied by a voting paper. Members were asked whether they were in favour of uniting the SDF and ILP, and whether they were prepared to accept the name which received the majority vote, as the title for the new united party. To these questions the majority voted in the affirmative; indeed 5,158 were for amalgamation, and only 886 against. However the two parties had so far failed to reach any agreement as to the title. Once the vote had been counted, the SDF pressed for the opening of formal negotiations, but the ILP executive refused to accept the results, on the grounds that only a third of the party's members had voted.²

This apparent change of heart by the ILP Executive has been ascribed by Dr. Tsuzuki to a change in the balance of power. Tom Mann, the Executive's keenest advocate of unity, had generally lost influence to Hardie, Glasier and Ramsay MacDonald.³ Hardie in particular not only disliked the SDF, but hoped to take advantage of the changing attitude of the unions towards Labour representation. Trade unions, many of them still to be weaned from their Lib-Lab allegiance, would hardly welcome

1 Labour Annual 1898, p. 70. The proposal seems to have emanated from the SDF Conference at Northampton, held in August 1897. See also ILP, Report of the Sixth Annual Conference ... 1898, pp. 4-5

2 ILP, Report of the Sixth Annual Conference ... 1898, pp. 5-7

3 C. Tsuzuki, *op. cit.*, p. 102

involvement with the SDF.¹

Thus at the ILP's Birmingham Conference in 1898, the NAC Report advised strongly against any move which would involve dissolving the ILP. Fred Brocklehurst, who was subsequently elected to the NAC, also argued against fusion, pointing out the fundamental differences between the SDF in London and in the provinces. There was, he argued, already a working alliance in some places (Manchester?), and he wanted fusion to develop naturally from this. If forced into being, fusion would not be of long duration. A proposal to proceed with federation was lost by 80 votes to 48, but it was decided that the matter should again be considered by the branches. However it was also resolved that no vote involving the dissolution of the ILP be operative unless a majority of three-quarters of the financial members of the ILP voted in its favour. Brocklehurst, who had seconded the resolution for referral to the branches, served on a sub-committee appointed to define the terms 'fusion' and 'federation' for the purpose of the ballot.²

By May 1898 a circular had been issued to branch secretaries, for distribution among members. In accordance with the deliberations of the sub-committee, 'federation' was defined as:

The retention of the separate organisations as at present, and the formation of a general council composed of representatives of each body federated on a proportional basis of financial members, such body to be consultative and advisory on all matters affecting the general movement, and empowered to annual convene a conference of all Socialist organisations.

Fusion with the SDF meant:

The dissolution of the Independent Labour Party and

1 Ibid. See also I. McLean, op. cit., pp. 75-9 and K.O. Morgan, Keir Hardie; Radical and Socialist (1975) pp. 87-90

2 ILP, Report of the Sixth Annual Conference ... 1898, pp. 7-8, 31-6

the Social-Democratic Federation and the formation of a new Socialist party, such party on its formation taking over the assets, liabilities, and responsibilities of both.¹

The NAC's decision to hold a second ballot among branches was not altogether popular. At its General meeting on Wednesday 8 July, Droylesden group of the ILP resolved:

That in the opinion of the members of this group, the NAC has overstepped its duty in not accepting the previous voting re fusion with the SDF, and we refuse to use the voting papers which have been sent for a second vote.²

A few branches appear to have taken matters into their own hands, and proceeded to join the SDF. The NAC, meeting in Manchester on 23 July, attempted to quell this sign of rebellion in the ranks by issuing a statement. All ILP branches were advised to refrain from taking any individual action. An appeal was made to branches 'to discountenance communications or overtures, whether from individuals or organisations inside or outside the party, which are calculated to create disaffection or schism in the midst of our hitherto unbroken ranks.' The party as a whole should take action on the result of the vote.³

But even after two votes, no real progress was made. The branches favoured federation with the SDF and other independent Socialist bodies. The SDF, however, retorted that the question of federation had not been submitted to its members, and it was 'quite impossible for them to consider it at the present time'. At the 1899 ILP Conference, the NAC Report both described this lack of progress, and reminded the party that 'the Executive of the SDF still maintains its intractable bearing

1 ILP News, May 1898

2 J, 16 July 1898

3 C and LL, 30 July 1898

towards purely Labour organisations.¹ During the summer and autumn of 1898 the NAC had been turning its attention increasingly towards the prospects for the next general election.² Yet again the subject of one socialist party appeared to have been shelved.

Once again the call for united action among socialists was revived by the Clarion. On 10 September 1898 A.M. Thompson, in a leading article entitled 'Business meant', called for a National Progressive Charter, as a means of rallying the forces of reform. The measures which Thompson suggested for inclusion in the Charter were by no means *exclusively* socialist: an eight-hour day, old age pensions, extending local powers to provide work for the unemployed, increased succession duties, the just taxation of land values, and the nationalisation of mines and railways. Thompson himself realised that such reforms were only palliatives, 'but I grow weary of doing nothing whilst waiting to lift and shift the earth. I grow ashamed of wasting my time in crying for the moon when in these present sultry summer days I might be helping the woeful East End get water for its children's thirst.'³

Thompson's proposals were formulated with the intention both of working towards goals more immediate than the 'Co-operative Commonwealth', and also of attracting more middle class support. Of course the scheme had its critics. Blatchford, already disheartened by the lack of progress in the socialist movement, nevertheless despised political compromise.⁴

1 ILP, Report of the 7th Annual Conference ... 1899, pp. 6-8

2 ILP, NAC Minute Book 3 1897-9. Minutes of NAC meetings 23 July and 1 October 1898

3 C, 10 September 1898

4 A.M. Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 126; L. Thompson, Robert Blatchford ... pp. 145, 147

Leonard Hall announced that it was utopian to suppose that the 'forces of reform' could be concentrated on any particular list of legislative proposals. Nevertheless he seemed to pin his own hopes on a list of measures, including of course socialisation of the land.¹

However Thompson's ideas were both supported and expanded upon by H.M. Reade. Writing from 95, Charlotte Street, Hightown, Manchester, Reade commented: 'You echo the feelings of thousands of Socialists when you say you are 'weary of doing nothing whilst waiting to lift and shift the earth'. I, too, am prepared to sink my extreme views, or postpone them, if by doing so I can help a brother to go part of the way with me towards the Socialist ideal'.² In his article Thompson had expressed support for the establishment of Initiative and Referendum. Now Reade suggested that the Clarion should hold a referendum, to give rank and file socialists a say on the desirability of forming a United Socialist Party in Britain. After this had been dealt with the question of adhesion to a Charter would be presented to the people, a National Conference could work out details, and the party could be launched. Towards this end a coupon might be printed in the Clarion, which readers could complete, cut out, and post.³

Thompson immediately took up the suggestion, and on 24 September 1898 the Clarion carried the first Referendum voting coupon. It was planned to print a coupon in each October issue, and every British

1 C, 17 September 1898. Other measures included changes in the matter of inheritance; nationalisation of mines, canals, harbours and railways; the abolition of the half-time system; and the ending of the money monopoly by the free establishment of banks of exchange issuing notes directly on securities lodged by their customers.

2 Ibid., 17 September 1898

3 Ibid., 17 September 1898

socialist (male or female) over the age of 21 was asked to complete only one coupon.¹ The coupon was in fact amended for the 8 October issue. Questions were reframed in the light of suggestions from various correspondents, in the hope of getting a clear verdict.² The idea of a referendum appears to have been well-received. Among the most enthusiastic was 'J.W.' of Chorlton-cum-Hardy, who wrote:

It not only opens the door to the free expression of Socialist opinion on the questions submitted, uninfluenced by organisations; but comes at a time when most Socialists have been convinced that the present political methods of the socialist parties require serious and careful reconsideration.³

The idea of a progressive alliance met with a rather more mixed reception. Blatchford remained opposed to the scheme⁴ and for once found himself in the company of Hardie, who maintained that the Socialists would become the appendage of the Liberal party; 'I will not be a party to betraying the Socialist movement into the hands of its enemies'.⁵ Edwin Round, Secretary of South Manchester ILP, wrote that he was 'surprised at the flabby tone and spirit of those socialists who would seek to water down our grand principles to a cold lifeless programme of expediencies and palliatives'.⁶ Russell Smart doubted whether it would help create a united Socialist party by starting another organisation, 'which before six months was past would be exhausting its energies by fighting both ILP and SDF'. To this Thompson replied: 'I never dreamt

1 Ibid., 24 September 1898

2 Ibid., 8 October 1898

3 Ibid., 1 October 1898

4 Ibid., 15 October 1898

5 LL, 8 October 1898

6 Ibid.

of starting a new party'.¹

The results of the poll, set out on one of the amended forms, were published in the Clarion on 3 December 1898. The referendum cannot be taken as providing statistical evidence of opinion within the ILP or SDF, or even within the broader socialist movement. Indeed the figures represented only the opinion of those Clarion readers who bothered to vote. But even in the light of this factor, certain findings were significant. Most obviously, a large proportion of the voters, 5,937 out of a total of 8,885, were unattached to any Socialist organisation. Moreover they were overwhelmingly in favour of one socialist party and a 'practical' Parliamentary programme. 'Fourth Clause' tactics were rejected by the voters as a whole, but a substantial minority did adhere to that policy.²

The Referendum was not the forerunner to any immediate action on the issues raised. It was rather a reflection of opinion among rank-and-file socialists. Blatchford had been proved correct in his assertion that a large body of 'unattached socialists' did exist outside the ranks of the ILP or SDF. A certain disillusionment with 'official' party action also came across. Indeed some branches took matters into their own hands in a quest for socialist unity. In Bolton, West Ward ILP and the local branch of the SDF fused together to form Bolton Socialist Party,³ while in Manchester independent Socialist Societies flourished in Moss Side and Chorlton.⁴ Not surprisingly such independent bodies bore the brunt of criticism from both the SDF and ILP.⁵

1 C, 24 September 1898

2 Ibid., 3 December 1898

3 Ibid., 8 October 1898

4 Labour Annual 1899, p. 72

5 J, 8 October 1898

As the 1899 Conference approached, Hardie set out in no uncertain terms his opinions concerning the SDF and the subject of socialist unity. In an editorial for the Labour Leader on 25 February, he traced the course of negotiations from the very foundation of the ILP, taking pains to emphasise the occasions on which overtures had been made by the ILP, and the SDF had failed to respond. He deduced:

It is abundantly clear that the SDF does not desire this unity. The official element still persists in regarding it as the only Simon Pure of 'revolutionary' Socialism, and as such not to be contaminated by contact with any other movement. To the ILP, and to it alone, has been committed the task of uniting the forces of democracy ...

It is perhaps worthy of comment that Hardie used the word 'democracy', not socialism. He supported the idea of a Federation which could include Fabians, unattached socialists, Christian Socialists, SDF, ILP, trade unions which supported independent political action, co-operators and land nationalisers.¹

Just over a month later, the ILP's Leeds Conference voted in favour of a federation with the SDF.² However Hardie's plans for a broader federation were soon in operation. The SDF took part in the Joint Conference on Labour Representation at Edinburgh on 6 January 1900. Despite losing their resolution, to the effect that working class representatives in the Commons should form a distinct party based on recognition of the class war, and with the ultimate object of the socialisation of the means of production, distribution and exchange,³ they proceeded to send delegates to the meeting at the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, London, on 27 February, which ushered in the Labour

1 LL, 25 February 1899

2 ILP, Report of the 7th Annual Conference ... 1899, pp. 38-41

3 ILP, Report of the 8th Annual Conference ... 1900, pp. 6-7

Representation Committee. The resolution lost at Edinburgh was again moved, and lost, by James Macdonald of the SDF, at the Memorial Hall.¹

After the Memorial Hall meeting the SDF was, officially at least, involved with the ILP and trade unions in the Labour Representation Committee. But any hopes that this would bring about the desired unity must surely have been short-lived; the SDF could hardly be expected to show any real enthusiasm for a potential Labour group in Parliament which was not committed to a socialist policy. Indeed on 3 March Justice described the ILP's amendments of the SDF resolution, and elimination of the clause binding the Parliamentary group to socialism as 'treachery'.² The secretary of the ILP then wrote to the SDF Executive, asking how far this comment represented the official SDF attitude. When the Executive then endorsed the article, the NAC decided that it could 'hold no relations with the Executive of the SDF until all such imputations have been withdrawn'.³

Around the turn of the century the SDF was itself divided over the question of political alliances. Views ranged from the 'right', which sought to maintain a trade unionist link through the LRC, to the 'centre' which preferred a form of 'socialist unity' with the ILP, and the 'left', the 'Impossibilists' who rejected any compromise with the 'reformist' ILP. Certainly the hopes of the 'right' were soon dashed for, when the

1 The Labour Party Foundation Conference and Annual Conference Reports (Originally published by the Labour Representation Committee 1900-1905. Reprinted by Hammersmith Bookshop Ltd., 1967) 'Report of the Conference on Labour Representation held in the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, London, E.C., on Tuesday, the 27th February 1900', p. 17

2 Ibid.; ILP, Report of the 8th Annual Conference ... 1900, pp. 6-7; C. Tsuzuki, op. cit., p. 106; J, 3 March 1900

3 LL, 31 March 1900. See report of NAC meeting, Birmingham, 26 March

SDF failed to carry a 'class war' resolution at the 1901 LRC Conference, its own Annual Conference, held that August in Birmingham, agreed upon withdrawal from the LRC.¹

The leadership of the ILP was both firmly committed to the LRC and hostile towards the SDF. After the LRC's 1901 Conference, J.R. Clynes, who represented the trades councils on its Executive, had attacked the Social Democrats' attitude in a letter to the Labour Leader, entitled 'How not to secure Labour Representation'.² In March 1901 Glasier rejected an approach by the SDF for a joint meeting, to consider tactics for the next election. The accusation of treachery still rankled, and he suggested that the SDF wanted to 'rig a seat or two from us for their Hyndmans and Quelches'.³ Hardie berated the SDF through the columns of the Labour Leader, particularly in the 17 August issue. After reading this article, C.W. Fraser of Salford ILP commented: 'I could not have believed that Hardie would be so grossly unfair to brother Socialists. The article is literally crammed with misrepresentations and unsound arguments'.⁴

However the ILP was not experiencing any major revival as a result of the Labour alliance. Its popularity in the country had dwindled under the impact of Jingoism, and at the 1900 'Khaki' election only Hardie had been returned to Westminster. The LRC provided ^{little} support for the pro-Boer stand; when Glasier moved an anti-war resolution at the 1901 LRC Conference, it was opposed ^{by some delegates} on the grounds that it would estrange

1 C. Tsuzuki, op. cit., p. 136

2 LL, 2 March 1901; J.R. Clynes, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 89

3 L. Thompson, The Enthusiasts, p. 122

4 LL, 17 August 1901; J, 17 December 1901

rank-and-file trade unionists.¹ Nor did the LRC provide more practical assistance in terms of funds for election expenses and payment of MPs. At its Foundation Conference Fred Brocklehurst had led the opposition to such activity, because 'it had been spread abroad by certain friends of Labour that the Socialists' object in attending the Conference was to collar the funds of the rich Trade Unions to help to propagate their own views'.²

Thus the LRC had not provided an immediate panacea to any of the ILP's problems, and it had moreover led to a widening of the breach between that party and the SDF. It has already been suggested that a section of the ILP in Manchester and Salford demonstrated a preference for a socialist, as opposed to labour, alliance. Was this a purely local phenomenon, or part of a broader national movement? And what part did the Manchester socialists play in the general debate?

Blatchford, the traditional leader of the socialist unity campaign had fallen from favour among many of his adherents as a result of his attitude to the war. But the SDF did find some sympathisers among the local rank-and-file ILP members. After Hardie's attack on the Social-Democrats in the Labour Leader (17 August 1901), C.W. Fraser was moved to write to Justice a letter which was published under the title 'Towards Unity - an ILP Protest':

I contend that the Socialism advocated by the SDF is, broadly speaking, the Socialism desired by all conscious Socialists, and differs in no way, save perhaps in greater exactitude of definition, from that advocated in the programme of the ILP.

In short, I hold ... that the sole reason and justification

1 L. Thompson, The Enthusiasts, p. 121. The resolution was eventually passed.

2 C, 10 March 1900

(see LRC, Report of the First Annual Conference... 1901, p. 44 (Hammersmith Bookshop reprint ed.))

for the bringing into existence of the ILP was to accentuate and develop the political side of the Socialist movement.

It was because I believed that the ILP came into being at a psychological moment for achieving this that I joined it. Only that and nothing more.

Fraser had expounded these views a week earlier, in a lecture at South Salford SDF Club. Many members of the ILP had been present, but all who took part in the discussion supported him.¹

The rank-and-file socialist protest had by this time concentrated upon the issue of the Dewsbury by-election. The constituency had been contested in 1895 by Edward Hartley, but now, when it seemed likely that the Liberals would co-operate by leaving the Labour candidate a clear run against a Conservative, the ILP and LRC decided that the more moderate Ben Turner would prove a more suitable candidate. While the local Trades Council was still considering the matter, the SDF announced that Harry Quelch, editor of Justice, would contest the seat as a Socialist and Trade Unionist candidate. The LRC decided against supporting Quelch, considering that the ILP had a prior claim to fight the constituency, and that all sections of the movement in Dewsbury should unite in deciding upon a candidate. The Liberals had now entered the fray with Walter Runciman as candidate, and Glasier finally persuaded the NAC that they should not attempt to contest the seat; 'as the position is hopeless and it is best to throw the blame of defeat upon the SDF'.²

If Glasier considered that the SDF's conduct had been 'unscrupulous',³ some of the rank-and-file ILP members apparently believed that the ILP and

1 J, 7 December 1901

2 L. Thompson, The Enthusiasts, p. 125

3 Ibid.

LRC had been about to endorse a Lib-Lab candidate, and that the SDF was perfectly justified in forestalling this. Protesting against Glasier's article on Dewsbury in the ILP News, C.W. Fraser pointed out that Glasier had ignored - but had not denied - the SDF's contention that Dewsbury Trades Council was bent upon having a Lib-Lab candidate. In these circumstances, he contended, the SDF's action in pressing the nomination of Quelch was imperative. Moreover '... the agreement on which joint action had been taken, namely that of promoting a Socialist and trade union candidate, had been nullified by the majority of the trade unions declaring for a Liberal-Labour man like Woods'.¹ From the correspondence from John Hodge to MacDonald, it does appear that there would have been support from the LRC for a candidate selected by the ILP and Trades Council, regardless of any Lib-Lab, as opposed to socialist, views which that candidate might have entertained. Thus on 29 November 1901 Hodge wrote:

... if the ILP and the T.C. make a direct request that we should endorse their nominee, then without any qualification I would say yes, we could not refuse, and as our report specifies that the SDF are in the wrong to endorse such nominees would be an easy matter.²

Among the ILP members in Manchester and Salford, support for Quelch appears to have been widespread. On 4 January 1902 both Justice and the Labour Leader printed a resolution that:

West Salford branch of the ILP, whilst deploring the present situation at Dewsbury and recognising that there have been mistakes and misunderstandings on both sides, trusts that all Socialists in Dewsbury will now rally to the support of

1 J, 14 December 1901. Sam Woods, Secretary of the Parliamentary Committee of The TUC, had lost his seat in the Commons in 1900 (see H.A. Clegg et al., pp. 107n.2, 364)

2 LRC 3/169. Letter from John Hodge to J. Ramsay MacDonald, 29 November 1901 (Labour Party Archives, Transport House). Hodge had previously sent MacDonald a copy of a report on the Dewsbury election, accompanied by a letter dated 25 November 1901 (see LRC 3/168).

H. Quelch.¹

Openshaw ILP expressed 'its entire confidence in Harry Quelch, editor of JUSTICE, as the Socialist candidate for Dewsbury Parliamentary Division at the coming by-election'.² Newton Heath ILP passed a resolution hoping that all Socialists and ILPers in Dewsbury would close up their ranks in supporting Quelch; it would be in the interests of socialism to sink all minor differences in the face of the enemy.³

Although defeated at the by-election, Quelch polled unexpectedly well.⁴ The Labour Leader of course blamed him and the SDF for having lost the seat for Labour.⁵ The affair did however reveal a continuing sympathy with the SDF among the ILP's rank-and-file. C.W. Fraser can hardly have been alone in his sentiments:

... I hold that the strength of the ILP in the past has been its sturdy and uncompromising hostility to non-Socialist political parties; that we must beware of alliances which involve sacrifice of principles, and that nothing should be done which will tend to prevent that harmonious co-operation of local branches of the ILP and the SDF which has existed in so many districts, ...⁶

Both Hardie and Glasier were concerned that the by-election might lead to a renewed demand for fusion with the SDF.⁷ Their fears were justified when Blatchford returned to the fray, with a Clarion article

1 J and LL, 11 January 1902. The resolution was also published in ILP News, January 1902

2 C, 10 January 1902; J and LL, 11 January 1902

3 LL, 1 February 1902

4 L. Thompson, The Enthusiasts, p. 127

5 LL, 1 February 1902

6 J, 14 December 1901

7 L. Thompson, The Enthusiasts, pp. 127-8

entitled 'Socialism and the ILP' (24 January 1902). Criticising both Hardie, whom he thought had harmed the socialist cause and alienated potential recruits, and Glasier who, according to Blatchford, seemed to believe that socialism and the ILP were one and the same thing, he again turned to the question of the unattached socialists. He believed that if a general vote were taken of all the socialists in the kingdom, there would be a very large majority in favour of establishing a united socialist party.

I, speaking for myself, as a Socialist, say that I do not think the ILP is big enough or strong enough to embrace the Socialism of the United Kingdom, and I cannot regard Mr. Hardie seriously as a leader. As leader of the executive of the ILP he may be entirely satisfactory; as a leader of British Socialism he is impossible.

John Penny retorted by criticising both the idea of a referendum and Blatchford's general position in the movement; independent of party offices or commitments, and able to criticise freely without concern for the consequences upon any organisation.¹

Blatchford however found a supporter in H.M. Hyndman, who wrote that, whatever their points of difference, they agreed on two important matters:

One is that a consolidation of Socialists in one Socialist party of Great Britain is essential if Socialism is to represent any real and effective power in the country. The other is that the man who stands in the way of the formation of such a party more than any other individual is Mr. Keir Hardie. He and his friends, in fact, act as if they were quite determined that this party shall not be formed.

Hyndman believed that nine-tenths of socialists would be ready to work together on the following broad lines:

- (1) The recognition of the class war between the workers on the one side (with the small shopkeepers and others

1 C, 24 January 1902

dependent on them) and the landlords and capitalists on the other.

- (2) The demand for the socialisation of the means and instruments of production, distribution, and exchange, including the land.
- (3) The use of political and municipal action as an independent Socialist party, in order to obtain control of the entire socialist organisation by degrees, and finally altogether.

He concluded:

Would it not be possible to arrange - say, next Easter - general meetings of Socialists throughout the country, in order to obtain a strong expression of opinion as to the necessity for union?¹

Cunningham Graham, just back from Dewsbury, believed that the vote for Quelch might have risen to over 2,000 if the ILP and SDF had been in accord;

As far as I know, Socialist parties do not exist primarily in order to get ambitious and possibly incompetent men into Parliament, but to further the cause of Socialism. Still if it is required to get men into Parliament, socialists will not achieve their object by quarrelling.

Supporting Blatchford's call for unity, Cunningham Graham added:

With the lesson of Dewsbury fresh, and with the evident desire of the rank and file of the ILP and the SDF to act together, surely it seems the time for socialists to make a move. The rank and file are a necessity to a party, but the leaders are not. Could not the two parties agree to sacrifice their respective leaders and call a conference with a view to mutual action?²

Not surprisingly, Glasier was extremely scathing about the SDF/Clarion alliance, which he described as 'only another organised hypocrisy'. He commented:

Unless the Clarion has changed its skin and the SDF its spots, their united assault upon the ILP will be a tame display

1 Ibid., 7 February 1902

2 Ibid., 7 February 1902

compared with the tussle between the two allies when once the Clarion and Justice begin to reckon against each other their respective ideas of Social Democracy.

He went on to remark:

You say you are more Democratic than the Democracy. You may fancy you are: but you are talking precisely the means that every well-intentioned and ill-intentioned usurper resorts to - the rendering himself popular by appealing to the will of the people, while destroying the organised methods by which the collective will can be ascertained and made effective.

Glasier accused the Clarion of publicising the SDF's, as opposed to the ILP's, case concerning the Dewsbury election, and suggested that Blatchford might begin his united socialist party enterprise by fusing the Clarion and Justice, and 'place the Clarion under strictly referendum editorship and management'.¹

Despite (or perhaps even because of) Glasier's attitude, the renewed movement for socialist unity did find support among ILPers in Manchester and Salford. At the request of Salford Fellowship Hall Discussion Class, John Barlow wrote to the Clarion to convey their appreciation of Thompson's advocacy of one socialist party. He suggested a referendum comprising the following questions:

- (1) Are you in favour of the immediate establishment of one British Socialist Party, ...?
- (2) Do you prefer, instead of the formation of an entirely new party organisation, with new officers (for the time being, at least), the amalgamation for political purposes only of the ILP and SDF?
- (3) Are you a member of the ILP?
Are you a member of the SDF?
Are you an unattached Socialist?²

Barlow's referendum was never put into operation, and at the 1902

1 Ibid., 21 February 1902

2 Ibid., 28 February 1902

ILP Conference, held in Liverpool at the end of March, the dissidents within the party were firmly silenced. Glasier attacked fusion with the SDF in his opening address, and an attempt to debate the matter of the Dewsbury by-election was heavily defeated. Newcastle branch called upon the NAC to hold a referendum on the question of one socialist party, but was defeated. Some of the Manchester and Salford delegates were far from happy with the proceedings. H. Davies of Openshaw received overwhelming defeats when he proposed that half of the NAC should retire from office annually, and not be eligible to stand for re-election for at least twelve months.¹

After the West Salford delegate, John Hayes, had duly reported the proceedings to his branch, C.W. Fraser as Secretary was deputed to write to the Clarion:

Dear Comrade - The following resolution was unanimously adopted at the last branch meeting of West Salford branch of the ILP: 'That after hearing a very lucid and exhaustive report from our delegate to the annual ILP Conference, this branch views with grave dissatisfaction the manner in which that Conference was conducted in regard to the stifling of discussion on resolutions from branches. We are of the opinion that conferences conducted on such lines are futile, if not mischievous, and should be supplemented or replaced by referendum votes of the branches'.

This branch also endorses the resolution passed by Newcastle-on-Tyne branch requesting the N.A.C. to take a referendum vote of the whole of the members in the question of One Socialist Party, and pledges itself to bear a share of the expenses if such a vote be taken.

Davies, in his capacity as Openshaw branch secretary, also wrote to the Clarion, expressing support for the Newcastle resolution, and offering to pay their share in the cost of a referendum.²

1 ILP, Report of the 10th Annual Conference ... 1902, pp. 34-5;
L. Thompson, The Enthusiasts, p. 128

2 C, 2 May 1902

Newcastle ILP then proceeded to send out circulars to other branches, asking them to inform the NAC whether they favoured a referendum on the one socialist party question. 'Our concern is not to find out whether branches favour fusion. All we want at present is to know whether they are satisfied that the Liverpool Conference represents the true feelings of the party?' Among the branches which wholeheartedly endorsed the Newcastle ILP's sentiments were Openshaw, West Salford, North Salford, and Ashton-under-Lyne.¹

The SDF Conference, meeting at Blackburn, voted against any attempt to rejoin the Labour Representation Committee, but did support the proposal that a National Convention should be arranged, to formulate if possible a united socialist party.² However in June 1902 the NAC refused to take any action concerning the proposed referendum, and the prospects of unity appeared as far removed as ever.³

After this latest proposal for a referendum was rejected, the socialist unity question ceased to gain much attention with the national movement. Blatchford became embroiled in the religious debate surrounding God and My Neighbour;⁴ enthusiasm for a Parliamentary Labour Party increased in the wake of the Taff Vale decision;⁵ a section of the SDF advocated reaffiliation to the Labour Representation Committee,⁶ and preparations for the next General Election accounted for much of the

1 Ibid., 23 May 1902

2 Ibid., 4 April 1902

3 Ibid., 20 June 1902

4 L. Thompson, Robert Blatchford, pp. 166-77 passim.

5 L. Thompson, The Enthusiasts, p. 129

6 C. Tsuzuki, op. cit., p. 155

activity of socialists of all denominations. Admittedly the Amsterdam Congress of the International, meeting in August 1904, gave its support to the doctrine of socialist unity, but there was no real impetus among the British socialists to implement its proposals.¹

The subject of a united socialist party had thus been raised at intervals ever since the foundation of the ILP. Short of the unlikely possibility that the SDF might merge itself contentedly into the LRC, there seemed every prospect that the question would arise yet again. Clearly the demand for unity arose at times when there was general dissatisfaction within the ILP: after the failure of the 1893 Bradford Conference to adopt 'Fourth Clause' Clarion socialism; in the wake of the 1895 General Election defeats; and after the controversy surrounding the Dewsbury election. Thus the timing of another socialist unity revival would clearly be linked to the outcome of the next General Election.

Apart from the national leadership in the movement provided by Blatchford and the Clarion (now removed from Manchester, but nevertheless extremely influential in the city), rank-and-file socialists in the local area had regularly made their contributions to the general socialist unity debate. Their contributions do not, of course, give any indication as to the number of local ILP members who sought alliance with the SDF, but when the national campaigns are considered alongside the general pattern of socialist co-operation in Manchester and Salford, then it is clear that the desire for a united socialist party was strongly felt in the area. Admittedly its advocates may have been a minority among the ILP membership, but they were both vocal and determined. As preparations

1 Ibid., p. 153

were made for the 1906 General Election, some ILP and Clarion socialists, as well as SDF members, were already viewing with distrust the plans and candidates of the LRC. Short of the election heralding in the millennium, the demand for a united socialist party would undoubtedly revive, and when it did there would be plenty of support from the Manchester and Salford socialists.

Chapter 3

Socialists in the Labour Movement, 1893-1906

In 1909 H.C.D. Scott returned from the ILP's Edinburgh Conference to complain bitterly of

... the inept and stagnant policy of our leaders. They have sold our birthright for a mess of Trade Union pottage; and of course, if the Trade Unions find the money, they have a right to call the tune and time the pace. Now our candidates are not Socialist, but Labour, and as for our independence, we cannot choose our candidates.¹

By this stage his views were shared by many of his fellow-members of Manchester and Salford ILP. The SDF however had been critical of the Labour Representation Committee from its very outset, for it had failed to commit itself to a socialist objective, seeking merely to establish a 'distinct Labour group' in Parliament, which would co-operate with any other party 'in the direct interest of Labour'. Moreover the ILP delegates at the Memorial Hall had readily accepted such limited aims, a move which the SDF described as 'treachery' to Socialism!

Had the ILP willingly submerged its socialist identity in the LRC merely for the sake of expediency, in order to achieve victory at the polls with the backing of the trade unions? J.M. McLachlan², himself a leading critic of the Parliamentary Labour Party's policies in 1910, nevertheless defended the concept of a labour alliance from a socialist standpoint:

The Labour Party is the one conceivable formation in which Labour can operate against Capitalism. The economic interests of Labour and Socialism are identical, and can be served only by public ownership and control of Land and Capital. And as political organisation never can be stable unless it exists in relation to definite and related economic

1 LL, 30 April 1909

2 For McLachlan's rôle in Manchester ILP, see below p. 105b

interests, it follows that Trade Unionist and Socialist must fight under one flag for their common interests. The average Trade Unionist, it may be contended, is unconscious of the Socialist ideal, and cannot therefore help to achieve it. This is quite an erroneous idea. Consciousness is vital in leaders, but not necessarily so in the early stages in the rank and file, however desirable it may be. The great necessity is common action and the discipline of fighting shoulder to shoulder for the common ideal or interest. For, until the Trade Unionist is ready to intelligently accept Socialism, Socialism is impossible. And the one way by which he can be led to accept it is by co-operative action with Socialists.¹

When Manchester and Salford ILP was founded in 1892 it was uncompromisingly Socialist and committed to the independent stand emphasised in its Fourth Clause. Moreover it continued to maintain close links with the local SDF and produced some of the leading advocates of a united socialist party. Yet ILP socialists from the area also played their role in the formation of both the national and local Labour Representation Committees. Did this signify a willingness to compromise their beliefs? Were they simply anxious to achieve certain limited objectives, which would not necessitate any fundamental concessions? Or did they hope to establish a socialist leadership for the trade union movement, in the manner described by McLachlan? Initially the aim of this chapter is to examine the relations between the local ILP and trade unions, and attempt to suggest the socialists' motivation in entering the alliance.

But even before Manchester and Salford Labour Representation Committee was founded, the national LRC was formulating plans to achieve its basic goal: Labour influence in the House of Commons. For the first

1 J.M. McLachlan, 'Let Us Reform the Labour Party', in Leonard Hall, J.M. McLachlan, C.T. Douthwaite and J.H. Belcher, Let Us Reform the Labour Party. A protest and appeal. (Manchester 1910) 16 pp. p. 12. This document was popularly known as the 'Green Manifesto'.

time in its history the ILP no longer had overall control of its election policy, and the true impact of the Labour alliance made itself felt. Through the actions of the LRC the local ILP was drawn into a web of compromise with the Liberal party. More important, rank and file ILPers, even if they did not fully appreciate the extent of the electoral pact, were conscious of their party's independence being eroded. Thus the second part of this survey will examine the working of the Labour alliance before the 1906 General Election, not in the context of the origins of the Labour Party, but as it affected the independent socialist stand of the local ILP. Moreover an attempt will be made to demonstrate rank and file discontent with the machinations of the LRC, at a time when that body had not yet become subject to the additional pressures of parliamentary expediency. In the context of Manchester and Salford ILP, the attempt to ally independent socialism with the wider labour movement had already failed by 1906. After the General Election the principal question at issue was simply for how long the ILP rank and file would be prepared to accept the compromise. The political attitudes described in this and the two preceding chapters indicate that it was unlikely to be for long.

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When considering why the Manchester and Salford ILP was prepared to enter into the 'labour alliance', it is initially necessary to state the obvious: that 'ILPers' and 'trade unionists' were not two distinct and separate groups of people. Although in this thesis socialism and labourism have frequently been considered in the abstract, as distinctive political tendencies, in fact many ILPers played a role in their appropriate

trade unions. The biographical index¹ makes some attempt to identify the trade union affiliations of socialists, but the vast number of rank and file ILP members must, through lack of information, remain anonymous, as also must the trade unions to which many of them doubtless belonged. The source material simply does not exist, which might have rendered possible any analysis of the numerical strength of socialists in trade unions. Thus the only available means of assessing socialist influence in the unions is simply to consider local socialists who rose to prominent positions in their own societies. Such an examination cannot, of course, prove that the socialists were able to exert particular influence upon the union's political leanings. However if a number of socialists did reach prominent union positions, then the argument that ILPers hoped to direct the labour alliance towards socialist ends does seem feasible. If, on the other hand, socialists were largely rank and file members of Liberal or Conservative dominated unions, and exerted no particular power in national or local executive committees, then the alliance appears more in the light of a compromise, an expedient aimed simply at obtaining a few parliamentary seats and limited palliative reforms.

In their study of Labour and Politics 1900-1906, F. Bealey and H. Pelling listed the trade unions with ^{members} over 10,000 in 1900 in order of size and also indicate those which had headquarters in Manchester.² Initially it will be profitable to consider the larger Manchester-based unions, and to attempt to indicate socialists in key positions. The largest union in the country was in fact organised from Manchester. This was the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, which included within its ranks

1 See Appendix II below

2 F. Bealey and H. Pelling, op. cit., pp. 20-1

the Lancashire and Cheshire Miners' Federation. Unlike their colleagues elsewhere in the country, the Lancashire and Cheshire miners had never been overwhelmingly Liberal in their sympathies. The Federation's politics were influenced not only by the extent of working class Conservatism in Lancashire, but also by the fact that the local mining community tended to be dispersed. Lancashire miners did not therefore exert overwhelming political influence in any particular constituencies, to the extent that they could pressurise the Liberal party into accepting their own parliamentary candidates. Thus by the mid-'90s the Lancashire and Cheshire miners had recognised the benefits of independent labour representation. Moreover propaganda was perhaps more extensive in Lancashire than in many mining areas, and for local miners the demands for a minimum wage, an eight-hour day, and the public ownership of mines, mineral royalties and railways, held a particular appeal. Not only did miners who were members of the SDF and ILP play prominent roles within their union, but socialists not connected with the coal industry assisted the miners' cause during the 1893 lock-out.¹

Politically the link between the miners and the socialists soon became apparent. In November 1894 Jesse Butler, a miners' agent, was elected as ILP municipal candidate for Openshaw Ward,² while nearby Bradford Ward was won for the party by John Edward ('Jack') Sutton. Sutton was then a checkweighman at Bradford Colliery, and secretary of the Bradford branch of the Miners' Federation.³ Butler lost his seat in

1 R. Challinor, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

2 *LL*, 20 and 27 October, 10 November 1894. R. Challinor, *op. cit.*, p. 218 incorrectly states that Butler was elected in 1893.

3 *C*, 14 July, 27 October and 10 November 1894. The 'Bradford' mentioned here is of course the district of Manchester, not the city.

1897 and his political views obviously underwent a change, for in May 1898 he contested a by-election in Openshaw as a Lib-Lab. However he emerged at the bottom of the poll.¹ Jack Sutton continued to serve on the City Council until January 1910, resigning his seat only to become Labour M.P. for East Manchester. By this time he had become both a J.P. and the leader of the Labour group on Manchester City Council. He represented the miners on Manchester and Salford Trades Council, serving on its E.C. from 1895 to '99, and as its delegate at the 1904 L.R.C. Conference. He also became the first President of Manchester and Salford L.R.C. After his victory at the General Election Sutton was elected an agent of the Lancashire and Cheshire Miners' Federation.² Thus both in general terms and through the activities of Butler and Sutton, the ILP clearly played an influential role among the local miners. When the Labour Representation Conference took place at the Memorial Hall in February 1900, only the Lancashire and Cheshire miners were represented out of the whole Federation.³ The idea that support for socialism could be achieved among the miners was far from wishful thinking in the Manchester and Salford area.

1 Ibid., 6 November 1897, 21 and 28 May 1898; LL, 21 and 28 May 1898

2 C, 14 July, 27 October, 10 November 1894; LL, 10 November 1894, 6 November 1897, 4 February 1899, 10 November 1900, 7 November 1903, 9 November 1906, 21 January, 22 April, 2 and 9 December 1910. See also Manchester and Salford Labour Representation Committee, Annual Reports 1904-10; Manchester and Salford Trades Council, Annual Reports, 1895-7 (the reports for 1898-1900 are missing from the bound volume in Manchester Public Library); Labour Representation Committee, Annual Conference Report, 1904. For biographical information on Sutton, see Manchester, December 1900 article on 'Councillor John Edward Sutton', and Clayton Divisional Labour Party, Memorial Souvenir to the late Charles Priestley (Manchester, 1926?) 64 pp., p. 11. See also D. Howell, entry on Sutton in Dictionary of Labour Biography, Vol. 3, pp. 176-8.

3 Labour Representation Committee, Report of the Conference on Labour Representation held in the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, London, E.C., on Tuesday, the 27th February 1900, passim.

The United Textile Factory Workers' Association, second largest in the country and also Manchester-based,¹ appears to have been far less subject to ILP influence. Indeed it is not possible to name a single prominent Manchester and Salford ILP member who also played a leading role in a textile union. This cannot be entirely attributed to union politics, for although during the '90s the textile workers exerted political influence simply by pressure group tactics, they did join the L.R.C. as a body early in 1903. Independent Labour Representation however became attractive after, rather than before, the Taff Vale decision, and was also boosted by David Shackleton's unopposed return as Labour candidate in the Clitheroe by-election. Why did local socialists not appear to make much impact in the cotton unions? In part this must have been due to the nature of the industry. A high proportion of the textile workers were unenfranchised women.² Moreover for male workers there was a distinct pattern of employment. Young boys would enter the mills as half-timers or school leavers, work there for a few years and, if the opportunity arose, leave to enter a trade apprenticeship, for there was little prospect of a skilled trade in the mills for an older man. It has already been suggested that ILP members tended to come from the more intelligent and skilled section of the working class, thus actual and potential socialists would be among the men and boys most likely to leave the textile mills. Figures are not available to prove this hypothesis statistically, it is possible only to refer to individual examples. Thus Harry Henshall began work at the age of ten as a half-timer in a cotton mill, but two years later was indentured to a master

1 F. Bealey and H. Pelling, *op. cit.*, p. 20

2 *Ibid.*, p. 17; H. Pelling, *A Short History of the Labour Party*, pp. 11-12; H.A. Clegg, *et. al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 298-9

printer.¹ J.R. Clynes had also begun his working life as a piecer at the age of ten, but in his early twenties left to become Lancashire organiser of the Gas Workers' and General Labourers' Union.² Of a younger generation, Harry Pollitt went to work with his mother at Benson's Mill, Droylesden, as a twelve year old half-timer, but moved to Gorton Tank as an apprentice boilermaker just before his fifteenth birthday.³ Thus while a semi-rural area like Colne Valley could produce a body of socialist weavers who helped to send Victor Grayson to Westminster,⁴ in the Manchester and Salford conurbation young men who might later become active socialists tended to leave the mills for better prospects in other industries. And the women who remained in the mills had neither votes nor, for the most of the period in question, the support and encouragement to take part in socialist and trade union activity. Mary Louise Pollitt and her sister, Emily Gerring, textile workers who played an active role in the Openshaw socialist movement,⁵ were the exception rather than the rule. Apart from this factor the governing bodies of the cotton amalgamations were not likely to draw into Manchester socialists from elsewhere. They were composed of full-time officers of the local associations, among whom turnover was low, and any complete changeover would require a period of some twenty to thirty years.⁶

1 Stockport Express, 1 October 1931, 26 March 1936. See Henshall's column under the pseudonym of 'The Idler'

2 J.R. Clynes, Memoirs 1896-1924 (1937) pp. 29, 63

3 H. Pollitt, op. cit., pp. 17, 26-7, 30-31

4 Letter: E. Whiteley, ILP Huddersfield Branch to J. Ramsay MacDonald, 29 June 1907 (LP/CAN/06/45, Labour Party Archives). Whiteley explained that the members of the Weavers' Union based in Saddleworth also tended to be members of the ILP.

5 J. Mahon, op. cit., pp. 10, 14, 23

6 H.A. Clegg, et. al., op. cit., p. 298

Of the other old-established unions based in Manchester, socialists appear to have gained some influence at branch level in the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners.¹ Branch level influence is of course impossible to assess, one can merely point to personalities like William Harley, the Society member who became secretary of S.W. Manchester ILP in September 1906,² or to the Labour Leader's claim on 11 August 1894, that the Carpenters and Joiners were 'rapidly advancing ILPwards'.³ Certainly the local branches were represented at the 1893 May Day demonstration, which the ILP organised in the face of the Trades Council's refusal.⁴ The union supported the resolution on independent labour representation at the 1899 TUC and, although it eventually affiliated in 1902,⁵ at least one Manchester member was attempting to hasten the procedure during the previous year. As the union's General Council met in Manchester, in June 1901, James Hales from Ardwick Green wrote to Ramsay MacDonald, remarking that it was a good opportunity for the LRC to appeal to the Council to affiliate. He suggested that Macdonald should send sufficient literature to supply the 16 delegates and chairman with full particulars of the movement.⁶

The Typographical Association provides a more obvious example of increasing socialist influence in a locally-based craft union. Until 1897 the dominant figure in the union was its General Secretary, Henry

1 Ibid., p. 296

2 LL, 21 September 1906

3 LL, 11 August 1894. See also H.A. Clegg, et. al., op. cit., p. 296

4 C, 6 May 1893

5 H.A. Clegg, et. al., op. cit., p. 302, 375

6 Letter: Jas. Hales to J.R. MacDonald, 27 June 1901 (LRC 3/27, LRC Archives) (Hereafter only classification numbers will be given for location of documents in this collection.)

Slatter. A member of the Manchester Liberal Association's General Council, he also served on the TUC Parliamentary Committee from 1877 to 1890, on the Manchester School Board from 1879. In May 1885 he became the first workman to be appointed a magistrate. In 1893 Slatter stated before the Royal Commission on Labour that improved factory legislation was the only point upon which the Association desired state intervention. Indeed he resigned from the TUC Parliamentary Committee after the 1890 Liverpool Congress as a protest against the growing influence of the New Unions. Admittedly the Typographical Association could usually bargain with employers from a position of strength, for newspaper proprietors and shareholders were particularly vulnerable to public exposure of their deficiencies as employers.¹ Thus the union's members did not have the same need for legislative protection as did, for example, the Lancashire and Cheshire Miners. However among the younger generation of typographers several socialists soon emerged into prominence. William Hunt served as Secretary of Manchester and Salford District ILP in 1895, and of Hightown branch in 1898. From 1897 until his retirement from the post in March 1906 he was Elective Auditor for Salford, being the nominee of both the ILP and SDF. He also stood, unsuccessfully, for the Salford School Board elections in 1900 and for Grosvenor Ward in 1909 municipal elections. Hunt's retirement as Auditor was in fact necessitated by his union activities. In April 1903 he was President of the Manchester branch of the Typographical Association, a member of the Representative Council of the Association, and delegate to Manchester and Salford Trades Council.² James Heaviside was already an

1 A.E. Musson, op. cit., pp. 301-10; L. Bather, op. cit., p. 70

2 LL, 29 June 1895, 10 April 1897, 11 April 1903, 9 April 1904, 30 March 1906, 12 November 1909; C, 27 March 1897, 22 October 1898, 8 April 1904, 30 March 1906

active member of the Typographical Association when he was appointed Vice-President of Manchester and Salford ILP in August 1893. On behalf of the ILP he contested Albert Park Ward, Salford, in 1893, and Grosvenor Ward at the two subsequent municipal elections. By July 1896 he was also vice-president of the Manchester branch of the Typographical Association, its delegate on the Trades Council, and also the representative selected by the Trades Council to attend the Belfast Trades Congress.¹ Harry Henshall, founder of the Manchester Labour Press Society, was also an active member of the Association, being re-elected to its Executive in 1898.² Moreover by 1900 the Association had an ILP member as its national secretary.³ He was A.W. Jones and, together with R. Hackett, he attended the 1900 Memorial Hall Conference on behalf of the union, and was instrumental in its affiliation to the LRC in 1900.⁴ Clearly in the Typographical Association the old guard of Liberal leadership, as personified by Slatter, had succumbed to the influence of ILP socialists.

To consider briefly the smaller printing trade unions. The Bookbinders' and Machine Rulers' Consolidated Union also witnessed the accession of socialists to key positions. In January 1900, when the union's headquarters was moved to Manchester, James Kelly was elected General Secretary, and was instrumental in affiliating the union to the LRC.⁵ William Mellor apparently became the union's delegate to Manchester

1 WT, 5, 26 August 1893; C, 28 October, 4 November 1893, 23 February 1895, 25 July 1896; LL, 29 September, 10 November 1894, 12 January 1895

2 C, 26 March 1898

3 H.A. Clegg, et. al., op. cit., p. 375

4 Ibid., p. 375; LRC, Report of the Conference on Labour Representation ... 1900, p. 12

5 LL, 13 May 1899, 20 January 1900, 7 July 1905; Letters: James Kelly to J.R. MacDonald, 27 July 1900 and 22 January 1903 (LRC 2/166 and LRC 6/16)

and Salford Trades Council in 1893,¹ and from 1904 to 1914 he edited the official Book-Binding Trades Journal.² Mellor could also be found speaking at ILP meetings after 1905,³ and the 1914 Trades Council Annual Report commented:

He is a convinced Socialist, and regards Socialism as the only ultimate solution of the labour question. As a member of the ILP he has done his share of lecturing work, and among his numerous offices has been the treasurership of the Manchester and Salford LRC, of which he has been a member since its formation.⁴

Within the Amalgamated Society of Lithographic Printers, George D. Kelley remained the leading figure from the Society's formation in 1879 until his death in 1911, and the change in policy which drew the union into the LRC was far from being indicative of any socialistic leanings on his part. Apart from his role as the Society's General Secretary, Kelley served for nearly a quarter of a century as Secretary of Manchester and Salford Trades Council. His numerous other roles included the secretaryships of the Printing and Kindred Trades Federation, and of the Lancashire and Cheshire Federation of Trades and Labour Councils. For a number of years he was a member of the Parliamentary Committee of the TUC. Kelley's earliest political allegiance was to the Liberal Party, which he hoped would support direct labour representation. Supported by the Trades Council he filled an uncontested seat for St. Clement's Ward in February 1891, thereby becoming the first Labour

1 Manchester and Salford Trades and Labour Council, 48th Annual Report ... 1914, p. 2

2 R. Harrison, et. al., op. cit., p. 42

3 LL, 7 July, 13 October 1905; 17 August 1906; 21 June 1907; 17 and 24 January, 8 May, 24 July, 6 November 1908; 29 January, 1 October, 10 December 1909; 20 January 1911; 6 August 1914

4 Manchester and Salford Trades and Labour Council, 48th Annual Report ... 1914, pp. 2-3, biography and photographs of Mellor. For biographical information on Mellor, see also E. and R. Frow, op. cit., pp. 64-5

representative on Manchester City Council. He also became the first Labour magistrate. Kelley attended the 1900 Memorial Hall Conference on behalf of the Trades Council, and in 1903 the newly-formed Manchester and Salford LRC adopted him as its Parliamentary candidate for South West Manchester.¹ In the '90s Kelley was particularly antagonistic towards the socialists, and after his adoption the Labour Leader apparently felt the need to reassure its readers.² Although Kelley publicly ended his association with the Liberal Party in February 1904,³ the fears and suspicions of socialists within the LRC were by no means allayed, as described in a previous chapter.

The other large craft unions based in Manchester all had active socialists in key positions. James F. Quinn, President of the Manchester branch of the Amalgamated Society of Tailors, and its delegate on the Trades Council, was a Social-Democrat who played a leading role in the foundation of the local ILP. He acted as one of the secretaries of the 1892 May Day Committee, led the procession to Alexandra Park and spoke at the demonstration, as well as raising funds for W.K. Hall's parliamentary candidature.⁴ Paralleling Quinn's activities in Manchester, the leading Social-Democrat James Macdonald was active as the Society's London district secretary. After Macdonald's expulsion in 1892, he was replaced by Terence A. Flynn, who continued his predecessor's efforts to organise the sweated

1 For biographical information on Kelley see Manchester Faces and Places Vol. II, No. 6, 10 March 1891, pp. 92-5; LL, 12 December 1903; Manchester and Salford Trades and Labour Council, 45th Annual Report ... 1911, p. 3; D.E. Martin, entry on Kelley in Dictionary of Labour Biography, Vol. II, pp. 211-4

2 LL, 12 December 1903

3 MG, 4 February 1904

4 WT, 31 July 1891, 9 April and 28 May 1892; C, 2, 16 and 30 April 1892

workers within the clothing industry into the London Tailors' Federation. In 1894 Flynn moved to Manchester as General Secretary of the union, a post which he retained until his death in 1925.¹ Flynn openly declared his socialist principles at the Free Trade Hall in December 1895, when he attended a meeting to protest against the TUC resolution concerning alien immigration.² In 1906 he was put forward by his union as socialist and labour candidate for St. George's ward at the municipal elections. However Flynn emerged at the bottom of the poll, as he did the following year in a contest in Longsight.³

The Amalgamated Operative Bakers' and Confectioners' Union, which was based in Manchester in the early '90s, had as its General Secretary John Jenkins. Jenkins was a member of the Trades Council who also played a role in the organisation of 'New Unions' and in the campaign for independent labour representation. In 1891 he served on the EC of the Salford Labour Electoral Association, was president of the Trades Council's LEA, and contested the 1891 Manchester School Board elections in the Labour interest. Jenkins supported the Workman's Times scheme for an Independent Labour Party, and May Day 1892 found him leading the procession to Alexandra Park as chief marshall.⁴ The union's headquarters were subsequently removed to London, and in August 1899 Jenkins, still General Secretary, joined Central Branch SDF.⁵

The British Steel Smelters' Amalgamated Association also had its

1 H.A. Clegg, et. al., op. cit., pp. 137-8

2 J, 28 December 1895

3 LL, 19 October, 9 November 1906, 4 October and 8 November 1907

4 WT, 5 September 1890; 8 May, 31 July, 7 and 28 August, 9 October, 14 and 21 November, 12 December 1891; 7 May, 20 August, 25 June 1892

5 J, 19 August 1899

offices in Manchester in 1892. However its General Secretary, John Hodge, was at that time an active Liberal. In 1899 the Union's EC balloted its members on the question of direct labour representation in the Commons, and when the vote proved to be in favour of such a move, selected Hodge to run as its Independent Trade Unionist candidate. Glasgow Trades Council then invited Hodge to contest the St. Rollox division, and the machinations of the local Liberals were largely responsible for his disillusionment with that party.¹ Thus in November 1900 John Hodge declared his adherence to the ILP.² While this conversion officially brought another trade union general secretary into the ILP fold, the extent of Hodge's 'socialism' continued to remain suspect among some ILPers. Such suspicions were further aroused when Hodge appeared on the platform at Winston Churchill's meeting in July 1904.³ Thus like G.D. Kelley, Hodge was a figure whose activities brought to the fore the labourist/socialist controversy within the ILP. Unfortunately (for the cause of party unity, at least) both became MPs in 1906.

Apart from the activities of John Hodge, there appears to have been a comparatively high proportion of skilled metal workers and active trade unionists ^{among the socialists} in Gorton and Openshaw. Again there is no accurate information available, but the list of members of Openshaw Socialist Society, compiled by former member Mrs. Elizabeth Davies in 1970, helps to substantiate the hypothesis.⁴ Asked if she could explain the attraction

1 J. Hodge, op. cit., pp. 115-39 passim

2 LL, 3 November 1900

3 Ibid., 1, 8 and 15 July 1904; C, 22 July 1904

4 J. Mahon, op. cit., Appendix 2, 'Openshaw Socialist Society 1906-1911', pp. 497-501

of socialism for the Gorton engineering workers, Mrs. Davies remarked upon the scientific nature of both the work and the philosophy.¹

Outside the ranks of Openshaw Socialist Society, several prominent members of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers were also active socialists. On a national level, the union could boast the leadership of John Burns and Tom Mann,² while in the Manchester area one of the leading figures was James Gorman. He had joined South Salford SDF in 1893 at the age of 18, and two years later joined the ASE, being elected minute secretary of Salford 3rd Branch. In 1905 Gorman was elected to the union's Manchester District Council, and became a member of the national EC in 1907. By this time he was also serving as a delegate to both the local Trades Council and LRC. Although defeated on all three occasions, he contested the municipal elections as SDP candidate, for Trafford Ward in 1908 and 1910, and St. Thomas' in 1909.³ ILP members among the Engineers included Jim Riley, who organised the locked-out engineers labourers in Gorton in 1897, while himself the victim of a lock-out,⁴ and J.D. Lawrence.⁵ Better known for his literary than his engineering skills was ASE member Frank Rose. But despite his journalistic career with the Workman's Times, Sunday Chronicle, Clarion, Daily Despatch and Labour Leader (of which he became

1 Mrs. Elizabeth Davies. Tape recorded interview, 20 June 1978

2 H.A. Clegg, et. al., op. cit., p. 42

3 LL, 9 May 1903, 30 January 1904, 27 April 1906, 8 October and 12 November 1910; C, 7 August 1903, 25 May 1906, 16 October 1908; J, 8 August 1903, 21 November 1903, 26 May 1907; ASE Monthly Journal, March 1920, p. 56

4 LL, 12 May, 27 October 1894, 22 June 1895, 21 April 1905; J, 16 October 1897

5 LL, 25 September 1908, 13 October 1911

Parliamentary Correspondent), and his publication of several pamphlets, he nevertheless found time to lead a Belfast Strike in 1895, speak at the ASE's Sheffield District Demonstration in 1906, and stand as Independent Socialist Parliamentary candidate at Stockton in September 1900.¹ Thus there could be little doubt that, by the turn of the century, socialists were firmly entrenched in the ASE.

Within the Amalgamated Society of French Polishers, however, socialist influence was perhaps more dependent upon the activities of its leading figure, A.A. Purcell. Purcell's dual role in the ILP and SDF has already been considered. As a trade unionist, he became general secretary of the Amalgamated Society of French Polishers in 1898, and chief organiser of the Amalgamated Furnishing Trades Association, with which his society merged in 1910. Purcell attended Manchester and Salford Trades Council from 1903 to 1922, being a member of its Executive from 1910, and first serving as its president in 1905-6. Having unsuccessfully contested Ordsall and St. Paul's Wards in the 1904 and 1905 municipal elections, he was elected as ILP and SDF candidate for St. Paul's Ward, Salford, in 1906. On this occasion his candidature was endorsed by the Trades Council, LRC and Building Trades Federation.²

Within the building trades unions, Socialists again secured key positions. John Stewart, secretary of the Building Trades Federation and Manchester and Salford Trades Council's representative at the 1894

1 C, 16 November 1895, 23 October 1903, 6 March and 19 June 1908; Reformer's Year Book, 1905; Sheffield Guardian, 19 October 1906; ILP, Report of the 17th Annual Conference ... 1909, p. 13. For Rose's publications, see Appendix IV below.

2 C, 28 October, 4 November 1904, 20 October, 10 November 1905, 12 October 9 November 1906; R. Hayburn, D.E. Martin and J. Saville, entry on Purcell in Dictionary of Labour Biography, Vol. I (1972)

TUC, also stood in that year's School Board elections as Socialist and Labour candidate.¹ In 1896 Michael Dellar became General Secretary of the National Society of Operative Plasterers. Despite the description of him as 'forceful ... domineering ... overbearing and intolerant',² he was selected by the ILP as its candidate for the Manchester School Board, Chorlton Guardians, and All Saints Ward elections in 1894, and for All Saints in 1895, as well as the Guardians' election the following year.³ In the Masons' Society, the ILP was represented by Richard Anderson, President of S.W. Manchester ILP, a vice-president of the Manchester and Salford party, and municipal candidate for St. George's Ward in 1895 and '94.⁴ Active in the Painters' and Paperhangers' Union was H. Piper, Vice-President of Longsight ILP until he was selected by his union to attend Ruskin College.⁵

One of the leading figures in Manchester and Salford ILP in the 1890s, and in the early years of the LRC, was Joseph Nuttall. In 1894 he was serving as General Secretary of the Block, Roller and Stamp-cutters' Society, but his election to Salford School Board as a Labour member in 1894, and his role in a trade dispute in the autumn of 1895, rendered him far from popular with local employers. After losing his job, and being unable to find another, he became a paid secretary and

1 C, 8 and 29 September, 17 November 1894;

2 H.A. Clegg, et. al., op. cit., p. 157

3 LL, 21 July, 27 October, 10 November, 8 December 1894, 1 June 1895, 21 March and 9 May 1896; C, 25 August, 27 October, 10 November, 8 and 15 December 1894, 14 March 1896

4 WT, 29 October 1892, 13 May, 16 September, 21 October 1893; C, 22 October 1892, 28 October and 4 November 1893, 29 September 1894

5 LL, 22 January 1909, 7 April 1911

organiser (as well as election agent) for Manchester and Salford ILP. Nuttall was re-elected to the School Board in 1897 but retired in 1900. After five unsuccessful attempts, he was returned to Salford Town Council in 1902, as ILP member for Albert Park Ward. In 1905 Nuttall was appointed Secretary of Manchester and Salford LRC, and at the following General Election he acted as agent to both Kelley and Clynes.¹

Another socialist councillor and trade unionist, who also fell victim to unemployment, was James Dudley. In 1889 Dudley, then aged 18, joined S. Salford SDF, but after 1892 transferred his activities to West Salford ILP. He was also 'a prominent and most strenuous worker' in the Bleachers' union, although upon losing his job he worked as an insurance agent. Dudley was elected to Salford Council, as ILP and SDF candidate, at a St. Paul's Ward by-election in February 1907, but lost the seat in November 1908.² Also a member of the Bleachers, Dyers and Finishers (Bolton Amalgamation), and its representative on the Trades Council, was J.E. McGlasson, Secretary of North Salford SDF.³

Among the socialists active in craft unions should also be listed George Tabbron. He was an active member of South Salford SDF from 1889, and became an elective auditor for Salford in 1891, while also serving on the Trades Council as delegate of the Manchester Brassfounders' and

1 Ibid., 6 October 1894, 22 June, 14 September, 5 and 26 October 1895; 25 January, 26 September 1896, 30 January, 10 April, 26 June, 27 November 1897, 29 January, 26 February, 2 April, 21 May, 5 November 1898, 4 February, 8 April and 15 December 1899, 3 February and 24 November 1900, 27 September, 8 November 1902, 9 and 16 September, 23 December 1904, 27 October 1905, 19 January 1906; C, 17, 24 November 1894, 14 September, 19 October 1895, 25 January, 12 September, 7 November 1896, 23 October, 13 November 1897, 28 May, 5 November 1898, 3 February 1900, 26 September, 7 November 1902, 15 April 1904, 20 January, 13 October 1905, 6 November 1908; Salford Reporter, 16 June 1906

2 LL, 30 May 1903, 15 February and 1 March 1907, 9 October and 6 November 1908; C, 29 May 1903, 15 February and 1 March 1907, 9 October 1908; J, 5 June 1909

3 Manchester and Salford Trades Council, Annual Report 1897, p. 28; J, 19 November 1898

Finishers' Society. He subsequently joined the ILP, served as both Vice-President and President of the Trades Council, and was a member of Manchester and Salford LRC. Also worthy of note were E.J. Hart, Trades Council delegate of the Portmanteau Makers and ILP councillor for Openshaw Ward, and James Bowden of North Manchester ILP, who stood for the EC of the Saddlers' and Harnessmakers' Union.¹

The influence of socialism upon the Railway Servants at a national level, and the union's enthusiasm for independent labour representation, have received particular attention from historians.² Railwaymen as a group might also be particularly influential within local ILP branches. Lord Brockway commented upon this factor in relation to Stockport, which at the 1906 General Election returned the editor of the Railway Review, G.J. Wardle, to Parliament.³ As a union the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants were particularly interested in independent labour representation. Their union was still ^{almost wholly} unrecognised by the railway companies, and the high proportion of parliamentary time devoted to railway legislation made participation in the process particularly desirable. It was therefore hardly surprising that the resolution placed before the 1899 TUC, to summon a special conference to consider

1 For information on Tabbron see J, 14 September 1889, 19 July 1890, 2 June 1900, 8 August 1903; WT, 10 April, 24 July, 21 August, 16 October 1891, 19 November 1892, 1 and 29 July, 21 October 1893; C, 30 January 1897, 7 August 1903; LL, 7 May 1898, 4 February 1899, 3 November 1900, 18 October 1902; Manchester Central Branch ILP, List of Members (contained in Vol. I of Minutes) and Minutes of meetings, 4 February 1908; Manchester and Salford Trades Council, Annual Reports 1892, 1895, 1897, 1901-4. For Hart see in particular LL, 4 February 1899, 8 November 1902, 27 October 1905 and 6 November 1908. Bowden's attempt to obtain a seat on his union Executive are recorded in *ibid.*, 4 September 1897 and 12 March 1898.

2 H.A. Clegg, et. al., *op. cit.*, pp. 295-6; F. Bealey and H. Pelling, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-3

3 Lord Brockway. Tape recorded interview by T.D.W. Reid, 23 July 1974. See also P. Dagwell, entry on Wardle in Dictionary of Labour Biography, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 373-6

labour representation in parliament, came from the Doncaster branch of the ASRS. Nor was it surprising that the resolution was proposed by an ILP member, who had served on the union's national executive. In contrast to the Textile Workers, the Railway Servants had an Executive Committee composed of rank and file members, who were also subject to annual election and not re-eligible after serving for two years. Influence within the union could easily be obtained by young socialist activists.¹ In the Manchester area Arthur Law, a member of the ASRS executive, was a regular speaker at ILP meetings² while Alfred Mears, a union organiser, was active in the party for much of the period in question. He spoke at the 1892 May Day demonstration, contested municipal elections on behalf of the ILP both in Miles Platting in 1894 and in Newton Heath two years later, and was elected chairman of Manchester and Salford ILP in January 1900.³

The General Railway Workers' Union was both a 'New Union' and also the outcome of the efforts of a group of socialists, including H.H. Champion, to cater for the lower-paid grades.⁴ In the local area the union's leading figure was Tom Lowth, secretary of its Manchester and Salford District Council. Lowth was elected as LRC candidate for Ardwick Ward at the 1904 municipal elections, but lost his seat in 1907 and proved unsuccessful in his attempts to regain the seat in the two

1 H. Pelling, A Short History of the Labour Party, pp. 6-7; F. Bealey and H. Pelling, op. cit., pp. 22-3; P.S. Bagwell, op. cit., pp. 199-203

2 LL, 11 May, 23 November 1906, 14, 21 June 1907, 7 May 1909, 20 January 1911

3 C, 30 April 1892, 22 September 1894, 3 October and 7 November 1896, 3 February 1900; LL, 29 September 1894, 26 September, 3 October, 7 November 1896, 3 February and 26 May 1900, 19 August 1904

4 H.A. Clegg, et. al., op. cit., p. 230

years which followed.¹ Also active as an ILP speaker in 1893 was J. Solley of the GRWU² but the details of his career remain obscure.

Like the GRWU, many 'New Unions' had been strongly influenced by socialists at the time of their foundation. As has already been remarked, there followed no mass conversion of the unions' rank and file. Indeed, J.R. Clynes encountered problems when, as Lancashire organiser of the GW & GLU, he appeared as a speaker at ILP meetings:

Much of my opposition came from members of my own Union. Hundreds of working men, whose Union official and servant I was, wrote or sent resolutions protesting against my support of the Labour Party because they themselves were Liberals or Tories, and they found my wages!³

Again there is no statistical evidence, but the indications are that while active socialists might be found among the rank and file as well as in key positions within the craft unions, in the 'New Unions' their influence continued to be concentrated among the leadership. The Liberal and Tory gasworkers were by no means untypical.

J.R. Clynes, although based in Oldham and an active member of that town's Trades Council, was well-known in the Manchester area during the '90s both as union organiser and ILPer. He attended the foundation conference of the LRC in February 1900, and was chosen to represent the Trades Councils on the Committee's executive.⁴ The Clarion, at least, visualised Clynes as 'future MP for Oldham' and his municipal contests of 1901-3 took place (albeit unsuccessfully) in that town.⁵

1 LL, 21 October, 4 November 1904, 8 November 1907, 16 October and 6 November 1908, 19 March and 3 September 1909

2 C, 11 February and 11 March 1893

3 J.R. Clynes, op. cit., p. 84

4 Ibid., pp. 88-9; LL, 12 May 1894, 9 May, 20 June, 4 July 1896

5 C, 3 July 1903; J.R. Clynes, op. cit., pp. 95-6

Clynes did not stand at the following year's election 'for my work was taking me more and more to Manchester. It was already foreshadowed that I should soon be asked to contest a division of that city in a Parliamentary election, and I could not give adequate time to both Manchester and Oldham'.¹ In May 1905 Clynes was indeed requested to replace John Harker as Labour Parliamentary candidate for N.E. Manchester,² and upon his election in 1906 he became the only local MP who was both a trade unionist and a long-standing member of the ILP. At the time of Clynes' appointment as Lancashire organiser, the Manchester district secretary of the GW & GLU was P. Connor, who also contested Harpurhey Ward for the ILP at the 1893 Municipal elections.³

Several of the socialists prominent in 'New Unions' were actual founders of their particular unions. Leonard Hall's activities on behalf of the Navvies have been described above. When the majority of the Lancashire members of the union seceded in 1891, to form the Lancashire *Hall continued in his rôle of organiser and represented the Amalgamation* and Adjacent Counties Labour Amalgamation, on Manchester and Salford Trades Council and at the 1893 TUC.⁴ Tom Fox became a member of the Amalgamation's EC and Secretary of the Dukinfield branch, before

1 Ibid., p. 96

2 LL, 26 May 1905; J.R. Clynes, op. cit., pp. 105-6

3 WT, 4 September 1891, 21 September and 28 October 1893; C, 28 October and 4 November 1893, 5 May 1894; LL, 12 May 1894

4 See above, p. 194 for Hall's activities in the Navvies' Union. The secession of most of the Lancashire members from the Navvies' Union appears to have been a result of a split between John Ward and the London Executive, and general dissatisfaction of the Lancashire members with their treatment by the Executive. Complaints were made that the Executive ignored correspondence and proposals for reforms of the rules and constitution. For details of the secession see letter 'Leonard Hall: His slanderers refuted', in LL, 25 August 1894. See also J.B. Smethurst, op. cit., p. 1:5.

replacing Hall as General Secretary of the union (which was later re-named the British Labour Amalgamation). Fox joined the ILP upon its inception, and after one unsuccessful attempt was elected to Manchester City Council at the Bradford Ward by-election in February 1904. He was elected to the EC of Manchester and Salford Trades Council in 1901, becoming its Secretary in 1905. He continued in this role until his election as Vice-President in 1909 and President in 1910.¹ Representing the Lancashire and Adjacent Counties Labour Amalgamation at the LRC Foundation Conference was Joe Chatterton. He was an active member of the SDF, both as a public speaker and as a member of the EC, elected at the 1899 Annual Conference in Manchester.²

Also continuing his activities in the union which he had founded was Joseph Billam, Secretary of the Upper Mersey Watermen's Association. Billam, like several other organisers of 'New Unions', had never himself engaged in the occupation pursued by his members. In fact he was a shoemaker by trade, and also worked as an insurance agent, but his union activities continued until his death in 1915. Joseph Billam fought his first election for the ILP in 1893, when he was defeated in Miles Platting. He fought New Cross Ward the following year, again unsuccessfully, and was finally elected for Bradford Ward in 1905. He retained this seat until his death, being particularly noted for his committee

1 E. and R. Frow, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-4; Manchester and Salford Trades Council, Annual Reports, 1901-10; Manchester and Salford Labour Representation Committee, Annual Report 1906; LL, 18 October, 8 November 1902, 13 February 1904

2 LRC, Report of Conference on Labour Representation ... 1900, p. 11; J, 21 November 1896, 12 August 1899, 22 September, 13 October, 1 and 15 December 1900, 9 March, 11 May, 19 October 1901

work on the Council. Billam also became a JP.¹

John Harker, founder and general secretary of the Shirt and Jacket Cutters' Society, was actually employed in the clothing trade at the time, albeit as a foreman, but as a young man he had intended joining the ministry. He represented his union on the Trades Council, serving as its president from 1903-5. Harker was actually the instigator of the resolution in favour of an Independent Labour Party, which was proposed at the 1892 May Day demonstration. In 1896 he was elected Vice-President of Manchester and Salford ILP. Apart from his role in the Boggart Hole Clough free speech campaign, Harker undertook two municipal contests on behalf of the ILP in Harpurhey Ward, and contested the 1895 School Board elections, all unsuccessfully. He was selected as Labour candidate for N.E. Manchester in 1904 but withdrew a year later, to be succeeded by Clynes. Thus in the case of the Shirt and Jacket Cutters there is again no indication of conversion to socialism among the rank and file membership but another 'New Union' continued to be led by its socialist founder until his death.²

Even though socialists undoubtedly formed the minority among the 'New Unions', active members who were also accustomed to public speaking were not without influence. Thus J. Dixon became Secretary of the Hulme branch of the Amalgamated Society of Indiarubber Workers;³ A. Astles of

1 Royal Commission on Labour (1893) Minutes of Evidence BII. Qs. 15, 329-35; C, 4 November 1893, 10 November 1894, 10 November 1905, 6 November 1908; LL, 27 October and 10 November 1894, 3 November 1905, 6 November 1908, 10 November 1911, 4 July 1912, 11 August 1913, 22 July 1915

2 Labour Annual, 1897, pp. 227-8; Salford Reporter, 2 May 1908; LL, 10 and 17 November 1894, 5 October 1895, 25 January 1896, 23 and 30 May, 13 and 20 June, 11 July, 12 September, 7 November 1896, 4 February 1899, 19 December 1903, 10 March and 12 May 1905, 8 May 1908

3 WT, 11 September 1891. Dixon served on R. Anderson's election committee in Hulme (C, 28 October 1893), but whether he was an ILP or SDP member is unknown.

the United Carters also acted as chairman of Newton Heath ILP.¹

Thomas Norton Purves was by trade a compositor. He was also a member of South Salford SDF, who was sacked as a result of his activities in the 1892 General Election campaign, and remained unable to find work. In 1893 Purves became Secretary of the Lancashire District Council of the SDF and, by 1895, Secretary to the Salford branch of the National Dockers' Union.²

Socialists had played an important role in the Jewish trade unions. But while non-Jewish socialists had assisted the organisation of the immigrant workers in the '80s, after the turn of the century Jewish socialists appear to have come to the fore in their own unions. Abraham Lewis of the Tailors' Union and Jewish Social Democratic Association was particularly active at the meetings concerning the Aliens Bill.³ R. Abrahams, who chaired the Jewish platform on May Day 1892, was an active member of the SDF. In 1896 he became District Secretary of the SDF's Lancashire District Council, but in 1897 left Salford for London, where he became Secretary of the Mantle Makers' Union.⁴

The newest of the 'New Unions' was undoubtedly Tom Mann's Workers' Union, founded in 1898.⁵ With its declared political objectives it

1 LL, 9 May 1903, 10 November 1905

2 WT, 29 October 1892; J, 22 July 1893, 28 December 1895; LL, 8 June 1895

3 LL, 13 May 1899, 27 May, 1 July 1904; C, 27 May 1904, 26 January and 2 March 1906

4 WT, 7 May 1892, 16 September 1893; C, 16 January 1897; J, 20 April, 4 May 1895, 8 February, 22 August 1896, 13 February, 13 March 1897, 29 January 1898. J, 29 January 1898, commented: 'It is interesting to note that most of the officials of the Jewish trade unions are Social-Democrats'. Whether this was an accurate appraisal of the situation, or just wishful thinking, is not however certain.

5 R. Hyman, The Workers' Union (Oxford, 1971) pp. 6-11

belongs in a category of its own, and must be considered at a later stage, in the light of other attempts to utilise trade unionism for socialist objectives. Among its leading members in the Manchester area were George Titt, union organiser who became ILP and Labour Councillor for Openshaw;¹ Annie Lee, Secretary of Openshaw ILP;² and Sam Brierley, who organised the Manchester and Salford branch of the union and subsequently became Northern Circulation Manager for The Syndicalist.³

Not all the newer unions were for unskilled workers; hitherto unorganised 'white collar' occupations had also been catered for, and it was among this particular group of 'New Unions' that socialists were more likely to be found within the rank and file membership. William Johnston was both a founder of Manchester and Salford ILP and of the National Union of Shop Assistants. As an ILPer he attended the 1893 Bradford Conference, and was elected to the first NAC. His trade union activities, which had begun in the USA on behalf of the Knights of Labor, led to his becoming General Secretary of the Shop Assistants and founder of the union's journal, Shop Life Reform. Johnston moved to London in July 1893, apparently because the union headquarters were being re-located, but he then resigned his secretaryship and accepted that of the Democratic Club (thereby succeeding Shaw Maxwell). However Johnston's activities on behalf of the Shop Assistants continued, and

1 C, 3 April and 18 December 1908, 12 March 1909; LL, 8 May and 31 July 1908, 9 April 1909, 11 November 1910, 6 November 1913

2 LL, 17 March 1900, 22 June 1901, 14 March 1903; J, 11 January 1902

3 C, 26 March 1898; The Syndicalist, September 1912, p. 4

notable rebels within the counting houses. The importance of clerks within the Clarion movement has been emphasised by J.A. Fincher,¹ as has their role in the ILP by Deian Hopkin.² In the Manchester and Salford area members of the National Union of Clerks included H.M. Reade, first secretary of Salford SDF and a founder of Manchester and Salford ILP, who was the Union's local secretary in 1895.³ J.M. McLachlan, ILP member of Levenshulme Urban District Council, then of Manchester City Council, and parliamentary candidate for S.W. Manchester in 1909, was also a member of the union, although he was better known as one of the authors of the 'Green Manifesto'.⁴ In 1902 the secretary of the National Union of Clerks' Manchester branch was Robert Hughes, who became the union's electoral candidate for St. Mark's Ward. Although defeated he was returned as Independent and Labour candidate for Ardwick Ward the following year.⁵ Also numbering among the union's members was J.R. McReady, a speaker at Manchester Central Branch ILP's Tib Street meetings.⁶

A somewhat larger 'white collar' union, established in Manchester in 1893, was that of the Musicians. Its founder was J.B. Williams, a young cellist, who in 1900 served as its delegate to the Labour Representation Conference. Williams also represented the Musicians on

1 J.A. Fincher, op. cit., pp. 181-5

2 D. Hopkin, loc. cit., passim.

3 Labour Annual, 1895, pp. 184-5

4 C, 11 March 1904; LL, 12 September 1903, 9 April 1904, 30 April, 25 June, 12 November 1909, 21 January, 12 and 19 August, 9 September 1910, 10 November 1911. For McLachlan's activities in connection with the 'Green Manifesto', see below, pp. 975-6

5 C, 10 October, 14 November 1902, 6 November 1903; LL, 11 October 1902, 31 October and 7 November 1903

6 C, 1 February 1907; LL, 1 and 22 February 1907

he subsequently became President of the Union.¹

Among the younger generation of activists in the Shop Assistants' Union, Percy Redfern and W.C. Anderson merit particular mention.

Redfern, who was a regular speaker for City of Manchester ILP, as well as a leading figure in the Manchester Tolstoy Society, was also editor of the Shop Life Year Book, which was published in 1899 for the Manchester Branch of the National Union of Shop Assistants, Warehousemen and Clerks.² William Crawford Anderson moved to Manchester in 1903 as a union organiser for the north of England. Having initially joined the ILP in Glasgow, he became a regular speaker at meetings in the area. Anderson resigned his union post in 1907 to concentrate upon his political career, which was to involve membership of the NAC, the Chairmanship of the ILP, and serving as Labour MP for the Attercliffe division of Sheffield.³

The National Union of Clerks, with a total membership of only 82 at the turn of the century, could hardly be expected to wield much power within the trade union movement. Moreover emphasis has been placed upon the clerks' working environment being conducive to their 'estrangement from the mass of working men and to their identification with the entrepreneurial and professional classes'.⁴ There were however some

1 For Johnson's early career and role in the foundation of Manchester and Salford ILP, see above, p.200. See also WT, 21 January, 25 March, 24 June 1893; C, 18 April 1896; R. Harrison et. al., op. cit., p. 495, No. 3193 Labour Annual, 1895, p. 177

2 C, 22 September, 20 October 1900, 31 January 1902; LL, 26 January, 9 November 1906, 9 October, 20 November, 4 and 18 December 1908; R. Harrison, et. al., op. cit., p. 495, No. 3194. See also Appendix IV below for other publications by Redfern.

3 LL, 23 September 1904, 16 June, 11 and 25 August, 22 September, 27 October, 1 December 1905, 9 March, 22 and 29 June, 6 July, 26 October, 2 November, 14 December 1906, 19 April, 29 November 1907, 31 January and 4 September 1908, 12 and 19 February, 2 and 30 April, 11 June 1911, 25 July and 10 October 1912. Manchester Central Branch ILP, Minutes of Meeting, 19 September 1905. D.E. Martin, entry on Anderson in Dictionary of Labour Biography, Vol. II, pp. 11-16

4 H.A. Clegg, et. al., op. cit., p. 223

Manchester and Salford Trades Council, and served as a Labour councillor for Openshaw Ward from 1904-7.¹ Among the members of his union was the violinist and itinerant socialist propagandist Walter Hampson ('Casey'), who became a regular contributor to the Labour Leader.²

The general weakness of 'white collar' unions in the field of collective bargaining rendered political action increasingly important. This factor applied particularly to government employees, such as the postmen, whose wages and conditions were directly regulated by Parliament. Among the leading local members was Henry Mottershead, financial Secretary of the Manchester, Salford and District Branch, ^{of the Postmen's Federation} and, in 1904, Labour and Socialist candidate for Pendleton Guardians. Having failed on this occasion to secure a seat, he was elected for St. Thomas' Ward, Salford, in the following year's municipal election, and retained his seat until 1908.³ Also representing St. Thomas' Ward, Salford, on Salford Town Council at this time was John Hayes, ILPer and Chairman of the Federation's Manchester branch. Elected in 1903, Hayes lost his seat in November 1906.⁴ The third postman to be elected to Salford Council was the Federation's President, J. Openshaw. First elected in

1 LRC, Report of the Conference on Labour Representation ... 1900, p. 11; LL, 6 May 1899, 9 February 1901, 14 and 21 October, 4 November 1904, 18 January, 8 November 1907; C, 14 October, 11 November 1904; Manchester and Salford Trades Council, Annual Reports, 1897 p. 36 and 1901 p. 26

2 For biographical information on Hampson, see 'Reminiscences of 'Casey', published weekly in Forward, 28 March - 17 October 1931. Contributions by 'Casey' appeared regularly in the LL, 1907-22.

3 LL, 5 March, 9 April 1904, 1 September, 3 November 1905, 23 March and 14 September 1904, 14 June and 27 September 1907, 6 November 1908; C, 8 April 1904, 15 September, 20 October, 10 November 1905; J, 11 November 1905

4 LL, 7 November 1903, 24 June 1904, 27 January 1905, 19 October and 9 November 1906; C, 9 October, 6 November 1903, 16 December 1904

1907 for Seedley Ward, he retained his seat three years later. A member of West Salford ILP, Openshaw also took the chair at a Manchester branch meeting of the Civil Services Socialist Society.¹ The activities of the socialist postmen however met with opposition from the Postmaster General, who in September 1908 forbade Openshaw and Hayes to take any further part in party politics.² Hayes' reaction to this dictat is uncertain, but Openshaw clearly continued his socialist and trade unionist activities.

The 'white collar' unions may have been comparatively small and weak, but to socialists they had their own particular significance. Initially the unions represented occupations in which were to be found an important group of socialists. Moreover it is likely that an above-average number of employees in these fields would tend to be non-union members, thus giving socialists (who did tend to join unions) a disproportionate influence. New unions without an established Lib-Lab or Conservative leadership, and in which comparatively intelligent and articulate members were aware of the potential benefits of parliamentary action, were an obvious opening for socialist influence. Should such unions be drawn into a labour alliance, socialists might well hope to formulate policy and exercise power in this expanding area of trade unionism.

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Biographical evidence has been extensively utilised above simply

1 LL, 25 January, 8 November 1907, 12 February 1909, 11 November 1910, 15 March 1912, 20 February 1913; C, 25 September 1908, 12 February 1909

2 C, 25 September 1908

because it forms the principal evidence to substantiate the claim that many leading socialists in the Manchester area also tended to be leading trade unionists. It is not being suggested that socialists composed the majority rank and file of any of the unions, but simply that socialist members achieved an influence within the unions out of all proportion to their numbers. The most likely reason for this is the one which still operates today. The majority of trade union members, while obviously desiring improvements in wages and conditions, are seldom particularly interested in the day-to-day running of their organisation, or in attending meetings. Socialists were, on balance, more likely to play an active part in such routine business; they were, after all, 'political animals', who recognised the long term importance of such activities. Being generally articulate, they would not find it difficult to obtain votes in union elections from fellow-members, who did not necessarily share their political views, but who wanted to see the union's case put in a competent manner to the management. Moreover in many of the instances described above, socialists were not just active and able rank and file trade union members, but the very founders of their societies. Unless their activities suddenly militated strongly against the general interests of members, they could reasonably expect their influence to continue. Detailed statistical evidence concerning the actual number of socialists within trade unions may not be available, but after examining the biographical data, the influence of socialists among local union leadership cannot be denied.

The increasing influence of socialists was also a notable feature in the development of Manchester and Salford Trades Council. In 1892 the Council was firmly under Liberal domination, with Matthew Arrandale of the United Machine Workers' Association as President, and R.W. Watters

of the Typographical Association as Vice-President. E.E. Roberts of the Bookbinders and Machine Rulers was Treasurer, and G.D. Kelley, Secretary. Somewhat isolated on the Executive was a lone Social-Democrat, J.F. Quinn. But while largely excluded from the leadership, socialists were in evidence among the delegates: George Tabbron, John Harker, William Johnson and J.F. Quinn.¹ By 1895 Michael Deller, Harker, Tabbron and J.E. Sutton had all obtained places on the Executive, and the socialist contingent among the delegates included William Mellor, Nuttall, William Turton of the United Flint Glass Cutters' Society (and N.E. Manchester ILP), Tom Fox, and Joseph Billam.² Tabbron took office as Vice-President the following year, being supported on the Executive by Harker, Nuttall and Sutton. The number of socialists among the delegates appears to have doubled since 1892; Social-Democrats J.E. McGlasson and E.H. Parkinson represented the Bleachers, Dyers and Finishers and the Union of Engravers to Calico Printers and Paper Stainers respectively. ILP members delegated from the unions included Nuttall, Mellor, J.J. Pudge of the Flint Glass Makers, Tom Fox, J.B. Williams, Sutton, E.J. Hart, Billam, and C.E. Brierley of the ASRS.³

That the balance of power was swinging from the Liberal to the socialist camp was revealed by several key policy decisions. 1897 was the year in which the Trades Council decided against co-operation in the School Board elections with the Manchester and District Education Association and the School Board Progressive Party, and resolved instead

1 Manchester and Salford Trades Council, 26th Annual Report ... 1892, pp. 2, 15-23

2 Manchester and Salford Trades Council, 29th Annual Report ... 1895, pp. 2, 24-36

3 Manchester and Salford Trades Council, 31st Annual Report ... 1897 pp. 2, 28-42. Brierley was described in LL, 4 August 1911, as 'one of the old veterans of the Manchester party.'

that the EC be instructed to convene a conference of labour organisations, with a view to joint action.¹ The Trades Council also took the initiative in organising the 1897 May Day demonstration, when the resolutions put to the gathering at Peel Park supported the direct independent representation of labour on all legislative and administrative bodies, the enactment of a compulsory eight hour day, nationalisation of the land, and the abolition of all private monopolies.²

After the turn of the century the Trades Council Executive became increasingly socialist-dominated. In 1901 Tabbron and Harker served as President and Vice-President respectively. Harker succeeded to the Presidency in the following year and retained office until 1905, when he was replaced by A.A. Purcell. Thus in 1903, when the local LRC was formed, the Trades Council not only had a Socialist President but 4 of the 5 ordinary members of the Executive were also ILP or SDF members: Parkinson, Fox, Tabbron and J.F. Thomson. Socialists were at last in a majority on the Trades Council Executive.³

Clearly the socialists played an influential role in the local trade union movement in the years preceding the formation of the local LRC. But they did so as individuals, selected as delegates from their own unions. It therefore remains to consider the local relations between the ILP and the trade union movement on an institutional level. Initially, how did the unions regard the ILP, as a rival or an ally?

Obviously the ardent Liberal and Tories among the union leaders

1 Manchester and Salford Trades Council, 31st Annual Report ... 1897, pp. 4-6. L. Bather, op. cit., p. 147

2 Manchester and Salford Trades Council, 31st Annual Report ... 1897, pp. 22

3 Manchester and Salford Trades Council, 35th to 39th Annual Reports ... 1901-5, passim.

simply opposed socialists and socialism in general. Thus G.D. Kelley, when serving as Secretary of the Trades Council in 1893, asserted that the ILP was run with Tory money in order to injure the Liberals.¹ For those who desired to prove a point, it was moreover possible to find evidence to the effect that socialists were 'anti-union'. Although it was unlikely that many of the inhabitants of Manchester and Salford would be aware of Engels' opinions concerning the older craft unions and their leadership,² criticism was also voiced by local personalities and in publications locally available. In November 1893 Leonard Hall commented in the Clarion:

Some of our SDF friends are fond of referring to trades unionism as 'played-out' 'a friend of capital' 'an institution for the perpetuation of exploitation', and so forth. They have sent me this week a leaflet headed 'To Hell with Trades Unionism'.³

More widely read than the SDF leaflets was the Clarion itself, and Blatchford could wax highly critical of trade unions. Admittedly his outpourings on 19 January 1895 were provoked; Kentish Town SDF and Islington ILP had complained (with little genuine cause) that the paper was produced by linotype machine and on foreign paper. Blatchford for his part turned upon the union movement at large:

Trade Unionism is no part of Socialism. It is, indeed, a part of Individualism, and the only reason why we as Socialists support Trade Unionism is that as things now are Trade Unions are the only defence of the workers against the attacks of the capitalist.

Blatchford shared the unions' objection to the linotype machine, preferring

1 C, 25 March 1893

2 K. Marx and F. Engels, On Britain (Moscow, 1962 ed.). In particular see letters: F. Engels to F.A. Sorge, London, 19 April 1890 (pp. 570-1); F. Engels to G.V. Plekhanov, London, 21 May 1894 (p. 583)

3 C, 25 November 1893

to pay the price of manual labour, ^{rather} than allow compositors to be thrown out of work. However his decision was motivated by sympathy with the workers rather than socialism. He demanded:

But what have the Typographical Society - as a society - ever done for us? Or what will they ever do for us? Trade Unionists are ready enough to denounce Socialists if they refuse to support Trade Unionism; but I have yet to see the first effort made by Trade Unions to support Socialists. With few exceptions, I have found the Trade Unions to be selfish, dogmatic, and ungrateful.¹

The objection of Blatchford, and of socialists in general, was not to trade unionism as a concept, but to the Lib-Lab 'establishment' which dominated the traditional craft unions. The socialist case was forcibly argued by both Blatchford and Hall, in articles published in the Clarion during the spring and summer of 1894,² while the union 'establishment' was represented by T.R. Threlfall, Lib-Lab secretary of the Labour Electoral Association.³ Like Kelley, Threlfall accused the ILP of being a Tory dodge, created to destroy the LEA. But perhaps more likely to carry weight among rank and file trade unionists was the additional accusation that the Labour candidates of the ILP were not truly 'labourers' but middle class men pursuing their own self interest. Blatchford quickly retaliated:

What is a workman? Are none workmen except "manual" labourers? What is a manual labourer? It is one who works with his hands. Then, what do you call a telegraph clerk, a newspaper reporter, an author? All these work with their hands ...

1 Ibid., 12 January 1895

2 See Leonard Hall, 'Labourism v. Socialism' in C, 26 May 1894; 'Nunquam', 'Labourism' or "Socialism" in ibid., 4 and 11 August 1894

3 Blatchford's article of 4 August 1894, cited above, formed a reply to Threlfall's criticisms. Threlfall's attitude to the ILP also formed the subject of the leading article, 'The ILP and its Critics. Mr. Threlfall Replies' in ibid., 25 August 1894

You cannot make the distinction between head-work and hand-work, for all workers use both head and hand ...

To Blatchford the issue brought to the fore the fundamental difference between Socialism and Trade Unionism.

Trade Unions were formed to protect the workmen against their employers. The chief object was to keep, or to raise, the wages of the Trade Unionists.

Trade Unionism is, in fact, a scheme of defence - or self-defence. It is a union of men of one trade to defend the common interests of that trade. It is a perfectly reasonable and good thing; but it is certainly based upon the instinct of self-preservation ...

But Socialism is a very different thing. It is based not upon the instinct of self-preservation, but upon fundamental principles of justice, of mercy, of reason, and of universal brotherhood.

Trade unionism tries to secure for one trade, or one class, as much as they can get. Socialism demands for all trades and all classes as much as they deserve.¹

In Manchester and Salford, at least, differences of social class never formed any real barrier between the socialists and trade unionists. Men who might be described as 'middle class' were comparatively few in the ranks of the ILP, although the names of Dr. Pankhurst, the barrister; Dr. Arthur Wyndham Martin, Medical Officer of Health for Gorton; and T.D. Benson, an estate agent, all spring to mind. Yet there are no indications that working class trade unionist members of the party bore any distrust or resentment towards them. They were more likely to be regarded as an asset to any movement which they joined or assisted.² The literature which survives from Dr. Pankhurst's 1895 election contest in Gorton reveals a keen awareness of both the immediate interests and the

1 C, 4 August 1894

2 See above, Part 2, Chapter 4 passim. for social composition of the ILP.

potential strength of trade unionists, whom he called upon to unite politically, in order to bring about the Co-operative Commonwealth.¹

Socialism and trade unionism might be seen by Threlfall and his associates as opposing forces. Other observers or participants might regard them as two distinct and separate activities which happened to have a common core of members. But predominating the philosophy of the ILPers was the belief that socialism and trade unionism were, or rather should be, closely integrated aspects of the working class struggle. As Blatchford asserted:

... The ILP is the logical end of Trade Unionism. For whereas Trade Unionism binds the workers together to resist the capitalist at times of strikes and lock-outs, the ILP bands them together to resist the capitalist at election times.²

Somewhat broader in concept was Leonard Hall's belief that:

The New 'Labourism' (a phrase which is only objectionable because indistinct and clumsy) is the direct product and outcome of the teachings of Marx and Lassalle. And the keynote of these men's message is the CLASS WAR. The economic dependence of the producing classes upon the selfish caprice of the possessing classes - that is the root of social evil, involuntary poverty, systematised injustice, vice, despair, disease and death. The remedy? This - the self-emancipation of the producers. In other words, class organisation.³

Neither Hardie nor, one suspects, the majority of the ILP's national leaders, would have echoed Hall's emphasis on Marxism and the class war. But there is every reason to believe, although again no firm evidence, that to the rank and file trade unionists of Manchester, who were not particularly avid supporters of the major parties, the ILP appeared as

1 See leaflets headed 'Labour! Labour! Labour! Gorton Division Parliamentary Election, 1895' and 'Gorton Parliamentary Election 1895. Workers: Read how the Tories love your Trade Unions'. Both are contained in Dr. Pankhurst's cuttings collection, Pankhurst Papers, Vol. 4.

2 C, 11 August 1894. See Blatchford's 3rd article on 'Labourism and Socialism'.

3 Leonard Hall, 'Labourism v. Socialism' in C, 26 May 1894

a willing and useful ally.

'Simeon Twigg', when interviewing Leonard Hall for the Clarion in October 1893, remarked: '... I've heard it said that the Manchester and Salford Labour Party is somewhat unsound in the matter of trade unionism?' Hall immediately dismissed the accusation:

Any lie is good enough to the enemy - the bigger the better. As a matter of fact, the Manchester and Salford ILP is practically a trades unionist political organisation, and in its rules presses upon all members the necessity of being good trade unionists. It has done more in its short life to practically assist the unions, financially and morally, than any other body. It was specially active in the matter of public collections during the Cotton Lock-out, and has done splendidly for the colliers.¹

Socialist assistance to the wider labour movement had been particularly in evidence during the era of 'New Unionism'. The Clarion had from its very foundation campaigned not simply for abstract socialist principles, but on behalf of groups such as the Manchester matmakers, or the chainmakers of Cradley Heath.² After the foundation of the ILP branches or groups of members were usually to be found assisting strikes and lock-outs, or campaigning on behalf of the unemployed.

The cotton lock-out, to which Leonard Hall referred, actually began on 1 November 1892. The Manchester and Salford socialists were particularly active on behalf of the card room and blowing room operatives, whose own funds were spent by December, and who were therefore obliged to seek outside assistance. The Labour Church began to make collections, having obtained permission from managers of theatres to stand at the doors with boxes.³ S.W. Manchester ILP held a demonstration

1 Ibid., 14 October 1893

2 Ibid., 12 December 1891, 2 April 1892

3 WT, 25 February 1893

in March 1893 and collected for the locked-out operatives along the route, only to have the names of marshals and collectors taken by the police.¹ South Salford devoted the proceeds of a concert to the fund.²

The colliers' lock-out, also mentioned by Hall, commenced at the end of July 1893. On 27 August East Manchester ILP assisted the miners with funds raised by a procession and mass meeting, addressed by Leonard Hall, Ben Bilcliffe, J. Riley and others.³ The following Saturday West Salford followed suit, with its demonstration culminating in a meeting at Charlestown Fair Ground.⁴ Two miners' checkweighmen, Edwin Butler and Robert Spruce, were then refused permission from the Watch Committee to collect funds in the streets. Moreover the Committee passed an order prohibiting any collections. The two men proceeded to lead a procession of about 60 miners (all with collecting boxes), and were duly arrested. Manchester and Salford ILP, which had previously advocated that all districts should collect on behalf of the miners, decided to continue its plans in spite of the Watch Committee. N.E. Manchester district party then arranged a meeting at New Cross, in the course of which Brittain (district delegate on the Executive) and Worsley (district secretary and municipal candidate for Miles Platting) were both taken into custody. However they continued to collect from the crowd all the way to the police station. A meeting was duly arranged at the same location that evening, when Beresford volunteered to collect. The

1 Ibid., 18 March 1893

2 Ibid., 22 April 1893

3 Ibid., 26 August 1893

4 Ibid., 2 September 1893

Temperance Party met - and collected funds - at New Cross, but the police did not interfere. However as soon as the ILP meeting began Beresford was arrested, as was a young man named MacDonald, accused of kicking a policeman. Ben Bilcliffe, then on his way home from a meeting at Oldham, heard what had taken place. He promptly got off the tramcar on Oldham Road, and went to start another meeting, with a crowd of about 3,000. As Bilcliffe urged his audience to revenge the outrage by voting for ILP municipal candidates, Worsley and Ritson, he too was arrested. At the police station the ILP men were treated as habitual criminals, but were given bail until their trial at Minshull Street Police Court on Monday 5 September. Hundreds of people failed to gain admission to the event and crowded the street outside to hear that both ILPers and miners had been remanded.

N.E. Manchester continued its meetings and collections on the Monday and Tuesday evenings, with audiences of about 3,000. Police were present and collections made, but there were no arrests.¹ The City Council subsequently refused to ratify the Watch Committee's arbitrary prohibition of street collections for the miners. The Watch Committee, having originally prosecuted on a charge of vagrancy, now decided to change it to one of obstruction. But the Chief Constable instructed Superintendent Meade not to offer any evidence against the defendants on either charge, and the collectors were duly dismissed, but without costs. However, as the Workman's Times commented, it was likely that the advertisement for the ILP would be worth the money.²

The joint activities of the ILP and colliers continued through

1 Ibid., 9 September 1893

2 Ibid., 16 September 1893

September 1893. W.J. Dodd of Liverpool Fabian Society came to speak on 'The Coal Strike' at a meeting in Charlestown arranged by West Salford ILP and attended mainly by locked-out colliers. The ILP was invited to assist the colliers in holding a demonstration at the Prince of Wales Theatre, Salford, on 2 October. The Miners' Federation clearly welcomed the aid which was forthcoming from the ILP, but G.D. Kelley did not. As Secretary of the Trades Council he should have conveyed a request from the Miners' Federation for ILP co-operation at a demonstration to be held in Stevenson Square on 24 September. Kelley not only failed to invite the ILP to co-operate (and received a remonstrance from the Miners' Federation as a result) but he also excluded from the posters the names of three ILP men, all delegates to the Trades Council, who were appointed as speakers.¹

The miners were not, however, ungrateful for the ILP's efforts. Just before the 1893 municipal elections the party's campaign closed with a procession from Stevenson Square and a demonstration in St. James's Hall. Obvious in the procession were colliers, carrying their picks and collecting from the crowd. As the Workman's Times commented:

Not the least important of the developments of the coal lock-out is that it has practically converted the miners of Lancashire and many of their leaders, to the ILP views.²

Many of the Pendleton and Pendlebury miners helped Ben Bilcliffe's campaign in Charlestown Ward,³ and the following year Jesse Butler and

1 Ibid., 30 September 1893

2 Ibid., 4 November 1893. For a survey of the role of Socialists in the strike in Lancashire generally, see R. Challinor, op. cit., pp. 218-20.

3 WT, 11 November 1893

Jack Sutton won Openshaw and Bradford Wards for the ILP.¹

Another major industrial dispute, in which the local ILP played a leading role in assisting the trade unionists, was the 1897 engineers' lock-out. The origins of the dispute have been considered elsewhere, as has the validity of the arguments presented by both sides. From the point of view of the ILP, the principal considerations were that the employers had formed a Federation which, the Engineers claimed, was attempting to destroy the unions. Moreover the employers believed that the unions had been inspired by socialist militancy. In fact the fundamental issue behind the dispute was the unions' attitude towards technical change, but the union leadership deliberately concentrated upon the campaign for an eight-hour day, as being more likely to win public support.² Thus when the lock-out affected the Manchester area, the local ILP quickly rallied on behalf of the unions. On Saturday 18 July the S.W. Manchester district party organised a meeting, attended by some 2,500 people at Alexandra Park. With Joseph Nuttall in the chair, Dr. Pankhurst gave an address on the 'Eight-Hours Day' and a resolution was carried unanimously, in favour of the legislative establishment of an eight hour working day, and the nationalisation of mines and railways. A telegram was duly sent from the meeting to the ASE, wishing 'Success to the good cause of Labour against Employers' Federation and tyranny'.³ The Manchester and Salford ILP held a further mass meeting (with, of course, a collection) on 14 August, when Councillor Sutton, Dr. and Mrs. Pankhurst, Charles Gregory, E.J. Hart and Tom Fox all expressed sympathy

1 See above, p.697

2 H.A. Clegg, et. al., op. cit., pp. 161-8

3 LL, 24 July 1897

for the locked-out engineers.¹

Support for the unions was of course widespread, and certainly not confined to the ILP. The SDF in West Salford held a meeting on 'Social-Democracy and the Engineers' Lock-out'.² The CWS voted £3,000 for the fund (a sum which James Johnston and others tried to raise to £5,000), while Manchester and Salford Co-operative Society's committee recommended its members to vote £250.³ In all a total of £6,462 was received by the Manchester District Allied Trades Joint Committee, most of the money apparently coming from the unions.⁴ The local ILP as an organisation could never raise funds to the same extent as could the unions. It did however have among its members some individuals who, at a local grass-roots level, led the fund-raising activities. They were of particular aid to the engineers' labourers who, unlike their skilled workmates, did not receive strike pay. J. Connor of West Gorton offered to go to any district round Manchester, to show the labourers who were idle through the engineers' dispute how to obtain funds and organise themselves. Apparently in his own area every labourer was paid eight shillings per week from funds which they had raised themselves.⁵ The fund raiser par excellence in Gorton was undoubtedly ILPer Jim Riley. By 16 October his activities on behalf of the engineers' labourers had already been in progress for eight weeks. Every day he had sent out batches of labourers with a couple of street organs, who had raised a

1 Ibid., 21 August 1897

2 J, 25 September 1897

3 C, 2 October 1897

4 E. and R. Frow, op. cit., pp. 36-7

5 LL, 28 August 1897

total of £30 in bronze coins. During the same time he had sent out a company of eight dancers (wearing costumes supplied by Pitt Hardacre) and accompanied by collectors, who received over £40. Twenty collectors went round the neighbourhood with collecting boxes, 'tapping shopkeepers and other 'well-to-do' residents for contributions'. Collections were taken at workshop and factory gates on pay days, and an average of four concerts were held on behalf of the labourers every week. During the eight weeks the schemes organised by Riley had raised £230 from all sources, and provided for 83 men, whose number was being augmented by 3 per day. Riley had also raised contributions in kind; £12 worth of fish sent from the fish market every week, 83 1/6d. parcels of groceries from the Chronicle office; and 160 4 lb. loaves from the Co-op. Stores. One shoemaker gave new boots to a labourer every week; five shoemakers mended boots for nothing, and two hairdressers would shave and cut hair free for 'labourers having the imprimatur of Riley'. Jim Riley, himself a locked-out engineer, was officially president of the fund-raising committee, while the other officers and committee members were almost all labourers. From the contributions received, they had managed to pay the collectors 18/- per week, together with 9d. per day for dinners. As James Leatham commented in Justice: 'Citizen Riley knows many engineers who are of the opinion that it would pay them to give up their strike allowance pay if they could declare on Riley's lock-out fund'.¹

The actual sums of money raised by individuals such as Connor and Riley, or indeed by the ILP itself, may have been extremely small by comparison with the sums which were provided by the unions during the dispute. But although the contrast between the financial resources of

1 J, 16 June 1894

of the ILP and the unions is a factor which must be considered later in the context of the LRC, the intention here is to demonstrate the efforts made by socialists on behalf of trade unionists at grass-roots level.

The strikes and lock-outs mentioned above, although perhaps the most important, were far from being the only ones which took place during the period in question. Nor was assistance confined solely to disputes. One could mention H.M. Reade's endeavours to improve the conditions of the women shirtmakers,¹ or Dr. Martin's efforts to raise a Christmas and New Year fund for tram drivers and conductors, by borrowing collecting boxes which were then placed in the Belle Vue and Denton trams.² Trade union affairs at a national and international level also received the attention of ILPers. Joseph Nuttall as ILP Secretary was one of the principal speakers at a meeting in March 1898, held to condemn the discharge of four men from H.M. Dockyard at Portsmouth.³ The fight by the Carmaux glass workers for the right of combination received both sympathy and financial assistance at a meeting addressed by Caroline Martyn, James Sexton and Katherine Bruce Glasier.⁴

The ILP also played a leading part in the unemployed movement during the '90s, which again would serve only to strengthen the local bonds between the party and working class people outside its ranks. When, at the beginning of 1895, unemployment led to 'great and widespread distress' in Manchester. Dr. Martin and Mrs. Pankhurst, as the ILP representatives on Chorlton Board of Guardians, pointed out the

1 LL, 16 June 1894

2 C, 18 January 1896

3 LL, 12 March 1898

4 Ibid., 2 November 1895

inadequacy of mere charitable relief, and advocated that the Corporation should provide employment on its own estates. Apparently under the auspices of the ILP, a committee was formed, which both undertook a census on unemployment and organised the collection and distribution of food. The committee met daily at the Labour Institute¹ and managed to provide daily fare of pea soup, hare and rabbit stew, bread, and corned beef, to crowds of about 2,000. The food was prepared in ILP clubs in NE and N. Manchester before being transported (in a large furniture van) to Stevenson Square, where ILPers organised its distribution.²

Until the spring the ILP continued to assist the unemployed on these two levels. Food continued to be distributed at Stevenson Square and also at Salford 'Flat Iron' market. On some days the ILPers fed some 3,000 people, and from Stevenson Square the 6-deep queue often reached the corner of Oldham Street. On a political level, the ILP both held demonstrations and organised deputations to advocate more far-reaching government action. Initially they called for immediate and adequate relief to be provided through local authorities to the unemployed and destitute poor, who should not as a consequence forfeit their rights of citizenship. As a longterm solution to the problem they called for the local authorities to provide work for the unemployed, both in clearing slum dwellings in the city and in producing food on the 11,000 acres of fertile land then owned by the municipality. On May Day 1895 the eight-hour day was also advocated as a means of reducing unemployment.³

Unemployment did not, however, continue to be a major issue after

1 C, 23 February 1895

2 Ibid., 2 March 1895

3 Ibid., 2, 9, 16, 23 and 30 April 1895; LL, 22 February 1896

the mid '90s. The economic boom, which commenced in 1897, both alleviated the situation and led to a decline in public interest.¹ But the local ILP's efforts at the height of the distress had clearly demonstrated that the party was not an elite group of armchair intellectuals, but rather an integral part of the local labour movement. The role of individuals across the spectrum of the socialist and labour movements, as well as the ILP's obvious efforts on behalf of trade unionists or the unemployed, all indicate a close cohesion between the two movements on a local level. Thus there is every reason to believe that the local ILP did not regard the prospect of a 'labour alliance' simply as a means of obtaining support or funds for its electoral activities, or that it was prepared to lose its socialist identity. The ILP considered its role to be the political leadership of the broader labour movement, and the conversion of the trade union rank and file to socialism. On a purely local level they may well have had some hope of success in their bid for political leadership. But the labour alliance which was formed on a national level was to differ both in its priorities and its balance of power. The section which follows will examine the formation of the alliance, and the manner in which both the socialism and independence of the local movement were compromised by the activities of the national Labour Representation Committee.

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In practice the ILP leadership had long sought some form of political alliance with the trade unions as they then existed. On the evening of the 1893 Bradford Conference, Hardie suggested to George Bernard Shaw

1 K.D. Brown, Labour and Unemployment 1900-1914 (Newton Abbot, 1971) pp. 19-20

that ...

periodically, say once a year, a Socialist conference should be called, and that all Socialist organisations, together with all Trade Unions and Co-operative organisations, should be invited to send delegates ... this committee would be the recognised head of the Socialist movement in Britian, leaving the ILP, SDF, Fabian Society, and other organisations to carry on their propaganda in their respective ways.¹

But if Hardie, and indeed the majority of ILPers, accepted trade unionism in its current form, and merely considered the possibilities of future rapprochement, other socialists initially sought changes within trade unionism itself. By the end of 1896, Tom Mann, while still serving as secretary of the ILP, was becoming increasingly interested in the possibilities of trade union organisation. He finally resigned from office in April 1898, to devote his time to the newly-formed Workers' Union.²

1 H. Pelling, The Origins of the Labour Party ..., pp. 201-2

2 R. Hyman, op. cit., p. 6. Although contemporary reports and references in more recent works to Mann's resignation all suggest that it was simply the result of his own commitment to trade unionism, there is little doubt that several of his ILP comrades had for some time been anxious to precipitate his departure. On 19 September 1897 J. Bruce Glasier recorded in his diary a visit to Russell Smart, who stated that he had been discussing Mann with Keir Hardie. Hardie had agreed that Smart should speak to Mann and advise him to retire from the secretaryship. According to Glasier:

Smart says Mann's conduct at Birmingham during Trades Congress was very foolish. He went about with Joe Turner's sister who is regarded as a prostitute. He brought Minnie Palmer into the gallery of the congress and altogether seemed anxious to flaunt his profligacy before the public. Smart thinks we must do something. I agree. What I feel is that Mann has ceased to be a serious propagandist. He is becoming bankrupt in character and in speech. His personal extravagances and indulgence is an affront to our cause. It is a thousand pities he has not remained true and brave. The movement has treated him as a prince - and he has behaved as princes commonly do.

(J. Bruce Glasier, Diaries. Entry for 19 September 1897. Sidney Jones Library, University of Liverpool).

It is obviously beyond the scope of this work to debate the opinions expressed by Glasier. But it is clear that a section of the ILP leadership did dislike Mann (either personally or politically) and seek his resignation. Thus Mann's decision to concentrate his work for socialism upon the industrial front may to some extent have been influenced by the attitude of Hardie and his supporters in the ILP. It may not have been simply a calculated political decision.

The Workers' Union was intended to be a general union, drawing its membership from the five sixths of adult workers still unorganised.

Mann himself described it in the Clarion as:

... an organisation free from as many as possible of the narrowing influences that swamp so many of the older unions: not seeking to convert the existing unions, but aiming at drawing together in one organisation persons connected with any department of industry. Skilled and unskilled, men and women; an organisation that shall serve the purposes of any worker, no matter how often he may change his occupation; that shall show due regard to the standards already established by organised sections, but shall aim at welding together the interests of all sections ...

Mann also visualised the Workers' Union as a political organisation, which would aim at securing common action with members of other unions for political ends. Moreover,

The Workers' Union will always co-operate with socialists and Labour men in forcing to the front an advanced municipal policy, and when desirable and possible, will run candidates, always on the 'Independent' ticket.

The union also intended to seek reforms from parliament: a general eight-hour day; the provision of work for the unemployed; the raising of the age for commencing work to 14; state pensions for all; and adult suffrage.¹

Clearly Mann was still thinking in terms of independent labour representation, and of a united mass movement of trade unionists and socialists pressurising parliament for reforms. His later syndicalist philosophy was as yet undeveloped,² but the shift in emphasis was apparent. Hardie and his colleagues visualised the ILP leading a labour alliance; Mann put his faith more in the power of a united trade union movement. Thus even if personal antipathy had been cast aside, the ILP would hardly have

1 C, 7 May 1898

2 See Tom Mann, From Single Tax to Syndicalism (1913) passim.

welcomed the advent of the Workers' Union, with its rival political aims. In Manchester the initial organisation of the Workers' Union was undertaken by an ILPer, Harry Henshall¹ and a Clarionette, Sam Brierley.² The local union branch does not appear to have impinged upon the affairs of Manchester and Salford ILP, but did pursue its policy of calling for the adherence of electoral candidates to its own programme. Thus just before the 1902 municipal elections the branch drew up a programme which, among other reforms, demanded direct labour for public works, adherence to the Fair Contracts Clause, an eight hour day with a 30/- per week minimum adult wage, taxation of ground values, municipal coal supply, the establishment of a food department, old age pensions for corporation employees, and work at trade union wages for the unemployed.³

In the late '90s many local socialists also became involved in the various schemes to promote trades federation. Essentially the aim was simply to create a powerful trade union body which might act as a counterpoise to capitalist combines. In the wake of the engineering lock-out the need for mutual assistance during disputes was keenly felt.⁴ But to socialists, and especially to the Clarion group whose aim was socialist unity, a federation which would provide a parallel industrial

1 Henshall was at this time running the Manchester Labour Press at premises in Miller Street. He was also serving on the executive committee of his own union, the Typographical Association (C, 26 March 1898).

2 Brierley was a newsagent at 49 Chester Road, Hulme. On 19 March 1898 the C announced that he was to accompany the Clarion Van on its next journey. In 1912 he became Northern Circulation Manager for The Syndicalist (see The Syndicalist, September 1912)

3 C, 10 October 1902

4 H.A. Clegg, et. al., op. cit., p. 266

unification was eminently desirable. Schemes for federation were mooted by P.J. King and John Eyre, and discussed at length in the columns of the Clarion and Labour Leader, as well as at a conference held on 11 April 1898, convened by the Manchester and Salford section of the National Trades Federation League. The Clarion then convened and financed a Federal Labour Parliament, which met at the Co-op. Hall, Downing Street, Manchester, from the 18th to the 20th July 1898. With P.J. King acting as General Secretary, 200 delegates representing 750,000 trade unionists met and pledged to support the main principles of the Clarion scheme.¹ The later development of this movement remains obscure, but it appears that it was eclipsed by the TUC's own activities. After years of considering the subject of trades federation, the TUC finally convened a special Congress in Manchester, in January 1899, which established the General Federation of Trade Unions.² During the Congress Isaac Mitchell of the ASE moved an amendment which was carried unanimously, that:

The objects shall be: 'To uphold the rights of combination of Labour, to improve in every direction the general position and status of the workers by the inauguration of a policy that shall secure to them the power to determine the economic and social conditions under which they shall work and live, and to secure unity of action amongst all societies forming the federation'.

The Labour Leader in reporting the proceedings, commented that the words in italics, if interpreted sympathetically, might be made to cover the entire socialist field of effort.³ The General Federation however decided to confine its activities entirely to trade matters, leaving the TUC to deal with political affairs.⁴

1 LL, 5 and 26 March, 2 and 16 April, 7 and 28 May, 11 June 1898; C, 25 June, 16 and 23 July 1898

2 LL, 28 January 1899; H.A. Clegg et. al., op. cit., p. 266

3 LL, 4 February 1899

4 H.A. Clegg, et. al., op. cit., p. 266

Thus neither the Workers' Union nor the trades federation emerged as a real rival to the ILP's plans for a labour alliance. But the fact that such schemes were being mooted is worthy of note. Throughout the nineteenth century the leadership of the British working class movement had gravitated between its industrial and political wings. Since the advent of the ILP the impetus had been essentially political, and this phase was to continue into the early years of the LRC. The long term significance of the Workers' Union and trades federation was their suggestion that leadership could and should be rooted in the industrial movement. As disillusionment with the ^{Party}labour grew in the years after the 1906 election, the idea of socialists concentrating not upon parliamentary power, but upon trade union control of industry, found new popularity.

During the 1890s however the main impetus was towards a socialist/trade unionist alliance, with the object of returning independent labour candidates to parliament. As the biographical sketches above have clearly demonstrated, a large number of ILPers were themselves active and even prominent trade unionists. A political alliance with the unions did not therefore appear to them as a compromise or a 'sell-out' to an alien organisation, but a formalisation of the co-operation which had long been practised on a local, personal level. Socialist influence within the unions was widespread in the Manchester and Salford area, and further propaganda and conversion in this field seemed an obvious and rewarding task. Even if the wholesale conversion of trade union rank and file was merely wishful thinking, Manchester and Salford ILPers had good reason to believe that socialists could wield considerable influence within the unions, and could use an alliance to promote the advance of socialism.

The recurrent negotiations on a national level between the ILP and the TUC are beyond the scope of the present work. It is perhaps more relevant to indicate the extent of political co-operation between the local party and unions immediately prior to the Memorial Hall Conference. The formation of a 'United Trades and Labour Party' to contest the 1897 Manchester School Board elections has already been described.¹ Two years later a similar alliance was formed prior to the municipal elections. The Manchester and Salford Trades Council, meeting on 15 July 1899, considered a recommendation from its EC, that the Council should run Trade Union candidates in several wards at the next municipal elections. Many delegates, mindful of their own and their members' party allegiances, proved far from enthusiastic, but it was decided to refer the matter to branches, particularly in order to ascertain the extent of financial support which would be forthcoming.² The local ILP meanwhile resolved that, if the union branches did support the Trades Council's policy, its own EC should arrange a conference of ILP, trade union and co-operative delegates, with a view to joint action.³

The extent to which socialists managed to influence trade union colleagues at branch meetings can only remain a matter for speculation. But appeals to self-interest had worked in the past. Frank Lawler, writing in the Labour Leader on 'Labour Representation on Local Municipal Bodies', recalled his personal experience of seeking union support for his candidature (possibly in 1895):

1 See above, p.763

2 Manchester, July 1899

3 Ibid., August 1899

In my own case, which my society was asked to pass a resolution approving of my candidature, the 'political phantom' was requisitioned to veto the request. And I may add that the officials and the better paid class of men led off with the attitude of 'no more political parties wanted'. However, I reminded the society 'that as the Corporation was a large employer in our trade, what position would they be in if I was elected, and the society had a grievance requiring redress?' At this stage and second hearing a resolution on my behalf was adopted.¹

In 1899 the major issue before local trade unionists was the Fair Trades Contract Clause, which had been drawn up by the Trades Council and rejected 'in the most contemptuous manner possible' by Manchester City Council. According to the report in Manchester concerning its presentation by Fred Brocklehurst,

Not only was the right of the Trades Council to intervene in the matter disputed, but at least one member, representing a working-class constituency, asserted that the Manchester and Salford Trades Council represented no-one. The Council, especially the official portion, resented this statement. It was declared, that at all costs and all hazards, Mr. Phythian, the member in question, must be taught a lesson.

The EC of the Trades Council had no definite proposals to lay before the delegates, at the special meeting on 5 October, but the meeting nevertheless decided to create an election fund by a levy of 2d. per member per annum, and to nominate a Labour candidate to contest St. Mark's Ward, Gorton, against ^{conservative} John Phythian. The candidate selected by the Trades Council was Charlie Gregory,² an ILPer and active member of the ASE. Even before the Trades Council made its decision to contest the ward, the Liberals had put their own candidate into the field, apparently with the intention of dissuading the trade unionists from taking action. Gregory proved unsuccessful at the polls, emerging last in a three-cornered contest,³ but the precedent of a municipal Labour candidate had

1 LL, 5 August 1899. Lawler was a leading member of SW Manchester ILP and in 1897 represented the Saddlers' Union on the Trades Council.

2 Manchester, October 1899

3 For election results see LL, 11 November 1899

nevertheless been established.

Arrangements for a Labour parliamentary candidature had also been made in Gorton. As early as June 1899, Manchester announced that the trade unions in the division had formed themselves into a committee for independent political action, and were expected to provide funds for a parliamentary contest.¹ Exact details concerning the organisation remain obscure. At the municipal elections the trade unionists combined with the local ILP (which was then outside the centralised Manchester and Salford party) to run as candidate an ILPer, R. Macdonald.² Macdonald's defeat proved particularly disappointing, as he had only a straight fight with a Conservative.³ Also at the 1899 Municipal elections, Tom Cook contested Harpurhey Ward under the auspices of the ILP, although apparently with the support of the Trades Council. His Liberal opponent in the three-cornered fight was H. Noble, who had publicly declared his opposition to the Fair Contracts Clause.⁴

Thus before the 1900 Memorial Hall Conference even met, Manchester and Salford had some experience of 'Labour' candidates. Not surprisingly, most of them had also been socialists. When viewed from the angle of local socialists, the prospect of a labour alliance on a national level therefore appeared particularly promising. Several local socialists attended the conference which, on 27 February 1900, brought into being the Labour Representation Committee. (Councillor) Fred Brocklehurst took his place in the ILP delegation, while J.B. Williams and A.W. Jones

1 Manchester, June 1899

2 Ibid., November 1899

3 LL, 11 November 1899

4 Ibid., 2 December 1899

also ILP members, represented the Amalgamated Musicians' Union and the Typographical Association respectively. John Jenkins, one of the founders of Manchester and Salford ILP, who had recently removed to London in his capacity of General Secretary of the Amalgamated Operative Bakers and Confectioners, also represented his union. He had moreover joined the Central Branch SDF. Also a member of the SDF, and representing the Lancashire and Adjacent Counties Labour Amalgamation, was Joe Chatterton. From Oldham, and representing the Gas Workers, came a future Manchester MP, J.R. Clynes. Obviously not all the local delegates were socialists. John Hodge of the Steel Smelters still adhered to the Liberal Party, while the politics of R. Hackett of the Typographical Association remain unknown. James Kelly's platform appearances in Manchester suggest that he was at least sympathetic towards socialism, but details as to his exact allegiance are uncertain. At the Memorial Hall he represented the Bookbinders' Consolidated Union, of which he had just been appointed General Secretary.¹

The keynote of the ILP policy on this occasion was caution. Aims were limited to the creation of an alliance which would assist the election of independent labour representatives, and establish

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

The conference rejected James Macdonald's proposal, on behalf of the SDF, that a distinct party of working class representatives should have as its ultimate objective the socialisation of the means of production

1 LRC, Report of the Conference on Labour Representation ... 1900, pp. 9-12.

distribution, and exchange. Privately many socialists present must have sympathised, but the time was not opportune for such a statement.¹

The socialists did, however, manage to manoeuvre themselves into the dominant position on the new Executive Committee. When the Conference agreed to reduce its size from 18 to 12 members, the ILP and SDF each retained two seats, while the trade union representatives were reduced from 12 to 7. Thus if at least two of the latter group were also socialists (as indeed they happened to be during the first year), there would be a socialist majority.² The main problem was that even such a majority would give the socialists no real financial control. The conference planned no organised attempt to collect funds for election expenses and the payment of members. Thus candidates were still to be financed by the trade unions or political societies proposing them. Apparently the ILP had deliberately avoided the issue of an election fund because, according to Fred Brocklehurst, they were suspected of planning to utilise trade union funds for their own ends.³ The diplomatic reasoning may have been excellent, but within the LRC the ILP was now destined to be the 'poor relation'.

Although the Memorial Hall Conference has received considerable attention from historians as the foundation of the Labour Party, the deliberations made little immediate impact upon local socialists and trade unionists. On a theoretical level, Manchester and Salford ILP had already abandoned its Fourth Clause, and the idea of support at the polls for non-socialist candidates was more acceptable against the

1 Ibid., pp. 14, 17

2 H. Pelling, The Origins of the Labour Party ... pp. 209

3 C, 10 March 1900

background of the Boer War.¹ In August 1900 both Hardie and Glasier were advocating a 'White List' of anti-war MPs, whom ILP members might support.² On a practical level, the local School Board elections again loomed upon the horizon, and in both Manchester and Salford the ILP again decided to co-operate with the Progressives and Trades Council.³

The next obvious area for joint action was the municipal election campaign. Thus on 18 August 1900 Manchester and Salford ILP organised a conference at the Manchester Coal Exchange, 'to take into consideration the question of the formation of a United Workers' Municipal Election Committee for Manchester and Salford. Invitations were extended to all trade union, co-operative and socialist organisations in the district, but the co-operative societies decided against attending. Eventually 32 trade union and socialist organisations were represented and, with Tom Cook in the chair, they unanimously decided:

That this Conference of Trades Union and Socialist Delegates believes that the time is ripe for the closing up of the ranks of all sections of workers and the consolidation of the Labour Vote in Municipal affairs, and by the resolution declares for the independent representation of the workers' interests; and, furthermore, this Conference, in order to give effect to the foregoing, appoints a Committee to draw up a practical basis of organisation, and to press upon all Labour Associations the necessity of establishing a Manchester and Salford United Workers' Municipal Election Committee.⁴

The conference was hailed by the ILP News as '... the first fruit of the long uphill work which has been done season in and season out, and

1 See above, pp.745-8

2 LL, 4 and 18 August 1900

3 Manchester, May 1900

4 Ibid., September 1900. See also reports in LL and C, 25 August 1900

often against great odds, by our comrades in the different unions ...¹

A committee of five (one representative from each organisation taking part) was appointed to draw up a practical basis of organisation. After slight amendment their draft constitution and programme were adopted, and officers duly elected. This committee was overwhelmingly socialist in composition. The President, Alfred Mear, was then Chairman of Manchester and Salford ILP, while one of the Vice-Presidents, Tom Cook, was also serving as the party Treasurer. The Committee's Treasurer was H.V. Herford (of the Labour Church), while the two auditors were J.E. McGlasson (of the SDF) and W. Hunt, an ILPer currently representing both the ILP and SDF as Elective Auditor for Salford. Secretary of both the Committee and of Manchester and Salford ILP was T.H. Gunning. Thus the only officer who cannot be positively identified as an active socialist was the other vice-president, J. Lewis.²

Unfortunately the progress of the United Workers' Municipal Election Committee remains obscure. No mention of it can be found in the socialist press reports of the 1900 Municipal elections. It may well have proved a victim of the sudden swing in attention from municipal to national politics when, in October of that year, a general election was suddenly declared. But although somewhat ephemeral in character, the Committee does serve to illustrate the balance of power within the local Labour alliance. In Manchester and Salford the socialists, many of whom were also leading trade unionists, were able to exert far more influence over the labour movement than could the ILP on a national level. Neither the local municipal or school board elections, nor the General Election

1 ILP News, September 1900

2 Manchester, October 1900. For biographical details see Appendix II below.

posed any ideological problems for the ILPers. It was still possible to remain loyal to the socialism of the ILP and support the LRC.

Several of the socialist trade union leaders were instrumental in arranging the affiliation of their societies to the LRC. J.B. Williams sent fees on behalf of the Musicians on 31 March 1900, as did Tom Fox for the Labour Amalgamation on 10 May, and A.A. Purcell for the French Polishers on 21 September. William Mellor affiliated the Bookbinders in November 1901 while, after earlier reservations about using their funds for political purposes, the United Carters finally empowered Alfred Astles to seek affiliation on 14 October 1901.¹

When the LRC decided to hold its First Annual Conference in Manchester, at the Downing Street Co-operative Hall on 1 February 1901, local socialists had ample opportunity to attend. Thus Bruce Glasier (resident at Chapel-en-le-Frith) and Fred Brocklehurst represented the ILP, and J.E. McGlasson with Dr. T.G. Garrett the SDF. Tom Fox and Joe Chatterton were present on behalf of the British Labour Amalgamation, J.B. Williams for the Musicians, A.W. Jones for the Typographical Association. Annie Lee, a prominent member of Openshaw ILP, attended as a delegate from the Workers' Union.² This was however the last occasion on which the 'labour alliance' appeared intact. The SDF decided to withdraw from the LRC the following August, and by the end of the year events surrounding the Dewsbury by-election had caused at least some ILPers to question the LRC's tactics.

But while the LRC might raise problems for the socialist conscience,

1 See letters: LRC 1/42/1, 1/225-8, 1/268, 2/68, 2/178, 3/69, 3/378 contained in LRC Correspondence.

2 LRC, Report of the First Annual Conference ... 1901, pp. 27-9

on the industrial front its potential benefits became increasingly clear. In July 1901 the House of Lords, delivering judgement on the Taff Vale Railway case, decided that trade unions could be sued in a corporate capacity for damages alleged to have been caused by the action of their officers. Thus virtually any industrial action could leave a union open to legal action by employers, and place its entire funds at risk should the case be lost. The implications of the decision were not fully appreciated until January 1903, when the Taff Vale Railway Company's action for damages against the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants resulted in the union being rendered liable for a total of £42,000 in damages and costs.¹ The future effectiveness of collective bargaining, and above all the wages and working conditions of every trade unionist, were potentially at risk, and the only real hope of the decision's reversal lay with Parliament. The need for the LRC and for concerted electoral activity became only too clear, and it was not, in the circumstances, particularly difficult for ILPers to convince themselves that the type of problem raised by the Dewsbury by-election could simply be avoided by more careful consultation in the future.

As the LRC continued with its arrangements for the next general Election, the need for local organisation became apparent. In West Salford the ILP branch decided to take the initiative in forming a local LRC, and on 27 September 1902 Henry Mottershead duly wrote to Ramsay MacDonald, requesting the assistance of the national LRC. Having enquired about the possibility of financial assistance and visiting speakers, he announced:

The constituency is, in the opinion of the members

1 For a detailed examination of the case and its legal precedents, see H.A. Clegg, et al., op. cit., pp. 305-25 passim.

of our branch, one in which a Labour candidate would stand an excellent chance of success and as there is no candidate at present in the field in opposition to the sitting member, it was felt that early action ought to be taken.¹

The possibility that individual constituencies might take election plans into their own hands, or even that ILP branches might do so, must have alarmed MacDonald. On his behalf John McNeill informed Mottershead that:

The Committee does not take any part in forming such Committees as you propose to form, but is always prepared to consider a request for co-operation with local bodies in order to make a successful conference and demonstration in favour of Labour Representation. Such Conferences are usually promoted by the local Trades Council ... The essential point is that the local Labour vote should be fully represented at the Conference.²

Mottershead does not appear to have placed much faith in the Trades Council, 'which has done nothing in this direction as yet beyond affiliating with the LRC'. He commented, 'I am not very sanguine that the Council would take the matter up, but I hope that our members will agree to get the Council to undertake it'.³

MacDonald, apparently doubtful as to whether the West Salford ILPers would desist from unilateral action, decided to approach the Trades Council himself. He reminded its Secretary, G.D. Kelley,

I understand that there is a good deal of disorganised talk in Manchester about Labour candidates for the next Election. The success of any move that may be made in your district will depend upon how far it is well considered and properly arranged ...

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- 1 Letter: H. Mottershead to J.R. MacDonald, Manchester, 27 September 1902 (LRC 5/384)
 - 2 Letter: John McNeill pp. J.R. MacDonald to H. Mottershead, 4 October 1902. (LRC LB1. 48)
 - 3 Letter: H. Mottershead to J.R. MacDonald, 11 October 1902. Mottershead also commented that Manchester had 'a preponderating influence on the Council'. Clearly he expected that this would result in Manchester, rather than Salford, constituencies being selected for contests. (LRC 5/262)

Had the Executive Committee of the Trades Council any observations to make on political action? Moreover, would it not be advisable to have a conference of all Labour organisations to discuss the matter?¹

Clearly MacDonald feared a possible repetition of the Dewsbury by-election, but his fears were allayed in March 1903, when G.D. Kelley informed him that the Trades Council, meeting on 19 March, had resolved that a conference of Trades Councils and trade unions in Manchester and District should be held at an early date. A preliminary meeting was arranged for 2 April in St. James' Schoolroom.² A meeting was next held on 30 April, when 116 delegates representing trade unions and socialist bodies considered the question of Labour Representation. Under the chairmanship of John Harker, they reiterated the resolution originally passed by the Trades Council:

That the time is opportune for Labour to assert itself by advancing candidates at the next General Election for the purpose of securing direct Labour representation in the House of Commons, and that at least two constituencies in Manchester and one in Salford be contested.

A committee was duly appointed, to draw up a report on finance, probable candidates and constituencies. It was predominantly socialist in composition. Mrs. Pankhurst, C.W. Fraser, Councillors Johnston, Sutton and Nuttall, together with W.A. Astles (representing the United Carters) were all ILPers, while James Gorman, delegate of the ASE, was a Social-Democrat of some ten years' standing. The political leanings of the other members, Messrs. Dickinson, Beever (of the Tinsplate Workers) and

1 Letter: J.R. MacDonald to G.D. Kelley, 27 February 1903. LRC, Report of the 3rd Annual Conference ... 1903 .., p. 90, lists Manchester as one of the places in which a conference of trade union and socialist delegates had been arranged (apparently by mid-February). This seems at variance with MacDonald's advice to the Trades Council to begin to organise such a conference. (LRC 1/295)

2 Letter: G.D. Kelley to J.R. MacDonald, 20 March 1903 (LRC 7/281)

Hall (of the Insurance Agents) are uncertain, but they were not necessarily anti-socialist.¹ Whether this organisation immediately began to use the title of 'Manchester and Salford Labour Representation Committee' is not clear. It was not until a conference on 29 July that a permanent committee was elected.

The meeting on 29 July was overwhelmingly trade unionist in composition, with 55 trade societies being represented, as opposed to 5 ILP branches, and 2 branches of the SDF. Events involving the SDF and its breach with the local ILP have already been discussed. From the point of view of the Social-Democrats, the ILP members betrayed their socialist principles by not supporting their resolution that the class struggle be recognised as a basis for all Labour representation, and that the aim of the Labour Party be the socialisation of the means of life and overthrow of the present system. Yet clearly the ILP members faced a dilemma. While they might support the sentiments of the SDF, was the moment opportune for expressing them? Given the composition of the conference, and even allowing for the fact that socialists were to be found among the union delegates, such a resolution had virtually no chance of acceptance. Moreover ILPers openly advocating the class struggle would undoubtedly deter some unions from further participation in the local LRC, which might then disintegrate, leaving the Trades Council to co-operate with the national LRC in running candidates. If the local ILPers were committed to parliamentarianism, then they would be well advised to avoid public expression of their ultimate aims, to co-operate in and attempt to dominate the LRC, and hope thereby to gain parliamentary

1 LL, 9 May 1903. For biographical information see Appendix II. Manchester Central Branch ILP, at a meeting on 28 April, decided to send Mrs. Pankhurst, Woolerton and Cook as its delegates, with instructions to affirm the platform of the LRC.

seats for socialists. The alternative was to join the Social-Democrats and Clarion socialists in concentrating on propaganda and the struggle to achieve socialism outside parliament. Moreover dominating the argument was a realisation of the extent to which parliamentary action could affect the broader working class movement. As the Manchester and Salford LRC stated in its first Annual Report, 'The Taff Vale, Denaby Main, and other decisions with the penalties attached, have convinced the organised workers that only by a drastic and immediate change in Parliamentary representation can the disabilities attaching to Trade Unionism be swept away'.¹ Even the most optimistic ILPer realised that the socialist society was a long way away; but the Taff Vale decision could be reversed by the next government. In the circumstances it seemed logical to concentrate immediate efforts upon the LRC.

The Social-Democrats, who were not prepared to give a definite promise of financial support, were excluded from the local LRC, while the ILPers took up the leading roles within its ranks. Jack Sutton, John Harker and James Johnston were elected Chairman, Secretary and Treasurer. Of the other members Fraser, Webb and Jackson were elected specifically as ILP representatives, while Tom Fox, (J.F.) Thompson, and William Mellor were all members of the party, although apparently representing their unions. Together with the Social-Democrat trade unionists, Gorman and Tabbron, they formed an eleven-strong socialist contingent. Of the remaining members only the former Liberals, Kelley and Watters, can readily be identified, but even assuming that Ball, Bowler, Flockton, Beever and Kean were all anti-socialist, there would in fact have been a socialist majority on Manchester and Salford LRC.

1 Manchester and Salford LRC, '1st Annual Report ... 1904', p. 1 (typescript)

But even though socialists did predominate on Manchester and Salford LRC, their real power was extremely limited. The Committee was only an election-fighting machine, which was not affiliated to the national ^{Party} ~~Labour~~ until 1913, and was not even placed on a permanent footing until after the 1906 General Election. The Manchester and Salford Trades Council, having affiliated with the LRC in January 1901, was the usual recipient of communications from Ramsay MacDonald (as LRC Secretary) concerning electoral activities, and was clearly regarded as leading the local movement for labour representation.¹ Although socialists had been increasing their influence on the Trades Council's EC, they were a small minority among the delegates.

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The 1906 General Election has long been heralded as bringing about the birth of the Parliamentary Labour Party. But it also saw the eclipse of the power of local ILP branches and, in the eyes of some members, the betrayal of the party's principles. For the first time local branches were pledged to promote parliamentary candidates who were not socialists. The main subject under consideration here is the attitude of Manchester and Salford ILPers to the Labour alliance, not the origins of the Labour Party, either local or national. Thus an attempt will be made to view the election campaign from the standpoint of local ILPers. It is, of course, impossible to ascertain how much rank and file members knew of the deliberations of their leaders. This factor is of particular importance in relation to the negotiations between the LRC and the Liberal

1 Manchester and Salford LRC, Annual Report ... 1913, p. 9

Party.¹ The electoral arrangements were deliberately kept secret because of the expected antipathy of socialist militants and Conservative working men - both of which groups were numerous in Manchester. But even if the details of Ramsay MacDonald's meetings with Jesse Herbert did remain obscure until the Herbert Gladstone papers finally became available in the British Library, might not local socialists have suspected that something was 'going on behind their backs'; that candidatures were being manipulated against the wishes of local activists, and for no obvious good reason? To what extent were their own wishes over-ruled? Moreover, were there any signs of rebellion, even before the election, among the ILP contingent in the LRC?

Less than a year after the disastrous 'Khaki Election', the ILP began to consider its prospects for the next contest. According to John Penny, in a letter to MacDonald, dated 5 July 1901, the NAC was considering candidatures in Gorton and Manchester, but had 'not yet discussed how the LRC could best assist their candidates'.² West Salford ILPers were particularly anxious for a Labour candidature, hence Henry Mottershead's communications with MacDonald. But before any decision had been reached, MacDonald was approached by one of the candidates selected by a trade union, and asked for information concerning election prospects in South Salford. MacDonald duly made enquiries in a letter to G.D. Kelley (dated 28 January 1903).³ The candidate,

1 For a full account of the electoral pact, see F. Bealey, 'Negotiations between the Liberal Party and the Labour Representation Committee before the General Election of 1906' in Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, Vol. XXIX (1956) pp. 261-74 passim.

2 Letter: ILP (NAC: John Penny) to J.R. MacDonald, 5 July 1901 (LRC 3/187)

3 Letter: J.R. MacDonald per J. McNeill to G.D. Kelley JP, 28 January 1903. (LRC 1/219)

unnamed in the correspondence, was not a socialist, but was the General Secretary of a trade union, and was resident in London, where most of his work was done. MacDonald therefore sought Kelley's 'candid opinion' on the constituency from a Labour point of view. Was there any candidate - Liberal or Labour - before the constituency, or even spoken of in connection with it? What support would a united Labour candidate receive? What sort of men would back him up? Could they put a lot of work in? Kelley, while avoiding giving any more information than was absolutely necessary, consulted some people who lived in Salford. There was, he found, no knowledge of a candidate before the constituency.

Those whom I consulted have my own views in respect to a Labour candidate which are that a local labour man would have a very good chance, particularly if of very advanced ideas or a Socialist, but a Labour man not well known in the constituency would not have much chance if any.¹

Gorton Trades Council had since December 1901 been intent upon further efforts on behalf of William Ward,² while on 27 February 1903 a list of candidates was sent to J. Webb (apparently of N.E. Manchester ILP) with the rejoinder '... but I do not know if you will get any of them to take on N.E. Manchester. I should think it is probably a likely constituency ...'³

MacDonald then wrote to Manchester and Salford Trades Council, asking its Executive for observations on political action at the forthcoming election, and suggesting a conference of all Labour organisations.⁴ But even before the preliminary meeting was held in Manchester, and before

1 Letter: Manchester and Salford Trades Council. G.D. Kelley to J.R. MacDonald, 30 January 1903 (LRC 6/269)

2 See below, p.903

3 Letter: J.R. MacDonald to (J.) Webb, 27 February 1903 (LRC 1/294)

4 Ibid.; Letter: J.R. MacDonald to G.D. Kelley, 27 February 1903 (LRC 1/295)

the Manchester socialists and trade unionists had any real opportunity to express their opinions, election contests were being arranged for them by Ramsay MacDonald and the Liberal Chief Whip, Herbert Gladstone. Under the secret agreement subsequently concluded, the LRC was to be left a clear run, free from Liberal opposition, in constituencies which included Gorton, S.W. Manchester and South Salford.¹ All were constituencies with a tradition of Labour contests, and where the Liberals had little apparent hope of success. South Salford had been held by the Conservatives since 1886, and contested by socialists W.K. Hall and H.W. Hobart in 1892 and 1895.² S.W. Manchester had, in 1900, been contested for Labour by Fred Brocklehurst. The Liberals had on that occasion decided to leave him a straight fight against the Tories, although the divisional Liberal Association had stopped short of giving him official backing. However he had declared his support for Liberal candidates elsewhere and Herbert Gladstone, apparently under the impression that he would contest the seat again, was prepared to leave him a free run. Brocklehurst however announced in February 1903 that he did not intend to stand: his political views had already been the subject of much ILP criticism.³ Gorton had been contested by Dr. Pankhurst in 1895, and in 1900 the Trades Council had run a Labour candidate, William Ward, who had subsequently been endorsed by the local Liberal Association.⁴ North East Manchester was not among the constituencies originally listed

1 Memo from Herbert Gladstone (to Campbell-Bannerman), 13 March 1906, reprinted in F. Bealey, *loc. cit.*, p. 269

2 J. Vincent and M. Stenton, *op. cit.*, p. 211

3 P.F. Clarke, *op. cit.*, pp. 313-4

4 *Ibid.*, p. 312

by Herbert Gladstone as being left open for a Labour candidate, although it had been contested by James Johnston in 1895. It had been held by a Conservative, Sir James Fergusson, since 1885, and comprising as it did the poverty-stricken Ancoats district, cannot have seemed a particularly hopeful target for the Liberals. As will later be shown, it does appear that pressure to contest the seat came from Newton Heath ILP and the local LRC, and that the national organisations (ILP, Labour and Liberal) were prepared to acquiesce.

The aim here is not simply to consider the election campaign in detail, but rather to attempt to detect signs of local ILP protest against the LRC and, moreover, any suspicions locally voiced, concerning collaboration with the Liberals. It must be emphasised that a large element of Manchester and Salford ILP did not need to see or know of MacDonald's communications with Herbert Gladstone to suspect Liberal attempts to influence the Labour movement and the ILP itself. Just as, almost half a century later, McCarthyite Americans suspected 'Reds under the bed', so Manchester and Salford ILPers were prone to suspect collusion with the Liberals - with or without evidence. Nor was the attitude confined to the ILP. On 18 June 1902 B. Murray of the Manchester and Salford Umbrella Makers' Union replied to the circular from the Labour Representation Committee. His society was in favour of Labour Representation,

... but as we are under the impression that Labour Representation Committee are in negotiations with the 'Liberal Party' are desirous of knowing the future policy of the Committee before joining.¹

Local elections tended to give rise to regular witch hunts. In December 1901 a correspondent to the Labour Leader objected to Manchester

1 Letter: Manchester and Salford Umbrella Makers Union. B. Murray, Sec., to J.R. MacDonald, 18 June 1902. (LRC 4/198)

ILP for having selected William Johnson as a municipal candidate,

... knowing that he was the nominee of the Liberal Party in South-West Manchester only a few months ago, and has also twice been the municipal candidate of the Liberal Party in Hulme, his mover and seconder on the last occasion being both prominent Liberals.¹

In April 1902, three months after a municipal by-election in Ardwick, W. Sanders of Hulme accused Fred Brocklehurst of having supported a Liberal, Mr. Cox, whose candidature had moreover been approved by the Tories on the grounds that it would 'keep out a Labour man'.² After the 1902 municipal elections F. Wimbury, Secretary of Gorton ILP, protested that John Harker and Councillor James Johnston had been seated on the platform of an official Liberal candidate in St. Mark's Ward.³ In support of his letter (Walter) Sanders, who claimed to be an ILPer of nine years' standing, commented:

If others would take the same trouble as he (Wimbury) Manchester Socialism would cease to be the happy hunting-ground of betrayers who have exercised a free hand long enough. 'Save us from our friends'. Amen. One 'Socialist' Councillor assists the candidature of a Liberal capitalist, who is 'to keep out a Labour man', and this same Councillor contributes an article to a local Liberal newspaper showing the reasonableness of low wages for mechanics!!! Another 'Socialist' Councillor, in his feverish desire to gain municipal honours, roams from the ILP to the Liberal party and back again, like a political wandering Jew, and now caps his previous records by supporting the candidature of an advocate of child-sweating. And now John Harker is to be added to the list ... Let the party in Manchester go back on the old lines. Nothing but drastic rules calculated to control the antics of its ambitious members will save the party from a funeral.⁴

As preparations were being made for the General Election, the

1 LL, 7 December 1901

2 Ibid., 12, 26 April, 3 May 1902

3 Ibid., 22 November 1902

4 Ibid., 29 November 1902

subject of labour and socialist independence was a live issue. Leonard Hall raised the matter at the Lancashire ILP Conference in December 1902, only to be told by Hardie that 'the LRC was thoroughly sound on the question of independence; and it was very unfair to malign the whole body, as was being done in certain quarters, because one or two of its members were shaky.¹ A. Whitehead (apparently a member of the ASRS) from Miles Platting, drew attention to Richard Bell's support for a Liberal candidate,² while Manchester Central Branch protested to Will Crooks about his advertised appearance at a Liberal meeting at the Free Trade Hall on 24 July 1903.³ Even the Labour Leader had to admit that there was some disquiet in the party:

Is there a danger of the ILP losing or forgetting its Socialism in its absorption in work not directly or avowedly socialist propaganda? This is a question which has been troubling certain earnest members of our party to whom Socialism alone is the one worthy object of effort or sacrifice.⁴

One such 'earnest member' was 'D.M.' of Manchester, who expressed his objection to the policy of using voting power to obtain concessions from Liberals or Tories. Socialists should regard Liberals and Tories alike as the common foe, and keep the movement free from anything which would cause the public to identify it with an orthodox party.⁵ MacDonald's desire for secrecy was well-considered, for clearly among some Manchester and Salford ILPers, the Fourth Clause still reigned supreme.

1 Ibid., 13 December 1902

2 Ibid., 21 February 1903

3 Manchester Central Branch ILP, Minutes of General Meetings, 21 July and 11 August 1903

4 LL, 12 March 1904

5 Ibid., 14 April 1905

Thus as the election campaign began the ILP was being pulled - and one might almost add 'pulled apart' - by divergent forces. On the one side was its allegiance to the LRC, which had in fact drawn it into an arrangement with the Liberals. On the other side was the local tradition of Fourth Clause socialism, co-operation with the SDF, suspicion of the Liberals in general, and (among the Clarion element at least) suspicion of the ILP's own leadership. In order to examine these elements it is perhaps most appropriate to consider the election campaigns in turn, commencing, most appropriately, with Salford, over which MacDonald had made a major blunder.

The initial impetus to contest a parliamentary seat had come from West Salford ILP, but MacDonald had devoted his enquiries to the possibilities of a trade unionist candidate for the South and had, moreover, obtained Liberal agreement to a contest in the latter constituency. Oblivious to such problems, West Salford ILP made enquiries to the national LRC concerning possible candidates, and arranged a meeting at the beginning of August, when they intended to select a name to send in to Manchester and Salford LRC.¹ Despite these letters from a constituency which was not even 'available' for Labour, MacDonald took no action, and it seems apparent that he had simply not realised that his arrangements were disturbed! West Salford ILP proceeded to select John Harker, founder member of Manchester and Salford ILP, founder and first secretary of the Shirt Cutters' Union, and, upon G.D. Kelley's resignation in

1 Letter: W. Salford ILP. C.W. Fraser, Sec., to J.R. MacDonald, 4 and 6 August 1903. Apparently Bruce Glasier had refused to let his name go forward for selection in view of the Liberal readiness to leave S. Salford vacant. See P.P. Poirier, The Advent of the Labour Party (1958) p. 250. Poirier also stated that a Liberal leader in S. Salford protested against the (possible?) transfer of the Labour candidate to his division. (LRC 10/398-9)

1903, Secretary of Manchester and Salford LRC.¹ Explaining the current situation in an undated letter to MacDonald, he innocently remarked that there might be a triangular contest in West Salford, but that there was also a Liberal in the field in the North constituency. He also commented that South Salford was in the hands of a big local brewer (J.G. Groves, M.P., Conservative), with a polling booth at every street corner'.² Obviously West Salford seemed the most hopeful constituency to the local socialists and labour men, while the South (which MacDonald intended them to contest) seemed a hopeless cause.

The discrepancy had however become apparent by 6 September 1903, when Jesse Herbert visited MacDonald at Leicester Isolation Hospital. On the following day he informed Herbert Gladstone that:

MacDonald is opposed to a Labour Candidate standing in W. Salford. He says there has been some mistake. That when his Committee considered the Salfords he (MacDonald) was under the impression that they were fixing a man for the South, and not for West Salford. He is mortified at the mistake. He will see the Salford leaders within the next day or two (for they are at the Trades Congress at Leicester) and will write to me before the end of the week upon the subject. He is sincerely anxious to avoid any conflict in W. Salford, and will try to remove the man from there into S. Salford.³

Exactly what action MacDonald recommended to Harker is not clear, but when the latter simply resigned his candidature, MacDonald was far from happy. In the light of his discussion in Leicester, MacDonald's letter to Harker, dated 30 September, makes interesting reading:

I wired you this morning advising you not to give up your candidature. That is not the point at all. Your

1 See Appendix II, below.

2 Letter: Manchester and Salford LRC. John Harker., Sec., to J.R. MacDonald, n.d. (LRC 9/272)

3 Memo from Jesse Herbert to Mr. Gladstone, cited in F. Bealey, loc. cit., p. 271

resignation will as you say only lead to the introduction of another candidate. What some of us think is that a great mistake is being made in fighting so many seats in Manchester and the district, and we rather fear that the general movement would be damaged if W. Salford was fought. Make no mistake about our reasons. We simply look at the matter from the point of view of Labour. We do not care whether it is a Liberal or a Tory who is going to suffer, nor must you imagine that we want you to do anything other than you have done. Our minds are in a state of inquiry. To the outsider it does seem as if you were making a great mistake, and as a sort of friend all round we want to express that fear and see whether you can or cannot re-assure us. Is there not a chance of some change coming owing to certain private occurrences. Why not make an opportunity of these things to reconsider the matter.¹

The situation was eased to some extent when Tom Fox retired as candidate for N.E. Manchester, on grounds of ill-health, in October 1903, and Manchester and Salford LRC agreed to abandon West Salford, transferring Harker's candidature to N.E. Manchester. But if Fox's illness had proved the excuse for a re-shuffle, the new situation was far from satisfactory to the socialists and independent labour supporters in the town. Harker informed MacDonald that:

The decision not to contest Salford is a sore point with a great section of our members and has caused a little friction which may wear off with time.²

It does however appear that Harker believed the West Salford fight had been abandoned for financial reasons. On 24 October he assured MacDonald that no more candidates would be brought forward by the local LRC, as the contests in N.E. and S.W. Manchester were quite as many as they could finance. But he added:

The geographical position of Salford is most unfortunate and the friends there are very sore at being spoiled of a fight. It would hardly do now to place another candidate in West

1 Letter: J.R. MacDonald? to J. Harker, 30 September 1903 (LRC 2/384)

2 Letter: Manchester and Salford LRC. John Harker to J.R. MacDonald, 9 October 1903 (LRC 11/296)

Salford which I have vacated, but a candidate whose society could find some money would receive a large support in South Salford and would find plenty of willing workers, but his opponent the retiring member is a wealthy brewer and whilst a splendid fight would be made and the full support of the Liberal party given I would not be very sanguine of success. We balanced the matter well and concluded that West Salford afforded the best chances.¹

Clearly Harker himself did not object to the prospect of utilising Liberal assistance against the Conservative sitting member in South Salford, but whether he would have accepted the pact with the Liberals as sufficient reason to leave Salford uncontested by Labour is another matter.

MacDonald has anticipated that 'there will be a little friction for a short time, but let us have a good rousing Labour campaign and I am sure that friction will wear away'.² He had not, however, taken into account the political complexion of Harker's erstwhile campaigners in Salford, among whom the SDF and Clarion influence was strong, and suspicion of the Liberal party ever-present; and who, moreover, were unlikely to accept the LRC's ruling without further protest. The rebellion came at the end of November 1905, when the proposal was made at a West Salford ILP meeting, that overtures be made to Fred Bramley, the Clarion Vanner, to contest the constituency. When members were duly reminded of the branch's affiliation to the local LRC, a resolution was passed, emphasising the fact that West Salford had originally been selected for a contest, and asking whether the LRC would object to the branch putting forward Bramley or another candidate. The branch sent a deputation to the next meeting of the local LRC Executive, which only

1 Letter: Manchester and Salford LRC. John Harker to J.R. MacDonald, 24 October 1903 (LRC 11/297)

2 Letter: J.R. MacDonald to J. Harker, 13 October 1903 (LRC 3/26)

resolved that it could not contenance any further Labour candidature in Manchester or Salford.

At the West Salford branch meeting on 3 December, the LRC's resolution was reported and, as the Secretary C.W. Fraser informed Bruce Glasier, members took it very badly.

There were a lot of hot-headed young members present, a lot of "Clarion" Scouts and "Clarion" Cyclists and generally an irresponsible unreasoning crowd.

Councillor Mottershead, from the chair, appealed to them to accept the situation or relegate the matter to a special meeting. He was supported by Hayes and Fraser, but 'Comrade Dudley, one of our oldest members and a fine fellow but of the hot headed temperament' made a violent attack on the LRC and 'intriguers' generally. Dudley then moved that Bramley be asked to contest West Salford, and that the SDF be invited to co-operate with West Salford ILP in promoting his candidature. He charged Fraser and Thompson with using undue influence in the LRC Executive, painted the LRC generally as a 'band of intriguers' and even suggested that the NAC were in the same category, since they had come to suggest dropping the West Salford candidature when Harker was before the constituency. More significant in retrospect was Dudley's charge that the local Liberals had 'got at' some of the LRC. Dudley's resolution was carried by 11 votes to 6 and the secretary duly sent an invitation to Bramley, at the same time telling him of the LRC's objection. Fred Bramley, as both a trade unionist and an ILP member, responded with caution. He suggested that the branch lay its case before the NAC, and if the NAC and local LRC approved, he would then consider a united invitation from the ILP and SDF.¹ The NAC,

1 Letter: C.W. Fraser to J. Bruce Glasier, Salford, 10 December 1905 (I 1.1905/24 Glasier Papers). Documents from these papers will henceforth be cited according to the new classification numbers of the combined collections.

upon receiving the application, decided upon 'a strong letter of disapproval'¹ and the matter was, on the surface at least, closed. But less than a month later Salford went to the polls without a single socialist or labour candidate on the hustings, and emerged with three new Liberal MPs. Some ILPers, like Fraser and Mottershead, had obviously been prepared to accept the absence of local action in the hope of major Labour advances elsewhere. But would their sacrifices ultimately appear worthwhile, and how and when would the 'hot-headed young members' be reconciled?

John Harker, in taking over the candidature for N.E. Manchester, should have been assured of both labourist and socialist support. He was formally adopted at a public meeting in the New Islington Hall on 26 November 1903,² and early in January 1904 held a series of meetings in the constituency.³ But even as his campaign began, Harker's political activities were giving local cause for concern. On 7 January an extremely worried Tom Fox informed MacDonald in a 'Private and Confidential' letter that both Harker and G.D. Kelley (candidate for S.W. Manchester) had been present at a Free Trade League meeting on the previous evening. Moreover they were both mentioned in the League circular (which he enclosed) and had joined the Executive committee of the League. Fox requested some guidance in dealing with the matter. Having resigned his candidature in favour of Harker, he felt that any protest he made might be misconstrued. On the other hand, he felt that

1 ILP, NAC Minute Book 5. Minutes of NAC Meeting, Albion Hotel, Manchester, 18 December 1905

2 Letter: Manchester and Salford LRC. Robert C. Hall, Organising Sec., to J.R. MacDonald, 16 November 1903. (LRC 11/299)

3 LL, 13 February 1904

the involvement was 'a huge and dangerous mistake on the part of these two men, WHO ARE OUR PARLIAMENTARY CANDIDATES'. He further commented:

... it is in my opinion another attempt on the part of astute Liberal Politicians to try and absorb the energies of the best men in doing the Liberal hack work, and also help keep up the appearance of the UNITY OF LIBERALISM AND LABOUR. It will certainly in my opinion cause dissension in the Labour ranks, and cannot possibly result in any good that I can see.¹

Although Fox himself declined an invitation to join the Free Trade League's Executive,² MacDonald clearly did not share his reservations. T.W. Killick, Hon. Secretary of the League, wrote to him on 16 January 1904 (using headed notepaper which listed G.D. Kelley as one of the Hon. Treasurers). The League was, he claimed, non-party, and had recognised from the first the importance of the co-operation of Trade Unionists and labour leaders. Invitations had been sent to union leaders in the neighbourhood, and many had joined the League's executive. Recently however some kind of difficulty appears to have arisen, and we have had some resignations, and have also been deprived of the services of some of our friends'.³ Clearly the League sought official LRC approval. Killick wanted trade unionists to feel that there was no party objection to them joining. They were much in demand as speakers, for the League was receiving many requests to take part in discussions on Chamberlain's fiscal proposals from a non-party point of view, and Liberal speakers were distrusted on the grounds that they were simply trying to make political capital out of the question. Moreover any

1 Letter: Tom Fox to J.R. MacDonald, Manchester, 7 January 1904. The League was Manchester-based, having its offices at 49 Deansgate (LRC 12/38)

2 Letter: Tom Fox to H.W. Rawlings, Acting Sec., Free Trade League (LRC 12/40)

3 Letter: T.W. Killick, Hon. Sec., Free Trade League, to J.R. MacDonald, 16 January 1904 (LRC 12/156)

Free Trade Labour candidate was assured of League support against a protectionist, whether Liberal or Conservative.¹

MacDonald appears to have given his blessing to the League on 27 January, and that evening Harker took part in a committee meeting.² But local socialists and trade unionists did not share his sympathies. When both Harker and Kelley were advertised to speak at a League meeting on 18 February, the Manchester and Salford LRC decided that their appearance 'would be an infraction of the 'independent' attitude promised to various trade organisations'. But, as Robert Hall informed MacDonald, 'Harker refused to be bound by decision. Intimates that he will not proceed with candidature'. Hall added that the ILP had passed a resolution against its members joining the League, but Harker and Kelley thought they were justified by a letter which Kelley had received from MacDonald on the point. Concluded Hall, 'It is a most unfortunate turn of affairs as every thing indicated a couple of victories if we could avoid dissension'.³ By way of reply, Hall simply received a wire: 'My Executive resolved at Bradford there was no bar against our speakers appearing on Free Trade League's platform'.⁴

Faced with MacDonald's decision, the local LRC resolved that its candidates had a free hand as to whether or not they should become attached to the League. But local labour and socialist antipathy towards that organisation was not eradicated. At a special meeting on

1 Ibid., See also Free Trade League, printed circular, January 1904: An Appeal to Trade Unionists and Co-operators (LRC 12/159/3). Letters: T.W. Killick to J.R. MacDonald, 20, 23 and 28 January 1904 (LRC 12/157-9)

2 Letter: T.W. Killick to J.R. MacDonald, 28 January 1904 (LRC 12/159)

3 Letter: Manchester and Salford LRC. Robert C. Hall to J.R. MacDonald, 18 February 1904 (LRC 13/212/2)

4 Typed 'wire in reply to Hall, Manchester, re Free Trade League Speakers', signed 'Middleton, for MacDonald', 22 February 1904. (LRC 12/212/2)

16 March the Manchester branch of the Amalgamated Society of French Polishers passed a resolution, expressing its dissatisfaction at the action of the LRC in allowing Parliamentary candidates to take an active part in the 'Free Food League'. This would, felt the branch, create a feeling of distrust among those who had lately become adherents to the cause of direct labour representation.¹

By June 1904 rumours were circulating, that Harker was about to retire. The Manchester Courier announced that he had only had about half a dozen meetings in the constituency, from which it was evident that the support he had expected was not likely to be forthcoming. It added: 'Mr. Harker's retirement makes it extremely improbable that the Labour party will seek another candidate, and the Radicals are already looking round for a champion, but no name has yet been put before the Committee'.² Harker did not immediately fulfil the Courier's prophesy, but apart from the free trade issue he was also troubled by the question of finance. In July 1904 he and Mrs. Pankhurst called to consult T.D. Benson about the candidature; Harker was in despair at the lack of local LRC funds, and wanted to retire on behalf of another candidate. Bruce Glasier, recording the event in his diary, commented: 'Not satisfied that he is candid. Does not seem to consider the matters from the national standpoint'.³ But although Harker continued his campaign, local ILPers at least were determined to settle the issue of divided loyalties.

The matter came to a head at the ILP's Manchester conference in

1 Letter: Amalgamated Society of French Polishers, Manchester Branch. A. Moreland, Branch Sec., to J.R. MacDonald, 22 March 1904 (LRC 13/173)

2 Manchester Courier, 27 June 1904

3 J. Bruce Glasier, Diaries. Entry for 7 July 1904

April 1905, when Councillor E.J. Hart on behalf of Openshaw Branch moved: 'That no member of the Party ally himself to or lecture under the auspices of the Free Trade League'. According to the conference report,

He thought all present would recognise that the Liberal party was a defeated and discredited party, and had very little hope of being returned to power except upon the blunders of its opponents ... Some of the members of the Independent Labour Party had attended meetings in districts where the branches were bitterly opposed to the Free Trade League, and the object of the resolution was to prevent a recurrence of the practice.

(Councillor) Tom Fox, representing East Manchester ILP, seconded the resolution, asserting that 'The worst service any member of their Council or of their party could render to the cause of Independent Labour ... was to give adhesion to the Free Trade Propaganda'. Although Philip Snowden from the chair attempted to justify his own appearance at a League meeting, he gained little sympathy from the conference, and the Openshaw resolution was passed.¹

Within a month of the ILP decision, Harker resigned his candidature for N.E. Manchester. According to the Labour Leader,

His reason for so doing is stated to be his dissatisfaction with the resolution passed at the ILP Conference disapproving of members of the party taking part in the Free Trade League meetings. It is, however, known that Mr. Harker has long been somewhat reluctant to embark upon a parliamentary career, and no doubt this feeling had some influence on his decision.²

Fred Jowett, writing in the Clarion, commented that Harker's withdrawal had not occasioned much surprise'.³

Joseph Nuttall, as Secretary of Manchester and Salford LRC, duly

1 ILP, Report of the 13th Annual Conference ... 1905, pp. 49-50

2 LL, 12 May 1905

3 C, 2 June 1905

requested a list of LRC candidates still available, and was reminded by MacDonald that Harker had been an ILP candidate.¹ Obviously the situation called for his replacement by a socialist and, in preference to any of the trade union candidates suggested by MacDonald, the local Labour activists approached J.R. Clynes,¹ ^{Harker and} President of Oldham Trades Council, whose work as Lancashire organiser for the GW & GLU and lecturing engagements for the ILP had already made him a well-known figure in Manchester. Clynes was apparently surprised at the arrival of the N.E. Manchester deputation, which was headed by Tom Fox, and initially he demurred on the grounds of lack of both finance and election machinery.² However he was eventually persuaded to stand, and was duly accepted by both the NAC and LRC as an official ILP candidate.³ He described his first public meeting, in June 1905, as 'very encouraging'.⁴

One major question raised by Harker's resignation was whether a Liberal candidate would now appear in the constituency. There had been talk of Labour contesting East Manchester⁵ and when the NAC met at Craiglands Hydro, Ilkley, on 22 and 23 May, the situation in both constituencies was considered at length. It was decided that no compromise with the Liberals should be allowed or suggested. If the Liberal left East Manchester the party should consider taking immediate action. Moreover if a Liberal appeared in N.E. Manchester the party

1 Letters: Manchester and Salford LRC. Coun. J. Nuttall to J.R. MacDonald, 9 May 1905; J.R. MacDonald to J. Nuttall (unsigned copy), 10 May 1905 (LRC 24/55-6)

2 J.R. Clynes, op. cit., pp. 105-6

3 Letters: Manchester and Salford LRC. J. Nuttall to J.R. MacDonald, 27 May 1905; (LRC 24/57); ILP Francis Johnson to J.R. MacDonald, 1 June 1905 (LRC 24/59)

4 J.R. Clynes to J.R. MacDonald, 10 June 1905 (LRC 24/61)

5 A meeting of Manchester Central Branch ILP, on 16 May 1905, resolved that the Secretary should invite Hardie to contest E. Manchester on behalf of the branch. (Manchester Central Branch ILP, Minutes of meeting, 16 May 1905)

should consider the advisability of taking action in the East.¹ But the compromise already made by MacDonald still held sway. When Harker's resignation had been anticipated in June 1904, the local Liberals had resolved to put up their own candidate. However the Manchester Liberal Federation now urged its N.E. Association to give the ILP the chance to put another man in the field.²

Clynes, thus saved from a three-cornered fight by an arrangement of which he was obviously ignorant, strove to uphold his party's independence. He subsequently recalled, in the Labour Leader that:

Leading politicians, Free Traders, prominent public men, offered me public help, which I could only accept by departing from our party's policy. I replied that all must help in their own way if they wished for a Labour victory, and declined to act with any man or organisation if such action tended to make the Tory working man suspicious, or raise doubts of our being a genuine independent party ... Our ideals and ultimate objects were always held up at our meetings. We did not plead for a mere reversal of Taff Vale judgements and Social Reform limited to the taxation of land values ...³

Without any major incident, Clynes went to the polls on 13 January 1906 and defeated, by 4,386 votes to 2,954, Sir James Fergusson, who had represented the constituency since 1885.⁴

South West Manchester, unlike the North East constituency, had the same Labour candidate for the duration of the campaign. G.D. Kelley was formally adopted at a meeting in Hulme Town Hall on 2 December 1903,⁵

1 ILP, NAC Minute Book 5. Minutes of NAC meeting, Craiglunds Hydro, Ilkley, 22-23 May 1905

2 P.F. Clarke, op.cit., p. 315, citing Manchester Liberal Federation Minutes, 9 June 1904 and 11 May 1905.

3 LL, 26 January 1906

4 J. Vincent and M. Stenton, op.cit., p. 165

5 Letter: Manchester and Salford LRC. Robert C. Hall, Organising Sec., to J.R. MacDonald, 16 November 1903 (LRC 11/299)

and went to the poll on 13 January against the Conservative W.J. Galloway. But although the campaign proceeded smoothly and Kelley emerged victorious with 4,101 votes to 2,875, the election in S.W. Manchester brought to the fore the main problems inherent in the Labour alliance. Kelley, a prominent trade-unionist of long-standing, not only retained his allegiance to the Liberal party until 1904, but was well-known for his anti-socialist stand in the '90s. The attitude of the SDF towards his candidature has been discussed above.¹ But while they were clearly far from enthusiastic about this 'mere Labourite', there is no evidence of any active opposition. John Penny, discussing election prospects in the Clarion on 11 September 1903, commented:

... most of the Socialists have dropped their hostile attitude towards him. The ILP section of the Socialist movement, at any rate, has buried the hatchet, as is evidenced by the fact that he was selected as a candidate by the LRC on the nomination of an ILP branch - in addition to trade union nominations of course.²

During the course of Kelley's campaign it appeared that he had not moved from his original Liberal beliefs. By January 1904 he had joined the Free Trade League, appeared at its meetings, and accepted office as one of its Honorary Treasurers.³ Moreover before the end of the year even MacDonald felt obliged to warn him against open support for the Liberals. Apparently Kelley and G.N. Barnes had both signed a manifesto in support of the Liberal candidate at the Thanet election, and Kelley had also signed a similar manifesto which was used during

1 See above, p.769

2 C, 11 September 1903

3 Letters: Tom Fox to J.R. MacDonald, 7 January 1904 (LRC 12/38); T.W. Killick, Hon. Sec., Free Trade League to J.R. MacDonald, 16 January 1904, (LRC 12/156); Manchester and Salford LRC, Robert C. Hall to J.R. MacDonald, 18 February 1904 (LRC 13/212/1)

the Horsham election. The EC of the LRC received a complaint against such activity, and MacDonald was duly instructed to point out that such manifestos were not in accordance with the position of the committee, and asked the candidates to refrain from signing any more.¹ In return for his advocacy of these Liberal candidates, Kelley had the support of Winston Churchill. During a week's campaign in Manchester, Churchill held a meeting in Hulme at which he announced:

We have not on our platform Mr. Kelley, the Labour candidate for this division, but we hold a meeting for his support. We know that the rules of his association precludes him from appearing on a Liberal platform. Whether we approve that rule or not has nothing to do with the great issues the next election will raise. We are here to support the progressive and Free Trade cause.²

Why, in the face of Kelley's blatantly pro-Liberal attitude, was there not a socialist revolt, or at least a protest, in the S.W. Manchester division? The area had, after all, a long tradition of socialist activity and co-operation between the ILP and SDF. Part of the answer may lie in the fact that Kelley was opposing W.J. Galloway,

whose notorious antagonism to honest labour legislation has lately been demonstrated by the wilful wrecking of two Trade Dispute Bills in the House of Commons.³

Obviously any large-scale socialist protest could wreck the chance of

1 Typed unsigned letter J.R. MacDonald to G.D. Kelley, 10 December 1904 (LRC 17/492)

2 LL, 13 October 1905

3 Amalgamated Society of Lithographic Printers, Manchester Branch. Printed circular to branches: Re: Mr. Geo. D. Kelley's Election Fund (LRC 29/268); Manchester and Salford LRC, 2nd Annual Report ... 1905, p. 3, emphasised this factor of opposition to Galloway. It described the S.W. Manchester election as of special interest to organised labour throughout the country, because Kelley '... was opposing the one man above all others who was responsible for the wrecking of the Trade Disputes Bill in the late Parliament, viz., Mr. J.W. Galloway'.

success for Kelley, who was eminently preferable to Galloway as an MP and who was moreover considered to have a good chance of success. Financial arrangements for his candidature were sound; his union had by the end of December 1905 collected £130 towards returning officer's fees (and still hoped to raise the sum to £150). Moreover a decision had been reached to elect and pay for the services of an assistant secretary, mainly in order to provide Kelley, if elected, with sufficient time to carry out his parliamentary duties. He was assured of the full benefits under the LRC's maintenance fund.¹ Thus while ILPers might note Kelley's pro-Liberal attitude, or even complain to the LRC, an internecine feud conducted in public would have been suicidal. However once Kelley was elected he, like the other Labour MPs, was faced with a great many hopes to be fulfilled, in order that the manner of his election and past opinions might be forgotten.

Socialist opinion in Gorton appears to have been somewhat less restrained. Moreover press reports concerning events in the constituency made it patently obvious to any interested reader (who had not already suspected anyway) that there was indeed a Liberal-Labour electoral arrangement. Initial arrangements in the division however remain obscure. It appeared until the end of 1902 that Ward's candidature² would be resumed, but on 27 January 1903 a somewhat alarmed John Penny wrote to MacDonald.

1 For correspondence relating to the financial arrangement for Kelley's candidature see LRC 29/268. See also letters: Amalgamated Society of Lithographic Printers. A.E. Harrison, Chairman, to J.R. MacDonald, 30 November 1904 (LRC 28/221); (J.R. MacDonald) to G.D. Kelley, 8 December 1904 (LRC 28/224); (J.R. MacDonald) to A.E. Harrison, 10 December 1904 (LRC 28/223); G.D. Kelley to J.R. MacDonald, 12 December 1905 (LRC 28/225); J.R. MacDonald to G.D. Kelley, 20 December 1905 (LRC 28/226); G.D. Kelley to J.R. MacDonald, 22 December 1905 (LRC 29/266); Unsigned copy of letter J.R. MacDonald? to G.D. Kelley, 29 December 1905 (LRC 29/267); (letter on reverse of circular) F.F. Boaler to J.R. MacDonald, 28 December 1905 (LRC 29/268); J.R. MacDonald to ? F.F. Boaler, 30 December 1905 (LRC 29/269).

2. William Ward had contested Gorton at the 1900 General Election as the nominee of Gorton United Trades and Labour Council (for biography, see Reformer's Year Book 1902, p.135)

He had heard that Gorton Trades Council had suddenly thrown over Ward and adopted Entwistle of the Engineers as their parliamentary candidate. Penny had no details, but the position seemed 'very peculiar', 'it seems as if the local Trades Unions are simply adopting a suicidal policy'.¹ As MacDonald duly pointed out to G.N. Barnes:

Apparently this is being done without any understanding having been come to between you and the ILP which appears to hold the right in the first instance to nominate a candidate for this constituency as it claims to have fought it at the last two elections.²

Any local negotiations which followed this reminder unfortunately remain obscure, but Entwistle's proposed candidature seems to have been dropped. On 12 February 1903 Charles Bamford, Secretary of Gorton United Trades and Labour Council, requested a list of available LRC parliamentary candidates.³ John Hodge was duly selected. As secretary of the British Steel Smelters' Association his trade union background was eminently suitable for the constituency. Moreover he had, in November 1900, declared his adherence to the ILP. Hodge also had the benefits of previous experience as a parliamentary candidate, for the Gower division of Glamorgan in 1900, and a union which was prepared to finance him.⁴ As MacDonald commented to G.D. Kelley, 'If Hodge would suit you he will be the easiest to fix up provided he is in Manchester and it would also cost us less expense'.⁵

1 Letter: ILP. NAC, John Penny to J.R. MacDonald, 27 January 1903 (LRC 6/218)

2 Letter: J.R. MacDonald per J. McNeill to G.N. Barnes, 28 January 1903 (LRC 1/215)

3 Letter: Gorton United Trades and Labour Council. Charles A. Bamford, Sec. (to J.R. MacDonald?), 12 February 1903 (LRC 7/190-1)

4 J. Hodge, op. cit., pp. 115, 140; D. Howell and J. Saville, entry on John Hodge in Dictionary of Labour Biography, Vol. 3, pp. 109-15. LL, 3 November 1900, records Hodge's declaration of adherence to the ILP, at a meeting in Manchester.

5 (J.R. MacDonald) to G.D. Kelley, 27 April 1903 (LRC 1/424)

In May 1903 Hodge was contesting a by-election in Preston and although he was actually approached by the Gorton Trades and Labour Council to stand as candidate before the contest, his selection was delayed until after polling day.¹ Initially he was well-received in the constituency. His first meeting on 28 May was crowded out, with 'as many outside as inside, and most enthusiastic'. Moreover 40 men remained behind after the meeting to volunteer for election work.² Hodge proceeded to tour every union branch in the division,³ and his campaign seemed to be progressing well when he was suddenly faced with the possibility of a three-cornered fight.

The local Liberal Association apparently took exception to Labour activities in St. Mark's and Openshaw wards, and decided that they did not wish to be bound by an election arrangement. The Liberals, they believed, must assert themselves or be wiped out. They therefore proposed to run Councillor Wainwright as Liberal candidate for Gorton. Wainwright apparently had no personal ambition to enter Parliament and, armed with this knowledge, some local trade unionists attempted to reach an arrangement. Among them was Councillor Thomas Griffiths. Together with Thomas Fletcher (also a member of Belle Vue branch ASRS) and John Blackburn and Joseph Thewlis (of No. 23 branch, United Machine Workers' Association)

1 J. Hodge, op. cit., p. 150. The Steel Smelters formally applied for Hodge's candidature for Gorton to be approved by the LRC in June 1903 (see LRC, Minutes of Meeting 18 June (1903) London in LRC Minutes, letters and papers (collected by Edward Pease). See also letter: J. Hodge to J.R. MacDonald, 18 June 1903 (LRC 9/195), in which Hodge states that he has been selected by Gorton Trades and Labour Council for the division. Hodge's candidature was finally endorsed in a letter from MacDonald (LRC 2/198, 19 June 1903).

2 Letter: J. Hodge to J.R. MacDonald, 29 May 1903 (LRC 9/193)

3 Letter: J. Hodge to J.R. MacDonald, 26 October 1903 (LRC 10/422)

Griffiths composed a letter to Wainwright. If the Liberal withdrew from Gorton and allowed Hodge a free field, they would use their influence with the Gorton and Manchester Trades Councils in support of Horridge, the Liberal candidate in East Manchester. Moreover if Horridge answered questions on Labour matters satisfactorily, Griffiths was prepared to go on the Liberal's platform in support of his candidature.¹

The Labour Leader, somewhat prematurely, announced that:

Arrangements have been come to by which, owing to a threatened Labour candidate being withdrawn in East Manchester, Liberal opposition to Mr. John Hodge has been avoided in the Gorton division.²

Thus ILPers could hardly have remained oblivious to the existence of some type of Lib-Lab pact.

The situation in Gorton was further confused by the fact that the area had two trades councils, and the plans for an 'arrangement' appear to have emanated from members of the smaller body, the Gorton District Trades and Labour Council. The larger Gorton United Trades and Labour Council, which had initially been responsible for Hodge's candidature, disclaimed any involvement in the affair, as did the candidate himself.³

The Liberal candidature in Gorton was eventually abandoned in December 1905, as a result of pressure within that party.⁴ Had he proceeded more cautiously after his public disclaimer, Hodge might have avoided further accusations of Liberal sympathies. However by the summer of 1904 he had become involved in Winston Churchill's campaign in N.W.

1 Letter: Gorton United Trades and Labour Council. Chas. A. Bamford to J.R. MacDonald, 17 March 1904 (LRC 13/184)

2 LL, 12 March 1904

3 Ibid., 26 March 1904. See article 'The Alleged Gorton "Arrangement"'.

4 P.P. Poirier, op. cit., p. 250; P.F. Clarke, op. cit., p. 316.

Manchester. Churchill was originally invited to contest the seat by the Free Trade League and Hodge, who lived in the division, was asked by the League to support him. The League described Churchill as an Independent candidate, and on these grounds Hodge felt inclined to agree to the request. However before committing himself he sought advice from MacDonald.¹ The LRC decided that Churchill was in fact a Liberal candidate, and warned Hodge against supporting him.²

John Hodge failed to heed the warning, and on 24 June the Labour Leader stated that he was 'helping in the formation of a strong Liberal organisation to further the candidature of Mr. Winston Churchill'. Hodge vigorously denied this accusation in the following week's edition,³ but to little effect. On 8 July the Labour Leader bore a letter from W.E. Taylor:

The members of my branch (Crumpsall ILP Manchester) request me to state that several of our members, including myself, undoubtedly saw John Hodge, LRC candidate for Gorton (Manchester) upon the platform at a meeting run under the auspices of Manchester Liberal Federation, to further the candidature of Winston Churchill, M.P.⁴

Hodge attempted to explain away his presence. He had attended the meeting simply in order to accompany his wife and daughter, and a guest, who all wanted to hear Churchill. They had arrived ten minutes before

1 Letter: John Hodge to J.R. MacDonald, 19 April 1904 (LRC 14/150)

2 Typed unsigned letter to J. Hodge, 20 April 1904 (LRC 14/156);
Unsigned letter from LRC to J. Hodge, 19 May 1904 (LRC 14/157)

3 LL, 1 July 1904

4 Ibid., 8 July 1904. Charles Bamford of Gorton United Trades and Labour Council subsequently wrote to MacDonald to ask if Hodge had requested LRC permission to appear on Churchill's platform, and was informed that Hodge had already been told that Churchill must be regarded as a Liberal
Letter: Charles A. Bamford to J.R. MacDonald, 24 August 1904 (LRC 16/110/1)
A draft handwritten reply, signed by MacDonald, appears on the same sheet.

the meeting commenced, to find not even standing room available - except on the platform. Hodge's party and a few other people were then offered 'unreserved and unappropriated seats' on the platform. One of the others who accepted a seat on the platform was an ILPer, and Hodge remarked in the Labour Leader: 'It would appear as if certain people may steal a donkey and no crime is committed, while it is a crime for any one who is not a member of that body should he chance to be in the same field as the animal'.¹ By 'certain people' Hodge would appear to have meant 'socialists', for although he publicly espoused the ILP, Hodge was in fact far from being a socialist, his 'advanced' views being largely confined to support for municipal enterprise.²

To some socialists in the area, not least the future founders of Openshaw Socialist Society, Hodge's political stand (without the additional complication of support for Churchill) was far from acceptable. Hodge later reminisced:

... I had my troubles and worries at various intervals with the left wing element in that division ... That element were few in number, but what they lacked in that respect they made up for by the volume of their talk and general cussedness.³

Hodge's overt Liberal sympathies now brought the underlying differences within the Labour camp to the fore. S.G. Hobson commented in the Clarion that 'It has also to be remembered that Mr. Hodge displaced a faithful Socialist as candidate for Gorton in circumstances not a little peculiar.' Not perhaps surprisingly, his article was entitled 'Liberal-Labourism and Broken Vows', and concentrated upon the need for a British

1 LL, 15 July 1904

2 J. Hodge, op. cit., pp. 146-7

3 Ibid., p. 156

Socialist Party.¹

John Hodge was however assiduous in gaining trade union support. Apart from visiting trade union branches, he accepted invitations to Bible classes, Sunday Schools, concerts and temperance demonstrations.² With widespread labour (if not left-wing socialist) support, he obtained nearly double the number of votes cast for his Conservative opponent. Thus by 24 January 1906 the Manchester area had gained its third Labour MP.

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The 1906 General Election campaign has been considered above in an extremely parochial manner. No attention has been paid to the major issues which swung the electorate against the Conservatives; i.e. protectionism and the question of 'Chinese slavery'. This omission has however been deliberate, for the aim has been to explore two factors relating to the local ILP, namely the manner in which its independence was compromised (and, above all, was seen to be compromised) by the LRC's electoral pact with the Liberal party, and the continuous undercurrent of socialist protest against such compromise.

The ILP, and indeed the SDF, in the Manchester and Salford area contained among its members many prominent trade unionists. With such a degree of influence in the labour movement and a long-standing belief in the socialist mission to convert among the unions, it was possible

1 C, 15 July 1904. The circumstances under which Ward retired are not clear. Charles Bamford, in defending Hodge, suggested that the (unnamed) 'faithful Socialist candidate' had received open support from the Liberals (C, 22 July 1904). It does however appear that the chief problem was financial. Ward's contest in 1900 left a large debt, and the local ILP and Labour movement simply could not afford to finance him in another contest. The fact that Hodge, who could hardly be regarded as a socialist, was able to fight the seat because of union backing may well have been a source of resentment.

2 LL, 2 February 1906. See Hodge's article on Gorton, under the heading, 'How we won'.

for socialists at the turn of the century to welcome the formation of the LRC and participate in its activities without the expectation that their political beliefs would be compromised. The major change in this situation occurred when the General Election campaign was launched, and control over labour affairs was assumed by the LRC. Obviously even in the absence of a labour alliance, the NAC would have concentrated resources upon certain constituencies and sanctioned candidatures. Even the most optimistic Clarion socialist could not have expected a complete free rein for local parties. But the LRC candidates were not all socialists; some, like Kelley, were well-remembered for their past opposition to socialism. Moreover at every stage in the election campaign there emerged evidence of LRC collaboration with the Liberals. Although there is no reason to suppose that local socialists suspected the existence of a national electoral agreement, individual local incidents abounded, and could hardly have remained unnoticed by any active ILPer. However apart from the abortive affair of Fred Bramley's candidature for East Manchester,¹ there was no real socialist revolt against LRC policy, but rather a continuing undercurrent of dissension. Faced with straight fights at the polls between Labour and Conservative candidates, few socialists were prepared to risk wrecking Labour's chances. But socialism and independence had both been compromised by the labour alliance, and the local party which had first adopted the Fourth Clause was hardly likely to forget the fact.

Much depended upon the future policy of the labour group in Parliament. If its members clearly demonstrated their independence and campaigned vigorously for tangible reforms, then socialist dissension

1 See above, pp. 770-2

might well remain dormant. Should they fail, some of the original promoters of the Fourth Clause might be expected to fan the flames of rebellion. Robert Blatchford, describing in the Clarion 'The Astonishing Revolution of 1906' clearly asserted: '... our first and greatest duty as Socialists is to fight the Liberal Party. There can be no Socialism while any pretence of alliance or friendship exists between the Liberal Party and the Socialists'. His principal aim was now for a propaganda campaign, to achieve socialist victories at the next election: 'Labour seats may be left to the LRC. But we are going to teach the masses Socialism'.¹

1 C, 26 January 1906.

Chapter 4

The Socialist Revolt against Labourism, 1906-1914

A real Labour Party should have for its objective the overthrow of the capitalist rule and the emancipation of the working class. It should understand that Parliamentarianism is simply a means to that end, and that the means must always be subservient to the end. Once a Labour Party clearly understands that position, it will be not less, but more, zealous in its work for ameliorative measures; but it will also attach less importance to these proportionately, and will be consequently bolder in its attack upon the power and privilege of the possessing class. It will then have less respect for Parliamentary forms and usages, will think little of mere Parliamentary reverses, and will help to inspire the working class with a belief in itself and in its future.¹

Harry Quelch, 'Socialism and Parliamentarianism'
(March, 1910)

Until 1906 the ILP had functioned primarily as a propagandist party outside Parliament. Admittedly many of its leading members had proved successful in local elections, and had become accustomed to holding public office at a municipal level, but only Hardie had achieved a seat in the Commons. There his role had again been that of the propagandist: a lone voice in the wilderness, serving as a constant reminder of the needs and grievances of labour. After the 1906 General Election however the situation underwent a radical change. Twenty-nine MPs were elected under the auspices of the LRC and were joined, after the election, by one Miners' MP. Of the group; more than half belonged to the ILP, but only seven had actually been sponsored by that party at the election. Among these men, who formed the new Labour Party, loyalties were directed principally towards their trade union interests, not to the advancement of socialism.² To facilitate their election the ILP had made

1 Harry Quelch, 'Socialism and Parliamentarianism' in Harry Quelch. Literary Remains ed. E. Belfort Bax (1914) p. 178

2 D. Marquand, Ramsay MacDonald (1977) pp. 96-7

great sacrifices, not only in terms of the time expended and effort exerted by its members in the constituencies, but also of its own independence. Throughout the country the ILP's participation in the Labour Representation Committee had drawn it into the 'arrangement' with the Liberal Party. Indeed many of the new Labour MPs actually owed their seats to the arrangement; only five had actually faced Liberal opposition.¹

Rank and file ILPers, who for years had argued the case for the achievement of socialism by peaceful, parliamentary methods, were now obliged to rest their hopes upon this largely non-socialist Labour Party to fulfil the role outlined above by Harry Quelch. But would the Labour Party in Parliament attack 'the power and privilege of the possessing class', or would it merely succumb to respect for Parliamentaryism and co-operation with the Liberal Government?

In the constituencies, ILPers continued to speak on street corners, sell the Labour Leader, and raise funds at bazaars. But the centre of gravity within their party had shifted. The ILP was no longer an essentially local, propagandist party, for the parliamentary route to socialism was being put to its first test, and the development of the party in the constituencies now depended less upon local personalities and activities, and more upon national political events.

The socialist movement in Manchester and Salford had never been entirely committed to parliamentaryism or the Labour alliance, for both the SDF and the Clarion group were firmly entrenched. Moreover, as events surrounding the 1906 election have revealed, at least a section of the ILP placed a high value upon the party's independence,

1 R. Miliband, Parliamentary Socialism (1961; 2nd ed., 1973) p. 21

once embodied in the Fourth Clause. Coupled with these factors was a long history of co-operation between the ILP and SDF, and support for a united socialist party. It was not, in the circumstances, surprising that some of the leading critics of the Labour alliance emerged from the Manchester and Salford ILP, nor that the area became the focus of the renewed campaign for an alternative, socialist, alliance.

The aim of this chapter is to consider both the impact of national events upon the ILP, and the extent to which local socialists actually moulded those events. The leading protagonists in the socialist revolt against labourism, Robert Blatchford, Victor Grayson and Leonard Hall, all had strong local connections. Nor was it simply due to 'accidents of history' that the 'Green Manifesto' was produced in Manchester, or the BSP founded in Salford. If the local history of the ILP during the period in question cannot be interpreted without consideration of parliamentary events, the internal struggles of the ILP can more profitably be examined from the viewpoint of the Manchester and Salford party; a party formed with the aid of Social Democrats and the Clarion, and committed to Fourth Clause socialism before the national party even came into being.

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When Kelley, Clynes and Hodge took their seats in the Commons, they did so on the opposition side of the House. This was not the result of a tactical decision by the Labour Party, but of the Liberal landslide at the General Election, which resulted in some 400 members crowding the Government benches. Indeed the Labour Party, now led by Hardie as Chairman and Ramsay MacDonald as Secretary, was inclined to follow the

path indicated by MacDonald some two years previously, and give 'general support' to the Liberals, so long as the Cabinet proved to be 'anti-Imperialist, and ... sound on Trade Union legislation'.¹

During the first session of the new Parliament, such a policy appeared to produce tangible benefits for local Labour supporters.

Manchester and Salford LRC, in its Annual Report for 1906, claimed that:

The need for a Labour Party, on Independent lines, in the House of Commons, has been amply justified in the work accomplished by the Labour members during the first Session of Parliament. By their advocacy, knowledge and experience, they were able to mould the Trades Dispute Bill, the Workmen's Compensation Bill, and the Provision of Meals Bill for School Children, as to make them real, live Acts of Parliament, beneficial to the workers of the country and the underfed school child. The Labour Party has also secured concessions for the workmen engaged at the Government Dockyards and Arsenals in respect of wages, hours of labour, the right of combination, and the recognition of the work-men's unions. They have also rendered great assistance in the passing of the Merchant Shipping Act and the Notification of Accidents Act. The questions of Old Age Pensions and Unemployment have also been persistently pursued by them as opportunity presented, and it can be justly claimed that their influence on the legislation of the session will be of immense benefit to the workers of the country.²

But by 1907 the parliamentary honeymoon was over. A number of Labour measures floundered, no important legislation was passed, and a mere Government promise to introduce old-age pensions the following year contrasted sharply with the achievements of the first session. In their Parliamentary Report to Manchester and Salford LRC, Kelley and Clynes explained that 'during the second session a feeling obtained that others had a greater claim to the time and attention of the House'. They went on to emphasise the number of speeches made by Labour members,

1 Ibid., p. 22

2 Manchester and Salford LRC, 3rd Annual Report ... 1906, p. 5. The Trade Disputes Act set aside the Taff Vale judgement.

and the committee work they had undertaken,¹ but there was no record of solid achievement to impress their local supporters. MacDonald at least appears to have anticipated the problems ahead. In July 1907 he wrote to Bruce Glasier:

I think we had better work up some feeling on behalf of the Unemployed Bill this Autumn and Winter, as I am afraid there is no chance of even mentioning it in the House of Commons this session. We shall put a question or two on the subject but beyond that we shall have no opportunity of going. They do not mean to give us a day for the Local Government Board Vote ...²

The problem of the unemployed, and the failure of the Labour Party to promote any legislative remedy for their plight, was to be one of the key factors in the socialist revolt against the labour alliance. As such it will merit separate consideration. Initially the aim here is to portray the general lack of solid achievements by the Labour Party in parliament after 1906.

For the remaining years of that Parliament, Kelley and Clynes' reports to their local LRC paint a picture of setbacks and major obstacles encountered. Thus in 1908 they were able to record the beginning of a scheme for Old-Age Pensions,

... but the thanks which the Government might have obtained was chiefly lost because of the unjust and irritating disqualifications which were retained in the Bill, in spite of the efforts of the Labour Party to remove them. To give pensions because of old age and poverty, and to disqualify those who suffered such extremes of poverty as to be forced to the parish for relief, was really to defeat the main principle upon which the Pensions Bill was based.³

1 Manchester and Salford LRC, 4th Annual Report ... 1907, p. 7;
D. Marquand, op. cit., p. 101

2 Letter: J.R. MacDonald to J. Bruce Glasier. London, 22 July 1907
(I.1. 1907/83 Glasier Papers)

3 Manchester and Salford LRC, 5th Annual Report ... 1908, p. 7

During the last session of the Parliament, discussion on the Budget occupied much of the Commons' time. The Labour Party could however claim credit for some of the items which aroused the antipathy of the Lords: Land Taxes, Super-Tax and Death Duties. Otherwise Kelly and Clynes' report for 1909 read as an apologia. The Wages Boards Act 'may not for some time be far reaching in its effects, but, in principle, it is perhaps more acceptable than any measure ever passed to deal with the conditions of wage earners'. In the same tone they recorded the passage of the Labour Exchanges Act, commenting 'We have never claimed that Labour Exchanges would increase opportunities for employment. Exchanges can at best held to regularise the supply of labour to places where it may be required'.¹

Thus after 1906 the general record of the Labour Party in Parliament at best failed to inspire its local supporters. But far more significant was the fact that the Liberal Government provided no remedy for the growing problem of the unemployment - and the Labour MPs revealed themselves as being far more dedicated to the niceties of Parliamentary procedure than to the interests of their unemployed constituents. It is indeed difficult to exaggerate the importance of the unemployment issue to the political development of the Labour alliance. Throughout the country socialists had been prepared to compromise their independence and take part in the alliance because they believed that a Labour group would be able to influence, persuade, or even force Parliament to deal with pressing social issues. And unemployment, at least in Manchester and Salford was a pressing issue, not just an abstract problem in need of a legislative remedy. Crowds of ragged, half-starved men were

1 Manchester and Salford LRC, 6th Annual Report ... 1909, p. 8

regularly to be seen standing about the streets or queuing at soup kitchens. For socialists their presence raised an obvious question; what was the use of the Labour alliance if its MPs, once elected, could not, or would not, do something about a major issue like unemployment?

The problem of unemployment did not emerge suddenly after the 1906 General Election. Although the situation had improved during the late 1890s, the unemployment figures were again rising after the turn of the century, and rose particularly rapidly in the engineering, ship-building and metal trades.¹ As early as March 1901 a mass meeting was held at the Comedy Theatre, to discuss what means could be adopted to relieve the unemployed in Manchester. With Tom Cook in the chair and most of the leading trade unionists and socialists on the platform, the meeting called upon Manchester City Council to establish a Labour Bureau.² Manchester and Salford ILP, at its quarterly meeting in December 1902, sought not only the establishment of such bureaux, but also a scheme of public works to be promoted by both national and local government.³ Their demand for public works was echoed by the local Trades Council, but the only response from Manchester Board of Guardians was to the effect that the relief statistics of the Board did not show any exceptional distress!⁴

On 12 October 1904 the executive committees of the Manchester and

1 S.J. Chapman and H.M. Hallsworth, *op. cit.*, See graph, p. 100. S.J. Chapman, who was appointed to the Chair of Political Economy at Owen's College in 1901, had been active in the local ILP from its formation. (see WT, 3 September 1892; LL, 15 February and 19 September 1896, 6 July 1901, 2 April 1914).

2 LL, 2 March 1901

3 C, 26 December 1902; LL, 27 December 1902

4 LL, 3 and 10 January 1903

Salford Trades Council, ILP, and SDF held a joint meeting to consider the problem. They decided unanimously to convene a conference on 27 October, of representatives from trade union and labour bodies, co-operative societies, university settlements, and members of the City and Borough Councils and Boards of Guardians, 'with a view to arriving at some practical means of dealing with the large number of unemployed work-people in the city and borough, and also with the great amount of poverty and distress prevalent in our midst through lack of employment'.¹ The Conference, held in the Lord Mayor's Parlour and presided over by the Lord Mayor, again demanded municipal action, with Mrs. Pankhurst reminding the meeting that the Guardians already possessed the power to provide employment by acquiring land and setting men to work thereon.² Pressure for immediate action now took the form of mass meetings by the unemployed and processions to Manchester and Chorlton Town Halls. Largely instrumental in organising the demonstrations were the socialists: Skivington, Horrocks, Hudson and Purcell.³ But when an attempt to provide municipal employment was made, it served only to highlight a fundamental problem. At the end of November 1904 Manchester Corporation found work for 600 men; to work in 6-hour shifts, clearing the streets of snow. However, 'many of the men were so reduced by want that they were little better than physical wrecks, and a number of cases were reported of men falling down through sheer weakness'.⁴ Clearly without some provision for their sustenance, unemployed men rapidly became

1 C, 21 October 1904

2 LL, 4 November 1904

3 J, 26 November 1904

4 LL, 2 December 1904

unemployable.

The belief that unemployment necessitated a solution more fundamental than mere soup kitchens was not confined to the socialists. In Manchester a committee was formed, comprising the Lord Mayor, councillors, and representatives from all the political parties and from trade unions.¹ President of the Committee was Arthur Smith, an ILPer, who in December 1904 submitted a scheme for the establishment of Labour Bureaux in every industrial centre in the country. The Bureaux should be managed by committees, drawn from the District, Town or City Council, and should not enter into competition with ordinary commercial enterprises. Moreover the committees should be responsible for feeding, clothing and housing all the employable (and hitherto unemployed) persons and their dependants. The Unemployed Committee approved the scheme, and determined that the government should be asked to bring forward a bill dealing with the unemployment question, and recognizing the principle embodied in the scheme.² A special sub-committee, with Smith as Secretary, was then formed to draft a bill upon these lines.³

However the Committee can have entertained little hope of Government support. In January 1905 a deputation visited A.J. Balfour at the Queen's Hotel in Manchester. Having emphasised the inadequacy of the current charitable relief schemes, W.E. Skivington (of the SDF) advocated the formation of Labour Bureaux, only to have Balfour decline to express any opinion. The Prime Minister did however attribute the employment difficulties of men over the age of 40 to trade union action

1 J, 21 January 1905

2 LL, 16 December 1904

3 J, 4 August 1905

in forcing minimum wages for each particular trade!¹ Not that the Liberals had offered any more hope of action. Campbell-Bannerman had been interviewed by a deputation in December 1904, after which the Labour Leader reported:

To profess ignorance of the real condition of affairs at this time of day is almost criminal, yet that is what this 'statesman' did. The rest of his replies were, as we all expected, diplomatic evasion and hypocritical promises.²

The socialists involved in the unemployed movement did have their occasional differences. Thus after a meeting in December 1904, at St. James' Hall, the Labour Leader complained that the ILP had been ignored and that H.M. Hyndman, who did speak, had 'quickly succeeded in rousing the audience and making an enemy of every non-socialist on the platform'.³ Shortly afterwards the S.W. Manchester SDF report in Justice accused the Manchester ILP Councillors of failing to assist the unemployed movement.⁴ However faced with inaction on the part of the local authorities, the socialists were united in their condemnation. The regular meetings of the unemployed in Albert Square were discontinued at the request of the authorities, whereupon the Labour Leader commented:

To be quite frank, the outside feeling was that the movement was being kept 'on the hand' purposely by the Mayor and his friends to tide over the critical period of the winter and to prevent any awkward manifestations in view of the King's visit.⁵

The Government eventually introduced its Unemployed Workmen's Bill on April 18th.⁶ The emphasis on London and provision for optional

1 Ibid., 4 February 1905

2 LL, 9 December 1904

3 Ibid., 23 December 1904

4 J, 11 February 1905

5 LL, 4 August 1905

6 K.D. Brown, op. cit., pp. 50-5

relief elsewhere, as well as its general timidity, caused it to fall far short of the socialists' hopes. But it did recognise state responsibility for the unemployed and when, by mid-May, no provision had been made for its Second Reading, considerable anxiety for its future progress prevailed within the Labour movement. Details of the Bill's progress in the Commons are beyond the scope of this survey. In essence the chief problem was that the Government, wishing to avoid the principle of rate aid to pay the wages of unemployed men, both exercised delaying tactics and re-drafted the Bill to exclude the rate-aid clause, which was of course of paramount concern to the socialists. During the spring and summer demonstrations were held in Manchester and Salford in support of the Bill, including a mass demonstration at Heaton Park on 1 July, which was followed by Hardie's meeting at the Ardwick Empire.¹

In July 1905 the unemployed resumed their meetings in Albert Square. Although the general employment situation had benefitted from the usual seasonal fluctuation, the plight of those men still without work had not. With the onset of the warmer weather the Lord Mayor's fund had closed, and the municipal provision of work had ceased.² In Albert Square proposals for a march to London were mooted, and at the end of July the chairman at one meeting announced that if the Manchester Unemployed Committee had been in London, 'they would have made a small hell of that city'. Another speaker asserted that if the Unemployed Bill was not passed, the result would be 'another St. Petersburg'.³

1 LL, 30 June, 5 July 1905

2 Ibid., 4 August 1905

3 C, 28 July 1905

The leaders of the unemployed movement, notably Smith and Skivington, were aware of the growing impatience within its ranks, and therefore decided that on Monday 31 August the usual meeting at Albert Square should be followed by a demonstration through the principal streets. According to plan, between 400 and 500 men gathered at the Square. Skivington, from the chair, said that something should be done to force the Government's hands, and compel them to pass the Unemployed Bill, while Smith asserted that 'so far as the Manchester unemployed were concerned they were prepared to fight if necessary to obtain that which they desired - the right to live by their work. They would have to teach the nation a lesson in this matter. Mr. Balfour would not have to wait long if he demanded a crisis'. Also among the speakers was a young student ILPer who had pleaded the case of the unemployed both at Heaton Park demonstration and at the regular Tib Street meetings: Victor Grayson. After the meeting Skivington and Smith led the march via Cross Street and Market Street to Piccadilly, accompanied by about a hundred policemen. In Piccadilly the crowd got in front of a tramcar, and failed to move when the driver rang his bell. Police claimed that several of the unemployed climbed onto the tram platform and tried to pull the driver off. This the unemployed leaders denied, asserting that the procession was moving peacefully when police attacked the men with batons and fists. Nevertheless Skivington, Robert McGregor and Charles Steadman were arrested.¹

That evening, Hardie referred to the Manchester disturbance in the Commons. He attempted to move an adjournment of the House in order to

1 LL, 4 August 1905. The account of this affair by K.D. Brown, op. cit., p. 59 is somewhat different, although apparently based upon the same source.

call attention to the matter, but was ruled out of order. Nevertheless he sent a message to the Manchester Committee: 'Hearty congratulations. The spirit of the Peterloo massacre is again upon the authorities'. This was duly read to a large meeting in Albert Square, on Tuesday 1 August, attended by Smith, Skivington (whose case had been adjourned), Victor Grayson, J.E. McGlasson and Bruce Glasier.¹

The effect which the Manchester disturbance had upon opinion in the Commons can never be assessed accurately. But by 7 August the Bill, which had been virtually dead a week previously, had been steered through the Commons (albeit devoid of the rate-aid clauses). At Albert Square on Sunday 6 August a predominantly socialist group of speakers addressed a crowd of 7-8,000 people. 'The general temper of the meeting showed that while the majority recognised that the Bill was a poor one, yet it was better than nothing, and it should be accepted, and an effort made to strengthen it'. Socialist speeches were well-received, although the Labour Leader may have been somewhat optimistic when it claimed:

What struck the observer was the temper of the vast assemblage. It was Socialistic through and through. This state of affairs is not altogether due to the excitement raised by the collision with the police in Market Street on Monday week. It is rather the result of long and earnest propaganda in all corners of the city. Everywhere Manchester has shown itself responsive to the teachings of the socialist speaker ...²

The passing of the Unemployed Workmen's Act could have led to an anti-climax in the Manchester unemployed movement. The five leaders of the agitation, on trial at the Police Court, appear to have recanted, much to the disappointment of the Labour Leader. However both the ILP

1 LL, 4 August 1905

2 LL, 11 August 1905

3 Ibid., 18 August 1905

and SDF determined that unemployed organisation was still necessary, both to utilise the provisions of the act and to provide assistance through local schemes. Thus on 19 August delegates from both parties met in conference at the Mutual Cafe, Cannon Street, and agreed to form a committee, to attempt to ensure the efficient administration of the new act, and keep the question of the unemployed before the community and nation. Ten members from each organisation were duly elected, with power to add delegates from the Trades Council, Building Trades Federation, women's organisations, and Gorton Trades Council, also to co-opt all Labour elected persons. A sub-committee (2 SDF and 2 ILP delegates) was then deputed to conduct a meeting in Albert Square the following Sunday.¹

The new committee organised meetings, tried to persuade the unemployed to register,² and complained about the harsh regulations governing the provision of relief. As Hardie commented, after listing some of the questions put by distress committees to applicants for relief: 'From the above it is clear that not unemployment, but destitution is intended to be the test of an applicant's fitness to receive relief'.³ That November four members of the Committee were arrested in Albert Square and sentenced to three days' imprisonment for obstruction, although they claimed that there were few people about to be obstructed - except police and detectives!⁴ When the Rev. G.W. Jack of Cheetham Hill Presbyterian Church ^{allegedly} insulted the unemployed

1 Ibid., 25 August 1905; J, 26 August 1905

2 LL, 1 and 8 September, 6 October 1905

3 Ibid., 27 October 1905

4 Ibid., 17 November 1905

movement in one of his sermons, a body of unemployed, led by Mary MacArthur, Purcell and W.C. Anderson, adopted the Chartist technique of appearing en masse at one of his sermons.¹ The socialists were rapidly losing hope of any real municipal assistance, despite the professions of sympathy from the Lord Mayor and Council. Tom Fox, increasing impatient, told the council that its policy meant 'that the unemployed should be sent to the dogs' home to be smothered'.²

The background to the Manchester unemployed movement before the 1906 Election has been considered in detail for several reasons. Initially it was obvious that the chief demand of the movement was for a new or amended Act. Hence the new Labour Party would be expected to exert all its efforts in this direction. But also the unemployed movement demonstrated the close co-operation continuing in a local level between the ILP and SDF, and the involvement of many leading socialists in the campaign. Being personally involved in the unemployed struggles, the Manchester socialists were less likely to accept delays and excuses on the parliamentary front. This factor obviously had its most significant effect upon Victor Grayson, who alone had the opportunity to transfer his agitation from Albert Square to Westminster.³ Most difficult to evaluate was the effect of continuous agitation on the streets upon political attitudes. While Labour members pursued their routine parliamentary duties and the national ILP underwent further

1 Ibid., 1 December 1905

2 Ibid., 8 December 1905

3 Grayson's stand in the Commons on the question of unemployment can only be appreciated in the light of his earlier activities in Manchester. His Colne Valley constituency was in fact enjoying a period of industrial prosperity when he was elected in 1907. (See D. Clarke, Colne Valley: Radicalism to Socialism (1981) pp. 141-3.

leadership struggles, unemployed men were meeting and marching, occasionally encountering police opposition, and regularly being addressed by socialist orators. Although most of the unemployed were far from being socialists, and few of the ILP or SDF members can have entertained hopes of mass conversion, the possibility of utilising a mass movement outside parliament for socialist ends did present itself.

The socialist rank and file's faith in parliamentary leadership can hardly have been enhanced by the activities of John Burns. Once famed as the Social-Democratic leader of the London dockers and gas workers, he now took his place in the new Liberal Cabinet, as President of the Local Government Board. The SDF considered from the outset that Burns was simply reaping his reward for betraying the working class, although some ILP and trade union leaders were cautiously optimistic. His subsequent prevarication about producing an amendment to the Unemployed Workmen's Act must have increased support for the SDF's view.¹ Failure to assist the unemployed by an upper-class Cabinet Minister could be expected; but when an erstwhile working class socialist agitator acted in such a manner, then rank and file activists might well contemplate the pitfalls of the parliamentary route to socialism.

Although the parliament which assembled on 19 February 1906 was informed that the Unemployed Workmen's Act would be amended, it was not until 19 July that Burns brought forward some concrete proposals. Even then he offered only temporary aid, in the form of a £200,000 grant, for the administration of the existing act. By March 1907 well under half the sum had actually been spent by the Board, which had proved unwilling

1 For a detailed examination of Burns' Presidency of the Local Government Board, see W. Kent, John Burns: Labour Lost Leader (1950) Chapter VI, pp. 147-82 passim.

to finance any local experiments in relief.¹ On 9 July 1907 Ramsay MacDonald [under the ten minute rule] introduced the Labour Party's Unemployment Bill. It provided for a central employment committee to plan national works, with local commissioners to develop and co-ordinate local works. Each local authority was to set up an employment committee, which should find work for all registered unemployed in its area and might pay their wages from the rates. Any individual who was not found work would have a right to maintenance for himself and his dependants. But this Right to Work Bill only reached its Second Reading during the 1907 session, and was then reintroduced, unchanged, in 1908. On this occasion it failed even to receive a Second Reading.²

In Manchester the unemployed agitation continued unabated. In January 1906, even before the new Parliament met, marchers from Liverpool and Manchester set out to London. The Manchester and Salford Joint Unemployed Committee, with A.F. Dunkley as its secretary, continued to organise meetings to demand an Amending Act and sent a deputation to John Burns, albeit without success.³ In May Arthur Smith was sentenced to a month's imprisonment for speaking in the Infirmary Square,⁴ and upon his release took part in a new aspect of the agitation, the establishment of an unemployed camp in Levenshulme. Not that the philosophy behind the move was new; as Dunkley wrote to the Labour Leader:

Our first object was to demonstrate that the land being the only possible source from which those things

1 K.D. Brown, op. cit., pp. 72-81

2 Ibid., pp. 83-4, 91-3

3 J, 26 May, 30 June 1906; LL, 27 April, 22 June 1906

4 LL, 11 May 1906

necessary to maintain life can be obtained, to withhold the same from those willing to work upon the same, was wrong from any point of morality.

Dunkley and his associates also believed that the camp would disprove the common accusation, that the unemployed were really unwilling to work, and would also demonstrate that men and women hitherto accustomed to town life could adapt themselves to agricultural labour.¹ Their ultimate aim however was the entire nationalisation of the land.²

The land occupied by the camp belonged to Holy Trinity Church, whose rector was believed by the unemployed to sympathise with their plight. The men proceeded to dig a drainage trench, extend the area under cultivation, and establish a hen run. They also began building a hut to provide their own winter quarters. Inspired by this example another group of young men in Levenshulme took possession of a piece of land near the library, on which they commenced horticultural operations.³ However the rector was less sympathetic than he had appeared. He obtained an injunction against Arthur Smith the organiser, 'Minister of Agriculture' Stewart Gray, and secretary A.F. Dunkley. Moreover his appearance on the scene with a small army of labourers and policemen obliged the campers to beat a hasty retreat.⁴ Camps elsewhere in the country also proved to be shortlived⁵ but their efforts did highlight a possible means of alleviating the problem of unemployment. Manchester Corporation had in fact undertaken its own experiment at

1 Ibid., 20 July 1906

2 J, 21 July 1906

3 LL, 20 July 1906

4 Ibid., 27 July, 10 and 17 August 1906

5 K.D. Brown, op. cit., pp. 76-7

Carrington Moss, which had proved so successful that it planned to place another 100 men on the land.¹

The 'back to the land' movement, faintly reminiscent of the Chartist Land Plan, did not offer any real, long-term solution for the problems of a 20th century industrial society. It was perhaps more significant as a resort to 'direct action', emphasising the failure of established political methods. Local activists in the unemployed movement were becoming increasingly critical not only of government inaction, but also of the attitude of the Labour movement. John Burns' contempt for farm colonies did not serve to enhance his reputation in Manchester.² A meeting at Stevenson Square in February 1907 condemned 'the lethargy of Labour and trade unions in allowing men in search of work to starve, and for not supporting the agitation for amendment of the Unemployed Act'.³ Richard Robinson commented that '... the general apathy and indifference which seem to characterise the ILP Council for Manchester and Salford with regard to the question of the unemployed is quite inexplicable'.⁴ He also believed that the Levenshulme experiment had foundered because it had not been properly supported by the organised Labour and Socialist forces in the city.⁵ G.D. Kelley came in for attack when he told Manchester and Salford LRC that he thought the Government record was satisfactory, and hoped to see the Liberal and Labour parties united. Such statements, commented the Labour Leader, 'cause grave

1 LL, 24 August 1906

2 Ibid., 19 April 1907. See speeches by A.F. Dunkley and J.R. Clynes at the ILP demonstration in Stevenson Square.

3 C, 22 February 1907

4 LL, 1 March 1907

5 Ibid., 21 September 1906

disquiet in the Socialist ranks, and afford those who desire to see the Socialist and Trade Union alliance ruptured plausible ground for complaint'.¹

The Manchester unemployed, with little hope of parliamentary assistance, continued to demonstrate in the city. On Christmas morning 1907 the congregation at Manchester Cathedral had just finished singing 'Christians Awake' when Stewart Gray appeared in the pulpit to announce: 'I cannot understand you singing a hymn of this kind when thousands are starving in the city. I protest against the birth of the Saviour being celebrated when there are so many poor people in the world who are not helped ...'. He was duly carried outside.²

On 16 March 1908, three days after Parliament's rejection of the 'Right to Work' Bill, a group of unemployed men assembled in front of a large warehouse in Manchester. One of the group broke a plate glass window, as a result of which Arthur Smith, Batty, Brown and Thompson were all sentenced to 12 months' imprisonment on a charge of conspiracy to destroy property. The court was told that the men had suggested (not altogether seriously) the use of bombs, the kidnapping of an Alderman, and the breaking of windows, to arouse public attention to their plight. Batty justified the policy of breaking windows; 'He exclaimed passionately against the wrongs of the present system, and declared his willingness to go to gaol in order to protest against the treatment of the unemployed'.³ However the four were convicted on the unsupported evidence of a man who was suspected of being an informer, and had himself

1 Ibid., 27 December 1907

2 C, 3 January 1908

3 LL, 3 April 1908.

been imprisoned some 24 times. Clynes reminded the Home Secretary of this factor in the Commons on 30 March. Locally the Manchester Unemployed Emergency Committee was established, to campaign for a reduction of the men's sentences, and to provide financial assistance for their wives. Its treasurer was an ILPer, R.C. Hall. Other ILPers - John McLaren (organising secretary of the Manchester District Party), James Howard, and Richard Robinson - visited the prisoners in Strangeways.¹ But although local socialists assisted at this level, they had little influence upon relief activities in the city as a whole. On 21 August 1908 the Labour Leader bore an article, 'Why is Manchester doing nothing?'. It complained about the general inaction of the Distress Committee, and demanded to know what the Labour members of the committee were doing.²

By the end of September 1908 there were 11,000 unemployed in Manchester, and 'Miserable scenes are witnessed outside the Municipal Labour Registry, where between 2,000 and 3,000 every morning engage in a scramble for the few jobs that are going'.³ The unemployed again invaded a Cathedral service, and became involved in a struggle with the police en route to a Stevenson Square meeting, which was addressed by McLaren and Woollerton.⁴ A fortnight later a crowd in Albert Square, gathered in anticipation of a march by the unemployed to the Town Hall, faced a police baton charge. Twenty-eight people were seriously injured.⁵ The labour organisations of Manchester organised a 'Right to Work'

1 Ibid., 3 April, 12 June, 18 September 1908

2 Ibid., 21 August 1908

3 C, 25 September 1908

4 LL, 18 September 1908

5 Ibid., 2 October 1908

demonstration in Heaton Park that August; the Clarion Scouts inaugurated their Anti-Poverty Crusade on 27 September.¹ But neither their speeches nor the unemployed demonstrations produced any visible effect on the Parliamentary scene. Not, at least, until Victor Grayson rose in the Commons on 2 November, 'to move the adjournment of the House so that it can deal with the unemployment question'.²

The political background to Grayson's stand must be considered separately. Initially it is helpful to place the Manchester unemployment problem in perspective, by referring to the unemployment census carried out in the city on the first three days of March 1909.³ This revealed that 11,957 men and 2,560 women were completely without work, while 3,776 men and 436 women were partially or casually employed. Nor did these people form part of the unskilled, unemployable, floating population which critics of the unemployed agitation were wont to describe. Most of the men had been skilled workers in the building, engineering, metal, woodworking and furniture trades, or clerks, shop assistants or warehousemen. The great majority were trade union members, who had resided in the city for over a year. Thus the bulk of the Manchester unemployed were of the 'respectable' working class, from which the ILP also drew its membership. Their plight could well be blamed upon the shortcomings of capitalist society, rather than upon their own personal inadequacies.

Why, if the victims of unemployment were largely 'respectable' skilled working men, and moreover trade unionists, did the Labour Party

1 Ibid., 25 September 1908

2 R. Groves, *op. cit.*, p. 66

3 C, 9 April 1909. See 'Census of Manchester's Unemployed'.

in Parliament not rush to their defence? The answer must simply lie in the fact that the Party was committed to upholding the parliamentary routine, which did not provide time for the measures of a small party, and to supporting the Liberal government, which did not place the unemployed question high on its list of priorities. Moreover by the time Grayson rose to speak on 2 November 1908 the ILP was already divided in its attitude towards the Labour alliance. Grayson was to become a rallying figure for the 'rebel' element within the party, and Labour Party inaction on the unemployed question was to serve as justification for those socialists who wished to end the alliance. Not simply the alliance, but also the parliamentary route to socialism, was found wanting by some socialists. Leonard Hall, speaking at an unemployed demonstration in Stevenson Square in October 1908 remarked that '... if constitutional methods failed, the Government would be responsible if the people were driven to desperation'.¹

In part the role of the Manchester and Salford members in the Labour/socialist division within the ILP was the outcome of their local party's history. But local socialists were also strongly influenced by more immediate circumstances in the area. The unemployed of Manchester were demonstrating in the streets, for all to see. Their problem was one which demanded a parliamentary solution, but after almost three years of a Labour Party in Parliament nothing significant had been achieved. As Leonard Hall later wrote in the 'Green Manifesto':

The process of demoralisation began to be publicly flagrant when the leaders of the Party threw themselves with gratuitous fervour and inconsistency into a prolonged campaign in support of the Liberal Government's Licensing Bill, to the

1 LL, 23 October 1908

subordination of Unemployment and other Things that
Mattered.¹

The 'demoralisation' within the ILP itself can however be traced back to an earlier stage in the Labour Party's history, and it is to this political aspect that we must now turn.

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Criticism of the Labour alliance received its greatest publicity on the occasion of by-elections. And the two which most affected the Manchester party, Colne Valley in July 1907² and N.W. Manchester in April 1908, were perhaps the most divisive of the era. In 1906 Colne Valley, considered to be a safe Liberal seat, was held by Sir James Kitson. However the Colne Valley Labour League determined to contest it at the next opportunity and, before the end of May 1906, was considering two possible candidates: Edward Black of Leeds and Victor Grayson of Manchester.³ When Sam Eastwood, Secretary of the CVLL, conveyed this information to MacDonald, he received an instant rebuff. MacDonald asserted that neither of the men named had been brought before the Labour Party by an affiliated society, and he duly enclosed a list of alternative candidates.⁴ It appears that the CVLL made every effort to

1 L. Hall, et. al., p. 3 'Introductory' by Leonard Hall.

2 For a detailed examination of the Colne Valley by-election, see D. Clark, op. cit., Chapters 9 and 10, pp. 129-61.

3 Letter: Sam Eastwood, Sec., Colne Valley Labour League to ? J.R. MacDonald. (LP/CAN/06/2/31 - Labour Party Archives). This letter was originally undated, and 'Before 16 June 1906' has been added later. However the letter was clearly written during the latter half of May 1906, for the letter from MacDonald to Eastwood, dated 28 May 1906, forms a reply. (All subsequent documents from the Labour Party Archives will be located only by classification numbers, commencing 'LP')

4 Letter: J.R. MacDonald to S. Eastwood, 28 May 1906 (LP/CAN/06/2/32)

comply with the LRC's wishes. They gave serious consideration to another candidate, T. Russell Williams¹ and although, as Eastwood reminded MacDonald, the League was affiliated to the Labour Party as a properly constituted branch of the ILP,² arrangements were made for a Labour Representation Conference. This meeting, of delegates from trade unions, co-operative, socialist and other Labour bodies in the division, was held in the Guild Room of Slaithwaite Co-operative Society on 16 June.³ However no local LRC was formed, simply because all those present were already members of the CVLL.⁴ To the Colne Valley socialists, if not to MacDonald, it seemed pointless for the same people to form another organisation for the same purpose, simply to bear a different name.

The question of a candidature appears to have been left in abeyance until early 1907, probably because the Labour Party considered that the ILP already had more than its share of approved candidates.⁵ Colne Valley Labour League was still determined to contest the seat, but no potential candidate emerged who was acceptable both to it and to the NAC. The NAC again objected to Victor Grayson, on the grounds that his name was not on the ILP's list of available candidates, nor on the list

1 Letters: S. Eastwood to ? J.R. MacDonald, 30 May and 2 June 1906 (LP/CAN/06/2/34 and 36) Williams withdrew when he was adopted as prospective Labour candidate for Huddersfield on 21 June 1906. After his defeat at the November by-election he was again considered by the Colne Valley Labour League as a possible candidate (See D. Clark, op. cit., pp. 132-3).

2 LP/CAN/06/2/34 passim.

3 Handbill announcing Labour Representation Conference, to be held at Slaithwaite, 16 June 1906 (LP/CAN/06/2/31ii, 33i and ii).

4 Letter: Victor Grayson to J.R. MacDonald, 3 July 1907 (LP/CAN/06/2/53)

5 L. Thompson, The Enthusiasts, p. 152

submitted to the Labour Party.¹ In an attempt to dissuade the local socialists from adopting Grayson, Philip Snowden and James Howard were dispatched to Colne Valley on 6 April. They reported:

We found some little soreness at what the members considered the neglect on the part of the NAC to come to a definite decision on the matter ...

It is perfectly evident, however, that no other name on the list of approved candidates would be acceptable, and the whole of the branches are determined upon Grayson. It is quite certain that there is no moving them from this decision.²

Again the NAC practised delaying tactics, to the growing discontent of some rank and file members, not only from Colne Valley. Thus at the ILP's Derby Conference on 1st and 2nd April 1907 J.M. McLachlan, representing Levenshulme, introduced the subject into the discussion on the proposed re-drafting of the ILP's rules and constitution. Snowden, apparently on the defensive, replied that McLachlan seemed to be under the impression that the NAC desired to limit the freedom of branches in the selection of candidates; the NAC had no power under the suggested constitution to impose a candidate on any constituency, and the power to select candidates from the list already approved was reserved to the branches. McLachlan failed to elicit any further information³ and the Colne Valley socialists were also left in a quandary. According to Sam Eastwood, Snowden and Howard had led them to understand that no obstacle would be placed in the Labour League's way. Eastwood was subsequently instructed to write to Snowden, to see how the matter was proceeding.

1 ILP, NAC Minutes. Minutes of Meeting at Portland Hotel, Derby, 29-30 March 1907. W.C. Anderson had been runner-up to Grayson in two ballots held by delegates at the CVLL's general council. However he was not prepared to stand in a general ballot of all League members (see D. Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 133)

2 Typed 'Report from Head Office. Page 52. April 24th 1907' (LP/CAN/06/2/39)

3 ILP, Report of the 15th Annual Conference ... 1907, p. 57

But, according to Eastwood ...

In his (Snowden's) reply dated April 5th he said the NAC did not meet until July and the Parliamentary Committee, which would have the matter to settle, could not meet until Hardie was better. Since that date we have heard nothing further till your letter came this morning (24th June).¹

The letter in question, from MacDonald, however arrived too late to influence the situation. Sir James Kitson became Baron Airedale, a by-election was declared on 22 June, and Victor Grayson was adopted as Parliamentary Candidate.² A Labour Party emergency sub-committee meeting on 28 June resolved that Grayson's candidature was not promoted in accordance with its constitution, and that it could take no action. Moreover, in the opinion of the committee, no official of the party should take part in the election.³

The Labour Party's ostensible objection to the selection procedure appears to be that it had not been carried out by an officially constituted LRC including a distinctive trade union element. But, as Edgar Whiteley pointed out, there simply did not exist in Colne Valley a body of trade unionists outside the Labour League. Nearly all the trade unionists in the valley belonged to the unions which had their headquarters in Huddersfield and were affiliated to the town's Trades and Labour Council. The only locally-based union was the Weaver's Union in Saddleworth. Its members had attended a selection meeting, but as they were also members of the ILP they did not consider it necessary to be classed as distinctly trade union representatives at further conferences.⁴

1 Letter: S. Eastwood to J.R. MacDonald, 24 June 1907 (LP/CAN/06/2/40)

2 Ibid.; see also L. Thompson, op. cit., p. 152.

3 Labour Party. Emergency Committee Meeting, 28 Victoria Street, London, 28 June (1907) (LP/CAN/06/2/43)

4 Letter: ILP Huddersfield Branch. E. Whiteley to J.R. MacDonald, 29 June 1907 (LP/CAN/06/2/45)

The whole affair was summarised in a letter from Grayson to MacDonald on July 3rd 1907, which merits quoting at some length:

With regard to the attitude taken up by you and the N.A.C., and the officials of the Labour Party you have consulted, I must confess myself extremely dissatisfied. You will pardon me if I say that it seems to me to manifest an amazing lack of correct information with regard to the conditions existing in this constituency, and of the negotiations that have taken place over an unduly protracted period of time. The Trade Unionists of the Colne Valley are a negligible quantity. Further, a meeting was called nearly twelve months ago with the object of forming an L.R.C. If the Labour Party were not consulted, I should be glad to know how Ald. Ben Turner came to be present as an official representative I feel compelled to say that the N.A.C. have for some purpose unknown to me all along adopted an apparently evasive attitude. What more could we have done than has been done? My name was, in proper form, submitted to the N.A.C. as the locally selected candidate. There was absolutely nothing of an irregular character. They hesitated to adopt me, and after much vacillation, Mr. Snowden and James Howard were appointed to meet the Exec. of the C.V.L. League to discuss the matter. The meeting took place, and both members expressed themselves agreeably surprised at the state of things, and subsequently, I understand reported favourably to the N.A.C. At the ILP Conference no reply to questions re the situation could be evoked, pending the proceedings of this joint conference. Since then, we have been led to believe that a committee has been appointed to revise the N.A.C. official list of candidates. After that we have left things entirely to the N.A.C. As the time drew nearer to the expected vacancy, Eastwood tried to elicit the position of the N.A.C., but was told they did not meet till July, and that the Parliamentary Committee could not meet until Mr. Hardie was better. Surely we could not be expected to let things drag thus, or instead of having made a magnificent start in advance of our opponents, we should be still negotiating about a candidate. We had no intention of "forcing the hands" of the N.A.C. being quite assured that they were prepared to clear a way. I understand that the correct procedure is for the N.A.C. to submit the candidate to the Labour Party for its adoption. It could not have been in order for us to approach the Labour Party, while the matter was sub judice in the N.A.C.

Candidly, my dear MacDonald, if anyone has adequate ground of complaint, I think it is the present writer.

I regret not having the support of the Labour Party, but I am humbly prepared to do without it. There is splendid prospect of success, the comrades here are resolute, we can raise more than the election expenses, and the maintenance can be managed if I am returned. I am not angry at the turn of affairs, but regret the apparent pettiness that seems to control so large a part of the L.P.s policy. I think most sincerely

this cleavage has to come some time and nothing will be lost by precipitating it.

As things stand, therefore, I gather that in the event of my success at the poll, I shall be a free-lance socialist member, independent of the Labour Group. So be it. By devious ways we shall arrive.¹

Despite the legalistic hair-splitting by the Labour Party, Grayson's candidature was supported by the broad mass of the labour movement in the constituency - and not just by the ILP. The Labour Party emergency sub-committee, which took such a hostile attitude, was moreover chaired by a former Liberal, David Shackleton, who can hardly have failed to be influenced by the fact that this Liberal 'safe seat' was now to be contested by a socialist. The other members were Edward Pease of the Fabian Society, MacDonald, and Walter Hudson, M.P. for Newcastle, ILPer and railway trade unionist. It was moreover Shackleton who went on to move that no Labour Party official should take part in the campaign. Pease and Hudson agreed, but MacDonald, who did not go so far as to oppose the decision, nevertheless regarded it as a 'silly step'.²

Apart from the obvious consideration of the Lib-Lab entente, many leading Labour figures bore a marked antipathy towards Grayson himself, of both a political and a personal nature. Politically Grayson was too uncompromising a socialist to conciliate Labour opinion. His election address emerged as a rallying call to class struggle and 'emencipation from the wage-slavery of capitalism'.³ Older ILP leaders regarded him

1 Letter: Victor Grayson to J.R. MacDonald, Huddersfield, 3 July 1907 (LP/CAN/06/2/53)

2 L. Thompson, op. cit., p. 152

3 Election Address - Albert Victor Grayson. Colne Valley Parliamentary Bye-Election, 1907. D. Clark, op. cit., p. 138, states that it is unknown whether there was any personal antipathy between the NAC and Grayson. Glasier was certainly hostile.

with distrust - or envy. He was an outstanding orator but he had not, as many of them had done, spent years in local propaganda and the routine tasks of branch organisation. There was a certain feeling that age and 'worthiness' should merit a place at the head of the queue for parliamentary candidatures - a feeling which took into account neither ability nor aptitude, nor even wishes of the constituents. The ILP had favoured Ben Turner as candidate, only to find that he received 12 votes against Grayson's 42 at the adoption meeting. Bruce Glasier's name had also been suggested,¹ and it was with a degree of rancour that he considered, in a letter to Francis Johnson, the question of providing any assistance in the contest:

Personally I feel a strong repugnance to our having much to do with the running of young untried men, whose sole record in the movement is that of platform speaking. Unless our movement can provide representatives of well-trying experience and character, we shall for certain come by a big disaster before long.²

A few days later he commented:

The Huddersfield fight does not inspire me. I don't care for Grayson he is a young cheap orator not at all the type we wish to get into Parliament.³

How much did the Manchester and Salford Socialists know about the machinations which preceded the Colne Valley by-election? It must be emphasised that Grayson lived in Manchester (to be precise, in two rooms in a Corporation 'barrack dwelling' in Ancoats)⁴ and was a member of

1 R. Groves, op. cit., pp. 20-1

2 Letter: J. Bruce Glasier to F.J. (? Francis Johnson), Cardiff, 30 June, 1907 (I.1.1907/59 - Glasier papers)

3 J. Bruce Glasier to E.G.F. (his sister, Elizabeth), London, 5 July 1907 (I.1. 1907/14 - Glasier Papers)

4 See H. Beswick, 'Interview with the New Member' in C, 26 July 1907

Central Branch ILP.¹ It is therefore reasonable to suppose that the socialists in Manchester would display a close interest in the proceedings and moreover hear Grayson's own interpretation. Politically there was a strong core of socialist, as opposed to labourist, opinion in the local ILP, and when Grayson embarked upon the campaign as an independent socialist, much of his external support came from the Manchester ILPers.

Faced with Grayson's candidature as a fait accompli, the NAC passed a resolution^{agreeing} to the ILP branches in the Colne Valley fighting the by-election, and later also agreed that an election fund should be opened.² The Labour Party however remained hostile. When Edgar Whiteley requested election literature,³ MacDonald refused, on the grounds that the Labour Party executive had resolved not to supply literature to any candidate not on its list. He further commented:

If we are going to have a dozen Colne Valleys we might just as well shut up shop altogether, more particularly as it comes after Jarrow. We must have a clear understanding as to whether the NAC is or is not going to carry out the decisions of the Conference.⁴

Moreover MacDonald set out to dissuade, if not actually debar, Labour MPs from assisting in the campaign. In reply to a letter from Ben Turner⁵ he wrote:

You are not exactly barred from going to Colne Valley. The Labour Party as such is taking no part in the contest and its officials are anxious that the party should not be identified in any way with the election. Members must use their own judgement as to whether under the circumstances they should or should not go. So far as I can hear only one member of the

1 Manchester Central Branch ILP. List of Members, February 1905 (contained in Minute Book).

2 ILP, Minutes of NAC Meeting, 23 Bride Lane, London. 5-6 July 1907

3 Letter: E. Whiteley to J.R. MacDonald, 4 July 1907 (LP/PA/07/1/91)

4 Letter: J.R. MacDonald? to E. Whiteley, 8 July 1907 (LA/PA/07/1/92)

5 Letter: Ben Turner to J.R. MacDonald, 9 July 1907 (LP/CAN/06/2/61)

Party in Parliament (Philip Snowden?) has consented to address any meetings.¹

Had the Labour Party simply declared itself unable to endorse Grayson's candidature, many socialists might simply have accepted the situation without any feeling of rancour. But MacDonald's stand over party speakers aroused immediate indignation. Hardie expressed his own objection in a note to MacDonald,² and the Labour Leader's editorial on 19 July commented:

... we fail to see good reason for their (the Labour Party's) decision to restrain Labour members from individually taking part in the contest. A complete boycott of the election is a totally different thing from a refusal to financially endorse Mr. Grayson's candidature.³

The Colne Valley by-election was therefore fought as a socialist, as opposed to Labour campaign and many of Manchester's leading ILPers took part; R.C. Wallhead and his daughter Muriel, Richard Robinson, Douthwaite, Katherine Bruce Glasier, and 'Casey' (Walter Hampson) with his fiddle. Also supporting Grayson were Mrs. Pankhurst, Annie Kenney and other members of the WSPU.⁴

Grayson's victory, a majority of 153 votes over the Liberal Philip Bright, was thus hailed as a victory for pure socialism (even though Bruce Glasier deemed it the result of a slump in Liberalism!)⁵. And the fact that Grayson had won in spite of the Labour Party's boycott did nothing to heal the breach between socialists and that party. Immediately after the election Frank Rose wrote to MacDonald:

1 Letter: J.R. MacDonald to Ben Turner, 10 July 1907 (LP/CAN/06/2/62)

2 Letter: J. Keir Hardie to J.R. MacDonald, 11 July 1907 (LP/CAN/06/2/66)

3 LL, 19 July 1907

4 Ibid., 12 July 1907; R. Groves, op. cit., p. 29. See also tapes of interviews: Mrs. Muriel Nichol, 9 November 1976 and Mrs. Plant, 6 August 1976

5 J. Bruce Glasier, Diaries, Entry for 18 July 1907

It seems to me that the limits of endurance are just about reached. If the half-baked trade unionists are to run the show let us know and we can all assist in shoving the Labour Party into the scrap heap and starting afresh. I have seen some of the official correspondence and I declare I do not like the smell of it. The ILP is bad enough but the National Labour Party is - or seems to be - far worse. Grayson is just the man you want: he is not likely to trim or exhaust his soul in slobbering C.B. (Campbell-Bannerman).

He tells me that he will not sit with you and I can hardly blame him.¹

A few days later he further remarked that:

The SDF people up here are already using Grayson's success as an argument and indeed, claiming him as one of themselves. It is to be made the starting point of a more decided campaign of disruption between the TUs and the Socialists.²

To the Manchester ILPers the result was not only a victory for socialism but also a victory for a local man. It was in the Albion Hotel, Manchester that socialists from all parts of Lancashire, Yorkshire and Cheshire held their celebrations. And when J.R. Clynes in his speech referred to the 'difficulties' which had prevented many of Grayson's would be supporters from taking part in the campaign, a cry of 'shame' went up from the audience.³

The problem of Grayson's party status was not resolved when he took his seat in the Commons. The ILP recognised him as a party member, and decided to pay him the same maintenance allowance as its other MPs, until his status could formally be determined by the next party conference.⁴ But he was still outside the ranks of the parliamentary

1 Letter: F.H. Rose to J.R. MacDonald, 19 July 1907 (LP. GC 17/315)

2 Letter: F.H. Rose to J.R. MacDonald, 23 July 1907 (LP. GC 17/317)

3 LL, 9 August 1907

4 ILP, NAC Minutes. Minutes of NAC Meeting, House of Commons, 15 August 1907

Labour Party, and his supporters retained a strong sense of injustice. At its meeting on 3 September 1907, Manchester Central Branch adopted a resolution to be submitted to the NAC, regretting both its delay in endorsing Grayson's candidature, and its failure to reply to charges of dissuading prominent party members from assisting Grayson.¹ Moreover the ILP now expected Grayson to act in accordance with its conference decisions, a position which, T.D. Benson told the NAC, was intolerable. According to Benson, Victor Grayson was entitled to oppose ILP policy.²

The ILP's 1908 Conference at Huddersfield, which was supposed to settle the question of Grayson's status, in fact only raised old animosities. Sam Eastwood and C.T. Douthwaite (now representing Bredbury and Romily, but eventually to achieve notoriety as one of the authors of the 'Green Manifesto') again raised the issue as to whether Grayson's candidature had really been unconstitutional. Both argued that Grayson had been selected and his name submitted to the NAC in February 1907 - before the party constitution was amended in April! The only reason for the NAC's lack of assistance, claimed Eastwood, was that it had wanted to run another candidate in Grayson's place. Hardie's speech tended to substantiate this view. He emphasised that Grayson had worked in the movement for only a 'very few years', and spoke of the desire 'that men who had grown grey in the movement should not feel that they were being put aside to make room for younger men.' As to Grayson's status, the NAC proposed that for the remainder of the parliament he should 'bear the same relationship to the Labour Party as all other ILP

1 Manchester Central Branch ILP, Minutes of Meeting, 3 September 1907; ILP, NACs Minutes. Minutes of Meeting, London Hotel, Surrey Street, Strand, London, 4-5 October 1907, records the receipt of the resolution.

2 ILP, NAC Minutes. Minutes of Meeting ... 4-5 October 1907

members - except in the case of his being placed on the Parliamentary fund'. This would entail co-operation with the Labour Party and acceptance of its whips. It would also necessitate signing the party constitution, which Grayson refused to do under any circumstances; 'He esteemed it a pearl of the greatest price that they should have independent Socialism represented in the House of Commons'. Moreover, Grayson asserted that he had made it clear at the beginning of the campaign that he would stand only as an out-and-out socialist!¹ At the Conference Grayson agreed to join the Labour Party if he could do so without signing its constitution.² Not surprisingly, the Labour Party insisted upon his signature as a condition of membership³ and Grayson therefore remained the only independent socialist MP. By this time however the ILP had another by-election rebellion on its hands.

The manner of Grayson's election has been considered in detail because he was to emerge as a key figure in the socialist rebellion against the Labour alliance. The election itself, fought on a socialist rather than a Labour ticket, provided a rallying point for ILPers who were already beginning to have reservations about the alliance. To them the NAC's attitude in the whole affair suggested subservience to the non-socialist, trade unionist element in the Labour Party; one could hardly imagine the ILP in its earlier (and more independent) years failing to support a member's parliamentary campaign. Grayson's subsequent insistence upon his continued independence in Parliament further enhanced his status

1 ILP, Report of the 16th Annual Conference ... 1908, pp. 17, 43-54

2 Ibid., p. 54

3 ILP, NAC Minutes, Minutes of Meeting, Loudon's Hotel and House of Commons, 23-25 July 1908

lost no time in condemning the SDP's action. When Hardie spent the night in Manchester (en route from Merthyr to Nelson) the paper made it clear that his visit had no connection with Irving's candidature. 'He has declared again and again that he will support the candidature of no organisation which refuses to accept the unity and common cause of the united Labour Party'.¹ A week later the Labour Leader added:

The candidate himself has acknowledged to Press interviewers that his party has no organisation in the division except a small Jewish branch, and that no preparations for the contest were made beforehand. It is evident, therefore, that a Socialist candidate under such circumstances affords no good example of that solidarity and well-organised battle-front of the workers which today in a contest with the two contending forces of Toryism and Liberalism in a town like Manchester the Socialist movement is entitled to expect.²

The SDP however saw the by-election as ...

an excellent opportunity of at once opposing two of the most unscrupulous representatives of capitalism, and passing an opinion upon the shameful betrayal of the present Government of all its pledges during the two years it has been in office.³

The situation was by no means improved when H.G. Wells, now a member of the ILP, sent a letter to the Daily News, advising the Socialists of Manchester to support Winston Churchill and ignore Dan Irving's candidature. He maintained that the latter was not a genuine attempt to test Socialist and Labour feeling in the constituency, and that it was essential, in the interests of progress, for Churchill to be returned rather than Joynson-Hicks.⁴ Several delegates at the ILP's

1 LL, 10 April 1908

2 Ibid., 17 April 1908

3 J, 25 April 1908

4 LL, 24 April 1908

Huddersfield Conference raised the issue of Wells' conduct, but the Standing Orders Committee was not prepared to deal with the matter, on the grounds that it would simply mean 'advertising certain individuals'.¹ Moreover the Labour Leader appeared to entertain some sympathy with Wells, for on 24 April it announced:

The ILP is certainly no more responsible for the action of Mr. Wells in regard to North-West Manchester than the Social Democratic Party generally is for the shameful public attacks that were made upon ILP candidates at the general election by certain Social Democratic propagandists ...²

But more divisive than Wells' letter was the Huddersfield conference's decision to endorse Irving's candidature. MacDonald was far from pleased, pronouncing in the Labour Leader:

Most heartily do I agree ... that the resolution associating the ILP with this futile escapade was the greatest blunder of the Huddersfield Conference. If the ILP allows itself to be dragged into any fight simply because something lispng the shibboleth of Socialist has sounded a trumpet, the ILP had better surrender its distinctive position and its independence of thought right away. To me it is a queer kind of loyalty which follows a man carrying the red flag into a ditch ...

... If the ILP Conference had passed a vote of censure on the Socialist candidate for North-West Manchester and upon those who brought him out against the decision of the recognised authorities of the division; it would have been doing a greater service to the cause than it did when it blessed him ...³

As Hardie and MacDonald condemned Dan Irving, so the socialist 'left' rallied to his support. The SDP, holding its annual conference in Manchester, provided some of its leading speakers, including Hyndman and Quelch,⁴ while Victor Grayson, 'Casey' and his fiddle, and the

1 ILP, Report of the 16th Annual Conference ... 1908, p. 74

2 LL, 24 April 1908

3 Ibid., 1 May 1908

4 C, 17 April 1908, LL, 24 April 1908

adress Daisy Halling also took part in the campaign.¹ Moreover, as Irving himself emphasised,

Despite the refusal of some of the leaders of the ILP and Labour Party to co-operate; despite the somewhat treacherous attacks of others - the fact remains that the rank and file of the movement - comrades of the ILP and LRC, trade unions, Clarion Scouts and other 'comrades of danger, poverty and scorn', joined most heartily in the great fight.²

The SDP never entertained any hopes of winning N.W. Manchester, and admitted freely to the absence of local organisation, lack of halls for meetings, and lack even of collectors and canvassers. They had hoped for around 1,500-2,000 votes, and in the event Irving polled only 273. However his supporters were far from downhearted. Winston Churchill who had opposed the Right to Work Bill, was defeated; socialism had been declaimed in the streets of N.W. Manchester; the ground had been prepared for future contests, and two new branches of the SDP were formed. Perhaps most important, the campaign had united the local rank and file of all the socialist movements. James Kirwin, secretary of North East Manchester SDP, pronounced in Justice that '... the rank and file of our movement, no matter what they call their respective organisations, are real downright trumps'. He also added that the branch was considering a winter list of local demonstrations with the three neighbouring ILP branches.³ The Labour Leader for its part condemned the contest as irresponsible, and maintained that the low poll would be cited against socialist candidates everywhere.⁴ The local display of socialist unity can hardly have brought comfort to official 'Labour' opinion.

1 LL, 24 April 1908, C, 1 May 1908

2 J, 2 May 1908

3 C, 1 May 1908; J, 2, 9 and 16 May 1908

4 LL, 1 May 1908

While the Colne Valley and N.W. Manchester by-elections were the outstanding local manifestations of the socialist/labourist division, they were by no means unique. In 1908 the SDP also fought by-elections at Haggerston and Newcastle-on-Tyne, which the Labour Party was unwilling to contest. The latter occasion provoked an outburst from MacDonald against the SDP, but also a circular from York ILP to branches elsewhere in the country, voicing the misgivings raised by the Labour Party's by-election policy, and calling for a special conference to discuss the ILP's relationship with the Labour Party.¹ However it is also possible to detect less obvious signs of discontent among local socialists, which in turn help to place in perspective the eventual split in the ILP. It is to these signs that we must now turn.

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Although it is impossible to prove conclusively, there is evidence that after 1906 the ILP no longer provided the outlet for the crusading zeal of socialist converts which it had done in the '90s, and that they were tending to channel their energies elsewhere. Most apparent was the growth of new SDF/SDP branches. The survey in Chapter 1 above revealed that at the time of the 1906 by-election much of that party's organisation was still concentrated in the areas where it was long established: Salford, and South and South-West Manchester. There was also a Central Manchester branch, with J.E. McGlasson as its secretary, and comparatively new branches in Stretford and N.E. Manchester.² In May 1906 a women's section commenced in S.W. Manchester, and a Gorton

1 D. Marquand, *op. cit.*, p. 11

2 See above, p.728

branch was also meeting in the Trades Council offices on Hyde Road.¹ That autumn several new branches opened, in Longsight, Reddish (formed by Stockport members), Cheetham and Ardwick, while the Salford and S.W. Manchester branches each acquired new premises. In September the Salford Social-Democrats moved into Hyndman Hall, and in November S.W. Manchester branch was installed in a new club in Great Jackson Street, Hulme.² Thus by January 1907 the SDF had nine branches in the Manchester and Salford district.³ September 1907 saw the formation of a Harpurhey branch, under the secretaryship of Moses Baritz,⁴ while in the following February efforts were made to establish a branch in Rusholme.⁵ After the N.W. Manchester by-election the SDP also established itself in Cheetham and Bradford, and branches were formed in West Salford and Trafford Park the following July.⁶ By October 1908 there were ten branches in the Manchester district, and although at least one member, Will Hughes of Eccles, was complaining about the lack of central organisation, there is no doubt that the SDP had been extending its activities.⁷ Unfortunately there is no indication as to the size of the branches. Hyndman Hall, which is still remembered by former members,⁸ clearly had a large and active membership and was probably the biggest branch in the

1 J, 19 May 1906

2 Ibid., 22 and 29 September, 6 and 20 October, 3 and 24 November 1906

3 Ibid., 26 January 1907. This number includes the Reddish branch

4 Ibid., 14 September 1907

5 Ibid., 15 February 1908

6 Ibid., 16, 23 and 30 May, 13 June, 11 July 1908

7 Ibid., 3 October 1908

8 Mary and Alfred Williams, tape recorded interview, 17 March 1978

district. But despite the lack of information it is clear that the SDF/SDP was expanding locally, in a way which it had not done in the mid-90s, when the ILP was still fired with crusading vigour.

More notable perhaps was the increase in the number of independent socialist societies. Always a source of annoyance to the ILP leadership, their progress was often cited by Blatchford as an argument for socialist unity. The exact allegiance of all the societies is virtually impossible to ascertain. Many were influenced by the Clarion movement, and after 1904 the SDF, as well as the ILP, would accept their affiliation.¹ Thus in 1906 Chorlton-cum-Hardy Socialist Society was inviting unattached readers of the Clarion to communicate with its secretary.² Withington and District Socialist Society was particularly active in 1907. Its members acquired a permanent room (over a confectioner's shop near Fallowfield station) and organised both indoor and open-air meetings in the district.³ The following year witnessed regular activity by the Weaste Socialist Society, and also by the Heaton Moor Socialist Society.⁴ Admittedly these societies were established in comparatively prosperous suburban areas, where even a regular ILP branch would have made little impact upon voting habits. Nevertheless the preference of local socialists for an independent organisation rankled with the ILP, and was clearly an indication that they were not entirely happy with the national party.

1 C. Tsuzuki, op. cit., p. 167

2 C, 30 November 1906. See above Part 2 Chapter 2 p. 81

3 Ibid., 11 January, 22 March, 12 April, 7 June, 4 October 1907. The Society was founded at a meeting on 5 January 1906 (see J, 29 December 1906). It affiliated to Manchester and Salford ILP Federation in January 1908. (See above, p.454)

4 C, 3, 10, 17, 31 July, 21 and 28 August 1908, 29 January 1909

Probably the largest, and certainly the best remembered, of the Socialist Societies was that in Openshaw. It appears to have developed in the summer of 1906 from an ILP branch, possibly with the intention of widening its activities. It continued to be affiliated to the ILP for another 3 years, paying fees to Head Office and sending its delegates to the annual conferences. On 10 June 1909 its members, who had been growing increasingly dis_illusioned with Labour policy, then voted for disaffiliation from the ILP. Less than three months later, on 2 September, they voted for secession from the Trades Council and just before the 1910 municipal elections they even refused permission for the Labour candidate to address the members. The society thus moved into the ambit of the Manchester Socialist Representation Committee, and thence into the BSP. Above all other local socialist societies the Openshaw Society was symptomatic of the growing breach within the ILP.¹

Not only was there an expansion of socialist organisations outside the aegis of the ILP, but there were also signs that the long-standing tradition of ILP/SDF co-operation at local elections had not entirely succumbed to the Labour alliance. This aspect was particularly noticeable in the districts with the longest tradition of SDF activity - Salford and S./S.W. Manchester. In November 1906 A.A. Purcell, standing as joint candidate of the ILP and SDF won the municipal election for St. Paul's Ward, Salford.² The following February another seat for that ward became vacant, and in the ensuing by-election James Dudley, also promoted by a joint ILP/SDF committee, was elected.³ In November 1907

1 See above, p.433 See also J. Mahon, op. cit., pp. 497-8 Appendix 2, 'Openshaw Socialist Society, 1906-1911'.

2 C, 9 November 1906; J, 10 November 1906

3 C, 15 February, 1 March 1907

the ILP and SDF then attempted, albeit unsuccessfully, to secure the third seat for St. Paul's, for SDF member Dr. Shand. The socialist hold over St. Paul's ward was to be short-lived. Dudley lost his seat to a Conservative in 1908, as did Purcell the following year. However in November 1908 Dr. Shand was eventually elected to Salford Borough Council, as ILP/SDF candidate for Regent Ward. His victory was particularly noteworthy, for LRC/ILP candidates fared badly in that year's municipal elections, losing three seats each in Manchester and Salford. The Labour Leader's editorial, at least, blamed the defeats upon 'internal squabbling'.¹ Also a symbol of continuing socialist co-operation was the Chorlton Union Socialist Election Committee, formed in March 1907 to contest the Guardians' elections. It was composed of representatives of the SDF, ILP, socialist societies, and trades councils, and ran six candidates: Mrs. Whittaker, Nurse Lawson and Sam Hague of the ILP, R. Whitehead, and Dr. Garrett of the SDF, and Miss M.E. May, of the University Students' Socialist Society. None managed to secure election.² It is however clear that the Labour alliance had not altogether superseded the long-standing tradition of co-operation between the ILP and SDF.

By 1908 the ILP, particularly as seen from the standpoint of the Manchester and Salford party, was beset by fundamental problems. The Labour Party, to which it was now committed, had achieved success at the polls at the expense of the ILP's independence, but after the first session the party could boast little in the way of solid achievement. At by-elections the alliance was regularly being challenged by local

1 LL, 6 November 1908; J, 7 November 1908, 6 November 1909

2 J, 16 March 1907; LL, 29 March 1907

ILPers in collaboration with Social-Democrats. In Salford and some districts of Manchester the long-established co-operation between the two parties was still continuing at local elections, and the extension of the SDF/SDP's organisation, together with the growth of local Socialist Societies, suggested that the ILP was no longer as attractive to socialist converts as it had been in the '90s. Moreover ILPers and Social-Democrats were also campaigning together on behalf of the unemployed, whose worsening plight showed no signs of being alleviated by parliamentary action. Nor were the ILP's relations with the Labour Party and Social-Democrats the only cause for concern. The question of women's suffrage¹ divided loyalties and aroused criticism of Hardie's leadership, which added to the dissension already latent among the party hierarchy. Against this background a protest movement crystallised within the ILP, and particularly among its Manchester and Salford members. It is this movement which must now be examined in detail.

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It is virtually impossible to place a date upon the emergence of the socialist revolt within the ILP. However certain events dating from the 1908 Huddersfield Conference do need to be considered in chronological sequence. The conference, in April, not only revived the controversial subject of the Colne Valley and N.W. Manchester by-elections, but also drew forth criticism of the party leadership. Just after the conference Russell Smart, who like Victor Grayson had narrowly missed election to the NAC, published an article in the Huddersfield Worker entitled 'The ILP in Danger'. He saw in the proceedings of the conference a deliberate

1 See above, pp.671-8

effort on the part of the NAC to gain control of the movement:

The NAC ... is like the Cabinet; it has an inner circle. Four men - Hardie, MacDonald, Snowden and Glasier - have assumed control of the whole organisation, including the newspaper. All the wires are in their hands.

Smart believed that an organised effort should be made by the Ilkley and Colne Valley branches to bring the matter before branches first in Yorkshire, then in Lancashire and the North-East.¹ Manchester Central Branch then passed a resolution in support of Smart's views, and criticising the Labour Leader's attacks upon 'prominent members of the socialist movement' (Grayson?). The resultant controversy between the branch and Glasier (as editor) has been detailed above, in the context of the development of the Labour Leader,² but the criticism of the Party's paper was in fact secondary to the wider issue of the ILP's policy and leadership.

On 29 May 1908 J.M. McLachlan then launched into an attack on the Labour Party in a Labour Leader article, 'Poverty the Issue. Is the Labour Party Policy the Right One'. Here he outlined the essential factors of a successful party policy:

1. It must awaken the collective conscience and appeal to the popular sense of justice.
2. It must at once grasp the popular imagination with the power of religious fanaticism, and rouse men's enthusiasm by focussing their energies on one given talismanic point.
3. It must expose a minimum frontage to hostile attack, while assuring its promoters a maximum of opportunity for aggression.

He concluded that the inherent weakness of the national Labour Party was that its policies violated all three principles.

1 LL, 8 May 1908

2 See above, pp.535-7

A policy of legislative opportunism, tempered by seasonal attacks on opponents, requires a common measure of economic interests such as Liberals and Conservatives have, but which we lack. Our policy must, to succeed, be a militant one, ...

As McLachlan called for militancy by the Labour Party, so in the same issue of the Labour Leader Russell Smart renewed his attack upon the ILP's leaders whom he suspected of having omitted some resolutions from the conference agenda; resolutions '... evidently sent in by branches who, like myself, fear the growth of oligarchic executive ...'. To counteract this tendency towards oligarchy he proposed that the conference should elect its own chairman (who should not be a member of the NAC) and that the whole of the NAC should be elected on a divisional system, with no member being permitted to hold office for more than three years consecutively. No salaried official nor MP should be eligible for membership of the NAC, which should supervise the policy and actions of MPs. Finally, the Labour Leader should be placed under the control of an editorial committee.² Smart's proposals did not, of course, simply involve changes in routine party administration. Had they been carried out it is possible that power within the ILP would have devolved upon the militant rank and file critics of the Labour alliance. The two points of contention among ILPers, namely the party leadership and the Labour alliance were not separate issues, but parts of the same controversy. To maintain the Labour alliance it was necessary to retain power for its adherents currently on the NAC. To dissolve or even change the terms of the alliance, its critics needed to gain control of their own party.

1 LL, 29 May 1908

2 Ibid.

In the autumn of 1908 the factions within the ILP became increasingly polarised as a result of two events: the Newcastle by-election and Victor Grayson's outburst in the House of Commons. Newcastle was a two-member constituency which, prior to the election, was held by one Liberal and one Labour member. The Labour Party, mindful of its pact with the Liberals and wishing to avoid reprisals at the next general election, decided against contesting the now vacant seat, and persuaded J.J. Stephenson of the engineers to withdraw his candidature. The SDP then stepped into the gap, with the support of local ILP branches. MacDonald's initial annoyance turned to scorn when the socialist emerged at the bottom of the poll, but the general question of the Labour Party's election policy was again revived among the ILP branches. On 16 September York ILP sent out a circular to branches elsewhere in the country, call for a special conference to discuss the whole subject of the ILP's relationship with the Labour Party.¹ Manchester Central Branch, considering the circular on 18 November, readily agreed to the demand.²

More spectacular however was Grayson's activity in the Commons. As the House became preoccupied with the Licensing Bill, Grayson determined to draw its attention to the unemployment question, concerning which the Government appeared indifferent. He attempted to move the adjournment of the House so that it could deal with the unemployed question, only to be informed by the Speaker that the motion was out of order. Upon his refusal to sit down, and insistence that the people starving in the streets demanded the immediate attention of the House,

1 D. Marquand, *op. cit.*, pp. 110-11

2 Manchester Central Branch ILP, Minutes of Meeting 18 November 1908

the Commons was reduced to uproar. Before being escorted from the House by the Sergeant-at-Arms, he turned upon the Labour members, calling them traitors to their class. Not one showed any signs of sympathy or solidarity with his demonstration. Grayson reappeared in the House the following day, and again interrupted the proceedings to demand immediate attention for the unemployed question. He was duly suspended, leaving the Commons amid derisive laughter.¹

Grayson's action immediately highlighted the rift within the Labour and socialist ranks. To rank and file socialists in the constituencies he was a hero who had dared to expose the sham of the parliamentary system and champion the unemployed. To his party leaders he was a disruptive influence. A meeting of Manchester unemployed, held in Stevenson Square on 18 October, passed a resolution calling upon the Labour Party to wait no longer than Wednesday 21st for the government to make a satisfactory declaration concerning the unemployed question. If the statement was not presented then, or was not in accordance with the Labour Party's Unemployment Bill, the Labour Party should adopt the obstructionist tactics of the Irish Party 'so well exemplified in the past by Michael Davitt and in the present by Victor Grayson'. K.C. Reed, reporting the meeting in the Clarion, continued:

There is no doubt at all about the popularity of Grayson's act. Every mention of it was received with wild enthusiasm. There is a dangerous, disruptive tone abroad. Speaker after speaker, bearing the badge of the ILP, rose and said things about the Labour Party. Some of them, no doubt, untrue, some, perhaps, transferred to them by malice, but the unanimity of sentiment is significant - and dangerous. Even at the evening meeting of the ILP a casual and extremely

1 R. Groves, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-74. According to Groves, Grayson's initial demonstration took place on Thursday 2 November 1908. This date cannot be accurate, for it was reported in the C, 23 October 1908. D. Clark, *op. cit.*, in his chapter on 'The Grayson Era 1907-10', pp. 162-8, does not mention Grayson's demonstration.

guarded reference by Mrs. Bridges Adams to the tameness of the Labour Party was received with loud cries of "Shame" from all parts of the house. At an ILP meeting! And the meeting closed with "three cheers for Grayson"!

It was the same everywhere, even in the train.¹

The Stevenson Square resolution did not however gain unanimous support, even among local ILPers. On the following day Sam Hague, organising secretary of Manchester and Salford ILP, informed MacDonald that:

... myself, Leonard Hall, and I believe other speakers expressed strong dissent from the implied censure of the Labour Party's methods, also the suggestion to take Grayson as a pattern.

I have not yet learned who was responsible for drawing the resolution but I may assure you that many of us would have refused to speak at all to such a resolution had we known what its nature was before the meeting commenced.

I think you should know that, though there is a strong desire that all possible should be done, there was (sic) frequent expressions of confidence in the party and its leaders.²

MacDonald in reply commented:

We have got to fight this silly tub-thumping spirit of anarchy which is getting abroad. It will be a thankless and to some extent a heartless job but it has either to be crushed or it will crush our Movement. We must, therefore, look to you and men who think with you in the various districts to allow no mischievous resolutions to go through branches either of the ILP or the Labour Party without the very strongest opposition.³

Grayson's protest in the Commons did however receive support in the London-based New Age, and after his suspension A.R. Orage appointed him joint editor. The association lasted only for about three months;

1 C, 23 October 1908

2 Letter: Sam Hague to J.R. MacDonald, 19 October 1908 (LP/CAN/06/2/92)

3 Typed unsigned letter, J.R. MacDonald to Sam (Hague), 20 October 1908 (LP/CAN/06/2/92)

in February 1909 Grayson joined the staff of the Clarion. But during this short time New Age took the lead in the campaign for a new socialist party. The significant development in this recurrent campaign was that the emphasis was no longer on negotiations at national level between the ILP and SDP, but upon the formation of local Socialist Representation Committees all over the country. These committees, which would comprise representatives of the ILP, SDP, Fabians, Clarionites, and presumably independent socialist societies, would select socialist electoral candidates who would then receive the backing of the whole movement. One of the leading advocates of this scheme was S.G. Hobson, who in January 1909 attempted (albeit unsuccessfully) to persuade the Fabian Society to disaffiliate from the Labour Party, in order to found a Socialist Party.¹ The influence of the New Age upon Manchester socialists is uncertain, but Grayson continued to advocate the formation of Socialist Representation Committees in the book, The Problems of Parliament, which he produced in collaboration with G.S. Taylor.²

As early as 3 November 1908 R.C. Wallhead informed MacDonalld that Grayson and his supporters were trying to set up a new party composed of dissident ILP branches and more moderate sections of the SDP. Grayson had, apparently boasted that he had the support of 240 ILP branches. Although Wallhead seems to have taken the claim seriously, Glasier doubted its authenticity, and estimated Grayson's support was nearer to 20 branches. Early in 1909 reports were circulated, to the effect that Grayson would refuse to sign the Labour Party constitution, even if requested so to do by the forthcoming ILP conference, and that he wished

1 R. Groves, op. cit., pp. 81-3; S.G. Hobson, Pilgrim to the Left (1938) pp. 116-9

2 LL, 16 April 1909; W. Thompson, op. cit., p. 139

to provoke defections from the ILP in order to form the new socialist party.¹ On a more personal level, the breach between Grayson and Hardie widened still further when Grayson and Hyndman both refused to share a platform with Hardie at a Clarion Scouts rally in Holborn Town Hall. According to Grayson, Hardie had been spreading lies and rumours about him (including one that he had been drunk when defying the Commons).² Politically, however, Grayson's rebuff to Hardie was a major error, for most of Grayson's supporters and the critics of the Labour alliance still retained their regard for Hardie as founder of the ILP. Grayson also missed an important opportunity to support a resolution which would enable socialists of all sections to unite without dissolving the Labour alliance, and also to lead the attack on the leadership over the unemployed issue. But Grayson, having failed to appear at the beginning of the conference, subsequently made no effort to speak, and was actually kidnapped by practical jokers on the last day.³ But although Grayson was undoubtedly guilty of some political misjudgements which lost him support, Hardie interpreted his activities as being associated with a plot, with Blatchford and Hyndman, to wreck the ILP and split the trade union alliance. In fact the critics of the Labour alliance were far from organised, as the proceedings of the ILP's 1909 Edinburgh Conference were to reveal.

Much of the three day conference was devoted to matters relating to the alliance, and generally the rebels fared badly. Conference affirmed the ILP's loyalty to the Labour Party, rejected a suggestion

1 D. Marquand, *op. cit.*, p. 112

2 *Ibid.*, R. Groves, *op. cit.*, p. 84

3 R. Groves, *op. cit.*, pp. 85-8; L. Thompson, Robert Blatchford, p. 206

that branches be allowed to run parliamentary candidates independently of the NAC and Labour Party, and determined that no salaries should be paid to ILP MPs who refused to sign the Labour Party constitution (which meant, in effect, Grayson). Attempts to abolish the chairmanship of the ILP, and render the editor of the Labour Leader ineligible for membership of the NAC, were both rejected. Some local members were vocal in their protests against party policy. E. Garner of North Salford declared that he was a 'revolutionary' not an 'evolutionary' socialist, and believed it was the business of the ILP MPs to make themselves a nuisance in the Commons! C.T. Douthwaite, representing Bredbury, insisted that the rebels had a right to their opinions; there was room in the Commons for a party that was definitely socialist in its aims and work. But these delegates were virtually voices in the wilderness (as voting figures revealed), and certainly not the conspirators in some 'Graysonite plot'. Moreover Hardie, MacDonald, Snowden and Glasier were all re-elected to the Executive. Admittedly Glasier did resign his editorship of the Labour Leader, but not as a result of left-wing opposition. Much of the criticism of his editorship had in fact come from Hardie and MacDonald, and the paper's trading account had shown a serious loss for some three years.

The open rift in the ILP which occurred during the conference seemed almost accidental. The NAC had ceased to book Grayson for meetings, and in its report to the conference attempted to justify this decision, referring to his refusal to speak with Hardie and alleging that his unemployment protest movement was in fact aimed at splitting the ILP and disrupting the labour alliance. Grayson, in self-defence, protested about the slanderous rumours being circulated about him, and moved the reference back of the relevant section of the report. The

motion was carried, against the platform, and on the following morning MacDonald announced his own resignation from the NAC, together with those of Hardie, Snowden and Glasier. It is extremely unlikely that many (if any) of the delegates had foreseen such a consequence of the reference back. With only 10 dissentients the conference expressed its confidence in the 4 NAC members, and appealed to them to reconsider. The paragraphs which had been referred back were even reinstated, but to no avail.

In fact the resignations were not entirely spontaneous. Indeed the 'Old Guard' had indulged in far more political manoeuvres than had the rebels. As early as 22 January 1909 Glasier had written in his diary that he did not intend to defend his editorship at the conference, and that MacDonald and Snowden would resign from the NAC. Hardie also sought respite from office, but for all four the timing and occasion of their resignation could not have been bettered.¹ Their statement to ILP members filled 2½ columns of the 16 April issue of the Labour Leader. Some points raised in their apologia can be seen in retrospect to be blatantly untrue, for example the reference to the foundation of the Labour Party:

... the only condition of which was that the political independence which has always been the cardinal policy of the ILP should be rigidly maintained. Those who are acquainted with the political history of the last nine years know how loyally that condition has been accepted and pursued under the most trying circumstances by our trade union allies.

Since, as has already been demonstrated, electoral arrangements with

1 ILP, Report of the 17th Annual Conference ... 1909. Both the actual proceedings of the conference and the political manoeuvres which surrounded it are discussed in D. Marquand, *op. cit.*, pp. 112-5; I. McLean, *op. cit.*, pp. 134-5; L. Thompson, The Enthusiasts, pp. 156-8 and Robert Blatchford, pp. 206-8; R. Groves, *op. cit.*, pp. 92-5; C. Tsuzuki, *op. cit.*, p. 170; W. Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 154-61

the Liberal party had been widely suspected by the ILP rank and file, this was hardly likely to appease the rebellious elements. The statement went on to accuse the SDP of sectarian dogmatism, and claimed that it remained outside the working class movement (which would hardly have impressed socialists in Manchester and Salford). The 'section of socialist opinion' associated with Grayson was accused of seeking to form a new socialist party which rigidly excluded the trade unions, and in the process unsettling the minds of some members of the ILP, 'to make them not only distrustful of the policy of the party, but of its officials and representatives'. Grayson's apparent misdeeds, although not attributed to him by name, were detailed at length, and supporters of his outburst in Parliament were accused of forgetting 'years of political drudgery and effective service' (presumably by the resigned members of the NAC).¹

If Hardie and his associates wished to maintain a united party their statement was a grave error of judgement. The attack on Grayson and the condescending attitude towards his supporters - envisaged almost as sheep being led astray - was hardly likely to conciliate the rebels. Hardie seemed at this stage particularly prone to indulge in personal abuse. On 28 May Leonard Hall wrote a critique of one of his pamphlets in the Labour Leader, and the following week Hardie launched into a bitter personal attack on Hall as a trade union leader and Labour candidate. Even Tom Fox, one of the most faithful supporters of the Labour alliance felt obliged to defend Hall's record.²

On a more general political, as opposed to personal, level, the

1 LL, 16 April 1909

2 Ibid., 28 May, 4, 11 and 18 June 1909

events at the conference precipitated a new spate of rumours, to the effect that Grayson was about to form a new party. Both the Manchester Evening Chronicle and Daily Despatch carried reports of an alleged interview with Grayson, in the course of which he was asked if he would form a new party. To this Grayson had apparently replied: 'It is too early to make any emphatic declaration on that matter, but some such action will inevitably take place as soon as we get our forces together.' Grayson, when questioned by the ILP Head Office, denied this. The interview had, he claimed, taken place over the telephone in the Clarion office and Thompson, who had been sitting nearby and had heard the conversation, confirmed Grayson's repudiation.¹

In the Clarion Blatchford also denied the existence of any conspiracy against the Labour Party. He asserted that 'the bond between Hyndman, Grayson and myself is not a political but a personal bond. It is true that on certain political questions we agree; but our relation is one of friendship, and our meetings are domestic'. Blatchford maintained that the resignation of the ILP's Executive was anything but a disaster for the party - he had long maintained that the Executive should be changed frequently. Moreover, 'If the ILP cannot spare four men it is time the ILP was decently buried.' Although his article was entitled 'Not Disruption, But Alliance! An Appeal to the ILP', it clearly revealed the deep gulf which separated the Clarion and its associates from the 'official' ILP. Blatchford continued:

I do not approve of the ILP alliance with the Labour Party. I think a Labour Party is a good thing. But the ILP was a Socialist Party. In joining the Labour Party it ceased to be a Socialist Party.

Now the many Socialists who are not in the Labour

1 Ibid., 30 April 1909

Party have no Party at all.

... We want socialism, not political bargaining.

He recalled the assistance which the Clarion had provided for the ILP, yet the 'official' wing of the party had for years treated the Clarion Movement as enemies.

Hyndman, Grayson, Blatchford, the CLARION, and the Scouts have been looked upon by a section of the Labour Party with more hostility than if they had been Liberals or Tories. And our sole offence has been our independent and uncompromising Socialism.¹

But although these national figures had disclaimed any plans to form a new party, the idea of Socialist Representation Committees found adherents in Manchester. On 10 July 1909 Justice published a letter on 'Socialist Unity' from George Simpson of Manchester, who felt that the scheme deserved fullest consideration 'from those Socialists who, like myself, feel that in the Labour Party we Socialists, as such, are quite submerged by the Labour Party, and our interests are kept subservient to theirs'. This situation had been made more apparent locally by events surrounding A.A. Purcell's resignation as prospective candidate for West Salford.² It was not however until December that a meeting was held to discuss the question of a SRC for Manchester and District. Then 33 delegates representing 20 organisations agreed to establish such a committee and returned to report on the proceedings and seek the necessary mandate from their own organisations to proceed further with the matter. Simpson, as Honorary Secretary, was to send circulars and a copy of the proposed constitution to the 86 branches which had initially been invited to the meeting, before the delegates met again

1 C, 23 April 1909

2 J, 10 July 1909

at 50a Market Street (the Clarion Cafe) on 19 February 1910.¹ But even before the initial meeting took place, a SRC had actually been formed in West Salford, to contest the General Election.

When the ILP's Special General Election Conference was held at Chorlton Town Hall on 18 December 1909, the first resolution, moved by Lansbury on behalf of the NAC, reaffirmed 'the Party's entire independence of the capitalistic political parties ...'.² In fact the local Liberal and Labour movements were already negotiating an arrangement, marred only by the activities of socialist dissidents. Even the most militant socialists did have some sympathy with the Liberals, for on 30 November 1909 the House of Lords had rejected Lloyd George's Budget, which included radical provision for higher income tax, death duties and land taxes. 'The Peers against the People' was a slogan which could draw Labour and socialist support, and after the Osborne Judgement the Labour Party had its own grievance against the Upper House.³

Apparently free from controversy were the two seats which would be defended by sitting Labour members, Clynes in N.E. Manchester and Hodge in Gorton. Although Hodge was subject to attacks from his left-wing constituents, there are no indications of any attempt to displace him.⁴ More of a problem arose in the S.W. Manchester constituency, for as early as June 1908 G.D. Kelley announced that he would not contest

1 Ibid., 25 December 1909

2 LL, 24 December 1909

3 D. Marquand, op. cit., pp. 116-7; I. McLean, op. cit., pp. 135-7. For the ILP's Election Manifesto, see Illustration 16

4 J. Hodge, op. cit., p. 156

GENERAL ELECTION, 1910.

I.L.P. MANIFESTO

To the Electors of Great Britain.

In view of the approaching General Election, the Administrative Council of the Independent Labour Party desires to place before the electors its view of the political situation and of the issues involved.

POLITICAL REFORM.

The I.L.P. is a Democratic Party, and therefore in favour of Adult Suffrage. Its support will meantime be given to any measure promoted to enable men and women to vote on equal terms, abolish plural voting, shorten and simplify registration, and make provision for the payment of members and of election expenses.

THE LORDS.

The I.L.P. is opposed to the House of Lords, and does not desire to mend, but rather to end it. It regards the claim of the House of Lords to control the finances of the country as an outrage on popular liberty to be stubbornly resisted. The I.L.P. will strenuously resist any attempt to strengthen the House of Lords by reforming it, or to increase its power of obstruction in the manner proposed by the late Prime Minister.

A SOCIALIST PARTY.

The Independent Labour Party stands now, as it always has stood, for Socialism. It rejoices to see that the political issues now being raised are causing Socialism to be better understood by the people. Socialism does not mean robbery, but justice; it does not mean tyranny, but liberty; it does not mean class hatred, but fellowship; and Socialism is our objective.

SOCIAL REFORM.

The Independent Labour Party is ready now, as it always has been, to support all measures of political, industrial, or social reform from whatever quarter they may come if they will lighten the burden of poverty and hasten the advent of Socialism.

The demand for Social Reform which has led to a partial recognition in the present Budget of the necessity of appropriating the unearned increment of land and the taxation of large incomes, is largely due to the agitation carried on by the Independent Labour Party.

The presence of the Labour Party in the House of Commons has made this demand more effective than it otherwise would have been, and as the Labour Party in Parliament grows in numbers and strength, progress towards Socialism will be more rapid. Therefore, in the coming contest, the Independent Labour Party will place its candidates in the field with the sole object of strengthening the Labour and Socialist forces in the House of Commons. It is fully persuaded that by so doing it will not only be working towards its objective, but it will also be in a better position to compel the upholders of the present industrial system to recognise the evil conditions for which they are responsible, and to press for measures of Social Reform to alleviate those conditions.

TAX THE RICH AND NOT THE POOR.

The money necessary to pay for Social Reform must be provided by taxing the Rich, and not by laying further burdens on the Poor, therefore, the I.L.P. is determined to resist by all means in its power what is now called Tariff Reform.

The I.L.P. denies the contention that by the taxation of food, clothing, and other products work will be provided for the Unemployed. So long as industrial concerns are conducted by individuals whose main and dominating object is to secure a profitable sale for their particular commodities, who make no attempt jointly to adjust their rate of production to meet the effective demand, and who accept no responsibility for the workers they no longer require when they have overshot their market, the problem of the unemployed will remain, whether taxes are levied by a Free Trade or a Protectionist Government.

Huge displacements of Labour caused by the application of new methods to industry, new inventions and changes in the requirements of the public are by no means less frequent under one fiscal system than under another. The distress caused by such changes would be more and not less acute if additional taxes were put on food and clothing.

THE RIGHT TO WORK AND THE RIGHT TO LIVE.

Not until the community organises its own work will it be possible to remove the evil of unemployment, and this cannot be done until land and industrial capital are owned by the community. In the meantime the I.L.P. will continue to press upon the attention of the Government the problem of Unemployment. The workless man is the product of the system which the Government supports, and the responsibility for dealing with him is theirs. Therefore, the I.L.P. will do everything possible to influence the unemployed to demand work or maintenance, and to create public opinion in support of the demand. With the Right to Work and the Right to Live as its battle cry, it will take the field at the General Election with the utmost confidence.

A CRUSADE AGAINST POVERTY.

Against the present Poor Law system, with its Bastille, its stigma and its deterrents, the I.L.P. records its undying hatred. Poverty is not a crime but a social disease. It not only deprives human beings of the material things of life, but it deprives them of hope and joy and all that makes life really worth living. To the I.L.P. a General Election is a Crusade against poverty, and it appeals to all who share its ideals and believe in its mission to support its candidates and those who are standing under the auspices of the Labour Party Alliance.

another election, on health grounds.¹ Kelley had been readily acceptable to the Liberals, and for Labour to be allowed another straight fight someone of similar moderate views had to be found. Manchester ILPers had however determined upon running J.M. McLachlan, 'Fighting Mac', Chairman of Manchester and Salford ILP Council, member of Levenshulme UDC, and a director of Manchester Clarion Cafe. Manchester City and Ardwick branches had nominated him for the party's parliamentary list in October 1907, and in October 1908 he was nominated by Manchester and Salford ILP Council as candidate for S.W. Manchester and duly adopted by Manchester and Salford LRC. The NAC, asked for formal endorsement of the candidature, refused to sanction it on the grounds that party rules had been violated.² The following January Manchester and Salford ILP Council was notified that if it wished to nominate McLachlan it must commence the process again.³ The matter was raised, and again no decision reached, when the NAC met prior to the 1909 Conference.⁴ It was then brought before the conference. McLachlan himself admitted to an irregularity in the nomination, but emphasised that the Manchester branches had been unaware of this at the time; it would be difficult to retrace steps already taken. On the issue that a seat held by a trade unionist should not be 'raided' by the ILP, McLachlan asserted that the Labour party in Manchester was not divided in this manner. Conference referred the matter back, yet again, to the NAC⁵

1 D.E. Martin, entry on G.D. Kelley in Dictionary of Labour Biography Vol. II, pp. 211-4

2 ILP, NAC Minutes. Minutes of meetings 4-5 October 1907, 13-15 October 1908

3 Ibid., Minutes of Meeting 21-22 January 1909

4 Ibid., Minutes of Meeting 9 April 1909

5 ILP, Report of the 17th Annual Conference ... 1909, pp. 67-8

and even the most trusting Manchester ILPer must by now have harboured some suspicions about official intentions.

In fact McLachlan was being used as a pawn in another spate of Lib-Lab negotiations. In 1908 the miners had decided to run J.E. Sutton for East Manchester. This was not regarded as a mining seat and had moreover been won in 1906 by a Liberal, T.G. Horridge, in a straight fight against Balfour. Since McLachlan was, so the Liberals understood, to contest the S.W. division, the additional candidature of Sutton destroyed the understanding between the parties that the Liberals should have a straight fight in 4, and Labour in 2, of the Manchester divisions. The Liberals put forward their own candidates for both seats in question, but behind the scenes negotiations began between the two parties to avoid three-cornered fights. The problem for the Labour Party was that Sutton and McLachlan could only be withdrawn by the miners and ILP respectively. The miners rejected all appeals to withdraw Sutton, and in any case the Liberals appear to have favoured the withdrawal of McLachlan. He was an uncompromising socialist, whom their members would not support under any circumstances. Moreover the Liberal candidate for East Manchester, L.W. Zimmerman, was prepared to stand down in order to bring about a rapprochement. Indeed The Times of 16 November suggested that Zimmerman, 'the moderator of Liberal and Labour politics', had stood because he was 'the only conspicuous Liberal in Manchester who would not mind being sacrificed at the last moment in order to bring about an understanding between his own party and that of the Labour men'. According to The Times, 'it would appear that a 'deal' between these two parties in Manchester is at least contemplated'. Apparently on the occasion of the ILP's election conference Manchester Liberal Federation had empowered C.P. Scott and William Royle to inform ^{Arthur} Henderson that, if

McLachlan was withdrawn, they would recommend Zimmerman's retirement.¹

It does therefore appear that the ILP had delayed formalising McLachlan's candidature for so long simply because Labour negotiations with the Liberals were anticipated. But by the end of 1909 the ILP, which was continually protesting its independence, could hardly repudiate McLachlan without arousing a local furore. Consequently on 1 December 1909 the NAC finally accepted responsibility for his candidature and sought the official endorsement from the Labour Party.² Even at this late juncture, McLachlan was still under pressure to withdraw. Taking the chair at Clynes' meeting in the Grand Theatre in January, he was asked why he was spoiling the Liberal candidate's chances in S.W. Manchester. McLachlan was not however open to persuasion, even after Zimmerman withdrew. He was a militant socialist, with no sympathy for the Liberals, whom he readily attacked, and he was moreover defending a seat already held by Labour.³

On 15 January 1910 McLachlan emerged at the bottom of the poll in the three-cornered contest, with 1,218 votes. The victorious Conservative polled 3,111 and the Liberal 3,004. In his account of the contest for the Labour Leader he pronounced that 'Official Liberalism is shattered in South-West Manchester', and listed among the reasons for his defeat:

1. The whole of the Liberal Press united in one conspiracy of boycott and misrepresentation of the Labour candidature.
2. The insistent circulation of the statement, pursued in the

1 P.F. Clarke, op. cit., pp. 325-7

2 Letter: ILP. NAC. Francis Johnson to Secretary, Labour Party, 1 December 1909; List of ILP Candidates, 30 November 1909; Letter: Labour Party to F. Johnson, 2 December 1909 (LP/CAN/06/1/178-80)

3 P.F. Clarke, op. cit., pp. 326-7; LL, 7 January 1910

very polling booths, that Labour had decided to withdraw.

3. The moral effect upon the electors of Mr. Zimmerman's withdrawal in East Manchester was to encourage the inspired idea of a reciprocal Labour withdrawal in South-West.

He also admitted the advantage to the Liberals of the House of Lords and Budget agitation, and the mandates of the United Irish League and Catholic Federation to vote Liberal (this vote was estimated at 1,500 to 1,800). The whole tone of his article revealed implacable hostility to Liberalism; for McLachlan there could be no Lib-Lab pact.¹

In East Manchester Zimmerman's withdrawal left Sutton not only with a straight fight but also with the official blessing of the Liberal party. The Liberal electoral machine was turned to his support; Liberals made house-to-house deliveries of leaflets, filled in his favour all the hoardings which they had previously booked, organised public meetings on his behalf, and sent every elector an 'autographed letter' from Zimmerman, seeking support for Sutton.² It might be added that the SDP refused to add its assistance. Not surprisingly Sutton emerged victorious, with a majority of over 1,000. In N.E. Manchester and Gorton Clynes and Hodge, both left to defend their seats in straight fights with Conservatives, were again returned, albeit with reduced majorities.³

McLachlan was not the only socialist to experience Liberal antipathy and eventual defeat. West Salford was a Liberal seat which the LRC had agreed to leave uncontested, but local socialists however were not so disposed. In November 1909 the West Salford Parliamentary Division

1 LL, 21 January 1910

2 P.F. Clarke, op. cit., pp. 326, 331

3 LL, 21 and 28 January 1910

Socialist Representation Committee was formed by the South and West Salford SDP branches and the Irlams-o'-th'-Height and Weaste Socialist Societies, in order to promote the candidature of A.A. Purcell. Purcell was described in the Dispatch as 'a fine organiser, an effective speaker, and not the sort of man to encourage Lib-Lab compacts'. Meetings were held nightly in the constituency, and the Countess of Warwick, Hyndman, Dan Irving and Victor Grayson all appeared to lend their support.¹ But the socialists had to contend with opposition not only from the two major parties, but also from 'official' Labour. As Purcell recalled,

So called Labour men canvassed against us; wrote letters asking us to withdraw; sent letters to the Liberals telling them we had no chance; and, further, allowed their letters to be published against us.

Like McLachlan, Purcell found himself at the bottom of the poll, albeit with over 2,000 votes.²

The lessons of the January 1910 General Election in the Manchester area were clear. Faithful adherents of the Labour alliance who were willing to work in conjunction with the Liberals might be afforded assistance by both parties. Militant socialists who were not prepared to compromise their principles should expect attack from Labour as well as Liberals. It might also be remarked that both the rebel socialist candidates stood in districts where the SDP had been long established, and where ILP/Social-Democrat co-operation at local elections had continued after the formation of the Labour alliance. On a national level, the General Election placed the Labour Party in what appeared to be a strong position - but which in fact left it little room to manoeuvre. Since the Liberal government had a majority of only 2 over the Unionists,

1 C, 19 November 1909; J, 27 November 1909, 8 January 1910

2 J, 22 January 1910

the Irish with 80 members and the Labour Party (including the miners) with 40, held the balance. To oppose the government might bring it down, to support it might reduce the Labour Party to what Barnes described as 'a mere drifting appendage to the Liberal Party'.¹ In the circumstances it would be difficult for the ILP to conciliate its rebels (assuming that it even wished so to do), and very easy to precipitate a major split in the party.

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The revolt within the ILP after 1910 has generally been regarded as one broad movement, which gravitated from the 'Green Manifesto' to the Socialist Unity Conference.² In fact it is possible to discern two broad schools of opinion among the 'rebels'; admittedly they were not always distinct and clear-cut, and it is virtually impossible to pin labels on the majority of rank and file dissidents. However there were two general movements: the revival of the recurrent but long-established campaign to form a united socialist party, and the agitation to restore the ILP to the status which it had enjoyed before the formation of the Labour alliance - that of an independent, distinctly socialist party, unhampered by any compromise with Liberalism. In practice the latter movement must be considered first, for it reached its high-water mark in the summer of 1910, after which many of its adherents either accepted compromise, turned their hopes instead to a new socialist party, or even placed their faith in industrial, as opposed to political, methods to achieve the emancipation of the working class.

1 D. Marquand, *op. cit.*, pp. 119-22

2 For example see L. Thompson, The Enthusiasts, p. 169; C. Tsuzuki, *op. cit.*, pp. 173-5

The desire to restore the ILP to its original independence was expressed, albeit ineffectually, at the party's Annual Conference in March 1910. Prominent in the debate were local delegates: J.M. McLachlan representing City of Manchester branch, R.C. Hall of Newton Heath, and C.T. Douthwaite (Bredbury and Romily). Douthwaite proclaimed 'He believed in a Socialist Party going straight on independent lines'. Moreover '... the revisionist policy that MacDonalld stood for was not the policy represented by the ILP in the past'. R.C. Hall moved 'That the time is now ripe for the ILP to urge the Labour Party to formulate a definite programme based upon Labour and Socialist policy', but his resolution was 'disposed of' and the 'previous question' carried. The only consolation for the local dissidents was the election of Leonard Hall, Douthwaite and McLachlan as divisional representatives on the NAC.¹

Having failed to influence the Labour alliance through the medium of the ILP Conference, the critics turned their efforts towards grass-roots propaganda. In August 1910 their case was argued in a pamphlet, Let Us Reform the Labour Party, which because of its cover became popularly known as the Green Manifesto. Although attributed to four authors, the pamphlet was largely composed by McLachlan, with an introduction by Leonard Hall and brief endorsements by Douthwaite and J.H. Belcher (who represented the S.W. counties on the NAC). Thus the document was essentially local in origin, being printed by Will Phillips' Fellowship Press in Crumpsall. Indeed when the Manifesto burst upon the ILP, a separate controversy raged over the manner of its production and distribution.

1 ILP, Report of the 18th Annual Conference ... 1910, pp. 54, 60, 70, 78

McLachlan began by outlining the reason for current controversy within the ILP. He saw the party as being divided between two policies. One, which he termed 'Revision' was that chosen by the leaders of the Parliamentary Labour Party: general support for the Liberal government, thereby retaining that government in office, in return for mere promises. The other, for which he used the term 'Revolution', was the policy of treating each parliamentary measure upon its own merits and voting accordingly. This was the policy which, claimed McLachlan, the rank and file of the Trade Union and socialist movement wished its leaders to adopt. Having described in detail the 'revisionist' stand taken by the Labour Party over individual parliamentary questions, most important being the Lords' veto, McLachlan nevertheless defended the concept of a Labour Party, on the grounds that 'The Labour Party is the one conceivable formation in which Labour can operate against Capitalism'. Socialists should therefore remain in the Labour Party in order to lead the trade unionist rank and file. McLachlan blamed the present stagnation of the Labour Party upon the ILP Members of Parliament, rather than their trade unionist colleagues. The ILP members were, he claimed, the titular leaders of the party who had in fact failed to lead. As a result disaffection prevailed among many of the ILP's best branches. The only solution was the abandonment of 'Revisionism'. The Labour Party must state its own aims and policy, then vote upon the merits of individual questions, regardless of the consequences.

Hall, in his introduction, agreed that the Labour-Socialist alliance was 'absolutely sound and desirable' in principle, although cruelly disappointing in practice. He also placed the blame upon the "'revisionist" heresy' of the Labour Party's leaders, and moreover upon the 'incapacity of the rank and file of the ILP to discriminate between

loyalty to a cause and personal idolatory of its prominent representatives'. However Hall's suggestions for future action were more radical than those of McLachlan:

I am convinced that the ILP would be far more fruitfully engaged as a purely propagandist force, devoting its resources to the spreading of sound and thoroughgoing Socialist opinion in the country, and eschewing direct Parliamentary representation altogether, than in continuing to waste its magnificent opportunities and its potential enthusiasm in such socialist-ically barren pettifogging as the Labour Parliamentarians are giving us.¹

Hall's lack of faith in Parliamentary activity was soon to lead him along the path of Industrial Unionism, but in the summer of 1910 the controversy which engulfed the ILP was to concentrate upon the issue of Labour policy in Parliament, rather than on the more fundamental question of whether or not Labour should seek to enter Parliament at all. It is however significant that the Manifesto gave no support to the concept of a united socialist party, seeking rather to restore the ILP to the independent position which it had enjoyed in the '90s. In the summer of 1910 the Manifestists and the adherents of socialist unity represented two separate trends for discontented ILPers. It does appear that it was only after the Manifesto had failed to produce any tangible results that dissidents concentrated their efforts upon the formation of a new party.

For almost three months after its publication the Manifesto formed the focus of debate within the ILP.² Its critics attacked not only its content, but also the manner of its publication, claiming that as district representatives on the NAC the authors should have consulted their districts, Federal Councils and colleagues on the NAC before

1 Green Manifesto, op. cit., passim.

2 LL, 28 August 1910

issuing such a document.¹ Ben Riley accused Arthur Smith of having offered the Manifesto for sale to 'a capitalist newspaper', and 'opponents of the ILP' were supposed to have been 'hawking it' at Victor Grayson's meeting in Oldham on 14 August - before it was circulated among the ILP.² Moving to the actual content of the Manifesto, those critics who did not confine themselves to personal attacks upon the authors³ emphasised the fundamental difficulties of Labour's present position in Parliament. Labour did not want, and could not afford, a second General Election. As an ILP and Trade Union branch secretary from Ormskirk, J. Phipps, expressed it: 'Perhaps the four NAC members will inform us how 40 men are going to force a House of 470_x members to grant all we ask for'.⁴

Support for the Manifesto was not however confined to the extreme left of the ILP. R.C. Wallhead, in a letter to the Labour Leader published on 12 August, admitted that there was grave disquiet among individual members concerning the methods of the Parliamentary Labour Party. Wallhead for his part criticised the election tactics of Labour Parliamentary candidates:

I have been absolutely sickened at some of the things said and done by men, who, in their eagerness to retain their seats, seem to have forgotten the principles for which they stand. We, of the ILP, have not fought through the weary years we have done to now bolster up Liberalism and Free Trade.⁵

1 W.C. Anderson, 'A Strange Manifesto' in *ibid.*, 5 August 1910

2 *Ibid.*, 9 September 1910

3 *Ibid.*, 5 August 1910. See article by W.C. Anderson and letter from T.D. Benson

4 *Ibid.*, 12 August 1910

5 *Ibid.*, 12 August 1910

Many ILP branches, including Levenshulme, Longsight, Moss Side, Chorlton-cum-Hardy, North Manchester and Manchester Central,¹ passed resolutions in support of the Manifesto, and generally echoed its authors' demand for a referendum of the whole party on the issue 'of whether the Party and its MPs shall in future be pledged to act and vote on every question on its merits, irrespective of the convenience of any Government'.²

But although the Manifesto provoked a lengthy argument within the ILP, there were no tangible results. The Conference of No. 10 Division, held in Manchester on 1 October, failed to support either the manifesto or the call for a referendum³ (which was never in fact held). At the end of October the Labour Leader closed its columns to further discussion, the NAC declined to place the matter before the LRC Conference, and also determined that a national ballot was outside the constitution of the party. As a last resort, a second manifesto was issued to branches at the end of October, again to no avail. Above all the publication of the Green Manifesto proved the point of its authors, that although ILPers might criticise the activities of the Parliamentary Labour Party, they could have little real effect upon its policy.

Nor was the situation eased by the second general election, in December 1910. The close proximity of the two elections entailed heavy demands on funds, which were never the strong point of the ILP's

1 Ibid., 26 August, 2 and 9 September, 7 and 14 October 1910; Manchester Central Branch ILP, Minutes of Special Meeting, 25 September 1910. This meeting supported the Farnworth resolution for the Divisional Conference. See also report of the Conference of No. 10 Division in LL, 7 October 1910.

2 Ibid., 30 September 1910

3 Ibid., 7 October 1910

organisation. Particular difficulties were experienced in South West Manchester, where the January election had left a large debt in its wake. On 27 September a Special Sub-Committee of Manchester and Salford ILP, appointed to inquire into the financial arrangements of the election, discovered that a debt of over £56 still remained outstanding, and brought to light many irregularities. Arthur Smith, as election agent, had failed to keep receipts or order books; excessive payments had been made to both the agent and the Fellowship Press; there was an unpaid account, amounting to over £70, to the National Labour Press. Furthermore J.D. Sutcliffe had been persuaded to lend £50 for three months, which had still not been repaid.¹ Whether such irregularities had been intentional, or simply the result of incompetent organisation, remains uncertain, but after the inquiry it was obvious that the ILP would not countenance another contest in the constituency in the near future. Moreover in April 1910 Manchester and Salford LRC refused to take financial responsibility for Clynes' candidature in N.E. Manchester, on the grounds that its funds would then be available for all parliamentary candidates promoted under its auspices, in accordance with its constitution. Miles Platting ILP branch was eventually persuaded to assume responsibility, having been assured of the financial backing of Manchester and Salford ILP Federation.²

1 Report of Manchester and Salford ILP Council of its Special Sub-Committee Appointed to Inquire into Financial Arrangements of S.W. Manchester election of 1910 and nature and extent of party's present obligations with respect to same. 27 September 1910. See also Supplementary Report, 27 September 1910 and Minutes of NAC Meetings, 22-23 November 1910, 29-30 January 1911, 15 April 1911 and 5-6 October 1911. (All contained in ILP, NAC Minutes 1910-2)

2 ILP, Minutes of NAC Meetings, 21-2 April, 7-8 July 1910, 29-30 January, 15 April, 5-6 October 1911

But although a second General Election raised financial problems for Labour, its official candidates in the Manchester district continued to enjoy the benefit of Liberal approval. In Gorton Hodges received considerable support from the Liberals, as did Clynes in N.E. Manchester. In December 1910 H.E. Howell told the North Manchester League of Democratic Conservatives that

Mr. Clynes in North-East Manchester, was as much a Liberal candidate as he was a Labour candidate. The Labour Party can no longer claim to be an independent party.¹

Independent socialists were voices in the wilderness. The SDP planned to run A.A. Purcell in a three-cornered fight in West Salford, but withdrew him from the contest in early December. The Clarion reported that:

The necessary funds were not forthcoming, and so, although, I believe, money could have been obtained from another source - a tainted source - local Socialists, preferring to fight on a straight ticket or not at all, took their man out of the ring.²

Hodge, Clynes and Sutton all retained their seats in the December 1910 General Election. But the Labour Party found itself in a difficult position in the Commons. The Liberals were still without an overall majority, and the balance continued to be held by the Irish and Labour (which now had 42 Members). Short of adopting the parliamentary tactics of Grayson (who had lost his seat in the January election), the Labour members were again reduced to the role of maintaining the Government in office. It was above all this state of affairs which extinguished the hopes of the Manifestists. Had the Labour vote in the Commons been less crucial, it is likely that a greater display of independence would have been made, for leading figures within parliament, as well as socialist

1 P.F. Clarke, op. cit., p. 338, citing Manchester Courier, 17 December 1910

2 C, 9 December 1910

dissidents in the constituencies, were unhappy with their party's supportive role.¹ But when Labour MPs again succumbed to political expediency, discontented rank and file socialists turned their attention elsewhere; to the campaign for a new socialist party, or to the industrial, as opposed to the political, route to working class power. The syndicalist/industrial unionist movement is generally outside the scope of this work, which seeks to examine the political working class movement, although there were some individuals, most notably Leonard Hall, George Simpson and A.A. Purcell, who featured prominently in both spheres. However for ILP socialists who remained unreconciled to the Labour alliance, the principal hope now lay in a political realignment, to be brought about by the Socialist Representation Committees.

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Manchester District SRC was officially established at a meeting at the Clarion Club on 19 February 1910. It was attended by 37 delegates representing 6 ILP branches, 6 SDP branches, and 9 unattached socialist societies. The Committee defined its object as 'the promotion and support of avowed socialist candidates at Parliamentary and local elections'. It envisaged the eventual unification of existing SRCs in order to form a National Socialist Party. Any society or branch of a society whose object was socialism would be eligible for affiliation to the committee, on which it should be represented by two members. Affiliated societies might propose the names of candidates - who must be avowed socialists - to the Committee. Prior to adoption, candidates would be obliged to submit their election addresses for the approval

1 D. Marquand, op. cit., pp. 128, 136-7

of the committee and, if adopted, they would be subject to the direction of the committee. It was further stipulated that:

All candidates shall have for their object the social ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange, and the emancipation of the workers from the thralldom of landlordism and wage-slavery.

Moreover,

All candidates elected to Parliament shall be instructed to obstruct all business until the unemployed question has been thoroughly dealt with.¹

Copies of the constitution were forwarded to various branches and societies, together with an invitation to affiliate. By 13 May, 11 societies with a total membership of about 800 had affiliated,² and the Committee subsequently advertised for 'Good SOCIALIST speakers ... No Lib.-Labs. need apply'.³

The Committee's election policy was clearly formulated at its meeting on 28 May, when it adopted the 12th clause of its constitution:

That where no candidate is standing for an avowed Socialist Society or candidate sanctioned by this Committee, affiliated members shall refrain from voting for or in any other way supporting a non-Socialist candidate.⁴

The wheel had indeed turned full circle, for the socialist dissidents were now adopting what was virtually the old 4th Clause of Manchester and Salford ILP!

In June and August the Oldham and Bolton Socialist Parties decided to affiliate to Manchester and District SRC, thus widening its geographical influence.⁵ Moreover in August 1910 South Salford SDP moved that three

1 C, 25 February 1910

2 Ibid., 13 May 1910

3 Ibid., 3 June 1910

4 Ibid., 10 June 1910

5 Ibid., 10 June, 5 August 1910

members of the Committee be appointed to meet the Manchester District Council (of the SDP), with a view to the amalgamation of the whole of the organised socialist forces in the district.¹ But persuading the rest of the country to follow Manchester's example was a more complex task. Writing in the Clarion on 18 March, Simpson suggested that SRCs should be formed in London, Liverpool, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Newcastle, Leeds, Sheffield, Preston, Bristol and Dublin, and that an existing socialist organisation in each of these districts should call a conference to discuss the project.²

At this stage however the movement lacked any real national leadership. Blatchford was at the time suffering both in health and spirits,³ and although he did turn his attention in the Clarion to the question 'Is there to be a New Socialist Party?' he gave no firm lead. Instead he posed another question, 'Are the people sufficiently educated and intelligent to desire Socialism?'⁴ In July, after Clynes had accused the Clarion of attacking the Labour Party, he did affirm the paper's support for 'a Party which will begin where the ILP began', but on a personal level he announced:

I do not want to have any more to do with politics, and
I do not want to fight any more with anybody about anything.⁵

Victor Grayson, having received many letters asking him for a lead in the campaign for a new party, announced in the Clarion of 11 March 'I personally have no remote desire to lead'. Instead he advocated

1 Ibid., 5 August 1910

2 Ibid., 18 March 1910

3 L. Thompson, Robert Blatchford, p. 217

4 C, 25 March 1910

5 Ibid., 22 July 1910

activity at grass-roots level; the formation of socialist societies and SRCs, which could then be consolidated into a 'strong, unified, Independent Socialist Party'.¹ July 1910 saw the formation of 'The Provisional Committee for the Promotion of Common Action Among Socialists', which included among its objects the formation of SRCs, and the promotion of independent socialist candidates in elections. Its members, including A.A. Purcell, represented all the leading Socialist organisations, but appeared anxious to avoid conflict with the national or local Labour movements.² Moreover it had no intention of forming a new party.³

Apart from lacking concerted national leadership, the advocates of a new socialist party also faced problems with both the SDP and the NAC of the ILP. The SDP remained anxious to preserve its own identity, and believed that its own organisation should form the nucleus of a united socialist party. Thus on reading of the Provisional Committee for the Promotion of Common Action among Socialists, H. Boardman, a member of South Salford SDF/SDP for some 20 years, wrote:

... Is this the way to strengthen your organisation by forming another one? Two Socialist societies have been formed recently in Salford; result - loss of members to the SDP. I contend that our organisation stands for all, and more than, the promoters of this common action can offer.⁴

On a more official level, the SDP rejected any scheme for common action

1 Ibid., 11 March 1910

2 Other members of the Committee were: James Adderley, J.A. Allan, H. Alexander, G. Moore Bell, Cecil Chesterton, E.C. Fairchild, F. Victor Fisher, Fred H. Gorle, F.C. Haggart, A.S. Headingley, James MacPherson, Conrad Noel, John Scurr, S.D. Shallard, C.N.L. Shaw and A.M. Thompson. (See C, 15 July 1910)

3 SDP News, August 1910. See editor's reply to letter from H. Boardman.

4 Ibid.

among socialists which necessitated its own affiliation to the Labour Party. On 17 October 1910 representatives of the Fabian Society, ILP, and SDP met in London, but on 30 January 1911 the NAC declared itself against the establishment of a permanent advisory committee consisting of representatives from the three parties. It was prepared only to consider co-operation regarding specific questions, on application from either of the other bodies. A month later the SDP announced that it held aloof from other socialist organisations on many immediate points of policy, as well as in its attitude towards political alliance with the trade unions. 'Hence, a permanent joint committee, in the opinion of the Council, would be more likely to be a source of weakness and division than of consolidation and strength.'¹ The impetus towards a new socialist party thus remained with the rank and file activists in the localities, and in particular with Manchester District SRC. For it was not until December 1910 that a similar committee was formed for the Liverpool District, with the assistance of George Simpson, who read the constitution of the Manchester Committee to the meeting.² Birmingham District SRC was then formed in February 1911.³

In the summer of 1910 the Manchester socialists sought to gain support and publicity for their movement by planning a mass demonstration in the Free Trade Hall on 25 September. There was initially some controversy with the SDP Executive over the Committee's announcement that Purcell and Hyndman would speak. Clearly the SDP was anxious that its leading members should not be identified solely with the SRC. However after some diplomatic exchanges from George Simpson, the SDP was duly

1 See correspondence between ILP, Labour Party and SDP, reprinted in SDP News, May 1911

2 C, 2 December 1910

3 Ibid., 10 February 1910

placated, and at a meeting chaired by Frank Rose (standing in for the Countess of Warwick), its two members shared the platform with Victor Grayson.¹ The Free Trade Hall was packed for the occasion, with hundreds of people being left outside. Hyndman, Grayson and Purcell each received a great reception before and after their speeches, and a resolution in favour of Socialist Unity was passed unanimously.²

The Free Trade Hall demonstration convinced Simpson,³ at least, that the rank and file of the socialist movement was ready for unity. Writing in the Clarion, both he and Grayson were convinced that the chief obstacle to unity on a national level was the ILP, which Simpson described as being 'submerged in and dominated by the Labour Party'.⁴ Grayson defined two levels of discontent among ILPers. For those who were 'disgusted with the Labour Party's attitude on unemployment', but were not prepared to break the alliance, or sever their connection with the ILP, he suggested additional affiliation with a socialist representation committee. ILPers whose discontent was more serious were advised to secede, and if possible join a socialist organisation whose methods and policy were satisfactory. In the absence of such an organisation in their locality, they were advised to form a Socialist Society, and affiliate to a SRC. Grayson also realised that the SDP would not be prepared to merge its distinctive identity in a new Socialist Party, but believed it would accept the federal structure of a SRC, to which the Clarion organisation and Fabians would also be willing to affiliate.⁵

1 Ibid., 1 July, 5 and 26 August, 2, 16 and 30 September 1910

2 Ibid., 30 September 1910

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid., 4 November 1910. See George Simpson, 'Socialist Unity'.

5 Ibid., 30 September 1910. See Victor Grayson, 'Can Socialists Unite?'

During the winter of 1910-11 Manchester District SRC, under the secretaryship of Simpson, organised similar committees in Liverpool and Birmingham, and tried in vain to organise Derby and Sheffield. By July 1911 14 societies, representing 784 members, were affiliated to Manchester SRC. That committee had also provided some financial assistance to socialist candidates at local elections, and organised a successful demonstration, at Queen's Park on 11 June, to protest against the provisions of Lloyd George's Insurance Scheme.¹

But although the SRC's were enthusiastic, and enjoyed the support of Grayson and the Clarion, their campaign for socialist unity had undoubtedly been hampered in its earlier stages by the lack of adherence of the major socialist groups. However as Grayson had anticipated, the SDP was not averse to 'unity' on a federal basis, which would preserve its own identity. Thus at its Coventry conference in April 1911 a resolution was passed calling for the establishment of a 'United British Socialist Party'.² The move was not entirely altruistic, for in the absence of the ILP the SDP could hope to dominate the new movement. Certainly it was not prepared to compromise; when, in June 1911, Manchester SRC sent a query to the SDP News, concerning the attitude of branches of the SDP which were affiliated to the SRC, 'Reply was sent that where the rules and regulations of subsidiary organisations to which they might be affiliated, ran counter to the decisions and policy of the SDP, branches of the SDP should act in accordance with the policy of the SDP'.³

1 Ibid., 2 December, 10 February, 9 and 16 June, 21 July 1911

2 C. Tsuzuki, op. cit., pp. 173-5

3 SDP News, June 1911

Other elements in the socialist unity movement were not however prepared to assign the leading role to the SDP. The Clarion had been campaigning for a united socialist party for almost two decades when, on 4 August 1911, it carried an article by Victor Grayson, 'The British Socialist Party. Who is ready?'. After explaining that socialist organisations were being circularised, with a view to holding a conference to consider a new party, he formally resigned his own membership of the ILP, adding, 'I trust that my example will be followed by all who value their socialist faith. For myself, I will join no other organisation until I can have the pride and pleasure of enrolling under the banner of a British Socialist Party'. At the foot of the page appeared a form for membership of the British Socialist Party, which was to be returned to the Clarion office. Applicants would then either be visited by appointment, or asked through the socialist press to attend a meeting in their own locality to form branches.¹

The response to Grayson's appeal was particularly marked among ILP dissidents. Hundreds of members wrote expressing disgust at the recent policy of the party and welcoming the BSP. Most of these ILPers had held official positions in local branches, and now offered their services to assist in organising the new party. Whole branches had signed the forms en bloc, and had constituted themselves branches of the BSP. Also enthusiastic were a 'startling number' of unattached socialists, but members of the SDP had written to say that their party already filled

1. C, 4 August 1911

the bill!¹

Also struggling for ascendancy in the new party were the industrial unionists, based predominantly in Birmingham and led by former Manchester ILPer Leonard Hall. Hall expressed his own hopes for the new party in an undated letter to (H.B.?) Williams:

I myself am convinced that the far most valuable service the Socts. can do is to propagand^{ise} and push for all we're worth the idea and the organisation of the Combined and General strike as the most potent lever of the Social Revolution. Other lines will be a waste of time and opportunity for some years ahead yet.²

It was with such aims that a section of the BSP was organised in Birmingham. On 16 September 1911 it issued its manifesto, which commenced with a reference to 'The unexampled and inspiring 'sympathetic' Labour Revolts of 1911 ...'. It went on to describe attempts to legislate for conciliation and compulsory arbitration in labour disputes, all of which were seen as aiming to make strikes so difficult as to be virtually impracticable, thereby depriving the workers of 'the most promising weapon of defence and advance in their possession - to wit, **THE COMBINED STRIKE**'. According to Birmingham BSP, employers were getting open assistance from some members of the Parliamentary Labour Party. The manifestists then went on to outline their own methods. General and combined strikes were to be supplemented by boycotts of

1 Ibid., 18 August 1911. There is no evidence of change of allegiance by ILP branches within Manchester at this stage. However when the Socialist Unity Conference was held, BSP branches from Birmingham, Hyde, Preston, Rochdale, Sheffield, Stockport, Urmston and Warrington were represented. (BSP, Official Report of the Socialist Unity Conference ... 1911, p. 25) Blackley and Moston Socialist Union did however apply for membership of the BSP on 12 September 1911 (See press cutting 'The British Socialist Party. What the Country Thinks'. This is dated in pencil 22 September 1911, but bears no title of newspaper, and is contained in the British Socialist Party Collection.)

2 Letter: Leonard Hall to (H.B.) Williams, n.d., (1911?) (BSP Collection)

wares of the 'worst sweaters and enemies of the people'. Wherever possible, militant socialists were to be placed in parliament and on public bodies, to obstruct oppressive measures and eventually take charge of national and local administration. Their first business was however to develop the industrial revolution, which should be co-ordinated with the political campaign.¹

There is no evidence of such concerted syndicalist activity among the Manchester advocates of a BSP. Perhaps the leading activist in the area was A.A. Purcell, who was a regular speaker on syndicalism, and also took the chair at the First Conference on Industrial Syndicalism, held at Manchester Coal Exchange on 26 November 1910. Also on the committee of Manchester Syndicalist Education League were Arthur Law, member of the ASRS and an occasional speaker at ILP meetings; James Gorman of the ASE and SDP; and Harry Green, also in the ASE and a member of the Clarion Scouts. Richard ('Dick') Coppock, who played an active part in the November 1910 Conference, was a member of Openshaw Socialist Society.² But although these Manchester men were all active in the syndicalist movement, no trace can be found of any concerted action on their part to emulate the Birmingham BSP and attempt to capture the national movement.

Thus when the Socialist Unity Conference eventually met, at the Caxton Hall, Salford, on 30 September and 1 October 1911, it was possible to distinguish three factions intent upon moulding the new party in their

1 Manifesto of the Birmingham Section of the British Socialist Party, 16 September 1911. 16 pp. (BSP Collection)

2 See biographical appendix. See also The Industrial Syndicalist (reprinted with introduction by G. Brown, Spokesman Books, Nottingham, 1974). In particular see December 1910 pp. 161-205 passim, report of 'First Conference on Industrial Syndicalism'.

own image: the SDP, the Industrial Unionists led by Hall and the Birmingham BSP, and a broader alliance of Clarion socialists, ILP dissidents, members of independent socialist societies and the 'unattached', which had gathered around Grayson and the Clarion. The Manchester area was represented by SDP delegates from N.E. and S.W. Manchester and South Salford branches, together with the affiliated Seedley and Urmston Socialist Societies. ILP branches in Gorton, Longsight, East Manchester, Miles Platting, Moss Side, North and West Salford and Whitefield, together with Didsbury Socialist Society, sent delegates, as did the Manchester Union of Clarion Cycling Clubs, the Clarion Cycling Clubs of Newton Heath, Salford, Gorton, and Manchester Clarion Club. Also represented were Manchester SRC, Blackley and Moston Socialist Union, and the socialist societies from Levenshulme and Openshaw.¹

Between the three factions alliances varied upon individual issues. The SDP Executive moved a resolution embodying the doctrine of 'class war'. This was supported by Hall, on behalf of Birmingham BSP, but generally opposed by Clarion representatives, on the grounds that it would deter many ILPers from joining the new party. Leonard Hall's amendment in favour of 'revolutionary industrial tactics' was supported by Victor Grayson, but opposed by SDP delegates, while the ILPers and Hall generally attacked the SDP's reference to palliative measures in its original resolution.

The new party which emerged from the deliberations at the Caxton Hall was avowedly socialist and revolutionary. It also aligned itself with the industrial unionist movement:

The Socialist Party is the political expression of the working class movement, acting in the closest co-operation

1 Official Report of the Socialist Unity Conference ..., pp. 25-8

with industrial organisations for the socialisation of the means of production and distribution - that is to say, the transformation of capitalist society into a collectivist or communist society ... the Socialist Party is not a reformist but a revolutionary party, which recognises that social freedom and equality can only be won by fighting the class war through to the finish, and thus abolishing for ever all class distinctions.¹

The alliance between industrial unionists and the 'Old Guard' of the SDP was not however to be long-lived. Both groups sought to dominate the BSP and when, by the close of 1912, the Industrial Unionists and Syndicalists had clearly failed in their bid, many of their adherents withdrew.² The Clarion/ILP group, who may be seen as representing the original movement for a united socialist party, were generally left by the wayside.

The British Socialist Party may have been a new, independent socialist party, but it did not fulfil the dream of socialist unity which had continued from the mid-'90s. For the ILP remained outside its aegis, and maintained its adherence to the Labour Party, which the BSP did not join until 1916.³ However the aim here cannot be to examine the progress or problems of the BSP, but rather to consider the impact which the formation of that party had upon the ILP in Manchester, the district from which much of the earlier criticism of ILP policy had stemmed.

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The most obvious question concerning the impact of the BSP upon Manchester and Salford ILP is simply how many members of the latter

1 Ibid., passim

2 C. Tsuzuki, op. cit., pp. 186-7

3 H.W. Lee and E. Archbold, op. cit., p. 217

organisation changed allegiance? Initially there is little evidence of whole ILP branches transferring their loyalties. Moreover the SDP reminded its members that the BSP would not begin its official existence until a constitution had been drafted by the provisional committee and ratified. Through the continuing medium of Justice, Albert Inkpin advised SDP branches and affiliated bodies not to sink their identity until such time arrived.¹ Initially the BSP was organised in the Manchester area through meetings called in the various districts, which then drew in individual members. In the Clarion of 27 October, George Simpson called for volunteers who would be willing to call meetings or assist in the formation of branches. North Salford branch was formed at a meeting held in the Small Hall, Teneriffe Street, on 1 November. A central branch emerged from a meeting in the Clarion Cafe on the 6th. On this occasion 17 members joined, but about a dozen more names were promised. Chorlton-cum-Hardy branch made a 'splendid start', and Urmston BSP acquired nearly 40 members before the provisional constitution was ratified, and the BSP officially established.² Local SDP branches formally disbanded at the end of the year and, in some cases, combined with New Year celebrations the formation of BSP branches. Thus 'On the stroke of midnight, December 31, the old South Salford Branch of the SDP, which was formed by 'Old Bill' twenty-seven years ago, ceased to exist' and was transformed into a 230-member strong BSP branch.³ Weaste and Openshaw Socialist Societies became affiliated to the new party, while Chorlton Socialist Society asked its past members to attend a meeting to

1 J, 14 October 1911

2 C, 27 October 1911; J, 18, 25 November, 2 December 1911

3 J, 20 January 1912

form a local BSP branch. North Manchester Socialist Society officially transferred its affiliation from the SDP to the BSP in February 1912.¹

It thus appears that the movement of established socialist groups into the BSP was largely confined to SDP branches and hitherto independent socialist societies. The obvious course for ILP dissidents would be simply to attend local inaugural meetings and join the BSP as individual members, thereupon resigning (if they had not already done so) from the ILP. Thus on 12 December Manchester Central Branch ILP received a letter from J. O'Connor, tending his resignation from the branch, 'owing to him having joined the BSP'. A. Sternberg, the branch delegate to Manchester and Salford ILP Council, 'regretted to report that the Didsbury Society proposed to disband and that a large number of Newton Heath proposed joining the BSP'.² Blackley and Moston ILP branch appears to have transferred its allegiance upon the formation of the BSP. So strong were members' objections to the Labour Party that when, in July 1914, the majority of BSP members voted for affiliation to the Labour Party, they promptly withdrew from the BSP. The socialist press provided occasional references to ILP branches disbanding at this time. On 1 December 1911 the Clarion announced that Stretford ILP had disbanded, and that all socialists in the district were invited to join the BSP branch, due to meet on the following Sunday at 903 Chester Road, Gorse Hill.³ There is, of course, no evidence as to how many ex-members of the ILP branch joined the BSP, and how many joined other ILP branches in the district - or simply remained unattached! Above all, there is no indication of the

1 J, 20 January 1912. 'Old Bill' was of course William Horrocks

2 Manchester Central Branch ILP, Minutes of Meeting 12 December 1911

3 Socialist Record, July 1914; C, 1 December 1911

proportion of members of new BSP branches who were originally ILPers. Also potential candidates for membership were the 'unattached', whose numbers had always been emphasised by the Clarion, SDP sympathisers or members who may previously have attended branches in other districts, members of Clarion organisations, and erstwhile members of independent socialist societies. To ascribe any particular proportion of the BSP's recruitment to ILP dissidents would thus, in the absence of concrete evidence, be pure speculation.

One is therefore limited to examining the general growth and development of the BSP, and comparing its progress to that of the ILP. The report of the BSP's First Annual Conference listed 22 branches in the Manchester and Salford area: Blackley and Moston, Boothstown, Chorlton-cum-Hardy, East Manchester, Gorton, Levenshulme, Newton Heath, North Manchester, N.E. Manchester, N.W. Manchester, Moss Side, Openshaw, Pendleton, Rusholme, Seedley, S.W. Manchester, Stretford, Urmston, Broadway, North Salford, South Salford and Weaste.¹ It does however appear that the BSP was unable to sustain such an extensive network of branches, for the Branch Directory published in the Socialist Record for July 1913, excluded the Boothstown, Chorlton-cum-Hardy, Levenshulme, Newton Heath and Urmston branches.² In November 1913 the ILP's local branches, as listed in the Labour Leader, fell somewhat short of the BSP's total. Included were branches in Gorton, Levenshulme, Openshaw, Ardwick, Manchester Central, Longsight, Manchester City, Manchester East, Manchester North, Miles Platting, New Cross, Salford North, Salford West, Withington and Urmston.³ Thus not only did the BSP appear to have more

1 BSP, The First Annual Conference of the British Socialist Party. Official Report. PP. 63, 65

2 Socialist Record, July 1913

3 LL, 27 November 1913

branches, but it had established itself in districts of Manchester where the SDF/SDP had regularly failed to secure a permanent foothold.

The extent of the branch network was not, of course, the only consideration. The ILP's branch list, indicating the progress of the new stamp system, revealed a great disparity in the size of branches, from membership of over 120 in East Manchester and Miles Platting, to 12 in Manchester City.¹ Although no comparable list is available for the BSP, it seems likely that South Salford (which claimed 230 members upon its inauguration)² and Openshaw³ branches were among the largest. Knowledge of the size of other branches can be derived only from occasional references in the press: East Manchester enrolled 41 members between January and mid-March 1912;⁴ Manchester City BSP began with 17 members and another 12 names promised; Gorton branch was formed with 30 members.⁵

How did the level of activity of the BSP branches compare with that of their ILP counterparts? Again much depended upon the size and facilities of the individual branch. South Salford BSP began with all the facilities of Hyndman Hall. It ran a speakers' class and Sunday School, was distributing an average of 10,000 leaflets per month, and was already planning its propaganda campaign - four meetings per week in the summer - as well as a May Day demonstration.⁶ At its Margaret Street Hall, Openshaw BSP

1 Ibid.

2 J, 20 January 1912

3 J. Mahon, op. cit., pp. 33-5. No date is given for Openshaw Socialist Society's peak membership of about 300, but the sheer extent of activity which the BSP maintained suggests that it retained a large number of members.

4 J, 16 March 1912

5 C, 17 November 1911

6 J, 17 November 1911

also provided meetings, lectures, classes, debates, social functions and a Socialist Sunday School. Harry Pollitt, as secretary, organised a lending library for members, while literature secretary Charlie Openshaw provided members with a selection of penny pamphlets, weekly journals and American editions of the works of Marx and Engels.¹ Other branches which lacked a firm SDP foundation also launched into activity. East Manchester BSP acquired rooms at 32 Ardwick Green, which were opened every evening. Pendleton branch managed to deliver 2,000 leaflets in the colliery district.² On a more centralised level, a Manchester District Council of the BSP was established. Initially 31 branches with an estimated membership of 1,300 affiliated. By October 1912 the council had booked speakers for over 250 meetings, arranged for 6 seats to be contested in the November municipal elections, and commenced a course of 24 lectures on Industrial History.³ Admittedly the BSP fared badly at the polls; no seats were gained at municipal elections in 1912 and '13, or at the South Manchester Guardians' election in April 1913.⁴ But to former ILPers, who believed that their erstwhile party had achieved electoral success only by the sacrifice of principles, the BSP's election results were not a cause of disillusionment. In November 1913 Gorton North and Openshaw wards both witnessed the spectacle of socialist candidates fighting Labour/ILP men.⁵

Thus although the local BSP was an almost negligible force in the electoral field, in terms of organisation, recruitment and propaganda it

1 J. Mahon, op. cit., pp. 34-5

2 J, 16 March 1912

3 Socialist Record, July and October 1912

4 J, 9 November 1912, 8 March and 8 November 1913; LL, 17 April 1913

5 LL, 6 November 1913

did initially appear as a strong rival to the ILP. Indeed one may well ask why the BSP failed to eclipse the ILP in the area. The most obvious answer must be that the ILP as part of the Labour alliance had achieved electoral success at all levels, and all but its most vociferous critics must have felt reluctant to abandon a party which was clearly growing in influence. Visions of Labour majorities in local and national government were no longer the wild dream they had appeared to be in the early '90s. Moreover not all members who were unhappy with current Labour policy had given up hope of changing the party from within. Added to these factors were those of tradition and social custom. It was not so easy to abandon a party to which one had devoted years of hard work, and around which the social life of one's family and friends continued to revolve. Moreover, viewed from a Clarion/ILP standpoint, the BSP also had its faults. It was not the united party which socialists had been visualising for two decades, and it was initially divided by a power struggle between Industrial Unionists and Hyndmanites. The triumph of the latter at the end of 1912 precipitated the withdrawal of many Industrial Unionists. By 1914 the number of branches had decreased, and the party had apparently lost about one-fifth of its membership.¹ It should however be added that nationally the ILP was also declining in strength. The number of branches declined after 1909, and the amount of affiliation fees after 1910.² The formation of the BSP was an effect, rather than a cause, of the decline in the ILP.

Bereft of its left-wing element, the ILP continued its tasks of electioneering and propaganda much as before. The Labour alliance still

1 C. Tsuzuki, op. cit., pp. 178-8

2 R.E. Dowse, op. cit., p. 19

came under discussion, however the aim now was not simply to dissolve it but rather to persuade the Labour Party to adopt a definite, socialist objective,¹ and above all to assert its independence from the Liberal party in parliament. Thus J.H. Standring's 'Lancashire Notes' in the Labour Leader criticised the Daily Citizen for its tendency 'to strengthen the conviction held by some that the Labour Party in Parliament is, at the best, merely a rebellious - and carefully rebellious - section of the Liberal Party'.² Thus ILP criticism of the Labour alliance had returned to the platform once expounded in the 'Green Manifesto'.

The most significant development of this period however was the ILP's new role, as the anti-militarist party. The BSP, like the SDP before it, was deeply divided in its attitude towards armaments. Hyndman, who had long been issuing warnings about 'the German menace' clashed violently with the anti-militarist element on the party executive, led by Zelda Kahan.³ However ILP members, with few important exceptions, were united in their opposition to armaments and militarism, and the party rapidly became the focus of the anti-war movement. One must hasten to add that this role did not bring in its wake widespread popular enthusiasm and support. It did however provide the ILP with a cause which distinguished it from both the BSP and the Labour Party, and which was based upon socialist and internationalist principles.

ILP socialists had long regarded the growing numbers of German

1 LL, 6 February 1913. See impressions of the Labour Party Conference by J.H. Standring (Lancashire Divisional Organiser, ILP).

2 LL, 13 February 1913

3 For a detailed examination of the SDF/BSP attitude on international affairs see C. Tsuzuki, op. cit., Chapter X, 'The German Menace', pp. 194-213 passim

Social Democrats as their natural allies. But, as MacDonald pointed out, British foreign policy was formulated in apparent ignorance of their existence and in the long run could only alienate them, weaken their influence, and strengthen the German 'right'.¹ J.T. Walton-Newbold, then a student at Manchester University, also feared that British military policy was a threat not just to Germany but to the British 'left':

It is at us that the attack of the militarists is aimed. They have no real fear of German invasion by land or air, no dread of a starving nation or a ruined empire. All their talk is so much 'chaff'. They will break the unions, they will make us subject to a capitalist-militarist despotism. Once they have us under a discipline that will permit them to put the 'rebel' up against the nearest wall, they will do it relentlessly.²

Newbold's belief that war scares and the consequent increase in armaments were engineered by capitalists for their own benefit was expounded at length in the Labour Leader. The issue of 22 May 1913 bore a three-page article on 'The War Trust Scandal'. Further articles, 'In the Toils of the War Trust' and 'Patriotism or Profit-mongering - Militarism unmasked', followed in July and September.³ Newbold subsequently published two pamphlets, The War Trust Exposed and How Asquith helped the Armour Ring, on the subject. Not only did he name British firms which would supply materials of war for other countries, but he also named members of both House of Parliament who had vested interests in the companies.⁴

1 D. Marquand, op. cit., p. 165

2 LL, 3 April 1913

3 Ibid., 22 May, 31 July, 25 September 1913

4 J.T. Walton-Newbold, The War Trust Exposed (Manchester 1913?) 19 pp. and How Asquith Helped the Armour Ring (Manchester 1914?) 15 pp.

In October 1913 the ILP announced its forthcoming Anti-Conscription Campaign, which was launched the following month. Mass meetings were held in the various districts, with Fred Jowett and Fenner Brockway featuring prominently in the list of speakers.¹ In July 1914 the Labour Leader was in the process of printing a series of articles by Newbold on 'The ILP and Armaments'² when Austria declared war on Serbia. When the paper appeared on 30 July it expressed the party's continuing hope that further hostilities could be prevented by the organised international working class. Surrounded by a black border, the editorial was entitled: 'The War Must Be Stopped. And We Must Stop It.' Readers were reminded that:

When Germany, France, and Britain were on the verge of war in 1911, one of the most potent factors in preventing the outbreak of hostilities was the simultaneous campaign for peace conducted by the Labour and Socialist movement in the principal cities of the three countries. A similar campaign should now be arranged. Or it may be too late.³

Such hope was to be short-lived, for on 4 August Britain declared war on Germany. Moreover the following day the Parliamentary Labour Party decided to support the Government's request for a hundred million pounds worth of war credits. MacDonald promptly resigned the party chairmanship and aligned himself more closely with the ILP,⁴ which denounced the war in no uncertain terms. On 6 August the front page of the Labour Leader was taken up with an announcement:

Down with the War!

Workers of Great Britain, you have no quarrel with the workers of Europe. They have no quarrel with you. The quarrel is

1 LL, 9 October, 20 and 27 November, 4 December 1913

2 Ibid., 16 and 23 July 1914

3 Ibid., 30 July 1914

4 D. Marquand, op. cit., pp. 169-70

between the RULING classes of Europe.

DON'T MAKE THEIR QUARREL YOURS

Workers, even you can stop this terrible calamity if you will! No Government can continue to engage in war if its people say with sufficient strength: THERE MUST BE PEACE. SAY IT!

Say it in your thousands. March through the streets and say it. Gather together in your squares and market places and say it ...¹

Although some local branches of the BSP, notably Openshaw and South Salford, continued to campaign against the war, that party's executive soon took up the stance of supporting a war for democracy against Prussian militarism. In September Justice supported the recruitment campaign.² Thus the ILP was the only national political party which opposed the war. It was not a cause which initially brought mass support, in a country gripped by jingoist hysteria, but it did provide the ILP with a unity of which it had long been in need; a unity, moreover, in support of a socialist and internationalist principle.

It is beyond the scope of the present work to examine the development of the ILP during and after the First World War. However it appears that, in the long term, the war did halt the decline in the ILP's fortunes. In the Lancashire division party membership, which was declining from 1914 to '16 began to rise gradually the following year. By 1919 it had surpassed the 1914 figures by 1,743. On a national level, at least, many of the new recruits came from the ranks of pacifists and Liberal intellectuals. In the early '20s this group was to provide the

1 LL, 6 August 1914

2 See J. Mahon, op. cit., pp. 46-7, for details of Openshaw branch. For attitude of S. Salford members, see Mary and Alfred Williams, tape recorded interview), 17 March 1978.

party's leadership.¹

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Even at the ILP's foundation conference its members had manifested a wide spectrum of political opinions. Thus one may well ask not why its ranks eventually split in 1912, but how it managed to survive for almost two decades without a schism. Perhaps the chief reason lies in the ILP's lack of parliamentary success before 1906. So long as it remained an independent, socialist, propagandist movement, providing considerable local autonomy, the party could easily accommodate a wide range of political opinion under its umbrella. However the 1906 General Election witnessed not only the sacrifice of the party's independence, which had been jealously guarded by many of its rank and file members, but it also forced upon the ILP a fundamental question of policy and tactics. Could a socialist society ultimately be achieved by utilising the existing machinery of government, and by working in conjunction with both non-socialist trade unionists and Liberals? Or would the ILP, in making this initial compromise, sacrifice its own socialist identity and lose sight of its ultimate aims? Had the moment really arrived when socialists should seek influence in the legislature, or should they, as Blatchford once suggested, remain aloof until such time as they could assert the dominant role? Could socialism ever be achieved through concentration upon legislative power, or should socialists seek instead to gain control of industry, and rely upon 'direct action'? The ILP's leadership opted for compromise and the prospect of parliamentary power. For rank and

1 For details of wartime development of the ILP see in particular R.E. Dowse, op. cit., pp. 23-35; F. Brockway, Towards Tomorrow pp. 34-64 passim.

file members who had initially doubted their wisdom, the Labour MPs' activities during the Liberal administrations provided little consolation, and a new socialist party offered prospects of a united movement. The formation of the BSP however left the ILP more united than it had been for some time, but obliged the new party to resolve within its own ranks the conflict over political or industrial action. In 1912 socialist unity was more remote a possibility than it had been in 1893.

Conclusion

In its development before the First World War the ILP revealed two contrasting facets. On the one hand it was a party enjoying strong social cohesion; on the other, it was deeply divided by fundamental political conflicts. Only in a detailed local study can these facets be examined in depth, and the history of the Manchester and Salford party brings to light some particularly interesting aspects.

The origins of the ILP have generally been associated with Keir Hardie, with Lib-Labism, and with industrial disputes such as that at Bradford's Manningham Mill. Yet in Manchester, and particularly in Salford, the ILP owed its formation to a tradition which was essentially socialist; to the activities of the IWMA, SDF, Socialist League, and to the creed of ethical socialism preached by the Labour Church and the Clarion. In an area where Liberalism was regarded by many working men as the preserve of their employers, working-class Conservatism was firmly rooted, and was perhaps more amenable to the concept of independent Labour representation in Parliament, with a socialist platform.

The nature and role of the SDF also merits a reappraisal in the light of the information which emerges about its local activists. Traditionally it has been regarded as a middle class, dogmatic and sectarian group, based in London and dominated by the somewhat eccentric H.M. Hyndman. Yet its adherents in Salford by no means fitted into this mould. They tended to be skilled working men, whose Marxist theory was tempered by an awareness of local practicalities, and a desire to create a socialist mass movement. Many of them took part in the foundation of the ILP and, at least in the early 1890s, commonly held dual membership. The close contact between the ILP and SDF continued

in the area until 1912, when a section of the ILP finally rebelled against its own leadership, in search of the long-desired united socialist party.

The conflict between labourism and socialism has been a central theme of this thesis. At the very foundation of the national ILP it revealed itself in the struggle between Blatchford and Hardie, in the demand for the Fourth Clause, and the activities of the Lancashire Federation. Blatchford constantly urged the formation of one united socialist party, and his campaign drew ample support from the Manchester and Salford socialists, who were already practising what he preached at grass-roots level. Such aims were of course opposed to those of Hardie, who sought to draw the ILP into an alliance with organised Labour. However the local ILPers did not at this stage regard the labour movement as a rival. Many of their number were active trade unionists. They had achieved positions of influence on the Trades Council, and continued to believe that they had a mission, to convert trade unionists to socialism. Moreover the ILP in the '90s was a tolerant, umbrella organisation. After Hardie's defeat at the 1895 General Election it lacked parliamentary influence and was essentially propagandist in nature. Such a party could accommodate a wide spectrum of political opinion without open conflict.

This situation was changed by the formation of the Labour Representation Committee, and above all by the electoral alliance agreed by Ramsay MacDonald and Herbert Gladstone. By 1906 the ILP had come under the influence not only of trade unionism but also of Liberalism. Officially local socialists were drawn away from their natural allies, the Social Democrats, and obliged to modify their platform and their concept of electioneering for propagandist purposes. Had the advent of the

Parliamentary Labour Party brought in its wake a spate of social reforms, militant ILPers in the constituencies might have forgiven much. But when in 1906, and to a greater extent in 1910, the Labour MPs revealed themselves as an appendage of the Liberal party, socialist discontent at the alliance erupted. Such discontent was particularly marked in Manchester and Salford, where long-standing political attitudes were exacerbated by events at by-elections, by the personal charisma of Victor Grayson, and, above all, by the rising tide of unemployment, to which the Labour Party appeared oblivious. It was in Manchester and Salford that the socialist protest developed from the Green Manifesto, to the Socialist Representation Committees, and ultimately to the Socialist Unity Conference.

Even during the political conflicts of 1906-12, Manchester and Salford ILP managed to retain a strong degree of internal cohesion. This was largely attributable to the extensive social infrastructure upon which the party was based. Had members met solely for political discussion and debate, then it is likely that doctrinal differences would have torn the ILP apart long before the 1912 schism. But ILPers were also part of a complex social framework which their own party and the Clarion movement had generated. Members may have had their political differences, but in general the rift had to run deep before an ILPer would abandon what was virtually a way of life; the whole social network to which he, his family and friends all belonged.

How did the ILP manage to create such an extensive social framework? Chiefly because it fulfilled a need which existed from the time of its foundation. Neither the educational nor the social framework of the era really accommodated an increasingly vocal group of skilled manual and white-collar workers. Marx's definition of 'the most advanced

and resolute section of the proletariat' might well be applied to them. They were educated to a level which led many of their number to desire further self-improvement. But for most the avenues of higher education and professional training were closed. Had they been open, some of the energy and enthusiasm which was channelled into the socialist movement might well have been re-directed. Many of the group had also turned from organised religion, but without becoming militant atheists. They sought cultural pursuits; art, music, the theatre, which drew them apart from the majority of the working class. Yet their occupations, income and general standard of living also separated them from the cultural activities of local middle class 'society'. However while seeking self-improvement and enjoying recreational activities, they also had a strong social conscience. Poverty, hunger, unemployment, and slum housing were present in the Manchester area, for all to witness. A crusade to create 'Merrie England', pursued with quasi-religious fervour, and at the same time generating a multitude of social activities, fired the imagination of two generations. This social aspect of the ILP, as revealed in this study of the Manchester and Salford party, tends to be ignored by political historians, but it was an integral part of the movement. Without it the ILP would have been just another political party, not a complete way of life.

Socially and politically, the ILP enjoyed its heyday in the pre-1914 period under discussion. As a grass-roots movement it provided an alternative to the Webbian/Fabian concept of reform imposed from above. But its structure was antipathetic to the trend towards greater centralisation of power and responsibility, which was to be accelerated by the war. Today, when the centralisation and bureaucracy of the political system are receiving mounting criticism, the ILP merits at least a reappraisal. Most of the party's activists were only too aware that

their goals lay far into the future, and their feelings were perhaps best expressed by Robert Blatchford in the Clarion 'Coming of Age Supplement':

When I came out for Socialism some four-and-twenty years ago I was not at all optimistic. I did not believe that the British people were to be educated and converted in a few years. I never deluded myself or my friends with prophetic visions of a social revolution next week or the next year ... I knew in my soul that we had embarked on a long, uphill, toilsome task. I thought the work might take centuries: might fail wholly. But I was convinced that, be the hope ever so small and be the difficulties ever so great, Socialism was the only thing to fight for.

That is how I felt in 1889; and that is how I feel in 1912. We have to build the bridge; it may take a hundred or a thousand years to build; but we must do our share.¹

1 C, 'Coming of Age Supplement', 6 December 1912

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

SDF LECTURES IN MANCHESTER AND SALFORD, 1885

(All information given below is taken from notices and reports in Justice. It is unlikely to be a complete list of SDF meetings, but is certainly representative of that party's activities.)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Speaker</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Subject</u>
<u>Jan.</u>			
4	G. Smart H. Harry	Trafford Bridge Crescent Inn	The Land for the People How to form a Working Men's Electoral Association
11	G. Smart G. Murray	Trafford Bridge Crescent Inn	How the People are Plundered Does the Liberal Government do Justice to Ireland?
18	J.A. Kay McCutcheon	Brunswick Debating Room Trafford Bridge	The Skye Crofters' Question Description of the Workers in America
20	C. Fitzgerald J. Waddington	Crescent Inn County Forum	The Programme of the SDF What Position would the Commercial and Working Classes take in respect to the Questions of the Day?
22	Davis	Liberal Club, Hulme	Bad Trade and its Causes
25? 27	A.M. Rodgers W. Morley	Crescent Inn County Forum	How Taxes ought to be Raised The Agricultural Labourer: his Politics and the Reforms he would demand under the New Franchise
<u>Feb.</u>			
1	E. Gurney	Crescent Inn	Discussion: Henry George's 'The Land for the People'
	Smart & McCutcheon	Trafford Bridge	Discussion on Socialism
8	W. Morley " " J.A. Kay	Trafford Bridge Crescent Inn Bee Hive Debating Room	The Slaves of the Soil How should the Labourer Vote? Leone Levi's Statistics
15	J. Oldman " "	Trafford Bridge Crescent Inn	England, Past, Present & Future The Land, Pauperism & Taxation
22	W.K. Hall J.F. Ball	Trafford Bridge Crescent Inn	The Capitalist System The Egyptian Policy
<u>March</u>			
1	W. Morley W. Horrocks	Trafford Bridge Crescent Inn	The Land-grabbers Reply to B. Armitage, M.P., on Free Trade
5	J.A. Kay	Lower Broughton Liberal Club	The Displacement of Labour by Machinery
5 & foll. weeks	H.M. Reade	Crescent Inn	Lessons on Socialism
8	W.K. Hall T.F. Ball	Trafford Bridge Crescent Inn	Why do Men Starve? The Relation of Ireland to England

10	G. Smart	Presbyterian Mutual Improvement Class	Will Socialism Benefit the English People?
15	W.K. Hall	Crescent Inn	The Cause of Bad Trade
	" " "	Trafford Bridge	The Depression in Trade: its Cause and Cure.
22	G. Smart	Trafford Bridge	Capitalism - a Curse.
	E. Wainscott	Crescent Inn	The Unequal Distribution of Wealth
29	G. Smart	Trafford Bridge	Work & Wages
	E.H. Parkinson	Crescent Inn	Liberal & Tory Legislation: a Plea for Democracy
<u>April</u>			
5	G. Smart	Trafford Bridge	Work & Wages
	H. Harry	Crescent Inn	The Land for the People
12	W. Horrocks	Trafford Bridge	Should Pendleton have a Labour Candidate?
	W.K. Hall	Crescent Inn	The Principles of Socialism
19	W. Burns	Trafford Bridge	Poverty; its Cause and Cure
	J. Waddington	Crescent Inn	Political Hypocrisy
	W.K. Hall	Crescent Inn	Emigration
	G. Smart	Chester Rd.	General Conditions of the Workers
26	W.K. Hall	Trafford Bridge	The Land for the People
	J.A. Kay	Crescent Inn	The Displacement of Labour by Machinery
	Smart & Burns	Trafford Bridge	Poverty, its Cause & Cure
<u>May</u>			
3	W. Horrocks	Trafford Bridge	The Drones of Society
	E.H. Parkinson	Crescent Inn	The Rights of Working Men & How to Gain Them
	W.K. Hall	Brunswick Inn	The Principles of Socialism
	Harry, Horrocks	Blackfriars St.	Labour Representation
	Neill	Viaduct, Chester Rd.	Poverty, its Cause & Cure
	Smart, Burns	" " "	Explanation of Marx's Theory of Surplus Value
10	J. Oldman	Trafford Bridge	The Robbery of the Commons
	H. Harry	New Blackfriars St.	England for All
	W. Burns	Unwin St., Pendleton	The Curse of Capital
	Waddington & Smart	Viaduct, Chester Rd.	Historical Basis of Socialism in England
	J. Oldman	Crescent Inn	The Land Question from an original point of view
17	H. Harry	Trafford Bridge	How Should the Electors Vote?
	W. Burns	Blackfriars St.	The Present Slavery
	W. Horrocks	Maypole, Pendleton	The Cause of Bad Trade
	W.K. Hall	Viaduct, Chester Rd.	The Principles of Socialism
	J.E.D. Bourne	Crescent Inn	Why I am a Socialist
23	G. Smart	The Cross, Eccles	The Cause of Bad Trade
24	H. Harry	Trafford Bridge	The Sovereignty of the People
	W.K. Hall	Maypole, Pendleton	The Land for the People
	G. Smart	Blackfriars St.	The Curse of Capital
	W.K. Hall	Viaduct, Hulme	The Land Question
	T. Ewing	Crescent Inn	The Great Unwashed
31	P. Ryan	Crescent Inn	The Unequal Distribution of Wealth
	W.K. Hall	Trafford Bridge	The Land Question in Britain

<u>June</u>			
7	(H.M. Hyndman visit to Manchester Branch NSS)		
14	W. Burns	Trafford Bridge	Capital and Labour
	H. Harry	Blackfriars St.	The Right to Live
	G. Smart	Viaduct, Chester Rd.	The Coming Struggle
	W. Morley	Crescent Inn	The Slaves of the Soil
21	W. Horrocks	opp. Pendleton	The Coming Struggle
		Baths	
	W.K. Hall	Blackfriars St.	Land & Labour
	G. Smart	Trafford Bridge	The Coming Revolution
	Parkinson & Drummond	Viaduct, Chester Rd.	Debate - Will Socialism Benefit the English People?
	W. Morley	Crescent Inn	The Slaves of the Soil
28	W. Burns	Crescent Inn	Wage-Labour & Capital
	G. Smart	Trafford Bridge	Is a Revolution Necessary?
	W. Horrocks	Broad St. Baths	The Cause of Bad Trade
	W.K. Hall	Blackfriars St.	The Land for the People
	Parkinson & Drummond	Viaduct, Chester Rd.	The Robbery of the Poor
	W.K. Hall	Trinity Market	What Socialists Want
<u>July</u>			
5	W. Burns	Viaduct, Chester Rd.	Capital & Labour
	G. Smart	Broad St. Baths	The Rights of Man
	Hall & Smart	Trinity Market	The Land Question
	M.P. Ryan	Crescent Inn	Poverty, its extent & depth
	J.J. Ball,	Trafford Bridge	Radicalism & Socialism
	Horrocks & Smart		
12	Horrocks, Hall	Trafford Bridge	Labour Representation
	Hall, Harry	Trinity Market	The Land Question
	W. Horrocks	Whit Lane	The Cause of Bad Trade
	E.H. Parkinson	Viaduct, Chester Rd.	Poor Men's Politics
	Smart, Hall,	Frederick St.	Slavery of the Workers
	Horrocks		
19	W. Horrocks	Frederick St.	Why Working Men should be Democrats
	'Liberator'	Crescent Inn	Social Questions in Relation to Politics
	Horrocks, Hall,	Whit Lane	Labour Questions
	Neill & Smart		
	E.H. Parkinson	Viaduct, Chester Rd.	The Robbery of the Poor
	G. Smart	Oldfield Lane Corner	The Cause of the Depression in Trade
	" "	Trafford Bridge	How to Build the Ship Canal so that it will benefit the people
	W.K. Hall & a Conservative	Flat-iron Market	Debate: Principles of Socialism
26	H. Harry	Trafford Bridge	Labour Representation
	Hall, Harry	Flat-iron Market	Capitalism
<u>August</u>			
9	W. Burns	Crescent Inn	The Commune of Paris
	Horrocks, Smart	Maypole, Pendleton	Labour Representation
	Hall, Horrocks	Cross Lane	The Rights of Labour
16	Neill, H. Mills	Trafford Bridge	(Protest against Council trying to stop sale of Sunday papers)
	W. Horrocks	Crescent Inn	How to Build the Ship Canal without the aid of the Capitalists or Usurers

16	Hall, Smart	Cross Lane	Socialism & the Workers
23	D. Gauley	Crescent Inn	England's Claim to Ireland's Loyalty
	Horrocks,	Whit Lane	Labour Representation
	Smart, Neill		
	G. Smart	Gorton	The Curse of Capitalism
30	W.K. Hall	Trafford Bridge	Evolution of Society
	" " "	Crescent Inn	Historical Review of Society, in relation to Socialism
<u>Sept.</u>			
12	J. Shuttleworth	County Forum	Land Restoration & how to obtain it
13	G. Murray	Crescent Inn	Liberal & Radical Hypocrisy
26	T. Ewing etc.	Albert Square	(Protest mtg. against attacks on Socialist speakers in E. End of London)
27	G. Smart	Trafford Bridge	Mr. Gladstone's Manifesto
	W. Horrocks	Crescent Inn	" " "
<u>Oct.</u>			
4	E.H. Parkinson	Trafford Bridge	How the People are Plundered
	J.A. Kay	Crescent Inn	The Scottish Crofters
	G. Smart	Stretford	The Land for the People
11	W. Morley	Trafford Bridge	Social Democracy
25	W.K. Hall & a Radical	" "	Debate on Socialism
<u>Nov.</u>			
1	G. Smart	Trafford Bridge	Free Education
8	" "	" "	(Election meeting - School Board)
	H. Harry	Crescent Inn	Why Working Men should go to Parliament
9	G. Smart	St. John St. Hall	(Election meeting - School Board)
22	W. Horrocks	Crescent Inn	Discussion: How Social-Democrats should Vote
29	J.E. Bourne	Crescent Inn	Education
<u>Dec.</u>			
6	W. Burns	Crescent Inn	A Plea for Irish Independence
13	G. Smart	Trafford Bridge	An Account of his work on the School Board
20	D. Gauley	Crescent Inn	Orange Ulster: a sham
27	W. Burns	Trafford Bridge	Land Nationalisation

APPENDIX II

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON MANCHESTER AND SALFORD SOCIALISTS, 1893-1914

Introduction

Victorian authors of local histories were wont to regard the accumulation of biographical information as an end in itself. Both they and their readers were fascinated by details of the careers and family lives of eminent local figures, and the inclusion in their works of lengthy accounts were deemed to need no further justification. The devotion of a substantial portion of a thesis to biographical data is however a different matter. Essentially it results from a desire to consider the social as well as the political aspects of the ILP. Only through the examination of biographical data is it possible to draw any conclusions, albeit tentative, as to the occupational background of activists, their involvement in trade unionism, co-operation or other associated movements, the social network within the ILP, or the place of the pre-1914 socialist movement in the long-term careers of some of its participants.

The need to include socialists in general, rather than simply ILP members in this appendix must be obvious in the light of the preceding chapters. Some socialists were at times members of both ILP and SDF. Others moved between the two movements, and at the end of the period in question the formation of the BSP again blurred the divisions. But as Blatchford frequently remarked, there were also a great many socialists outside the two main parties, in particular the Clarion group and members of the independent socialist societies. Clarion socialists are the most difficult group to define, since the social aspect of the movement undoubtedly attracted many men and women who were not politically inclined. It is hardly reliable to describe as an active socialist someone whose sole connection with the Clarion movement may have been an occasional cycle ride. For this reason only people involved in political or organizational aspects of the Clarion movement have been listed. Finally, but not to be forgotten, were the smaller socialist groups; the anarchist remnant of the Socialist League which survived into the mid '90s, the Fabians (including the University Students' Fabian Society), the SPGB, and the Church Socialist League. In general all individuals for whom there is evidence of activity in the socialist movement have been included. Excluded has been the distinctly Labour element in local politics, the

LRC members, election candidates and even local councillors who had no known connection with socialism beyond perhaps receiving some assistance from the ILP at election time.

Left with such extensive terms of reference, one then discovers an immense variation in the amount of material available on individual socialists. Some of the Manchester and Salford activists, like J.R. Clynes, Victor Grayson or the Pankhursts, were public figures of national stature, for whom full-length biographies and extensive data are readily available. Another, much larger, group of local socialists received regular press coverage during the height of their public careers, and from this material it is possible to compile adequate biographies. Clearly both these groups merit inclusion in an appendix. However the problem is raised by the existence of a large third group; men and women whose names appeared only on one or two occasions in the socialist press or in annual reports, who may be identified as holders of some branch offices and whose occupations may be traceable. Such information, scanty as it may be, does however serve a useful purpose. The listing of as many occupations as possible must render more accurate general conclusions as to the social strata from which converts were made. Moreover these biographical notes are not envisaged as a definitive work; some of the socialists listed below, about whom little information has emerged, may in later years have figured prominently in other movements and in other parts of the country. Their inclusion may thus prove of interest to researchers in different fields.

The method by which these notes were compiled also requires some explanation. In general all the sources utilised in the thesis and listed in the bibliography were combed for biographical data. Of particular interest were the branch notices which appeared in the socialist press, and the lists of office holders and delegates provided in conference reports, Labour Annals or the press. Only the minute books of Manchester Central Branch ILP remain extant and these, together with the list of members of Openshaw Socialist Society, compiled by Mrs. Elizabeth Davies,¹ have also added to the information available on rank and file members. In cases where such sources have provided names and addresses of socialists, but no occupations, an attempt has been made to discover these from the current Slater's Manchester, Salford and Suburban Directory. The method is by no means foolproof; for example a father and son may well have had the same Christian name. More important however is the fact that the Directories

1. J. Mahon, op. cit., Appendix 2 pp.497-501.

concentrated upon householders and tradesmen living in the principal streets. Thus married women, both men and women living in lodgings or the parental home, and most of the residents of the back streets, courts and alleys were excluded. This factor is bound to affect the general picture of occupational background, for those socialists who can be traced by this method tend to have been skilled artisans, or professional or clerical workers. The number of unskilled or casual labourers who have been traced may therefore be artificially low. The occupations of women socialists have been considered in detail above.¹

The data below has been accumulated piecemeal from the entire range of material listed in the bibliography, including the tape-recorded interviews. Thus to provide a list of sources for each individual entry would almost double the length of this appendix. For this reason such lists have been omitted. However the detailed information has been retained in a comprehensive indexing system, and can be made available on request.

Each entry is arranged in the format below:

NAME (known family relationship to any other person included)

OCCUPATION AND/OR TRADE UNION

[pre-1892 socialist activity] SOCIALIST ORGANISATION, TOGETHER WITH
BRANCH OR DISTRICT AND PERIOD OF RECORDED INVOLVEMENT
BETWEEN 1893 AND 1914.

ACTIVITIES IN SOCIALIST AND OTHER RELATED MOVEMENTS 1893-1914 [Major
events in post-1914 career]

In attempting to compile such information, one is only too aware of possible inaccuracies. A socialist's occupation, for which there may only be one item of evidence, could easily change during two decades. But in general a skilled workman did tend to adhere to his trade, and unless victimised was not to be found working as a labourer. Most recorded changes in occupation were between jobs of comparable social status. Where evidence of trade union membership, but not specific occupation, has been found, this has been recorded as a general indication. Concerning the period of recorded involvement in the socialist movement, it should be emphasised that the dates are merely those between which there is evidence of active membership. They tend to represent the high-water mark of an individual's political activity, for example the years in which he or she was a branch secretary or delegate to an annual conference. Clearly most socialists

1. See above, pp. 645-6

would be active for much longer periods; they might attend branch meetings for several years before attaining official positions, and would often continue membership long after others had succeeded to these positions. But in most cases the full extent of socialists' careers must remain pure speculation, and these dates are provided simply as a guideline. Finally, major events in a socialist's post-1914 career have been added wherever possible. Several of the young rank-and-file ILPers later became Labour councillors or even MPs, and such information can place their careers in perspective.

This appendix is therefore presented in the awareness that it may well contain inaccuracies, which only further research, perhaps in different fields, may bring to light. However the failure of the ILP to maintain national records of membership, and the disappearance of the minute books of all but one branch, render this piecemeal accumulation of information the only possible method of providing an overall picture of the local socialist movement before the First World War.

*

*

*

ABLE, Claude

ASE
OSS

ABRAHAMS, R.

Mantle maker
SDF, ?N. Salford 1892-8.
Secretary, Lancs. District SDF 1896; elected Secretary to Mantle
Makers' Union 1898.
[removed to London 1897]

ACTON, Alfred

'Knocker-up'
SDF, S. Salford 1894-7.
Salford Guardians elections: SDF candidate 1894, ILP/SDF cand. 1897 (def.)

ADAM, Alexander

Schoolmaster
ILP, Manchester Central 1905.

ADSHEAD, Albert

Insurance agent
ILP, Openshaw/ OSS

ADSHEAD, Dora

Teacher of blind children
OSS

ALEXANDER, Professor ?

(Manchester University)
President, Manchester University Students' Socialist Society 1906.

ALLEN, Tom

-
ILP, Newton Heath 1895-9
Branch secretary 1895

ALSOP, J.H.

-
ILP, Manchester Central, joined 1905.

ANDERSON, Hugh C.

-
ILP, Manchester Central 1906-10
Assistant Lit. Sec. 1906, branch Sec. 1907
[left country 1910]

ANDERSON, Richard

(Masons' Society)
ILP, ?SW Manchester 1892-4, N. Manchester Fabian group 1892.
President, SW Manchester ILP 1892-3; EC Manchester and Salford ILP 1892;
Vice-Pres. Lancs. & District ILP Federation 1893; ILP municipal
candidate St. George's ward 1893 and at by-election Sept. 1894 (when
EC refused to endorse him); President St. George's ward group ILP 1894.

ANDERSON, William Crawford (husband of Mary MacArthur)
Organiser, Shop Assistants' Union 1903-7; socialist lecturer/writer
[Labour MP for Attercliffe, Dec.1914 - Dec.1918]
ILP, joined Manchester Central Sept. 1905; ?transferred to City of
Manchester 1907
NAC 1908; Labour Parl. candidate for Hyde, Jan. 1910, Keighley 1911 (def.);
ILP national Chairman 1910-13; Vice-Chairman of Labour Newspapers
Ltd. (Daily Citizen) 1912-16.
[War Emergency Workers' National Committee 1914; Union of Democratic
Control Executive 1914; Chairman, Labour Party Executive 1915]

ANDREWS, James E.

Mechanic
ILP, New Cross 1910
Ward Secretary 1910.

ARCHER, James (husband of Florence)

Newsagent and tobacconist
ILP, Moss Side 1904
ILP municipal cand. Moss Side W. ward 1904 (def.)
[d. 1904]

ARCHER, Florence (wife of James)

-
ILP, Moss Side 1903-4
Branch Secretary 1903

ARISS, E.

-
ILP, Longsight 1909-11
Branch Sec. 1909, 1911.

ARMSTRONG, David

Joiner.
ILP, joined Manchester Central Aug. 1908.

ARMSTRONG, J.R.

-
ILP, joined Manchester Central Feb. 1906; 1907 resigned over suffrage
policy & joined City of Manchester
1906 Central Branch delegate to Manchester & Salford ILP Council.

ARMSTRONG, T.H.

-
ILP, joined Manchester Central Sept. 1907; resigned to join City of
Manchester
Treasurer, Manchester Central 1902-3; Clarion Scout.

ASPINALL, G.

-
SDF, Regent (Salford) 1895
Branch Sec. 1895.

ASTBURY, James

-
ILP, NE Manchester 1895-6
Branch Lecture Sec. 1895-6.

ASTLES, Alfred

General Sec., United Carters' Association of England.
ILP, joined Manchester Central Feb. 1905
Local LRC May 1903; Labour candidate Manchester Township Guardians
election March 1907 (def.); Manchester & Salford Trades Council 1903-6.

ATHERTON, Mark

-
ILP, E. Manchester 1895 (expelled Jan. 1896), 1905-7.
Prestwich Board of Guardians 1894-5; ILP municipal candidate Bradford
ward 1895 (def.); LRC mun. cand. New Cross ward 1907 (def.).

AVERY, T.

-
ILP, Withington 1912-14
Branch Sec. 1912.

BACON, John

Manager of Union Shirt Co. (part of ILP trading dept.) 1893.
[SDF 1884-7] ILP 1893; member of London Fabian Society 1893
Vice-President, Manchester & Salford ILP 1893
Established Union Shirt Co.

BAILEY, James William

Coal merchant
ILP, Gorton 1895
Treasurer Gorton ILP 1895.

BAMBERA, Edith

Student, Manchester University
Manchester Students' Fabian Society 1912

BANCROFT, A.E.

Student, Manchester University
Manchester Students' Fabian Society 1912.

BANNER, T.

-
BSP, Chorlton-on-Medlock/ E.Manchester
Chorlton-on-Medlock branch sec. 1911.

BANNISTER, Fred

-
ILP, New Cross 1908-9 (d.1909)
Branch Sec. 1908-9.

BARITZ, Moses

Musician (viola player, later worked for Columbia Gramophone Co.
Sometime music critic for Manchester Guardian)
?SPGB 1906- (active in socialist movement c.1906-34)
Independent Socialist municipal candidate for Cheetham 1908 (def.).

BARLASS, Thomas

Warehouseman
ILP, N. Salford 1901-14
Branch Sec. 1901, 1912.

BARLOW, James F.

-
Manchester Catholic Socialist Society 1909
Corresponding Secretary 1909.

BARLOW, John

Compositor
ILP, 1894-1901
President, Longsight branch 1894.

BARNAKO, Eugen

Tailor
SDF, S.W. Manchester 1904-7
[went to America 1907]

BARRETT, Fred

Stereotyper
ILP, W. Salford 1893-1903
ILP municipal candidate Grosvenor Ward 1893 & St. Paul's Ward
by-election 1894 (def.)
Secretary, Manchester Labour Church Cinderella Club 1893-4; Secretary,
N. Salford ILP Cinderella Club 1898.

BARTON, Alfred (husband of Eleanor)

Clerk, then worked in John Rylands Library
Socialist League 1889-
[removed to Sheffield 1897; joined local ILP, Assistant Sec. 1906,
Sec. 1907; became Shop Assistants' Union delegate to Sheffield
Federated Trades Council; Councillor for Brightside Ward 1907-10,
1913-20; 1918 Labour candidate for Sheffield Park (def.); 1920
joined CPGB, resigned after 1 month and rejoined ILP, becoming
Vice-President & delegate to Trades Council; Labour councillor for
Hillsborough 1926-9, Owlerton 1929; Alderman 1929; d.1933]

BARTON, Charles Henry

Pattern maker
ILP, E. Manchester 1905-11
Branch Sec. 1905, 1907, 1909-11.

BARTON, Mrs. Eleanor (wife of Alfred)

-
Socialist League ?1893-
[removed to Sheffield 1897; joined Women's Co-operative Guild,
became national Treasurer 1913, President 1914, Assistant Secretary
1921, Secretary 1925-37; Sheffield City Councillor, Attercliffe
Ward 1919-22; JP; Labour parl. cand. King's Norton, Birmingham 1922
& '23, Central Nottingham 1929]

BATES, Charles Henry

Clerk
ILP, Urmston Flixton & Davyhulme 1907-8
Church Socialist League

BATTERSBY, Rev. W. Schofield

Rector of Holy Trinity, Blackley
Church Socialist League.

BAUGH, William Henry

Clerk

ILP, N. Manchester 1903-12

Election agent, Harpurhey Ward 1903; Hon. Sec. Manchester & Salford
ILP 1906; Sec. N. Manchester ILP 1906.

BAXTER, Sidney

Plumber

BSP, Stretford 1911

Branch Sec. 1911.

BEARDSLEY, J.

-

SDF 1894

Candidate for Pendleton Guardians 1894.

BEAUCHAMP, William

(ASE)

ILP, Manchester Central 1907-9.

BEECH, Harry

-

ILP, Manchester Central 1907.

BENNETT, D.

-

BSP, Gorton 1911

Branch Sec. 1911

BENOLIEL, H.M.

-

ILP 1894

N.W. Manchester divisional organiser for School Board elections 1894;

Director of Social Trading Co. Ltd. 1894.

BENSON, George (son of Thomas)

Estate broker

ILP 1906-

Manchester Central delegate to Manchester & Salford ILP Council 1907;

Treasurer, Manchester & Salford ILP 1909.

[C.O. during World War I; became Labour MP for Chesterfield]

BENSON, Thomas Duckworth (father of George)

Estate broker (firm: George Benson & Son, 8 York St., Manchester)

SDF, ?1898-1901; supported ILP 1895-; joined ILP ?1900. joined

Manchester Central Branch June 1903.

Assistant Treasurer ILP Election Fund 1895 & Treasurer 1900; SDF

candidate Clitheroe Guardians 1898 (elected); 1901 elected to NAC

as national Treasurer; ;905 Labour municipal candidate Harpurhey

ward (def.); 1896-1901 ran Uses, 'a little socialistic organ of the

New Church'; 1904- director of Labour Leader Ltd.

BERESFORD, George

Coal dealer

ILP, N.E. Manchester/ New Cross 1893-8

N.E. Manchester branch treasurer 1893, Secretary 1894-5; ILP

municipal candidate Newton Heath 1893, New Cross 1896 (def.);

Secretary New Cross ward 1898.

BESWICK, Harry

Journalist ('Beziqne' of Clarion)
Clarion movement 1898-1911
Director, Clarion Social Club 1900-

BEWICK, J. Gandy

-
ILP, Manchester Central 1903-6, Newton Heath 1906
Central Branch Literature Sec. 1905.

BIBBY, William Henry

Insurance broker
ILP, Manchester Central, joined 1904.

BILCLIFFE, Ben

(Amalgamated Society of Carpenters & Joiners)
ILP 1892-4
Financial Sec. Manchester & Salford ILP 1892-4; Secretary, Lancs. &
District Independent Labour Federation 1893-4; ILP municipal
candidate for Charlestown Ward, Salford, 1893 (def.); Manager,
Manchester & Salford ILP trading dept. 1893; Secretary, ILP
Co-operative Trading Society 1894.

BILLAM, Joseph

Shoemaker (also acted as insurance agent & secretary of 3 large
friendly societies)
ILP, 1893-?1915 (d.1915)
ILP municipal candidate Miles Platting 1893 and New Cross 1894 (def.);
ILP/Labour municipal candidate Bradford ward 1905 (elected & held
office until death); 1891-1915 Secretary of Piccadilly (M/cr) Branch
of Upper Mersey Watermen and Porters' Association, & Canal Boatmen;
delegate to Manchester & Salford Trades Council 1896-1914.

BILLINGTON, Theresa (Mrs. Billington-Greig)

Teacher; became organiser for ILP, then for WSPU
ILP, Manchester Central 1904-?1907
Women's Secretary, Manchester University Settlement Associates 1902-3;
helped found Teachers' Equal Pay League 1903; WSPU 1903-7; became 1st
Woman National Organiser for ILP 1904 - resigned March 1906 in order
to take part in suffrage campaign; became organiser for WSPU - received
2 months' imprisonment; August 1907 campaigned for WSPU at Cocker-mouth
by-election with Christabel Pankhurst - Manchester & Salford ILP
wanted to expel her; 1907 one of secessionists from WSPU - leading
role in founding Women's Freedom League - appointed Hon. Organising
Secretary; leader writer of The Vote; took part in large no. of
militant protests and special propaganda campaigns; resigned 1911
& criticised militant suffrage movement.
[by 1914 living near Glasgow]

BINNS, J.

-
ILP, Bradford (E. Manchester) 1895
Branch Sec. 1895.

BIRCH, James

Mechanic
Socialist League 1893-4.

BIRCH, James Horace

coach painter
ILP, Longsight 1906-7
Branch Lecture Sec. 1906; Secretary 1907.

BLACK, W.F.

Sub-editor, Labour Leader
[Scottish Labour Party 1888-?] ILP, Manchester Central 1905-6 (d. 1906)
?1902-4 Prospective Labour Parl. Candidate for Dundee; 1905 active in
ILP/SDF Joint Unemployed Committee.

BLATCHFORD, Robert Peel Glanville

Editor, Clarion
1892-5 ILP & SDF (moved to London with Clarion 1895)
1892-3 President of Manchester & Salford ILP (resigned August 1893);
founded Clarion Movement; active on behalf of Cinderella Clubs;
founded Clarion Scouts 1894; published The Scout (1895-6)
[one of founders of BSP 1911]

BLUNDELL, Herbert

-
ILP, N. Manchester 1896-7 (d.1897)

BLUNT, Charlie

Caretaker
OSS

BOARDMAN, H.

(Dressers, Dyers & Finishers' Trade Society)
SDF, S. Salford ?1891-1906
Delegate to Manchester & Salford Trades Council 1896-8; Secretary, S.
Salford SDF 1902, 1905; Socialist & Labour candidate for Salford
Guardians 1906.

BOOTH, Alfred

Salesman
ILP, Urmston 1911
Branch Sec. 1911.

BOOTH, Mrs. Clara

-
Women's Labour League, N. Manchester 1911-13
Branch Sec. 1911; Candidate, Manchester Board of Guardians 1913 (def.)

BOOTH, Frank

-
ILP, Manchester Central 1903-7 (resigned over suffrage policy); City
of Manchester 1907-8; Heaton Moor Socialist Society 1908.
Secretary, Manchester Central branch 1905; ?Clarion Scout.

BOOTH, John H.

Clerk
ILP, Manchester Central 1905.

BOWCOCK, ?

Building worker
OSS.

BOWDEN, James

(Saddlers & Harnessmakers' Union)
ILP, N. Manchester 1897-8
Candidate for Union EC 1897.

BOYD, George A.

Compositor
ILP, N. Salford 1893-4
Branch Sec. 1893-4.

BOYDLE, William

-
ILP, New Cross Ward Group No.1 1897
Branch Propaganda & Lecture Sec. 1897.

BRADBURN, W.

(Shop Assistants' Union)
ILP, 1908-9.

BRADLEY, ?

-
ILP, Gorton 1895
Assistant Sec. 1895.

BRIERLEY, C.E.

(ASRS)
ILP, 1893-1913
Secretary of a benevolent & victimised fund for ILP members 1893;
delegate to Manchester & Salford Trades Council 1896, '98; Labour
candidate, Manchester Board of Guardians 1913 (def.).

BRIERLEY, Charles Henry

Foreman
ILP, N. Manchester/ Blackley & Moston 1894-1914
N. Manchester ILP candidate for Manchester Board of Guardians 1894 (def.);
summoned re Boggart Hole Clough meetings 1896; Labour mun. candidate
Blackley & Moston 1913 (def.); branch sec. Blackley & Moston ILP
Oct. 1914-.

BRIERLEY, Sam

Newsagent
Clarion movement/ syndicalist
Clarion Vanner 1898; organised Manchester & Salford branch of Workers'
Union 1898; Northern circulation manager for Industrial Syndicalist
1912.

BRITTAIN, Arthur

Watchmaker
ILP, 1894-1907
Secretary, N.E. Manchester ILP 1892; branch delegate to ILP 1st General
Conference 1893; EC of Lancs. & Cheshire Independent Labour
Federation 1894; Secretary of W.K. Hall's election committee 1894;
Secretary, Crumpsall & Cheetham branch ILP 1907.

BROBSON, Miss M.

-
BSP, Broadway (Salford) 1912
Branch sec. 1912.

BROCKLEHURST, Frederick

Secretary, Labour Church/ Labour Church Union 1892-5; lecturer/
journalist 1895-1903; entered Lincoln's Inn 1900 & called to Bar 1903.
ILP, 1893-?1903 /1910 Cons. parl. candidate for Prestwich div. S.E. Lancs, }
EC of Manchester & Salford ILP Jan. 1893; Manchester Labour Church
delegate to ILP 1st General Conference 1893; helped to form ILP
Lancs. Federation & served on its committee; Vice-President of
Manchester & Salford ILP 1894; NAC member 1894-7 & 1898-9; 1894-5 ILP
parl. candidate for Bolton; 1895 President of Manchester & District
ILP, financial secretary of national ILP & secretary & treasurer of its
Parliamentary Finance Committee; imprisoned as result of Boggart Hole
Clough meetings 1896; 1896 delegate to International Congress of Trade
Unionists & Socialists, London, & elected secretary of its Standing
Orders Committee, delegate to Brussels Congress June 1899; 1897
elected to Manchester City Council for Harpurhey Ward, re-elected 1900;
1897 elected to Manchester School Board, re-elected 1900; 1899
adopted ILP parl. candidate for S.W. Manchester, def. at General
Election Oct. 1900; delegate to Labour Representation Conference Feb.
1900; ILP delegate to LRC 1901; Labour Church; Clarion Club; Manchester
Transvaal Committee; 1901 evidence before Inter-Departmental Committee
on Employment of School Children.
/had changed political allegiance by 1905; 1910 Cons. candidate for
Prestwich/

BROCKWAY, Archibald Fenner (later Lord Brockway)

1910 sub-editor of Labour Leader, 1912-17 editor.
Joined SDF in London 1907 (for 3 months); joined ILP Nov. 1907; on
removal to Manchester in 1910 joined Levenshulme, then Marple,
branches of ILP.
Marple delegate to ILP Annual Conferences 1913 & '14.
/organised No Conscription Fellowship; C.O. in World War I; Organising
Sec. ILP 1922, General Sec. 1928 & 1933-9; editor of New Leader
1926-9, 1931-46; Labour Parl. candidate Lancaster 1922, Westminster
1924; Exec., Labour & Socialist International 1926-31; Labour MP
East Leyton 1929-31; Chairman of ILP 1931-3, Political Sec. 1939-46;
ILP candidate, Upton Div. of West Ham 1934, Norwich 1935, Lancaster
1941 & Cardiff East 1942; resigned from ILP 1946 & re-joined Labour
Party; 1950 Labour MP Eton & Slough; 1964- Labour Peer./

BRODIE, Robert

-
ILP 1895
Gen Sec. Manchester & Salford ILP 1895.

BROGDEN, Jesse

-
ILP, S.W. Manchester 1892-4
Branch rep. on Manchester & Salford ILP EC 1893; treasurer, St. George's
Ward group 1894.

BROTHERTON, F.

-
ILP, Gorton 1895-6
Secretary, St. Mark's Ward branch 1895; Sec. Gorton Div. ILP 1895-6.

BROWN, Mrs. ?

Kept fish & chip shop
OSS

BUNDOCK, Clement

Office boy, Labour Leader
ILP 1913-
[later became Secretary, National Union of Journalists]

BURGESS, Joseph (husband of Sarah)

Journalist
ILP 1893-5
EC of Manchester & Salford ILP 1893; EC of Lancs. & District
Independent Labour Federation 1893; 1894 ILP candidate in Leicester
by-election; on staff of Cotton Factory Times; founded Yorkshire
Factory Times, then Workman's Times; wrote for WT as 'Autolycus'
until its closure on 6 October 1894.

BURGESS, Mrs. Sarah (wife of Joseph)

-
ILP 1894
President, Hightown Branch of Women's National Association of ILP 1894.

BUTLER, Jesse

Miners' agent
ILP 1894-8
ILP mun. candidate Openshaw 1894 (def.); speaker at Boggart Hole Clough
1896; lost Council seat 1897; May 1898 stood as Lib-Lab against ILP
candidate in Openshaw Ward municipal by-election (def.).

BUTTERS, W.J.

-
ILP 1905-8; joined Manchester Central Feb. 1905, formed & transferred
to Longsight branch June 1905.
Secretary, Longsight branch 1905; delegate to Trades Council 1905;
Clarion Scout 1905.

BUTTERWORTH, J.

-
ILP, Ardwick 1895-7, 1905
Branch Sec. 1895-6, 1905.

BUZZO, Charles

?Docker
SDF, S. Salford 1901 (d.1901)
Worked on behalf of seamen, firemen & dockers in Wales, Antwerp &
Rotterdam.

CAIRNIE, Dr. Charles

?ILP/SDF 1908
Chorlton Union Socialist & Labour Election Committee 1908

CALDER, Jack

Furnishing trade worker
OSS

CANNON, William Henry

Clerk
ILP, Longsight 1912
Branch Sec. 1912.

CANTILLON, William

Window cleaner
Withington & District Socialist Society 1907
Secretary 1907.

CAPPER, C.T.

-
ILP, Longsight 1906
Branch Sec. 1906.

CARP, Harry E.

-
ILP, Manchester Central 1907-

CARR, Charles E.

-
ILP, S. Salford 1893
Branch delegate to 1st General Conference of ILP 1893; S. Salford
rep. on EC of Manchester & Salford ILP 1893.

CARR, Edward

-
SDP 1909
SDP municipal candidate for Regent Ward, Salford, 1909 (def.).

CARTER, Mabel

Office worker
OSS

CARTER, Will

Office worker
OSS

CHADWICK, James

-
ILP, Gorton 1904-8
regular ILP speaker

CHAPMAN, Sidney J.

Lecturer at Owens College; 1901 appointed to Chair of Political Economy
N. Manchester Fabian Group 1892; ILP 1892-1908; gave lectures for ILP,
eg. classes on Economic & Industrial History 1908.

CHATFIELD, John Edward

Plumber
ILP, Manchester Central 1905.

CHATTERTON, Hilda (sister of Mary)

Embroideress at handkerchief manufacturer's
ILP
Clarion cyclist

CHATTERTON, Joseph

(Lancashire & Adjacent Counties Labour Amalgamation/ British Labour Association)

SDF, ?1891-1903

Elected to EC of SDF, August 1899.

CHATTERTON, Mary (sister of Hilda)

Forewoman at handkerchief manufacturer's

ILP

Broughton Clarion Club.

CHEETHAM, H.

-

BSP, NE Manchester 1912

Branch Sec. 1912.

CLANCY, W.H.

-

BSP, Seedley 1912

Branch Sec. 1912.

CLAPHAM, John George

(Amalgamated Society of Carpenters & Joiners)

ILP, joined Manchester Central 1907

Branch secretary October 1908-; Chairman, Manchester Building Federation 1911.

[City Councillor, St. George's Ward, Manchester, 1926-38]

CLAYBROUGH, B.

-

Clarion movement 1899-1900

Clarion Cycling Club; Secretary of Manchester Clarion Social Club 1900.

CLAYTON, J

Student, Manchester University

Manchester Students' Fabian Society 1912.

CLYNES, John Robert

Lancs. organiser, Gas Workers' & General Labourers' Union ?1891-1906;
1906-31 & 1935-45 Labour MP for NE Manchester.

ILP, ?1893-

LRC Executive Committee 1905; Labour Party Executive 1906.

[Parliamentary Secretary to Minister of Food 1917-18; Food Controller 1918-19; Chairman, Parliamentary Labour Party 1921-2; Lord Privy Seal & Deputy Leader of House of Commons 1924; Secretary of State for Home Affairs 1929-31; President of National Union of General & Municipal Workers, & Chairman of its Executive Council/

COATES, Fred

Shop Assistants' Union

ILP, N. Salford 1905-10

Secretary, N. Salford ILP 1905-7; Secretary, Lancs. & Cheshire Socialist Sunday School Union 1907-8.

COCKAYNE, H.

-

BSP, Gorton 1912

Branch Sec. 1912.

COLE, George

-
ILP, Medlock St. 1897.

COLE, Harry H.

Clerk
ILP, Chorlton-cum-Hardy 1908-9
Branch Secretary 1908-9.

COLLIER, J.

-
ILP, St. Michael's Ward 1895-6.

CONNOR, P.

(Gas Workers & General Labourers' Union)
ILP, 1892-3
ILP municipal candidate Harpurhey Ward 1893 (def.); District Sec.
GW&GLU 1891-4.

COOK, Tom

Architect
ILP, 1895-?1912
President, NE Manchester ILP 1895; ILP municipal candidate Miles
Platting 1895, Harpurhey 1899 & 1902 (def.); President, Manchester &
Salford ILP 1900; Treasurer Manchester ILP Council 1902; Manchester
City Councillor, Openshaw ward 1903-19.
/Alderman 1919-36/

COOKSON, A.

-
Heaton Moor Socialist Society 1908; Heaton Moor branch ILP 1909
Branch Sec. 1909.

COPPOCK, Richard

Bricklayer (Operative Bricklayers' Society)
Gorton ILP 1906- /OSS-BSP/ joined Manchester Central ILP Feb. 1914.
Local organiser, Bricklayers' Society; delegate to Trades Council 1908-
/became General Secretary AUBTW; Councillor for Blackley Ward,
Manchester 1919-21; knighted/

CORBETT, J. Rooke

Sanitary engineer
ILP, Manchester Central 1902-?3; Manchester Fabian Society 1908-9
Central Branch committee 1902.

COSSEY, Joseph

Undertaker
ILP, Gorton 1907-13.

COX, Leonard B.

Insurance inspector
ILP 1912-
/formerly of Accrington, where he stood as municipal candidate;
became City Councillor for Beswick Ward, Manchester, 1921-39; Alderman
1939-52; Lord Mayor of Manchester 1943-4/

CRAIG, Mrs. Minnie

Worked at Co-op. Shirt Factory, Salford
ILP 1909-11.

CRANE, Will

(ASE)

OSS

CRISPIN, John J.

Clerk

Chorlton-cum-Hardy Socialist Society 1904-5

Secretary 1904-5.

CROOKES, Thomas E.

Saddler

ILP, Bradford Ward 1896-8

Branch Financial Secretary 1896-8.

CROSS, William

-

BSP, N. Manchester 1912

Branch secretary 1912.

CROSSLEY, Jim

Coach painter

OSS

CUDDEFORD, William H.

(Mantle & Waterproof Cutters' Society) later became cycle repairer

SDF, S. Salford 1894-1911

SDF candidate, Salford Guardians, 1894 & SDF/ILP candidate 1897;

Secretary S. Salford SDF 1895; 1896 union delegate to Trades Council;

SDF/LRC mun. candidate Ordsall Ward 1908 (def.); Secretary, Manchester

Union of Clarion Cycling Clubs 1911.

DAVIES, Bill (husband of C. Stella & brother of Bob & Ernest)

Chemist

OSS.

DAVIES, Mrs. Elizabeth (wife of Ernest & daughter of Edmund Holt)

Insurance agent

OSS

DAVIES, Ernest (husband of Elizabeth, brother of Bill & Bob)

Engineer

OSS

DAVIES, Henry

Fitter

ILP, Openshaw 1902-6

Branch Sec. 1902, 1904.

DAVIES, Joseph

Warehouseman

ILP, N. Salford 1911

Branch Sec. 1911.

DAVIES, Rhys John

Clerk

ILP 1908-

Labour municipal candidate Longsight 1911 (def.); Councillor for Gorton S. 1913-23.

[Manchester & Salford Anti-Conscription League 1916; ?Union of Democratic Control; MP for Westhoughton 1921]

DAVIES, H.

-
BSP, SW Manchester 1912
Branch Sec. 1912.

DEAN, Mrs. Elizabeth Ann

Domestic service - cook (left when married in 1912)
SDP-BSP 1912-
WSPU 1908-; Co-op. Women's Guild.
[joined Hulme Labour Party c.1920; Women's Labour League]

DEAN, Mrs.? (wife of Herbert)

-
ILP, Manchester Central 1904-7
Secretary, Manchester WSPU 1905.

DEAN, Herbert (husband of Mrs. ? Dean)

-
ILP, Manchester Central 1905-7, City of Manchester 1907-12.
Central Branch Treasurer 1906; Chairman, Manchester & Salford ILP
1909; Lancs. Division Provisional Council 1909; regular speaker.

DEAN, R.

-
SDF, Ordsall/S. Salford 1895-1902
Secretary, Ordsall branch 1895.

DELLER, Michael

General Secretary, National Society of Operative Plasterers
ILP, 1894-6
ILP mun. candidate All Saints 1894; ILP candidate Chorlton Guardians
1894 & '96 (def.); Manchester & Salford Trades Council Executive 1896.
[removed to London; elected to Lewisham Borough Council for
Sydenham Ward at by-election May 1904; member of Moseley Commission]

DELVES, Samuel

Compositor
ILP
Councillor for Seedley Ward, Salford, 1908-.

DEMPSTER, H.O.

-
SDF, Salford (Trafford) 1896
Branch Sec, 1896.

DERBYSHIRE, Harry

-
ILP, Urmston 1910
Branch Sec. 1910.

DERFEL, Robert Jones

Printer and stationer
[Reform League 1867; SDF 1885-?; subsequently unattached socialist]
Published own socialist pamphlets; Welsh verse writer.

DESPARD, Mrs. Charlotte

-
ILP, joined Manchester Central Feb. 1914
Joint Hon. Sec. WSPU; 1908 President of Women's Freedom League; Poor
Law Guardian.

DICKINSON, James

-
ILP, New Cross 1910-12
Branch Sec. 1910-12.

DOUGLAS, Herbert P.

Bookkeeper
?ILP/SDF 1906-8
Active in Chorlton Guardians election campaign, 1908.

DOUTHWAITE, C.T.

-
ILP, joined Manchester Central 1906
Co-author of 'Green Manifesto'.

DOYLE, A. Lawton

Student, Manchester University
Manchester Students' Fabian Society 1912.

DOYLE, John

(National Assoc. of Concreters & Asphalters) ? became secretary for
Union
Catholic Socialist Society 1908-
1902-4 EC of Trades Council; 1906-9 LRC Councillor, Ardwick Ward.

DRINKWATER, T.H.

-
?ILP 1894-1908
Elected to Levenshulme UDC 1894, 1904.

DRIVER, J.

-
ILP, N. Manchester 1896
Branch Secretary 1896.

DUDLEY, James

(Bleachers, Dyers & Finishers, Bolton Amalgamation) later insurance
agent
SDF, S. Salford 1889-; ILP, W. Salford 1892-1909.
Delegate to Trades Council 1896, 1902; ILP candidate St. Thomas' Ward,
Salford, 1903 (def.); elected as joint ILP/SDF candidate at St. Paul's
Ward by-election 1907, lost seat 1908; active in Bleachers' Union.

DUFFY, George

Shopkeeper
ILP, New Cross 1910
Branch secretary 1910.

DUNKLEY, Albert Frederick

Warehouseman
ILP 1905-9
Secretary, Manchester & Salford Joint Unemployed Committee 1905-6;
Secretary Manchester & Salford ILP Council 1907-8.

DUNNING, J.

-
SDF, NE Manchester 1905
Branch secretary 1905.

EASTON, W.C.

?student, Owen's College

ILP, Manchester Central 1906-7; City of Manchester 1907-8.

EDDIE, Mrs. Fannie M.

Nurse

ILP, Manchester Central 1905-9.

EDGE, Cecil Robert

Compositor

Clarion movement 1899-1900

Director, Manchester Clarion Social Club 1900.

EDWARDS, A.J.

-

ILP, Manchester Central 1907-8

EDWARDS, J.W.

(United Carters' Assoc.)

ILP, Manchester Central 1904-5.

ELLIOTT, Harold

-

Moss Side Socialist Society 1898-1901.

ELLIS, J.

ILP, New Cross 1906

Branch Sec. 1906.

ELLIS, Oliver

Student, Manchester University

Manchester Students' Fabian Society 1912, ILP 1915

Secretary of University Fabian Society 1912, Vice-Chairman University Socialist Federation.

ELMY, Mrs. Elizabeth C. Wolstenholme

Teacher, later suffrage propegandist

ILP, Manchester Central, joined 1905

Manchester National Society for Women's Suffrage 1865-; Married

Women's Property Committee 1870; Women's Franchise League Council

1889; WSPU Committee ?1906-12.

EMBLETON, Harry

Sign writer

ILP, Manchester Central 1903-5.

EMERY, H.

(Bakers & Confectioners' Union)

ILP, 1897-9

Auditor, Manchester & Salford ILP 1897.

ERNEST, G.

-

?SDP 1910-11, BSP 1911-12

Lecturer on Marxism

EVANS, Miss ?

-

ILP, S. Manchester 1898

ILP candidate, Chorlton-on-Medlock Guardians 1898 (def.); Manchester Labour Church.

EVANS, George

House painter

SDF, S. Salford 1885-93; ILP 1892-3

Jan. 1893 elected Treasurer of Manchester & Salford ILP; temperance advocate (d. April 1893).

EVANS, Thomas William

Bricklayer

ILP, Didsbury 1896.

EVENDEN, Robert Edward

Engineer

ILP, Manchester Central 1907; City of Manchester 1908.

EYRE, John

Teacher at Manchester Technical School, then unemployed - sold newspapers

ILP, Openshaw 1898-9

Formulated scheme for National Trades Federation.

FAIRHURST, Susie S.

Student, Manchester University

Manchester Students' Fabian Society 1912

Society Vice-Chairman & Exec. Member of University Socialist Federation 1912.

FAIRLEY, D.

Student, Manchester University

Manchester Students' Fabian Society 1912.

FAULKNER, T.W.

-

SDP 1910-11

Municipal candidate for Charlestown Ward, Salford - SDP 1910,

Independent Socialist 1911 (def.).

FEEENEY, E.

-

ILP, Gorton 1909

Branch Secretary 1909

FEINBERG, A.K.

-

ILP, Manchester Central, joined 1905

Clarion Scout.

FELLOWS, Jim

Metal worker

OSS.

FERNLEY, George

(Street Masons & Paviers)

ILP, Ardwick 1905

Branch Secretary 1905.

FERREY, J.R.

Railway clerk

ILP, ?1892-1912

Auditor, Manchester & Salford ILP 1897-8; Organiser, S.E. Lancs. ILP

Federation 1908-; member of Railway Clerks' Assoc. executive; prominent worker in Co-operative movement.

FIELD, Joseph W.

-
SDF -1893; ILP, S. Salford 1893
S. Salford ILP branch sec. 1893.

FISHER, Harry

Metal worker
OSS

FISHER, Miss Helen

Worked at Art Museum, Ancoats
ILP, joined Manchester Central 1906.

FLEMING, Charles

Student at Baptist College, then Manchester University
ILP, Manchester Central 1903-5
Regular speaker at Tib Street (d.1905).

FLYNN, Terence A.

General Secretary, Amalgamated Society of Tailors
ILP, 1895-1907
ILP/LRC candidate St. George's ward 1906, Longsight 1907 (def.)

FOGARTY, Joseph

Traveller
ILP, 1908-
ILP & LRC candidate for Harpurhey 1908 & 1909 (def.); Councillor for Miles Platting 1911-21; attended inaugural meeting of Manchester Catholic Socialist Society 1908.

FOVARGUE, R.J.

-
N. Manchester Fabian group 1891-; ILP 1892-3
EC of Manchester & Salford ILP 1893; promoter of Manchester Labour Press Society; Chairman of Conference of Lancashire & Cheshire Fabian Societies, February 1893.

FOWLER, Robert

-
ILP, joined Manchester Central 1907.

FOX, Tom

General Secretary, British Labour Amalgamation
ILP 1894- (Stalybridge 1894-, Dukinfield 1895-, Hyde 1898, joined Manchester Central 1902)
Secretary of Lancs. & Adjacent Counties Labour Amalgamation (subsequently British Labour Amalgamation) 1893-; Vice-President Lancs. & Cheshire Ind. Labour Federation 1894; delegate to Manchester & Salford Trades Council 1901-, EC 1902-5, Secretary 1906-9, Vice-President 1910, President 1911-13; contested Bradford ward 1902 (def.); Labour Parl. candidate NE Manchester 1903 (withdrew on grounds of ill health); City councillor for Bradford Ward 1904 (by-election) - 1919; candidate for Elective Auditor, Manchester, 1905 (def.); Vice-President, Manchester & Salford LRC 1906-7; Chairman of national Labour Party 1913; director of Manchester & Salford Co-operative Society.
[Alderman 1919-34; Lord Mayor of Manchester 1919-20]

FOY, William

-
SDF, S. Salford 1892-1912 (d.1912)
Branch propaganda sec. 1909.

FRASER, Colvin W.

Inland revenue officer
ILP, W. Salford 1892-1907
EC Manchester & Salford ILP 1894; ILP candidate Weaste Ward 1894, '95
(def.); Secretary, W. Salford ILP 1902; ILP rep. on Manchester &
Salford LRC 1903; Secretary & Treasurer of Salford ILP Council 1904;
Sec. ILP/SDF joint election committee for Pandleton Guardians
election 1904; election agent for J.F. Thompson & J. Dudley 1904, A.A.
Purcell 1905, J. Dudley 1907; Secretary, W. Salford ILP 1907.

FRASER, William

District manager, City of Glasgow Friendly Society
ILP, Manchester Central, joined 1912.

FREEMAN, H.

-
SDF, N. Salford 1895
Branch Secretary 1895.

FREEMAN, J.

-
ILP, N. Salford 1895
Branch Secretary 1895.

GALBRAITH, L.

-
BSP, Blackley & Moston 1911
Branch Sec. 1911.

GARRETT, Mrs. Catherine E.M. ('Katie') (wife of Thomas)

-
?SDF, BSP Levenshulme 1912-
Openshaw Guardians 1906-12, 1915-; Secretary, Chorlton Union Socialist
& Labour Election Committee 1907-8; Joint Secretary N.W. Manchester
election committee; founder member of Levenshulme BSP 1912.

GARRETT, Thomas James Galloway (husband of Catherine)

Physician & surgeon
SDF 1896-; BSP 1912-
Secretary, Manchester Central SDF 1896; Secretary, Manchester Clarion
Cycling Club 1898; Director & Vice-President, Manchester Clarion
Social Club 1900; S. Manchester SDF delegate to LRC 1st Annual
Conference 1901; SDF candidate for Chorlton Guardians 1906 (def.);
Chorlton Guardians 1908- [re-elected 1915].

GARSIDE, T.H.

Journalist
ILP 1894-8
'Special Commissioner' of Workman's Times 1893-4; Organiser, Lancs. &
Cheshire ILP Federation 1894; Manchester & Salford ILP EC 1894.

GENT, Arthur Mottram

Salesman

ILP, Levenshulme 1904

Branch secretary 1904; election agent for J.M. McLachlan in UDC
election 1904.

GERRING, Alfred (husband of Emily)

Boilermaker

OSS

OSS Secretary.

GERRING, Emily (wife of Alfred, sister of Mary Louisa Pollitt)

OSS

Assisted in Socialist Sunday School.

GERSON, M.

ILP, 1911-14; joined Manchester Central March 1911, transferred to
Longsight May 1911

GIBSON, C.A.

SDF, W. Salford 1897-8.

GILBERT, H.

ILP, Openshaw 1893-1904

Branch Sec. 1895.

GILBERT, L.H.

Student, Manchester University

Manchester Students' Fabian Society 1912.

GILCHRIST, J.L.

Brace & belt manufacturer

ILP, Manchester Central 1904-9

Municipal candidate Miles Platting 1904 (def.); ILP/LRC Councillor
for Miles Platting 1905-8; contested ward again at by-election Jan. 1909
& 1909 municipal election (def.); 1913 elected to S. Manchester
Board of Guardians.

GINSBERG, Harry

ILP, joined Manchester Central October 1907.

GLASIER, John Bruce (husband of Katharine)

Socialist propagandist; editor of Labour Leader

[Democratic Federation; SDF; Socialist League] ILP

Propagandist; spoke at Boggart Hole Clough 1896; 1897 elected to NAC;
1898 moved from Glasgow to Chapel-en-le-Frith; ILP Chairman 1900-1903;
1904 socialist Parish Councillor, Chapel-en-le-Frith; 1904-9 editor,
Labour Leader; director of Labour Leader Ltd.; 1906 Labour Parl.
candidate for Bordesley (def.).

GLASIER, Katharine Bruce (wife of John)

Writer & propagandist

[Fabian Society; Bristol Socialist Society] ILP 1893-

President, N. Manchester Fabian Society 1893; speaker at Boggart Hole
Clough 1896; moved to Chapel-en-le-Frith 1898; writer & speaker until
her death in 1950.

GLASS, Jacob

Draper

ILP, Manchester Central 1905

GODDARD, Tom

Turner (ASE, Salford 2nd Branch)

ILP, W. Salford 1893-8, Gorton 1904-9

ILP municipal candidate St. Thomas' ward 1893, St. Paul's 1894 (def.); branch secretary W. Salford 1894, Gorton 1904 & 1908; delegate to Manchester & Salford Trades Council 1896; Labour municipal candidate Gorton S. 1909 (def.).

GOODENDAY, Miss Leah

-

ILP, NW Manchester 1911

Branch secretary 1911.

GOODHALL, John Pownall

Engineer's assistant

ILP, Moss Side 1904

Clarion Cycling Club 1903-4.

GOODYER, Miss Ethel

-

ILP, Manchester Central 1913-14.

GORDON, Mrs. Maud

-

Clarion movement 1900; Chorlton-cum-Hardy Socialist Society 1906; ILP, joined Manchester Central 1907; ? Manchester Fabian Society 1909.

GORMAN, James

(ASE, Salford 3rd Branch)

SDF, S. Salford 1893-1910

1894 Minute Sec. Salford 3rd branch ASE; Manchester & Salford LRC 1903; ASE delegate to Manchester & Salford Trades Council 1902-4; 1905 elected to Manchester District Committee ASE; elected to union's Delegate Meeting 1907, 1912, 1914-17; elected to union's Final Appeal Court 1909, 1914, 1916; SDP mun. candidate St. Thomas' ward 1909, Trafford Ward 1910 (def.) [1917 elected Manchester Local Delegate ASE; 1918-40 Organising District Delegate ASE].

GRAHAM, J.

-

ILP, Newton Heath 1914

Branch Sec. 1914.

GRATHSON, Harry B.

-

ILP, Manchester Central, joined March 1906.

GRATRIX, F.W.

-

ILP, Manchester Central, joined September 1902.

GRAYSON, Albert Victor

Student, Manchester University 1904-7; Socialist MP for Colne Valley 1907-10; journalist (wrote for New Age & Clarion); socialist propagandist

ILP, Manchester Central 1904-; BSP 1911-
ILP & Clarion propagandist 1904-7; Chairman, Manchester University Socialist Society 1906; elected as Socialist MP for Colne Valley, June 1907 by-election; suspended from Commons Oct. 1908 for demonstration re unemployment; became joint editor of New Age; Feb. 1909 joined staff of Clarion & wrote weekly articles for Woman Worker; lost parl. seat Jan 1910; Dec. 1910 parl. candidate for Kennington div. of Lambeth (def.); August 1911 resigned membership of ILP; political editor of Clarion; leading propagandist in formation of BSP. [in Australia & New Zealand as propagandist 1915-17; joined NZ army 1917; disappeared 1920]

GREEN, Mark Henry ('Harry')

Engineer

ILP 1896-1907 (joined Manchester Central 1905); ? syndicalist 1910 Speaker; Clarion Scout; mun. candidate Bradford Ward 1905 (def.); Sept. 1910 advertised as speaker on behalf of Industrial Syndicalism.

GREENHALGH, Sarah

Artist

OSS

GREENWOOD, Dick

Manager

OSS

GREENWOOD, W.

ILP, Manchester Central 1913-15.

GREGORY, Charlie

(ASE)

ILP 1893-1900

1893-4 EC of Lancs. & Cheshire Ind. Labour Federation; 1894 candidate in election for No.3 Div. ASE representative to TUC; 1899 TU municipal candidate for St. Mark's ward (def.); Secretary, Openshaw ILP 1900.

GREGORY, William

Fruiterer

ILP, Gorton 1906-9

1906 returned unopposed as Labour candidate for Town Hall ward, Gorton UDC election; 1909 Labour municipal candidate Gorton S. (def.)

GRICE, William E.

Process artist

BSP, Chorlton 1911-12

Branch sec. 1911-12.

GRIERSON, Jack

Metal worker

OSS

GRIFFITHS, William Henry

-
ILP, Gorton 1892-1906

Chairman, Gorton div. ILP 1892; Gorton delegate to 1st Gen. Conference of ILP; Gorton rep. on EC of Manchester & Salford ILP 1893; ILP mun. candidate St. Mark's Ward 1896, '97 & '98 (def.).

GUNNING, Thomas H.

Boot maker

ILP, 1897-1903

Hon. Sec. Manchester & Salford ILP 1897-1903; Hulme ILP/SDF/ Socialist Society candidate for Chorlton Guardians 1899 (def.); 1900 secretary of United Workers Municipal Election Committee.

HACKETT, L.M.

-
ILP, joined Manchester Central Jan. 1907.

HADFIELD, Albert

Mechanic

ILP, Gorton 1895-6

Branch sec. 1895.

HAGUE, Mary Anne (wife of Sam)

-
ILP (d.1909)

HAGUE, Sam (husband of Mary Anne)

Registration agent

ILP, Gorton 1899-1913

1906 Labour candidate St. James Ward, Gorton UDC (returned unopposed); 1907 Labour agent, Gorton Parl. Division; 1909-24 Labour Councillor, Gorton S.; Jan. 1910 agent for John Hodge, Gorton parl. election; 1912 Labour candidate for Openshaw in S. Manchester Guardians election (def.); 1912 EC of No. 9 Division ILP; 1913 Secretary, Gorton ILP Federation.

HALES, Edward

Insurance agent

ILP, 1906-10

Socialist candidate, Chorlton-on-Medlock Guardians election 1910 (def.).

HALL, Miss Eleanor

-
SDF, S. Salford 1894-5.

HALL, Fred

-
ILP, ?N. Manchester 1909-10.

HALL, George

School attendance officer (later fruiterer)

ILP, Longsight 1909-

ILP & Unemployed mun. candidate St. Mark's 1908 (def.); contested Gorton Guardians election 1909 (def.); Labour mun. candidate Longsight 1909 (def.); Socialist candidate for Ardwick ward, Chorlton Guardians, 1910 (def.); Labour & ILP candidate for Levenshulme, S. Manchester Guardians, 1912 (def.); ILP & Labour municipal candidate Longsight 1912 & St. Mark's 1913 (def.); 1914 candidate for Hulme Ward, Manchester Guardians election (def.)

[1919-36 Labour councillor, St. Mark's ward; Alderman 1936-44]

HALL, J.

Cashier

ILP, Manchester Central 1905-6.

HALL, J.

BSP, Pendleton 1912

Branch Sec. 1912.

HALL, J.B.

ILP, joined Manchester Central Feb. 1904.

HALL, Leonard William (husband of Pattie)

Journalist, later china dealer, then traveller for oil company
[Socialist League; SDF; N. Manchester Fabian Society] ILP 1892-1911;
BSP 1911-13; Industrial Unionist

Founder member of Manchester & Salford ILP 1892; Secretary of Lancs.
& Adjacent Counties Labour Amalgamation 1891-5; Union rep. on Manchester
& Salford Trades Council & at TUC 1893, '94; 1893-5 President of Lancs.
& District ILP Federation; 1893-5 President, Manchester & Salford ILP;
1893-5 ILP prospective Parl. candidate NE Manchester (resigned);
1894-6 on NAC; 1896 imprisoned for speaking at Boggart Hole Clough;
1896-1902 journalist; left Manchester area 1907; 1909 Birmingham
Central branch ILP rep. at Annual Conference; 1909-10 Midlands rep.
on NAC; 1910 co-author of 'Green Manifesto'; founder of Birmingham
Socialist Party 1911; 1911 attended Socialist Unity Conference;
elected to BSP Exec. 1911 & '12; withdrew from BSP because of his
support for Industrial Unionism; probably joined SLP in Birmingham;
supported WSPU [d.1916]

HALL, Mrs. Pattie (wife of Leonard)

ILP (probably resigned 1907 because of WSPU activities)
1896 involved in protest re Boggart Hole Clough; 1903 founder member
of WSPU; 1913 arrested with 2 daughters, Nellie & Emmeline, for WSPU
activities (possession of explosive materials) - charges against her
subsequently dropped.

HALL, Robert Chadwick

Insurance agent (National Union of Life Assurance Agents); later
organising secretary, Land Nationalisation Society.

ILP 1904-11

Secretary, Nat. Union of Life Assurance Agents 1901-4; Trades Council
1896-1905; 1904-5 Organising Secretary, Manchester & Salford LRC;
1907-11 Lancs. organiser for Land Nationalisation Society; 1908
treasurer, Manchester & Salford Unemployed Emergency Committee;
regular speaker for ILP; agent for J.R. Clynes in Jan. 1910 General
Election. (d.1911)

HALL, William Knight

Loaded coal boats at Pandleton colliery

SDF 1886-94

Lectured for SDF 1893-4; SDF Parl. candidate for S. Salford 1893 (def.);
1894 Lancs. District Organiser SDF.

HALLING, Miss Daisy

Actress; socialist propagandist

?ILP 1908-13

1908 left professional stage, lived in Corporation Dwellings in Oldham Rd. & devoted self to socialist propaganda in Lancs., S. Wales, W. of England & Yorks.; worked for Dan Irving at NW Manchester election 1908; gave dramatic recitals for ILP & wrote propaganda play 'Pinnacles of the Future', in which she performed at Pankhurst Hall.

HALLOWS, William

-

ILP, Manchester Central 1904-7; City of Manchester 1907-9
Secretary, Manchester Central branch 1905-7 (resigned office because working overtime); March 1907 resigned from branch because disagreed with suffrage policy & became Secretary of new City of Manchester branch.

HALPIN, Tom

Draper

OSS

HAMPSON, C.

-

ILP, NW Manchester 1911
Branch Secretary 1911

HAMPSON, Walter ('Casey')

Violinist & socialist propagandist

ILP c.1900-

Helped to form 1st branch of Musicians' Union in Stockport & elected President; assisted women's suffrage demonstration led by Mrs. Baines at Southport; victimised for socialist activities while orchestral player; 1905- evolved own brand of socialist propaganda with & through music; 1907- regular contributor to Labour Leader; campaigned for Victor Grayson in Colne Valley by-election 1907 & Dan Irving in NW Manchester 1908; active support for Burston School Strike April 1914. [anti-war propagandist; 1917 & '18 toured Ireland at invitation of Socialist Party of Ireland; continued as itinerant propagandist until breakdown of health in late '20s; d.1932]

HARDACRE, J. Pitt

Lessee & manager of Queen's Theatre, Manchester

Clarion movement 1899-1902

Chairman at preliminary meeting of Clarion Social Club 1899; 1900 elected President & a director of the Co.; 1901 elected to Manchester City Council for Oxford Ward as Independent, with support from Clarion.

HARDCASTLE, James W.

Lithographic printer

ILP, E. Manchester 1894-6.

HARDY, A.P.

[of Ruskin Hall]

ILP, Manchester Central then New Cross 1905-6

1905 Literature Secretary, Manchester Central branch; became Secretary of newly-formed New Cross branch & transferred membership; Oct. 1905 appointed Sec. of Manchester & Salford ILP Council.

HARGREAVES, Ernest Ralph

Clerk

ILP, N. Salford 1902-14

Secretary, N. Salford branch 1902-3; treasurer for Albert Park ward election 1905; conducted N. Salford Socialist Sunday School choir 1914.

HARGREAVES, William Henry

Clerk

ILP, joined Manchester Central 1903

HARKER, John (husband of Mary Helen)

Manager of CWS shirt factory, Broughton

ILP 1892-

Founder member of Manchester & Salford ILP, became party's 1st lecture secretary; rep. N. Manchester at ILP annual conferences 1893, '94, '96; N. Manchester branch secretary 1894; keen co-operator - joined Manchester & Salford Co-op. Soc. 1894 & involved in ILP Co-op. Society Ltd. 1893-4; 1894-5 chairman of Central Unemployed Relief Committee; 1894 supported establishment of a national Socialist Party; 1894 candidate for Manchester School Board elections (def.); municipal cand. for Harpurhey Ward 1894, '95 & '96 (def.); 1896 Vice-President Manchester & Salford ILP; fined for speaking at Boggart Hole Clough 1896; rep. Shirt & Jacket Cutters' Society on Manchester & Salford Trades Council 1892-1908; elected to TC Executive 1896, Vice-President 1902, President 1903-5, then retained seat on Exec. until death in 1908; rep. Manchester & Salford Co-op. at Annual Co-op. Congresses, Exeter May 1902 & Doncaster June 1903; elected to Board of Management of Manchester & Salford Co-op. Jan. 1907, re-elected 1908; 1903 elected to EC of Manchester & Salford ILP; 1903 Sec. of Manchester & Salford LRC; 1903 LRC Parl. candidate for W. Salford - Nov. 1903 candidature transferred to N.E. Manchester - resigned 1905; 1904 on EC of Free Trade League; 1906-7 Treasurer Manchester & Salford LRC; JP 1906; Trades Council rep. on Chamber of Commerce; member of Manchester & District Educational Association; d.1908.

HARKER, Mrs. Mary Helen (wife of John)

-
ILP

1894-5 assisted with daily distribution of food to unemployed; summoned for collecting at Boggart Hole Clough 1896; 1902 on committee of new Central Branch ILP; 1903 branch delegate to LRC; 1903 founder member of WSPU; attended Sir Edward Grey's meeting at Free Trade Hall Oct. 1905 with Christabel Pankhurst & Annie Kenney; retired from militant suffrage movement 1912, when suffragettes burnt down Exhibition Hall in Rusholme [d.1953]

HARLEY, William

Joiner

ILP, SW Manchester (Medlock St.) 1894-1906.

Branch sec. 1894, 1895, 1906; ILP mun. candidate St. John's ward 1894 (def.); auditor Manchester & Salford ILP 1895.

HARROLD, J.

-
BSP 1913

1913 contested Gorton N. mun. election in opposition to ILP/Labour candidate (def.).

HART, Charles Edwin

Shopkeeper

ILP 1896-1914 (?lived in Droylesden 1905-; 1907 member of Manchester Central branch)

1896 Sec. E. Manchester branch ILP; 1905-14 regular speaker for ILP; member of Church Socialist League & its District Secretary 1911.

HART, Elijah John

Portmanteau maker [later insurance agent]

ILP 1895-

1895 & '96 ILP municipal candidate Openshaw Ward (def.); 1902-8 ILP Councillor for Openshaw Ward; 1897-9 delegate to Trades Council & served on EC 1899; joined new Manchester Central branch ILP 1902 & branch rep. on Manchester & Salford LRC 1906; ;908 campaigned for Dan Irving at N.W. Manchester by-election; director of Manchester Clarion Cafe 1908

[1919-35 Labour Councillor for Bradford Ward; Alderman 1935-56; Lord Mayor of Manchester 1938-9; d.1956]

HARVEY, Joseph (father of Edith Middleton)

Owned sweet shop & grocery shop & worked in linen warehouse

ILP

Rounder of W. Salford ILP; captain of Salford Clarion Cycling Club, later life president.

HASLAN, James

Journalist

ILP, Withington 1909

Branch sec. 1909.

HATTON, Samuel H.

Clerk

ILP, W. Salford 1910-13

Branch sec. 1910; branch auditor & delegate to Manchester & Salford ILP Council 1913.

HAWLEY, Herbert

-

ILP, Moss Side 1907-8

Branch Sec. 1907; Clarion Scout.

HAYES, John (husband of Sarah)

Postman

ILP, Salford 1903-8

1903-6 ILP Councillor St. Thomas' Ward, Salford; 1905 Chairman of Manchester branch, Postmen's Federation; 1906 Chairman of W. Salford ILP/WSPU Votes for Women demonstration; 1908 forbidden by Postmaster General to take any further part in party politics.

HAYES, Mrs. Sarah (wife of John)

-

ILP, Salford 1894-1915

1894 Secretary of Hightown Branch, Women's National Association of the ILP; 1904 ILP/SDF candidate Pendleton Guardians (def.); 1907 elected as Socialist to Pendleton Guardians.

HEAVISIDE, James Harris

(Typographical Assoc.)

ILP, Salford 1893-6

ILP mun. candidate Albert Park Ward 1893, Grosvenor Ward 1894 & '95 (def.); Vice-President Manchester & Salford ILP 1893; Manchester & Salford ILP EC 1894; delegate to Manchester & Salford Trades Council 1895-6; Vice-President, Manchester branch of Typographical Assoc. 1896; Manchester & Salford Trades Council rep. to Belfast TUC 1896.

HEMPSALL, John

Traveller

SDF, S. Salford 1894-1903

Elective Auditor for Salford 1894-6; 1894 Sec. of S. Salford General Election Committee; 1896 municipal candidate Trafford Ward (withdrew); took part in Boggart Hole Clough campaign 1896; 1897 Socialist mun. candidate Ordsal Ward (def.); 1900 adopted as Parl. candidate by united socialists of Accrington - SDF Exec. refused to endorse candidature; 1900 presided at meeting to protest against annexation of Boer Republics.

HEMSLEY, Godfrey H.

?student, Owen's College

ILP, joined Manchester Central branch 1906.

HENSHALL, Henry ('Harry')

Printer/publisher; journalist

✓N. Manchester Fabian Society; LEA/ ILP 1892-1909

Joint Secretary 1892 May Day demonstration committee; Dec. 1892 elected corresponding secretary, N. Manchester Fabian Society; founded Manchester Labour Press Society 1892 & managed it until 1901; 1893 Secretary of Fabian Societies of Lancs. & Cheshire; 1894 ILP municipal candidate Miles Platting (def.); 1896 spoke at Boggart Hole Clough & summonsed; organised Manchester branch of Workers' Union 1898; Oct. 1898 re-elected to EC of Typographical Assoc.; 1900 organised Stop-the-War propaganda; 1901 printer/publisher at St. Anne's-on-Sea; 1903-lecturer & journalist (became lobby correspondent of Daily Dispatch); 1907 took part in formation of National Union of Journalists; 1909 expelled from Stockport ILP when objected to G.N. Barnes' call for socialists to vote for Liberal Party; became organiser for Tariff Reform League

✓1914 chief recruiting officer for Stockport; 1917 helped to organise National Party; became Conservative; 1929-46 weekly columnist in Stockport Express

HERFORD, H.V.

-

ILP, Manchester Central, joined 1906
Manchester Labour Church.

HERFORD, Rev. L.L.

Rector of St. Matthew's church, Ardwick

ILP, joined Levenshulme branch July 1908

HEWITT, G.E.

-

ILP, N.W. Manchester (Cheetham) 1895-6
Branch Sec. 1895-6.

HEYWOOD, James

Dealer in paper, rope, twine & fents
ILP, N.W. Manchester 1894-5
Branch Sec. 1894-5.

HIBBERT, George

Building worker
OSS

HIBBERT, James A.

Insurance agent
Clarion Fellowship 1900

HIGGS, G.H.

-
ILP, Gorton 1893-4
Branch sec. 1893-4

HIGNETT, Cissie

Teacher
OSS

HILL, Samuel

Joiner
ILP, N. Manchester 1893
Branch sec. 1893.

HILTON, F.

-
SDP 1909
SDP mun. candidate Trafford Ward 1909 (def.)

HINDLE, Paul

-
ILP, Longsight 1894
Branch sec. 1894.

HITCHIN, J.B.

Confectioner
SDF 1904-5
Active in unemployed move. 1904-5; assisted ILP in Clarion Van
campaign in Moss Side Aug. 1905.

HOBSON, Harry S.

-
N. Manchester Fabian Society 1893-4
Secretary, Manchester Labour Press Society 1893-4.

HODGE, John

General Secretary, Steel Smelters' U. 1892-; 1906 Labour MP for Gorton
Liberal, then declared adherence to ILP Nov. 1900
1903 Labour candidate at Preston by-election (def.); elected to LRC
EC 1905; 1907 on new Labour Party Executive; 1907 Steel Workers'
delegate to International Socialist & Labour Congress, Stuttgart.
[1916 ILP branches of Gorton Div. held meeting & decided Hodge no
longer satisfactory Parl. rep.; became Minister of Labour 1917, then
Minister of Pensions; 1923 did not defend seat]

HODGEN, J.T.

-
Independent Socialist 1911
Ind. Socialist candidate for St. Thomas' Ward 1911 (elected).

HOLDEN, J.

-
Didsbury Socialist Society/ILP 1908-11
Secretary of Socialist Society 1908, then of ILP branch 1908-11.

HOLDING, John Alfred

Beer retailer
ILP, NE Manchester 1894-5
Branch treasurer 1894-5

HOLLAND, Charlotte

-
ILP 1906-7
Speaker 1906-7.

HOLLINS, Dick

Engineer
OSS

HOLLINS, Fred

Engineer
OSS

HOLLINS, Harold

Engineer
OSS

HOLLOWAY, Ezra

Insurance agent
SDP 1908
Chairman, SDP Easter Demonstration Committee 1908

HOLT, Edmund (father of Elizabeth Davies)

Rubber worker, then insurance agent
ILP Bradford ward; joined OSS after removed to Higher Openshaw.

HOLT, John

-
ILP, joined Manchester Central Sept. 1905.

HORNE, Rev. Thomas

Rector of St. John the Baptist church, Hulme
Christian Socialist Union
1896 held Sunday conferences on 'the gospel of the poor'; spoke for ILP
1895-1902; appointed Workhouse Chaplain by Chorlton Guardians 1896.

HORROCKS, Frederick

Tailor's cutter
ILP, Rusholme 1907
Branch sec. 1907.

HORROCKS, William

Coal heaver, later sold sweets at football matches when unemployed
/Democratic League; National Secular Society; Salford Radical Assoc.]
SDF/BSP 1884-1918
1893 & '94 SDF candidate, Pendleton Guardians (def.); July 1893
SDF/ILP candidate St. Paul's Ward by-election (def.); SDF/ILP
candidate Salford Guardians 1897, Pendleton Guardians 1904 (def.);
local speaker & propagandist - took part in Ardwick Green free speech
campaign 1893-4 & arrested when attempted to speak in Albert Square
Jan. 1894; active in unemployed agitation 1904.
/opposed 1st World War; d.1918/

HORSFALL, Giles Sharp

Compositor
SDF, S. Salford 1892-5; ILP, joined Manchester Central April 1912.
'Fidus Achates' of Workman's Times; Treasurer of W.K. Hall's election
fund 1892; at foundation meeting of Manchester & Salford ILP;
Treasurer, S. Salford SDF 1895 (no information between April 1895 &
joining Manchester Central ILP 1912; ? out of district)

HOUGH, George Frederick

Salesman
ILP, Rusholme 1909
Branch secretary 1909

HOUGHTON, William

Pattern maker
Socialist League (anarchist) 1893
Arrested & imprisoned Dec. 1893 after speaking at Ardwick Green

HOWARTH, Ernest J.

Mechanic
ILP, Miles Platting 1905
Branch secretary 1905.

HUDSON, James B.

Hairdresser
ILP, SW Manchester 1893-5; SDF, SW Manchester 1896-1909
Local speaker for ILP, then SDF; continued to speak at ILP meetings in
1896 when described as an SDF member; opposed Boer War; spoke at S.
Salford SDF Paris Commune celebrations 1901 & '03; took part in
unemployed meeting 1904; 1906 Social Democrat candidate for Openshaw
Guardians (def.)

HUDSON, James H.

Teacher - Assistant master, Salford Municipal Secondary School for
Boys 1907-16
ILP, Urmston & Flixton
Lectured in economics at Manchester Evening School of Commerce & in
public finance & econ. history at Burnley Mechanics' Institute; 1909-16
Secretary, Lancs. Division ILP; 1909 Secretary Manchester & Salford ILP;
laid foundation stone of Morris Hall, Urmston, September 1910; 1912
prospective Parl. candidate, Eccles; ?-1913 president of Lancs.
Certificated Class Teachers' Association; at times held most of
representative positions in Manchester & Salford branches NUT &
served on National Executive of Class Teachers.
/1914 joined No Conscription Fellowship - 1915 on committee; 1915
joined Union of Democratic Control & attended conference re Labour &
UDC May 1915; Dec. 1915 Salford Council considered his dismissal from

teaching post because of political & anti-war activities, but decided against; March 1916 at formation of Manchester & Salford Anti-Conscription League; 1916 sentenced to 2 years imprisonment as CO - in Wormwood Scrubs (with Fenner Brockway), Wandsworth Gaol & Kenmel Camp; released from Strangeways April 1919; attended Hands off Russia demonstration, Free Trade Hall June 1919, & series of meetings to protest against blockade; Sept. 1919 withdrew candidature for Eccles; parl. candidate for Skipton for 12 months - withdrew for financial reasons; Nov. 1920 took part in 'Hands off Ireland' demonstration; rep. No. 9 Division ILP on NAC for 2 years; March 1921 ILP delegate to Vienna International Socialist Congress; 1921 - prospective ILP candidate Huddersfield (def.); 1934 prospective Labour cand. for Stockport (def. at 1935 General Election)/

HUGHES, Herbert

-
BSP, N. Salford 1911-12
Branch secretary 1911-12.

HUMBERTSON, J.E.

-
ILP, joined Manchester Central April 1906.

HUMPHRIES, John

-
ILP, N.W. Manchester 1909-10, Crumpsall 1913
Nw Manchester branch secretary 19-9-10, Sec. of new Crumpsall branch 1913.

HUNT, Mrs. I.

-
ILP, joined Manchester Central 1905.

HUNT, Charles W.

-
Withington Socialist Society 1907-8; Withington ILP 1913-14
Socialist Society chairman 1907, 1908; Treasurer, Withington ILP 1913;
ILP & Labour mun. candidate Moss Side 1914 (def.).

HUNT, William

Compositor
ILP, N. Salford 1893-1909
?'Hawkshaw' of Clarion; 1894 N. Salford div. organiser for School Board elections; 1895 Sec. N. Salford ILP; 1895-6 delegate to Manchester, Salford & District Educational Association; 1896 convener of May Day demonstration; 1897-1906 annually re-elected as Elective Auditor for Salford; 1900 ILP & Trades Council candidate for Salford School Board (def.); 1903 president of Manchester branch, Typographical Association - member of union's Representative Council & delegate to Manchester & Salford Trades Council; selected as TA branch rep. to attend delegate meeting in Birmingham Jan. 1904; retired as Elective Auditor March 1906 because of union activities; 1909 Labour municipal candidate Grosvenor Ward (def.)

HUNTER, W.

-
BSP, Rusholme 1911
Branch Sec. 1911-12

HUTCHINSON, W.H.

National organiser of Amalgamated Engineering Union
ILP, Openshaw.

ISHERWOOD, Robert

Mount cutter
ILP, Moss Side ?1899-1909
Branch secretary 1909.

JACKMAN, Thomas

Stocktaker
ILP, Blackley 1904
Secretary of new branch 1904.

JACKSON, William T.

Plasterer
ILP, N. Manchester 1892-
Branch secretary 1896-7; 1897 organised Fred Brocklehurst's School
Board election campaign; 1903 branch chairman; 1903-6 Councillor for
Harpurhey ward (lost seat 1906 by 23 votes); again elected as ILP/LRC
candidate for Harpurhey Ward 1907 & served until 1918.
/Alderman 1918-45; Lord Mayor 1923-4; influential in establishment of
Wythenshawe Estate/

JAMES, Alfred

Registration agent
ILP, Newton Heath 1914-
1913 LRC organiser for NE Manchester; 1914 secretary of new Newton
Heath branch; election agent to J.R. Clynes; 1915 elected to Newton
Guardians.

JAMES, James Herbert

Joiner
ILP, SW Manchester 1909
Branch secretary 1909

JOHNSON, J.H.

-
SDF 1894
SDF candidate, Salford Guardians 1894 (def.)

JOHNSON, Olman

-
ILP, Levenshulme 1909-10
Branch Sec. 1909-10.

JOHNSON, William

General Secretary, National Union of Shop Assistants
/Manchester Fabian Society/ ILP 1892-
Founder member of Manchester & Salford ILP, on 1st EC; 1892 Chairman,
S. Manchester ILP; 1893 delegate to Bradford Conference & member of
1st NAC - resigned October 1893 as protest against inaction; left
Manchester when union HQ moved to London ?June 1893; subsequently
resigned union post & succeeded Shaw Maxwell as Secretary of the
Democratic Club.

JOHNSTON, James

Civil engineer

ILP 1894-1912

1892- JP for Manchester; 1893 President, Manchester & Salford Co-op.; 1895 ILP Parl. candidate NE Manchester (def.); 1896 ILP mun. candidate Medlock St. ward (def.); 1896 Clarion vanner; 1897 opened summer camp for little slum girls at Southport - 1898 opened 2nd camp at St. Anne's; 1897 Chairman, Lancs. & Cheshire Ind. Labour Federation; 1897 Macclesfield ILP candidate for Guardians & delegate to ILP Annual Conference; 1898 Hulme Socialist Society & Hulme Working Men's Reform Club mun. candidate for St. George's ward - elected & served until 1901; 1900 Soc. & Labour Parl. candidate for Ashton-under-Lyne (def.); 1901 lost Council seat; 1902 elected to NAC; elected to Manchester City Council at Blackley & Moston by-election August 1902 (served until 1916); 1903 treasurer, Manchester & Salford LRC; active in Co-operative movement, Working Men's Clubs Assoc. & Practical & Recreative Evening Classes Committee; chairman of Smoke Abatement League; 1910 elected to Manchester Board of Guardians.

[Alderman 1916-28]

JONES, A.W.

Secretary, Typographical Association
ILP, 1900

JONES, James Llewelyn

Bookbinder

ILP, Levenshulme 1911

Branch sec. 1911

JONES, J.T.

-

ILP, ?1909-13

Labour mun. candidate New Cross 1909 (def.) 1910 (elected); Jan. 1913 Manchester & Salford LRC & New Cross ILP condemned his action arising out of Ardwick Ward municipal election - ILP branch no longer recognized him as member; 1913 contested New Cross as TU candidate (def.)

JONES, Samuel

Cashier

ILP, 1898-

1898 Secretary Bradford (Manchester) ILP Cinderella Club; Clarion Scout; Clarion Choir.

[Imprisoned as CO during World War I]

KENNEY, Annie

Cotton operative; WSPU speaker

ILP, Oldham - then joined Manchester Central November 1905

Elected to committee of Card & Blowing Room Operatives' Union, Oldham; Oldham Trades Council delegate; imprisoned as result of WSPU protest at Sir Edward Grey's meeting, Free Trade Hall, October 1905; 1906 moved to London - on London Committee of WSPU.

LARGE, H. Dawson

-

Clarion movement 1910-14

Clarion vanner 1910

LARRAD, Thomas Mark

Printer

ILP 1911-

Manchester City Councillor for New Cross 1925-8, St. Mark's 1933-51;
Alderman 1951-57

LAW, Arthur

Railwayman (ASRS)

ILP 1896-1911

ASRS Executive 1907, 1911.

LAWLER, Francis W.

Saddler (Union of Saddlers)

ILP, SW Manchester 1892-?'98

1892 Secretary, S.W. Manchester ILP; 1893 & '94 ILP mun. candidate St. Mark's Ward, Gorton (def.); 1894 Vice-President Manchester & Salford ILP & lecture secretary; 1895 mun. candidate Medlock St. (def.); 1896 on EC of Saddlers' Union; union rep. on Manchester & Salford Trades Council -1898; 1898 spoke on 'Why I left the ILP' (no reasons given) - by 1903 was lecturer for National Reform Union but continued to speak occasionally at ILP meetings until 1911.

LAWRENCE, Samuel Thomas

Proprietor, Temperance Commercial Hotel (22 Piccadilly, Manchester)

ILP, Manchester Central 1907-14

1910-12 Commercial Travellers' Socialist League.

LAWRIE, Hugh

Organiser, Workers' Union

?ILP 1911-12

Spoke for railway strikers 1911; defended 'Don't shoot' policy 1912;
1912 Labour & ILP mun. candidate (def.)

LAWSON, Eva

Teacher

Clarion movement

Taught at Socialist Sunday School.

LAWSON, Mrs. Margaret (mother of Eva)

Midwife (National Association of Midwives)

ILP, ?1909-13

Elected as Socialist & Labour candidate to S. Manchester Guardians 1909,
1912; teacher at Socialist Sunday School.

LEA, A.

ILP, Manchester Central 1903-6

Branch Secretary 1903, treasurer 1904-6; resigned office June 1906-
would be away for some months on business voyage to S. America.

LEATHAM, James

Compositor (Typographical Association)

Moved from Aberdeen 1893; contrib. series of articles for Justice 1893,
1895; speaker for SDF, ILP & Labour Church in N. & Midlands; helped to
establish Hulme & Broadway branches of SDF; 1894 Father of the Chapel
for printers at Heywood's, member of Trades Council & of Council's
organising committee; 1895 elected to provincial section of SDF
Executive; 1895 took lead in successful campaign for 48 hour week, was
dismissed & blacklisted by Employers' Assoc.; 1896 became full-time

salaried organiser for SDF in N., Midlands & Scotland; 1896 prospective Social Democratic parl. candidate for Leigh div. of Lancs. (by-election was anticipated); 1897 moved to Peterhead.

LEE, Miss Ada

?student, Manchester University
1906 Secretary, Manchester University Socialist Society

LEE, Miss Annie

(Workers' Union)
ILP, Openshaw 1899-; OSS
Secretary, Openshaw ILP 1901-3; Workers' Union delegate to 1901 LRC conference.
[signed Left Wing ILP declaration urging affiliation to 3rd International 1920; rep. Gorton S. on Manchester City Council 1919-36; Alderman 1936-45; was 1st Labour woman on City Council & 1st woman Alderman]

LEE, George

-
Chorlton-cum-Hardy Socialist Society 1901.

LEE, John

General dealer
ILP, SW Manchester 1894-1912 (?Manchester Central 1904)
ILP mun. candidate Medlock St. 1893, 1894 (def.); Secretary SW Manchester branch 1905-6; regular speaker in Manchester area.

LEE, J. Newsham

-
ILP, Openshaw 1899-1903
Branch secretary 1903.

LEEMING, Frederick

Clerk
ILP, S. Manchester 1892-4
Founder member of Manchester & Salford ILP & of Manchester ILP Wheelers; S. Manchester branch sec. 1894-5; mun. candidate St. Luke's ward 1894 (def.); wrote Clarion cycling column as 'Swiftsure'; 1913 in Australia.

LEGGE, Alfred

Organiser, British Labour Amalgamation
ILP, Gorton 1910-14
1911 Labour cand. St. Mark's, Gorton (def.)

LEIGH, A.S.

-
ILP, Blackley & Moston 1912
Branch sec. 1912

LEIGH, W.H.

-
ILP, W. Salford 1905-7
Branch sec. 1905.

LETT, J.B.

-
ILP, W. Salford 1906-15
Branch membership sec. 1913 [secretary 1915]

LEWIS, A.

-
ILP, joined Manchester Central Nov. 1905.

LEWIS, F.T. Wolseley

-
ILP, Manchester Central 1905-7
Speaker; delegate to Manchester & Salford ILP Council 1905; branch Lit.
Sec. 1906-7; resigned 1907 - intended to leave Manchester to get work.

LINDLEY, Peter

Printer
ILP, ?1902- (lived in Pendlebury); 1907 joined Manchester Central branch
1902, '03 ILP District Council.

LINDOP, William

Walking stick manufacturer
Clarion movement
Clarion Scout; 1900 director of Manchester Clarion Social Club.

LINGARD, J.

-
ILP, Longsight 1898
Branch sec. 1898.

LISTER, Irvine

Student, Manchester University
?ILP 1904-5
Spoke for ILP at Tib St.

LOCKER, Leon

Clarion movement; ILP, joined Manchester Central 1914
[became Treasurer of Manchester & Salford ILP Federation; Council
member, then Treasurer, of Clarion Club; 1917- Poale Zion.]

LONGFIELD, E.

-
BSP, E. Manchester 1913
Branch sec. 1913.

LOWE, A.E.

-
ILP, NE Manchester 1895-1900
1895 Financial Sec. NE Manchester branch; 1896 Financial Sec. &
Treasurer of Manchester & Salford ILP; 1896 convener of meeting to
inaugurate branch of women's ILP; treasurer Manchester & Salford ILP
1898-1900 - did not seek re-election 1900.

LOWE, Frank

Painter
ILP 1906-14
1906 ILP mun. candidate Miles Platting (def.); contested Medlock St.
1909, Ardwick 1912, New Cross 1913 & at by-election Feb. 1914 (def.);
regular local speaker.

LOWTH, William

-
ILP, Longsight 1908-11
Branch sec. 1908, 1909; Secretary, Manchester & Salford ILP 1910.

MABEN, William

Consulting engineer
/Manchester Radical Association/ ILP, St. George's 1894 (branch was suspended by district EC Oct. 1894 & became SDF branch March 1895); SDF, Hulme 1895-7; 1897-1901 Hulme Socialist Society.
1894 election agent for Richard Anderson (ILP) at St. George's ward by-election; 1896 SDF candidate for St. George's (def.); 1897 elected to Manchester City Council for St. George's as candidate of Hulme Socialist Society; on Council was concerned with housing, smoke nuisance & official incompetence.

McCABE, Patrick

Mechanic
Socialist League/ anarchist 1893
Arrested for speaking at Ardwick Green 1893.

McCALL, J.N.

Student, Manchester University
Manchester Students' Fabian Society 1912.

McCANN, John A.

-
ILP, Longsight 1906-11, 1911 joined Manchester Central
Branch secretary 1906; Sec. Manchester & Salford ILP Council 1907;
April 1911 working for All For Britain League; Oct. 1911 accepted for membership of Central branch on grounds that no longer connected with League.

McCARTHY, A.

-
SDF, N. Salford 1895
Branch secretary 1895.

McCLEMENT, W.

-
ILP, Manchester Central 1903-7 (resigned 1907 to join another branch).

McCORMICK, James

-
ILP, Gorton 1902
Branch Sec. 1902.

McDONALD, Richard

Greengrocer
ILP 1906
ILP mun. candidate for Longsight 1906 (def.)

McGARVIE, John H.

Bootmaker
SDF/BSP Salford 1895-1913
SDF mun. candidate St. Matthias ward, Salford, 1895 & '96 (def.);
ILP/SDF candidate Salford Guardians 1897 (def.); 1906 Socialist & Labour cand. Salford Guardians (def.); 1911 Independent Socialist cand. St. Paul's (def.); 1912 BSP cand. Crescent Ward (def.); 1913 BSP cand. St. Paul's (def.).

McGEE, John Alban

Postman

ILP, Crumpsall & Cheetham 1906-9

Branch sec. 1906; 1909 mun. candidate Crumpsall ward (def.).

McGLASSON, Joseph Edward

Warehouseman

SDF/BSP, N. Salford & Manchester Central 1895-1914

Secretary N. Salford SDF 1895, 1898, 1900; rep. Bleachers, Dyers & Finishers (Bolton Amalgamation) on Manchester & Salford TC 1898; 1901

SDF rep. at LRC 1st Annual Conference; regular speaker; active in unemployed move. 1904-5; Secretary, Manchester Central SDF 1904, 1905; 1914 Chairman of Daily Citizen fellowship.

McGREGOR, S.

-

ILP, 1893

ILP mun. candidate St. Luke's 1893 (def.)

McILWRAITH, C.

-

ILP, Openshaw 1913-15

Branch sec. 1913, 1915.

McKELLEN, T.

-

ILP, Crumpsall 1907-10

Branch sec. 1907.

McKENN, R.J.

-

ILP, 1903-12

1903 on committee of Pankhurst Hall Socialist Sunday School; regular speaker.

McLACHLAN, John MacKean

(National Union of Clerks)

ILP 1902-

Manchester Central branch sec. 1902-4; 1904 elected to Levenshulme UDC (served until 1907); 1905 active in unemployed movement; 1907 attended conference on militarism - moved resolution in favour of citizen army; ILP rep. on Manchester & Salford LRC Exec. & President of LRC 1907-11, Vice-President 1912; 1908-9 director of Manchester Clarion Cafe Ltd.; 1909 Levenshulme Elementary Education Committee; 1909-13 Lancs. Div. rep. on NAC; Chairman of Lancs. Division Conference June 1909; 1909- Jan. 1910 ILP Parl. candidate SW Manchester (def.); 1910 joint author of 'Green Manifesto'; 1910 mun. candidate Ardwick ward (def.); 1911 NAC delegate to Labour Party Conference; 1911 elected to Manchester City Council - Ardwick Ward (served until 1919); regular speaker 1902-14.

McLAREN, John

Organising secretary, Manchester & Salford ILP

ILP, Manchester Central 1908-9

Moved from Glasgow to take up post as organising secretary; 1908 active in unemployed movement; 1909 Secretary of Distress Committee; August 1909 resigned post as org. sec. to take up organising and registration work for Philip Snowden in Blackburn.

MACLEAN, Bob
(ASE)
OSS

McLELLAN, Joe

-
ILP, Newton Heath 1903
Branch Sec. 1903.

MAHER, Cornelius

-
ILP, 1914-15
Chairman, Manchester & Salford ILP Federation 1914, 1915.

MAIDEN, J.P.

Student, Manchester University
Manchester Students' Fabian Society 1912.

MALLON, J.J.

Manchester University Settlement - ran Settlement Associates (with
Theresa Billington)
ILP, Manchester Central 1902-10
1906 Secretary, Anti-Sweating League; 1909 wrote for Woman Worker.

MALTBY, S.E.

Lecturer, Owen's College
?ILP
Lectured for ILP 1908-10; 1908 ran Economic & Industrial History class.

MARQUIS, F.

Student, Manchester University
Manchester University Socialist Society 1906
Vice-chairman of society 1906; 1909 lectured for N. Manchester ILP.

MARR, T.R.

Warden, Ancoats Art Museum & University Settlement
ILP, Manchester Central 1902-10
1901 supervised enquiry on housing; 1905 elected to Manchester City
Council for New Cross ward as Independent (served until 1919);
regular speaker for ILP; particularly active on Council re housing -
became Chairman of Housing Sub-Committee.

MARSHALL, G.H.

Student, Manchester University
Manchester Students' Fabian Society 1912.

MARTIN, A.

-
ILP 1903-20
Joined Manchester Central 1903; Assistant Sec. 1904; transferred to
SW Manchester (Moss Side); 1910, 1911 SW Manchester branch sec.; 1920
chairman at ILP meeting Moss Side.

MARTIN, Dr. Arthur Wyndham

Medical Officer of Health for Gorton
ILP 1894 -
Treasurer, Manchester & Salford ILP 1894, 1895; 1894 took part in 1st
public demonstration for right of way over Kinder Scout; 1894 elected
to Chorlton Guardians for Gorton district (re-elected 1897); 1896
raised Christmas & New Year fund for tram drivers & conductors, &

persuaded Baths Committee to issue children $\frac{1}{2}$ d tickets for admission to public baths; 1896 on deputation to Home Secretary re Boggart Hole Clough; 1899 attended ILP Elected Persons Conference, Leeds; regular speaker for ILP - 1910.

During World War 1 was pacifist (?Quaker) & leading figure in NCF; Gore Brook Hall (which he owned) became HQ of Gorton Socialist Cycling Club & Gorton Socialist Society (breakaway movement from Clarion organisation because Blatchford was pro-war) - Hall was used to hide NCF members on the run/

MARTIN, Frederick Cornwall

Manager
ILP, 1906-7
Speaker

MARTIN, M. Lindsay

-
ILP, N. Salford 1905-6, NW Manchester 1913
Speaker (partic. at Tib St.); 1905 appealed on behalf of Russian Jewish 'Bund'; supported WSPU women at Liberal demonstration; 1913 took part in Proportional Representation Society's mock election.

MAY, Miss M.E.

Student, Manchester University
Manchester University Students' Socialist Society 1908-9.
Secretary 1908.

MAYOR, Harry

(ETU) worked at General Electric
SDF, S. Salford
Active in union.

MEARS, Alfred

ASRS organiser
ILP, ?1892-1904
1894 & 1896 ILP municipal candidate Newton Heath (def.); 1900
Chairman, Manchester & Salford ILP.

MELLOR, William

(Bookbinders & Machine Rulers' Consolidated Union) Taught bookbinding at Manchester School of Technology; 1904-16 editor of Bookbinding Trades Journal

ILP

Union delegate to Manchester & Salford Trades Council 1893-1914, elected to EC 1906, Vice-President 1908, 1909, Secretary 1910-14; 1903- on Manchester & Salford LRC, EC member 1908, Treasurer 1909; held offices in union, twice elected Chief Treasurer; lectured for ILP & Working Men's Clubs Assoc.

Manchester City Councillor for Blackley & Moston 1916-19, Moston
1919-34/

MENDELSON, Morris

Mackintosh maker
Socialist League/anarchist
1894 arrested for speaking at Ardwick Green.

MENZIES, David

-
SDF, SW Manchester 1897-1907; ILP, City of Manchester 1907-9
1897 worked to form SDF branch in Hulme; 1905 assisted ILP Clarion
Van campaign in Moss Side; 1905-9 regular speaker in local area-
speaker at Tib St. while still in SDF.

MIDDLETON, Abraham D. (husband of Edith)

Grocer
ILP
Clarion Cycling Club

MIDDLETON, Mrs. Edith Elizabeth (wife of Abraham, daughter of Joseph Harvey)

Worked in shops (father's - then husband's)
ILP
Attended Socialist Sunday School at Milton Hall.

MILLAR, Andrew

Wood turner
ILP, St. George's (SW Manchester) 1894-5; Hulme SDF 1896; Hulme
Socialist Society [*for changes in branch allegiance, see entry on
William Maben/
1894 Corresponding Sec. St. George's ILP; 1895 branch sec.; 1896 Sec.
Hulme SDF; 1897 Hon. Sec. Hulme Socialist Society.

MILLER, P.H.

-
SDF, Stretford 1905
Secretary 1905

MILLINGTON, Edward

Telegraphist
BSP, Urmston 1911
Branch sec. 1911.

MILLS, J.F.

Sub-editor, then editor of Labour Leader.
ILP, joined Manchester Central 1906.

MILLWARD, W.H.

-
ILP, Levenshulme 1907
Branch sec. 1907.

MILNE, Alice (daughter of Peter, sister of Daisy Somerville)

Machinist (later trained as nurse at Withington Hospital & became
Health Visitor for Stretford)

ILP, joined Manchester Central 1906
WSPU Secretary 1906-7 - was left in charge of Manchester office when
Pankhursts concentrated activities on London; imprisoned for suffrage
activities; resigned from WSPU Sept. 1907 (when major secession).

MILNE, Peter (father of Alice & Daisy Somerville)

Police sergeant; when retired became part-time watchman at oil sidings
on Ship Canal

ILP, 1902-10
?contested municipal election (def.)

MITCHELL, Mrs. Hannah Maria

housewife; WSPU/Women's Freedom League lecturer
ILP (Ashton), ?1908- Manchester
Labour Church; 1904 elected as ILP candidate to Ashton Guardians; ?1905
joined WSPU, imprisoned 1906; assisted Alice Milne in running WSPU
Manchester campaign when Pankhursts removed to London; October 1906
attended WSPU Conference, London; 1906 took part in WSPU's anti-
Government campaign at Huddersfield by-election; 1907 speaker for
WSPU in NE & London; 1908 left WSPU for Women's Freedom League;
?1908 moved to Manchester - joined Manchester ILP & Women's Labour
League; active in ILP - 1914 delegate to 'Coming of Age' Conference.
[supported NCF and Women's International League during World War 1;
1921 & 1923 nom. as municipal candidate by ILP, but rejected by
Labour Party; June 1924 elected as ILP cand. for Newton Heath &
served until 1935; 1926-46 magistrate]

MOLE, A.

-
BSP 1912-13
Mun. candidate St. George's 1912 & 1913 (def.)

MORRIS, R.

-
ILP, Miles Platting 1913
Branch treasurer 1912-13 (April 1913 left for Australia on account of
health)

MORRISEY, Mrs. ? (wife of Councillor Morrisey of Liverpool)

-
ILP, joined Manchester Central 1906
Active in WSPU, imprisoned for suffrage activities 1906.

MORT, Ted

Grocer
OSS

MOSS, J.E.

-
ILP, joined Manchester Central August 1905.

MOSS, Tom

Office worker
OSS

MOSS, Walter

Actor
OSS

MOTLER, L.A.

-
BSP, Weaste 1912
Branch sec. 1912

MOTTERSHEAD, Henry

Postman
ILP, W. Salford 1904-8
Labour & Socialist candidate Pandleton Guardians 1904 (def.);
financial sec. Manchester, Salford & District branch of Postmen's
Federation 1905; ILP mun. candidate St. Thomas Ward, Salford, 1905 -
elected & served until 1908.

MOTTERSHEAD, Percy

-
ILP, W. Salford 1911
Branch secretary 1911.

MUNRO, Jack

Sheet metal worker
OSS; Manchester Socialist Representation Committee; BSP
Became Sec. of Manchester & Salford Trades Council.

NEWBOLD, John Turner Walton

Student, Manchester University
Manchester University Students' Socialist Society; Manchester Students'
Fabian Society; ILP 1910-
Secretary, Students' Soc. Soc. 1908; Treasurer, Students' Fabian
Society 1912; 1912- ILP speaker; June 1913 attended National Peace
Congress at Leeds as rep. of Lancs. & Cheshire Council of the Society
of Friends; 1913-14 anti-war propagandist
/joined Plebs League 1917 - on EC 1918, 1919, 1923; Dec. 1918 Labour
Parl. candidate Motherwell (def.); left ILP to join CPGGB 1921; member
of Executive of Labour Research Dept. 1922-6; member of Exec. of
CPGB & of Communist International 1922-3; Nov. 1922- Dec. 1923
Communist MP for Motherwell & Wishaw Div. of Lanark; 1924 resigned
from CP & Communist International; May 1929 Labour parl. candidate
Epping (def.); resigned from Labour Party 1931; d.1943/

NEWELL, F.

-
SDF, Eccles 1901
1901 Sec. Manchester District Council SDF

NOEL, Rev. Conrad

Curate of church in Salford
Church Socialist League; SDP 1909
Ordained 1894, Anglo-Catholic; lectured to Labour Churches & ILP
branches; 1896 active in Boggart Hole Clough free speech campaign;
opposed Boer War.
/1918 broke with League & founded own Catholic crusade; became rector
of Thaxted/

NUTTALL, Joseph

Stamp cutter (1892- General Sec. of Block, Roller & Stampcutters' Society)
ILP 1893-1914
1894 elected to Salford School Board (re-elected 1897); 1895 lost job
& unable to find work because of TU & School Board activities - was
therefore appointed ILP organiser & election agent; 1895 ILP mun.
candidate Grosvenor Ward, Salford (def.); 1896 took part in Boggart
Hole Clough campaign; 1896 mun. candidate Charlestown Ward (def.);
1896-1914 union delegate to Manchester & Salford Trades Council,
served on EC 1897, 1905-9; 1897 candidate for Pendleton Co-op.
Stores Committee (def.); 1897 delegate to ILP Annual Conference, London;
June 1897 contested by-election Charlestown ward (def.); 1898 Sec. of May
Day Demonstration Committee; 1898 supported Trades Federation
Conference; 1898 ILP candidate Albert Park ward (def.); 1898-
Chairman of Hightown Socialist Land & Building Society - laid
foundation stone of Pankhurst Hall Dec. 1898; 1899 delegate to ILP
Annual Conference, Leeds - failed bid for election to NAC at 2nd
ballot; Dec. 1899 resigned secretaryship of Manchester & Salford ILP -
offered self for re-election in Feb. 1900 on condition had assistance
in office (accepted); 1902 elected to Salford Borough Council for

Albert Park Ward; 1903 Lecture Sec. N. Salford ILP; 1904 Chairman, Salford ILP Council; 1905 returned unopposed as mun. candidate for Albert Park; Jan. 1906 Sec. of Manchester & Salford LRC & election agent for Kelly & Clynes; member of Salford Distress Committee; 1908 lost Council seat; 1909 elected to Board of Labour Leader Ltd.; 1914 presided over transfer of Pankhurst Hall from building society to ILP; superintendent of N. Salford Socialist Sunday School [d.1914]

OAKDEN, Frank

ILP, joined Manchester Central March 1906

OAKLEY, Frank

joiner

ILP

Clarionette, did voluntary work on Clarion clubhouse

O'CONNOR, J.

ILP, joined Manchester Central Dec. 1903; joined BSP Dec. 1911.

OGDEN, Alfred

ILP, 1899-1913

1902 ILP mun. candidate Crumpsall (def.); Dec. 1904 presided at quarterly meeting Manchester & Salford ILP; 1905 took part in unemployed agitation; 1905 ILP mun. candidate Moss Side (def.); 1907 & 1913 Labour cand. Manchester Township Guardians (def.); 1914 Treasurer, Manchester & Salford ILP Federation (re-elected 1915); regular local speaker.

OLDHAM, Jack

ILP, Gorton ?1897-1905

Described as a 'veteran of the ILP in Manchester'.

OPENSHAW, Charlie

engineer

OSS

Ran OSS literature stall.

OPENSHAW, Frank

Engineer

OSS

OPENSHAW, J.

postman

ILP, W. Salford 1907-13

1907 ILP cand. Seedley Ward (elected); 1908 Postmaster General forbade him & Hayes to take any further part in party politics; 1909 President of Manchester, Salford & District Branch of Postmen's Federation; 1909 took chair at meeting of Manchester branch, Civil Service Socialist Society; 1910 re-elected for Seedley Ward; 1913 W. Salford delegate to ILP Annual Conference.

OPENSHAW, Walter

Engineer

OSS

OPENSHAW, Willie

Engineer
OSS

PAGE, Will

-
SDF, S. Salford 1892-3
Took part in 1893 free speech campaign

PALMER, William ('Whiffly Puncto')
Artist - Sunday Chronicle, Clarion

Clarion movement
Originated 'Merrie England' lantern lecture - delivered it 130 times
& travelled 10,000 miles.

PANKHURST, Adela (daughter of Emmeline & Richard; sister of Christabel,
Sylvia & Harry)

Elementary school teacher
ILP, joined Manchester Central Feb. 1905
WSPU, imprisoned 1906; summer & autumn 1906 WSPU organiser in Yorks.,
supported textile strikers; arrested for suffrage activities in
Scotland 1909; 1912 took part in WSPU campaign at NW Manchester by-
election; (left Manchester to take course at Studley Horticultural
College; went to Australia as organiser of Women's Party; became an
organiser of Australian Socialist Party).

PANKHURST, Christabel (daughter of Emmeline & Richard; sister of Adela,
Sylvia & Harry)

Law student, Manchester University; WSPU organiser
ILP, joined Manchester Central Dec. 1904; resigned Sept. 1907
Clarion Cycling Club; took part in Boggart Hole Clough meetings 1896;
N. of England Women's Suffrage Society EC; Women's TUC ?1901; 1901-
lectured at ILP meetings; July 1905 took part in unemployed agitation;
Oct. 1905 imprisoned for suffrage protest at Sir Edward Grey's
meeting, Free Trade Hall; March 1906 Vice-Chairman of new Manchester
University Socialist Society; Aug. 1906 campaigned v. Liberals at
Cockermouth by-election & aroused criticism in Manchester & Salford
ILP through failure to support Labour candidate; arrested & imprisoned
after suffrage march to Commons Feb. 1907; resigned from ILP Sept.
1907 & devoted self to militant suffragette activities.
[took part in recruiting campaign World War I]

PANKHURST, Mrs. Emmeline (wife of Richard; mother of Adela, Christabel,
Harry & Sylvia)

(Liberal - 1894) ILP 1894-1907 (resigned Sept. 1907)
Registrar of Births & Deaths; ran shop (Emerson's); WSPU organiser
[1879 joined Women's Suffrage Society; ?1880 co-opted to Married
Women's Property Committee; Women's Franchise League 1889; Executive
of Peace & Arbitration Assoc.; Fabian Society]
July 1894 ILP cand. for Manchester School Board (def.); Sept. 1894
resigned from Exec. of Lancs. & NW Cheshire Union of Women's Liberal
Associations; 1894 director of Social Trading Co. Ltd.; Dec. 1894
elected to Chorlton Guardians as ILP candidate for Openshaw; 1895
Vice-Pres. Manchester & Salford ILP; E. Manchester delegate to 1895
ILP Annual Conference; Sept. 1895 contrib. paper to Ulverston
Conference of Poor Law Guardians; 1896 SW Manchester delegate to
ILP Annual Conference; summoned for part in Boggart Hole Clough
campaign; 1897 took chair at S. Salford SDF celebration of Paris
Commune; 1897 spoke on behalf of locked-out engineers; 1898 Gorton

del. to ILP Ann. Conf., elected to NAC; 1898 appointed Registrar for births and deaths, Chorlton-on-Medlock; attended 1899 SDF Annual Conf., 1900 elected to Manchester School Board; 1901 delegate for Dudley to ILP Ann. Conf - on platform; 1902 attended Annual Conference of Labour Elected Persons & delegate for Chorlton-on-Medlock at ILP Conference; attended N. Counties Education League meeting 1902; Sept. 1902 joined new Manchester Central branch ILP - on committee; 1903 Manchester Central delegate to ILP York Conference & to Manchester & Salford LRC; 1903 formed WSPU; elected to NAC at 1904 ILP Conf.; 1904 delegate to ILP Peace Conference, Manchester; 1904-5 took part in unemployment agitation; attended LRC Conference 1905; Central branch delegate to Manchester & Salford ILP EC 1905; February 1906 presided at Red Sunday demonstration; Feb. 1906 organised WSPU lobby of Parliament; 1906 Manchester Central delegate to ILP Conference & elected ILP delegate to LRC Conference; Manchester Central delegate to Anti-Sweating Conference; 1907 Manchester Central delegate to ILP Conf. & ILP delegate to Labour Party Conference; election work in Colne Valley 1907; resigned from ILP Sept. 1907; - 1914 devoted career to militant suffrage movement.

[took part in recruiting campaign during 1st World War; went to Russia to persuade Kerensky gov. to remain in war]

PANKHURST, Harry (son of Emmeline & Richard, brother of Adela, Christabel & Sylvia)

Schoolboy; later worked for Glasgow builder & became farm pupil
ILP, joined Manchester Central 1905 (aged 16)
Assistant Literature Secretary 1905; spoke in debate March 1906;
propaganda work for ILP & WSPU (d.1909)

PANKHURST, Dr. Richard Marsden (husband of Emmeline, father of Adela, Christabel, Harry & Sylvia)

[Liberal -1894] ILP 1894-8

[National Society for Women's Suffrage; 1873 cand. for Manchester School Board; 1884 took part in campaign v. House of Lords; 1885 Lib. cand. for Rotherhithe (def.); 1891 President, Manchester Fabian Society]

Joined S. Manchester ILP Sept. 1894; lectured at Ancoats Brotherhood & attended demonstration re New Party Dec. 1894; 1895 chaired ILP committee to organise unemployed campaign; April 1895 S. Manchester delegate to ILP Ann. Conference; 1895 on Parl. Finance Committee of ILP; 1895 ILP Parl. candidate Gorton (def.); 1896 S. Manchester delegate to ILP Annual Conf.; took part in Boggart Hole Clough free speech campaign 1896; spoke at International Peace Demonstration, Hyde Park; 1896 selected as ILP mun. candidate Bradford ward (withdrew before election); withdrew from NAC at 1897 ILP Conference; supported locked-out engineers; Gorton delegate to 1898 ILP Conf.; d. July 1898.

PANKHURST, E. Sylvia (daughter of Emmeline & Richard; sister of Adela, Christabel & Harry)

Art student
ILP ?1898

1896 attended Boggart Hole Clough meeting; joined ILP at 16 (?1898); decorated lecture hall at Pankhurst Hall; [1902-3 travelling scholarship to Venice]; 1903 founder member of WSPU; 1904 left Manchester - attended Royal College of Art & later imprisoned for suffrage activities in London.

PARKER, E.

-
ILP, 1894

ILP mun. candidate Hope Ward, Salford, 1894 (def.)

PARKINSON, E.H.

(Union of Engravers to Calico Printers & Paper Stainers)

SDF 1885-1910

Speaker at local SDF & ILP meetings (inc. May Day demonstrations 1901 & 1904); Union delegate to Manchester & Salford Trades Council 1893-1914; 1902 chairman of Trades Council's Fair Contracts Committee; 1904-5 served on Trades Council EC; 1908-9 TC delegate to Manchester & Salford LRC & member of its EC.

PARKS, Allan

-
ILP & N. Manchester Fabian Society 1893

1893 Manchester & Salford ILP Exec. (resigned July); Sec. of N. Manchester Fabian Society; Manager of Mat Makers' Co-op. Society; President of Manchester Labour Press Society.

PEACH, Rev. Charles

Clergyman

SDF 1885; ?ILP 1898-1911

Local speaker, including at May Day demonstrations 1898, 1900; spoke against Boer War 1900.

PEACH, L. du Garde

Student, Manchester University

Manchester Students' Fabian Society 1912

PEARCE, H.J.

? at Ruskin Hall

Clarion movement; BSP 1908-12

1908 Clarion organiser, worked for Irving at NW Manchester election; 1908 Secretary, Manchester Clarion Cafe; Jan. 1912 at inaugural meeting, Levenshulme BSP.

PEARSON, D.

Student, Manchester University

Manchester University Socialist Society 1906

Secretary 1906

PEARSON, H.S.

-
W. Salford SRC 1909

Financial Secretary, W. Salford SRC 1909.

PEARSON, L.E.

Proprietor of temperance hotel, Chapel St. Ardwick

ILP, joined Manchester Central 1906.

PEET, George

Metal worker (ASE)

OSS

/subsequently active in Plebs League classes; prominent in Shop Stewards movement; 1914 war - was National Secretary of Workers Committee Movement/

PENLINGTON, George

-
SDF 1895

From Rochdale; was appointed District Sec. for Manchester SDF.

PHILLIPS, Will

Printer & writer

?ILP

1901-3 editor of Two Worlds; 1908 ILP & LRC mun. candidate Blackley & Moston (def.); 1910 pub. the 'Green Manifesto' at the Fellowship Press; 1910 elected to Manchester City Council for Blackley & Moston (Lab.).

PICKERING, Tom

Building worker

OSS

PICKLES, C.

-
ILP, Manchester Central 1902-3

Joined December 1902, resigned March 1903.

PICKLES, William

-
BSP 1911-14; ?ILP 1920-1

1912 spoke at Pankhurst Hall Socialist Sunday School anniversary; 1913 BSP & Labour mun. candidate Seedley (def.); 1913 took part in No Conscription campaign

[1920-1 spoke for ILP. W. Salford]

PICKLES, Young

[Manchester University Settlement]

ILP 1902-6

1902 Sec. Manchester ILP Council; 1906 Sec. of re-formed branch of Manchester & District Fabian Society.

PIPER, H.

(Painters & Paperhangers' Union)

ILP, Longsight 1909, 1911

1909 member of Longsight ILP - went to Ruskin College as one of TU nominees; 1911 returned from Ruskin, became Vice-President of Longsight ILP - then resigned because 'entirely out of sympathy with the policy of the party'; worked for All For Britain League.

PITT, Walter

Compositor

ILP, Moss Side 1906-7

Branch sec. 1906-7.

PLANT, Walter (brother of Will)

Hat block manufacturer (in partnership with Will)

ILP 1906-; Socialist Sunday School.

Superintendent of Pankhurst Hall SSS; 1913 removed to Stockport - maintained connection with Pankhurst Hall for time, then joined Stockport Labour Church.

PLANT, Will (brother of Walter)

Hat block manufacturer (in partnership with Walter)

ILP 1906-

Active in ILP at Pankhurst Hall; moved to Sale & founded Sale ILP;

1911 Chairman of Socialist Unity Demonstration, Altrincham; 1912
Chairman at Milton Hall SSS Anniversary
[contested municipal elections for ILP in Sale 5 times before elected,
then served on Council for rest of life, twice Mayor]

POGSON, Fred

Rubber merchant
ILP, 1905-8
Elected to Gorton UDC & Guardians 1905

POLLITT, Harry (son of Mary Louisa)

Boilermaker
ILP/OSS (subsequently BSP & CPGB)
Joined Openshaw ILP 1906; 1909 Secretary of OSS; 1911 supported
labourers' strike; 1912-15 Secretary, Openshaw branch BSP
[moved to Southampton; later became General Secretary CPGB]

POLLITT, Mary Louisa (mother of Harry)

Weaver
ILP/OSS (subsequently BSP & CPGB)
Co-operator; member of Ashton & District Weavers' Assoc.

POULTON, T.

Chimney sweep
ILP, N. Salford 1907-12
Branch sec. 1907, 1912.

POWELL, John

Gas meter inspector
ILP, E. Manchester 1892-8
E. Manchester delegate to Lancs. Federation 1892; School board
elections divisional organiser for E. Manchester 1894; EC of Manchester,
Salford & District ILP 1894; Lecture Sec. E. Manchester ILP 1898;
active in Labour Church (d.1898).

POYSER, A.

-
ILP, NW Manchester 1910
Branch Sec. 1910.

PRICE, John

-
ILP 1894-5
[active in Navvies' Union 1890-1] ILP mun. candidate Seedley Ward
(Salford) 1894 & '95 (def.).

PRIESTLEY, Charles

Scavenger (Gasworkers & G.L. Union)
ILP, Manchester Central/ New Cross 1902-25
Manchester Central Branch committee 1902; delegate to Trades Council
1902; Chairman, New Cross branch 1905; regular speaker at Tib St. 1905;
went to Germany with Tariff Reform party 1910
[later served on Nat. Exec. General Workers' Union; became Vice-
President Manchester Labour Party; d.1925]

PRINCE, Edwin

-
SDF, N. Salford 1895-7
Contributed branch notes to Justice; regular speaker.

PRINCE, Leo D.

Wine & spirit merchant

[National Secular Society; Hulme Radical Club; Socialist League]
ILP 1894-6

ILP Elective Auditor for Manchester 1894-5; resigned from office without consulting party when charges made against him - expelled from ILP.

PURCELL, Albert Arthur

General Secretary, Amalgamated Society of French Polishers
SDF & ILP (joined Manchester Central ILP Nov. 1905)

Moved to Manchester from London ?1902; union delegate to Manchester & Salford Trades Council 1902-; SDF mun. candidate Ordsall Ward 1904 (def.); ILP/SDF cand. St. Paul's Ward 1905 (def.); President, Manchester & Salford Trades Council 1906, 1907; ILP/SDF Councillor for St. Paul's 1906-9; Trades Council EC 1908-13; lost St. Paul's ward at mun. election Nov. 1909 (as SDP candidate), regained seat Nov. 1910; EC of W. Salford SDP 1910; Jan. 1910 SDP Parl. cand. for W. Salford (def.) - again candidate Dec. 1910 but withdrew through lack of funds; active in Industrial Syndicalist Education League; Vice-President of TC 1914

[subsequently MP for Coventry, then Forest of Dean; member of General Council of TUC]

PURSE, Ben

General Secretary, National League for the Blind

ILP, joined Manchester Central 1907

Candidate in Broughton Guardians election 1899, supported by ILP; spoke at ILP & SDF meetings; editor of Blind Advocate.

PURVES, Thomas Morton

Compositor (dismissed after 1892 General Election)

SDF, ?1891-1911

Chairman of Labour Church general purposes committee 1892; SDF Mun. candidate Trafford Ward (Salford) 1892 (def.); Lancs. District Sec. SDF 1892-4; 1895 Sec. to Salford branch of National Dockers' Union; Chairman of SDF Conference, Manchester 1899; Chairman of Purcell's election committee Oct. 1905.

RAINES, Sam

Warehouseman

OSS

RAE, William

-

SDF 1894-5

SDF cand. Salford Guardians 1894; Secretary, S. Salford election committee 1895.

READE, Mrs. Annie (wife of Henry, mother of Daisy & John)

-

ILP, Hightown Women's Branch 1894

Branch delegate to Manchester & Salford Executive 1894.

READE, Daisy Musgrave (daughter of Annie & Henry, sister of John)

-

1894 joined ILP Crusaders [children's movement]

READE, Henry Musgrave (husband of Annie, father of Daisy & John)

Clerk in warehouse

[National Secular Society; English Land Restoration League; SDF;
Fabian Society] ILP 1892-

One of the founders of Manchester & Salford ILP, on EC 1893, General
Secretary 1894-5; Secretary, Manchester branch of National Union of
Clerks 1894; formed & ran Union Shirt Co. - to improve conditions of
women shirt makers; retired from active work on health grounds 1895;
Director & Hon. Sec. Manchester Clarion Club 1899 [1909 living in
Leicester - turned from free-thinking socialism to Christianity]

READE, John Beacon (son of Annie & Harry, brother of Daisy)

1894 joined ILP Crusaders

REDFERN, L.

Student, Manchester University

Manchester Students' Fabian Society 1912

Society secretary 1912.

REDFERN, Percy

Clerk at CWS (National Union of Shop Assistants, Warehousemen & Clerks)
?ILP

Moved to Manchester 1899; 1899 editor of Shop-Life Year Book; 1901
sub-editor, then editor of CWS magazine The Wheatsheaf; 1901-5
leading figure in Manchester Tolstoy Society; lectured for ILP & SDF.
[1915 Treasurer, No Conscription Fellowship]

REEKIE, C.D.

Railway clerk

Clarion movement

1895 Secretary, Manchester CCC; 1899 on sub-committee of Manchester
Clarion Club - elected as Company director 1900; entertainer at ILP
social events.

RHIND, John

-

SDF 1904-8.

RILEY, Jim

Engineer

ILP, Openshaw 1894-1905

Marshal at May Day 1894; election work in Openshaw 1894, Gorton 1895;
organised locked-out engineers' labourers 1897.

RITSON, John

Eating-house keeper

[SDF; Socialist League?] ILP, NE Manchester 1892-4

ILP mun. candidate New Cross ward 1892, '93, '94 (def.); President,
NE Manchester ILP 1892.

ROBERTS, Edgar

Draper's assistant

ILP, Manchester Central 1904-5.

ROBERTS, Emma

-

SDF 1906

Secretary of Women's Section, SW Manchester branch.

ROBERTS, George

Hallkeeper at Manchester Education Committee office in Deansgate
ILP, ?1892-1913
Member of ILP Wheelers ?1892-3; CCC.

ROBERTS, Gilbert

Labourer in engineering factory, then traveller for hosiery firm
OSS
One of founders of OSS; repeatedly elected delegate to BSP conferences
[opposed World War I; 1919-20 worked for formation of united
Communist Party]

ROBERTS, J.W.

Student, Manchester University
Manchester Students' Fabian Society 1912.

ROBERTS, Richard

-
N. Manchester Fabian Society
Promoter of Manchester Labour Press Society.

ROBINSON, Mrs. Annot Erskine (wife of Sam)

teacher; at times organiser for WSPU, NUWSS, WIL
Moved to Manchester from Scotland when married in 1908; WSPU
organiser - imprisoned for suffrage activities 1908; regular speaker
at ILP meetings; active in WLL 1909-13 - Manchester Central delegate
to Lancs. & Cheshire Conferences May & Nov. 1910, National Conferences
1911 & 1913; rep. Lochgelly (Fife) at ILP Annual Conferences 1910-14 -
spoke at conferences on behalf of women's suffrage 1910 & 1911;
became Election Fighting Fund Committee organiser for NUWSS.
[World War I - one of founders of Women's International League and
organiser of Manchester branch; on Manchester Relief Committee;
attended International Conferences, Zurich & Salzburg; became Vice-
Chairman, Manchester Borough Labour Party; gave evidence before
American Commission on Ireland 1921; 1921 Labour mun. candidate
Blackley (def.); 1922 returned to Scotland as teacher]

ROBINSON, Richard

Businessman (? Meade-King, Robinson & Co., oil importers)
ILP, joined Manchester Central 1905; City of Manchester 1908-
1904, Chairman of Manchester Auxiliary of the Peace Society; 1905
ILP mun. candidate Ardwick Ward (def.); active on behalf of unemployed
1906-8; April 1907 mun. by-election, Soc. & Lab. candidate Moss Side
West (def.); 1907 LRC & ILP cand. St. Mark's, 1908 Newton Heath (def.);
Chairman of Conf. on Militarism 1907; attended Anti-Sweating League
mtg. 1908; Chairman of Labour Leader Ltd. 1909.
[later retired to Church Stretton, assisted Labour & Socialist move.
in outlying districts of Shropshire]

ROBINSON, Sam (husband of Annot)

[various unskilled jobs]
ILP, joined Manchester Central 1902
Helped organise Manchester Transvaal Committee 1900; 1904 Assist. Sec.
Manchester & Salford ILP Council; one of most active members of
Central Branch - lecture/propaganda sec., ran literature stall;
supported WSPU within ILP; Manchester Central delegate to ILP
Annual Conferences 1906-13; 1908 attempted to form Catholic Socialist
Society; went to Canada 1913, but returned immediately; Sec. New Cross
ILP 1914
[joined army in World War I]

ROSE, Frank Herbert

Pattern maker (A&E); then journalist - Sunday Chronicle, Daily Dispatch,
Clarion, parliamentary correspondent to Labour Leader
ILP, 1905-11
Regular speaker at ILP meetings; Labour parl. candidate Stockton 1905
(def.); supported Grayson in Colne Valley 1907; ?SRC 1911; Clarion
movement.

ROUND, Alpheus

-
Manchester Anarchist Group 1894
Secretary 1894.

ROUND, Edwin

-
ILP, S. Manchester 1898
Branch sec. 1898.

ROWE, Howard C.

Journalist
?ILP 1894-6
Active in attempt to start socialist weekly newspaper.

ROWLANDS, J.J.

-
ILP, Rusholme 1910
Branch sec. 1910.

ROWLEY, Fred

Warehouseman
ILP, Prestwich 1910
Branch sec. 1910.

ROYLE, William

Bookkeeper
ILP, joined Manchester Central 1905.

RUDGE, Joseph James

Glass blower (Sec. National Flint Glass Makers' Society)
ILP, Newton Heath 1905-8
1898 delegate to Manchester & Salford Trades Council; ILP mun.
candidate Newton Heath 1905 (elected & served until 1908).

SANDERS, George H.

-
SDF, S. Salford 1902-3
Branch chairman 1902-3.

SANDERS, Walter

Collector
ILP, ?SW Manchester 1895-1910
Spoke at 1895 May Day; organised Guardians election campaign, Medlock
St. ward 1896; regular speaker 1904-9; contested Chorlton Guardians
1908 (def.); elected to Guardians 1909 as Socialist & Labour cand.

SANDERSON, Francis W.

-
Syndicalist/BSP
Lectured for Industrial Syndicalist Education League 1910; Sec. Moss
Side BSP 1912; BSP cand. New Cross by-election 1914 (def.)

SANDIFORD, Peter

? student, Manchester University
ILP, Manchester Central 1906-8.

SAVAGE, J.

-
SDF, Salford (Regent) 1896
Branch sec. 1896.

SAVILLE, George

Pattern maker
ILP, Openshaw 1905
Branch sec. 1905.

SAXON, H.

-
Clarion Scout; BSP 1910-11
Convened preliminary meeting of Central branch BSP 1911

SCOTT, Harry Charles David (husband of Rachel)

[listed in Directory as 'private resident']

ILP 1893-1909

1893 delegate to Bradford Conference; Treas. Manchester & Salford ILP
1893-4, 1895, 1901; 1895 scheme to form Central ILP Club; 1896 Sec. of
Chorlton-cum-Hardy Socialist Society; joined Manchester Central branch
1903 & rented branch office (116 Portland St.) in his name; 1909
delegate to ILP Annual Conference, Edinburgh.

SCOTT, Mrs. Rachel (wife of Harry)

-
ILP, joined Manchester Central 1903
Founder member & 1st Secretary of WSPU.

SEAMAN, J.T.

-
ILP, Gorton 1895
Branch sec. 1895.

SELBY, Richard

-
SDF, S. Manchester 1899-1901
SDF branch sec. 1899-1901; Hon. Sec. Manchester & Salford District
Committee of SDF 1900-1.

SELLARS, J.

-
ILP, Newton Heath 1904
Branch sec. 1904.

SETTLE, Alfred

Copper plate engraver (firm: Maver & Settle)

SDF 1890-2; ILP 1892-

SDF mun. candidate Ordsall Ward 1890 & '91; one of founders of
Manchester & Salford ILP; ILP mun. candidate Harpurhey ward 1892;
local lecturer 1892-3; [by 1911 was living in London].

SHAND, Dr. W.G.

Physician

SDF, Salford 1907-8

Teacher at S. Salford SDF Esperanto Class 1907; Soc. & Lab. mun. candidate St. Paul's 1907 (def.), Regent 1908 - elected & served until 1911 (retired - did not contest seat).

SHEPHERD, L.H.

Student, Manchester University

Manchester Students' Fabian Society 1912.

SIM, S.H.

-

BSP 1912

BSP mun. cand. Charlestown ward Salford 1912 (def.).

SIMM, Matthew T.

Organiser for Land Nationalisation Society, then for ILP.

Worked for Land Nat. Society 1901-4, inc. touring with 'Yellow Van'; became Lancs. organiser for ILP 1905.

SIMPSON, George

Salesman

SRC/BSP, then syndicalist, 1910-13

Secretary Manchester District SRC 1910-11; organised formation of local BSP & became Treasurer; Secretary, Manchester Clarion Club 1912; Northern Organiser, Industrial Syndicalist Education League 1913.

SIMPSON, Jonathan T.

-

ILP, W. Salford 1904-7

ILP/SDF cand. Pandleton Guardians 1904 (def.); ILP/SDF cand. Salford Elective Auditor (def.)

SKIVINGTON, W.E.

-

SDF, SW Manchester 1894-1910

Contested Chorlton Guardians for ILP 1894, SDF 1902 (def.); took part in formation of Manchester & Salford LRC; 1904- leader of unemployed movement - arrested for activities on behalf of unemployed 1905; 1905 elected to Chorlton Guardians, re-elected 1908; member of Manchester Distress Committee; gave evidence to Royal Commission on Poor Law; d.1910.

SLACK, Tom

Electrician

OSS

SLATER, A.R.

-

ILP, Gorton 1895

Secretary, Gorton div. ILP 1895.

SLATER, David

Caretaker

ILP, ?Salford, then Manchester Central 1899-1902.

SMITH, Arthur

[ran own business]

ILP, N. Manchester 1904-10

Leader of unemployed movement 1904-8, President of Manchester Unemployed Committee 1904-; organised Levenshulme unemployed camp 1906; arrested for activities in unemployed move. 1906, 1908; assisted publication of Green Manifesto 1910.

SMITH, C.

-

ILP, W. Salford 1912-17

Branch sec. 1912-13; branch delegate to Manchester & Salford ILP Council & LRC also to ILP Annual Conference 1913.

SMITH, Rev. H. Bodell

Unitarian minister

ILP, Gorton 1896-

Secretary, Lancs. & Cheshire Independent Labour & Socialist Federation 1896- lectured & tried to organise socialist movement in Cheshire; spoke at Boggart Hole Clough 1896; resigned as Fed. secretary Jan. 1897 when accepted ministerial appointment; 1903-5 lived in Mottram - lectured for National Municipal Reform League & founded Citizen Church.

SMITH, John

Caretaker of S. Salford SDF Club

SDF, S. Salford 1887-93

Organised election campaigns for SDF, including 1892 Parl. election.

SMITH, Percy

Postman

ILP

[CO in World War I]

SMITH, Tom

(ASE)

OSS

SMITH, Tom

Building worker

OSS

SMITH, Thomas Sumner

Surveyor

?

Socialist & Labour candidate Burnage, 1909 Guardians election (def.)

SMITH, William

Musician

ILP, N. Manchester 1908

Branch sec. 1908.

SMALLEY, Samuel (husband of Mrs. ? Smalley)

Insurance agent

ILP, 1894-6

EC of Manchester, Salford & District ILP 1894; N. Manchester div.

organiser for School Board elections 1894; summoned for taking part in Boggart Hole Clough meeting 1896.

SMALLEY, Mrs. ? (wife of Samuel)

-
?ILP

Summoned for part in Boggart Hole Clough meeting 1896.

SOMERSET, Ted

Foundry worker

ILP, Openshaw 1906; OSS

Treasurer, Openshaw Socialist Hall.

STADEN, ?

Metal worker

OSS

STADEN, Mrs. ?

Midwife

OSS

STANDRING, J.H.

ILP organiser

Organising Sec., Lancs. Divisional Council ILP 1910-13; Council delegate to Labour Party Conference 1911-1913

[1920 organising Secretary of London District Council WEA]

STANTON, Sydney H.

Traveller

ILP, Levenshulme 1895-9

1895 on Levenshulme ILP Committee re Poor Law administration; 1899 attempted to form Clarion Club in Levenshulme.

STENNET, Tom

Metal worker

OSS

STERNBERG, A.

-
ILP, joined Manchester Central 1909

Branch treasurer 1911-14; delegate to local LRC 1911.

STERNBERG, Philip

-
ILP, joined Manchester Central 1909

Branch assistant propaganda sec. 1910.

STOCKTON, Ernest

Engineer

Anarchist

Arrested for obstruction at Ardwick Green meeting 1893.

STOCKTON, Herbert

Bootmaker

SDF 1888, SL/Anarchist 1889-94

Took part in free speech campaign 1895, arrested.

STONE, H.

-
ILP, E. Manchester 1901-3

STOTT, Clement

?clerk

ILP, NW Manchester 1908-15

Branch Sec. 1908, 1912, 1915; Secretary, Manchester & Salford ILP Federation 1911, 1912, 1914, Chairman 1915; organised War Against Poverty conference 1912; on Lancs. Div. Council 1913; [executive of Clerks' Union 1915]

STUART, Charlotte M.

Student, Manchester University

Manchester Students' Fabian Society 1912

STUBBS, A.E.

-

ILP, N. Salford 1912-13

ILP Scouts.

SUGAR, Alfred

-

SDP SW Manchester 1908; BSP Levenshulme 1912

Clarion Scout

SUGAR, Mrs. ?

-

BSP Levenshulme 1912

Branch sec. 1912

SUMMERS, Vic

Metal worker

OSS

SUTCLIFFE, John Darby (brother of Walter)

Ran Sutcliffe Ventilating & Drying Co. (with Walter)

Clarion Cycling Club 1895-; ILP, joined Manchester Central 1906.

ILP Mun. candidate Newton Heath 1906 (def.); director of Manchester Clarion Cafe.

SUTCLIFFE, Walter (brother of John)

Ran Sutcliffe Ventilating & Drying Co. (with John)

Clarion Cycling Club 1895-

Assistant Sec. 1895.

SUTHERS, Robert B. [Whatnot']

Clerk on Sunday Chronicle, then Clarion
Clarion movement.

SUTTON, John Edward

Miners' checkweighman, Bradford colliery; 1910 Labour MP E. Manchester
ILP 1894-

Secretary, Bradford Branch, Miners' Federation 1894; ILP mun.
candidate Bradford ward 1894 (elected & retained seat until 1910);
Manchester & Salford Trades Council 1896-; EC 1896-8; 1903 1st
President of Manchester & Salford LRC; Jan. 1910 elected Labour MP
E. Manchester - retained seat until Dec. 1918

[MP for Clayton, Manchester, Feb. to Nov. 1922 & 1923-31]

SUTTON, T.H.

-

SDF, S. Salford 1890-1903

Branch sec. 1895; Deputy Chairman, SDF Conference, Manchester 1899.

SWAN, Tom

-
?SDF 1900; ILP, Manchester Central 1903-10
Attempted to form SDF branch in E. Manchester 1900; ILP rep. on
Manchester & Salford LRC EC 1907; Sec., Ardwick ILP 1907-10.

SWIFT, Stanley

Printer
OSS

TABBRON, George

Moulder (Manchester Brassfounders & Finishers' Soc.)
SDF 1889-93; ILP? 1893-1908
Delegate to Trades Council 1891-, EC 1896-7, Vice-President 1898,
President 1902, EC 1903-5; Manchester & Salford LRC 1903.

TATTERSALL, F.W.

-
ILP, Manchester Central, joined 1903; Chorlton-cum-Hardy Socialist
Society (became ILP branch) 1906-10.
Socialist Society Secretary 1906, ILP branch Sec. 1907; Treasurer, SW
Manchester election fund 1910.

TAYLOR, E.G.

-
ILP, Withington 1911
Branch sec. 1911.

TAYLOR, J.

-
ILP, 1908
ILP & Unemployed mun. candidate, Trinity Ward (Salf.) 1908 (def.).

TAYLOR, James

Warehouseman
Anarchist
Charged with obstruction at Ardwick Green meeting 1893.

TAYLOR, Thomas

Foreman
ILP, Urmston, Flixton & Davyhulme 1907-14
Branch sec. 1907, 1914.

TAYLOR, William E.

-
ILP, Crumpsall & Cheetham 1904-8
Branch sec. 1904, 1908; Clarion Scout.

TAYLOR, William Henry

Consulting & mechanical engineer, wrote for Mechanical World
ILP, Openshaw 1895-1910
1898 ILP mun. candidate Openshaw (def.); 1908 director of Manchester
Clarion Cafe.

THOMAS, E.

-
ILP, Moss Side 1910
Branch sec. 1910.

THOMAS, S.E.

-
ILP, Levenshulme 1909
Branch Secretary 1909.

THOMPSON, Alexander Mattock ['Dangle']

Journalist - Clarion

ILP 1892-

One of founders of Manchester & Salford ILP; moved to Blackpool, then
London.

THOMPSON, George

[listed in Directory as 'private resident']

ILP, Manchester Central 1905-9

1908 Sec. Cheshire ILP Federation; 1909 director of Labour Leader Ltd.

THOMSON, J.F.

Insurance agent (National Union of Life Assurance Agents, Salford
branch)

ILP, Salford 1893-?1909, ?SDP 1909

Delegate to 1893 Bradford Conference; ILP cand. for Salford School
Board 1894 (def.); ILP cand. for Salford Guardians 1894 (def.); Labour
cand. Salford School Board 1897 & 1900 (def.); delegate to Trades
Council 1897, 1901, on EC 1902-5; Manchester & Salford LRC 1903;
Labour member, Salford Education Committee 1904; ILP mun. candidate
Trafford Ward by-election April 1904 - elected, retained seat Nov.
1904 & served until Nov. 1907; 1904 on provisional committee of Land
Nationalisation Council for Lancs.; ILP & LRC cand. Charlestown ward
May 1908 (by-election) & Nov. 1908, SDP cand. 1909 (def.); 1911-13
organiser for Land Nationalisation Society [to Canada 1913].

TILBY, W.H.

-
ILP, N. Manchester 1892-5
Branch sec. 1892.

TITT, George Frank

Organiser, Workers' Union

ILP, Levenshulme 1908-

ILP organiser in Midlands 1907; 1909 ILP cand. Levenshulme UDC - def.
by Independent Socialist (Winnett); Nov. 1909 Lab. cand. Levenshulme
(def.); 1910 ILP & Lab. cand. for Openshaw - elected & served until
1928

[took part in formation of Manchester & Salford Anti-Conscription
League 1916, Alderman 1928-50; Lord Mayor of Manchester 1930-1]

TOMKINSON, Ernest

Insurance agent
OSS

TOMKINSON, Mary Ellen

Shopkeeper
OSS

TOOLE, Joseph

(large no. of unskilled jobs pre-1914)

SDF S. Salford ?1907

[became Labour councillor for Openshaw 1919-35, Alderman 1935-45;
Lord Mayor of Manchester 1936-7; Labour MP for Salford S. 1923-4,
1929-31]

TOULMIN, Francis C.

-
ILP, 1906-8
Sec. Manchester & Salford ILP 1906; Treasurer 1908.

TRAFFORD, George

-
ILP, Manchester Central, joined 1906.

TREASURER, H.

-
ILP, joined Manchester Central 1906

TREVOR, John

Unitarian minister
Labour Church; ILP 1892-
Founded Labour Church 1891; one of founders of Manchester & Salford ILP,
1st Treasurer & delegate to Bradford Conference 1893; Vice-President,
Manchester & Salford ILP 1893; by 1895 living in Macclesfield.

TWEEDALE, William

-
ILP, 1894-7
1894 ILP cand. for Prestwich Div. Guardians - def.; summoned for
activities re Boggart Hole Clough meetings 1896; 1897 mun. candidate
Blackley & Moston (def.)

UNSWORTH, Jack

Plater (Boilermakers' Union)
OSS

UNSWORTH, Jim

Plater (Boilermakers' Union)
OSS

UNWIN, Raymond

Architect
[Socialist League] ILP, Chapel-en-le-Frith
[became pioneer of Garden Cities, Chief Architect to Ministry of
Health after World War 1]

VARLEY, Albert

-
ILP, N. Salford 1906
Socialist & Labour mun. candidate Kersal Ward 1906 (def.)

VOWERS, George

-
ILP, N. Manchester 1894-1905
ILP candidate for Prestwich Guardians 1894; summoned re Boggart Hole
Clough meetings 1896.

WALSH, Thomas

Calenderer
ILP, Whitefield 1907-11
Branch sec. 1907, 1909, 1911.

WACHTER, Adolph E.

Manufacturers' agent
Withington Socialist Society 1907-?9
Hon. Sec. of Society 1907, 1908; director of Manchester Clarion Cafe
1908; Clarion Scout; ILP & LRC mun. candidate Longsight Ward 1908
(def.); worked for Dan Irving at N.W. Manchester by-election 1908.

WADDINGTON, Joseph

News vendor
/SDF; Socialist League; IWMA/ ?ILP 1892-3
One of founder members of Manchester & Salford ILP; 1892 stood as
Ind. municipal candidate for St. George's ward; 1893 toured Lancs.
towns selling Workman's Times & Clarion; 1896 in National Free
Labour Assoc.

WADE, Richard

-
ILP, Ardwick 1896-1907
Branch lecture sec. 1897.

WALFORD, Dora (later Mrs. Walford Taylor)

? Manchester University 1910
ILP, joined Manchester Central 1910
Regular speaker at local ILP branches & Socialist Sunday Schools.

WALKER, Allan

-
ILP, N. Manchester 1907
Branch sec. 1907.

WALKER, J.H.

-
ILP, S. Salford 1895
Branch sec. 1895.

WALKER, Samuel

/Operative Bleachers' Assoc./
ILP, ? Whitefield 1912
Speaker for ILP & union

WALKER, Thomas

-
ILP, Ancoats 1905
Branch sec. 1905.

WALLHEAD, Muriel (later Mrs. Nichol; daughter of R.C. Wallhead)

Worked for Labour Press, then NUWSS organiser; later industrial
welfare worker.

Began speaking for ILP 1909 (aged 16); 1913 appointed NUWSS organiser
& commenced duties in N. Monmouthshire.

/active in anti-war propoganda during World War I; 1945 Labour MP,
Bradford N./

WALLHEAD, Richard /Christopher/ Collingham

Decorator & craftsman; 1906 became manager of Labour Leader
ILP /probably joined in Wilmslow 1894; joined Manchester Central 1904/
1903 decorated Pankhurst Hall; regular speaker for ILP 1904-; Clarion
Scout; 1906 President, Clarion Scouts; Manager of Labour Leader 1906-;
became full-time freelance ILP propogandist 1908; NAC 1909-28; National
organiser of ILP Scouts 1909-; 1911 prospective Parl. candidate for
Coventry

Opposed World War I - imprisoned under DORA; 1919-21 Manchester City Councillor, Ardwick ward; 1922-34 Labour MP for Merthyr/

WALLIS, Mrs. ?

-
Hightown branch, Women's Nat. Assoc. of ILP, 1894.

WALSH, A.

Student, Manchester University
Manchester Students' Fabian Society 1912.

WALSH, Joseph

at Irwell Rubber Works, Salford (India Rubber Workers' Union)
SDF, S.W. Manchester 1908, BSP 1912.

WALTON, A.

-
ILP, St. George's 1893-4
Hon. Sec. of ward election committee 1893; Financial Sec. 1894.

WARBURTON, Robert

Warehouseman
Anarchist
Charged re Ardwick Green meetings 1893.

WARD, Miss M.

-
ILP, City of Manchester 1910
Branch sec. 1910.

WAREING, C.

-
ILP, S. Salford 1893
Branch sec. 1893.

WASHINGTON, Samuel ['Elihu']

Engineer
[N. Manchester Fabian Society] ILP 1892-4
Founder member of Manchester & Salford ILP; served on EC 1894; to USA
June 1894 [d. Dec. 1894].

WATERS, Frank

Clerk
SDF, S. Salford -1895
Branch auditor; conducted shorthand classes for members.

WATSON, A.H.

-
SDF, SW Manchester 1901-8
Chairman of SDF SW Manchester Guardians election committee 1902;
branch sec. 1904-5; Sec. Lancs. Divisional Council SDF 1904; Joint
Sec. NW Manchester election committee 1908; SW Manchester delegate
to SDP Conference 1908- elected to EC.

WALKER, James H.

Insurance agent
ILP, S. Salford 1894
Branch sec. 1894; div. organiser - W. Salford School Board elections
1894.

WEISS, Professor F.C.

of Manchester University

?ILP

Held economics class for Manchester & Salford ILP 1908; chairman at ILP lantern lecture 1909; spoke at Longsight for ILP 1911.

WELLING, James

Labourer

Anarchist 1893

Charged re Ardwick Green meeting 1893.

WEST, H.E.

-

SDF, SW Manchester 1901-2; ILP Moss Side 1904-6

SW Manchester SDF branch sec. 1901-2; Sec. Moss Side ILP 1904.

WEST, Thomas A.

Artist

N. Manchester Fabian Society 1894

One of promoters of Manchester Labour Press Society 1893; illustrator for Workman's Times 1894.

WESTERBY, Rev. William M.

Congregational minister

ILP, Chorlton-on-Medlock 1911

Branch sec. 1911.

WHITEHEAD, Robert

-

SDF, SW Manchester 1900-11

1904 SDF mun. candidate St. George's (def.); 1905 on SDF/ILP joint Unemployed Committee; 1905 assisted Clarion Van in Moss Side; 1911 Independent Socialist mun. candidate, Openshaw (def.).

WHITELEY, Edgar

Manager, National Labour Press

1909 Secretary, ILP Lancs. Div. Conference; 1913 Labour mun. candidate Longsight (elected - served until 1920)

[1915 summoned under DORA after raid on Labour Leader]

WHITTAKER, Arthur

Joiner

OSS

WHITTAKER, H.

-

SDF, S. Salford 1894-1903

SDF cand., Salford Guardians 1894 (def.)

WHITTAKER, Mrs. Sarah

-

ILP, Longsight 1907-13

President of Central Branch (Ardwick) of Manchester & Salford Co-op.

Women's Guild & member of Education Committee; member of Manchester

Women's Trades Council; 1913 Socialist & Labour candidate for Ardwick Ward, Guardians election (def.)

WILD, Joe

-
ILP, Manchester Central 1906-10
Literature seller - worked on branch literature stall, Shudehill
Market, for 4 years.

WILKIE, G.W.

-
ILP, Manchester Central, joined 1908
Branch treasurer 1910.

WILKINSON, Ellen Cicely

Student, Manchester University; NUWSS organiser
Manchester Students' Fabian Society 1912; ILP ?1912
Began speaking for ILP 1913; NUWSS prganiser 1913-15
[AUCE/NUDAW organiser 1915-24; Manchester City Councillor, Gorton S.,
1923-6; Labour MP for Middlesborough E. 1924-31 & Jarrow 1935-47;
Minister of Education 1945-7/

WILLCOCKS, Harold S.

-
ILP, Manchester Central, joined 1906
Director of Manchester Clarion Cafe 1908.

WILLIAMS, F.

-
ILP, Moss Side 1911
Branch Sec. 1911

WILLIAMS, J.

-
ILP, Openshaw 1906
Branch sec. 1906.

WILLIAMS, John Brownall

Law writer
SDF, S. Salford c.1890
Clarion cyclist; ran Sunday School at Hyndman Hall & did murals for Hall.

WILLIAMS, Joseph Bevir

Secretary, Amalgamated Musicians' Union
Manchester & Salford Trades Council 1896-; delegate to LRC Foundation
Conference 1901; mun. candidate Openshaw 1904 - elected & served
until 1907.

WILLIAMSON, Lilian

? Manchester University
Manchester Fabian Society 1908-12
WSPU; helped gather statistics for Poor Law Commission.

WIMBURY, F.

-
ILP, Gorton 1903
Branch sec. 1903.

WINKLE, C.

Greengrocer
OSS

WINNETT, Thomas

-
ILP, Levenshulme 1895-1909; joined Manchester Central 1909
1895 on Levenshulme ILP Committee re Poor Law administration; 1906
elected to Levenshulme UDC - re-elected 1909 as Independent Socialist
v. George Titt (ILP).

WINNETT, William Henry

Rubber stamp maker
Levenshulme Socialist Society 1910.

WIMBURY, F.

-
ILP, Gorton 1902
Branch sec. 1902.

WITTER, George

-
ILP, Salford 1894
ILP mun. candidate Charlestown ward 1894 (def.)

WOLFENDEN, R.J.

-
ILP, W. Salford 1893
Branch sec. 1893.

WOLSTENHOLME, Mrs. Susannah

-
ILP, Hulme 1894
ILP candidate, Chorlton Guardians 1894 (def.).

WOOD, Ben

/ASE/
OSS

WOOD, Joseph

Architect's assistant
ILP, N. Salford 1908
Branch sec. 1908.

WOOLLERTON, Arthur

-
SDF 1900; ILP, joined Manchester Central 1902, City of Manchester 1907;
Stockport Socialist Society 1909.
1900 formed SDF branch Bradford, became sec.; 1902 founder member
Manchester Central ILP - on Committee; regular speaker for ILP 1905-9.

WORSLEY, James

-
ILP, NE Manchester 1893-4
Branch sec. 1893-4; 1893 arrested & remanded for collection for
miners; 1893 ILP mun. candidate Miles Platting - disqualified in
Revision Court.

WRIGHT, Mrs. ?

-
BSP Stretford 1911
Branch Lit. Secretary 1911.

WRIGHT, T.

ILP, N. Manchester 1905
Branch Sec. 1905

WYKES, Tom

-
ILP, Blackley & Moston 1905-7
Branch sec. 1905, 1907.

YARDLEY, Thomas

Shopkeeper
ILP, SW Manchester 1893-1914
Branch sec. 1893-4; branch del. to Lancs. Federation & Fed. Auditor
1894; 1899 ILP/SDF/Hulme Soc. Soc. candidate for Chorlton Guardians
(def.); conducted Salford Clarion Choir & ILP Choir.

YOUNG, John

-
BSP Newton Heath & Miles Platting 1911-12
Formed branch; secretary 1912.

ZELINSKY, S.

-
ILP, Manchester Central, joined 1908.

Name	Occupation/TU	SDF	Fab. Soc.	Lab. Church	Salford LEA	M/cr LEAS	TC LEA	Salford Elect. Camp.	May Day '92	WT List	ILP
CHAPMAN, S.J.	(at Owen's College)										*
CHORLTON, Charles A.	Printer									*	
COLLINS, H.					*						
CONNOR, P.	GW&GLU (district sec.)										1893
COSGRAVE, Patrick								*			
COTTRELL, W.F. (Councillor)	Amalg. Assoc. of Tramway Employees (president)				*						
CROWE, G.											*
CUNLIFFE, William						*					
DARLINGTON, George	Printer									*	
DAVEY, W.										*	
DAVEY, ?					*						
DAVIS; W.J.							*				
DAY, Richard	Joiner/ Amalg. Soc. of Carpenters & Joiners						*				
DERRY, R.	Manager				*			*			
DOHERTY, P.									*		

Name	Occupation/TU	SDF	Fab. Soc.	Lab. Church	Salford LEA	M/cr LEAS	TC LEA	Salford Elect. Camp.	May Day '92	WT List	ILP
DYER, Joseph Gwyne										*	
ELLINGER, Charles	Litho ARTIST									*	
ENGLISH, D. Frank		*	*								
EUNION, T.F.					*						
EVANS, George	Painter	*		*	*			*	*		*
EVANS, Tom		*									
FIELD, P.J.			*		*						?
FLETCHER, A.T.	Printer									*	
FOVARGUE, R.J.			*			*					*
FULLAM, F.					*						
GLENNON, Robert										*	
GREEN, T.	Sadlers' Assoc. (General Sec.)						*				
GREENLEY, James	Mechanic					*				*	
GRIFFITHS, W.H.											*
HALL, William Knight	Labourer. Org. Sec. Lancs. SDF	*	*	*				*	*		*

Name	Occupation/TU	SDF	Fab. Soc.	Lab. Church	Salford LEA	M/cr LEAS	TC LEA	Salford Elect. Camp.	May Day '92	NT List	ILP
HALL, Leonard William	Journalist. Lancs. District Sec. N, BL&GLU	*	*						*		*
HARGREAVES, William	Compositor									*	
HARKER, John	Pattern maker. Shirt Cutters' Soc. Organiser		*						*		*
HARRIS, Thomas	Editor, <u>Sunday Chronicle</u>		*					*			
HARRISON, H.									*		
HARVEY, Joseph										*	
HATHAWAY, George A.										*	
HENSHALL, Harry	Compositor. M/cr Typographical Soc.		*			*			*		*
HEPTON, ?											*
HIGGINS, T.		?			*						1898
HILL, James					*						
HORROCKS, William	? Turner GN&GLU organiser	*			*			*			
HORSFALL, Giles S.	(<u>Workman's Times</u> correspondent) [Compositor 1896]							*	*		*
HOSHER, R.										*	
HOWARD, J.					*						

Name	Occupation/TU	SDF	Fab. Soc.	Lab. Church	Salford LEA	M/cr LEAS	TC LEA	Salford Elect. Camp.	May Day '92	MT List	ILP
HOWARTH, D.						*					3
HUMPHREYS, E.										*	
HURD, S.	ASRS								*		
IVILL, S.					*						
JACKSON, George T.	Sec., Hackney Carriage Employees' Assoc.				*						
JENKINS, John	Amalg. Union of Bakers & Confectioners Gen. Sec.				*		*	*	*	*	
JENKINS, M.									*		
JOHNSON, G.R.					*						
JOHNSON, William	Sec., National Union of Shop Assistants		*	*		*		*	*	*	*
JOHNSON, W.V.									*		
JONES, E.R.S.											*
JONES, George										*	
JONES, T.										*	
JONES, William										*	
KELLEY, George D.	Gen. Sec., Amalg. Soc. Litho. Printers						*				

Name	Occupation/TU	SDF	Fab. Soc.	Lab. Church	Salford LEA	M/cr LEAS	TC LEA	Salford Elect. Camp.	May Day '92	WT List	ILP
SCOTT, A.											*
SCOTT, H.C.D.											*
SCOTT, James											*
SEPTLE, Alfred	Copper plate engraver	*	*		*			*	*		*
SHARP, Henry	Painter									*	
SHARP, Horace G.										*	
SHARPLES, ?		*							*		
SHAW, J.			*								
SHELDON, William										*	
SHELMERDINE, W.R.					*						
SHEPHARD, A.B.											*
SHUFFLEBOTTOM, ?		*							*		
SHUTTLESWORTH, J.H.	Chairman, No. 2 Branch GW&GLU									*	
SLATTER, Henry	Gen. Sec., Typographical Assoc.						*				
SMEATON, J.						*					

Name	Occupation/TU	SDF	Fab. Soc.	Lab. Church	Salford LEA	M/CR LEAS	TC LEA	Salford Elect. Camp.	May Day '92	WT List	ILP
SMITH, John	Caretaker of SDF Club	*									
SOUTHALL, E.						*					
STEVENSON, Henry										*	
STEWART, Charles									*		
SUTTON, T.E.		*									
TABRON, George	Moulder	*			*			*			1893
TAYLOR, E.V.		*									
TAYLOR, H.B.		*									
THOMAS, Richard										*	
THOMPSON, Alexander Mattock	Journalist, <u>Clarion</u>					*		*			*
THORP, Charles										*	
THRELFALL, T.R.							*				
TILBY, W.H.											*
TOWNLEY, ?											*
TREVOR, Rev. John	Unitarian minister. Labour Church founder		*	*				*	*		*

APPENDIX IV

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS BY MEMBERS OF MANCHESTER AND SALFORD ILP

1. Inclusion

Considerable research has already been undertaken into the publications of the national ILP, and of the Manchester Labour Press Society. The aim of this appendix is not to duplicate this work, but to attempt to distinguish the publications emanating from local members and branches from the mass of ILP literature. Several of the most prominent figures in the Manchester and Salford movement have been the subjects of entries in the Dictionary of Labour Biography, ed. J.M. Bellamy and J. Saville. Since these entries are followed by a comprehensive list of publications, it has not been considered necessary to duplicate the lists, but merely to provide a reference to the entry and record any additional publications which may have come to light. The books and pamphlets concerned are, however, considered in the above survey of propagandist literature.

To define members of Manchester and Salford ILP is by no means a straightforward task. Several of the leading publicists changed both their place of residence and political allegiance during the period in question. To cite the most obvious example, Robert Blatchford both moved with the Clarion to London, and became one of the founders of the BSP. Yet to consider ILP publications relating to Manchester and ignore Blatchford's post-1895 work would be sheer distortion. Not only had his concept of socialism been moulded by his experiences in Manchester, but his works continued to be some of the most popular and influential among members of the local party. It is therefore the intention to list as fully as possible all works by a given author during the pre-1914 period. The biographical information in Appendix II will provide some indication as to dates of removal to and from Manchester, and any changes in political allegiance.

Even among authors who remained in Manchester, and did not become prominent in any other political party, it is not always possible to testify to their ILP membership. Since full details of membership exist only for Manchester Central branch, anyone who regularly spoke at ILP meetings and was not described as belonging to any other organization, must be assumed to have been a member. This somewhat broad basis should however assist, rather than detract from, the main purpose of this bibliography, which is simply to aid the examination of publications emanating from Manchester and Salford ILP, which must have provided much of the basic reading material for local party members.

2. Location

Since many of the pamphlets listed are extremely rare, it may be of assistance to later research to provide not only publishing details, but also current location. Some of the pamphlets have been located and examined in libraries, and in this respect I am particularly indebted to Edmund and Ruth Frow, for assisting my search through their extensive collection of pamphlets, and to M.J. Harkin, of Manchester Public Library Social Sciences Library, who is currently cataloguing Labour and socialist pamphlets in the library. I have also listed publications cited in the following bibliographies:

G.B. Woolven, Publications of the Independent Labour Party 1893-1932 (Society for the Study of Labour History, Bulletin Supplement, Aids to Research No.2, 1977).

Society for the Study of Labour History, Bulletin No.28 Spring 1974, pp.22-7, 'The Manchester Labour Press Society Ltd.' by M.J. Harkin, and pp.27-8, 'The Manchester Labour Press Society Ltd.; a comment' by E. and R. Frow; ibid., No.35 Autumn 1977, pp.35-9, 'Notes on the Labour Press. Publications of the Independent Labour Party'.

Some publications have also been traced by means of the National Union Catalog. Pre-1956 Imprints.

3. Sources and Locations - symbols

- a. Manchester Public Library - Social Sciences Library
- b. E. and R. Frow - Manchester Working Class Movement Library
- c. Stockport Public Library - Local History Library
- d. Brynmor Jones Library, University of Hull
- e. British Library of Political and Economic Science
- f. Marx Memorial Library
- g. International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam
- h. G.B. Woolven, op.cit.
- i. Society for the Study of Labour History, Bulletin
- j. National Union Catalog
- k. advertised in contemporary publications
- l. in private possession (Mrs. Plant, Stockport; Mrs. M.E. Nichol, Welwyn Garden City; C. Reid)
- m. USDAW Library, Manchester

4. Arrangement

While authors have been arranged in alphabetical order, this practice has not been continued in respect of their publications. An attempt has been made to place the latter in chronological order, in the hope that this may, in some cases, bring to light changes in political attitudes.

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ANDERSON, William Crawford

* See Dictionary of Labour Biography, Vol. II (1974) pp.11-16.

An earlier edition than that cited in the above has been traced of one of Anderson's pamphlets:

Socialism, the Dukes and the Land (?Manchester, Salford ILP, 1909) 12pp. illus. /ILP Pamphlets/ a.

BENSON, T.D.

A Socialist's View of the Reformation (Glasgow, 1898) 16pp. [reprinted Manchester, National Labour Press, ?1912/ a.

Socialism and Service (Manchester, 1907/8) 15pp. a.

Free Trade, Tariff Reform and Socialism (Manchester, 1907) 15pp. a.

Woman the Communist (Manchester?, 1908) 16pp. a.

Socialism (Manchester, 1908) 16pp. a.

BILLINGTON-GREIG, Theresa

The Militant Suffrage Movement. Emancipation in a Hurry (London, ?1911) a.

BLATCHFORD, Robert

* See Dictionary of Labour Biography, Vol. 4 (1977) pp.34-42.

Further to the list of Blatchford's writings, it may be added that:

Merrie England was first published in a shilling edition in 1893, not 1894 as stated (Clarion, 11 November 1893 announced that it was to be published on 16 November. L. Thompson, Robert Blatchford, gave the date as 9 November 1893)

Additional publications included:

What Socialism is! and What Socialism is not! (London, 1894) 4pp /Clarion Leaflets 2. Reprinted from Merrie England/ j.

Contribution to Andrew Reid (ed.), The New Party (1894) k. [see Clarion, 16 June 1894/

BROCKLEHURST, Frederick

I Was in Prison (London, 1898) 136 pp. a.

A Socialist's Programme: an address delivered in the Hulme Town Hall, Manchester, on February 27th, 1899 (London, Clarion Newspaper Co., 1899) j.

'Recent Democratic Legislation', in Co-operative Wholesale Societies Ltd., England and Scotland, Annual for 1904. pp. 185-208 (Manchester, 1904) j.

BROCKWAY, A. Fenner

What the ILP Wants (Manchester, National Labour Press, ?1913) 15pp. h.

CLYNES, J.R.

What are you Worth?; a question for workers (Manchester, 1910) 12pp /ILP Pamphlets/ a.

Laws to Smash the Labour Party (Manchester, 1910) 15pp /ILP Pamphlets/ a.

COATES, Fred & VARLEY, Albert (compilers)

A Socialist's Garland... of ethics, wit & wisdom... Being a Souvenir of the 'Garden City' Bazaar, held in the Pankhurst Hall, Hightown, on March 13th, 14th, and 16th, 1908, by the North Salford Branch of the Independent Labour Party (Manchester, Pioneer Press, P. Lindley & Co., 20 Shudehill. 1908) l.

ELMY, Mrs. C. Wolstenholme

Woman and the Law. A series of four letters (London, Women's Printing Society, 1896) 15pp. j.

Women's Emancipation Union (?London, 1899) 3pp. j.

Women's Franchise: the need of the hour (2nd ed. ?London, ?1907) 15pp.

[ILP Penny Pamphlets. Reprinted with alterations from Westminster Review] a.

[FLEMING, Charles: biog.]

Charles Fleming: In Memory of a Noble Life (Manchester, C. Hepton, Moss Side, 1905) [containing impressions of his friends and fellow workers. Advertised in Labour Leader, 21 April 1905] k.

GLASIER, John Bruce

Socialist Songs, compiled from many authors (Glasgow, Labour Literature Society, 1893) 96pp. j.

On Strikes (Glasgow, Labour Literature Society, and Manchester, Labour Press Society, ?1894/5) 19pp. a.

Labour: its politics and ideals. An address delivered at the Annual Conference of the Independent Labour Party at York, on Easter Monday, 1903, by the Chairman, J. Bruce Glasier. (London, Independent Labour Party, ?1903) j.

How Millionaires are Made. Being the History of John and James (n.d.) b. [?also published as : The History of John and James (ILP Penny Pamphlets, ?1907) k]

Socialism in Song (Manchester, National Labour Press, n.d.) 32pp. j.

GLASIER, Katharine Bruce [Katharine St. John Conway]

The Cry of the Children (n.d.) b. [2nd ed., Manchester, 1894, j; 3rd ed., Manchester Labour Press Ltd., 1895, a] 15pp.

The Road to Socialism (Manchester, Labour Press Ltd., 190?) 15pp. a.

Socialism for Children (London, City of London branch ILP, ?1902) j.

Tales from the Derbyshire Hills; pastorals from the Peak District (London, ILP, 1907) j.

Socialism and the Home (?London, ?1908) 12pp. [ILP Pamphlets. Revised and enlarged version of article which originally appeared in Socialist Review]

(with J. Bruce Glasier) The Religion of Socialism: two aspects (Manchester, Labour Press Society, ?1893) 16pp [also Glasgow, Labour Literature Society Ltd. Labour Press Pamphlet No.18]

a. [photocopy]

GRAYSON, Victor

The Destiny of the Mob (Huddersfield, Workers' Press, n.d.) 13pp.

[Worker Series No.3] j.

Socialism: a verbatim report of the debate at the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, February 14, 1908, between Mr. Victor Grayson ... & Mr. W. Joynson-Hicks (Manchester, E. Hulton and Co. Ltd., ?1908) 16pp. j.

God's Country. The Emigration Humbug (Stockport, The Socialist Press, 1908) [People's Penny Pamphlet, No.3] 16pp. b.

The Appeal for Socialism (Stockport, The People's Press, n.d. ?1909) [People's Penny Pamphlet, No.6] 16pp. b & j.

The British Socialist Party: who is ready? (London, ?1911) [reprinted from the Clarion, 4 August 1911] j.

HALL, Leonard

The Old and the New Unionism (Manchester, Labour Press Society Ltd., 1893) 14pp. [Labour Press Pamphlet No.4]

Land, Labour and Liberty (London, Clarion Newspaper Co. Ltd., 1899) 16pp
a. [photocopy]

The Next Thing to Do (Birmingham, ?1911) 16pp. [Midland Socialist Pamphlet No.1/ f.

?Which Way? Root Remedies and Free Socialism versus Collectivist Quackery and Glorified Pauperism (1906) k.

(with J.M. McLachlan, C.T. Douthwaite & J.H. Belcher) Let us Reform the Labour Party. A Protest and Appeal (Manchester, Fellowship Press, 1910) 16pp. l.

HALLING, Daisy

Mrs. Grundy - the Enemy (Stockport, The Socialist Press, 1908) 14pp. illus. [People's Penny Pamphlets No.2/ b.

The Deadly Parallel: a modern anthology (Manchester, William Morris Press, ?1910) 16pp. b.

HAMPSON, Walter ('Casey')

Hampson's Violin School (Stockport, J. Nield & Son Ltd., 1901) [an elementary violin tutor/ 74pp. l.

Who are the Bloodsuckers? With a list of the Principal Ones (Stockport, Clarion Club, ?1907) 16pp. a.

The Bungle: A Book of Moral Fables (?London, 1907) [ILP Penny Pamphlet/ k.

A Wandering Minstrel I; vagrom sketches by 'Casey' (Walter Hampson) with a preface by Ernest Wharrier-Soulsby (Manchester & London, National Labour Press, 1913) 156pp. j.

Mr. James Watts' Collection of Violins (Stockport, n.d.) 14pp [Published for private circulation only/ c.

The Burston School Strike (Manchester, National Labour Press, ?1915) 20pp. a.

HENSHALL, Harry

The ILP Song Book. Compiled from various authors... (Manchester, Labour Press, ?1896) 32pp. g.

The Unemployed Stream: dam it. Or it may be your turn next. An open letter to Bill Green (Oldham, Oldham Branch ILP, n.d.) 16pp. g.

JOHNSTON, James

* See Dictionary of Labour Biography Vol. V (1979) pp.121-4.

McLACHLAN, John MacKean

Should Socialists join the Labour Party?...a debate between John M. McLachlan (Parliamentary Candidate for S.W. Manchester and Chairman of the Manchester City Labour Party) and Edward Hartley (Alderman of the Bradford City Council and Parliamentary Candidate for East Bradford) at the Grand Theatre, Manchester (Manchester, National Labour Press, n.d. ?1909)

The Peril of Poverty (London, Utopia Press, n.d. ?1909) [Clarion Pamphlet No. 49/ j.k.

Urban District Councils; how they work, and how to work them (London, P.S. King & Son, 1911) j.

MARR, T.R.

Housing Conditions in Manchester and Salford (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1904) 100pp. a.

NOEL, Rev. Conrad

* See Dictionary of Labour Biography Vol.II (1974) pp.276-86.

NEWBOLD, J.T. Walton

- The War Trust Exposed (Manchester, National Labour Press, ?1913) 19pp. a & m.
How Asquith Helped the Armour Ring (Manchester, National Labour Press ?1914) 15pp. a & m.

READE, Henry Musgrave

- * See Dictionary of Labour Biography Vol. 3 (1976) pp.145-6
An additional publication by Reade is:
A Grand from the Burning (Leominster, Orphans Printing Press, 190?) 8pp. a.

REDFERN, Percy

- * See Dictionary of Labour Biography Vol. I (1972) pp.280-1.
An additional publication by Redfern is:
Capitalism and Democracy: an argument for co-operation (Manchester, National Labour Press, ?1911) 30pp. a.

ROSE, Frank Herbert

- Stop the Strike (?London, Clarion Press, ?1908) 16pp [Pass on Pamphlet No.6] a.
'The Colliers' Charter: the eight hours day and what it means' in Cooperative Wholesale Society Ltd., Annual for 1909 pp.269-96 (Manchester, 1919) j.
The Coming Force: the Labour Movement (Manchester, Independent Labour Party, 1909) a.
The Machine Monster! A Warning to Skilled Workers (London?, ILP, ?1909) 14pp. a.
A Debate on Syndicalism between Frank Rose and Tom Mann (Walthamstow, Guy Bowman, 1911) 60pp. j.

ROWE, Howard C.

- The Boggart Hole Contest (Manchester, Labour Press, 1896) 18pp. illus. a.

SEPTLE, Alfred

- The Meaning of the Labour Movement (Manchester, 1893) 15pp. f.

SMART, H. Russell

- [additional information: notes by J. Fincher Laird]
The Independent Labour Party, its programme and policy. With introductory letter by J. Keir Hardie, M.P. (3rd ed. Manchester, Labour Press Society Ltd., September 1893) 16pp [2 earlier eds. between May and September 1893. Copy of 3rd ed. in Auckland University Library] i.
Municipal Socialism (Manchester, Labour Press Society, 1895) k.
Socialism and Drink (Manchester, Labour Press Society, ?1895) 16pp [Labour Press Pamphlet No. 2] a.
The Economics of Temperance (Manchester, Labour Press Society, ?1896) 16pp. a.
Revolution or Reform. An Exposure of the Disaster of Capitalist Production (London, n.d.) 15pp.
Socialism and the Budget (1907) 15pp. [ILP Penny Pamphlet] a.
Trade Unionism and Politics [?] a.
Socialism ... for and against ... Report of the public debate on the above subject between H. Russell Smart, Socialist, and Mr. J.R. Macartney, Conservative, at the Mechanics' Institute, Stockport, on Friday evening, May 10 1907 (Stockport, Stockport Branch of the ILP, 2nd ed. ?1907) 16pp. b.
Socialism for the Middle Classes (London?, Clarion Press, ?1909) 16pp [Pass on Pamphlet, No.22] a.

Lords, Commons and the People (Manchester, National Labour Press, ?1910) 16pp. a.

STANDRING, J.H.

Socialism and Peru: a romance of history (Manchester, National Labour Press, ?1910) 15pp. a.

THOMPSON, Alexander Mattock

That Blessed Word - Liberty [Clarion Newspaper Co., 1895] 16pp
[Clarion Pamphlet No.4] a.

[Translator] Collectivism: a speech delivered by Jules Guesde to the French Chamber of Deputies [Clarion Pamphlets No.5] j.

Hail Referendum! The Shortest Way to Democracy (?Clarion Press, ?1895) 12pp. [Clarion Pamphlet No.7] a.

Towards Conscription. Jubilee Patriotism: its meaning, cause and effects (Clarion Newspaper Co., 1898) 16pp [Clarion Pamphlet No.21]

The Referendum and Initiative in Practice (London, Clarion Newspaper Co, 1899) 16pp [Clarion Pamphlet No.31] a.

The Only Way to Democracy (?London, Clarion Newspaper Co., 1900) 16pp [Clarion Pamphlet No.35. A portion of this pamphlet appears as a contribution to the Co-operative Wholesale Society, Annual 1900-1] a [photocopy].

Socialism and Inventions (London, Clarion Press, ?1908) 16pp [Pass on Pamphlets No.5] a.

Patriotism and Conscription (London, Clarion Press, ?1911) 15pp. [Pass on Pamphlets No.25] a.

Japan for a Week (London, New York, J. Lane, 1911) 245pp. j.

Prussia's Devilish Creed (London, Clarion Press, ?1914) 16pp. a.

TREVOR, John

My Quest for God (Manchester, 1897) a.

WASHINGTON, Samuel ('Elihu')

Is General Booth's Darkest England Scheme a Failure? A word of praise and advice (Manchester, Abel Heywood and Son, 1892) 31pp. e.k.

Whose Dog Art Thou? (?Manchester, 1892) [Reprinted London, 1907, ILP Pamphlets, 'Elihu' Reprints No.1] 15pp. a.b.

A Nation of Slaves (?Manchester, 1892) [Reprinted London, 1907, ILP Pamphlets, 'Elihu' Reprints No.2] 16pp. a.b.e.k.

Milk and Postage Stamps (Manchester, 1892) [Reprinted London, 1907, ILP Pamphlets, 'Elihu' Reprints No.3] 16pp. a.

A Corner in Flesh and Blood (Manchester, 1892) [Reprinted London, 1907, ILP Pamphlets, 'Elihu' Reprints No.4] 16pp. a.

Simple Division (Manchester, 1893) [Reprinted London, 1907, ILP Pamphlets, 'Elihu' Reprints No.5] a.

A Parable (Manchester, 1893) [ILP Tracts 1. Published for ILP, Manchester and Salford District] 4pp. a. [photocopy]

The Case for the Fourth Clause (Manchester ILP, Glasgow, Labour Literature Society, 1893) [ILP Manchester, Salford and District Pamphlet, 1] 11pp. b.

[A Nation of Slaves, Milk and Postage Stamps, and A Corner in Flesh and Blood were advertised in Workman's Times, 19 November 1892 as a series, under the collective title 'Addresses to John Bull, Esq. on Capital and Labour']

WOOLLERTON, Arthur

The Labour Movement in Manchester and Salford (Manchester, 1907) [City of Manchester ILP Branch Pamphlets No.1] 20pp. a.b.

APPENDIX V

SOCIALISTS ON LOCAL ELECTED BODIES, 1893-1914

Notes

This list is confined to elected representatives who were individual members of socialist organizations. It does not include trade unionist Labour members, for whom no link with the socialist movement has been discovered. Principal sources of information are: Labour Leader; ILP Annual Conference Reports; annual volumes of The Official Handbook of Manchester and Salford and Surrounding District; and T. Regan, 'A chronological and alphabetical record of the Labour Group on the Manchester City Council 1894-1966' (unpublished typescript, 1966).

*

A. COUNCILS

Manchester City Council

Jesse Butler	1894-1898	(Openshaw)
John Edward Sutton	1894-1910	(Bradford)
Frederick Brocklehurst	1897-1903	(Harpurhey)
William Maben	1897-1901	(St. George's)
James Johnston	1898-1901	(St. George's)
	1902-1916	(Blackley & Moston)
Elijah John Hart	1902-1908	(Openshaw)
Tom Cook	1903-1919	(Openshaw)
William T. Jackson	1903-1906	(Harpurhey)
	1907-1918	"
Joseph Bevir Williams	1904-1907	(Openshaw)
Tom Fox	1904-1919	(Bradford)
Joseph Billam	1905-1915	(Bradford)
James Edward Gilchrist	1905-1908	(Miles Platting)
Joseph James Rudge	1905-1908	(Newton Heath)
Thomas Robert Marr	1905-1919	(New Cross)
John Doyle	1906-1909	(Ardwick)
Sam Hague	1909-1924	(Gorton S.)
George Frank Titt	1910-1928	(Openshaw)
William H. Phillips	1910-	(Blackley & Moston)
Joseph Fogarty	1911-1921	(Miles Platting)
John McLean McLachlan	1911-1919	(Ardwick)
T.R. Marr	1911-	(New Cross)
Edgar Whiteley	1913-20	(Longsight)

Rhys John Davies 1913-23 (Gorton S.)

Salford County Borough Council

Joseph Nuttall	1902-1908	(Albert Park)
John Hayes	1903-1906	(St. Thomas')
J.F. Thompson	1904-1907	(Ordsal)
Henry Mottershead	1905-1908	(St. Thomas')
A.A. Purcell	1906-1909	(St. Paul's)
	1910-1912	"
James Dudley	1907-1908	(St. Paul's)
J. Openshaw	1907-1913	(Seedley)
S. Delves	1908-	(Seedley)
	(re-elected 1911, 1914)	
Dr. Shand	1908-1911	(Regent)
J.T. Hodgen	1911-	(St. Thomas')
	(re-elected 1914)	

Urban District Councils

LEVENSHULME

T.H. Drinkwater	1894-1908
J.M. McLachlan	1904-1907
T. Winnett	1909-

GORTON

Fred Pogson	1905-
William Gregory	1906-
Sam Hague	1906-

Rural District Councils

CHAPEL-EN-LE-FRITH

J. Bruce Glasier	1908-
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B. SCHOOL BOARDS

Manchester

Fred Brocklehurst	1897-1902
Mrs. Pankhurst	1900-1902

Salford

Joseph Nuttall	1894-1900
----------------	-----------

c. BOARDS OF GUARDIANS

Manchester

Mrs. M. Lawson 1909-

James Johnston 1910-

J.E. Gilchrist 1913-

Chorlton

Dr. A.W. Martin 1894-1903

Mrs. Pankhurst 1894-1903

W.E. Skivington 1905-1910

Mrs. C.E.M. Garrett 1906-1912

Dr. T.J.G. Garrett 1908-

Walter Sanders 1909-

Prestwich

Mark Atherton 1894-1895

Salford

Mrs. S. Hayes 1907-

d. ELECTIVE AUDITORS

Manchester

L.D. Prince 1894-1895

Salford

John Hemsall 1894-1896

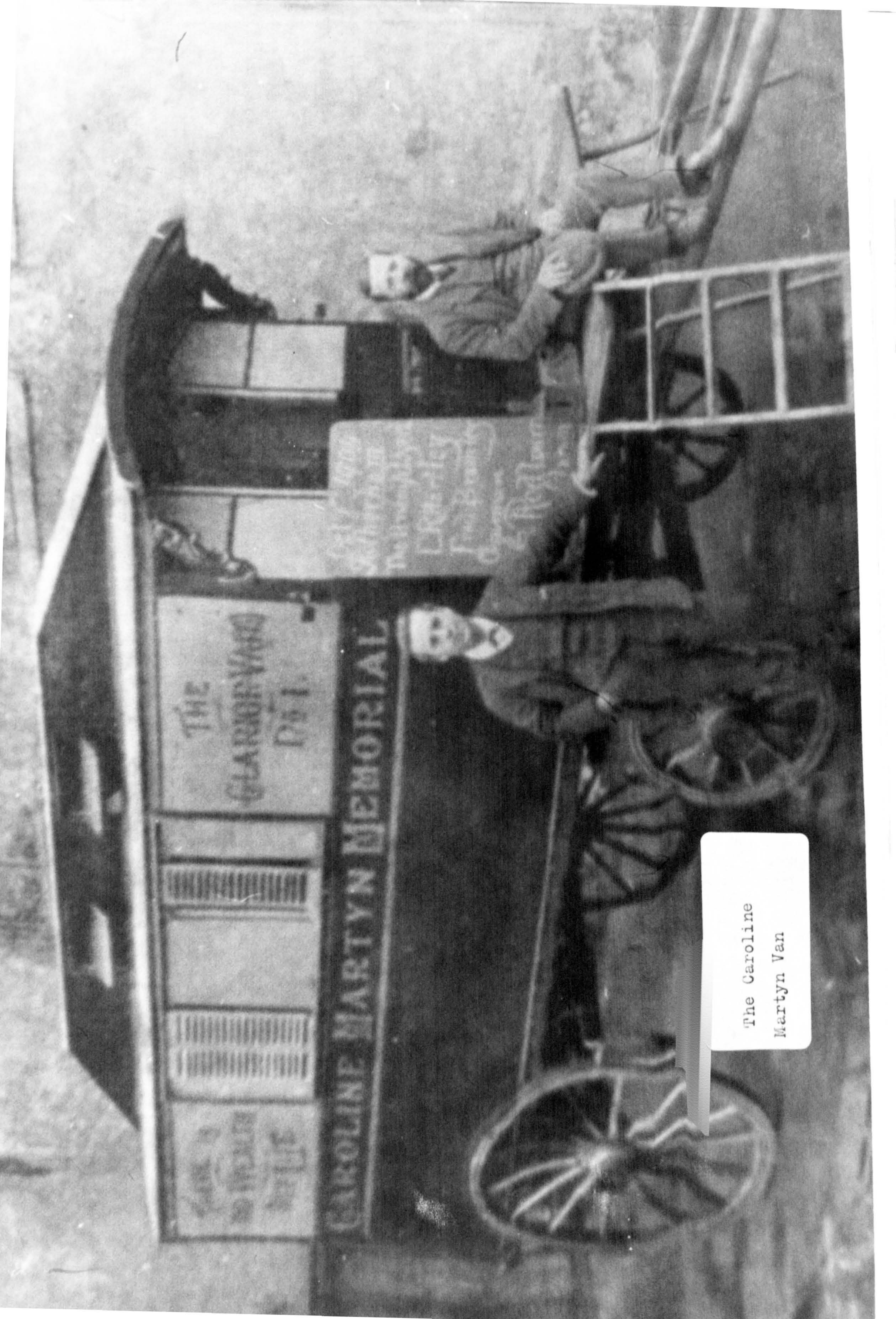
W. Hunt 1897-1906

APPENDIX VI

THE CLARION MOVEMENT IN PHOTOGRAPHS

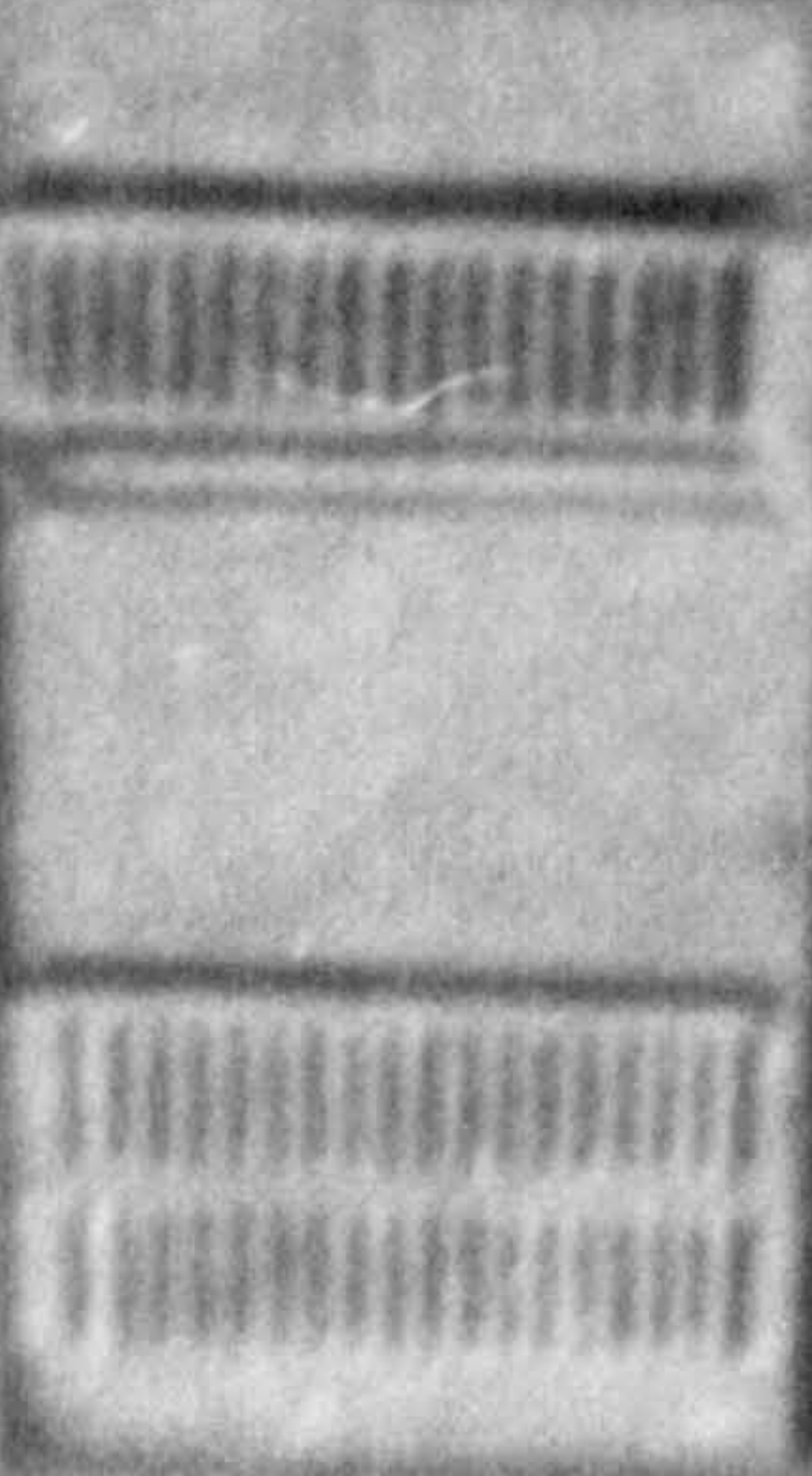
The following photographs, illustrating the Clarion Vans and social activities at the Club House, Handforth, are enlarged from postcards contained in an album donated by Miss E.E. Hardy, of Stockport, to Stockport Local History Library.

Photography by David Reid



THE
GLADSTONE
DIST.

CAROLINE MARTYN MEMORIAL



SHEPHERD & CO.
WHEELERS & BUILDERS

WAGON
FOR
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WHEELERS & BUILDERS

The Caroline
Martyn Van



The Club House



CLARION CLUB HOUSE, HANDFORTH, CHESHIRE.



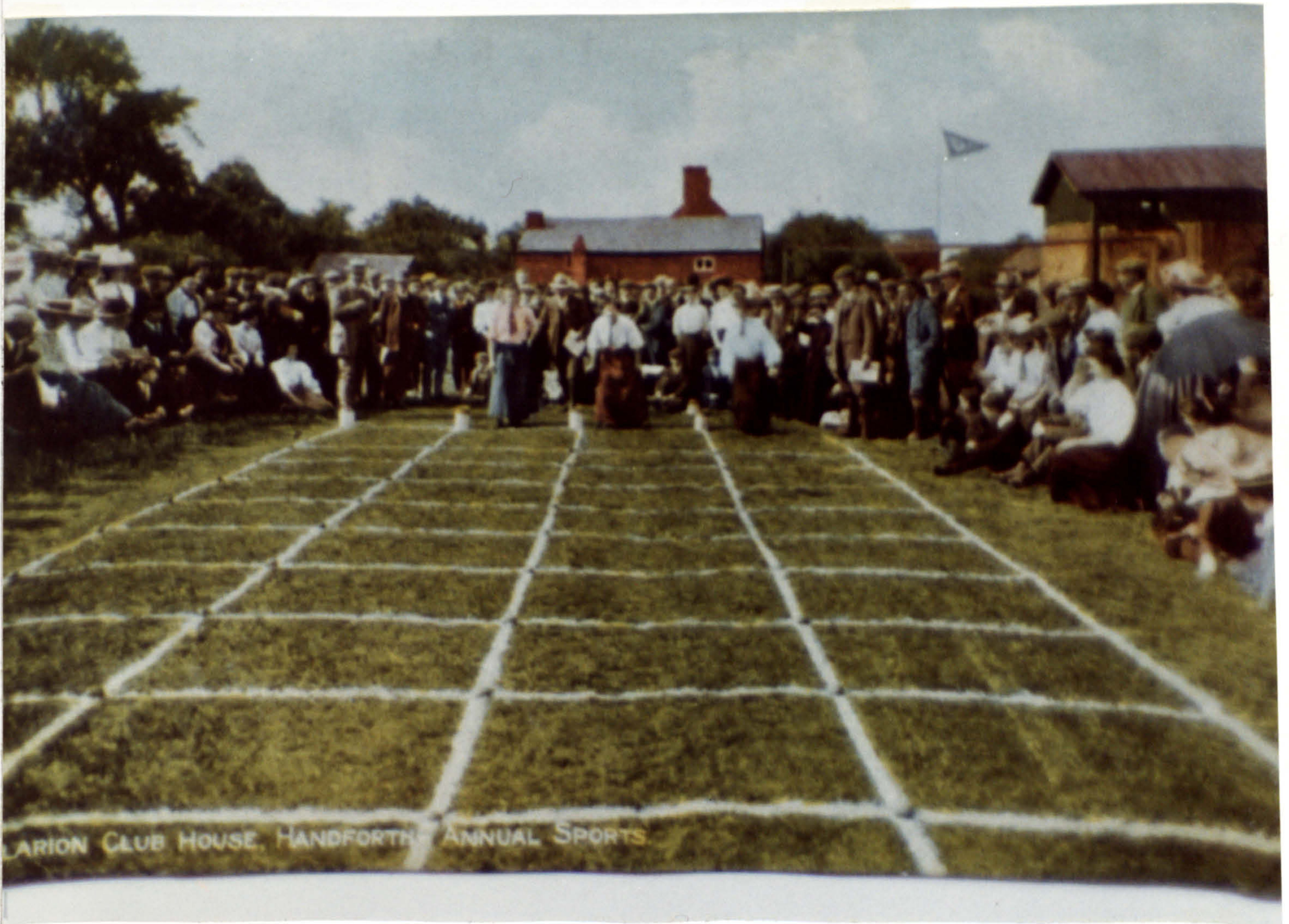
CLARION CLUB HOUSE, HANDFORTH, SITTING ROOM.



CLARION CLUB HOUSE, HANDFORTH, BILLIARD ROOM.



CLARION CLUB HOUSE, HANDFORTH, AUDITORIUM IN THE ORCHARD.



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i) Pendlebury, Clifton and Swinton Branch ILP, Minute Books 1919-21.

7. Sydney Jones Library, University of Liverpool

i) J. Bruce Glasier papers

[this collection amalgamates material previously contained in the ILP Archive, Bristol, and the papers deposited by Malcolm Bruce Glasier]

ii) Diaries of John and Katharine Bruce Glasier.

8. In private possession of Mrs. Helen Wilson, Altrincham

i) Papers of Annot Erskine Robinson

[photocopies of the letters and documents relating to the women's suffrage movement have been deposited in the Women's Suffrage Collection, Manchester Public Library, Archives Dept.]

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Jack Adams. Furness Vale, 7 March 1978.

(reminiscences of John and Katharine Bruce Glasier living at Chapel-en-le-Frith and local socialist movement)

Lord Brockway. House of Lords, 20 May 1975.

(1910- sub-editor, then editor, of Labour Leader in Manchester)

Mrs. Elizabeth Davies. Manchester, 20 June 1978.

(member of Openshaw Socialist Society 1905-)

Mrs. Elizabeth Ann Dean. Manchester, 1 March 1975.

(member of WSPU ?1908- and Hulme branch BSP 1912-)

Fred Flood. Winchcombe, Cheltenham, 4 October 1975.

(member of Gorton Socialist Cycling Club and Socialist Society 1918-)

Mrs. Amelia Moss. Stockport, 28 February 1977.

(daughter of Joe Toole)

Mrs. Muriel Nichol. Welwyn Garden City, 9 November 1976.

(daughter of R.C. Wallhead; ILP propagandist; worked for National Labour Press in Manchester; NUWSS member)

Ernest Oakley. Flixton, Manchester, 19 April 1975.

(member of Clarion movement c.1920-)

Mrs. Elsie Plant. Stockport, 6 August 1976.

(involved in social and political activities at Pankhurst Hall 1907-; husband (Walter Plant) was superintendent of Pankhurst Hall Socialist Sunday School.)

Lord Rusholme. Manchester, 13 April 1975.

(son of William Palmer, Clarion artist)

Jim Simmons & Mrs. Elsie Huckbody. Urmston, Manchester, 23 April 1975.

(members of Urmston ILP)

Mrs. Jessie Smith. Burnage, Manchester, 8 May 1978.

(wife of Percy Smith, who was member of BSP then ILP c.1913, and CO during World War I)

Mrs. Daisy Somerville. Partington, Manchester, 10 May 1975.

(daughter of ILP members Peter and Alice Elizabeth Milne, and sister of WSPU organiser Alice Milne; attended Socialist Sunday School)

Alfred Williams and Mrs. Mary Williams. Manchester, 17 March 1978.

(involved in political and social activities of SDF/BSP at Hyndman Hall)

Mrs. Helen Wilson. Altrincham, 11 December 1979.

(daughter of Sam and Annot Robinson)

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Lord Brockway

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Mrs. C. Stella Davies (author of North Country Bred)

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Justice

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Labour Prophet; subsequently Labour Church Record

Labour Standard

Manchester; subsequently The Social Reformer

Manchester City News

Manchester Courier

Manchester Evening Chronicle

Manchester Evening News

Manchester Examiner and Times

Manchester Guardian

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[ASE] Monthly Journal

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XII MAPS AND PHOTOGRAPHS

(see lists, pp.ix and x)

in keeping with Hardie's views than with those of the Clarion socialists, but even he was eventually disappointed. Having waited until after the September TUC, the Parliamentary Committee then declined to participate in the scheme.¹

Having also witnessed the failure of attempts by Fred Brocklehurst and Mrs. Pankhurst to re-name the ILP as the 'National Socialist Party', the Nottingham conference left the more distinctly socialist element of the party in limbo.² Blatchford simply appealed to the Clarion socialists to 'Let the SDP, the Fabians, the ILP, the Christian Social Union, and all the other bodies work for the cause in their own way, and help them when we can'.³ He also continued his debate with Leonard Hall over the merits of 'enlightened selfishness' as opposed to altruism.⁴

The Aberdeen by-election in May 1896, coupled with the 1895 defeats, perhaps served to strengthen the anti-parliamentary feeling already latent within some ILP members. Tom Mann at the end of the year turned his attention towards trades federation while Leonard Hall, defending Anarchist representation at the International Socialist and Trade Unionist Congress in London, made the case for non-Parliamentary socialism in the Clarion. Commenting upon the existence of two schools of thought within the ILP, he continued:

... one side is prepared - as we have always been prepared during my 13 years of connection with English Socialism - to work and co-operate most heartily with genuine Socialists who prefer non-parliamentary (id est, voluntary co-operationist and effective trade-unionist) methods, whilst none the less maintaining

1 H. Pelling, Origins of the Labour Party ..., pp. 174-5

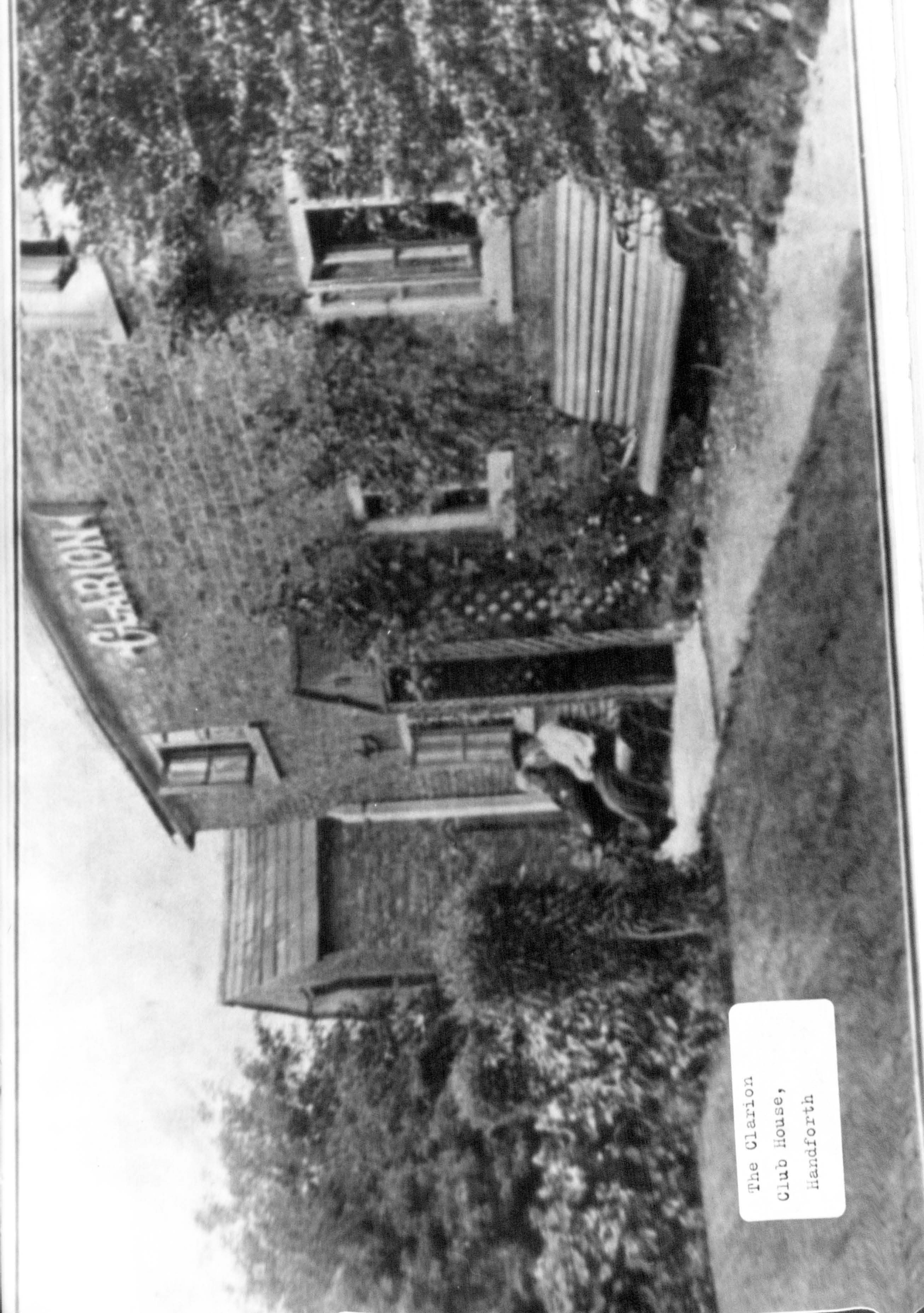
2 ILP, Report of the 4th Annual Conference ... 1896, pp. 6-7

3 C., 18 April 1896

4 Ibid., 18 April, 2 May 1896



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