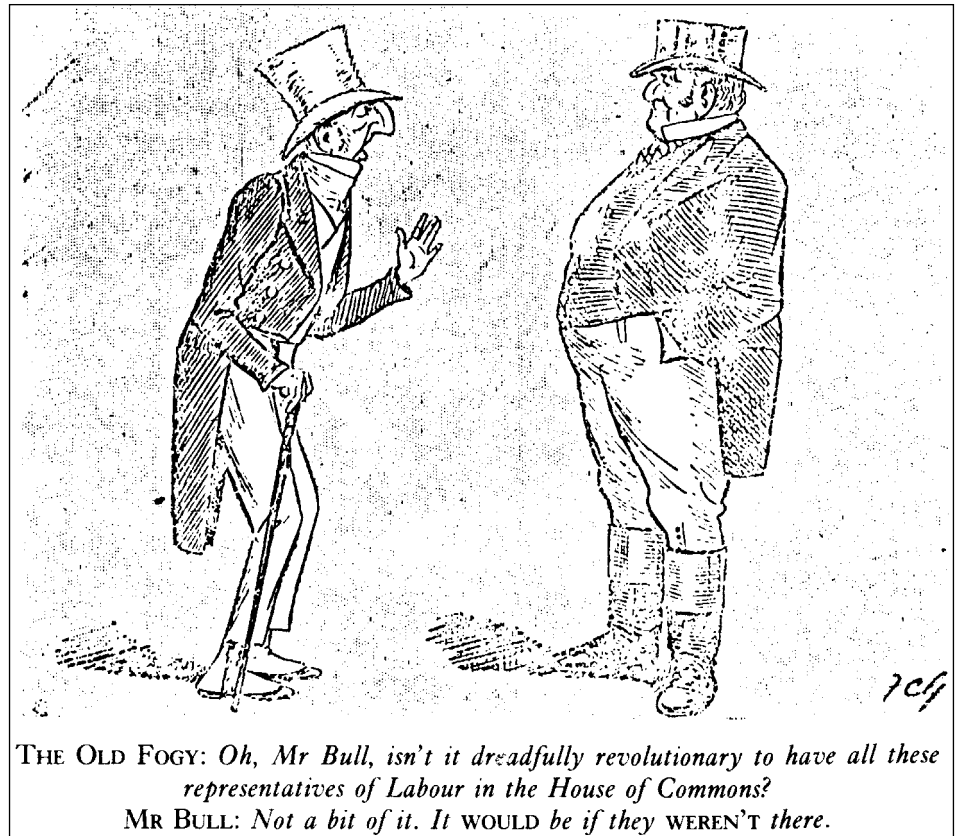


THE HISTORY 0

Andrew Hudson considers the history of what became known as Lib-Labbery: the representation of labour interests in parliament through the Liberal Party.

Lib-Labs have been defined by F. A. S. Craig as 'Candidates who were in most cases nominees of the local Liberal and Radical Associations but who campaigned mainly on trade union and labour issues.'¹ According to Shepherd, the term 'Lib-Lab' probably originated as a term of abuse which was abbreviated from 'Liberal-Labour', a term which the MPs proudly referred to themselves by.²



Labour MPs in the Commons: Francis Carruthers Gould, *The Westminster Gazette*, 10 February 1906

Lib-Labbery in these situations was not an alliance with the Labour Party. Cooperation with the Labour Party coexisted with Lib-Labbery during the first decade of the last century but, by that time, Lib-Labbery was in the process of being superseded by the Labour Party.

Craig's definition excludes MPs such as Joseph Chamberlain and Charles Dilke who were sympathetic to labour interests but not involved in the trade union movement. It would also exclude Samuel Plimsoll, as he only became president of the Seamen's Union after his brief

parliamentary career was over and was nominated for his record as a campaigner for maritime safety. It would also exclude honorary figureheads such as Batty Langley who was made the first president of the National Association of Railway Clerks, largely because they wanted an MP as a figurehead. Langley was an employer in Sheffield and his selection as a Liberal candidate for the Attercliffe division of Sheffield in 1894 caused considerable contention amongst local trade unionists and resulted in Ramsay Macdonald resigning from the Liberal Party and joining the Independent Labour Party.³

F THE LIB-LABS

One of the earliest figures in the history of Lib-Labbery was the radical campaigner Francis Place, who Cole describes as trying to instil reformism and the Liberal-labour alliance before its time,⁴ although Wallas makes no reference to this in his biography of Place. Place had campaigned in support of the 1832 Reform Act but his greatest personal achievement was to get parliament to repeal the Combination Acts that suppressed combinations of working men. Wallas describes Francis Place as trying to coach middle-class radicals in the difficult art of acting with the working men of the day and as regarding the repeal of the Corn Laws as more practicable than parliamentary reform.⁵ Another early figure was William Newton, who contested Tower Hamlets in 1852 without success. Together with George Howell and W. R. Cremer, he subsequently became one of the first trade union candidates in 1868, although he was again unsuccessful. Place had said that 'everyone who may expect general results in a short time will be disappointed.'⁶ He was to be vindicated.

Lib-Labbery began to develop as a political force in the 1860s within the National Reform League which was founded to extend the franchise and whose secretary, George Howell, was a member of the London Trades Council and became the first parliamentary secretary of the Trades Union Congress. Direct working-class representation only became feasible with the passage of the

1867 Reform Act, which enfranchised male adult householders in urban areas. A Labour Representation League was formed in 1869 by the 'Junta', which was a dominant force within the London Trades Council. It was effectively a successor to the National Reform League.⁷ It was largely a London movement that sought to return working-class men to parliament and to register working-class voters without reference to their opinion or party bias. In practice, it sought to have working-class candidates adopted as Liberals and to influence Liberals to support working-class aims in parliament.

The Labour Representation League had its first success in the 1874 general election with the return of two miners, Alexander Macdonald for Stafford and Thomas Burt for Morpeth, as Liberals. The introduction of the secret ballot had undoubtedly helped by preventing any opportunity for intimidation from employers. However, during the election part of the working-class vote had been cast for the Tories against the more reactionary of the Liberal candidates and there were allegations that they had helped to disorganise the Liberal vote.

The refusal of Gladstone's government to repeal the Criminal Law Amendment Act prevented any alliance with the Liberals, towards whom most of the union leaders were drawn because of their radical predilections and connections.⁸ The repeal of this legislation in 1875 removed any

serious differences that had separated union leaders, such as Will Allen of the Engineers Union, who was president of the Labour Representation League, from the Liberals.⁹ The Lib-Lab era had begun. The League, however, made little progress – only increasing its parliamentary representation at the 1880 election by one member to include Henry Broadhurst who was secretary of the Parliamentary Committee of the TUC. The League expired the following year.

Lib-Labbery however, made some progress during the 1885 election despite a lack of enthusiasm on the part of the TUC, which had rejected a motion calling for a parliamentary fund in 1882. Eleven Lib-Lab MPs were elected. The 1884 Reform and Redistribution Act had reduced the number of multi-member urban seats in which Liberal Associations could adopt a Lib-Labber as one of their candidates, but this loss had been offset by the extension of the franchise within county constituencies that included mining areas where working-class voters were in the majority. Of the eleven Lib-Lab MPs returned in 1885, six were miners. Miners' MPs were to form the core of Lib-Labbery until the Miners Federation of Great Britain affiliated to the Labour Party in 1908. The newly elected Lib-Lab MPs met prior to the state opening of parliament at Henry Broadhurst's TUC office before marching to parliament as a group.¹⁰

The following year, the TUC created a special Labour Electoral

Wallas describes Francis Place as trying to coach middle-class radicals in the difficult art of acting with the working men of the day.

THE HISTORY OF THE LIB-LABS

League Committee, which soon separated to become the Labour Electoral Association and sought to promote the return of working-class men to parliament and, in practice, to secure the adoption of its candidates by local Liberal and Radical Associations. It worked largely with local trades councils, which were in many cases still dominated by Liberal trade unionists. It opposed three-cornered fights and refused to support independent labour candidates against Liberals.¹¹ The League lasted until 1894.

The number of Lib-Lab MPs was slightly reduced by the loss of three sitting members. There were only two new entrants, one of whom, R. B. Cunninghame-Graham, sat as a Radical MP and subsequently joined the Independent Labour Party.

Lib-Labbery was by no means universally popular amongst trade unionists. Its supporters were largely members of the older craft unions that supported conciliation and arbitration with wages being determined according to a sliding scale based on the selling price of the relevant product. They also opposed state intervention and regulation and preferred trade union funds to be used for Friendly Society purposes rather than in support of industrial action. In contrast, the newer general trade unions had dispensed with the Friendly Society role and used their funds to support their members during strikes and lockouts; their leaders were sympathetic to socialism. In 1890, the 'New' Unionism had temporarily captured the Trade Union Congress and nearly all the socialist resolutions were carried. Henry Broadhurst resigned his position as secretary following the passage of a resolution in support of the eight-hour day.¹²

In the 1892 general election, ten Lib-Lab MPs were elected showing that no progress had been made in increasing the number of sitting Lib-Lab MPs since the previous two elections. Three independent socialist MPs were also elected: John Burns,

Lib-Labbery was by no means universally popular amongst trade unionists. Its supporters were largely members of the older craft unions.

who was in the Engineers Union but had played a prominent role in organising the 1888 London dock strike; Joseph Havelock Wilson, the secretary of the Seamen's Union; and Keir Hardie. The first two subsequently became Lib-Labbers, but Keir Hardie remained an independent labour MP and the Independent Labour Party was formed at a conference held at Bradford the following year. Lib-Labbers also faced hostility in many local Liberal Associations whose caucuses were often hostile to both working-class candidates and interests. After the 1892 election, T. R. Threlfall, the secretary of the Labour Electoral League, himself a staunch Liberal, complained that:

Of the thirteen Labour MPs in the present house, four ran in opposition to or without recognition of the caucus, five represented constituencies where organised miners absolutely dominated the position and where the shopkeepers and employing classes are so small in number to have comparatively little power and only four either captured or outgeneralled it.¹³

Joyce places some of the blame on the Liberal tradition that candidates were expected to pay their own electoral expenses and contribute towards the running of their constituency organisations – since working-class constituencies often had the poorest organisations and thus were most reliant on rich candidates.¹⁴

Mining constituencies were largely an exception to the lack of working-class candidates, since they were often so socially cohesive that the support of the miner's leaders could be essential in delivering the vote. According to Shepherd, Thomas Burt was able to use the strength of the union's influence to force the retirement of the sitting MP for Morpeth in 1874.¹⁵ The Miners Federation was also prepared to finance candidates. Scotland proved to be particularly hostile

to Lib-Labbery with only three Lib-Lab candidates being selected – of whom only one, R. B. Cunninghame-Graham, was ever elected. Keir Hardie had himself attempted to become adopted as a Liberal candidate in the Mid-Lanark by-election in 1888 without success.¹⁶

Although the victory of socialist ideas at the 1890 TUC was temporary, support for 'New' Unionism and socialist ideas grew amongst the trade union rank and file, particularly in the trades councils. In 1893, the TUC adopted a largely socialist programme and voted for a special fund to support working-class candidates, but only those who subscribed to 'collective ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange'.¹⁷ However congress narrowly rejected a motion to establish an independent working-class party and the TUC leadership was still dominated by Lib-Labbers who fought back.

In 1895, new rules were brought in with the aim of curbing the influence of socialists. Trades councils, which had by that time come largely under socialist control, were excluded from representation at the TUC and being a delegate was restricted to either trade union officials or people working in the trade they represented. This rule had the effect of also excluding prominent Lib-Labbers such as Henry Broadhurst and John Burns.¹⁸ The TUC also brought in a number of illiberal rules such as the card vote by which delegates ceased to make decisions as individuals.

The concern about the lack of enthusiasm for Lib-Labbery at constituency level was shared by some people in the Liberal hierarchy. The Chief Whip, Herbert Gladstone, and the national agent, Henry Schnadhorst, were concerned at the dearth of working-class Liberal candidates. A National Liberal Federation fund was made available to give some assistance to such candidates, although it was limited and little

use was made of it. Sam Woods, the secretary of the parliamentary committee of the TUC, was supported by the party hierarchy to stand as a Liberal candidate for Walthamstow in a by-election in 1897 after losing his seat at Ince in the 1895 election.¹⁹

The socialists managed to prevail at the 1899 TUC conference, and the TUC passed a resolution calling for a conference of representatives of trade unions, cooperatives and other organisations with a view to devising ways of securing the return of an increased number of labour members to the next parliament. This conference was called in 1900.²⁰ The success of the resolution is thought not to have been solely due to the socialists. Seven major unions that voted for the resolution were under strong socialist influence, but they accounted for less than half of the total vote in favour of the resolution. The difference is thought to have been made up from the bulk of the smaller unions. It has been suggested the motion was passed because the establishment did not exert itself to oppose it.²¹ The vote was 546,000 to 434,000 in favour, with the miners and cotton unions voting against it.

The conference of representatives voted to form the Labour Representation Committee (LRC), which managed to get two of its parliamentary candidates elected in the 1900 election. One of them, Richard Bell, the secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, subsequently joined the Liberal Party. In contrast, eight Lib-Labbers were also returned in 1900.

The LRC's fortunes improved with two by-election victories: David Shackleton at Clitheroe and Arthur Henderson at Barnard Castle. Both successful candidates had been Liberals and Shackleton could probably have been a Liberal candidate.²² Henderson was supported by the local miners as the Liberal candidate was a local landowner.²³ The results worried Herbert Gladstone and resulted in his secret meeting



Lib-Labs: John Burns, Thomas Burt, Henry Broadhurst

with Ramsay Macdonald, the secretary of the LRC. The outcome was a confidential agreement under which certain seats would only be fought by one of the parties.²⁴ The agreement was unenforceable due to the autonomy of local Liberal Associations, but pressure could be brought on them such as ensuring that dissident associations received no outside support. Clarke suggests that the Liberal Party had difficulty contesting seats in the Khaki election of 1900 and that the party headquarters found it easier to discourage a local party from fighting than to dictate to a constituency which candidate should be chosen.²⁵ The Liberal Party gave up around thirty-five seats. Sitting Lib-Labbers were given a free run by the LRC.

The highest number ever of Lib-Lab MPs were returned at the 1906 election. Twenty-three in all were elected, of whom fourteen were miners – but they were outnumbered by twenty-nine LRC MPs. Both groups cooperated on the passage of the 1906 Trades Disputes Bill, but the LRC MPs formed their own Labour Party with its own whips and officers. The Lib-Lab MPs formed their own parliamentary group, electing the miners' president, Enoch Edwards, as their chair and Richard Bell as secretary. The Lib-Lab group regarded themselves as a loose group of trade unionists supporting the Liberal Party rather than a party within a party. An uneasy truce prevailed with the secret electoral pact remaining in place.

There was some resentment at local level. Clarke describes some of the greatest bitterness against Lib-Labbers occurring amongst rank-and-file trade unionists. There had been opposition to the election of Sir Henry Vivian, who was a cooperator, at Birkenhead in 1903, and the trades council in Burnley had opposed the Lib-Lab candidate Fred Maddison and supported Henry Hyndman who was the Social Democratic Federation candidate at the 1906 election.²⁶

THE HISTORY OF THE LIB-LABS

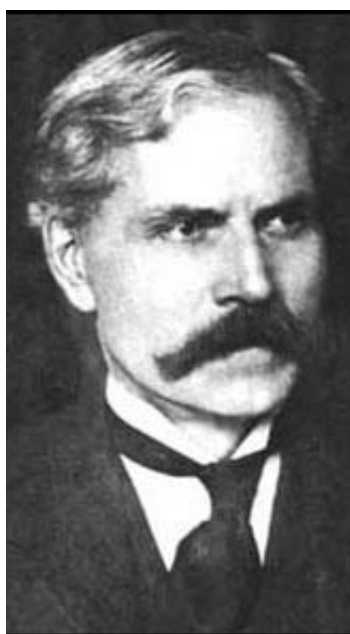
Between the 1906 and 1910 elections, however, some mavericks broke ranks. An independent socialist, Victor Grayson, was returned in a by-election in the Colne Valley in 1907 despite opposition from the TUC. Walter Victor Osbourne, the secretary of the Walthamstow branch of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants (ASRS) successfully challenged the legality of his union's political levy in the courts with the result that political funds were declared to be *ultra vires* by the House of Lords in 1909. It was, however, a Pyrrhic victory, as the funds were used mainly to pay MPs' salaries and one of the victims was Richard Bell whose position as secretary of the ASRS was becoming increasingly untenable owing to his support of the Liberal Party. Bell stood down at the 1910 election.

In 1908, the Miners Federation of Great Britain voted to affiliate to the Labour Party, despite the opposition of the miners' leaders. According to Craig, the miners' MPs were allowed to retain the Liberal whip until parliament was dissolved at the next general election if they wished.²⁷ Three miners' MPs declined to join the Labour Party. Enoch Edwards refused to let them stand as Miners Federation approved candidates, on the grounds that 'others had supported the bill'.²⁸ They were, however, allowed a free run at the election.

Only six Lib-Lab MPs were returned in the January 1910 election, including the three dissident miners who all represented seats in the North-East. The Labour Party increased its number of seats to forty, although this increase was largely accounted for by a change of allegiance on the part of miners' MPs – the bulk of whom stood as Labour candidates. The December 1910 election produced the same number of Lib-Labbers and an increase in the number of Labour MPs by two. There was a slight change amongst the individual Lib-Labbers, however. John Burns and the three dissident miners retained their seats but Sir Henry



Labour: Keir Hardie, Ramsay MacDonald, Arthur Henderson



Vivian and Joseph Havelock Wilson lost theirs.

By-election results showed that there was still some residual support for Lib-Labbery at grassroots level. Although, for example, Havelock Wilson failed to win Battersea in a by-election, there is evidence that in mining areas there was continued support for Lib-Labbery and that the miners' leaders' decision to affiliate to the Labour Party was unpopular. In a by-election at Hanley, held after the death of Enoch Edwards in 1912, the electorate rejected the Labour Party and returned a Tory in a three-cornered contest. In 1913, the Derbyshire miners supported their agent, Barnet Kenyon, who stood as a Lib-Lab candidate in a by-election for Chesterfield and who, as a result, became the last Lib-Lab MP elected to parliament. In a subsequent by-election in Derbyshire North-East, the miners fielded a candidate who secured official Labour endorsement, but the seat was lost to a Unionist in a three-cornered fight. Two miners' MPs were expelled from the Labour Party for leaning towards Liberalism.²⁹

The last survivors continued to sit in parliament until the 1918 election when they either stood down, like John Burns and Thomas Burt, or they changed their label. Thomas Burt had been a Lib-Lab MP throughout the whole period of Lib-Lab representation and had become the Father of the House. John Ward, who represented the Navvies' Union, continued to represent Stoke on Trent until 1929 – describing himself as an Independent Labour candidate but being supported locally by both Liberals and Conservatives. Barnet Kenyon continued to represent Chesterfield as a Liberal until that same election in 1929. Joseph Havelock Wilson was returned to parliament as a National Liberal, representing Middlesbrough, until 1922.

Was Lib-Labbery doomed to failure, and the rise of the Labour Party inevitable? Dangerfield places the origins of the decline

of Liberalism as far back as the 1906 election.³⁰ Pelling suggests that the decline was not due to any sordid intrigues between Lloyd George and a few Conservative leaders or the impact of the First World War but to the long-term social and economic changes that were simultaneously uniting Britain geographically but dividing the inhabitants in terms of class.³¹ Splits had occurred in the Liberal ranks prior to the war; there was a major split over Irish Home Rule in the latter half of the 1880s. However the Liberal Party had retained the vote of the bulk of the working-class community eligible to vote.³¹

The failure of Lib-Labbery to make sufficient progress in the Liberal Party may, however, have been a crucial factor in the party's failure to adapt to social change. There are probably three key phases. First, there was the failure of the Lib-Labbers to make any significant progress in securing an increased number of MPs between the 1886 and 1892 elections. The second phase was the capture of the TUC policy-making process by socialist elements during the 1890s and the subsequent decision to field LRC candidates. The third element was the Lib-Lab pact in which the Liberal Party effectively encouraged labour representation outside its ranks. There is one more stage to the process – the decision of the Miners Federation of Great Britain to change its allegiance to the Labour Party – though by that time Labour Party MPs outnumbered Lib-Labbers in Parliament.

The first two phases were probably the most significant. Had the Lib-Labbers increased their representation in the 1892 election, they would have continued to have been seen as an effective means of working-class representation. The seeds of change were, however, probably sown after the election but prior to the formation of the Labour Representation Committee. It was during this period that the Lib-Labbers began to lose control of the TUC and socialist-instigated motions

began increasingly to be passed. It was also during this period that the future leading elements of the Labour Party, including Ramsay Macdonald and Arthur Henderson, ceased to support the Liberal Party. Had the Liberal Party been able to field around fifty working-class candidates by the mid-1890s, history might well have followed a different path. Pelling suggests that during that period there was an even greater factor eroding the votes of the smaller unions: the lukewarm attitude of the Liberal leaders towards the payment of MPs – even though it was proposed in the Newcastle Programme supported by Gladstone.³²

The unions themselves could have shown a more positive attitude and followed the example of the miners. A scheme was established for their union by Ben Pickard who was a Yorkshire miner and an MP from 1885 to 1904. Under the scheme each district of the miners' union paid into a central fund for financing candidates.³³ The support for miners' candidates in mining constituencies was not completely unconditional and owed much to the fact that the local miners' leaders were people who had built up respect in local communities over a period of time. The affiliation of the Miners Federation of Great Britain to the Labour Party was not universally welcomed, as shown by the by-election results in Staffordshire and Derbyshire between the December 1910 election and the outbreak of the First World War. They suggest that the re-election of the sitting MPs in the 1910 elections following their change of party allegiance may well have been a personal vote, whilst the decision of the rank-and-file miners in Chesterfield to support their agent Barnet Kenyon suggests that support for Liberalism was by no means dead. Fenwick, Burt and Wilson were not allowed to stand as miners' candidates in the 1910 election, but they were not opposed – suggesting that they had a high standing

in their communities. There may have also been an innate conservatism of the non-partisan variety in the electorate of mining communities that manifested itself in continued support for Liberalism. This support appears to have been eventually transferred to the Labour Party, with coalfield areas such as Durham, Glamorgan and Northumberland becoming Labour strongholds.

The agreement with the LRC was arguably a panic measure to prevent the anti-conservative vote from being split as much as it was the result of any fear of being superseded by the Labour Party. Clarke suggests that the understanding was advantageous to both sides, rendering the bidding and counter-bidding for trade union support at constituency level irrelevant. However it also had the effect of ensuring that subsequent labour representation would be increasingly outside Liberal control.

Clarke acknowledges this and that the act was the death knell of Lib-Labbery, stating: 'whereas Lib-Lab MPs were once a concession to labour, now that the Lib-Lab MPs were merely a rump, they were a provocation'.³⁴ He also suggests that the LRC made Lib-Labbery redundant. Although the Lib-Lab group reached its highest numbers following the 1906 election, it was by that time too little and too late.

The leadership of the TUC was still inclined towards Liberalism and there were few differences in policy between the Liberal and Labour Parties. A. H. Gill, the Labour MP elected to the multi-member constituency of Bolton in 1906, was described by the *Manchester Courier* as 'a worthy Liberal-Labour who would not offend the mildest Liberal in his loyalty to Lloyd George'.³⁵ The Labour Party was, however, independent and enshrined socialism in its constitution following the end of the First World War.

A counterfactual scenario could be constructed in which the Liberal Party adapted more

The failure of Lib-Labbery to make sufficient progress in the Liberal Party may have been a crucial factor in the party's failure to adapt to social change.

THE HISTORY OF THE LIB-LABS

quickly to working-class emancipation and the demands of working-class representation. The payment of MPs, the persuasion of local Liberal Associations that the adoption of working-class candidates was in their long-term interests, and greater financial support from the trade unions could have resulted in the TUC retaining its allegiance to the Liberals. It would also have removed any perceived need for a pact with the LRC by preventing it from being formed in the first place. A small socialist party would probably have gained a few seats in Parliament but it may not have presented a serious challenge. Under such a scenario, the 1910 election may well still have resulted in a hung parliament, as the electoral agreement with Labour prevented any large-scale splitting of the anti-conservative vote. There was also a large contingent of Irish Nationalist MPs who may have held the balance of power.

As the Lib-Labbers had a track record of supporting the party leadership – they were staunch supporters of Gladstone when the divisions over Irish Home Rule occurred³⁶ – they would probably have supported the leadership over entry into the First World War. John Burns, the first working-class cabinet minister, resigned as President of the Board of Trade over the declaration of war on Germany and was probably as representative of the Lib-Labbers as Ramsay Macdonald was of the Labour Party in his opposition to the war. Burns had initially been elected as an independent socialist. The Lib-Labbers would probably have supported the Asquith faction in the 1918 election had the split still been in existence. Joseph Havelock Wilson, who was elected as a National Liberal in 1918, was not a member of parliament when the split occurred and, like Burns, had been initially elected as an independent socialist. The anti-coalition Liberals would have remained the main left-of-centre party throughout the twenties, and the Liberal

The Lib-Labs contributed directly to the growth of the tradition of radical and democratic politics in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. They are also a part of Liberal history which should be acknowledged with pride.

Party would have recovered from the split as it recovered from the divisions over Irish Home Rule in the 1880s.

As it was, Lib-Labbery was a failure. The Lib-Lab MPs were criticised by Joseph Chamberlain as ‘the fielders and runners of the Gladstone Party’.³⁷ However they were the first working-class MPs. Johnny Clynes, who was a cabinet minister in the first Labour cabinet, described Thomas Burt and Alexander Macdonald as the ‘forlorn hope of the mighty army of British workers flung upon the gates of St Stephens; and those gates have never been shut against us since’.³⁸ Shepherd claims that, in the mythology of Labour history, the Lib-Labbers are little remembered as labour pioneers and suggests that ‘as former working men representing working-class interests for the first time, they contributed directly to the growth of the tradition of radical and democratic politics in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries’.³⁹ They are also a part of Liberal history which should be acknowledged with pride.

Andrew Hudson is a member of the executive of the Association of Liberal Democrat Trade Unionists.

- 1 F. W. S. Craig, *British Parliamentary Election Results 1885–1918* (1977), p. xiv.
- 2 John Shepherd, ‘Labour and Parliament: The Lib-Labs as the First Working-Class MPs 1885–1906’, in Eugenio Biagini and Alistair J. Reid, *Currents of Radicalism* (Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 187–211.
- 3 Malcolm Wallace, *Single or Return: The History of the Transport Salaried Staffs Association* (TSSA, 1996), p. 13.
- 4 G. D. H. Cole, *Short History of the British Working-Class Movement 1789–1947* (Allen and Unwin, 1947), p. 139.
- 5 Graham Wallas, *The Life of Francis Place 1771–1854* (Allen and Unwin, 1925), p. 25 and pp. 390–91.
- 6 Ibid.
- 7 Cole, *Short History of the British Working-Class Movement*, p. 211.
- 8 H. A. Clegg, H. A. Fox and N. A. F. Thompson, *A History of British*

Trade Unions Since 1889 Vol 1 (Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 51.

- 9 Cole, *Short History of the British Working-Class Movement*, p. 74.
- 10 Shepherd, ‘Labour and Parliament’, pp. 187–211.
- 11 Cole, *Short History of the British Working-Class Movement*, p. 231.
- 12 Ibid., p. 247.
- 13 T. R. Threlfall, *The Political Future of Labour in the Nineteenth Century* (1894), pp. 213–14.
- 14 Peter Joyce, *The Realignment of the Left: A Short History of the Relationship between the Liberal Democrat and Labour Parties* (Macmillan, 1999) pp. 19–20.
- 15 Shepherd, ‘Labour and Parliament’, pp. 187–211.
- 16 Henry Pelling, *Origins of the Labour Party 1880–1900* (Macmillan, 1954), p. 65.
- 17 Cole, *Short History of the British Working-Class Movement*, p. 251.
- 18 Ibid., p. 253.
- 19 Shepherd, ‘Labour and Parliament’, pp. 187–211.
- 20 Cole, *Short History of the British Working-Class Movement*, p. 261–62.
- 21 Clegg et al., *A History of British Trade Unions Since 1889*, p. 303.
- 22 George Bernstein, *Liberalism and Liberal Politics in Edwardian England*.
- 23 Ibid.
- 24 Kenneth Morgan, *The Age of Lloyd George* (Allen and Unwin, 1971), p. 34.
- 25 P. F. Clarke, *Lancashire and the New Liberalism* (Cambridge University Press, 1971), p. 314.
- 26 Ibid., p. 332.
- 27 F. W. S. Craig, *British Parliamentary Election Results 1885–1918* (1977), p. xiv.
- 28 Clegg et al., *A History of British Trade Unions Since 1889*, p. 419.
- 29 Henry Pelling, *Popular Politics in Late Victorian Britain* (Macmillan, 1968), p. 116.
- 30 G. Dangerfield, *The Strange Death of Liberal England* (1936), p. vii.
- 31 Pelling, *Popular Politics in Late Victorian Britain*, p. 120.
- 32 Pelling, *Origins of the Labour Party 1880–1900*, p. 223.
- 33 Pelling, *Popular Politics in Late Victorian Britain*, p. 107.
- 34 Clarke, *Lancashire and the New Liberalism*, p. 336.
- 35 *Manchester Courier*, 8 December 1909.
- 36 Shepherd, ‘Labour and Parliament’, pp. 187–211.
- 37 Clegg et al., *A History of British Trade Unions Since 1889*, p. 279.
- 38 J. R. Clynes, *Memoirs 1869–1924*, p. 21.
- 39 Shepherd, ‘Labour and Parliament’, pp. 187–211.