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VOLUME TWO

CHAPTER FIVE

WAR, LIBERALISM AND LABOUR REVIVAL, 1899-1905

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Abstract

"The New Liberalism and the Challenge of Labour in the West Riding of Yorkshire 1885 - 1914, with special reference to Huddersfield"

Robert B. Perks

This thesis contributes substantially to a debate that has long been a preoccupation of historians surrounding the timing, underlying reasons for, and inevitability (or otherwise) of the Labour Party's replacement of Liberalism as the main opponent to the Conservative Party. The context for examining the extent and potential of Labour's challenge to Liberalism before 1914 and the presence of any form of 'progressive' or 'new' Liberalism, has seen a shift away from national politics to local parliamentary and municipal politics. This study, by highlighting Huddersfield, complements and extends work already carried out on Leeds, Bradford and Colne Valley.

Through a close analysis of the local and regional press, election results, personal papers, party records, pamphlets and trade union records, in conjunction with secondary sources, the emergence and nature of the Labour movement's challenge to a Liberalism dominated by a Nonconformist textile manufacturer elite, is examined. Trade unionism's central role in the establishment of the Huddersfield Labour Union in 1891 is evident. So too is the belated conversion of the Huddersfield Trades Council to independent parliamentary labour representation which, when combined with a religious, ethical form of Socialism around 1906, posed so serious a threat to established Liberalism that only opportune party re-organisation, an undemocratic franchise, and bitter divisions within the Labour movement, could save it. Initially, however, Labour successes had more often been at the expense of the Huddersfield Conservative Party rather than Liberalism, and the whole nature and organisation of Conservatism in the town is analysed. Nevertheless, even amidst its parliamentary victories of 1906 and 1910 Huddersfield Liberalism was, through its continued intransigence towards working-class concerns and its espousal of out-dated issues, which had diminishing relevance to a nascent class-based electorate, increasingly less viable both electorally and intellectually. This was epitomised by its loss of control of the municipality in 1913: a result of a revived Conservatism and a more mature Labour challenge.

Introduction

We have reached a point in the progress of reform where Liberalism is dumb. The conflict of the people's interests with those of the commercial classes has paralysed it ... The people are asking for bread. Twelve millions of them are hungering for it, and the Liberal leaders continue to offer a stone.¹

The years 1899 to 1905 constitute a major formative period in Huddersfield politics which saw the revival of Labour as a viable political alternative to Liberalism after nearly a decade of inactivity and lack of success. The Boer War which dominated the closing years of Victorian England has been described as causing "a bitterness in British politics without parallel since the great Reform Bill and never equalled since except in 1914 during the Ulster rebellion,"² and its impact on Huddersfield politics will be assessed. Ultimately Liberalism in the town was able to remain predominant despite a jingoistic fervour personified by the Conservative Party's champion, Colonel E.H. Carlile, who ushered in a period of Liberal municipal decline. Secondly, the causes of, and the events leading up to, the Conservative débâcle of 1906 will be examined to illustrate how far the Huddersfield Liberal Party was strengthened by the issues of education and tariff reform which had such an influence in reviving the national party. Finally, it will be an underlying objective to analyse how Labour was able to revive so effectively in Huddersfield by 1906 that it was able to gain five municipal seats in only two years and increase its share of the poll

in the 1906 general election by nearly a quarter, forcing the Conservative candidate into third place. It will be argued that much of the credit for this must be attributed to the conversion of the Trades Council to the cause of independent labour representation in 1903.

1. The Khaki Election and the Impact of the Boer War in Huddersfield, 1899-1902

The 1900 general election in Huddersfield was probably the least significant of those elections with which this study is concerned for variety of reasons. In particular the absence of a Labour candidate and the quiescence of both the ILP and the Trade Council during the election itself reflected the depth to which Labour had sunk. Thus the two-cornered election tended merely to confirm Liberalism's strength in the borough by seeing a reversion to pre-1895 voting patterns while illustrating that Conservatism in the constituency polled better on issues unrelated to foreign policy.

The Boer War provided the focus for a showdown of conflicting attitudes within the national Liberal Party towards Imperialism, which had surfaced since the passing of Gladstone and had been exemplified by the leadership struggle.³ By the time of the 1900 election the party had split into three distinct sections: the Liberal Imperialist 'right' headed by Rosebery, Asquith, Grey, Haldane and Perks⁴; the Pro-Boer 'left' including Morley, Lloyd George, Labouchere, Lawson, Channing and H.J. Wilson⁵; and the majority 'centre' loyal to Henry Campbell-Bannerman. Yet, as Richard Price has observed,

"It was more than just a disagreement about war. It was a fundamental dispute as to the very nature of Liberalism".⁶ The Pro-Boers argued that the expensive assertion of Britain's might against a handful of Boer farmers was unnecessary, immoral and unjust: sacrificing Liberal individualism on the altar of Chamberlain's economic ambitions in the Transvaal. The Liberal Imperialists, for their part, believed that their unique formula of "patriotism and social welfare was the most viable course developed for the Liberal party leadership to steer between the Scylla of Labour and the Charybdis of Unionism."⁷ Ultimately, however, the split never resulted in outright schism itself a tribute to Campbell-Bannerman's powers of conciliation and his stress on unity despite his personal tendency to gravitate towards the pro-Boer wing.⁸ It was, moreover, a result of the reluctance of Lord Rosebery, or indeed Morley, openly to force a breakaway.⁹

Amongst the membership of the Huddersfield Liberal Association there was little evidence of the overt divisions which were dogging the national party and nothing to suggest that Liberal Imperialism boasted any adherents amongst the local party leadership.¹⁰ However, there did emerge subtly differing shades of opinion on the war. Broadly, the HLA and Sir James Woodhouse supported Campbell-Bannerman's stance on the war. Woodhouse had voted with his leader in the crucial parliamentary divisions on the war and had supported the Stanhope motion of 19 October 1899 which expressed "strong disapproval of the conduct of the negotiations with the Government of the Transvaal which have involved us in hostilities."¹¹

Nevertheless, The Times, both before and after the 1900 election, described him as a 'wobbler'¹² while the Huddersfield Chronicle claimed that Woodhouse was a Liberal Imperialist.¹³ Such assessments were, however, largely conjecture, in the latter case based solely on his presence at the departure of a Volunteer force for South Africa; and it is fairly clear from his speeches that, like 'CB', he was fully prepared to support the war's prosecution to a successful conclusion but reserved the right to criticise the government incompetence which had led to the war in the first place¹⁴ and the methods subsequently employed in winning the war.¹⁵ The HLA itself was more reticent in expressing its views on the war but similarly backed Campbell-Bannerman. In fact the Transvaal crisis was not debated by the Association until 29 September 1899 and it was only as late as 6 October that a standard resolution of condemnation was passed.¹⁶ This was, moreover, partially a result of pressure from the local Liberal press which had its strong Radical tradition to uphold.¹⁷ For example, commenting on a letter in the Bradford Observer concerning the silence of local Liberal leaders generally on the war, the Examiner noted wryly that "Bradford is not the only centre in which speaking out has been left to unofficial Liberals."¹⁸

Essentially, the Examiner's opposition to the war was nearer to that of the pro-Boers than to Campbell-Bannerman's; but it was a fine line and owed much to the Woodhead family's radical roots. Summarising its policy on the war, the Examiner quoted the words spoken by John Bright during the Crimean War: "Though I oppose this

clamour yet I can profoundly pray this country may ride secure in her majesty, greatness and goodness, unharmed by the violence of faction and unimpaired by the storms of time." To which an editorial added:

We are content to stand where John Bright stood. Certainly the Examiner has not advocated right instead of might and principle instead of mere expediency for nearly fifty years to change now when the history of that period bids fair to be repeated.¹⁹

It was, indeed, around the Woodhead family and the Examiner that there gathered a number of leading Liberals in Huddersfield, some of whom could be loosely termed 'pro-Boers', who were more outspoken in their opposition to the war than was the HLA as a whole. This group comprised three sections: the old radical and Gladstonian Liberals like the Woodheads, Oliver Oxley, W. Jepson, T.A. Cockin and J.H. Robson who opposed the war on moral grounds; 'advanced' Liberals like Carmi Smith, Owen Balmforth, George Thomson and John Pyrah, critical of the war on a more economic basis; and finally religious bodies opposed to war per se, which included most, though not all, of the prominent Nonconformist ministers, led by Dr. Bruce, and Liberal Quakers like J.W. Robson.²⁰ There is no evidence to indicate that it was the older Liberal idealists, rather than the younger Liberals, who opposed the war most strongly, as was the case in Liverpool where the Junior Liberals split with the leadership and denounced the local branch of the South African Conciliation Committee (SACC).²¹ Precisely how many Liberals were members of the Huddersfield branch of the SACC, which was the only organised anti-war body in the town,

is not known. The branch, formed at the end of October 1899, held no reported public meetings nor are there any remaining records to give any insight into its composition. It is likely, however, that it included the more traditional Liberals and indeed we do know that Joseph Woodhead was chairman and J.H. Robson secretary.²² The closest the Huddersfield SACC came to holding a large public meeting was in May 1900, scheduled to be addressed by the itinerant Boer, Cronwright-Schreiner on "The conditions of a durable peace in South Africa" and chaired by Woodhead, but it was cancelled at the last minute due to fears of a repetition of the violence with which Schreiner had had to contend at Scarborough, Edinburgh and Aberdeen.²³ The cancellation sparked off a very bitter exchange between the two party papers which characterised press relations during the war. The Examiner accused the prospective Conservative candidate, E.H. Carlile, of inciting "a violent infringement of the right of free speech"²⁴ by saying during a speech in St George's Square on Mafeking night that Mr Schreiner was "not wanted in Huddersfield", and added that "To Jingoists who want more Boers killing the desire for permanent peace in South Africa is a criminal emotion."²⁵ In addition Sir James Woodhouse addressed a strong open letter to Carlile indicting him for "converting what ought to have been a common rejoicing ... into a strictly political demonstration of the Tory Party" and openly encouraging violence.²⁶ The Chronicle countered by suggesting that the St George's Square celebrations "without official help and free as air ... afforded a wonderful proof of the views of the people of Huddersfield upon the question of the War."²⁷

Fortunately it was only during the immediate 'Mafeking period' that there were any serious indications of violent unrest in Huddersfield. A peace meeting in Longwood on 7 June 1900 went on undisturbed and other such meetings met with little more than the usual heckling. The general absence of overt violence was partially a measure of how few large peace meetings were held in the town but was also due to two other factors. Firstly, the town's strong radical tradition of antipathy to war, exemplified by the Examiner, inevitably had an impact on those middle-class men whom Price believes were behind much of the Mafeking violence.²⁸ Secondly it was a consequence of the Huddersfield Labour movement's stance on the war. From the outset the ILP in Huddersfield was firmly opposed, viewing it as a capitalist war and a meeting on 9 July 1899 passed a resolution of "emphatic protest against the whole policy (by whomsoever advocated) of finding cause for quarrel with the Transvaal Republic, which may at any time lead to military war."²⁹ By the end of September the Trades Council had come out in support of the ILP in unsuccessfully urging the Mayor to convene a town's meeting on the crisis.³⁰ However, it is clear from the paucity of discussion at its meetings³¹ that the Trades Council subsequently pursued the same policy towards the war as did the Yorkshire Factory Times, which commented in December 1899, after several months of ignoring events in South Africa, that:

So long as the war in South Africa did not effect the industries of the country it was hardly within our province to say much about it, but now it has assumed a different aspect. In consequence of the reverses which the British troops have suffered ... men are being drawn from the industrial ranks what can ill be spared.³²

Nevertheless, coverage and comment continued to be sparse and this was also reflected in the Trades Council's official attitude of non-involvement. However, this did not prevent many of its leading members attending the ILP's peace meetings between July 1899 and August 1900, nor indeed was this surprising in view of the duplication of membership between the two bodies. William Pickles, Allen Gee, John Hewing, Alfred Shaw, Ben Riley and J.A. Fletcher were all amongst those Trades Council officials prominent at these anti-war meetings.³³

In general, therefore, the Labour movement gave an impression of opposing the war which could not have failed to have had an impact on the town's working people. The only significant embarrassment to this consensus was Joe Dyson, the ILP's former secretary, who wrote a series of letters from South Africa supporting the war and chastising "the Socialists at home [who] are holding meetings and passing resolutions against compelling the Transvaal to yield" as "entirely wide of the mark."³⁴ His letters were greeted with glee by the Chronicle: "All who have studied this South African problem know full well that Mr. Dyson is right",³⁵ and eventually the Huddersfield ILP found it necessary to disown Dyson by passing a resolution "strongly condemning the attitude of our late comrade and representative Mr. Joe Dyson, with regard to the present condition of affairs in South Africa and proposals for a settlement."³⁶ The ILP's own position on this was that "no settlement which, whilst insisting on necessary reforms, does not also recognise the independence of the Boer Republics, can secure permanent peace

throughout the whole of South Africa."³⁷ This, in turn, inspired the Chronicle to lump the ILP and the Liberal Party together:

[The I.L.P.] now range themselves on the side of the autocrats it has shown conclusively that like the Liberal Party their practice is not in accord with their professions ... They have themselves burst the bubble, and will never be able to blow it again.³⁸

Yet beneath this Tory rhetoric there was at least some truth in identifying the ILP and the Liberal Party very closely during the war. Liberals and ILPers frequently appeared on the same platform in a way that was almost unique between 1891 and 1914.³⁹ The large Victoria Hall peace meeting of 10th October 1899 was represented by equal numbers of both parties⁴⁰ and another large peace meeting in Longwood in June 1900 saw the unlikely combination of Joseph Woodhead, Ben Riley and Isabella Ford.⁴¹ It would be wrong, however, to read too much into such co-operation: it concerned a single-issue, was exceptional and in no way indicative of any broad agreement between the two parties. Even so, it did reflect how close the two parties were on particular issues and had the effect of offering a united front of opposition to the Conservative Party which probably dampened some of the most rabid jingoistic feeling in the town.

For the Huddersfield Conservative Association, the Boer war was something of a godsend after a disappointing Salisbury ministry of little achievement, economic depression and a net gain of eleven

parliamentary seats for the Liberals in by-elections since 1895.⁴² Locally, the Conservative and Liberal Unionist representation on the Borough Council was the same in 1899 as it had been four years earlier and the HCA had had to overcome the despondency which had followed the reversion of the parliamentary seat once again to the Liberals in 1895. The war, however, seemed to offer the Conservatives a better electoral chance than they had anticipated, especially given the added bonus of a distinguished local candidate, E.H. Carlile.

Edward Hildred Carlile (1852-1942) was a descendant of the Carliles of Dumfriesshire but had been brought up in Richmond, Surrey.⁴³ Educated privately, he quickly joined his uncle's textile thread partnership with Jonas Brook at Meltham Mills, just outside Huddersfield, which had lucrative interests in the U.S.A. and Russia. Based at Helme Hall in Meltham, Carlile soon became a wealthy man, buying his way into the local Conservative leadership and gaining experience as a member of the School Board. From his youth he had been closely connected with the volunteer movement, becoming Lieutenant-Colonel of the Second Volunteer Battalion of the West Riding Regiment (Huddersfield).⁴⁴ As a philanthropist he built the Carlile Institute in Meltham, donated a total of nearly £20,000 to the Huddersfield Infirmary between 1897 and 1903, and in 1913 endowed the Bedford College for Women with an amazing £105,000 in memory of his mother, an early campaigner for women.⁴⁵ Indeed the Carlile family had a capacity for good works: Edward's brother, the Reverend Wilson Carlile was the founder of the Church Army in 1882.⁴⁶ In politics E.H. Carlile rose to become President of the Huddersfield

Conservative Club and cultivated his close links with the Brooke family to secure the parliamentary candidate for 1900.⁴⁷

Carlile's close links with the Volunteer movement and his strong support of the war initially seemed to be his best hopes if he wished to recapture Huddersfield for Conservatism. It was this image which he sought to cultivate by leading the Mafeking celebrations, when an estimated 30,000 gathered in St. George's Square⁴⁸ and by organising the training and departure of the town's Volunteers to South Africa. The first group of forty left Huddersfield on 23 January 1900 and were seen off by large throngs of people, including both prospective party candidates.⁴⁹ Carlile supplemented such activity with a large number of political addresses during 1900 which amounted virtually to a full-blown campaign. His main theme was that the war concerned the unity and prestige of the British Empire and that the Liberals' lack of support for the war effort illustrated their ambivalence towards the Empire. He added that the Boers had made war inevitable by denying the basic rights of British citizens and amassing armaments ever since Majuba Hill.⁵⁰ Carlile's chances of winning the seat were additionally boosted by the rejuvenation of the Liberal Unionist Association, which opened a new clubroom in March 1900, when membership stood at 170;⁵¹ and by a revival of Conservative activity.⁵² Indeed the annual report of the HCA in 1900 reflected that "never, perhaps, during the existence of the Association, have its organising and educational work been more carefully and more successfully done", and it was added that the

Milnsbridge Conservative Club alone had seen a membership increase of fifty per cent.⁵³

*

With the military drawbacks of 1899 reversed and the annexation of the Transvaal accomplished, the Government was quick to announce the long-expected dissolution of Parliament on 25 September 1900 for an election ostensibly on the issue of settlement in South Africa or "finishing the business". The campaign in Huddersfield, as elsewhere, was a short one, characterised by apathy and by far fewer meetings, especially on the Liberal side, than was usual for a general election. With polling set for Wednesday, 3 October, Sir James Woodhouse opened his campaign extremely tardily on 27 September, while his lengthy address was issued several days after that of Carlile, who began his meetings a week before those of his opponent. There was never at any time any serious discussion of fielding a Labour candidate and the ILP issued a somewhat vague manifesto on 30 September urging its supporters to abstain from voting "as neither of the candidates held their views in regard to the war and some other general labour questions."⁵⁴ The Trades Council expressed no recorded opinion on the election: even its customary list of questions to candidates was absent and the Yorkshire Textile Workers' Federation stepped in the issue a similar version, the results of which illustrated how far apart Woodhouse and Carlile were on social questions.⁵⁵

Indeed it was on the Government's poor record of social reform since 1895 that Woodhouse chose to defend his seat: "Not one year but five,

not tarnished military glory but a nation's happiness, not the 'merits' of a single past war, but the whole future of the people at home."⁵⁶ His address spoke of a Conservative social policy "too frequently marked by hesitation and vacillation, by bombastic talk and ineffective action, by graceful concession and cowardly withdrawal"⁵⁷ and he set out a detailed programme of social reform which a Liberal government could be expected to advance, including pensions, the Miners' Eight-Hour Day, shorter shop hours, registration reform, improved housing, licensing reform, taxation of ground values and reform of the poor law. The "deplorable" war itself took very much a back seat in his address, as it did in his campaign, and was mentioned only in terms of the government's "want of foresight, their miscalculations and blunders[which] have seriously added to the gravity and length of the war, to the lamentable loss of precious lives, and to the enormous cost resulting therefrom."⁵⁸ Carlile, in neither his address nor his campaign, made any serious attempt to meet Woodhouse on the question of social reform. Throughout it was the war and the peace settlement which predominated, or as the Chronicle put it: "It requires a general election to conclude what the military men have so well done."⁵⁹ Carlile argued that the Liberal Party was too divided to agree on a settlement in South Africa: they had bungled it at Majuba Hill in 1881 and would do so again.⁶⁰ The war had been "just and righteous", pressed on Britain and prolonged by "disloyal elements" with whom the Liberals had sided and who hoped Campbell-Bannerman would be returned. It was a crisis for the unity and prestige of the Empire, and Britain must not be found wanting.⁶¹ His address scarcely mentioned anything but the war and it was only

under pressure that he would discuss social problems, on which he was probably less 'advanced' than had been Joseph Crosland. Indeed, his opposition to the Miners' Eight-Hour Day and his vagueness on pensions and workers' compensation stamped him as holding more typical Tory beliefs that had his predecessor.

Woodhouse for his part fought a short, sharp campaign of only some ten or so meetings, but the party machine had been well-oiled in preparation since March when the executive of the HLA had agreed to an immediate issue of a large quantity of literature "which would be more effective in educating the people than it would within a week or two of the Election."⁶² Moreover, there had been discussion of financially helping the Leeds Mercury to issue an evening edition to combat "the pernicious influence of the Evening Yorkshire Post,"⁶³ and in addition the HLA introduced a new and more efficient system of canvassing involving a card system which replaced the old canvas books.⁶⁴

The potency of social reform in the Huddersfield election of 1900, at a time when the war was in theory on people's minds, was not unusual and has been noted by several historians. Price and Kinnear have both noticed how in London a candidate strong on social reform invariably increased his vote and that "Where [the working class] did support Conservatives their support was dictated by more intricate reasons than imperialism."⁶⁵ Similarly in Wales the war issue seemed to have played a very ambiguous role in the election.⁶⁶ Huddersfield was therefore typical and the fact that Carlile's eventual defeat

had much to do with social reform and the working-class vote is of wider application and significance. In fact Carlile made several blunders which demonstrated both that no candidate could any longer afford to take the working-class vote for granted, and that social reform could surmount other issues, including the Empire, as a vote-winner, auguring well for the future of a Labour Party.

Firstly, the town had not greatly gained industrially from the war as had some other textile areas. This became evident from press correspondence and comment⁶⁷, and surveys of local trade which noted that the nearly total loss of South African trade had not been made up elsewhere;⁶⁸ indeed trade with the U.S.A. declined by a further fourteen per cent between 1899 and 1901. In other words the depression of the late 1890s had not been offset by a war boom: unemployment in Huddersfield persisted particularly amongst worsted workers and dyers.⁶⁹ Carlile was therefore tragically missing the point somewhat when he spoke of a successful war improving exports, given that Huddersfield had not significantly benefited, as he should have known.⁷⁰

Secondly, Carlile's projected image as a local philanthropist, much mentioned by his supporters⁷¹ sat uneasily alongside accusations that he had spoken of sixteen shillings per week as "a sufficient wage for a working man."⁷² Despite denials from his own workpeople⁷³ this was quickly, and with some justification, blown up by the Liberals into a major statement of belief and added to Carlile's shaky stance on working-class issues. Moreover, judging from the post-

election Conservative autopsy the comment on wages had clearly had a part to play. The Chronicle commented that "There is nothing that touches the people of a working-class constituency more than any reference to their wages, and a slander to the effect that the Unionist candidate had said that sixteen or eighteen shillings per week was enough for any man had, without doubt, a marked influence upon the poll."⁷⁴ The Liberal Unionists made similar comments in their report.⁷⁵ Clearly, a parliamentary candidate made general statements on wages at his peril.

Finally, it was evident that Carlile had misjudged the electoral appeal of a jingoistic stance on the war. Despite the abundant crowds on Mafeking night it was apparent that many voters were more interested in that which effected their daily lives. Carlile received a poor reception in the borough's strongly working-class areas, as even the Chronicle was prepared to admit with reference to Longwood, "where even the smiling face and characteristic good nature of Colonel Carlile failed to break down the icy reserve of those who reside in that Radical stronghold."⁷⁶ It seems likely that although middle-class support for the Conservatives remained stable, Carlile's overtly jingoistic position had not enamoured him to a significantly greater number of working-class voters than previously. As Price has pointed out, despite the dominating presence of the war issue, voting was remarkably traditional and normal in 1900.⁷⁷ Indeed it is probable that Woodhouse benefited from the mutuality between the ILP and his own party during the war to win back a lion's share of those votes cast for Russell Smart in 1895, in addition to the 200 or so Irish

votes. In fact 'Lib-Lab' co-operation proved to be a frequent Tory explanation for defeat, as Carlile later observed:

The mutual co-operation of those whose interests are apparently irreconcilable, and the unaccountable combinations of political sections obviously antagonistic to one another have resulted in the maintenance of the hitherto isolated position occupied by our Borough, as compared with that of most other great centres of industrial activity in the North.⁷⁸

Moreover, this appears to substantiate research by Pelling that "there is no evidence of a direct continuous support for the cause of Imperialism among any sections of the working class."⁷⁹ Certainly in Huddersfield in 1900 it was social reform not Imperialism that won the working-class vote. If there was a sustained jingoism it was middle class and solidly Conservative.⁸⁰

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Sir James Woodhouse's victory in the 1900 Huddersfield election was a clear one with an increased majority of 1065. The turnout had been reduced by two per cent to 87.8 per cent, the lowest since 1886, but the Liberal share of the vote (53.6 per cent) was the highest in the borough since 1880 and the Conservative share (46.4 per cent) the lowest since 1880 (except for 1895). Indeed the results corresponded most closely to those of 1885 (see table one below) which emphasised just how traditional the voting was in 1900 despite the Boer war. Furthermore, it is likely that Woodhouse's victory would have been by an even wider margin had the 1400 electors voted which the Examiner calculated had been excluded from the register owing to the election

coming prior to the new voters lists.⁸¹ Nationwide, the election results gave the Conservatives an increased majority of sixteen on the 1895 result and only two on the position at dissolution.⁸²

In Yorkshire the Conservatives had made three borough gains including Sheffield Brightside, but this had been offset by two Liberal gains in the Yorkshire county seats and an overall decline in the Conservative vote in the county by 0.1 per cent since 1895.⁸³

Table 5.1 A Comparison of the 1885 and 1900 General Election Results in Huddersfield

	<u>1885</u>	<u>1900</u>	<u>Discrepancy</u>
Liberal	6960 (52.9%)	7896 (53.6%)	+0.7%
Conservative	6194 (47.1%)	6831 (46.4%)	-0.7%
Majority	766 (5.8%)	1065 (7.2%)	+1.4%
Turnout	87.7%	87.8%	+0.1%

In essence the Khaki election in Huddersfield had merely confirmed Liberalism's continued pre-eminence. Both parties had gained from the absence of a Labour candidate and once again traditional voting patterns applied. Inevitably the Boer war had made its impact on the town but electorally its effects were muted. Liberal Imperialism never gained the ground it did on Sheffield City Council, for example, where of thirty-five Liberal members in 1901-2 eighteen were known or probable supporters of the Liberal League.⁸⁴ Furthermore, unlike in Bradford in 1900 where "The Liberal Party was generally unprepared [and] the Conservatives were solidly united and fortuitous in being able to benefit from the prevailing low level of unemployment,"⁸⁵

the HLA was in thorough readiness for the election. The Liberal Party gave a greater impression of unity, despite some subtle divisions, than it had done under similarly pressing circumstances in 1893, and gained from continued local industrial depression. If, as Roberts states, "the Liberal party in West Yorkshire, with few exceptions, was responding to the imperialist sentiments current at the end of the century"⁸⁶ then Huddersfield was evidently one of the exceptions. Woodhouse revealed few of James Kitson's or Mark Oldroyd's or C.P. Trevelyan's Liberal Imperial tendencies;⁸⁷ and the working-class vote in Huddersfield was most likely impressed by the unity of Liberal-Labour opposition to the war and attracted by Woodhouse's promise of sweeping social reforms rather than by the war issue. Indeed this issue was able to win Huddersfield Conservatism no more votes than under conventional election conditions despite a vigorous campaign by Carlile and his close personal identification with the war. The Examiner spoke of the election as "a signal triumph for the cause of Liberal honour and integrity ... a victory of principle Huddersfield people are not carried away by every wave of passing emotion"⁸⁸, in which there was at least some truth.

2. Conservatism Versus Liberalism: Local Politics and National Issues, 1902-5

Although a relatively united Huddersfield Liberal Party had retained the Parliamentary seat without too much difficulty in 1900, the same level of confidence and success was patently absent in municipal politics.⁸⁹ From a peak of thirty-nine seats on the Huddersfield

Borough Council in 1898 Liberal representation had plummeted to thirty by 1903: a loss of nine seats to the Conservatives and Liberal Unionists (see table 2). It was only in 1904 that Liberalism began to recover, regaining two seats before the 1906 General Election and a further five shortly afterwards, during which time Labour had also greatly augmented its presence on the Council from one to a startling eight. The forces of Unionism, having attained a zenith of twenty-nine seats in 1903, thereafter declined every year, except one, reaching a nadir of fifteen seats in 1909.

Table 5.2 The Composition of Huddersfield Borough Council,
1898-1906*

	<u>Liberal</u>	<u>Cons/Lib. Unionist</u>	<u>Labour</u>	<u>Independent</u>
1898	39	20	1	-
1899	38	21	1	-
1900	37	22	1	-
1901	33	26	1	-
1902	33	26	1	-
1903	30	29	1	-
1904	32	24	4	-
1905	32	21	6	1
1906	32	19	8	1

* On 2nd November of each year. From HE and HC, passim.

Ostensibly, therefore, the assertion of Labour in local politics had had a more adverse effect on Conservatism than on Liberalism. Although this was true in part, closer study suggests that it was a far more complex picture than this.

Although there is no evidence that the Huddersfield Liberal Party had split in any long-term or profound manner as a result of the Boer War, it was nonetheless curiously quiescent and defensive throughout 1901, perhaps indicative of post-election complacency and possibly of divisions of opinion within the HLA which had been hidden during the election but became overt thereafter. Party activity was slight in contrast with the pre-election period and it seems likely that the impact of divisions at national party level⁹⁰ was biting more deeply into local morale despite Woodhouse's victory. Even after the conciliatory Reform Club meeting of the Liberal Party on 9 July, which seemed to give at least some hope of a settlement of the party's differences, the Examiner remained gloomy:

Differences undoubtedly still exist amongst members of the party [and] it leaves open the question of the future of the Liberal party and the testimony it is to bear in the difficult times that lie before the country There is no indication in the proceedings of Thursday's meeting that the party is agreed on that fundamental principle of Liberalism: peace and justice.⁹⁴

In part this gloominess was undoubtedly locally orientated. Although the HCA had done less well than it had expected in the election thereafter the Conservatives seem to have benefited from a renewal of the Government's life, from ever-deepening Liberal schisms and to some extent, from the continued atmosphere of local 'imperialist' enthusiasm. An estimated 40,000 people welcomed back the local volunteers from South Africa⁹² and in the space of only a few months over 200 had signed up as members of the new Huddersfield Rifle Club,

sponsored by the Brooke family.⁹³ Moreover, Volunteer recruitment continued to rise.⁹⁴

Evidence that the local Liberal members of the Borough Council were more divided than had been the case hitherto came when Owen Balmforth failed to win support for a motion opposed to the intended conferment of the freedom of the Borough on two local volunteer officers.⁹⁵ The same fate befell his attempt to prevent the Borough presenting General Buller with an official address on the occasion of his opening of the Volunteers new Drill Hall in May 1901.⁹⁶ More obvious Liberal differences of opinion emerged from an interview with the Leeds Mercury in which F. Eastwood⁹⁷ said "the Pro-Boers [in the HLA] are an insignificant faction, although a noisy and aggressive one" while Owen Balmforth was quoted as saying that the vast majority of the HLA was strongly opposed to the war.⁹⁸ Indeed signs that the electorate's confidence in Liberalism had faded since the general election became more evident as 1901 progressed: in March the Conservatives gained a municipal seat at Dalton,⁹⁹ narrowly failing to win another at Longwood in June.¹⁰⁰ By the November elections the HCA had turned the tables sufficiently to secure another two seats from the Liberals, who, without their near-monopoly of aldermen, now had a majority of only two.¹⁰¹ Much excitement, therefore, surrounded the election of aldermen on 9 November, but high Conservative hopes were dashed when the HCA leadership agreed a compromise with the Liberals whereby they acquiesced in accepting only one additional alderman (J.A. Brooke) while the Liberals agreed not to oppose a Conservative candidate at Fartown in the ensuing year.¹⁰²

Thus had the Liberal Party survived a potentially threatening situation but their future municipal predominance was far from assured. Clearly the divisions within the national Liberal Party, and to some extent locally, had a greater electoral impact in municipal elections in 1901 than had emerging Government culpability with regard to the war. Indeed the volatility of the situation was readily recognised at the HLA's A.G.M. in February 1902:

We again urge upon all Liberals the importance of actively interesting themselves in municipal politics ... it is ... most urgent that the very best men of our party should be placed in positions of public importance, and that our ward organisations be kept efficient.¹⁰³

Alfred Walker as President of the HLA was, however, unprepared to see the defeats as a result of national factors, preferring instead to blame local "irregularities" like a leakage at the Corporation's Butterley reservoir and faulty waste destructors.¹⁰⁴ The Conservatives lay their successes at the door of ever-increasing rates and the highest indebtedness of any municipality in the country.¹⁰⁵ Nevertheless, denial that national politics had any strict bearing on local politics was traditional: the poor state of the national Liberal Party and a paucity of local Liberal discussion of the party's problems undoubtedly coloured the voters' affiliations as had been the case before over Home Rule. It was not, in fact, until the advent of the 1902 Education Bill that Huddersfield Liberalism began to be its old self again.

The accepted academic orthodoxy on the "Great Liberal Revival" behind the 1906 landslide victory usually speaks of the Education Act reuniting the forces of Liberalism and Nonconformity,¹⁰⁶ and of Chamberlain's Tariff Reform campaign from 1903 splitting the Unionist Party thereby reactivating Free Trade as a favourite Liberal cry.¹⁰⁷ The whole formula is capped by an anti-Imperial backlash epitomised by Hobson's Imperialism: A Study (1902)¹⁰⁸ which discredited the Liberal Imperialists, isolated Rosebery's call for a 'clean slate' and prepared the ground for the post-1908 New Liberalism.¹⁰⁹ Finally there was the 1904 Licensing Bill and 'Chinese Slavery' which aroused Liberalism's slumbering moral conscience,¹¹⁰ while Home Rule had mercifully been shelved in the guise of a step-by-step approach which led the way to closer party unity and a rapprochement with Free Trade Liberal Unionists.¹¹¹ In short, the 1906 election victory was a result of the revival of traditional Liberal cries,¹¹² supplemented by Conservative division, limited Liberal re-organisation¹¹³ and an entente with Labour.¹¹⁴ On the basis of municipal results between 1902 and 1906 this analysis can be broadly applied to Huddersfield politics, but with some qualifications. Firstly, local protest against the Education Bill was spirited, as would be expected, but had little immediate favourable electoral impact for Liberalism. Secondly, Tariff Reform only benefited the HLA once the Government had split and as it became clear during 1904 that the scheme would encompass measures of food taxation. This swung the trade-union movement firmly against Chamberlain's proposals.¹¹⁵ Thirdly, it was not until after the 1906 General Election that the local Liberal Party re-attained the level of

municipal representation that it had enjoyed before the Boer War and this had much to do with the intervention of Labour.

The introduction of Balfour's Education Bill in March 1902, which proposed placing all elementary and secondary education, Church and Board schools alike, under the control of nominated County Council Education Committees (replacing School Boards), aroused predictable reactions in Huddersfield. The Examiner observed that "Mr Balfour's outline suggests many doubts and gives reason to apprehend grave interference with education",¹¹⁶ while the Chronicle greeted the bill as "bold in conception and design It is such a measure as has long been needed in such towns as Huddersfield, and only by such a scheme will it be possible for us to raise our educational facilities to the position they ought to occupy. Local opposition should, therefore, be watched with suspicion."¹¹⁷ More practically the Liberal-dominated School Board,¹¹⁸ chaired by Bruce, was quick to respond to its threatened demise by calling a special meeting and passing a motion strongly opposing the bill with only one dissentient.¹¹⁹ Owen Balmforth had prepared a detailed defence of the School Boards as popularly elected bodies which, he argued, would be superseded by unrepresentative, non-elected bodies empowered to levy rates for supporting sectarian schools over which the public would have no control.¹²⁰ It was this that comprised the main thrust of the attack on the bill and it quickly rallied support. The HLA appointed a joint sub-committee to include representatives from the ILP, the Trades Council, the Sunday School Union and the Free Church Council, to organise opposition to the bill.¹²¹ The Trades

Council itself formulated a petition to be sent to other Trades Councils around the country and labelled the bill "undemocratic ... contrary to the spirit of the age ... and a violation of the principle of representation with taxation."¹²² Nonconformist opposition in the form of the Free Church Council and Bruce, vociferous as ever, was solid and, with the peace of Vereeniging imminent, events had looked up sufficiently for the Examiner to comment optimistically that:

In the opposition to the Government measure nearly all those who formerly worked together for genuine progress are loyally united. Liberal politicians, Protestant Nonconformists, educationalists have been welded together again by the necessity of opposing to the uttermost this disastrously bad bill.¹²³

Two large protest meetings on 2 May and 4 October 1902 provided ample evidence for this new-found unity¹²⁴ and Bruce billed the struggle as "one of the greatest in history."¹²⁵

Conservative and Church support for the Education Bill was keen, though not as vociferous as the Opposition, and was given an additional fillip by Canon Dolan of St. Patrick's who uncompromisingly called upon Catholics to "use every lawful means of obtaining justice for the Voluntary schools and leave nothing undone to promote the objects of the new Education bill."¹²⁶ The Brooke family was prominent in putting the case for the bill and matched the Liberal meeting of 4 October with a mass meeting of support on 20 October.¹²⁷ Both meetings had been held with an eye to the local elections and the

Education Bill was quite clearly the main issue at stake. With contests in six of the thirteen wards the Conservatives were hopeful of repeating their advances of 1901 and reiterated the charges of "municipal mismanagement." They were, however, forced to discuss the education issue, most frequently phrased by the Liberals as "No more taxation without popular control". Other issues also emerged: in the double-seat North ward the two Liberal candidates, well aware that they could be unsure of Irish Catholic support, went so far as to dredge up Home Rule and subtly linked it with educational freedom:

Neither Beevers nor Whittall [Conservative candidates]
 Care a jot or a tittle,
 For Irishmen's sufferings today.
 They belong to the school
 That refused us Home Rule,
 And would take all our freedom away.¹²⁸

It was rare that the local elections were so overtly political and they were the most interesting for many years as evidenced by a turnout of 72.3 per cent which was over five per cent up on 1901. In fact, although there were two fewer contests in 1902 than in the previous year more people actually voted.¹²⁹ Significantly, however, the results left the Council unchanged and indicated that the drift to Conservatism had been stemmed, though not reversed. Elsewhere in the country 'anti-Bill' forces registered net gains of seventy-five municipal seats.¹³⁰ In Huddersfield, therefore, the education issue had motivated a somewhat despondent Liberal Party by giving it a traditional moral platform with which it was familiar,

but it had not clawed back the four municipal seats lost in 1901 and this may have had something to do with the fervent passive resistance movement in the town, although it was not until 1903 that it was properly organised.

Dr. Munson has charted the nature and course of local resistance to the 1902 Bill and Act, which most frequently consisted of non-payment of the education portion of the rates. He observes that it was not until June 1903 that a properly concerted campaign began and indeed it was on 19 June 1903 that the Huddersfield Citizens' Passive Resistance League was formed.¹³¹ The League's links with the Huddersfield Free Church Council were close and it was especially active during 1904, increasing its membership to 191 and holding large numbers of propaganda meetings.¹³² Under its auspices around a hundred individuals regularly appeared before the courts for non-payment of rates, most often followed by impounding of personal goods. As Munson has observed, however, enthusiasm, membership and summonses declined markedly after 1906 and this was also the case in Huddersfield.¹³³ By 1909 the League was still in existence but only thirty-six passive resisters were appearing in court and this had declined to twenty-three by 1914.¹³⁴ None at any time went to prison, although sixteen had said they were ready to¹³⁵ and this had much to do with the sympathetic Liberal bias of the courts in the area.¹³⁶

On balance, the Huddersfield Citizens' League had extremely limited political impact despite its fairly large membership. It exemplified

the unity which the education issue had brought to the Liberal-Nonconformist alliance but added little directly to the cause of Liberalism. Indeed, to many people the passive resistance movement was the unacceptable, 'holier-than-thou' face of Nonconformity and epitomised its unhealthy tendency to dabble in politics; a sentiment well-expressed by the Chronicle:

Ministers of Nonconformist bodies would, we think, be far better employed in endeavouring to strengthen and develop the spiritual well-being of the country instead of in fomenting controversy that ... will sap the religion vitality of the nation.¹³⁷

As Munson perceptively remarks, the League had failed "to convince the general public that it was a solemn movement of conscientious objection and not a Radical 'rate war' coloured by the 'Little England' views of [its] leaders."¹³⁸ Although it kept the education issue before the public, in Huddersfield as elsewhere, it is likely that it alienated some support for Liberalism, which was antipathetic to a crusading Nonconformity with none of its fingers on the pulse of working-class politics. Indeed the possibility that this was the case seems even more probable given that the Liberals lost another three seats to the Conservatives in the November local elections of 1903, one as a direct result of the intervention of Edgar Whiteley for the Labour Party.¹³⁹ To those of the working classes who could vote in 1903 it may well have seemed that Labour offered more chance of social amelioration than a Liberal Party obsessed with education. In addition, some were perhaps initially attracted by Chamberlain's Tariff Reform scheme in its offer of more employment and an end to

foreign 'dumping' of cheap goods, while raising revenue for social reform, notably pensions.¹⁴⁰

Nor was it an ungrounded belief that Liberalism was obsessed with education. Throughout 1903 the HLA had been primarily concerned, to the neglect of other issues, with the composition of the new education committee which was to replace the School Board. Policy had fluctuated violently from a belief "that the application of the new [Education] Act to this Borough should be delayed as long as possible",¹⁴¹ via an opposition to a co-opted committee,¹⁴² to a scramble for seats after the Board of Education had approved the scheme in August 1903.¹⁴³ This hasty shifting of ground and abandonment of earlier intentions both monopolised Liberal attention and upset the passive resisters, although the Free Church Council forgot its earlier reservations about participating in the new committee when it looked like it might be left out.

In the midst of all this educational debate the challenge which Tariff Reform posed to Free Trade received no outright condemnation from the HLA until nearly three months after Chamberlain had announced his campaign. Even then it was an unsurprising resolution, unanimously carried, that "this Association, holding firmly by the principles of Free Trade, demands the continuance of the free admission of food, raw materials, and manufactured goods into all parts of the United Kingdom."¹⁴⁴ Moreover, the last meeting of the School Board on 28 September 1903 seemed to attract more attention

than Chamberlain's resignation from the Cabinet ten days before.¹⁴⁵ Indeed the Chronicle itself had been at first lukewarm in its reception of Tariff Reform: "The question should be approached by all in the spirit of honest enquiry, and above all things an attempt should be made to elevate the discussion out of the range of mere political warfare."¹⁴⁶ By October, however, the paper seemed to have come down firmly on the side of Chamberlain, rather than the side of Balfour's retaliatory policy:

We frankly say that Mr. Chamberlain's scheme appeals more strongly to us [than Mr. Balfour's]. It possess the advantage of binding together by the strongest of ties - that of self-interest - the Mother country with the colonies.¹⁴⁷

In fact Chamberlain was cast as something of a saviour and as "the only true friend of Labourism."¹⁴⁸

How far this sentiment was shared by Huddersfield Conservatives and Liberal Unionists is doubtful. In theory the HCA itself was initially uncommitted: there was no mention of the issue at the 1904 A.G.M.¹⁴⁹ and it was not until June 1905, when the association presented an address of allegiance to Balfour and "hearty approval" of his retaliatory policy,¹⁵⁰ that Chamberlain's scheme was formally rejected. This had, however, been apparent unofficially much earlier by the adoption of a 'Balfourite' as the party's new parliamentary candidate to replace E.H. Carlile who had removed to Ponsbourne Park in Hertfordshire with the promise of a safe seat at St. Albans (which he subsequently won).

His successor, John Foster Fraser, was by contrast, a Scotsman, a journalist and the son of a vicar, which was very much a break with the HCA's fondness for local manufacturers.¹⁵¹ Fraser, born in 1868, was self-educated and had made his way slowly in journalism before landing the post of chief reporter on T.P. O'Connor's Sun, thereby making his name. Clearly something of a traveller and an adventurer, he roamed Europe and the East in 1895, and in 1896 set out to cycle around the world, nearly succumbing to exposure, smallpox and fever along the way. In 1901 he explored Siberia and Manchuria, and in 1902 toured the United States. His experiences enabled him to contribute to a wide range of periodicals and to lecture extensively but his political experience was confined to Parliamentary reporting and Huddersfield was his first taste of campaigning. Nevertheless, he was a fair orator, or as the Examiner put it: "a man of readiness and picturesque diction,"¹⁵² and from his adoption as prospective candidate on 8 December 1903 his concentration on Tariff Reform as a universal panacea was remarkably relentless and unyielding. His acceptance speech was devoted entirely to this issue, his main concern being to link local trade depression and unemployment to the need for protection.¹⁵³ Yet, although Fraser was at pains to paper over the cracks in the national Party's approach to the fiscal problem, he readily admitted both at his adoption meeting and subsequently that he was unable to support the full measure of Chamberlain's programme, though he approved of Imperial Federation.¹⁵⁴ Declaring himself a Balfourite he persistently protested that there were no fundamental differences between the two men: they disagreed only as to method.

In part, Fraser's hedging of his bets and the HCA's broad support for party unity around Balfour's Protection was out of fear; fear that the advocacy of a more outright breach with Free Trade would alienate the important and influential support of some Liberal Unionists, who, it seems, had split profoundly over Tariff Reform. Given the relatively narrow gap between the two main parties at election time the HCA simply could not afford to lose a large number of Liberal Unionist voters, who totalled a not insignificant 540 in 1906.¹⁵⁵ Signs that the alliance was unhealthy was clear from Fraser's adoption meeting in December 1903 when J.C. Broadbent, President of the HLUA, observed that if Tariff Reform was to be the main issue at the next election then he could not vouch for the unflinching support of that section of the HLUA which wished to retain independence of action.¹⁵⁶ Broadbent subsequently spoke out against the Tariff Reform League's proposals on the grounds that they encompassed food taxes, which he believed to be morally and electorally unacceptable¹⁵⁷ while Alderman John Sugden, a constant and vociferous Liberal Unionist, warned of outright defection: "We cannot go on this way and hold together much longer with such divergence of opinion ... Very likely the Liberal Unionist organisation will go, and the members cast abroad."¹⁵⁸ Indeed for Sugden the only possible future lay in a new national party consisting of the Liberal Unionists and the Liberal Imperialists with the Duke of Devonshire as premier and Rosebery as foreign secretary,¹⁵⁹ but it is doubtful if this belief was shared by his colleagues. Tariff Reform figured very low on the agenda at the HLUA's A.G.M. in March 1904¹⁶⁰ and despite Fraser's efforts to woo and reassure them

the executive consistently refused to make a policy decision of any kind on the fiscal issue, thereby reflecting the true extent of the division.¹⁶¹ These splits persisted and by the close of 1905 Fraser, almost in desperation, changed his tack to emphasise the readiness of the Liberals to reintroduce Home Rule if elected. Moreover this change of emphasis was supported by the new pro-Conservative President of the HLUA, Dr W.L.W. Marshall who succeeded Broadbent in 1904.¹⁶² How far it was a success will be examined in the next chapter.

Yet if the HCA had to contend with dissatisfaction from the moderate HLUA wing, so too was it under pressure to support Chamberlain's policy, rather than Balfour's milder protectionism, not only from the Chronicle but from influential Conservative manufacturers, many of whom were large subscribers to party funds. Notable amongst these was Joseph Henry Kaye,¹⁶³ a woollen manufacturer, who was appointed a leading member of Chamberlain's Tariff Commission in December 1903. As a member of the Huddersfield Chamber of Commerce, he persistently pressed without success for the formal endorsement of some form of protection, emphasising the adverse effects of American tariffs on the Huddersfield textile trade. In July 1903 the Chamber agreed not to pass any motion in view of a deep partisan divergence of opinion on the fiscal question and this was to remain its policy.¹⁶⁴ In July 1906 Huddersfield's representatives at the annual Congress of the Chambers of Commerce was one of twenty-one abstainers in a vote passed which supported preferential tariff on a reciprocal basis¹⁶⁵ and in 1909, after an acrimonious debate this neutrality was reaffirmed.¹⁶⁶

The textile industry was, of course, traditionally a supporter of free trade and it was the 'heavy' and engineering industries, especially in the Midlands and in towns like Sheffield, that foreign competition had bit deeply and the appeal of tariff reform was strongest.¹⁶⁷ In Huddersfield the textile industry between 1903 and 1906 initially showed signs of continued deterioration, but 1905 was a greatly improved year with an increase in exports to the United States which significantly reversed a spiralling downward trend.¹⁶⁸ This upturn, coming when it did, very much confounded the findings of the Tariff Commission, released in 1905, which set out the advantages to Huddersfield of a protectionist policy; and greatly undermined the case for Tariff Reform locally. Nevertheless those Huddersfield manufacturers that gave evidence to the Commission were convinced that "Our loss of trade is entirely attributable to hostile tariffs"¹⁶⁹, that "Free Trade is a thing to aim at, but a tariff may be necessary meantime"¹⁷⁰, and that "Supposing we do not get any further preference, or any reduction in foreign tariffs, I think Huddersfield trade will exist, but in a very weak, languishing condition."¹⁷¹ Clearly, however, such evidence was only one side of the coin and there is no trace of any Liberal manufacturers' adherence to free trade being ruffled; a faith confirmed seemingly by the 1905 trade figures. Furthermore, as has been seen, a large number of manufacturers of both political persuasions continued to view Huddersfield's industrial problems, not as a result of structural economic defects, but of trade union hostility to the two-loom system and speeding up.¹⁷² Such division of approach to tariff reform

which existed amongst Huddersfield's industrial community only exacerbated existing Unionist divisions.

Although Chamberlain had launched his campaign in May 1903, it was not until 1904 that the fiscal debate really got underway in Huddersfield. The Examiner, never short of comment, attacked Chamberlain as being "ready to sell the prosperity of all sections of the population for an election cry" and added that "A seventh standard schoolboy, armed with Jevons's manual of Political Economy could met the Colonial Secretary in his latest excursion and drive him off the field,"¹⁷³ but the HLA did very little until 1904 except distribute some Free Trade Union pamphlets.¹⁷⁴ Certainly the widening Unionist rift does not seem to have been apparent enough to have had any marked impact on municipal politics in 1903 in the Liberals' favour, as the November results reflected. Indeed this tends to confirm Richard Rempel's general analysis of the political situation that "Only by February, 1904, was it clear that Chamberlain's bid to convert the country had failed and that Campbell-Bannerman was triumphant over the Liberal Imperialists ... At the beginning of 1904 the Free Trade victory was by no means a foregone conclusion."¹⁷⁵ However, even after the final debate had become live, and Unionist forces divided, the Huddersfield Liberals were only able to regain two municipal seats from the Conservatives in three years. It was the Huddersfield Labour Party which appeared to benefit most from the parlous state of the Conservative Party, as shall be seen shortly.

Nevertheless, the underlying revival of Huddersfield Liberalism was clear, regardless of the party's municipal performance. In January 1904 the annual report of the HLA had reflected on the need "to educate the public upon the fiscal debate"¹⁷⁶ and a year later Alfred Walker was able to "congratulate the members upon their increased activity and efforts in promoting the spread of Liberal principles"¹⁷⁷, in marked contrast to the deteriorating state of the local Conservative organisation.¹⁷⁸

Between 1903 and 1906 there were a number of importance advances undertaken by Huddersfield Liberalism. Firstly, in the face of an onslaught of tariff reform meetings held by Foster Fraser in the spring of 1904 the Huddersfield Junior Liberal Association was re-established¹⁷⁹ with an inaugural meeting in April addressed by Augustine Birrell.¹⁸⁰ By October 1905 membership had reached 160 and extensive ward club lecturing tours and registration work had been undertaken to great effect.¹⁸¹ Secondly, evidence of Liberal rejuvenation was apparent from the sustained growth in the ranks of the Women's Liberal Association after a dip in 1899, as the table below shows:

Table 5.3 Membership of the Huddersfield Women's Liberal Association, 1898-1905

<u>Year</u>	1898	1899	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905
<u>Members</u>	422	378	387	382	419	436	468	537

[Source: HE, passim]

Thirdly, there were a number of specific organisational reforms under the wing of the HLA's newly-appointed agent and secretary James Morrison.¹⁸² In April 1903, he had succeeded in establishing a municipal election committee "to work with a Committee already appointed from the Members of the Council" and co-ordinate Liberal municipal efforts more closely.¹⁸³ This was supplemented, during the latter half of 1904, by a drive "to strengthen the Ward Committees" and make "the annual Ward Meetings better attended."¹⁸⁴ Morrison's solution was for ward chairmen to hold teas and arrange lectures by known speakers to attract enthusiasm,¹⁸⁵ but exactly how successful this was is not known: the recapture of two municipal seats in November 1904 may equally have been a result of Conservative inadequacies. On balance, however, the Liberal Party's organisation on the eve of the 1906 general election was sound and united with all indications that the HLA's financial debt, accumulated since 1900, would be wiped out before the campaign began.¹⁸⁶

Although Tariff Reform dominated the numerous party propaganda meetings prior to the 1906 campaign, two other issues also became important in reviving Liberalism: the Licensing Bill of May 1904, which provided compensation to landlords for loss of licences, and the question of indentured Chinese Labour in South Africa, condemned by the Examiner as "a species of slavery tarnishing the fair fame of Britain."¹⁸⁷ The Licensing Bill in particular angered local temperance advocates as evidenced by the large number of local opposition meetings held during June and July 1904.¹⁸⁸ Even Woodhouse became involved, and observed in a rare Commons speech that

"the Bill was absurd, anomalous and complex, and it could not fail to have the effect of retarding temperance reform"¹⁸⁹; a sentiment reflecting the persistent popularity of temperance as a Liberal issue in Huddersfield.¹⁹⁰

What happened between 1902 and 1906 in Huddersfield, therefore, was the conflation of so many traditional Liberal 'moral' issues that it could not fail to revive the party's fortunes, which had dipped seriously after 1900 despite the retention of the Parliamentary seat. It may have been possible that the victory itself had led to Liberal complacency, which had then supplemented the worsening problems the Party was facing nationally at that time, and helps to explain the volte face in municipal fortunes in 1901. Nevertheless the true extent of the Liberal organisational revival, enhanced as it was by clear divisions in Huddersfield Unionist ranks, was not immediately apparent, even from the 1905 municipal elections, at which Liberal representation remained stable. The main explanation for this lay in the presence of Labour and it is to the renaissance of the Huddersfield Labour Party before 1906 that we now turn.

3. The Revival of Labour: Socialism and the Conversion of the Trades Council, 1900-1905

The Labour movement in Huddersfield at the end of 1899 was at its lowest ebb. A mere two branches of the ILP existed in the Borough, Huddersfield Central and Longwood, providing a membership of around only a hundred¹⁹¹, and activity, especially at the Central ILP, was extremely limited. Only two municipal candidates had been fielded

since 1895, other than Allen Gee, and one of these was a Trades Council candidate.¹⁹² If there were signs of life, then they were to be found in the Socialist Sunday School, with around fifty scholars,¹⁹³ and in the Longwood ILP's occasional garden parties.¹⁹⁴ Generally morale was low and there was never any suggestion that a parliamentary candidate would be fielded in the event of an election, even if funds had been available. Nor was the tacit co-operation with the Liberals enjoyed during the Boer War conducive to the feeling of independence hitherto nurtured amongst party members.¹⁹⁵ Moreover, the same sort of lethargy had seized the Trades Council, despite an increase in both affiliated societies and membership. As table 5.4 indicates, a twenty-nine per cent increase in affiliated societies between 1896-99 had not been paralleled by a proportionate increase in members (sixteen per cent).

Table 5.4 Huddersfield Trades Council Membership, 1896-1906

<u>Year</u>	1896	1897	1898	1899	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906
<u>Affiliated Societies</u>	24	30	30	31	38	41	41	42	36	39	41
<u>Total Membership</u>	2844	3420	3608	3297	4059	4300	3996	3750	3500	3900	3700

[Source: Board of Trade Reports on Trade Unions, 1896-1906; HC and HE passim]

The celebration of Labour Day had lapsed: the Trades Council commenting that "this council in consequence of the apathy shown by members in previous years, will take no part in the organisation of

a demonstration on Labour Day"¹⁹⁶ and no municipal candidates were put up in 1899 or 1900. Indeed in 1900 the Trades Council minutes record that "after some discussion a resolution was adopted to the effect that the executive were unable to find any man to contest any ward."¹⁹⁷

Yet despite all these problems, it is from 1900 that the renaissance of the Huddersfield Labour movement can be detected. The Trades Council had supported an ASRS motion at the 1899 TUC which had favoured electoral co-operation with Socialist bodies¹⁹⁸ and Huddersfield was subsequently well-represented at the first meeting of the Labour Representation Committee (LRC) on 27 February 1900,¹⁹⁹ in the person of Allen Gee, who was elected as the textile workers' representative on to the National Administrative Council of twelve.²⁰⁰ Although the new LRC was in theory trade-union dominated, three of the seven trade-union members of the NEC, including Gee, were ILP sympathisers, giving the Socialist bodies a nominal majority.²⁰¹ The Huddersfield Trades Council's initial response to the LRC was hesitant and largely determined by finance. A motion was passed "that this Council affiliate with the 'Labour Representation Organisation' or the 'New Labour Party',"²⁰² and this apparently reflected "a very strong opinion ... favourable to the scheme"²⁰³ but it was the cost of affiliation (£5) which created some doubts. Consequently in May 1900 the original motion was rescinded in favour of a recommendation that the Yorkshire Federation of Trades Councils affiliate instead "and that each council in the Federation bear a proportionate share of the affiliation fees."²⁰⁴

Undoubtedly this concern over expense was largely due to the fact that the TUC was to be held in Huddersfield in September 1900 and its organisation inevitably drew on Trades Council funds, never munificent at the best of times.

The coming of the TUC dominated Trades Council meetings throughout 1900. William Pickles as President of the Council, chaired the Congress and delivered a controversial and strongly Socialist address, commenting that he hoped the TUC's presence in the town would augment local trade unionism in alliance with Socialism; a sentiment shared by several delegates, notably Lady Dilke who contrasted a four per cent level of West Riding unionisation with the Northern Counties' sixty-two per cent.²⁰⁵ In fact there was a mild revival of local trade unionism following the Congress and five new societies were admitted to the Trades Council before the end of the year, with a further two early in 1901.²⁰⁶ Helped by a weavers' union recruitment campaign in the spring of 1901, this meant that between 1899 and 1901 the total number of affiliated societies had been increased by ten and membership by over 1000.²⁰⁷

The fillip provided by the TUC in the Huddersfield Labour movement was clear²⁰⁸ and the Trades Council executive with some enthusiasm set about finding municipal candidates for the November 1900 elections, "such candidates, if possible, to be Trade Unionists."²⁰⁹ However, it quickly became apparent that activity had not revived sufficiently at district level, perhaps because of the war, and no candidates were forthcoming; mainly, the Executive

believed, because previous efforts had been met with statements that the prospective Labour representative could spare neither the time nor the money to pursue a municipal career and effectively represent the electors.²¹⁰ To get round this problem the executive recommended that:

being convinced that direct labour representation on all local governing bodies is absolutely necessary to the ultimate success of Trades Unionism ... a workers' municipal council or committee be formed on similar lines to the Labour Representation League [sic].²¹¹

It was suggested that a fund be established to finance municipal candidates subsidised by a 3d. per member subscription.²¹² Consequently on 21 November 1900 a special and auspicious meeting of the Trades Council was held to consider "the question of direct labour representation on all local governing bodies", which resolved that a local LRC be formed. Membership was to be open to all on payment of a sixpenny subscription per year. Forty joined on the spot and Ernest Wimpenny was appointed secretary pro tem.²¹³ Thus, it was the Trades Council which had initiated and established the first LRC in Huddersfield: there was no direct consultation with the ILP although their support was not subsequently lacking. However, the new body was at first confined to local politics and as such was not the large step usually associated with the formation of local LRC's. Indeed at its first two meetings it was agreed to omit the word 'national' from all references in the constitution to 'elections'.²¹⁴

Yet although it was the Trades Council which had made the largest advances in 1900, the ILP had not been idle and in December adopted as School Board candidates for the elections in 1901, William Pickles and Ben Riley,²¹⁵ who subsequently became official Labour candidates as endorsed by a new joint committee of the ILP, the Trades Council and the LRC.²¹⁶ Yet, despite such active co-operation there was still a large pocket of resistance in the Trades Council to an independent political line antagonistic to the Liberal Party and eleven delegates out of thirty-nine supported a motion "that the Council should take no part in the [School Board] elections".²¹⁷ Nevertheless, it was becoming evident that the Trades Council was being gradually converted to a more hostile policy towards Liberalism by the ILP presence on the Council. Of the top five Trades Council officers in 1900-1 only one, the treasurer George Lodge, was not a supporter or sympathiser of the ILP: William Pickles (President) was a leading local ILPer, as was Joe Whitwam (Financial Secretary); John Hewing (Vice-President) was President of the Huddersfield LRC and Ernest Wimpenny although no socialist was a supporter of the LRC and a sympathiser with the ILP's aims.²¹⁸ There was also, of course, pressure from Allen Gee as Chairman of the national LRC from 1901-2, for the Trades Council to take an independent political stance. Such pressure and the ILP presence on the executive did not accurately reflect the majority local trade union feeling but was to be crucial in the slow process of shifting the Council away from Liberalism.

Limited success came swiftly for the new combination of the ILP, the LRC and the Trades Council. At the end of January 1901 both Labour's candidates won seats on what was to be the last School Board, which increased Labour's representation to two²¹⁹ (see table 5).

Table 5.5 Composition of the Huddersfield School Board, 1886-1903

<u>Year</u>	1886	1889	1892	1895	1898	1901
<u>Liberal (Unsectarian)</u>	7	7	8	7	7	7
<u>Conservative (Church)</u>	5	5	3	5	5	4
<u>Labour</u>	0	0	1	1	1	2
<u>Roman Catholic</u>	1	1	1	0	0	0

[Source: HE and HC, passim. Elected in January triennially]

Moreover, in March the Reverend John Robinson, a Baptist minister, was elected for Labour on to the Board of Guardians, although seven other LRC candidates were all unsuccessful,²²⁰ as was William Wheatley when he was fielded as the LRC's municipal candidate in North Ward in November 1901.²²¹ The importance of Labour's renewed efforts in 1901, however, was not so much the extent of its success, as its generally improving condition and level of interest, which was undoubtedly to benefit from the general upturn in political interest after 1901 and the erosion of the close relationship between the ILP, the Trades Council and the Liberal Party which existed during the Boer War. Indeed what emerged between 1901 and 1902 was a new and more profound independence from Liberalism symbolised by the Trades Council's decision to affiliate to the LRC in March 1901, at the

reduced subscription of £1,²²² and an important decision in August to co-operate with the ILP and the LRC in forming a committee "with a view to running a candidate at the next Parliamentary election in the Borough".²²³

How far this decision had been influenced by the infamous Taff Vale decision of July 1901 is unclear.²²⁴ The Trades Council executive had endorsed Richard Bell's and Keir Hardie's intentions to adjourn the House to draw attention to the seriousness of the Taff Vale decision²²⁵ but other official reactions were absent until 1902 when the Council abhorred the extent of the damages likely to be awarded against the ASRS.²²⁶ It is likely, however, that Taff Vale, coming on top of a number of seemingly anti-union legal decisions²²⁷ convinced growing numbers of Huddersfield trade unionists that "defeated at the polls and attacked in the courts ... the trade-union movement had no alternative but to turn to direct parliamentary action."²²⁸ Certainly this was a belief expressed by W. Pickles, President of Huddersfield Trades Council, who, in a letter to Ramsay MacDonald in January 1902, outlined his analysis of the situation:

Now, with the advent of the powerful Trust, we see that individual freedom is now a diminishing quantity ... with the economising in methods of production brought about by the combine; with the organisation of capital for defensive and aggressive purposes ... we see that in industry, as well as in politics, the next step must be in the direction of socialisation of the means of production ... This step the Liberals are not prepared to take.²²⁹

He recognised, however, that no progress would be possible in the trade union movement "until the great number of Trade Union leaders, of over 50 years of age, have been pensioned off" and, closer to home, until individual local trade-union branches had been convinced of the expediency of a Labour candidature, independent of the other parties.²³⁰ This was the main point to emerge from the joint Trades Council, ILP and LRC meeting convened on 15 September 1901 and chaired by Alfred Shaw,²³¹ at which it was agreed that a joint delegation committee to appointed to visit local union branches to discuss labour representation and urge affiliation to the LRC (both local and national). This very much mirrored the approach being pursued by MacDonald at national level.²³²

William Pickles reported at the end of February 1902, however, that the committee had been disbanded "owing to lack of enthusiasm."²²³ So, despite the Taff Vale decision the task of convincing the local trade union rank-and-file of the need for an independent parliamentary candidate was clearly going to be a hard one. Nor was progress made any easier by a local decline in trade unionism due mainly to a trade depression.²³⁴ Nevertheless, undeterred and with the end of the South African conflict in the offing, the Trades Council executive once more took the initiative and wrote to Ramsay MacDonald requesting the LRC to co-operate in organising meetings "with a view to educate the electorate on the absolute need of the objects of the Committee [LRC]."²³⁵ The result was a large conference held on 24 May 1902, representative of twenty-five organisations including the Trades Council, the LRC, the ILP and the Co-operative

Societies: J.A. Fletcher chaired and those present included MacDonald himself.²³⁶ Three principal motions were unanimously passed: first, "That this conference ... declares its adhesion to the principle of Labour representation in Parliament and local governing bodies, welcomes the formation of the Labour Representation Committee and pledges itself to do all in its power to advance the interests of that committee, especially amongst Trade Unionists."²³⁷ Second, "That ... the Labour movement generally should unite in promoting Labour candidates in favourable constituencies ... independent of other parties"²³⁸, and third, that delegates induce their local trade union branches to affiliate to the LRC and co-operate in achieving greater Labour representation.²³⁹ Lively speeches accompanied these resolutions and one theme was uppermost, not least in MacDonald's speech: that the legal undermining of trade union rights made trade union and socialist unity absolutely essential, and that only parliamentary action of an independent nature would redress the balance.

Yet despite this conference there still remained sufficient local trade-union resistance to independent labour representation to prevent the Trades Council openly supporting a parliamentary candidate to oppose Woodhouse. It was, therefore, a desire to erode this opposition that lay behind a sustained ILP campaign within the Trades Council which was to result in a bitter power struggle between the ILP and the Liberal trade unionists in the Huddersfield Labour movement. Although 1903 was the real breakthrough year for the ILP's influence on the Trades Council it was in September 1902 that

the campaign began when W. Kellett, an active ILPer, strongly criticised Woodhouse's refusal to question the Government on a dockers' strike in Gibraltar, contrary to Trades Council requests. Woodhouse had allegedly compounded his rudeness by neglecting to write and explain his conduct until six weeks later.²⁴⁰ In retrospect this was a small matter, but Kellett, arguing Woodhouse's snub "showed the need for Labour representation in Parliament", succeeded in getting passed a motion of dissatisfaction in him which was to prove the thin end of the wedge. Moreover, Woodhouse's subsequent apologies and protestations of overwork did little to offset the propagandist value of the motion.

The next ILP attack on the Liberal Party and what remained of its influence on the Trades Council came at a meeting of the Council on 25 February 1903 when Pickles utilised the question of Liberal opposition to an elected Borough auditor to attack "the rude and insolent manner in which they [Trades Council] were treated by local Liberals."²⁴¹ He went on to argue that "they had never gained anything by means of the Liberal Party in the town", adding that they should "strike in such a way that their power would be thoroughly felt, and make the Liberal Party recognise that they were a power that was going to be reckoned with and not humbugged ... Is it not time to change our policy?" he asked.²⁴² No resolution, however, was passed.

At first the Examiner made no comment on the ILP's machinations within the Trades Council but by the end of March it could restrain

itself no longer and weighed in with a charge that the Council was "ruled by the I.L.P."²⁴³ This was strenuously denied by Pickles, who pointed out that there were only ten or twelve delegates out of some sixty or seventy who were members of the ILP and that "the Council had no relation to the I.L.P."²⁴⁴ Nevertheless there was some truth in the Examiner's claim: the Trades Council executive was, as has been seen, clearly ILP controlled and if only ten or so delegates were members of the ILP then a good many more, though perhaps not a majority, were increasingly sympathetic to the ILP's and the LRC's aims. Nor was there any doubt that the Council was deeply divided on the question of independent representation, between the ILP contingent and the old Liberal trade unionists, as the Yorkshire Factory Times observed: "the action of some members of the Trades Council during the last few months has caused a division in its ranks ... the extent of this division is not seen on the face of its proceedings [but] ... more of it will be seen during the present year"²⁴⁵, and so it was.

During May and June 1903 the executive of the Trades Council, led by Pickles, constantly pressed full Council to discuss "the advisability of contesting Huddersfield in the interest of Labour at the next parliamentary election" and to establish a new local LRC, the former one having been dissolved.²⁴⁶ Eventually, on 24 June, just such a discussion took place, although from the "moderate attendance" it seemed likely a number of delegates had boycotted the meeting.²⁴⁷ Edgar Whiteley, of the Co-op. Employees, opened the discussion and set the prevalent tone by observing that the

trade unions were "in no better position than they were previous to the combination laws ... all the more need for working-class representation in the House of Commons"²⁴⁸, and he moved a resolution "That it be an instruction to the E.C. to invite a Joint Conference of all bodies eligible [sic] for membership with the Labour Representation Committee, with a view to securing a candidate for the next Parliamentary Election."²⁴⁹ Surprisingly, opposition was ostensibly muted; many delegates commented that they would have to consult their branches (a typical stalling device which frequently enraged the ILP) and the motion was passed fairly easily by thirty-one votes to three. However, thirty-one was barely half the Trades Council's full representation and a large number of delegates had abstained: even John Hewing, ex-President of the Huddersfield LRC, had expressed doubts about the motion on the grounds that the trade unions were "unready to seriously take the matter up."²⁵⁰ On the face of it, it had been a minor victory for the ILP but in that the motion gave the executive a free hand to act, it was of greater significance, as the Examiner certainly recognised when it warned that "It is wholly a question of the wisdom and advisability, in the interests of the public at large ... of doing anything which, at the next election, might serve the return of a Tory."²⁵¹

Having received tacit authority from full Council the executive set about organising a conference to discuss the selection of a Labour candidate²⁵² which was duly held on 7 August 1903 and attended by twenty trade unions, three ILP branches, and the Trades Council executive, with Pickles in the chair.²⁵³ A lengthy debate ensued

in which three main standpoints emerged. First, several delegates, mostly from the smaller craft unions, like the typographers, plasterers and bricklayers, expressed continued confidence in Woodhouse, pointing out the potential danger of a three-cornered fight and urging that the whole matter be deferred (a proposal which was defeated twenty-nine votes to twenty-three). A second group, including the teamers and the cotton operatives, argued that they supported the LRC's aims in principle but did not believe that the time was ripe for contesting the Borough. Finally, there was a third group comprising the ILP and the larger unions like the weavers, dyers and railway workers, which criticised Liberalism's persistent neglect of working-class issues and Woodhouse's "it will be attended to ..." attitude. The recurrent theme of the undermining of trade union rights was succinctly expressed by Shaw of the Dyers' who asked "Are we going to stand like rats and let them worry us like terriers?"²⁵⁴ The debate raged in a like manner, but eventually a motion was passed "that the time has now arrived when ... Huddersfield should be directly represented by Labour in the House of Commons,"²⁵⁵ by forty-five votes to eight with six abstentions;²⁵⁶ and a candidate selection committee of eleven was immediately elected.²⁵⁷

Thus had the Trades Council been converted to the cause of independent parliamentary labour representation. It was, however, a birth of fire: vociferous opposition remained amongst the older pro-Liberal unions, as the Yorkshire Factory Times cautioned: "unless great care is taken in dealing with the affairs of the Council trouble is sure

to arise."²⁵⁸ There were also the problem of finance, consultative procedures with the ILP in the absence of an LRC, and the selection of a candidate capable of gaining the confidence of both the ILP and the trade unions. It was this latter problem that initially concerned the new selection committee and they appealed for nominations²⁵⁹ which resulted in a list including Ben Riley, J.A. Fletcher, Allen Gee, Russell Smart, Russell Williams and W. Pickles. By the middle of September these had been reduced to a shortlist of the latter three,²⁶⁰ during which time a controversy had broken out over the Liberal Party's failure to co-opt any Labour representatives into the newly created Education Committee.²⁶¹ Although they subsequently relented, this was a tactical blunder typical of the Huddersfield Liberal Party's profound inability to grasp the gravity of such an action, given the struggle raging in the Trades Council and its potential impact on Woodhouse's position. It epitomised the HLA's frequent tendency to underestimate how successful the ILP had been in playing on union fears and Liberalism's failings, believing perhaps that the ILP would once again run out of steam as it had done after 1895. It was only really the spectacular Labour gains in the municipal elections of 1904 and 1905, and the party's performance in the 1906 general election that caused the local Liberals to sit up and take notice.

Another problem facing the joint selection committee, that of organisation, was discussed at a meeting on 14 October 1903, which appointed a committee of nine to frame a constitution for a local LRC.²⁶² However, before this could come to fruition the Painters'

Society, presumably at the behest of their representative William Pickles, submitted a revolutionary proposal to the Trades Council "that the Council be altered so as to permit such as approve of direct Labour Representation, to be represented upon this Council", thereby avoiding an unnecessary multiplication of bodies often involving the same people.²⁶³ To this end, after extended debate, the executive recommended an amendment of the rules to allow affiliation of Labour, Socialist and Co-operative bodies, which would effectively transform the Trades Council from a trades organisation into a political organisation.²⁶⁴ In February 1904 this recommendation was approved by full Council, but the vote was so close (twenty-one votes for, twenty against) that a further motion "that in view of the difference of opinion ... and the meagre majority ... no further action be taken in this matter" was equally narrowly passed, twenty-five votes to twenty-four.²⁶⁵ The moderates had staved off the inevitable only temporarily and a month later A.J. Cliffe of the Ironfounders proposed an alteration of the rules 'en bloc' as suggested by the executive which received approval by twenty-eight votes to sixteen.²⁶⁶ On 1 June 1904 the Trades Council executive completed the process by formally inviting all ILP's and Co-operative Societies to join, thus rendering the Council effectively an LRC, and finalising the transition in allegiance from Liberalism to Labour, although a significant minority of trade unionists continued to support the Liberal Party.²⁶⁷ Designating the Trades Council an LRC also made it easier to organise the raising of finance for a parliamentary Labour candidate in that affiliated societies could be directly drawn on.²⁶⁸

The shift had been made and the way was now open for a joint trade union - ILP parliamentary candidature in Huddersfield for the first time. Indeed, even as the constitutional debate was raging in the Trades Council, T. Russell Williams, a mill manager from Kildwick, near Keighley, had been conditionally adopted as Labour candidate by a large representative conference held on 3 February 1904.²⁶⁹ The selection of Williams was important: although he was a member of the textile workers' union, he was above all else a Socialist, which reflected how pervasive an influence the ILP, though numerically weak, had come to enjoy within the Huddersfield Labour movement. Williams, born in 1869 and self-educated, had reputedly been converted to Socialism after early hopes of a career in the civil service had been frustrated and he went on to serve on the NAC of the ILP, where he remained a shadowy figure.²⁷⁰ What is clear is that his approach to Socialism was of an ethical nature "well suited to the native penchant for religiosity"²⁷¹ and it was in this sense that he left his mark on Huddersfield.

The whole question of the meaning, nature and extent of an ethical or religious form of socialism is a much-debated one and has been examined in an earlier chapter. Work by Stephen Yeo sought to establish the religion of socialism as a distinctive Socialist strand and while Clark and Pierson have moved it on chronologically by ten or fifteen years they broadly concur with Yeo in seeing ethical socialism as an important recruiting force for the pre-war Labour Party.²⁷² Although there are detractors²⁷³, there is no doubt that there was a religious tone to Socialism in the West Riding around 1906. Ethical

Socialism may have had an "inadequate intellectual construction," a "shallow, cheap and easy character"²⁷⁴ and be "elusive" as a specific concept²⁷⁵ but in Huddersfield it was an identifiable trait of local Socialism from its origins. Springing briefly to life in the early 1890s in the teachings of Ramsden Balmforth and Joe Dyson, it had lain largely dormant after 1895, persisting through the late 1890's in the form of the Huddersfield Socialist Sunday School. As the Huddersfield ILP declined to near-collapse, so the local Labour movement became more trade unionist in emphasis than hitherto. Men like Pickles, Gee, Topping, Whiteley, Riley and Hewing increasingly turned to the Trades Council as an outlet for their growing convictions concerning the expediency of Socialism if trade union goals were to be attained. In the absence during the late-1890s of an effective local ILP, so the Trades Council was slowly politicised and this lay behind the shift away from Liberalism in 1903. The advent of the LRC, the revival of political interest generally, as evidenced by the marked increase in municipal contests,²⁷⁶ and the adoption of Williams as candidate sparked off a revival of interest in the basic ideas of Socialism which supplemented the continuous economic interests of wages and conditions. In part this was, as has been seen, because Huddersfield Liberal Nonconformity, by becoming obsessive over education after 1902, appeared to neglect the real economic problems of the day and so became less relevant to working people facing unemployment and declining real wages. The conversion of Nonconformist ministers like the Rev. F.R. Swan and Rev. John Robinson to Socialism suggests that this is not an unrealistic theory.²⁷⁷ Working-class disaffection from the chapels was a slow process, which

the PSA movement had been able to retard, but by 1906 such efforts had largely foundered. It was into this gap that ethical Socialism stepped: "the rejection of formal connections with the churches did not mean rejection of the ethical side of early religious grounding"²⁷⁸ and Russell Williams' brand of Socialism was a synthesis of both the working-class "penchant for religiosity" and the demand for materialistic advance close to the hearts of many trade unionists. In short, ethical Socialism broadened the appeal of 'wages and conditions' Socialism.

From the middle of 1904 onwards Huddersfield was deluged with itinerant Socialist speakers, most of them of the ethical school, and in September 1904 the ILP began regular Sunday evening lectures in Victoria Hall which continued into 1905. Table 5.6 gives some idea of the bias of the ILP's lecture programme during 1905 and it will be noted that ethical exponents like Snowden, Grayson, Glasier, Snell and MacMillan figure amongst the speakers. Snowden was particularly active in the Huddersfield area at this time²⁷⁹ and Williams addressed a very large number of meetings during 1904 and 1905. The cause of Socialism was, he proclaimed, "to restore society to a just foundation, to apply religion to politics, to inspire hopefulness into the bosoms of the poor, and to remove the weight of sorrow from the oppressed."²⁸⁰ Socialism was no longer "a visionary scheme" but a coherent programme of reform to include nationalisation, aimed at giving "the means of existence to all men."²⁸¹ For too long working people had been "deceived by the clergy, hoodwinked by legislators, robbed by landlords and threatened by employers"²⁸²: the Clitheroe

and Barnard Castle by-election victories for Labour had shown that the party was here to stay.²⁸³

Table 5.6 Huddersfield ILP Lectures, 1905

<u>Date</u>	<u>Speaker</u>	<u>Subject</u>
29 January	Dan Irving	The Parliament of Man
19 March	James Smith	Darkest England and the Way Out
14 May	Robert Morley	The Moral Aspect of Unemployment
21 May	Victor Grayson	The Destiny of the Mob
11 June	J.A. Fallows	John Ruskin
25 June	J.A. Seddon	Why a Labour Party?
2 July	Philip Snowden	Rich and Poor
23 July	H. Eastwood	Political Ideas
20 August	Bruce Glasier	Socialist, East and West
1 October	James Parker	Brute to Brother
8 October	Margaret MacMillan	Socialist Sunday Schools
15 October	John Penny	The Prospects of Labour
5 November	Harry Snell	The Captive City of God
26 November	Dr. Martin	The Teaching of Christ & Capitalism
3 December	Mrs. Glasier	Socialism and the Home

[Sources, HE, YFT, HW, passim, 1905]

Thus the presence of exponents of ethical Socialism initially underpinned the new-found co-operation between the Trades Council

and the ILP to widen Labour's appeal in Huddersfield and greatly improve its fortunes. In the November 1904 local elections the Labour Party was able to make a net gain of three seats out of four candidates.²⁸⁴ Moreover, before the month was out another gain had been made at a by-election in North Ward, where Ben Riley beat John Sugden with ease.²⁸⁵ This brought the Labour Party's municipal representation to a total of five, as J.W. Brierley reflected in a letter to MacDonald: "I suppose you will have heard how Huddersfield is waking up from a Labour point of view."²⁸⁶ Indeed this trend was continued the following November when Harry Thomas won another seat in the North Ward for Labour out of three candidates fielded.²⁸⁷

On the face of it, it was not the Liberal Party that was losing out most of the intrusion of Labour but the Conservative Party: of Labour's five gains, four had been won from Conservatives (three in straight fights) and only one from the Liberal Party (in a three-cornered fight). Moreover, it was the Conservative Party's share of the vote in 1904 and 1905 that suffered most from Labour opposition, as table 5.7 shows:

Table 5.7 Party Share of Total Votes Cast in Municipal Elections
in Huddersfield, 1902-6

<u>Year</u>	<u>Liberal</u>	<u>No. of</u>	<u>Conservative</u>	<u>No. of</u>	<u>Labour</u>	<u>No. of</u>
		<u>Cands.</u>		<u>Cands.</u>		<u>Cands.</u>
1902	46.6%	8	41.7%	7	11.6%	3
1903	34.3%	7	48.4%	8	17.3%	3
1904*	45.1%	10	35.7%	9	16.8%	4
1905*	40.9%	6	32.8%	5	14.5%	3
1906	42.8%	5	17.2%	4	40.0%	7

[Source: HC and HE, passim]

* Independent candidates won 2.4% in 1904 and 11.5% in 1905.

It appeared, therefore, that in the event of a straight Conservative-Labour fight Liberal voters were more inclined to vote Labour than Conservative, not altogether a surprise but ostensibly of benefit to Liberalism at this time. For although its numerical position on the Borough Council increased by only two to a stable thirty-two between 1903 and 1905, its majority over its nearest rival, the Conservative Party, was increased from three to ten to thirteen (see table 5.2 above). Nor should it be concluded from this that Liberals were simply not being opposed by Labour candidates in straight fights: in seven such contests up to 1905 the Liberal had won each one and indeed it was not until 1911 that a Labour candidate beat a Liberal in a straight fight (the twenty-seventh such contest) and then by only

nine votes (see appendix). Furthermore, of eight three-cornered contests up to 1905 Labour came third in seven of them.

Nevertheless, although it can be shown that Liberalism was holding up well to Labour's municipal challenge, it cannot be denied that but for the intrusion of Labour, the Liberal Party would undoubtedly have regained for itself from the Conservatives the seats which it had lost since 1898. As it was, it was Labour who won these seats and it took until 1909 for Liberalism to reattain the municipal representation it had enjoyed in 1898. So although Conservatism lost out most in the long run, the Liberal Party's advance and revival between 1902 and 1906 was disguised and in real terms, stemmed.

Building on this municipal success the Huddersfield Labour Party was able to raise finance both for Williams' parliamentary candidature,²⁸⁸ which was formally approved by the national LRC in February 1905,²⁸⁹ and for a much-needed Labour newspaper in the Borough. In April 1905 a committee was formed by the ILP to undertake production of a monthly newspaper along the lines of the Northampton Pioneer.²⁹⁰ It was to be financed by the ILP and by public subscription, and edited by an elected committee of ten. Eventually, under the title of The Worker: The Organ of the Huddersfield Socialist Party, the first edition was published on 21 July 1905 by F.C. Key, a piano dealer and ILPer, priced at one penny. Ben Riley was from early on a prominent worker on the new venture and Fred Hick, newly-appointed full-time ILP organiser in

the Huddersfield area,²⁹¹ was a principal adviser. From the outset The Worker's policy was clear:

It will be our mission: (1) to expose without flinching, evil-doing and political jerrimandering whereby and by whomsoever it is done in connection with the town's affairs: (2) to encourage and persuade the worker to play the man in connection with local and national government, and his social welfare, with as much enthusiasm and ability as he now follows cricket and football, and: (3) to direct our fellow citizens to the Rising Sun of Socialism, the great world embracing idea which can alone provide the means and vitality without which our national and imperial civilization will inevitably find its decline in a winter of misery and social disaster.²⁹²

Huddersfield Liberalism's reaction to the growing challenge of the Labour Party up to 1906 was typically dismissive, ranging from claims that "the Liberal Party, as well as being the party of justice and equality for all, is emphatically the true Labour Party,"²⁹³ to warnings that "Every vote given away from Liberalism will help Protection ... will be a vote to tax the food of the wage-earners, of the wives and of the children."²⁹⁴ But independent Labour had come to stay: there was never at any time any hint of the sort of 'rapprochement' between the two sides that was evident at a national level with the secret Gladstone - MacDonald agreement, nor indeed was Huddersfield one of those constituencies discussed.²⁹⁵ Any tacit co-operation which had existed between the two parties during the Boer War had quickly come to an end with the war's cessation, and after the aggressively anti-Liberal approach pursued by the ILP on the Trades Council had become more overt, so chances of any similar co-operation

receded. By the end of 1905 relations between the Examiner and the Liberal Party on one hand, and the Labour Party on the other, had deteriorated to the level of personal abuse, notably between Russell Williams and E. Woodhead (editor of the Examiner), which was to persist into the general election.²⁹⁶ This was much to the glee of the Chronicle which never missed an opportunity to emphasise the "widening gulf" between its two opponents, observing that "unless the Liberals are ready to accept the doctrine of collectivism ... a fusion of interests is impossible."²⁹⁷ With this, Russell Williams was naturally in complete agreement, as he observed in a pamphlet entitled Should the Liberal and Labour Parties Unite?, which epitomised the confidence apparent in the ranks of the Labour Party on the eve of the 1906 general election in Huddersfield:

The Independent Labour Party wants none of an unholy alliance. We are not to be led astray by this phantom of electoral reform ... We are wise enough to understand our own capacity. If the Liberal Party is really wishful to assist us along the road, the best thing it could do would be to get from under our feet.²⁹⁸

4. Some Conclusions

The Huddersfield Liberal Party, despite some covert divisions, had won the Khaki election on the issue of social reform with relative ease, but there followed a slump in the local party's fortunes attributable in the main to national factors and demonstrable in the HLA's declining share of representation on the Borough Council. When the local party did revive, it was as a result of traditional Liberal issues, notably Free Trade and the education issue which belied

the programme of social reform outlined by Woodhouse in 1900. Moreover, Liberalism's advance was hastened by a rejuvenated membership and organisation. However, despite deep schisms in the ranks of local Conservatism, itself tormented by fears that a number of Liberal Unionists would withdraw their support over the fiscal issue, Liberalism was unable to regain the municipal seats it had lost since 1898 because of the intervention of Labour. Ostensibly it was the Conservative Party which suffered most from Labour's intrusion and this was true in the long term, but in the short term Liberalism's revival was masked.

Between 1900 and 1905 the Labour movement in Huddersfield underwent a major shift away from the Liberal Party as a result of the conversion of the Trades Council to the cause of independent labour representation in Parliament, exacerbated by Taff Vale, by the legacy of discontent with the Liberal party, and by ILP pressure. Thereafter Labour's fortunes improved rapidly, aided by the re-emergence of a religious form of Socialism which broadened Labour's appeal beyond a purely materialistic basis, and helped fill a vacuum left by a Nonconformity obsessed with education and largely irrelevant to working-class needs and to the economic issues of the period. It was, however, above all else, the conversion of the Trades Council that proved to be the turning point.²⁹⁹

Finally, however much Liberal "friendliness in high places" there may have been towards Labour, none of this was evident in Huddersfield after the Boer War. There was no suggestion of consultation between the two parties, nor indeed did the local Liberal Party make any

concessions to Labour, presumably believing that the challenge would recede again as it had done after 1895, and that the real threat was posed by Conservatism. It was enough to many Liberals that the party's fortunes had revived, albeit around traditional issues, and few of them seriously re-examined their party's appeal, taken aback perhaps by the sheer speed of the emergence of Labour's challenge.

Notes for Chapter Five

- 1 T. Russell Williams in The Worker, 21 July 1905, (Hereafter HW).
- 2 Taylor, A.J.P., Essays in English History, (Harmondsworth, 1976), p183.
- 3 See Stansky, P., Ambitions and Strategies: The Struggle for the Leadership of the Liberal Party in the 1890s, (Oxford, Clarendon, 1964).
- 4 See Matthew, H.C.G., The Liberal Imperialists: The Ideas and Politics of a Post-Gladstonian Elite, (London, 1973); Jacobson, P.D., "Rosebery and Liberal Imperialism, 1899-1903", Journal of British Studies, XIII (1973), pp.83-107; McCready, H.W., "Sir Alfred Milner, the Liberal Party and the Boer War", Canadian Journal of History, II (1967), pp.13-44.
- 5 See Auld, J.W., "The Liberal Pro-Boers", Journal of British Studies, XIV (1975), pp78-101; Koss, S. (ed.), The Pro-Boers: The Anatomy of an Antiwar Movement, (Chicago, 1973).
- 6 Price, R., An Imperial War and the British Working Class: Working Class Attitudes and Reactions to the Boer War, 1899-1902, (London, 1972), p.28.
- 7 Matthew, H.C.G, op. cit., p.226.
- 8 See Harris, J.F., and Hazlehurst, C., "Campbell-Bannerman as Prime Minister", History, XV (1970), pp.360-83, for an assessment of his qualities, and Wilson, J., CB, (London, 1972) for the standard life. Gutzke, D.W., "Rosebery and Campbell-Bannerman: The Conflict over Leadership Reconsidered", Bulletin of the Institute for Historical Research, LIV, No. 130, (November, 1981), pp.241-250, is a reassessment.
- 9 See Hamer, D.A., John Morley: Liberal Intellectual in Politics, (Oxford, 1968), and James, R.R., Rosebery, (London, 1963).
- 10 Resolutions later submitted to the H.L.A. from the Imperial Liberal Council and the League of Liberals Against Militarism were allowed to lie on the table, (HLAM EC, 20 July, 1900).
- 11 Parliamentary Debates, Fourth Series, Vol. 77, 19-24 October 1899. Woodhouse did not speak in any of the war debates.
- 12 The Times, 31 July 1900, p.8; 16 October 1900, p.4.
- 13 Huddersfield Chronicle, (HC), 16 June 1900.
- 14 See Auld, J.W., op. cit., p.81 and Woodhouse's speeches at Lindley on 11 June 1900 (HC, 16 June 1900) and in the Town Hall on 21 November 1899 (HE, 25 November 1899).

- 15 Campbell-Bannerman's "methods of barbarism" speech of January 1901 is the most obvious example. See Pakenham, T., The Boer War, (London, 1979), chap. 39.
- 16 "That the menacing condition of affairs in South Africa is not justified by the differences which actually exist between the negotiating parties it dissociates the Liberal Party from all share of responsibility, or blame, if the bona fide differences between our Government and that of the Transvaal are not settled without proceeding to the arbitrariment of war." HLAM, 6 October 1899, also 29 September and 3 October 1899.
- 17 The Radical link with the Pro-Boers is discussed by A.J.P. Taylor in "The New Radicalism before 1914" in his The Trouble-makers: Dissent Over Foreign Policy, 1792-1939, (London, 1957). See also Porter, B., Critics of Empire, (London, 1968); Grigg, J., "Lloyd George and the Boer War" in Morris, A.J.A. (ed.), Edwardian Radicalism 1900-1914, (London, 1974); and Hirst, F. W., In The Golden Days, (London, 1947). See also Nicholson, J., "Popular Imperialism and the Provincial Press, 1895-1902", Victorian Periodicals Review, 1980, 13, part 3, pp.85-96.
- 18 HE, 16 September 1899.
- 19 HE, 23 May 1900.
- 20 Methodism in Huddersfield was less apparent than Congregationalism in its overt opposition to the war, but by and large it did sympathise with the pro-Boers. For discussion of this see Koss, S., "Wesleyanism and Empire", Historical Journal, XVIII, 1 (1975), pp.105-118.
- 21 See Sellers, I., "The Pro-Boer Movement in Liverpool", Transactions of the Unitarian Historical Society, XIII (1960), pp.69-84. John Pyrah was nominally leader of the Huddersfield Junior Liberals and his stance was very pro-Boer. See his address as President of the Yorkshire Federation of Liberal Clubs (HE and HC, 7 October 1899).
- 22 HC, 26 May 1900
- 23 Cronwright-Schreiner, S.C., The Land of Free Speech: Record of a Campaign on Behalf of Peace in England and Scotland in 1900, (London, 1906) in which he claimed that over 700 tickets had been sold for the meeting but that the 'Imperialists' had made detailed arrangements to disrupt the meeting, prevent people attending, attack himself and Woodhead, and break windows at the Examiner offices, Woodhead's house and Robson's house (p.377). See also Price, R., op. cit., chap IV; HE, 22 May 1900; HC, 26 May 1900.
- 24 HE, 22 May 1900.

- 25 Ibid. There were reported cries of: "We'll shoot him [Schreiner]".
- 26 HE, 25 May 1900.
- 27 HC, 26 May 1900.
- 28 Price, R., op. cit., pp.145-155.
- 29 HE, 15 July 1899. On 7 October, Ben Tillett, at a meeting of the Longwood I.L.P., argued that the war was "a reflection of the meanness and wickedness of the British capitalist that had made the Boer so sordid," (HE, 14 October 1899).
- 30 Huddersfield Trades Council Minutes, A.G.M., 20 September 1899. (Hereafter: T.C.Mins).
- 31 Ibid., passim.
- 32 Yorkshire Factory Times (YFT), 22 December 1899.
- 33 See HE, 15 July, 14 October 1899 and 8 June 1900; also HC, 9 June 1900 and 1 September 1900.
- 34 From HE, 2 September 1899.
- 35 HC, 2 September 1899.
- 36 HC, 12 May 1900. Dyson had called for the annexation of the Transvaal and condemned the Boers for initiating the war.
- 37 Ibid.
- 38 HC, 1 May 1900; see also HC, 23 September 1899.
- 39 The only other example of such co-operation was a joint protest meeting against the 1902 Education Bill, (see below).
- 40 HE, 14 October 1899. Also, Poirier, P.P. The Advent of Labour, (London, 1958), Chapters VI, VII.
- 41 HC, 9 June 1900. These scenes paralleled similar ones in Bradford where Alfred Illingworth and Fred Jowett met on the same platform.
- 42 Craig, F.W.S., British Electoral Facts, 1885-1975, (London, 1976), tables 2.01 and 2.03.
- 43 Biographical information derived from: an interview by the author with Edward Brooke (Carlile's grandson) on 18 November 1981; Pike, W.T., (ed.), The West Riding of Yorkshire: Contemporary Biographies, (Brighton, 1902); Wilson-Fox, A. (ed.), Sir Hildred Carlile: Parliamentary Comments 1906-19, (London, 1924); Stenton, M. and Lees, S. (eds.), Who's Who of British MPs, Vol. 2, 1886-1918, (Sussex, 1978).

- 44 For his role in the local volunteers see Berry, R.P., A History of the Formation and Development of the Volunteer Infantry: with local records of Huddersfield, (Huddersfield and London, 1903). More generally: Cunningham, H., The Volunteer Force: A Social and Political History 1859-1908, (London, 1975). Also there are brief references in scrap books housed in the officers' mess of the present Huddersfield T.A. headquarters.
- 45 Tuke, M.J., A History of Bedford College for Women, (London, 1939), pp.214-215. Maria Louisa Carlile had campaigned for women's higher education and had worked with Josephine Butler in improving the lot of young female servants.
- 46 See Rowan, E., Wilson Carlile and the Church Army, (London, 1905, reprint 1926), also Inglis, K.S., Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England, (London, 1963), pp.44-45. Edward's wife, Isabella nee Hanbury was the grand-daughter of Elizabeth Hanbury who had worked with Elizabeth Fry.
- 47 Carlile was subsequently M.P. for St. Albans from 1906 until 1919. During the war he was chairman of a Board of Trade Committee which "kept in order some 4000 Conscientious Objectors ... I never had a more distasteful task" (Wilson-Fox, op. cit., p.vi). He was knighted in 1911 and made a baronet in 1917. His only son was killed on the Somme. A very musical man, Carlile spoke French and German fluently, and was a close friend of Lord Birkenhead through the Royal Yacht Squad.
- 48 HC, 26 May 1900. The Examiner gives no comparable estimate.
- 49 HC, 27 January 1900. Lack of room precludes a more detailed study of the Volunteer movement, local manufacturers and politics.
- 50 See for example his speeches at end of February and beginning of March 1900, (HC, 3 March 1900).
- 51 HC, 17 March 1900.
- 52 Clarke, M.G., "Development and Purpose in a Local Conservative Association: A Study in the Huddersfield Constituencies, 1836-1966", unpublished study 1966 (copy in Huddersfield Central Library), pp.30-31.
- 53 HC, 24 March 1900.
- 54 YFT, 5 October 1900. An amendment to allow members individual discretion was defeated.
- 55 Ibid. Woodhouse answered 'yes' to nine out of twelve questions, Carlile answered 'yes' to none.

- 56 HE, 19 September 1900.
- 57 HC, 29 September 1900.
- 58 Ibid.
- 59 HC, 22 September 1900.
- 60 See his speeches at Marsh and in the Town Hall on 26 and 27 September, (HC, 29 September 1900).
- 61 See his speeches at Moldgreen and Almondbury, 24 September, (HC, ibid).
- 62 HLAM EC, 9 March 1900.
- 63 Ibid., and 20 July 1900.
- 64 Ibid.
- 65 Price, R., op. cit., pp.130-131. Kinnear, M., The British Voter, (New York, 1968) notes that in twelve of the most working class seats in London the Liberals increased their support (p.26).
- 66 See Pelling, H., "Wales and the Boer War", Welsh History Review, IV, no. 4, (December 1969), pp.363-5; Morgan, K.O., "Wales and the Boer War: A Reply", ibid, pp.367-80; Bealey, F., and Pelling, H., Labour and Politics, 1900-1906: A History of the LRC, (London, 1958), chapter two; Poirier, P., op. cit., chap VII.
- 67 HC, 27 October 1900; YFT, 18 January 1901. George Thomson later observed that: "The Boer War - that wicked and cruel and criminal war - caused their business to go down by thirty per cent, and nearly ruined them", (YFT, 2 December 1909).
- 68 HC, 29 December 1900; HE, 2 February 1901.
- 69 HC, ibid, YFT, 18 January 1901.
- 70 Speech at Rashcliffe, quoted in HC, 29 September 1900.
- 71 See HC, 22 September 1900, Parochial Hall Meeting.
- 72 YFT, 28 September 1900.
- 73 A collective statement (how independent?) from the employees of J. Brook & Sons Ltd. was published in HC, 29 September 1900.
- 74 HC, 6 October 1900.
- 75 HC, 10 November 1900.
- 76 HC, 6 October 1900.

- 77 Price, R., op. cit., chapter three.
- 78 Letter of thanks to the electors in HC, 6 October 1900. See also Bealey and Pelling, op. cit., pp.41-50 on Lib-Lab co-operation in 1900.
- 79 Pelling, H., "British Labour and British Imperialism" in Popular Politics and Society in Late Victorian Britain, (London, 1967), p.99.
- 80 Price, R., op. cit., pp.96, 171-3.
- 81 This was a frequent Liberal complaint, see HE, 10 and 14 September 1900 and Woodhouse's Town Hall meeting on 27 September, (HE, 28 September 1900).
- 82 Kinnear, M., op. cit., p.26.
- 83 Pelling, H., Social Geography of British Elections, 1885-1910, (London, 1967) p.415.
- 84 Mathers, H.E., "Sheffield Municipal Politics 1893-1926", unpublished PhD, Sheffield University 1979, pp.142-6.
- 85 Ross, W.D., "Bradford Politics, 1880-1906", unpublished PhD, Bradford University 1977, p.287.
- 86 Roberts, A., "The Liberal Party in West Yorkshire, 1885-1895", unpublished PhD, Leeds University 1979, p.286.
- 87 For Kitson see ibid., passim. (Kitson was Liberal M.P. for the Colne Valley, 1892-1907). Oldroyd's Liberal Imperialist sympathies are touched on by Koss, S., op. cit., p.117, see also James, C.J., M.P. for Dewsbury: 100 Years of Parliamentary Representation, (Brighouse 1970), and Pugh, M.D., "Yorkshire and the New Liberalism?", Journal of Modern History, vol. 50 (1978), pt. 3, pp.D1139-55. Trevelyan, who was MP for Elland, is covered by Morris, A.J.A., C.P. Trevelyan: Portrait of a Radical, (Belfast, 1977), especially chapter three.
- 88 HE, 4 October 1900.
- 89 It is problematic how far municipal results can be utilised to indicate more general trends of political partisanship relative to national politics, as was noted in the introduction. See also Wald, K.D., "Class and the Vote before the First World War", British Journal of Political Science, 8 (1978), pp.441-57, for a full discussion. In addition Sheppard, M.G., and Halstead, J., "Labour's Municipal Election Performance in Provincial England and Wales 1901-3", Bulletin of the Society of the Study of Labour History, Autumn 1979, is very useful.
- 90 Matthew, H.C.G., op. cit., chap. two.

- 91 HE, 13 July 1901.
- 92 HC, 25 May 1901.
- 93 HC, 4 May 1901. With a subscription of five to seven shillings and one penny per round, it is likely the membership was mainly middle class. Peak membership was in 1904 (258), thereafter a decline set in and a level of around 120 was typical from 1908-14.
- 94 Membership: 1899-1906; 1900-19068; 1901-19083, (HC 7 February
- 95 HC, 20 April 1901; YFT, 3 May 1901.
- 96 HC, 11 May 1901; also Volunteer Bazaar Handbook and Souvenir 1901, (Huddersfield 1901): copy in Huddersfield Central Library. Carlile was the main sponsor of this hall.
- 97 Frederick Eastwood was a leading Liberal manufacturer, vice-president of the HLA, President of the Chamber of Commerce, a founder of Milton Congregational Chapel and a governor of the Technical College.
- 98 Quoted in HC, 13 July 1901.
- 99 HC, 16 March 1901.
- 100 HC, 8 June 1901: the Liberal majority was cut from 125 to 46.
- 101 This assumes they could count on Allen Gee's support which they often could.
- 102 HC, 16 November 1901, and HE, 25 October 1902 for a full copy of the agreement. It was broken the year after amidst much friction and acrimony.
- 103 HLAM AGM, 14 February 1902.
- 104 Ibid.
- 105 See HC, 2 November 1901 and 1 March 1902. The level of indebtedness was £33 per head of the population: Manchester was in second place with £31.
- 106 Koss, S., "1906: Revival and Revivalism" in Morris, A.J.A., (ed.), op. cit.; Koss, S., Nonconformity and Modern British Politics, (London 1975); Hughes, K.M., "A Political Party and Education", British Journal of Educational Studies, 1960, pp.112-126; Pugh, D.R., "The Church and Education: Anglican Attitudes 1902", Journal of Ecclesiastical History, XXIII, No. 3, (July 1972), Cratton, M., and McCready, H.W., The Great Liberal Revival 1903-6, (London 1966: Hansard Society publication).

- 107 Sykes, A., Tariff Reform in British Politics, 1903-1913, (Oxford 1979), Zebel, S.H., "Joseph Chamberlain and the Genesis of Tariff Reform", Journal of British Studies, VII (1967), Cain, P., "Political Economy in Edwardian England: The Tariff-Reform Controversy", in O'Day, A., (ed.), The Edwardian Age, (London 1979); Rempel, R., Unionists Divided: Arthur Balfour, Joseph Chamberlain and the Unionist Free Traders, (Newton Abbot, 1972), idem., "Tariff Reform and the Resurgence of the Liberal Party", Proceedings of the Canadian Historical Association, 1967.
- 108 Clarke, P.F., Liberals and Social Democrats, (London 1978); Porter, B, Critics of Empire, (London 1968); Durrans, P., "A Two-Edged Sword: The Liberal Attack on Disraelian Imperialism", Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History, X, No. 3, (May 1982), Searle, G.R., The Quest for National Efficiency, (Oxford 1971).
- 109 Matthews, H.C.G., op. cit., Jacobson, P.D., op. cit., Gutzke, D.W., op. cit.
- 110 Fahey, D.M., "The Politics of Drink: Pressure Groups and the British Liberal Party, 1883-1908", Social Science, 54, part two, (1979).
- 111 McCready, H.W., "Home Rule and the Liberal Party, 1899-1906", Irish Historical Studies, XIII, No. 52, (September 1963); Jalland, P., The Liberals and Ireland, (London 1980), ch. 1.
- 112 Russell, A.K., Liberal Landslide: The General Election of 1906, (Newton Abbot, 1973).
- 113 Russell, A.K., "Laying the Charges: The Revival of Liberal Party Organisation 1902-5", in Morris, A.J.A., (ed.), op. cit.; McCready, H.W., "Chief Whip and Party Funds: The Work of Herbert Gladstone 1899-1906", Canadian Journal of History, 1971, (December).
- 114 See below section three.
- 115 The exception was the Trade Union Tariff Reform Association but it had no adherents in Huddersfield. See Brown, K.D., "The Trade Union Tariff Reform Association, 1904-1913", Journal of British Studies, 9, (1970).
- 116 HE, 29 March 1902.
- 117 HC, 29 March 1902.
- 118 See table five below for the composition of the School Board 1886-1903.

- 119 HC, 26 April 1902, Conservative John Quarmby.
- 120 Ibid., and HC, 3 May. He also argued that the bill made inadequate provision for secondary education and perpetuated religious tests for teachers.
- 121 HLAM EC, 15 April 1902; Sub-committee, 18 April 1902. T.C. Mins., 16 April 1902.
- 122 T.C. Mins., 23 April 1902. Pickles, W., and Riley, B. as the I.L.P.'s representatives on the School Board, firmly backed Balmforth's stance.
- 123 HE, 19 April 1902.
- 124 HC, 3 May and 11 October 1902.
- 125 HC, 3 May 1902.
- 126 Ibid, at his Sunday sermon.
- 127 HC, 25 October 1902.
- 128 Quoted in HC, 8 November 1902.
- 129 Ibid, HE, 2 and 8 November 1902.
- 130 Munson, J.E.B., "A Study of Nonconformity in Edwardian England, as revealed by the Passive Resistance Movement Against the 1902 Education Act", unpublished PhD, Oxford (Keble) 1973, chapter six.
- 131 HC, 20 June 1903. Rev. D.W. Jenkins was President and Rev. Slater, Secretary. Also, Munson, ibid.
- 132 HE, 12 November 1904.
- 133 Musson, op. cit., HE, 22 September 1906.
- 134 HE, 11 December 1909 and 7 February 1914.
- 135 HE, 24 December 1904.
- 136 See Munson, op. cit., chap. seven.
- 137 HC, 11 October 1902.
- 138 Munson, op. cit., pp.265-6.
- 139 HC, 7 November 1903.
- 140 On this see Brown, K.D., op. cit., Sykes, A., op. cit., and Cain, P., op. cit.

- 141 HLAM, Full Council, 30 January 1903.
- 142 HLAM, EC, 20 February 1903.
- 143 HC, 15 August 1903.
- 144 HLAM, Full Council, 31 July 1903.
- 145 HE and HC, 3 October 1903; and HE, 19 September 1903.
- 146 HC, 23 May 1903.
- 147 HC, 3 October 1903.
- 148 HC, 31 October 1903.
- 149 HE, 25 June 1904.
- 150 HE, 3 June 1905.
- 151 Biographical information is sparse and is mostly derived from HC, 31 October 1903.
- 152 HE, 12 December 1903. Philip Snowden later said of Fraser: "Mr. Fraser and his contemporary - Mr. H.W. Massingham - were, in my opinion, the two ablest Parliamentary sketch-writers of that time." (Autobiography, London 1934, vol. one, p.140).
- 153 HC, 12 December 1903.
- 154 Ibid., and his speech at the Liberal Unionist Club on 12 March 1904, in HE, 19 March 1904.
- 155 This figure comes from an HLUA canvas in January 1906 - see HE, 3 March 1906. The membership of the HLUA itself around this time was about 150.
- 156 HC, 12 December 1903.
- 157 See his obituary in HE, 29 October 1904.
- 158 Sugden, J., Slaithwaite Notes, (Second edition, Manchester 1905), p.162.
- 159 Ibid., pp.169-172.
- 160 HE, 26 March 1904.
- 161 AGM held on 11 January 1905, see HE, 14 January 1905.
- 162 Dr. Marshall was President of the HLUA from 1904 until its demise in 1911. He was described as "utterly terrifying ... rather in the Lord Kitchener mould" by Elma Thomson (daughter of George Thomson in her unpublished reminiscences). Marshall's speech on 13 December 1905, (HE, 16 December 1905), effectively summarises his position.

- 163 Kaye (1856-1923) was the first chairman of the Huddersfield Fine Cloth Manufacturers' Association, a director of the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway Company, a director of Lloyd's Bank, chairman and president of the HCA, and president of the Chamber of Commerce. He was parliamentary Conservative candidate for Huddersfield between 1910 and 1918, and was created a baronet in January 1923.
- 164 HC, 4 July 1903. There is no evidence that the divergence was linked to particular types of trade or sections of the textile industry as was the case in Bradford. Division was purely political.
- 165 HE, 14 July 1906. The abstentions included the Chambers of Commerce of London, Leeds, Birmingham and Keighley. Those thirty-five which opposed the vote included Bradford, Barnsley, Oldham and Manchester. 107 voted in favour.
- 166 HE, 27 February 1909.
- 167 Between 1900 and 1905 iron, steel and engineering exports rose by only 8.6 per cent compared to a 28.7 per cent rise in textile exports (See Kinnear, M., op. cit., p.30).
- 168 See chapter four table seven and: Sigsworth, E.M., and Blackman, J.M., "The Woollen and Worsted Industries", in Aldcroft, D.H., (ed.), The Development of British Industry and Foreign Competition, 1875-1914, (London 1968).
- 169 F. Learoyd of Learoyd Bros. and Co. Ltd., Trafalgar Mills, Huddersfield. Report of the Tariff Commission, (London 1905), Vol 2 (Textiles), Part 2 (Evidence on Woollens), paragraph 1753.
- 170 Alfred Sykes of Joseph Sykes and Co. Ltd., Brockholes, near Huddersfield. Ibid., paragraph 1766.
- 171 Ibid., paragraph 1793. See also Sigsworth and Blackman, op. cit., and the Huddersfield Chamber of Commerce debate on 30 June 1903, in HC, 4 July 1903, during which the U.S. McKinley tariff was blamed for the loss of £5m of woollen exports from Huddersfield since 1890.
- 172 See chapter five.
- 173 HE, 23 May 1903.
- 174 HLAM, EC, 18 September 1903.
- 175 Rempel, R.A., "Tariff Reform and the Resurgence of the Liberal Party", Proceedings of the Canadian Historical Association, 1967, p.157.

- 176 HLAM, AGM, 15 January 1904.
- 177 Ibid., 20 January 1905.
- 178 See Clarke, M.G., op. cit., pp.32-34.
- 179 HE, 23 January 1904.
- 180 HE, 16 April 1904. Birrell was shadow education spokesman.
- 181 HE, 21 October 1905.
- 182 HLAM EC, 17 April 1903. Morrison succeeded James Crossley, who had held the post for seventeen years, in 1902 but only became full-time in 1903 when he was salaried at £180 per annum.
- 183 Ibid., Full Council.
- 184 Ibid., EC, 8 April 1904.
- 185 Ibid., Full Council, 29 July 1904.
- 186 Ibid., Full Council, 13 October 1905.
- 187 HE, 20 August 1904; also HE, 23 April 1904.
- 188 See for example HE, 2 and 9 July 1904.
- 189 Parliamentary Debates, Fourth Series, vol 134, 9 May 1904.
- 190 HE, 23 April and 14 May 1904 on Licensing Bill. See also chapter four.
- 191 ILP News, June 1899. A third, Milnsbridge, was outside the borough but had close connections with the town although it usually aligned itself with the Colne Valley labour movement.
- 192 Tom Topping of the ASRS at Fartown in November 1897.
- 193 Labour Leader, 15 September 1900; ILP News, November 1899.
- 194 ILP News, May and August 1898, and July 1899.
- 195 On this issue see Bealey and Pelling, op. cit., pp.41-42; also Poiner, P.P., op. cit., pp.100-117.
- 196 T.C. Mins., Full Council, 22 March 1899.
- 197 Ibid., EC, 10 October 1900.
- 198 Ibid., AGM, 20 September 1899; also Pelling, H., The Origins of the Labour Party, 1880-1900, (Oxford 1965), chapter ten.

- 199 Bealey and Pelling, op. cit., pp.24-31; Pelling, ibid., passim.
- 200 National Executive Committee Minutes of the Labour Representation Committee (Harvester, Brighton, microfilm), 28 February 1900, (Hereafter 'NEC Mins. of LRC'). Gee was actually prevented from taking up his seat until the General Union of Weavers and Textile Workers had affiliated to the LRC in April 1900: see his letter to Ramsay MacDonald, 30 April 1900 in General Correspondence of the Labour Party (Harvester microfilm, Brighton), 1/466 (Hereafter 'Labour Party Corres.'). Allen Gee went on to become Chairman of the LRC (1901-2), Treasurer (1903-4) and Vice-Chairman (1904-5).
- 201 Bealey and Pelling, op. cit., p.31.
- 202 T.C. Mins., 25 April 1900.
- 203 E. Wimpenny, (Secretary of Huddersfield Trades Council) to J.R. MacDonald, (Secretary of the LRC), 8 and 15 May 1900, in Labour Party Corresp. 1/186-187.
- 204 T.C. Mins., 23 May 1900.
- 205 HC, 8 September 1900. The best local account of the conference is in the Chronicle in view of the fact that Examiner reporters were excluded by Congress because the paper employed non-union labour. Also useful is the Thirty-Third T.U.C. in Huddersfield, 3 - 8 September 1900: Official Programme, (Huddersfield, 1900).
- 206 T.C. Mins., 26 September and 24 October 1900; 23 January and 27 February 1901. The societies were: Co-operative Employees', Cordwainers', Enginemen and Cranemens', Plumbers', French Polishers', Engineers' (rejoined) and Thick Wire Drawers'.
- 207 T.C. Mins., 24 April 1901, and table four above.
- 208 See Huddersfield and District Associated Trades and Industrial Council Jubilee Souvenir, 1885-1935, (Huddersfield, 1935), pp.22-23.
- 209 T.C. Mins., 26 September 1900.
- 210 Ibid., 10 October 1900. Allen Gee, of course, had been given leave of absence by the Yorkshire Factory Times. It was a recurring problem for Labour.
- 211 Ibid.
- 212 Ibid.

- 213 YFT, 30 November 1900; HC, 24 November 1900.
- 214 YFT, 7 and 29 December 1900.
- 215 HC, 22 December 1900.
- 216 YFT, 11 January 1901.
- 217 T.C. Mins., 2 January 1901; YFT, 11 January 1901. Only thirty-nine voted out of a full complement of around sixty.
- 218 Information drawn from various sources. For Wimpenny see YFT, 4 March 1904.
- 219 HC, 26 January 1901. Three candidates had withdrawn to prevent a contest. In 1903 when the School Board was abolished Pickles and Riley were co-opted on to the new Education Committee.
- 220 HC, 30 March 1901. They were: Edgar Whiteley, William Wheatley, F.C. Key, E. Wimpenny, J. Hewing, Mrs. Shaw, Mrs. France and Mrs. Schofield. See YFT, 1 March 1901.
- 221 HE, 2 November 1901.
- 222 T.C. Mins., 27 March 1901; E. Wimpenny to J.R. MacDonald, 7 April 1901, Labour Party Corresp. 2/140; also Bealey and Pelling, op. cit., p.53.
- 223 T.C. Mins., 28 August 1901; YFT, 6 September 1901.
- 224 On the impact of Taff Vale see: Bealey and Pelling, op. cit., chapter four, Saville, J., "Trade Unions and Free Labour: The Background to Taff Vale", in Briggs, A., and Saville, J., (eds.), Essays in Labour History, (London 1960); Clegg, H.A., Fox, A. and Thompson, A.F., A History of British Trade Unions since 1889, Volume One: 1889-1910, (Oxford 1964), pp.313-325; Alderman, G., "The National Free Labour Association", International Review of Social History, XI, (1976); Poirier, P.P., op. cit., chapter eight; Moore, R., The Emergence of the Labour Party 1880-1924, (London 1978), part five; Brown, K.D., "Trade Unions and the Law", in Wrigley, C., (ed.), A History of British Industrial Relations, (Brighton, 1982), pp.116-34.
- 225 T.C. Mins., 17 July 1901; Bealey and Pelling, op. cit., pp.77-78.
- 226 T.C. Mins., 8 January 1902.
- 227 Clegg, Fox and Thompson, op. cit., pp.305-313; Pelling, H., "Trade Unions, Workers and the Law" in his Popular Politics and Society in Late Victorian Britain, (London 1967).
- 228 Bealey and Pelling, op. cit., p.83.

- 229 11 January 1902, Labour Party Corresp. 3/314.
- 230 Ibid.
- 231 YFT, 20 September 1901.
- 232 Bealey and Pelling, op. cit., pp.32-41. Two Huddersfield unions became affiliated to the national LRC during 1900: the General Union of Textile Workers (April) and the Huddersfield and District Dyers' (September). A further two joined in 1902 and 1903: Huddersfield Healders' and Twisters' (November 1902) and the Huddersfield Power Loom Tuners' (September 1903). See, NEC Mins of LRC passim.
- 233 T.C. Mins., 25 February 1902.
- 234 See table four above.
- 235 E. Wimpenny to MacDonald, 3 April 1902, Labour Party Corresp. 4/108; also 4/109-112; T.C. Mins., 21 May 1902.
- 236 See YFT, 30 May 1902; HC and HE, 31 May 1902.
- 237 Ibid. Proposed by J. Hewing (Bricklayers' and LRC), seconded by Hirst (Colne Valley Textile Workers) and supported by MacDonald.
- 238 Ibid. Proposed by Allen Gee (Textile Workers') and supported by T. Walker (Bookbinders'), B. Littlewood (ILP), L. Taylor (Postmen), A. Shaw (Weavers').
- 239 Ibid. Proposed by B. Firth (Plasterers') seconded by J. Marsden (ASRS) and supported by W. Kellett (ILP) and E. Wimpenny (Textile Workers').
- 240 YFT, 12 September 1902; HC, 6 September 1902.
- 241 HC, 28 February 1903.
- 242 YFT, 6 March 1903.
- 243 HE, 21 March 1903.
- 244 YFT, 3 April 1903.
- 245 YFT, 20 March 1903.
- 246 T.C. Mins., 20 May and 17 June 1903.
- 247 YFT, 3 July 1903. About two-thirds were present.
- 248 Ibid. Whiteley was later Labour councillor for Moldgreen 1904-7 and the Huddersfield ILP's agent until 1907 when he moved to become manager of the National Labour Press in Manchester. He was also at one time manager of the Huddersfield Worker and the Labour Leader.

- 249 T.C. Mins., 24 June 1903.
- 250 YFT, op. cit., and HC, 27 June 1903.
- 251 HE, 27 June 1903.
- 252 See letters from J.W. Brierley (Secretary, Trades Council) to J.R. MacDonald, 29 June and 20 July 1903 in Labour Party Corresp. 9/205 and 10/221.
- 253 HC, 8 August 1903; YFT, 14 August 1903. The ILP branches were Huddersfield, Longwood and Milnsbridge. Roughly half those societies affiliated to the Trades Council were present.
- 254 Ibid.
- 255 Ibid.
- 256 J.W. Brierley to MacDonald, 8 August 1903, in Labour Party Corresp., 10/223.
- 257 The committee comprised: W. Pickles, J.W. Brierley, E. Whiteley, J.S. Armitage, A. Shaw, A.J. Cliffe, W. Wheatley, A. Parr, W. Key, J. Brook and J. Lawton (YFT, op. cit.), overwhelmingly sympathetic to the ILP.
- 258 YFT, 7 August 1903.
- 259 YFT, 28 August 1903.
- 260 See joint Trades Council/ILP meeting on 16 September in YFT, 25 September 1903.
- 261 T.C. Mins., 26 August 1903; HC, 29 August 1903.
- 262 YFT, 23 October 1903.
- 263 T.C. Mins., 25 November 1903; YFT, 4 December 1903, T.C. Letter Book, volume one, 5 August 1909.
- 264 T.C. Mins., 8 December 1903.
- 265 T.C. Mins., 24 February 1904.
- 266 T.C. Mins., 23 March 1904; YFT, 1 April 1904.
- 267 The Huddersfield ILP affiliated to the Trades Council in July 1904 and the Longwood ILP in September 1905. (YFT, 1 July 1904; T.C. Mins, passim, and Letterbook, vol. one, 5 August 1909).
- 268 YFT, 1 July 1904 and 12 August 1904; T.C. Mins., 3 and 9 August 1904, 5 October 1904 and 17 May 1905.

- 269 YFT, 12 February 1904; HE, 6 February 1904.
- 270 Biographical information is extremely sparse but see Labour Leader, 23 November 1906; Clark, D., Colne Valley: Radicalism to Socialism, (London 1981), pp.120, 130-2, 147, 156 and 170; also Pierson, S., British Socialists: The Journey from Fantasy to Politics, (Cambridge, Mass., USA, 1979) p.132; plus miscellaneous snippets in the local press. Williams was later a contender for the Colne Valley Labour candidature, which Grayson won, and fought Spen Valley for the ILP in 1910. He was much involved with the Keighley ILP. I am indebted to David James for additional information on Williams.
- 271 Pierson, S., ibid.
- 272 Yeo, S., "A New Life: The Religion of Socialism in Britain, 1883-96", History Workshop Journal, No. 4, (Autumn 1977); and also his further thoughts in: "Towards 'making form of more moment than spirit': Further thoughts on Labour, Socialism and the New Life from the late 1880s to the present", in Jowitt, J. A., and Taylor, R.K.S., (eds.), Bradford 1890-1914: The Cradle of the Independent Labour Party, (Bradford 1980). Clark, D., op. cit., pp.145-50 and 186-9; Pierson, op. cit., chapters two, four, five and six.
- 273 For example Harrison, R., "The Religion of Socialism" (letter), History Workshop Journal, 5 (1978), pp.214-217; also Lancaster, B., "Socialism in the Colne Valley", an essay in review of Clark's Colne Valley ..., in Bulletin of the Society for the Study of Labour History, No. 44, (Spring 1982), pp.59-61.
- 274 Harrison, ibid., p.216.
- 275 Lancaster, op. cit.
- 276 The number of municipal contests rose from two in 1899 and 1900 to eight in 1901 and ten in 1904 (see appendix).
- 277 Rev. F.R. Swan will be discussed in chapter six. Rev. Robinson was a Baptist minister from Oakes in Huddersfield and represented Labour on the Board of Guardians.
- 278 Clark, D., op. cit., p.150.
- 279 See ibid., chapter nine; Pierson, S., op. cit., pp.47-50.
- 280 YFT, 30 June 1905.
- 281 HE, 15 April 1905.
- 282 Ibid.

- 283 For comment on the Clitheroe by-election see: Bealey and Pelling, op. cit., chapter five, Poirier, P.P., op. cit., chapter eight; Bealey, F., "The Northern Weavers, Independent Labour Representation and Clitheroe 1902", Manchester School, 25 (1957), pp.26-60. On Barnard Castle: Bealey and Pelling, op. cit., Poirier, P.P., op. cit., chapter eleven, Purdue, A.W., "Arthur Henderson and Liberal, Liberal-Labour and Labour Politics in the North-East of England, 1892-1903", Northern History, XI (1976), pp.195-217.
- 284 HE, 5 November 1904. Labour gains in North (William Wheatley) Moldgreen (Edgar Whiteley) and Lindley (William Pickles) wards. Allen Gee had been made an alderman in February 1904.
- 285 HE, 26 November 1904. Riley - 469, Sugden - 390; turnout - 60.5 per cent.
- 286 24 November 1904, Labour Party Corresp. 17/221.
- 287 HE, 4 November 1905; HW, 20 October 1905 and 17 November 1905.
- 288 T.C. Mins., 5 October 1904; YFT, 10 February 1905. £100 had been raised by February 1905, see a letter to MacDonald in Labour Party Corresp., 20/121.
- 289 NEC Mins. of LRC, 15 February and 13 April 1905; YFT, 24 February 1905.
- 290 Much information on the Worker was accrued from an article by Stanley Chadwick in HE, 12 January 1974. Unfortunately, Mr Chadwick neglects to cite his sources.
- 291 YFT, 23 June 1905.
- 292 HE, 21 July 1905.
- 293 HE, 6 February 1904.
- 294 HE, 25 March 1905.
- 295 Bealey, F., "Negotiations between the Liberal Party and the LRC before the General Election of 1906:", Bulletin of the Institute for Historical Research, November 1956, idem., "The Electoral Arrangement between the LRC and the Liberal Party", Journal of Modern History, December 1956; Bealey and Pelling, op. cit., chapter six.
- 296 HE, 25 November 1905, HW, 17 November 1905.
- 297 HC, 25 November 1905, also HC, 5 November 1904 and 25 March 1905.

- 298 Bingley, 1903, (Copy in the G.H. Wood Collection, Huddersfield Polytechnic Library), p.14.
- 299 This confirms work by Reynolds, J., and Laybourn, K., "The Emergence of the Independent Labour Party in Bradford", International Review of Social History, XX, (1975); also Hill, J., "Manchester and Salford Politics and the Early Development of the ILP", International Review of Social History, XXVI, (1981).

CHAPTER SIX

OLD LIBERALISM AND THE APOGEE OF SOCIALISM, 1905-9

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1. The 1906 General Election

To be an active socialist at that time was an adventure - you were up against all t' social conventions, t' press, t' police, church and state, and sometimes your own family as well.¹

The 1906 Liberal landslide election, which restored the Liberal Party to office after an absence of over a decade, ranks alongside the elections of 1886 and 1910 both as a political watershed and as an inspiration for conflicting interpretations of its significance. Some historians have seen the election, despite the sheer scale of the swing away from the Conservatives to the Liberal Party², as the last fling of a Victorian Liberalism fatally destined to be undermined by those Labour members it had allowed to enter the Commons under the 1903 pact. Dangerfield's oft-quoted remark that "with the election of fifty-three Labour representatives, the death of Liberalism was pronounced; it was no longer the Left"³, has received the backing of those historians who hold that the 1906 landslide was a fortuitous and unrepeatable coincidence of Conservative disarray due to Tariff Reform and Liberal unity resulting from the Education, Licensing and Home Rule issues, with Chinese 'slavery' and Taff Vale thrown in for good measure. Even amidst victory, therefore, the presence of Labour and the Liberal Party's reliance on increasingly obsolete issues reflected signs of imminent decay. Thus Paul Thompson held that the Liberal revival of 1903-6 "gave a deceptive illusion of strength, for it was not based on the solution of the Liberal Party's real problems. It still lacked a firm working-class basis,

a secure financial backing and a coherent political standpoint."⁴ Similarly Pelling argued that the Liberal Party was returned in 1906 "on an extremely negative programme"⁵, while A.K. Russell wondered whether it could "contain within its own political future the formidable challenge implicit in the emergence of the Labour Party."⁶ Other historians, however, have seen the 1906 landslide as indisputable evidence of Liberalism's continued vitality and popularity: a foreshadowing indeed of the 'New Liberal' welfare reforms which were to ensue. P.F. Clarke saw it as "a progressive victory" rather than as one for Free Trade,⁷ while Wilson failed to see in it any traces of Liberal weakness, believing that the Party's "electoral victories from 1906 to 1910 appeared to show it fully recovered" from its earlier problems,⁸ a thesis with which K. O. Morgan tends to agree: "If later years saw the 'strange death' of Liberal England (and Wales), in the aftermath of 1906 the Liberal Party was undeniably in full and vigorous health."⁹ Moreover, the renewal of the 1906 Liberal mandate twice in 1910, together with the ostensibly poor performance of the Labour Party both in Parliament and in by-elections after 1908,¹⁰ seemed to indicate that Liberalism remained viable until knocked down by that "rampant omnibus", the First World War.¹¹

In Huddersfield the 1906 general election was to demonstrate two factors: the continued predominance of the Liberal Party and more importantly the extent to which Labour had revived sufficiently since the forging of a formal alliance between the I.L.P. and the Trades Council in 1904 to pose a significant threat. It was with sincerity

that Russell Williams wrote to Ramsay MacDonald on 8 December 1905 that "We are likely to win Hud. [sic]. This is no 'bluff' Hudd. is in the reckoning this time. The greatest enthusiasm prevails everywhere I go."¹² Nor was this a totally unrealistic claim: since November 1903 Labour had augmented its municipal representation by five and its membership on the Board of Guardians by two.¹³ Election committees involving some 500 members had been established in all wards of the constituency to supplement those Labour clubs at Longwood and Milnsbridge which were still active, and Tom Paylor from Leeds had been appointed as a permanent organiser and election agent.¹⁴ The Worker charted an onslaught of Labour propagandist meetings during 1905, which the Leeds Mercury noted had "immensely strengthened their position in the town,"¹⁵ culminating in a mass meeting in the Town Hall on 16 December 1905 at which Williams prefaced the opening of his campaign with a firm commitment to 'pure' Socialism, enshrined in what was to become his motto: "That which is socially needed ought to be socially owned."¹⁶ Indeed much of the optimism in the Labour camp was attributable to Williams' espousal of Socialism, as one supporter remarked: "Our man is not one of your milk-and-water LRC men. He's an out-and-out Socialist. Socialism is the only cure for the evils of the present industrial and social conditions and our man goes the whole Socialist ticket - that's why I'm certain we'll win."¹⁷

The Liberal Party was naturally less certain as to Williams' chances and through the Examiner and its editor, Ernest Woodhead, pursued an overtly aggressive campaign towards Labour, insinuating Socialism's

espousal of free love and laxity of morals. This culminated in an exchange of personal abuse between Woodhead and Williams, the latter describing Woodhead as "a disgrace to journalism"¹⁸ and "responsible for all the petty meannesses and discreditable subterfuges of the Examiner"¹⁹, while Woodhead sarcastically inquired "whether a man whose reasoning powers are so rudimentary as those which Mr. Williams displays ... is likely to render much service to the cause of progress."²⁰ It was thus fortunate for the Huddersfield Labour Party that it could now boast its own paper, The Worker, which although only a monthly until November 1906, was able to counter the Liberal Party's aspersions fairly effectively, and raise a significant amount of money for the campaign, as well as report on Williams' meetings, frequently neglected by the other newspapers. During the election itself, 80,000 special editions of the paper were distributed free and the importance of its role was undoubted.²¹

Balfour resigned from office on 4 December 1905, hoping to exploit Liberal divisions but the Relugas Compact collapsed and Campbell-Bannerman was able to form a government with ease, announcing an election for January.²² In Huddersfield the announcement was greeted with restraint: an election had been expected since 1903, while all three candidates and party organisations had been on an election footing for months and the issues had been rehearsed and thrashed out in advance. Thus the campaign, begun simultaneously by Woodhouse and Fraser on 2 January, took on a somewhat somnambulant air. Despite clearly discernible divisions in the Unionist camp both

nationally, and to an extent locally, the Huddersfield Chronicle insisted that "at the most they are divisions only of degree ... though Mr. Balfour cannot see his course clear to go all the way with Mr. Chamberlain, there is not the slightest doubt but that these two great statesmen are in entire accord on the essential principle involved."²³ Nevertheless, from Fraser's election address it was evident that Home Rule would figure as largely as Protection in the Unionist campaign in order both to ensure the thorough-going support of the Liberal Unionists, numbering a not inconsiderable 541 electors at this time, and hopefully to revive Liberal divisions.²⁴ Moreover, Fraser's commitment to Protection continued to smack much more of vague Balfourite reciprocation than of Chamberlainite Tariff Reform and his greatest stress was an imperial preference and federation rather than on sweeping fiscal reform, thereby avoiding the 'dear food' jibe.²⁵ Nevertheless, the inconstancy of the Liberal Unionist vote was well illustrated by a letter in the local press from a "Free Trade Liberal Unionist" who claimed he could not "support or vote for any Tory candidate, whose object seems to be to serve the interests of the wealthy classes at the expense of the working classes."²⁶ On balance it appeared that Fraser's campaign during 1905 of pacifying and wooing the Liberal Unionists²⁷ had not been altogether successful.

Importantly, however, Fraser shared with Woodhouse an awareness of the threat posed by Williams and both did their utmost to appeal to the working-class vote. Fraser set about this by linking Protection to wages and employment: "Much of the unemployment and starvation

which disfigure this realm are directly due to cheap foreign goods ... being allowed free entry into our country ... This unfair competition prevents the legitimate development and expansion of our own industries and hinders our own worker obtaining better wages."²⁸ Woodhouse, for his part, was content to espouse a comprehensive list of 'social reforms' which sounded impressive but actually amounted to little more than taxation of land values, reform of the Poor Law, popular control of the drink trade, graduated income tax and a miners' Eight-Hour Day, plus the habitual electoral reforms.²⁹ Not only was there little here that was new but what there was receded rapidly into the background: the main emphasis in his address and his campaign was on retrenchment, Free Trade, Education and Licensing.³⁰ As elsewhere in the country in 1906, there was little foreshadowing of the New Liberal welfare reforms which were to ensue. Woodhouse argued that the extravagant expenditure during and after the "blunders and incapacity" of the Boer War had "dissipated the savings of fifty years", and it was this that was responsible for trade depression, high food prices and unemployment. In reality, therefore, Woodhouse's platform, despite his espousal of "social not fiscal reform" was very much of the traditional "Peace, Retrenchment and Reform" variety, with basic commitments to the old Liberal Nonconformist watchwords of temperance and free education and free trade, with a nod towards trade-union law amendment and old age pensions.³¹

Unfortunately no copies of Russell Williams' address survive nor did a reproduction appear in any of the local papers, including The Worker, so one can only surmise what it contained from his campaign meetings,

which were themselves sparsely reported. His most pertinent theme was the basic need for independent labour representation if sweeping social and economic reforms were ever to be achieved, as he remarked: "There has never been a great political party in power the activity of which has been shaped by the great guiding principle of industrial reform. When either Liberal or Tory party had conceded a point in legislation to the workers it has invariably been under the pressure of circumstances."³² Indeed, as A.K. Russell has shown, this theme figured more than any other in Labour candidates' addresses across the country, followed by Taff Vale.³³ This basic aim aside, Williams' firm commitment to Socialism encompassed trade union law reform, abolition of the Lords, adult suffrage, government provision of work for the unemployed, pensions, state maintenance of needy children and nationalisation of the railways, in addition to more familiarly Liberal aims like Home Rule, temperance reform and Free Trade.³⁴ In sum this was not as wide-ranging or as revolutionary as Williams' own motto, "that which is socially needed ought to be socially owned", would lead one to believe. Nor was this atypical. As Russell has observed: "The reformist programme of the LRC ... was not greatly dissimilar from that of the Liberal Party; but it was supported and distinguished by constant reiteration of the views that only by increasing working class representation could the vigorous presentation of the programme be guaranteed."³⁵ So Williams' differentiation from Woodhouse had more to do with semantics than with policies, and in this context Williams' 'religious' approach to Socialism, which was to reach its apogee in the ensuing few years, was extremely important in offering working people an alternative

Christian life style without being overtly revolutionary.

Simultaneously it attracted more moderate middle class voters anxious to see a greater advance in social reform.³⁶

The campaign itself was short and all three candidates crammed up to six meetings a day into their busy itineraries. Asquith was the most notable visitor to the town during the election and gained instant notoriety by dubbing Williams' candidature "an act of aggression" which, he said, divided "the party of progress" and "may imperil the cause of Free Trade."³⁷ Defending Woodhouse's record on labour questions, he reiterated that "We Liberals, I need not say, are no enemies of the direct representation of labour".³⁸ Asquith's presence was an undoubted setback to Labour as Edgar Whiteley had earlier prophesied: "We shall have a stiff fight here, Mr. Asquith is to speak for the Liberal candidate in January"³⁹, and indeed the theme of Lib-Lab co-operation and 'progressive' solidarity was effectively taken up by Woodhouse on several occasions. At a meeting in the working class Paddock ward on 10 January, for example, he spoke of his sympathy for the aims of Labour, and claimed that if Huddersfield had been a double-seat constituency he would have "used his influence to secure one for a Labour member."⁴⁰ Furthermore, speaking at Longwood, another notoriously Labour-inclined ward, he stamped Williams as an extremist, warning that "Nothing would help so much to keep the House of Lords alive as a legislative assembly" as the Socialist party "because they frightened the country and weakened the Progressive majority."⁴¹ Yet at the same time John Pyrah of the HJLA announced that "Sir James would support at least 80% of Mr. Russell Williams' demands."⁴² In fact Woodhouse was not short of

influential Lib-Lab support in the form of letters from Richard Bell, Thomas Burt and Charles Fenwick who referred to Sir James' "cordial and ready support of all Labour projects in Parliament."⁴³

Precisely how much impact all these claims had on the working-class vote is difficult to ascertain: increasingly, as has been seen, the Labour Party's appeal revolved less upon materialistic advance than it had done previously and more upon the 'religious' appeal of Socialism, all too evident from the support Williams received from, amongst others, Victor Grayson and the Reverend J.W. Moore, the Socialist rector of Kirkheaton, who proclaimed that "the cause of the Labour Party was the cause of righteousness and justice."⁴⁴

Yet although Williams was successful in forcing his opponents at least to discuss labour representation, the campaign pivotted on the twin issues of Protection and Home Rule, and in both these areas the Conservatives struck problems which undoubtedly benefited Woodhouse. Firstly, Fraser's claim that "for the sake of the trade of this good old town" some measure of protection must be adopted, held little water, given the generally improving local condition of trade. Huddersfield textile exports to the United States during 1905 had increased by 28.4 per cent on the previous year and at last trade appeared to be on a steadily upward turn after the slump of the late 1890's.⁴⁵ The Yorkshire Factory Times observed that "Under the present system trade seems to be flourishing in a remarkable degree" and the Examiner was in broad agreement.⁴⁶ Consequently Fraser was not presented with the best of industrial conditions for propagating protection even though he received the backing of several

influential millowners who were not averse to making their beliefs well known to their workpeople. At a meeting at B. Vickerman and Sons on Taylor Hill, for example, a director of the firm claimed that "there was no desire to influence the votes of the workmen by having the meeting held there" but that "It would be a fearful grief to his father, as head of the concern, if they could not give the workpeople full work; but they could not continue to do so with such tariffs."⁴⁷

Secondly, Fraser's concentration on the Home Rule issue almost certainly robbed him of the Irish Catholic vote. Until the election Catholic opinion had been divided: as Home Rule had receded and been shelved by the Liberal Party in the form of a 'step-by-step' policy⁴⁸ many had sided with the Conservatives especially after the 1902 Education Act had provided for the aided Catholic schools. However, much Irish republican support for Liberalism remained and when Campbell-Bannerman raised once more the banner of Home Rule during his Stirling speech of 23 November 1905 he signalled the revival of local Irish feeling.⁴⁹ In Huddersfield there emerged a confusion of Irish opinion as Tom Paylor, Williams' election agent, readily recognised: "the Irishmen are at sixes and sevens."⁵⁰ He believed that the Irish vote was up for grabs and that "Tremendous efforts are being made by the Liberal Party" to capture it, but that if Michael Davitt could be persuaded to speak in Huddersfield then Williams may have a good chance of winning a large share.⁵¹ Perceiving the contest to be between Woodhouse and Williams, Paylor argued that "With the Irish vote we can view with complacency the

transference of Liberal Unionist votes from Foster Frazer [sic] (C.) to Sir J. Woodhouse (L.) over the fiscal question", adding that "Asquith speaks here on Monday and this will not tend to make the Liberal position any better so far as the Home Rule question is concerned."⁵² The main disagreement amongst the Irish seems to have been over whether preference should be given to the education issue or Home Rule.⁵³ Canon Stephen Dolan, the nominal leader of the Irish Catholic community in Huddersfield, believed the defence of the 1902 Education Act was paramount, but the Irish Association meeting on 7 January voted to support Woodhouse.⁵⁴ This placed Dolan in a difficult position and he was forced to issue his habitual pre-election pulpit sermon not in support of any particular candidate but with the words that "Each Catholic was perfectly at liberty to vote according to his own conscience" pausing, however, to add: "but there was the question of the schools that must not be lost sight of."⁵⁵

Paylor's plea that Davitt visit Huddersfield came to nothing, but in any event it was unlikely that either the Irish Association or Dolan would have advocated support for Labour when Woodhouse was in the field.⁵⁶ What the issue did illustrate was how the 900 or so Liberal Unionist and Irish voters were evidently taxing the parties' canvassing, giving a hint of how close the result was likely to be. It must, therefore, have been a sore disappointment to the Huddersfield Labour Party that it did not get those big names to speak in the constituency which may have made all the difference to the eventual result. Apart from Grayson, Frank Rose, Labour candidate

for Stockton, was the only non-local Labour figure to speak in support of Williams during the election campaign and no others were forthcoming despite urgent pleas to MacDonald from Edgar Whiteley, Tom Paylor and from Williams himself.⁵⁷ Indeed as early as 27 November 1905 J.W. Brierley, secretary of Williams' election committee, had reported problems in obtaining speakers after several had backed out.⁵⁸ The danger of this, as Williams pointed out, was that it was easy for the Liberals to "sedulously foster" the idea "that responsible leaders of the movement discountenance my candidature."⁵⁹ Although MacDonald subsequently wrote a full letter of endorsement to scotch such rumours, the impression remains from correspondence that the national party organisation was heavily overburdened and unable to respond to local party requests at short notice, even in a constituency as promising as Huddersfield; MacDonald himself admitted that "the Huddersfield people have made a very substantial move towards success and your prospects have been very greatly improved within the last nine months."⁶⁰

There was, however, more to it than met the eye. In retrospect it is clear that MacDonald's reluctance either to speak himself in Huddersfield or to send a party leader had more sinister overtones and can be traced to his wish not to upset further the secret 1903 pact with the Liberals.⁶¹ It would have been provocative for him to have supported Williams at any time, and especially so after Asquith's condemnation of the candidature as "an act of aggression". There were, after all, Liberal candidates far less advanced than Woodhouse on labour questions and although there is no evidence that Huddersfield

was at any time discussed as a possibility for inclusion in the 1903 agreement it is probable that the LRC leaders would have refrained from contesting the seat "Had it not been for the strong local enthusiasm" of the Huddersfield ILP.⁶² Indeed there can be discerned from MacDonald's correspondence with J.W. Brierley, secretary of the Trades Council, during the protracted period of Williams' selection and adoption as prospective candidate, a certain reluctance and tardiness which increasingly exasperated the local party.⁶³ At one point Brierley replied to a letter of MacDonald's angrily enquiring if he could write back explaining himself "in English", and Edgar Whiteley was later to compare the NAC's refusal to endorse Victor Grayson at the Colne Valley by-election with "a similar experience in Huddersfield ... when Mr. Russell Williams' candidature was not at first acceptable to the NAC."⁶⁴ Indeed it is important to remember what Williams himself remarked to Hardie in 1908: "When I stood for Huddersfield the first time, I stood as a Trades Council candidate ... It was after that I was put upon the I.L.P. list"⁶⁵, which suggests that he was not viewed by Head Office in 1906 as an ideal candidate. Thus despite the enthusiasm of Williams' workers, who managed to raise over £250 by polling day to supplement the £100 from the Trades Council and a £17 grant from the national LRC (which was returned unused)⁶⁶, what was urgently required were speakers of note such as Hardie, Glasier, Snowden, Henderson or Clynes, and their absence, due almost certainly to a reluctance at head office, cost Williams dearly.

In the event Williams polled fairly well, gaining 5813 votes (35.2 per cent) and coming within 500 votes of ousting Woodhouse who

retained his seat, but with 1594 (15.4 per cent) votes fewer than he had done in 1900. Thus Huddersfield was destined not to be represented by one of those twenty-nine Labour MPs which formed Britain's first Parliamentary Labour Party on 12 February 1906⁶⁷ and which inspired Balfour's comment that "Campbell-Bannerman is a mere cork, dancing on a current which he cannot control ... the faint echo of the same movement which has produced massacres in St. Petersburg, riots in Vienna and Socialist processions in Berlin."⁶⁸ Yet if Williams had lost, his performance was creditable and he had pushed the Conservative into third place on an exceptionally high turnout of 94 per cent, as the Labour Leader readily acknowledged:

Considering Mr. Williams had little outside support, somewhat slender resources, and one of the most capable and indeed popular Liberal capitalist M.P.s to battle against, the result may firstly be regarded as a greater triumph than many of those where Labour candidates have been successful in a straight fight with a Unionist opponent ... Mr. Williams ran on clear Socialist lines [and] ... his large vote is an index of the remarkable growth of Socialist conviction in Huddersfield.⁶⁹

Indeed of the eleven three-cornered contests in English single-member seats in January 1906 Williams' poll was the fourth largest and was second to only Wakefield in being the best losing Labour result in such contests (see table 6.1). It is notable that no fewer than five of these three-cornered fights, which the 1903 pact had been designed to avoid, were in West Yorkshire, a measure both of ILP and Liberal independence in the area.⁷⁰

Table 6.1 Three-Cornered English Single-Member Contests, Jan. 1906

<u>Constituency</u>	<u>Labour Candidate</u>	<u>Result</u>	<u>Labour's % of Poll & Vote</u>	
Deptford	C.W. Bowerman	LRC	52.2	6236
Bradford West	F.W. Jowett	LRC	39.1	4957
Wakefield	S. Coit	CON	36.9	2068
Huddersfield	T.R. Williams	LIB	35.2	5813
Leeds South	A. Fox	LIB	31.5	4030
Eccles	B. Tillett	LIB	26.4	3985
Stockton-on-tees	F.H. Rose	CON	23.1	2710
Dewsbury	B. Turner	LIB	21.3	2629
Croydon	S. Stranks	CON	20.2	4007
Grimsby	T. Procter	CON	17.8	2248
Gravesend	J. MacPherson	CON	16.2	873

Source: Calculated from appendices in Bealey and Pelling, Labour and Politics, (1958).

It was, on balance, a favourable augury for future Labour advance in the borough. As the Chronicle, eager to distract attention from Fraser's poor third placing, pointed out:

there can be no getting away from the fact that the present general election has brought a new force into British politics ... whether we like it or not, the Labour vote has to be reckoned with ... we must take measures to ally ourselves with the new democracy and be prepared to lend a willing hand in directing and utilising ... the new force.⁷¹

Russell Williams was similarly prophetic. After the result he announced that "I have signed the death warrant of Sir James Woodhouse ... The handwriting is on the wall, my friends"⁷², and he added in The Worker that "Liberalism is doomed, and the Liberals know it", urging the party workers to "Make each district committee an educational medium."⁷³ He blamed the temporary collapse of the

Tory vote for his defeat, together with the "unscrupulous misrepresentation" of the Examiner and a lack of transport, but he was in few doubts that "The future is with us. Thousands of young men who were wearing our favours have no votes"⁷⁴. Indeed the Chronicle made a similar point observing that "The Radicals of this constituency now know that they practically only hold the seat by the suffrage."⁷⁵ Nor was this contemporary analysis unrealistic, as research by Blewett and others has suggested that around forty per cent of adult males were excluded from the vote before 1918.⁷⁶ Labour's vote in Huddersfield had increased three-fold since 1895, while the Liberal Party's poll had dropped in both real and relative terms, suggesting that a fully democratic franchise in 1906 could quite possibly have elected Williams rather than Woodhouse. The vast majority of those adult males without the vote before 1918 were working class and included workers in rented accommodation, sons living at home, lodgers and domestic servants. P.F. Clarke does not deny this but goes on to argue that "there is no reason to suppose that Labour's natural constituency was under-represented,"⁷⁷ which fails to allow for contemporary opinion to the contrary. Moreover, assuming that Williams' vote in January 1906 was overwhelmingly working class, that he won well over a third of the available working-class vote, and that he polled over thirty-five per cent on a high turnout, it seems reasonable to assume that a higher proportion of those working people without the vote in 1906 would have voted for their own, Labour, party rather than for the Liberal Party.

The Liberal Party, however, remained convinced (correctly as it transpired) that the scale of the Labour vote was a temporary aberration due to the state of Conservatism:

there are in Huddersfield over five thousand eight hundred men who blindly accept as a fact the statement that there is no difference between the Liberal and Tory parties, even on Labour questions ... By the time the next general election takes place, the Liberal Government will have shown that there is a very great difference and that Liberalism is still faithful to its care for the interests of the great masses of the people.⁷⁸

Nevertheless the Examiner's call for a reversal of the 1902 Education Act as first priority for the new government seemed only to prove Labour's point that Liberalism would continue to neglect working-class issues while the purse-strings were pulled by Nonconformist manufacturers. Woodhouse could welcome "the infusion of new men into the House of Commons" and foresee social reform but the HLA was still some way behind, as it was to remain.⁷⁹ For the Conservatives the result was depressing in several ways: it was their worst result ever in the town, leaving "morale very low" and the HCA virtually dormant until 1907⁸⁰; in terms of the West Riding the party lost all eight of its seats⁸¹; and nationally they had been routed, the Liberals attaining a formidable overall majority of eighty.⁸² The Chronicle's insistence that the new Liberal government was "a motley crowd" shot through with "symptoms of dissension which will inevitably lead to a complete disunion and disintegration" amounted to whistling in the dark.⁸³ The Huddersfield result had been an indictment of Protection, and the adverse impact the issue had had

on the working-class Conservative vote was quickly emphasised by the Liberals.⁸⁴ Fraser tried to argue that the shift had been "not out of any actual disloyalty to the cause, but more particularly as a result of their class loyalty", but to admitted that "the country's weariness of the Unionist regime" had been a crucial influence.⁸⁵

In short, it is evident from the January 1906 result that the Huddersfield Labour Party was drawing votes from both major parties: 19.8 per cent from the Conservatives and 15.4 per cent from the Liberals, though a volatile Irish and Liberal Unionist vote may well have distorted these figures. Huddersfield was similar to other West Riding constituencies like Leeds East, Halifax and Bradford West in being theoretically ideal territory for Labour but several factors had inhibited the party's chances of success.

Firstly, an obstinate opposition by both the HLA and the Huddersfield ILP to any suggestion of a pact, hardened by the experience of the 1893 by-election, was characteristic of the individualistic, Gladstonian and somewhat complacent brand of Liberalism in the West Riding, marked by an inherent intransigence towards Labour born of a tradition of electoral success.⁸⁶ Ramsay MacDonald had been successful in reaching Liberal-Labour compromises in Halifax but generally his efforts in Yorkshire had been restricted. It was a desire not to jeopardise those seats which had been agreed upon with the Liberals that explains his reluctance in openly endorsing and materially supporting Williams' Huddersfield candidature to the latter's detriment.

Secondly, a formal unity between the Trades Council and the ILP in Huddersfield had been delayed until 1904, and the level of preparedness for the election had been further retarded by hesitancy at national level in endorsing Williams as candidate. Remarkable as the organisational advance of Labour was in Huddersfield before 1906 it was unco-ordinated and insufficient, and the appeal of ethical Socialism had yet to ripen.

Thirdly, Williams had been relying on a more stable Conservative vote in 1906 if he was to win. In Bradford West, for example, where Fred Jowett won a three-cornered fight, the Conservative vote did not slump to the extent it had done in Huddersfield.⁸⁷ Fraser was a rather weak, non-local candidate and his advocacy of protection at a time when trade was improving and "workpeople are being advertised for in almost every department"⁸⁸ amounted to political suicide and emphasised the negative nature of Woodhouse's victory.

Fourthly, Woodhouse's policy of advocating a fairly nebulous programme of social reform, while concentrating his campaign on the traditional issues of education, temperance, retrenchment, Free Trade and Home Rule in the name of 'progressive' Lib-Lab solidarity successfully straddled the Liberal Nonconformist middle-class vote and a portion of the working-class vote. There was nothing new about Woodhouse's approach: he did not favour the type of welfare Liberalism and state intervention advocated by the Lancashire 'progressives' and his social reform programme amounted to little that had not been on the books since 1891, and certainly nothing on the

scale of the New Liberalism that was to ensue. As David Martin has pointed out, the New Liberals in the Government "were not numerous compared with both the older Whiggish elements ... and the old-fashioned believers in individualism."⁸⁹ In short Woodhouse's victory was another victory for traditional, laissez-faire Liberalism with its hackneyed cries to the forefront. Williams' poll had reflected a re-alignment of the working-class vote but it was not certain that this was a new permanent class-based allegiance. For all his rhetoric Williams' ethical Socialism was not so divorced from radical Liberalism that his support would not recede if Liberalism became significantly more reformist. The fact remained that fear that a vote for Labour would let the Tory in, and an antipathy to the 'Labour' label alone, regardless of the moderation of the holder's views, continued to be persistent obstacles to a Labour victory.⁹⁰ The Huddersfield Liberal Party had habit and tradition on its side.

2. Liberal and Labour Party Organisation: Revival and Reform, 1906

It had been the Huddersfield Trades Council's verdict on Williams' result that "if corresponding progress is made between the present time and the next election the future result will hardly be open to question"⁹¹; a belief shared by the Yorkshire Factory Times which was convinced that the movement "is bound to grow stronger"⁹²; and it was such observations that began to exercise the minds of both the HLA and the ILP during the months that followed. Neither, of course, was aware that their efforts would prove so decisive to the result of the by-election which was to follow in November 1906.

Privately, the Liberals had been greatly worried by the size of Labour's poll in the election. As early as 9 February 1906 the executive of the HLA had set up a committee "to report as to what measures they think it is desirable to take to secure increased support for the Party"⁹³ and before the end of the month it had met and discussed an extensive programme for overhauling and widening the Liberal Party's organisation in the Borough. The moving force behind the drive for reform was William Pick Raynor, who replaced Alfred Walker as President of the HLA in March 1906.⁹⁴ Like his predecessor, Raynor, a strong Nonconformist, was in textiles and later became chairman of the Colonial Wool Buyers' Association; but he had entered active politics very late in life, when in 1902, from nowhere, he had been elected both as President of the Central Liberal Club and as a Vice-President of the HLA.⁹⁵ His business acumen was undoubted and his Liberalism was not essentially different from the traditional 'radical' individualism which had guided the HLA for many years: Toryism he said "bars progress like a stone wall" while Socialism "would hurry it at such a hare-brained pace that chaos and disaster would be the inevitable result."⁹⁶ His proposed reforms of the Liberal Association organisation were fourfold:

the revision of the Huddersfield Liberal Association so as to admit a number of younger men to the counsels of the Association; the enlargement of the financial scope of the Association to enable the H.L.A. [sic.] to engage a good organiser or Lecturer to carry on our Educational propaganda amongst the younger members of the party on Anti-Socialistic lines; the division of the Borough into Districts and the appointment of some of the most enthusiastic, hard-working men of the Party who shall be responsible for their district; and the better cultivation of the social relations of the Clubs and districts on the lines of the Labour Party.⁹⁷

During the spring a sub-committee under the guidance of Raynor and Owen Balmforth met to codify these proposals, and in June the HLA executive approved an amended constitution, ratified by the full association in July.⁹⁸ Raynor's original suggestions remained virtually unchanged and in its final form the re-organisation was comprised thus: the association was expanded from a 'Two Hundred' into a 'Five Hundred' with a doubling of ward representation and the inclusion of twelve Junior Liberals, while an official from each ward was placed on an expanded executive⁹⁹; six new organising districts were created and allocated active young propagandists with a brief to rejuvenate club activity and stimulate political debate¹⁰⁰; Arthur Withy was appointed full-time organiser to the HLA on a salary of £150 per annum, "to combat the Socialistic propaganda in the town", with a self-financing organising committee of twenty appointed to work with him and visit ward committees¹⁰¹; finally the quarterly meetings of the association were brightened up, to encourage attendance, by introducing topical papers and discussion.¹⁰²

Although the main impetus for change had come from the impact of the general election result and from the insistence of Raynor that reform was long overdue, the remarkable speed with which it was achieved and the seeming lack of internal opposition was a measure of the significant advances in organisation the ILP was making in the Huddersfield district during 1906. Williams' poll had showed people that a Labour MP was potentially electable in the town and a wave of enthusiasm and optimism focussed on ethical Socialism. At the first public meeting to be held by the ILP after the election, sixty

new members were enrolled to the Central ILP's lists which were to increase by thirty per cent during 1906.¹⁰³ The Worker's cry of "Educate! Educate!! Educate!!!" was quickly taken up and subscriptions flooded into a new fund to set up a weekly edition of the paper, requiring £1500.¹⁰⁴ Moreover, the finances of the Huddersfield ILP had improved sufficiently by February 1906 for the appointment of Edgar Whiteley as full-time organiser to co-ordinate a veritable wave of district organisations which threatened to get out of hand.¹⁰⁵ As The Worker had observed "No sooner was the election over than requests began to be made from various parts of the borough for the establishment of Labour clubs or new branches of the party"¹⁰⁶ and Paddock led the way with a new Labour club, affiliated to the ILP, its membership numbering eighty.¹⁰⁷ Then, on 2 March, a meeting of 400 in Lockwood Mechanics Hall agreed to set up a Labour club and over ninety names were put down. Subscription fees were set at 2d., an executive committee appointed with Albert Clayton as President, and by July premises had been opened in Lockwood Road under the name of Lockwood Socialist Institute.¹⁰⁸ Shortly afterwards it affiliated to the ILP and introduced rules forbidding "Gambling, Intoxicating drink, Bad Language and mis-conduct of any description."¹⁰⁹

Five other Labour clubs followed in 1906. At Berry Brow, where a new club was established on 17 March with ninety members all paying one shilling, it was anticipated that "the only limits to the membership in the immediate future will be, on the one hand the size of the club premises, and on the other the growth of the population

of Berry Brow."¹¹⁰ The other four were an ILP at Cliffe End, Lindley Socialist Society, Lindley Women's Labour League, and a branch of the ILP covering Moldgreen and Primrose Hill.¹¹¹ In addition, those Labour clubs which had survived the wilderness years of the late-1890s saw a substantial rejuvenation: Milnsbridge Socialist Club expanded to 208 members while Longwood ILP continued to hold packed meetings.¹¹² 1907 was to witness yet more Labour and Socialist organisations, while a trade union recruitment drive during the summer of 1906 had greatly increased textile union membership,¹¹³ and another two unions affiliated to the Huddersfield Trades Council making a total of forty-one.¹¹⁴

Although all this activity was to some extent paralleled across the country, West Yorkshire remained the hub of ILP activity with over one hundred branches, and it was in the Huddersfield area that the rising fortunes of ethical Socialism were most apparent.¹¹⁵ The Socialist Rector of Kirkheaton, the Reverend J. Wright Moore had spoken at Berry Brow of "The Spiritual Side of the Labour Movement and its Relation to the Church" urging "a living union ... between the church and the Labour Party" as the means to placing national regeneration "well upon the highroad to a complete and lasting consummation"¹¹⁶; and this was the Socialist message of the times. The trade union 'economism' of better wages and conditions which had dominated the earlier phase of labour activity in Huddersfield was increasingly subordinate to a ripening ethical Socialism. Socialism now aimed at more than mere material gain: it was a fellowship, conversion was a rebirth on to the threshold of the new

Jerusalem, the building of which had begun with the advent of a large number of Labour MPs. More people began to believe that Socialism was realisable after all and their commitment grew, as Williams pointed out:

Socialism is a religion to our people. They live for it. They would willingly die for it. It is the breath of their nostrils. They talk about scarcely anything else. The songs they sing have relation to it. The novels they read, the plays they go to see must have a bearing on the great questions of poverty and riches.¹¹⁷

The blossoming of ethical Socialism during 1906 was not only perceptible in the new clubs but in the revival of the Socialist Sunday School movement. The central St. Peter's Street School, originally established in 1896,¹¹⁸ mushroomed during 1906, increasing its membership from sixty in January to 259 in June with seven classes and fourteen teachers.¹¹⁹ By June 1907 numbers had been further augmented to 329.¹²⁰ In addition, a second school was founded by the Lockwood Socialist Institute in July 1906, initiated by G.A. Boothroyd who had set up the original school in 1896 and who was elected Labour councillor for Lockwood in May 1906. He was aided by John Beaumont, Shaw Bray and Wilfrid Whiteley.¹²¹ Whiteley had come into the ILP in 1904 via the adult class of St. Peter's Street Socialist Sunday School, where he had become a co-teacher in early 1905: he was subsequently superintendant of the Lockwood S.S.S from its opening until 1926.¹²² Typically, Whiteley's interest in Socialism tended to eschew Marxism:

[Marx's] line of thought and that of the SDF - they didn't appeal to me as much as the ILP type of socialism with its 'Human Brotherhood' and its ethical and moral teachings ... the economical side and the 'class war' side didn't appeal to me at all.¹²³

He also followed many Socialists in rejecting orthodox, organised Christianity. Initially he had combined his Socialist Sunday School work with an adult class at Paddock Wesleyan Chapel and speeches at Unitarian chapels, but ultimately, as he said: "I didn't feel that the church and chapels were meeting the needs of the situation so far as the needs of the people were concerned. I wanted them to be interested in the economic welfare of the people and the social life of the people. I think I could almost say that I made socialism my religion."¹²⁴ So he relinquished his connections with Nonconformity to concentrate on Socialist propaganda, and later in 1906 a third Socialist Sunday School was set up at Paddock with over fifty scholars.¹²⁵ Furthermore, the Clarion movement was coming back into its own. In April 1906 the Clarion Cycling Club was revived and in July a Clarion Swimming Club was established.¹²⁶ However it was not to be until 1907 that the movement in Huddersfield really expanded, after the Colne Valley by-election victory.¹²⁷

The enthusiasm and religious fervour in Labour's ranks during 1906 was remarkable: The Worker observed of the huge May Day demonstration that "Ten years ago Socialists were numbered by the score: They are now numbered by the thousand, and the thousands are proud of their colours and convictions."¹²⁸ Thousands thronged St. George's Square to greet an enormous procession of Labour clubs and bands, and to

hear Williams, Grayson and Seddon espouse the merits of Socialism.¹²⁹ Nor was the wave of activity confined to clubs and processions: of four contested municipal by-elections during the year Labour was able to win two of them thereby increasing its Council representation to eight.¹³⁰ However, by the time of the November municipal elections it was evident that the Labour Party had lost some ground since the summer despite its bold policies of municipalisation of the coal and milk supplies. G.A. Boothroyd failed to hold the seat he had won in May at Lockwood and although Law Taylor made up for this loss by narrowly winning Dalton from the sitting Conservative councillor, Labour's five other candidates were unsuccessful.¹³¹ For the Huddersfield Labour Party it was a disappointing result, especially as Benjamin Littlewood had failed to win Moldgreen by only one vote,¹³² and it seemed that the intervention of Labour at Marsh and Moldgreen had benefited the Liberals rather than the Conservatives, who had previously held both these seats but lost them to the Liberals. In fact, out of thirty-one three-cornered municipal fights in Huddersfield before 1914 (excluding by-elections) the Liberals did not do very much worse than the Conservatives, winning fourteen to the Conservatives' fifteen. Labour won only two such contests and came third in eighteen.¹³³ On balance, the November 1906 local elections saw a more confident Liberal Party re-asserting itself and this was a measure not only of the party's internal re-organisation, but also of the success of its vociferous anti-Socialist propaganda campaign instituted since the spring: a success amply reflected in the increased membership since 1905 of the Women's Liberal Association (537 to 687) and the Junior Liberal Association (160 to 251).¹³⁴

Significantly the main emphasis of the Liberal Party's propaganda campaign had been:

not one of fierce response to the challenge of extremists to internecine warfare [but] rather one of determined continuance in the cause of progress conceding nothing of principle for the sake of votes, aiming always at the highest public good and, by clear exposition, showing that its policy and its programme, realised by the united efforts of earnest progressives, will serve the largest and the most immediate instalments of generally beneficial legislation.¹³⁵

In other words the tactic was not to outbid the Labour Party so much as to deny the need for its very existence by stressing that the Liberal Party as it existed could fully meet working-class demands, as Owen Balmforth observed: "There is nothing incompatible between the true interests of Labour and the principles of Liberalism ... The organisation of the Party is of a democratic character and gives working men the opportunity of voicing their demands."¹³⁶ Similarly Woodhouse urged the Labour Party that it could "best advance their own interests and the interests of the nation of which they form so substantial and large a part, by co-operating with and assisting in, making existing organisations representative of the aspirations of the masses rather than by dissipating their strength and squandering their energy in other directions."¹³⁷ In addition there were the persistent accusations of Socialist extremism, intimations of 'free love', "confusion in family relationships and the destruction of the sense of personal and parental responsibility", despite frequent denials in The Worker.¹³⁸ Yet although the Liberal Party attempted

to identify Liberalism with 'progressivism' and 'Lib-Labism', and thus drive a wedge between the trade union and Socialist elements of the Labour alliance, none of the agencies of Liberalism in Huddersfield advocated anything other than the reiteration of traditional Liberal values and policies. The Junior Liberal Association, for example, stated in its annual report in 1906 that "The task for the Liberal Party today is clearly to educate the people so that they may understand the errors of State Socialism and embrace Liberal ideals founded upon freedom and based on justice for all."¹³⁹ If Birrell's Education Bill, aimed at reversing the 1902 Education Act, was the "ideal" which was to be given priority over all other reform, including the alleviation of unemployment, then working class demands must join the queue.¹⁴⁰

Meanwhile the propaganda struggle between the Liberal and Labour parties in Huddersfield, each exhorting its workers to 'educate!', gathered pace as the year went on. For the Liberals, the Junior Liberal Association's series of lectures by the Reverend Richard Roberts in March on 'Liberalism and Labour', had been followed in June by a lengthy succession of open-air meetings addressed by W. Skirrow entitled 'Liberal Alternatives to Socialism' in which he argued that land reform, especially taxation of land values to raise revenue, was the best remedy for the Labour question.¹⁴¹ There was nothing very new in this, but it was to be a panacea later taken up by Arthur Withy when he commenced his intensive campaign as full-time organiser in September. Even then the issue tended to be submerged beneath Withy's concern to tell the electorate "the truth

about Socialism" whereby the latter was characterised as unnatural, predatory and subjugative of individuality: "Liberalism is scientific, Socialism unscientific; the former is based on natural and human rights; the latter denies those rights. Liberalism stands for a minimum of government, Socialism for a maximum."¹⁴² There was little evidence here of the quasi-collectivist progressivism of the New Liberals, the Rainbow Circle, the Nation or C.P. Scott's Manchester Guardian. Withy's stress on traditional Liberal individualism was not tempered by an anticipation of greater state intervention.¹⁴³ Nor was he unrepresentative of Huddersfield Liberalism: radicals like Owen Balmforth and W.P. McGirr spoke occasionally and nebulously of housing and unemployment but their presiding concerns remained religious inequality, Free Trade and temperance.¹⁴⁴

The Labour Party, which was gradually to lose the propaganda initiative once the Liberal machine had steeled into action, concentrated its efforts during 1906 in building up its organisation in a rational manner. There were, of course, dangers in the indiscriminate growth of independent Labour clubs which were no more than affiliated to the central ILP as Russell Williams, re-selected as Labour candidate in June 1906,¹⁴⁵ pointed out: "[A club] should be something more than a rendezvous for amusement hunters ... I hope there will be centralisation as well as decentralisation of authority. The great danger of a number of committees and clubs is the tendency to overlap."¹⁴⁶ He proposed a co-ordinating propagandist body comprising three representatives from each district club and although

there is no evidence that one was set up, a new joint Trades Council - ILP Parliamentary and Municipal committee was formed in July which subsequently became the 'official' Labour Party organisation.¹⁴⁷

Thus, although the Huddersfield Labour movement had experienced an impressive rejuvenation and recruitment after the 1906 general election, by the end of the year the new growth had still not been harnessed and moulded into an efficient and united fighting party organisation. This was in stark contrast to the re-organised Liberal Party machine which was more efficient than ever before and which had gone most of the way to offset Labour's propaganda gains of the previous two years. It was, moreover, just in the nick of time, as W.P. Raynor was later to reflect: "We set about putting our house in order in no uncertain fashion; and it was not a moment too soon. We had just got re-organisation and propaganda work in full swing when a bolt came from the blue in the appointment of Sir James Woodhouse as one of the Railway Commissioners" necessitating an immediate by-election.¹⁴⁸

3. Liberalism Versus Socialism at the Huddersfield By-Election of 1906

On the surface, the results of the Huddersfield by-election of 28 November 1906 confirmed those of the general election: there was a slight shift in votes, notably a revival in the Conservative vote, but the placings were unchanged and the majority of the new Liberal candidate, A.J. Sherwell, although reduced to 340 from Woodhouse's 489 in January, reflected Liberalism's continued predominance. In reality, however, it was a far more complex affair than the figures

reveal: Bruce Glasier described it as "the most distinctively socialist contest fought in this country"¹⁴⁹ and one Liberal observer later noted that "Mr. Sherwell's majority was wholly won in the closing hours of the campaign."¹⁵⁰ Huddersfield was the twelfth contested by-election since the Liberal government had taken office, only one of which, Cockermouth, had resulted in a seat changing hands, allegedly because a Labour candidate had intervened, thereby delivering the seat to the Conservative.¹⁵¹ So speculation was rife that the same would happen at Huddersfield, especially as it was reported that Government hopes were not high and that it was "quite prepared for a defeat."¹⁵² Others noted of the Labour Party that "in Huddersfield, unlike Cockermouth, there is a splendid local organisation, and a crowd of ILP branches ... And the recent municipal elections show that the position of the party has greatly improved", suggesting that the battle would be a narrow one between the Liberal and Labour candidates.¹⁵³ It was indeed to be, as one voter was heard to remark, "a tough do this time"¹⁵⁴, and with the 'religious' fervour of the Labour workers, the novel presence of the suffragettes which "enormously stimulated the interest in the triangular contest"¹⁵⁵, and a host of national figures, there was some justification in the comment that "There had never been a contest in Huddersfield which had aroused so much popular interest."¹⁵⁶

The most prominent feature of the by-election results was the revival since January of the Conservative vote. Initially the Conservative Association had been seriously wrong-footed by the unexpected rapidity with which the Liberals had announced Woodhouse's resignation and

moved the writ. In fact it is clear that the HLA had known of the resignation at least one week before its announcement on 19 November and had secretly selected Sherwell as the new candidate.¹⁵⁷ Indeed on the Saturday before the announcement Sherwell had prepared the ground by addressing the Central Liberal Club, seemingly as an unconnected individual.¹⁵⁸ So it was no surprise that accusations of gerrymandering ensued when he emerged two days later as the official candidate. The Chronicle had good reason to complain when it spoke of the HLA's "indecent haste to make hay while the sun shone" and the Labour Party was similarly critical of Liberal "rush tactics" aimed at hustling "a total stranger ... into the seat before the public realises what manner of a politician he is!"¹⁵⁹ In contrast to the Labour Party, however, the Conservatives had not even obtained a prospective candidate and F.W. Bentley and T.P. Crosland rushed to London for urgent consultation at Central Office with Acland Hood, which resulted in John Foster Fraser reluctantly agreeing to fight again.¹⁶⁰

Added to this immediate disarray Fraser had to work with a local party organisation which was at an extremely low ebb, the only saving grace being the Women's Unionist Association, formed in April 1906, which boasted 112 members by June and was to be prominently involved in canvassing during the election.¹⁶¹ It became immediately evident, however, that Fraser had changed his strategy since January: his address was notable for the total absence of any reference to Tariff Reform or Protection and his campaign, a relatively low-key affair, avoided the issue when at all possible. As he later admitted "with

every mill in Huddersfield working overtime it was no use to talk about ruined industries", especially when the very mention of Tariff Reform put the Liberal Unionist and working-class vote in jeopardy.¹⁶² In fact, despite a letter in the Examiner purporting to come from a 'Liberal Unionist' who described Fraser's renewed candidature as "nothing less than an insult", warning that "with such a candidate the Unionist Party is again doomed to a miserable and disgraceful defeat",¹⁶³ it is clear that a large number of Unionist Free Traders had returned to the fold since the general election, perceiving Tariff Reform to be a dead issue.¹⁶⁴

Yet if the revival of the Conservative vote was based in part on the return of a number of Liberal Unionists, the Irish vote was probably of greater significance. The 1906 Liberal Education Bill had not only dissatisfied the Nonconformists (the Examiner had seen it as "palpably a compromise"¹⁶⁵) but had also greatly angered the Catholic Church by attempting, somewhat ineptly, to reverse the 1902 Act. Fraser's description of it as a bill which "perpetuated a wrong on the conscience of a great mass of the population" struck a chord with the Huddersfield Catholic Association.¹⁶⁶ Home Rule, springing briefly to life in January, had once more been submerged and the Catholic Association had few qualms in transferring its allegiance to Fraser, thus robbing the Liberals of some two hundred or so votes.¹⁶⁷ Education policy, however, was just one element of Fraser's strategy: the main brunt of his critique of what was described as a "Climb-Down" Government, concentrated on the Liberal Party's "large and vague promises" of social reform "which will never

go beyond promises", adding that for all the cries in January of "Chinese Slavery" there were now 8000 more coolies on the Rand than there had been in 1905. In particular he attacked the "cheese-paring policy in regard to our Navy: so necessary to defend our country and our commerce."¹⁶⁸ Fraser's campaign however, despite the change of emphasis and the influential support of E.H. Carlile and F.E. Smith¹⁶⁹, was dogged by the upheavals in the national party which had followed the general election, especially the continuing debate over the part Tariff Reform was to play,¹⁷⁰ and this fatally weakened his hopes of victory.

Attention was thus concentrated on the real battle between the Liberal and Labour parties. The Labour Leader claimed that "The ILP in Huddersfield is splendidly organised ... there is no part of the country where the Trade Union and Socialist sections are more firmly wedded together"¹⁷¹ but, although committees had been set up in every ward,¹⁷² it was probable that some of the problems of co-ordinating the explosion of Labour and Socialist organisations since January had not been completely resolved. But if the Labour Party's organisation was immature it was sustained by the active leadership of The Worker, which became a weekly on 10 November 1906, and Williams did not lack enthusiastic supporters who flocked into the constituency from all over the country. These included a galaxy of Labour leaders with no fewer than eleven Labour MPs and the more familiar faces of the Glasiers, Hartley, Anderson, Hicks, Smart, Grayson, Tillet and Turner.¹⁷³ Bruce Glasier remarked upon the "marvel" of the local party's growth during the year, "the quiet air of determination,

the exasperating sense of self-sufficiency" of the party workers, and the fact that "In Huddersfield the workers are prepared to pay for their politics. Perhaps nowhere else in the country (except Bradford and Halifax) do the Labour men and women respond more cheerfully and self-respectingly to calls for funds for political purposes."¹⁷⁴ Nor was this in doubt: £200 was raised during the campaign, half of it in only two days and this was in addition to the £35 outstanding from the general election and the £100 sent by the NAC of the ILP which was on this occasion sponsoring Russell Williams.¹⁷⁵

The campaign lasted only nine days and the electors had little time to examine closely the issues at stake. Indeed "many of the workmen working overtime ... [were] unable to attend meetings"¹⁷⁶, so it was significant that Williams' address was not immediately dissimilar from that of the Liberal candidate. His advocacy of taxation of land values, Free Trade, Home Rule, temperance and educational reform, abolition of the Lords' veto, pensions and anti-militarism were all included in Sherwell's address.¹⁷⁷ It was only on issues like job creation schemes (like afforestation), adult suffrage, state maintenance of needy children, nationalisation of the land and railways, and a universal Eight-Hour Day, that Williams diverged. Yet the reiteration of his motto, "all things that are socially needed ought to be socially owned", once more gave the impression that he was more extreme than he actually was and left him open to Liberal innuendo, notably Winston Churchill's inversion of the catchphrase to read "all things individually needed ought to be individually

owned."¹⁷⁸ In fact the dissimilarity between the Liberal and Labour addresses became all the more ironical when the Liberals persistently painted Williams as a "thoroughgoing revolutionary socialist" with "a scheme for saving the world", while their own candidate was to be a member of a practical, reformist Government which was "at the anvil" ready to carry on the work.¹⁷⁹

The choice by the Huddersfield Liberal Association of Arthur James Sherwell as candidate represented a perceptible shift of emphasis away from the more traditional Liberalism personified by Leatham, Woodhead and Woodhouse (all of whom were businessmen) and was influenced by the accession of W.P. Raynor as President of the HLA. Born in London in 1863, the son of an Anglican coachmaker, Sherwell had been educated privately and at Handsworth College, Birmingham, with a view to entering the Wesleyan ministry.¹⁸⁰ In the late 1880s and early 1890s he had held a series of lecturing posts attached to chapels in Birmingham, Brighouse and London, where, at Hugh Price Hughes' request, he had taken over the social department of a mission in the West End. It was here that his interest in social issues widened, moving from the ecclesiastical to the political. He became active in the Charity Organisation Society and from the mid-1890s used his experience to establish a career in social journalism, researching and publishing a sociological study of the slums in Soho entitled Life in West London, (London, 1896). Thereafter he became an international expert on drink and temperance, collaborating with Joseph Rowntree in a number of definitive studies of the problems of alcohol.¹⁸¹ Although Sherwell's views on temperance differed

in degree from many of his Liberal contemporaries, as has been discussed elsewhere, he still tended to see poverty in terms of personal failing and the solution of it in self-help, and he opposed state intervention as a solution.¹⁸² Social reform was vitally necessary but it could only be achieved through retrenchment, especially in naval expenditure, through the taxation of land values, and through a more equitable taxation of the liquor trade. Thus despite a more advanced stance than his predecessors in Huddersfield on social issues Sherwell's Liberalism stopped short of the state intervention or collectivism of the 'New Liberals'. It was, in essence, traditional Liberalism cloaked in an aura of social reform: this was unmistakable both from his address and from the Examiner which appealed on his behalf for the electors to "Vote for Sherwell and for Freedom, Peace, Retrenchment and Reform."¹⁸³ Indeed, despite his intimate knowledge of social policy, his address contained few positive proposals beyond housing reform and old age pensions. More prominent were the well-worn issues: as a "convinced Free Trader ... I regard the proposed tax upon the people's food as nothing short of a political crime"; educational reform was "a true remedy for social ills", public control of drinking licences should be restored, and Ireland and the Boer colonies given self-government, while the Lords veto remained the main obstacle to social reform.¹⁸⁴ Thus even if Sherwell was from a 'newer', more advanced Liberal stable than that of his predecessors he found it necessary to play down more extreme social reform and repeat the familiar Nonconformist shibboleths in deference both to the HLA and to the majority of an electorate weaned on Gladstonian Liberalism which was not as yet, apparently, sated with its increasingly obsolete ideals.

This revealed, nevertheless, an awareness by the HLA, and especially W.P. Raynor, that if the working-class vote was to be retained in the face of a strong Socialist challenge, it was necessary to appear to be reformist while simultaneously reassuring the party's essential middle-class supporters who continued to supply much of the party's finance, by reiterating the old panacea. Significantly Sherwell was the first Liberal candidate to stand in Huddersfield who was neither an employer nor a businessman and this was not lost on the electorate. In an age when the interests of capital and labour seemed to be diverging sharply, as revealed in the Taff Vale controversy, declining real wages, unemployment and later the wave of strikes, it was becoming increasingly difficult for the Huddersfield Liberal Party to straddle simultaneously both middle and working-class support without abandoning its allegiance to an individualistic, non-interventionist form of Liberalism common to the West Riding. It had probably been dislike of Sherwell's "sound and advanced type" of radicalism that had caused five or six members of the HLA to oppose his adoption as candidate¹⁸⁵ and this emphasised how fine a line the Huddersfield Liberal Party was treading after 1906, especially in view of the extent of the local Socialist revival.

It was, in fact, on Socialism that the Huddersfield by-election was primarily fought, as Hardie afterwards remarked:

To the older politicians it must have seemed that the revolution had come. Here was an election which was to have been fought on the Education Bill and the House of Lords. As a matter of fact, these were never heard of. Socialism, social reform, and the enfranchisement of women were the topics which monopolised the speeches, to the exclusion practically of everything else.¹⁸⁶

At his opening meeting on 21 November, Sherwell proclaimed that "he had no hesitation in making that the issue of the coming election" adding that "He was not a State Socialist ... He was not a great believer or dreamer in Utopias. He was a practical reformer (loud applause)."¹⁸⁷ The following day Williams eagerly took up the gauntlet, arguing that the election was a straight forward Liberal-Labour struggle "between right and wrong, between principle and privilege and monopoly. What was wanted was to apply religion to politics and make politics a religion ... to lift the load of sorrow from the weary shoulders of the workers, and to transform this country into a fair land of gladness."¹⁸⁸

Broadly the Liberal Party's response to the Socialist challenge took two forms. Firstly it persisted in trying to drive a wedge between the Socialists and the trade unionists in the local Labour party. Thus the Examiner accused Williams of caring for trade unionism "chiefly as a means of advancing his Socialist propaganda" while Fred Maddison, speaking at Milnsbridge warned the trade unions that the LRC was exploiting their funds in pursuit of the revolutionary ends of a Socialist minority.¹⁸⁹ Indeed it had been this approach, allied to an emphasis on progressive 'Lib-Labism', that had dominated Woodhouse's campaign earlier in the year. However, by November there had been a shift in the HLA's strategy towards a greater readiness to meet the Labour Party on its own terms. As Glasier recognised, "we have never fought the enemy on such equal ground"¹⁹⁰, and this was probably a measure of the success of the anti-Socialist campaign since the general election. Thus, this second approach involved a

powerful attack on the basic tenets of Socialism which was reminiscent of the 1895 Huddersfield election. Williams, like Smart, was obliged to defend Socialism from the charges that it was anti-individualistic, utopian, as wanting an "equality of possession" that would deprive thrifty workmen of their savings, abolish private property and shackle workers to a new master: the State.¹⁹¹ His replies that Socialism meant providing for all and that "Liberalism stood for freedom, but freedom for the hawk to kill the sparrow, for the cat to kill the mouse"¹⁹², received little publicity outside The Worker in contrast to Winston Churchill's enormous meetings on 26 November.¹⁹³ Specifically Churchill pledged that the Government would "not promise old age pensions but would give them": the powers of the Lords would be curbed and he warned that "A vain or foolish vote given in Huddersfield at this juncture might have the result of casting away performance for the sake of a promise."¹⁹⁴ As he pointed out, only the Liberals were in a position to carry out their promises and it was a powerful argument for the voters to rally behind a Government already "filling the cup" ready for Lords reform.¹⁹⁵

In the event Churchill's presence may have been decisive: the transfer of only 171 votes from Sherwell to Williams would have turned victory into defeat, and the loss of the Irish and Unionist "Free Fooder" support since the general election, which had helped a revival in the Conservative vote, could have proved fatal for the Liberal Party had it not been for the sweeping organisational reforms and its propaganda campaign, plus the age of the register, unchanged since January. The Labour Party's agent, Edgar Whiteley, estimated a total

of 4,000 removals and 300 deaths¹⁹⁶ and although this was probably a little high, the 1.4 per cent decline in Labour's share of the poll was wholly accountable for in these terms, bearing in mind the habitually high rate of removal and disqualification of the working-class vote, and the fact that Huddersfield remained one of the largest single member constituencies in the country.¹⁹⁷ More uncertain was the effect that the enfranchisement of those young men eligible to vote in January 1907 would have had on the result, and even more hypothetical was the impact an electorate of post-1918 proportion would have had. Certainly Sherwell was in no doubt that Socialism had told powerfully with young people judging by the disproportionately high number of them who were sporting Labour's colours, and drew the conclusion that the real task for the Liberal Party must continue to be educational.¹⁹⁸

Equally there was doubt and debate about what the result actually meant. Keir Hardie concluded that "The moral of Huddersfield is that Liberalism" even with all the advantages of combined press, Nonconformist and employer backing, and a large number of cars, "was not able to hold its own against a Labour candidate who fought practically on a Socialist ticket."¹⁹⁹ Russell Williams admitted, however, that "They had not made any converts this time" and The Worker attributed defeat to the register adding that "The moneybags have won again ... the bulk of the [Liberal] party are not yet alive to the hollowness of the old party cries coming from the brazen lips of the latter-day leaders ... there is no retrogression for Socialism."²⁰⁰ The Liberals chose to interpret it as a victory

for "sound, progressive Liberalism", for social reform and the ending of the Lords' veto.²⁰¹ The Evening Standard went further and concluded that "the Socialist millenium makes no progress in the affections of sane and sober working people"²⁰², an argument developed by Hugh Strong replying to Hardie in the Independent Review: "the advocacy of Social progress along the lines of Liberal principles, rather than along the revolutionary lines of State Socialism, won for Mr. Sherwell a victory which must otherwise have gone to the Socialist candidate."²⁰³ Similarly, the Examiner was keen to see the by-election as evidence that "there is again a great engine of reform hewing mighty blocks out of the rampart of privilege ... those who have been led by hope deferred to pursue the will-o'-the-wisps of Socialism will more and more determine to strengthen the Government in its work."²⁰⁴ For the Conservatives, however, it was on their own admission "a great disappointment" and the Chronicle blamed the poor condition of the local party organisation urging that "this matter should be taken up strenuously, the whole fabric of Unionist organisation in the borough should be placed upon a thoroughly sound and workable basis ... Until this is done, and not till then, can the cause of Unionism in Huddersfield be expected to flourish."²⁰⁵

One thing all three parties were agreed upon, however, was that although the constituency had been "literally overrun by advocates of votes for women"²⁰⁶ they had exercised virtually no influence over the voters. Williams commented that "they did not turn a single vote one way or another" and Strong added that there had been "a



HER FIRST JUMP.

[At the recent by-election at Huddersfield, the defeated Labour Candidate was backed by the Suffragettes. It is understood that they propose to take the field against the Liberal Candidate in all future contests.]

unanimous expression of opinion that the women's campaign had failed in the deliberate purpose of damaging the Government by withdrawing votes from the Ministerial candidate"²⁰⁷, a sentiment with which Punch agreed (see cartoon). Possibly this had been in large measure due to the multiplicity of conflicting organisations. The most active, the Pankhursts' militant Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) had pursued its policy of opposing all Liberal candidates at by-elections regardless of his personal views on female suffrage,²⁰⁸ but this approach was opposed by the Huddersfield branch of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (NUWSS), which had been formed in May 1904 by the formidable Miss Siddon,²⁰⁹ on the grounds that it helped the Conservatives and confused the electors.²¹⁰ Subsequently it was resolved that as all three candidates supported female suffrage it would take no part in the by-election.²¹¹ By contrast, the third suffragist body the Lancashire and Cheshire Women's Textile and Others Workers' Representation Committee, formed in 1903 in sympathy with the LRC, held a number of meetings on Williams' behalf, though to little effect.²¹² Nevertheless, even if the overall effect on votes of the women's campaigns was limited, the Huddersfield by-election had a wider relevance to the previously cordial relations between the WSPU and the ILP. At the 1907 ILP Conference the behaviour during the Huddersfield by-election of those ILP members who were also WSPU supporters was condemned as "detrimental to the Party" which caused a rift in the WSPU and resulted in the Pankhursts seceding from the ILP, thereby severing the WSPU's last links with Northern Socialism

and fatally weakening their hold on working-class women.²¹³

Evidently the 1906 Huddersfield by-election had been "an epoch-making election" in more ways than one.²¹⁴

In retrospect, 1906 was to mark the zenith of Labour's electoral fortunes in Huddersfield for some years. It was the closest it came to winning the parliamentary seat before 1922 and its municipal representation did not again reach eight until 1937. It seems doubtful whether the Liberal Party would have held the seat in November 1906 had it not been for several factors. Firstly, an extensive programme of re-organisation of the HLA headed by men like Raynor and Balmforth who were acutely aware of the problems posed by Labour's challenge. Secondly, a successful Liberal propaganda campaign which had concentrated on challenging the basic tenets of Socialism and which mitigated somewhat Williams' ethical appeal. Thirdly, an aged electoral register which had under-represented Labour's potential vote. Finally, a Liberal candidate who had a solid Nonconformist background, was not an employer and whom possessed 'credentials' in social reform, while reassuring the more traditional Liberal-Nonconformist supporters of his constancy on the temperance and education issues. Martin Pugh's comment on neighbouring Dewsbury applies equally to Huddersfield: "Such great liberating issues left over from the previous century gave Liberalism its character and strength; and they testify how slight an impression the social-economic issues of the twentieth century had made."²¹⁵ Yet if the soul of the Huddersfield Liberal Party seemed hardly changed, its body had revived sufficiently to contain the Socialist renaissance

of 1906 and remain in the driving seat. If three-cornered fights were to be "the order of the day and not, as heretofore, the exception"²¹⁶ then Huddersfield Liberalism had acquitted itself. The question remained, however, for how long, especially after Victor Grayson's spectacular victory in nearby Colne Valley succeeded in achieving what Williams had narrowly failed to do less than eight months before.

4. The Decline of Ethical Socialism, 1907-9

"We are very much alive; we are a vital force in the town ... the by-election has opened the eyes of those who said we were effete, and were no longer a force to be reckoned with"²¹⁷, said W.P. Raynor at the Annual General Meeting of the Huddersfield Liberal Association in January 1907, and it was a comment that could have been equally applied to the Huddersfield Labour Party. By 1909, however, the enthusiasm and optimism of the Socialists, which had seemed to know no bounds during 1906 and 1907, had dissipated into division and disillusionment. This reinforced the HLA's new-found confidence and as widespread discussion of Socialism faded from the political scene in 1908-9 the Liberals believed that the propaganda battle had been won, that the Socialist threat had been allayed as it had been after 1895, and that the traditional struggle with landed Conservatism could be resumed: an analysis with which it was difficult to disagree. In 1907, however, there was little to suggest that this would be the case.

Although Russell Williams had failed to win the seat in November 1906, the by-election had given another fillip to the local Labour

movement. On 22 January 1907 a Socialist Society was formed at Sheepridge and in the same week the Huddersfield Socialist Choir of forty held its first concert, while the Clarion movement expanded with the formation of the Clarion Harriers and a Clarion Handicraft Guild.²¹⁸ The ILP's weekly meetings in the Victoria Hall continued to attract large numbers with speakers like the Glasiers, Grayson, Henderson, Clynes and Paylor; and the Huddersfield Socialist Sunday School reported an increase of seventy members since the by-election.²¹⁹ Yet most notable about the Huddersfield Socialist movement in 1907 was that its appeal became even more overtly religious than hitherto and this had a great deal to do with the emergence of a new religious outlook amongst both Nonconformist and Anglican clergy. It was loosely termed the 'New Theology' and it stressed "the concept of divine immanence, the vital importance of the Holy Spirit within and the relevance of philosophical Idealism"²²⁰, or in more straightforward terms, an awareness of the church's social role and the individual's relationship to this. Since the 1906 general election growing numbers of clergymen had been drawn to Socialism as a prophetic force intimately allied to the social problems of the day and this was moulded into a movement largely by the efforts of the Rev. R.J. Campbell, Congregationalist minister at the City Temple from 1902, who had been converted to Socialism in the autumn of 1906 and who codified the new movement's basic tenets in his book The New Theology, (London, 1907).²²¹

In the Huddersfield area the Rev. Frederick R. Swan of Marsden Congregational was the most prominent exponent of the 'New Theology'. Born in Manchester in 1869, his first pulpit after leaving Nottingham

College had been at Marsden and he was later to remark that "During the whole of my ministry I felt that the Church was out of touch with the every-day practical needs of the people."²²² Nevertheless, he had evidently kept such beliefs well-hidden for when he contributed a series of 'socialistic' articles to the Slaithwaite Guardian in 1906, which criticised the church for neglecting poverty and unemployment,²²³ his congregation became uneasy and in March 1907 he was forced to resign after a tenure of eight years. Aptly he based his valedictory sermon on Revelation XXI, 1, "And I saw a new heaven and a new earth",²²⁴ simultaneously publishing a theological exposition, The Immanence of Christ in Modern Life in which he denied Socialism was anti-religious and warned that:

Unless the organised Church gets into closer touch with the new social movement, and gives a generous welcome to every good work for social reform, and more clearly distinguishes between anti-Christian and anti-ecclesiastical, then there is the probability that the Church as an organised society will be left behind, as outgrown clothes are quickly discarded ... The Church should proclaim the right of all workers, in the largest possible sense of the term, to share more equally in the manifold wealth created by hand, brain and soul. This is social justice ... All radical social reform is an evolution, not a revolution. It marks the growth of society, not the dominance of one class. It is more an ideal than a system, and is at bottom the movement of God within the social body towards a truer individuality and a greater self-revelation.²²⁵

Following his resignation Swan threw himself into the local Socialist movement. As full-time speaker and agent for the Colne Valley Labour League he helped Grayson achieve his by-election victory in July 1907, and in November succeeded John Schofield as editor of The Worker,

which was by then a seventy column weekly printed on its own press.²²⁶ In September 1908, however, he left Huddersfield to become the full-time organising secretary of the League of Progressive Thought and Social Service, which had been set up by Campbell in the spring of 1908 as a vehicle for the 'New Theology'.²²⁷ The League aimed "To provide a common meeting ground and fellowship for all those who are in sympathy with progressive Christian thought ... To work for a social reconstruction which shall give economic emancipation to all workers ... and establish a new social order based upon co-operation for life instead of competition for existence."²²⁸ Beginning with a membership of 400 in May 1908 the League could boast by February 1909 between three and four thousand members and over one hundred branches, one of which was set up in Huddersfield in August 1908 with Wilfrid Whiteley as secretary.²²⁹ The committee included J.I. Swallow, Edward Gee and Shaw Bray, and the Reverends J.F. Ratcliffe, W. Hastwell and A.H. Moncur Sime of Milton Congregational attended meetings.²³⁰

The 'New Theology' was by no means confined to Nonconformity. There was a similar movement in the Anglican Church which drew much of its initial inspiration from Charles Gore's Society of the Resurrection, originally set up in 1892 to encourage priestly fellowship, celibacy, a rule of prayer and a simplicity in living.²³¹ By 1898 a Community of the Resurrection had been established at Mirfield near Huddersfield as a college for priests and Father W.H. Frere, who was its principal from January 1902 was instrumental in establishing in 1906 an ecclesiastical body known as Socialists of the West Riding which

hosted large socialist conferences in the Community's grounds in 1906 and in 1907 when over 4,000 people attended.²³² Father Frere's aim was to establish closer links between the Church and Labour, and adherents to the new movement in the Huddersfield area included the Reverend J.W. Moore, rector of Kirkheaton, the Reverend Turnbull, vicar of New Mill, and the Reverend W.B. Graham, curate of Thongsbridge.²³³ Graham, who had reputedly been converted to Socialism at the age of sixteen, was described by Robert Blatchford as "six feet of Socialism and five inches of curate."²³⁴ Like Swan he too found "his vigorous efforts for Socialism", notably his vocal support for Grayson during the 1907 by-election, "created a feeling and policy of determined opposition against him", especially amongst the trustees who feared a substantial loss of subscriptions because, they claimed, Graham was driving away "decent, well-to-do people."²³⁵ In January 1908 he resigned his ministry telling a packed congregation that "Socialism is the only thing to set men and women free ... I call upon you one and all to rise up against the system of competition and monopoly called capitalism, and to substitute for it the only true and rational system, that is Socialism. It is the only way in which you can follow in Christ's steps."²³⁶ After his resignation Graham, like Swan, became a Socialist propagandist and was a frequent lecturer at the Huddersfield Labour clubs, urging Christians to become Socialists, "Because Socialists are aiming for the same ideal for mankind here on earth as Christ, the Prophets, and the Apostles taught Christians to believe in, to pray for and to work for."²³⁷ Graham was a member of the Church Socialist League, the Anglican equivalent to the League of

Progressive Thought, founded in June 1906,²³⁸ and like Swan, was prominently involved in the "social crusade" of the American Methodist, J. Stitt Wilson, who visited Huddersfield in March 1908 and March 1909.²³⁹ Wilson employed religious revivalist methods to preach what was basically Socialism and his 1907-8 campaign in the West Riding made many hundreds of converts to Socialism whom the ILP had failed to attract.²⁴⁰

It was in the widening of the appeal of Socialism that the impact of this new phase of ethical Socialism made its mark. The religion of Socialism had come of age, it had ripened and been given almost a respectability hitherto lacking. In appealing explicitly to Nonconformists much of the myth of Socialism's "godlessness" was dispelled and many new converts, religious and areligious, to Socialism were made. Few of those addresses delivered by the Labour Party in the months leading up to the Colne Valley by-election in July 1907 failed to draw heavily on the ideas of the 'New Theology' and the ultimate victory for Grayson, himself a would-be Congregational minister, undoubtedly owed much to this, as even the hostile Colne Valley Guardian admitted: "The presence of men in the valley wearing the habiliments of the church may have had some effect on the election [though] God's Gospel has nothing to do with deluding men with promises that can never be performed."²⁴¹ Whether a more uncompromising Socialism 'a la Grayson' could have won Huddersfield for Labour the previous November is uncertain: it was only in 1907 that the real movement of the clergy towards Socialism took place and it is likely that if Williams had pursued the sort of approach

Grayson took in the Colne Valley, where trade unionisation was exceptionally weak, he may well have alienated those sections of the local trade union movement which were committed to the alliance with the ILP but were less than convinced about the expediency of Socialism itself.²⁴² On the other hand Williams had had a revitalised Liberal Association to contend with, while that in the Colne Valley was in poor shape in 1907, having fought no election since 1900.

The repercussions of Grayson's victory were far-reaching. In Huddersfield The Worker hailed the result as one for "Labour and Socialism" marking "the downfall of the manufacturer and capitalist in the Valley as a political boss. This paves the way for the real emancipation of the people."²⁴³ The Examiner noted that it had been "a triumph of organisation and enthusiasm"²⁴⁴ and Socialist organisation in the town continued to grow. By the end of the year a further three branches of the ILP had been added at Bradley, Fartown and Cowcliffe²⁴⁵ bringing the total number of Labour and Socialist organisations in the borough to seventeen, excluding the five Clarion clubs.²⁴⁶ Socialist meetings attained new records of attendance, especially when Grayson was due to speak and The Worker reflected that 1907 had been "a year of tremendous advance for Socialism ... signs tell of a grand awakening, a new hope and a new world. The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light."²⁴⁷

Paradoxically, however, for all the popular Socialist revivalism that surrounded Grayson's spectacular victory, the wrangles with the Labour Party executive which had dogged his candidature, necessitating that

he stand as an independent,²⁴⁸ symbolised the burgeoning divisions in the Labour movement which were to mark the beginning of the decline of ethical Socialism and the ultimate dissipation of its enthusiastic following. Grayson's bitter antagonism towards what he saw as the Parliamentary Labour Party's "cowtowing" to the Liberal Government, which resulted in his suspension from the Commons in October 1908,²⁴⁹ echoed a groundswell of disappointment at the Labour Party's timid Parliamentary behaviour. Although it could claim to have had some success in radicalising the 1906 Trades Disputes Bill it had patently failed to make any headway on unemployment which climbed from under three per cent of the workforce in early 1907 to over nine per cent by the end of 1908.²⁵⁰

Russell Smart had expressed fears in May 1907 that MacDonald's approach to Socialism²⁵¹ smacked too much of Liberal gradualism which had been "said with effect at the Huddersfield by-election" and was "foredoomed to failure."²⁵² The P.L.P., Smart argued, failed to see "that while the Labour Party may conciliate or even awe the Government ... it may yet fail to impress the public mind or raise enthusiasm outside."²⁵³ What was required was a 'cause' or a 'cry', like the right to work (which he had first espoused in Huddersfield in 1895) to build up public support, plus a strong leadership rather than the "tame and unheroic policy the Labour Party had followed" hitherto.²⁵⁴ Grayson's victory concentrated such criticism but Smart made it clear in an article in The Worker in October 1907 that although the "Labour Party has been a trifle mild in its methods ... I would rather follow it and work for it ... than join another party

of sentimental idealists who intoxicate themselves with visionary pictures of a communistic heaven incapable of realisation for many generations."²⁵⁵ He was almost certainly referring to the Social Democratic Federation and its offspring the more revolutionary Socialist Labour Party (S.L.P.), formed in 1906, which espoused quasi-syndicalist industrial unionism.²⁵⁶ There is some evidence that there existed a branch of the S.L.P. in Huddersfield, established in 1907 by Fred Shaw, later an executive member of the British Socialist Party and of the Communist Party of Great Britain, but the references are few and they give no details of membership, leadership or meetings, leading one to conclude that if a branch did exist it was exceedingly tiny and insignificant.²⁵⁷ It indicated, nevertheless, the beginning of a division in the Huddersfield Labour movement which was to culminate in the formation in 1910 of the Huddersfield Socialist Party, subsequently a branch of the British Socialist Party.

Huddersfield's role in the attack on the leadership of the Labour Party became even more prominent during 1908. In April the I.L.P. held its national conference in Huddersfield²⁵⁸ and ostensibly there was little evidence that popular support for Socialism had in any way diminished since 1907, as evidenced by the tremendous success of The Worker's international bazaar which coincided with the conference and raised an amazing £1291.²⁵⁹ But it was anticipated that there would be a major assault on the party's policies, especially its handling of Grayson's candidature, and The Worker warned that the formation of an independent Socialist party would be

inevitable unless the "feebleness" of the P.L.P.'s advocacy of Socialism was not substituted for "a strong, alert, constructive, original, critical and courageous" policy, aimed at "the complete emancipation of the workers from the thralldom of capitalism."²⁶⁰ In the event the attack failed to materialise²⁶¹ and it was not until May that Smart renewed his campaign with an article in The Worker entitled "The I.L.P. in Danger", in which he claimed the I.L.P. was ruled by a self-perpetuating elite: "What they say ... the Conference and the party is made to say", and he proposed a reform preventing any member of the executive from sitting for more than three years and excluding M.P.s completely.²⁶² Ben Riley, newly-elected to the I.L.P. executive council, denied the charges as "absolutely lacking in foundation,"²⁶³ but the call for independent Socialism continued to grow during 1908-9, encouraged by Victor Grayson's suspension from the Commons and his subsequent socialist propaganda campaign in which he called for "drastic action", warned of "forebodings of trouble ... Crowds are gathering in every town, muttering dark mutterings" and spoke in evocative terms of "the destiny of the mob."²⁶⁴

Grayson's stand and his call for a more committed policy of Socialism was in the short term undoubtedly popular amongst the working classes in the Huddersfield area, as was evident from the unparalleled attendances at his meetings, and the Huddersfield Trades Council joined the I.L.P. in criticising the P.L.P.'s mildness and calling strongly for sweeping reforms of the national party along the lines which Smart had advocated.²⁶⁵ Yet despite the appearance of a

united Labour front, the Liberal Government's welfare reforms from 1908, Grayson's apparent extremism and the general fragmentation of the Labour alliance, which was epitomised by the revival of the Huddersfield Fabian Society in December 1908,²⁶⁶ probably did a great deal of harm to the 'broad church' of support which ethical Socialism had built up in Huddersfield since 1904-5. In the municipal elections between 1907 and 1909 Labour's representation plummeted from its peak of eight in 1906 to three, and its share of the poll from forty per cent in 1906 to twenty-nine per cent in 1909. Perhaps even more significantly, out of nine three-cornered contests between 1907 and 1909 Labour won only one, at Lindley in 1907,²⁶⁷ and lost all of its twelve straight contests with the Liberals who continued their inexorable rise in Borough representation, attaining a total of forty seats in November 1909, the highest since 1885. There was no doubt that the Socialist bubble had burst in electoral terms, and this may have had much to do with the state of the Labour Party and, in particular, Grayson's capacity to frighten Labour's more 'respectable' supporters by drinking heavily and talking darkly about 'broken bottles' and insurrection. As J.I. Swallow, one of Grayson's lieutenants later commented:

this was ... a strong Nonconformist area, its people respectable and hard working and disapproving of rowdyism, or what they called rowdyism. Then his drinking. Lots of people began to get to know Victor by sight. Someone'd see him having a drink and the story spread ... He made it worse by getting careless: he wouldn't turn up for meetings or he'd be late, and then it'd go round that he'd been drinking again.

Oliver Smith, a schoolmaster who joined the Huddersfield I.L.P. in 1904, and who was branch secretary around 1907-9, added that:

As the time went on his addresses began to show less and less preparation and consequently less substance. He relied too much on his wit and repartee. He was inattentive to his Parliamentary duties.²⁶⁸

Equally however the ever-improving condition of the Huddersfield Liberal Party had a part to play.

The H.L.A. had continued its anti-socialist propaganda campaign during 1907-8 to great effect. Arthur Withy, as full-time agent, addressed over 250 meetings each year in the constituency before taking his leave in May 1909,²⁶⁹ and in that time he built on the party's constitutional reforms of 1906 by establishing educational committees and reading circles in almost every district which had some success in converting the local clubs back into "centres of political activity and power."²⁷⁰ In October 1908 a long-felt need for a local party paper was realised with the establishment of the Huddersfield Democrat, with Withy as editor-manager, which sold at 1d. per month and incorporated the national party's Liberal Monthly.²⁷¹ In addition, a drive to attract more subscribers, inaugurated in April 1907, had succeeded in a net gain of 150 by January 1908,²⁷² while the Liberal auxiliaries attained new heights of membership. The Junior Liberal Association more than tripled its membership between 1907 and 1909, reaching a new peak of 1012²⁷³ and became the vanguard of the Liberal Party's revivalist campaign: in the year

1908-9 alone it delivered to the electors 100,000 leaflets and 10,000 booklets.²⁷⁴ The Women's Liberal Association made similar progress, nearly doubling its membership from 687 in 1906 to 1263 in 1909, and organising itself into seventeen districts, each with officers. Its report commented that "The impetus given by the by-election to the cause of Liberalism in Huddersfield may in some measure be accountable for the unparalleled increase in our membership."²⁷⁵ Yet it was also, no doubt, in part due to the Liberal Government's reforms during 1908-9, especially old-age pensions,²⁷⁶ and in particular due to the agitation surrounding the Licensing and Education Bills during 1908 which aroused a level of public interest and meetings unparalleled since the 1902 Education Act.²⁷⁷ Although taxation of land values had become a leading policy of the H.L.A.²⁷⁸ it was the old Nonconformist issues that continued to motivate Liberal thinking in Huddersfield and dominate the party's public meetings between 1907 and 1909. The revived threat of Tariff Reform had led to the formation of the Huddersfield and District Free Trade Union in April 1909²⁷⁹ and Lords' reform was increasingly on the minds of local Liberal leaders although most often in the context of Home Rule, education and temperance reform.

In short the continued vitality of Liberalism in Huddersfield after 1906 was based on a reiteration of traditional cries by means of a highly efficient party organisation. Even the Junior Liberal Association demonstrated few of the 'socialistic' and interventionist tendencies manifest amongst Asquith's newly-constituted Cabinet, and in October 1908 by H.J.L.A. expressed the conviction that if peace,

retrenchment and reform could only be adequately placed before the people success would be assured.²⁸⁰ Nor indeed was it expedient for Huddersfield Liberals to depart from their traditional approach: in June 1907 the Reverend W.G. Jenkins, Bruce's successor at Highfield, no doubt well aware of the 'New Theology', had spoken of "considerable uneasiness" amongst local Nonconformists, noting that if their hopes in respect of education, licensing and Lords' reform were not realised "I feel quite sure that Nonconformity will be lost as a fighting force to Liberalism. Many of us will certainly look elsewhere. Why not to Labour?"²⁸¹ Moreover, as the local Labour cause seemed to be slipping increasingly into Graysonite excess, extremism and internal dissension, the Huddersfield Liberal Party needed only to espouse moderate reform, like taxation of land values, to regain those voters attracted in 1906 to Labour's firmer commitment to social reform. This was all too evident from the Liberal Party's success in the 1909 municipal elections. Indeed by the beginning of 1909 Tariff Reform, now official Conservative Party policy,²⁸² had taken over from Socialism as the main subject of debate and it was increasingly the Conservative Association which once more posed the main threat to the Liberal Party in Huddersfield.

From 1908 it was evident from by-election victories that the Conservative Party was reviving across the country²⁸³ and in Huddersfield there was a new Conservative initiative, not from the H.C.A., which had become a somewhat sleepy, introverted and elitist body, but from the newly-created Huddersfield Constitutional League.²⁸⁴ Established by a younger group of Unionists in January

1907, its object was to provide lectures and educational work on "constitutional principles" and form local propaganda committees.²⁸⁵ It was greeted by the Chronicle as "the dawn of a brighter era for the party in the borough"²⁸⁶ and by April membership of the League had reached 536 with twenty-six district committees wresting responsibility for local organisation from the H.C.A.²⁸⁷ Although the H.C.A. retained control over the candidate selection process it was not by chance that the brother of F.E. Smith, who was honorary President of the Constitutional League, was selected as the new Conservative candidate in June 1908, committed to a strong line on Tariff Reform.²⁸⁸ A lawyer like his brother, Harold Smith was the moving spirit behind the Birkenhead Conservative Association and was later M.P. for Warrington (1910-18) and Wavertree (1922-3), he was knighted in 1921.²⁸⁹ In fact it was clear that a tension existed between the League and the Association which went to weaken the Party's appeal: in November 1907 the League refused to combine its funds with those of the HCA and a year later rejected the services of a newly-appointed Conservative agent.²⁹⁰ Thus, although by 1909 the Conservative organisation had substantially revived, internal friction remained, and increased electoral success was not forthcoming. Conservative representation on the Borough Council continued to decline from nineteen to fifteen between 1906 and 1909 while its share of the municipal poll, which had plummeted from 48.4 per cent in 1903 to 17.2 per cent in 1906, showed few signs of recovery and was still as low as 18.4 per cent in 1909.²⁹¹ Nevertheless, once the HCA itself had been rejuvenated, partially by the efforts of the League, the two bodies began to work more

closely together, notably in an anti-Socialist campaign inaugurated in the closing months of 1908 which closely reflected the aims of the new Anti-Socialist Union, set up in London in February 1908.²⁹² The Chronicle commented of Socialism that "The time has come when a great national peril must be fought to the last ditch", and the weapon with which to do it was to be Tariff Reform which could both protect industry and thus jobs, and simultaneously raise revenue for social reform.²⁹³ It was this, rather than Socialism, which was increasingly exercising the minds of the H.L.A. during 1909.

By 1909, therefore, the axis of politics once more ran between the two major parties, a process speeded by Lloyd George's budget of 1909 which stole much of what remained of Labour's thunder.²⁹⁴ Grayson's ever-worsening personal behaviour,²⁹⁵ which symbolised the critical state of the Labour alliance, continued to alienate support for the Party, though Grayson 'the orator' still attracted the crowds in Huddersfield, and Harry Snell, Labour's new candidate, was to gain a creditable, albeit reduced, poll in January 1910.²⁹⁶ The optimism of the 'New Theology' of 1907 had given way to disillusionment: both the Progressive League and the Church Socialist League split in 1909 after disagreements about the extent of their identification with the I.L.P.²⁹⁷ Despite impassioned pleas from The Worker's new editor, James Leatham,²⁹⁸ for socialist unity and a stronger commitment to winning the people over by municipal socialism rather than by imposing it through direct action,²⁹⁹ the spectre of industrial syndicalism was gaining ground, not least in Huddersfield, where a branch of E.J.B. Allen's Industrialist League was formed in the autumn

of 1909.³⁰⁰ Indeed syndicalism and socialist strike action was to have a wider following in Huddersfield from 1910 onwards as the level of unionisation increased. Between 1906 and 1910 alone membership of the Huddersfield Trades Council had increased by 800³⁰¹ and a new militancy was manifest in the textile workers' discontent over faster looms, the railway workers' "all grades movement" and the shop assistants' grievancies.³⁰² Such factors were only to aggravate the fragmentation of the Labour movement and reduce what remained of enthusiasm for Parliamentary Socialism.

The elections of 1906 and the optimism of the ethical Socialism surrounding Grayson's Colne Valley victory in 1907, proved to be the apogee of the Labour movement in Huddersfield before the First World War. The Edwardian era was one of extensive popular participation in politics as evidenced by the sheer number and level of membership of the various partisan organisations in Huddersfield. Efficient party organisation was thus at a premium and although the Huddersfield Labour Party remained a potent force, a re-asserted and re-organised 'old' Liberalism was able to contain the challenge of Socialism and regain a position of strength and dominance which it had not known since the Home Rule crisis.

Notes for Chapter Six

- 1 Fred Shaw quoted in Groves, R., The Strange Case of Victor Grayson, (London, 1975), p.33.
- 2 The Conservatives held 200 seats fewer after 1906 than after the Khaki election and polled 7.4 per cent fewer votes. See Kinnear, M., The British Voter, (New York, 1968), pp.26-28.
- 3 Dangerfield, G., The Strange Death of Liberal England, (London, 1936), p.10.
- 4 Thompson, P., Socialists, Liberals and Labour: The Struggle for London 1885-1914, (London, 1967), p.189; also Martin, D., "'The Instruments of the People'?: The Parliamentary Labour Party in 1906", in Martin, D., and Rubinstein, D. (eds.), Ideology and the Labour Movement, (London, 1979).
- 5 Pelling, H., Popular Politics and Society in Late Victorian Britain, (London, 1967), p.130.
- 6 Russell, A.K., Liberal Landslide: The General Election of 1906, (Newton Abbot, 1973), p.207.
- 7 Clarke, P.F., Lancashire and the New Liberalism, (Cambridge, 1971), p.376.
- 8 Wilson, T., The Downfall of the Liberal Party, 1914-35, (London, 1966 - Fontana edition 1968), p.18.
- 9 Morgan, K.O., The Age of Lloyd George: The Liberal Party and British Politics, 1890-1929, (London, 1971), p.37.
- 10 Douglas, R., "Labour in Decline, 1910-14", in Brown, K.D. (ed.), Essays in Anti-Labour History, (London, 1974).
- 11 Wilson, T., op. cit., p.20, and Clarke, P.F., op. cit., passim.
- 12 General Correspondence of the Labour Party, 29/466 (Harvester microfilm, Brighton). He did, however, say the same when he stood for Spen Valley in 1910!
- 13 See appendices. W. Wheatley and Mary Hewitt were elected to the Board of Guardians in March 1904.
- 14 The Worker, 19 January 1906 (Hereafter cited as HW); also Huddersfield Chronicle (HC), 30 December 1905.
- 15 Leeds Mercury, 1 December 1905.
- 16 Huddersfield Examiner, (HE), 23 December 1905.
- 17 Leeds Mercury, op. cit.
- 18 HW, 17 November 1905.

- 19 HW, 22 December 1905.
- 20 HE, 25 November 1905.
- 21 HW, 23 February 1906.
- 22 See Boyle, T., "The Formation of Campbell-Bannerman's Government in December 1905: A Memorandum by J.A. Spender", Bulletin of the Institute for Historical Research, XLV (1972), pp.283-302; Harris, J.F. and Hazlehurst, C., "Campbell-Bannerman as Prime Minister", History, XV (1970), pp.360-83.
- 23 HC, 2 December 1905.
- 24 HE, 3 March 1906. The figures came from the HLUA's own canvas.
- 25 HE, 6 January 1906, for Fraser's address. He rarely referred to "Tariff Reform" during his campaign, preferring "Protection".
- 26 Ibid.
- 27 See chapter five.
- 28 HC, 6 January 1906.
- 29 HE, 30 December 1905.
- 30 On this point see also Pugh, M., "Yorkshire and the New Liberalism", Journal of Modern History, vol. 50, part 3 (1978), pp.1139-55. He notes the same of Runciman in Dewsbury.
- 31 HE, 30 December 1905.
- 32 HW, 22 December 1905.
- 33 Russell, A.K., op. cit., pp.78-83.
- 34 Extracted from his speeches, see HE and HC, 6, 13 and 20 January 1906; HW, 22 December 1906.
- 35 Russell, A.K., op. cit., pp.82-3.
- 36 On this see Clark, D., Colne Valley: Radicalism to Socialism, (London, 1981), pp.26-27.
- 37 HE, 13 January 1906; at a packed Town Hall meeting on 8 January. See also below on this comment and the 1903 Lib.-Lab. pact.
- 38 Ibid.
- 39 Whiteley to MacDonald, 14 December 1905, Labour Party Correspondence, 28/475.

- 40 HE, 13 January 1906; also his meetings on 9 January, especially Lockwood. Woodhouse may have been thinking of Halifax when he made this comment.
- 41 Ibid., meeting on 12 January 1906.
- 42 Ibid., at Lindley. Pyrah was also President of the Yorkshire Federation of Liberal Clubs and of Meltham Liberal Association.
- 43 Ibid.
- 44 Ibid., Moore was the first of several clergymen to move to Socialism. See below section four on the more general movement.
- 45 See chapter four table seven for the U.S. Consular Returns of textile exports, also HE, 27 December 1913.
- 46 YFT, 26 January 1906; HE, 13 January 1906.
- 47 Meeting on 10 January, see HE, ibid. The same facility was not generally extended to Williams, see HW, 19 January 1906.
- 48 See McCready, H.W., "Home Rule and the Liberal Party, 1899-1906", Irish Historical Studies, XIII, No. 52, (September 1963), pp.316-48; Jalland, P., The Liberals and Ireland: The Ulster Question in British Politics to 1914, (Brighton, 1980); O'Day, A., "Irish Home Rule and Liberalism" in O'Day, A., (ed.), The Edwardian Age, (London, 1979).
- 49 On the wider significance of this speech and Rosebery's Bodmin rejoinder, see Russell, A.K., op. cit., pp.33-34.
- 50 Paylor to Ramsay MacDonald, 6 January 1906, Labour Party Correspondence, 29/517.
- 51 Ibid., also see Moody, T.W., "Michael Davitt and the British Labour Movement", Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, volume 3, (1953), pp.53-76.
- 52 Ibid.
- 53 On this dichotomy see Russell, A.K., op. cit., pp.186-93.
- 54 HE, 13 January 1906. A letter was read from T.P. O'Connor recommending Woodhouse as "one of the old and tried friends of Ireland".
- 55 Ibid.

- 56 Nor was this atypical: Labour only tended to gain Irish support in the absence of a Liberal candidate. See Bealey, F., and Pelling, H., Labour and Politics 1900-1906, (London, 1958), p.272; Moody, T.W., op. cit.; also Doyle, P.J., "Religion, Politics and the Catholic Working Class", New Blackfriars, May 1973, pp.218-25.
- 57 See Labour Party Correspondence, 28/473, 29/466, 29/517.
- 58 Ibid., Brierley to MacDonald, 27/140.
- 59 Ibid., Williams to MacDonald, 8 December 1905, 29/466.
- 60 Ibid., MacDonald to Williams, 9 December 1905, 29/467.
- 61 See Russell, A.K., op. cit., p.47, on this; also chapter five above.
- 62 Pierson, S., British Socialists: The Journey from Fantasy to Politics, (Harvard, 1979), p.133. For MacDonald and the question of the 1903 pact in Yorkshire see: Poirier, P., The Advent of the Labour Party, (London, 1958), pp.253-7; Bealey and Pelling, op. cit., pp.259, 267-8.
- 63 See Labour Party Correspondence: 10/224, 16/120, 17/219, 17/224, 19/232, 20/120 and 22/118. MacDonald's attitude was not unusual nor particularly atypical: see the cases of Leeds and Dewsbury in Laybourn, K., The I.L.P. in West Yorkshire, (Croom Helm, forthcoming).
- 64 Ibid., 7 November 1904, 17/219. Whiteley's comment came during the debate at the 1908 ILP Conference over the NAC's conduct during the Colne Valley by-election. See HE, 18 April 1908.
- 65 Williams to Hardie, 30 June 1908, Frances Johnson Correspondence (Harvester microfilm), 1908/263. Note also Ben Riley's comments to Hardie in December 1906: "My own feeling is that we require a man for Huddersfield who, while having a good Trade Union standing, also is beyond doubt a thoroughly competent Labour politician" (idem., 7 December 1906, 1906/403).
- 66 Labour Party Correspondence, E. Whiteley to MacDonald, January 1906, 30/489. See also HE, 27 January 1906. The eventual election expenses were: Williams £339, Fraser £983, Woodhouse £1010, (HE, 24 February 1906).
- 67 Bealey and Pelling, op. cit., p.281.
- 68 Quoted in ibid., p.277. Balfour lost his seat at the election, see Egremont, M., Balfour, (London, 1980), p.198.
- 69 Leader Leader, 26 January 1906.

- 70 In the 1906 general election there were in England: eleven three-cornered fights in single seats, eleven in double seats, twenty straight LRC-Conservative fights, and one straight LRC-Liberal fight (at Jarrow). On West Yorkshire's independence of mind in this respect see Pugh, M., op. cit. In British Workers and the Independent Labour Party, 1888-1906, (Manchester 1983), David Howell overestimates, it seems to me, the extent and influence of 'Progressivism' in the West Riding, (See Chapter eight, especially pp.193-203) as he has since partially admitted (Lecture at Mornington Villas, Bradford, January 1984. See also Keith Laybourn's review in Times Higher Education Supplement, 19 August 1983). Indeed George L. Bernstein has concluded from a study of Norwich, Leeds and Leicester that it "seems incontestable that a large and increasing number of working-class voters in these cities were not satisfied that the Liberal party adequately represented their interests and ... [there were] serious doubts about the long-run stability of the national progressive alliance and thus the ability of the Liberal Party to resist the encroachments of the Labour party on its electoral base". ("Liberalism and the Progressive Alliance in the Constituencies, 1900-1914: Three Case Studies", Historical Journal, 26, 3, (1983), p.640).
- 71 HC, 3 February 1906.
- 72 HE, 20 January 1906; HW, 19 January 1906.
- 73 HW, ibid., and 23 February 1906.
- 74 HW, 19 January 1906; HE, 20 January and 24 March 1906. Labour had one car to the Liberals' 30 to 40 and the Conservatives' 15 to 20. On the use of cars in the election see Russell, A.K., op. cit., pp.127-8.
- 75 HC, 20 January 1906.
- 76 See the introduction for a full discussion of the debate and especially: Blewett, N., "The Franchise in the United Kingdom 1885-1918", Past and Present, 32, (December 1965), pp.27-56.
- 77 Clarke, P.F., "The Edwardians and the Constitution", in Read, D. (ed.), Edwardian England, (London, 1982), p.52.
- 78 HE, 20 January 1906.
- 79 HE, 27 January 1906, 10 February 1906.
- 80 Clarke, M.G., "Development and Purpose in a Local Conservative Association: A Study in the Huddersfield Constituencies, 1836-1966", unpublished manuscript (1966), p.34.
- 81 Roberts, A. W., "The Liberal Party in West Yorkshire, 1885-1895", unpublished Ph.D thesis (Leeds University, 1979), p.310 and appendices three and four. The party shares of the voting in the West Riding changed between 1900 and 1906 thus: Liberal 48.3% - 51.0%; Conservative 47.4% - 32.2%; Labour 4.3% - 16.8%, (Roberts, p.332).

- 82 Kinnear, op. cit., pp.28-30.
- 83 HC, 20 January 1906.
- 84 The Examiner noted that the Conservatives' "working-class supporters ... went literally by hundreds for the Independent Labour candidate", (20 January 1906).
- 85 HC, 20 January 1906; HE, 3 February 1906 - in an interview.
- 86 On this point see Russell, A.K., op. cit., p.47; Pugh, M., op. cit.; Clark, D., op. cit., pp.83-85; Howell, D., op. cit., pp.193-203.
- 87 Ross, D., "Bradford Politics, 1880-1906", unpublished Ph.D thesis, (Bradford University, 1977), pp.358-9.
- 88 YFT, 26 January 1906.
- 89 Martin, D., op. cit., p.136.
- 90 For a fuller discussion of these two points see: Russell, A.K., op. cit., pp.203-4; Purdue, A.W., "George Lansbury and the Middlesbrough Election of 1906", International Review of Social History, XVIII (1973), pp.333-352; idem., "Isaac Mitchell and the 'Progressive' Alliance 1903-6", North East Group for the Study of Labour History Bulletin, XI, (1977), pp.1-12.
- 91 HE, 27 January 1906; Trades Council Minutes 24 January 1906; YFT, 2 February 1906.
- 92 YFT, 19 January 1906.
- 93 Huddersfield Liberal Association Minutes (hereafter HLAM), 9 February 1906. It was formed jointly with the Junior Liberals.
- 94 Ibid., A.G.M., 6 March 1906.
- 95 For a detailed biography of Raynor (1854-1927) see HE, 3 February 1912. He was knighted in June 1912. A prominent freemason and a J.P., he was later made a Freeman of both London and Huddersfield.
- 96 Ibid.
- 97 HLAM, Sub-Committee, 27 February 1906.
- 98 HLAM, Sub-Committee, 23 March and 18 April 1906; Executive, 1 June 1906; Special meeting of the Association, 27 July 1906.

- 99 The Association was thus comprised: 365 ward representatives (one per 50 voters), 64 ward officials, nine subscribers of £5 or more, 50 subscribers' representatives and 12 Junior Liberals, equalling 516 in total. See HLAM, 18 April 1906, Sub-Committee.
- 100 These districts were: 1. West, Central, East and South (W.P. MacGirr); 2. North, Fartown, Deighton and Bradley (Arthur Sykes); 3. Dalton, Moldgreen, Primrose Hill and Almondbury (J.H. Robson); 4. Marsh and Lindley (Charles Sykes); 5. Lockwood, Newsome, Salford and Berry Brow (Harry Dawson); 6. Longwood and Linthwaite (William Shires). From HLAM, annual report, 29 January 1907; see HLAM 27 July 1906 for a copy of the fully amended constitution.
- 101 HLAM, 18 April 1906, Sub-Committee; 7 September 1906, Executive; 11 September 1906 Organising Committee. Also HE, 28 July 1906.
- 102 HLAM, annual report, 29 January 1907.
- 103 YFT, 26 January 1906; HW, 23 February and 29 December 1906. The first meeting was addressed by Grayson on "Socialism and the General Election".
- 104 HW, 23 February 1906. The first weekly Worker appeared on 10 November 1906.
- 105 HW, 23 March 1906. Wilfrid Whiteley commented later, however, that the Huddersfield ILP (of which he was several times secretary) was never "economically very strong" before 1914 and only barely sustained a full-time agent. See: Pearce, C., "An Interview with Wilfred Whiteley", Bulletin of the Society for the Study of Labour History, Spring 1969, p.19.
- 106 HW, ibid.
- 107 Ibid., also 27 April 1906.
- 108 See Lockwood Socialist Institute Minute Book, volume one, 12 and 28 March, 4 and 26 April, and 4 July 1906 (in Huddersfield Polytechnic Library, HD4). The executive comprised: President Albert Clayton, Vice-President Charles Machivoy, Treasurer George Hadfield, General Secretary G.A. Boothroyd, Minute Secretary Wilfrid Whiteley, Literature Secretary S. Tunnacliffe.
- 109 Ibid., 28 May 1907.
- 110 HW, 23 March 1906.
- 111 HE, 14 November 1906; HW, ibid.; Lindley Socialist Society Minute Book (in Huddersfield Polytechnic Library).
- 112 HW, 23 March 1906; HE, 24 March 1906.

113 See HE, 1 September 1906 and 21 July 1906. Membership of the General Union of Weavers and Textile Workers between 1905 and 1906 increased from 1634 to 3905 (Clark, D., op. cit., p.94).

114 See Trades Council annual report in HE, 29 September 1906; Board of Trade Report on Trade Unions, 1905-7, cd.4651.

115 The figures of national I.L.P. growth were as follows:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number of Branches</u>	<u>Total Income (£)</u>
1903-4	239	1752
1904-5	272	1506
1905-6	375	1884
1906-7	545	6063
1907-8	735	6838
1908-9	887	8870

(From Hardie, K., My Confession of Faith in the Labour Alliance, (London, 1909), p.4).

116 HE, 24 March 1906. See below section four on clergymen and Socialism.

117 Leeds Mercury, 24 July 1907.

118 See chapter four on the formation, organisation and opposition to the Socialist Sunday Schools in Huddersfield.

119 HW, 18 May and 22 June 1906. These figures conflict with those of Fred Reid in his "Socialist Sunday Schools in Britain, 1892-1939", International Review of Social History, XL, (1966), p.27. Reid takes his from the 1919 ILP Conference Report not local sources.

120 HW, 15 June 1907.

121 Lockwood Socialist Institute Minutes, 15 July 1906. On Bray see Huddersfield Citizen, 17 February 1928. A 'Clarionette', he was a friend of Grayson's, a member of the Huddersfield Labour Party executive, and married Wilfrid Whiteley's sister.

122 See Pearce, C., op. cit., p.15. Whiteley was secretary of Lockwood Socialist Institute, ILP candidate for Colne Valley in 1918 and later Labour MP for Birmingham Ladywood.

123 Ibid., p.16.

124 Ibid.

125 HW, 15 December 1906.

126 HE, 14 April 1906; HW, 27 April and 20 July 1906.

- 127 See Clark, D., op. cit., pp.124-5.
- 128 HW, 18 May 1906.
- 129 HE, 12 May 1906.
- 130 Labour won Almondbury (Walmsley (LAB.) 719, Mellor (CON.) 690) and Lockwood (Boothroyd (LAB.) 960, Wood (LIB.) 810), but were beaten at Lindley and South in straight fights with Liberals. See HE, 3 March, 12 and 19 May 1906; HW, 23 March and 18 May 1906.
- 131 There were Labour candidates in the South, Marsh, Dalton, Moldgreen, Lockwood, Lindley and Longwood wards. Two were three-cornered; two were straight Labour-Conservative fights, of which one was at Dalton where Taylor won; and three were straight Liberal-Labour fights, (HE, 3 November 1906). A lack of workers may have contributed to Boothroyd's defeat at Lockwood - see Trades Council Minutes, 24 October 1906.
- 132 The figures were: Liberal 574, Labour 573, Conservative 544, (HE, ibid).
- 133 See appendices 2.5 and 2.8. Of ten three-cornered municipal by-elections before 1914 Conservatives won five, Liberals four and Labour only one (in Newsome in December 1911).
- 134 HE, 6 October and 10 November 1906.
- 135 HE, 8 September 1906.
- 136 HE, 27 October 1906.
- 137 Opening the new Dalton Liberal Club on 31 March 1906, see HE, 7 April 1906.
- 138 HE, 7 April and 19 May 1906; HW, 21 September 1906.
- 139 HE, 6 October 1906.
- 140 See Richards, N.J., "The Education Bill of 1906 and the Decline of Political Nonconformity", Journal of Ecclesiastical History, XXIII, No. 1, (January 1972). Also HE, 14 April 1906 for statements of local political reaction to the bill; and Trades Council Minutes, 27 June 1906.
- 141 HE, 24 and 31 March, and 30 June 1906. Roberts, from Bradford, had previously been an ILPer. Skirrow was Yorkshire agent of the English League for the Taxation of Land Values. See HW, 20 July 1906 on taxation of land values.
- 142 HE, 15 September 1906.
- 143 See Withy, A., My Partners, The People, (London, 1907) also his speeches at Longwood in HE, 10 November 1906.

- 144 See HJLA report on HE, 6 October 1906; also the annual conference of the Yorkshire Council of Women's Liberal Associations held in Huddersfield in March 1906, in HE, 31 March 1906.
- 145 HE, 14 April, 26 May and 23 June 1906; HW, 20 July 1906; Trades Council Minutes 28 February and 18 May 1906; Trades Council Letter Book, volume one, 31 March and 19 May 1906 (Brierley to Williams).
- 146 Speaking at the monthly meeting of the Huddersfield ILP: HW, 17 August 1906.
- 147 Trades Council Minutes, 25 July 1906. It replaced two separate committees and performed the function of an L.R.C.
- 148 Interview in HE, 3 February 1912. Woodhouse succeeded Sir Frederick Peel on the recommendation of Lloyd George. It was a post for life on a salary of £3,000 per annum. (See HE and HC, 24 November 1906; Hull Daily Mail, 20 November 1906).
- 149 Labour Leader, 30 November 1906.
- 150 Strong, H.W., "Huddersfield and the Strength of Liberalism", Independent Review, February 1907, p.183.
- 151 See Chief Whip, the Master of Elibank's speech on 18 August 1906, reported in HE, 1 September 1906; also the Examiner's reaction on 8 September 1906, urging 'progressive co-operation'.
- 152 For example: HW, 1 December 1906; British Weekly, 8 December 1906. Judging by the level of excitement in the Commons when Sherwell won the seat there was probably much truth in the claims.
- 153 Labour Leader, 23 November 1906.
- 154 HE, 24 November 1906, at Sherwell's first public meeting.
- 155 Labour Leader, 30 November 1906.
- 156 Strong, H.W., op. cit.
- 157 HE, 24 November 1906; Hull Daily Mail, 20 November 1906.
- 158 HE, ibid., on "What Liberalism has to say on Social Questions".
- 159 HC, 24 November and 1 December 1906; HW, 1 December 1906; Labour Leader, 23 November 1906.
- 160 HE, 24 November 1906.

- 161 See HC, 1 December 1906; and HE, 7 April and 2 June 1906. It was originally called the Women's Liberal Unionist Association but the name was changed to attract Conservatives.
- 162 HC, ibid.
- 163 HE, 24 November 1906.
- 164 HC, 1 December 1906, in an interview with Fraser. On the "eclipse of the Unionist Free Traders" see Rempel, R., Unionists Divided: Arthur Balfour, Joseph Chamberlain and the Unionist Free Traders, (Newton Abbot, 1972).
- 165 HE, 14 April 1906.
- 166 HC, 24 November 1906, from Fraser's address.
- 167 HE and HW, 1 December 1906. W.P. Raynor put the figure at 400 but this was the only estimate this high (HE, 2 February 1907; HLAM AGM, 29 January 1907), Fraser also argued that the Irish had strongly disliked Sherwell's social reform programme.
- 168 HC, 24 November 1906, from his address.
- 169 HE and HC, 1 December 1906. Both addressed a meeting at the Drill Hall on 27 November. Balfour also sent a telegram.
- 170 See Blewett, N., "Free Fooders, Balfourites, Whole Hoggers. Factionalism within the Unionist Party, 1906-10", Historical Journal, XI, 1, (1968), pp.95-124; Fraser, P., "Unionism and Tariff Reform: The Crisis of 1906", Historical Journal, V, 2 (1962), pp.149-66; Sykes, A., Tariff Reform in British Politics, 1903-1913, (Oxford, 1979), chapters five, six and seven; Dutton, D., "Unionist Politics and the Aftermath of the General Election of 1906: A Reassessment", Historical Journal, 22 (4), 1979, pp.861-76. Dutton argues that the post-1906 Conservative Party showed "almost no appreciation of the existence now of a large working-class electorate whose needs would have to be satisfied if the party were to remain a viable party of government" (p.876).
- 171 Labour Leader, 23 November 1906.
- 172 HW, 1 December 1906. Co-ordinated by a Parliamentary Committee, chaired by W. Pickles with Ben Riley as Treasurer and J.W. Brierley and Edgar Whiteley as joint-secretaries.
- 173 The M.P.s were: Hardie, Clynes, Henderson, Snowden, MacPherson, Crooks, Jowett, Hudson, Barnes, Seddon and Shackleton. See HW, 1 December 1906; Labour Leader, 30 November 1906.
- 174 Labour Leader, ibid., also Pierson, S., op. cit., pp.132-3.

- 175 See NEC Minutes of the LRC, 20 November 1906, (Harvester microfilm, Brighton), also ibid. In January Williams had been sponsored in the main by the Trades Council.
- 176 Labour Leader, 23 November 1906. All three candidates were forced to address as many as thirteen meetings per day, see HE, 1 December 1906.
- 177 See HW, 24 November 1906 for Williams' address.
- 178 At his massive Town Hall meeting on 26 November, see HE, 1 December 1906.
- 179 Ibid.
- 180 For biographical information on Sherwell see HE, 24 November 1906; and Stenton, M., and Lees, S., (eds.), Who's Who of British M.P.s, Volume Two 1886-1918, (Brighton 1978, p.326).
- 181 His publications included: The Temperance Problem and Social Reform (1899), which went with six editions and sold 70,000 copies by 1906; The Public Control of the Liquor Traffic (1903) and The Taxation of the Liquor Trade (1906). In addition he published a large number of pamphlets and articles on a wide range of political, economic and social issues. The Huddersfield by-election was his first incursion into politics. He travelled extensively, married in 1909 and died on 13 January 1942. His widow destroyed most of his papers after his death, and on her death what little remained, mainly the manuscripts of his books, passed to the Rowntree Trust and subsequently to the L.S.E.
- 182 See chapter four above; also Life in West London, (1896), and a speech to Lindley Liberals in HE, 9 February 1907.
- 183 HE, 24 November 1906.
- 184 Ibid., see his address to the HLA on 19 November.
- 185 Ibid., at a meeting of the HLA.
- 186 Labour Leader, 30 November 1906.
- 187 HE, op. cit.
- 188 HW, 24 November 1906.
- 189 HE, 24 November 1906; also Pierson, S., op. cit., p.133.
- 190 Labour Leader, 30 November 1906.
- 191 See HE, 24 November 1906, especially the Moldgreen, Crosland Moor and Lockwood meetings; also Hardie, K., "The Moral of Huddersfield", Independent Review, January 1907.
- 192 HE, ibid., see the Lindley and Friendly and Trades' Club meetings.

- 193 HE, 1 December 1906.
- 194 Ibid; this was paralleled by a comment made by a Berry Brow Liberal urging voters: "don't follow the shadow and lose the substance", (HE, 8 December 1906).
- 195 The Labour Leader, (30 November 1906) later conceded that potential Labour voters had been attracted by this argument.
- 196 HW, 1 December 1906.
- 197 The adverse effects on the Labour vote of the register were not in doubt. The Ulster Guardian commented that "The register was old and exhausted and what this means in a working class constituency is known to every politician", (cited in HE, 8 December 1906). Williams also remarked upon the accuracy of his canvas and that removals had been highest amongst his own voters, (HE, 1 December 1906). See also Labour Leader, 30 November 1906; and more generally Blewett, N., op. cit., and Sheppard, M.G., "The Effects of the Franchise Provisions on the Social and Sex Composition of the Municipal Electorate 1882-1914", Bulletin of the Society for the Study of Labour History, no. 45, (Autumn 1982), pp.19-25. In addition see introduction above.
- 198 See HE, 1 December 1906; also an interview in British Weekly cited in HE, 8 December 1906.
- 199 Hardie, K., op. cit., p.64. This article was an extrapolation of one he wrote in Labour Leader, 30 November 1906. The Liberals had fifty cars in the by-election, Labour none.
- 200 HE, 1 December 1906 and HW, 1 December 1906.
- 201 Ibid., the Daily News, Morning Leader, Manchester Guardian, Daily Chronicle and Daily Tribune, all took this line (HE, and HC, 1 December 1906).
- 202 Cited in HC, 1 December 1906.
- 203 Strong, H., op. cit., p.185.
- 204 HE, 8 December 1906.
- 205 HC, 1 December 1906.
- 206 Strong, H., op. cit., p.182.
- 207 Labour Leader, 7 December 1906; Ibid., p.183.
- 208 See Mrs Pankhurst's address on 20 November 1906 in HE, 24 November 1906, also the mass meeting in the Hippodrome on 27 November (HE, 1 December 1906) addressed by Alice Kenny. A Huddersfield branch of the WSPU was formed on 18 December 1906, see HE, 22 December 1906.

- 209 HE, 21 May 1904. On Miss Siddon see chapter four.
- 210 See Hume, L.P., The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, 1897-1914, (New York, 1982), chapter two; also Harrison, B., Separate Spheres: The Opposition to Women's Suffrage in Britain, (London, 1978).
- 211 HE, 24 November 1906.
- 212 Labour Leader, 30 November 1906; HC, 24 November 1906. Miss Gore Booth and Miss Roper were the prominent speakers.
- 213 See Liddington, J., and Norris, J., One Hand Tied Behind Us: The Rise of the Women's Suffrage Movement, (London, 1978), especially pp.207-9; also Harrison, B., "The Act of Militancy: Violence and the Suffragettes, 1904-1914", in his Peaceable Kingdom: Stability and Change in Modern Britain, (Oxford, 1982); Rover, C., Women's Suffrage and Party Politics in Britain, 1866-1914, (London, 1967), pp.146-167; and Pugh, M., Electoral Reform in War and Peace 1906-18, (London, 1978).
- 214 T.W. Russell, M.P., in the Ulster Guardian, cited in HE, 15 December 1906.
- 215 Pugh, M., "Yorkshire and the New Liberalism", Journal of Modern History, volume 50, part 3, (1978), pp.1153.
- 216 Ulster Guardian, op. cit.
- 217 HLAM, annual report, 29 January 1907.
- 218 HW, 26 January and 9 February 1907.
- 219 HW, 15 June 1907 and passim.
- 220 Robbins, K., "The Spiritual Pilgrimage of the Rev. R.J. Campbell", Journal of Ecclesiastical History, vol. 30, no. 2, (April 1979), p.270.
- 221 On Campbell and The New Theology see Robbins, K., ibid., Pierson, S., op. cit., pp.144-6 and 189-90; Jones, P. d'A., The Christian Socialist Revival 1877-1912, (Princeton, 1968). See also Campbell, R.J., Socialism, (ILP, London, 1907) and copies of Christian Commonwealth edited by F.R. Swan.
- 222 HW, 29 August 1908.
- 223 Clark, D., op. cit., p.148.
- 224 HW, 30 March 1907.
- 225 London, 1907, pp.228-34. See a review in HW, 6 April 1907.
- 226 See an article by Stanley Chadwick on The Worker in HE, 12 January 1974; also Clark, D., op. cit.

- 227 HW, 16 May and 29 August 1908; Robbins, K., op. cit., pp.271-3; Pierson, S., op. cit., pp.145-6. Its original name was the New Theology League.
- 228 HW, ibid. The officers were: President, R.J. Campbell; Vice-Presidents, Rev. T. Rhondda Williams and J.A. Seddon MP; Secretary, F.R. Swan. For criticism of the League's nebulous policies see HW, 23 October 1909 (an editorial by James Leatham).
- 229 See Campbell, R.J., The New Theology, (Popular edition, London, 1909), introduction; HW, 29 August 1908; HE, 6 February 1909.
- 230 Ibid. Sime, minister at Milton 1902-13, was a supporter of the New Theology. Swan acknowledged his help in writing The Immanence of Christ in Modern Life (op. cit.), p.12, and in 1909 he welcomed Campbell to Milton.
- 231 Prestige, G.L., The Life of Charles Gore: A Great Englishman, (London, 1935), p.86; Jones, P. d'A., op. cit.
- 232 Ibid., pp.215-9; HW, 4 May 1907; Clark, D., op. cit. Those present included Hardie, Clynes, Mrs. Pankhurst and Ben Turner.
- 233 HW, 19 January 1907.
- 234 HW, 2 January 1909. Brought up in Cumberland, Graham had trained as an engineer but had been ordained in 1900 moving immediately to a curacy at Bradford before going to St. Andrew's at Thongsbridge, between Huddersfield and Holmfirth. He was also a vegetarian, see HW, 18 July 1908.
- 235 HW, 2 November 1907: for details of the disagreement between Graham and a trustee, Richardson. Also ILP Report 1908, p.44. For Graham's involvement in Grayson's 1907 campaign see Clark, D., op. cit., p.149; and Pierson, S., op. cit., p.141; and Pelling, H., "Two By-Elections: Jarrow and Colne Valley, 1907", in his Popular Politics and Society in Late Victorian Britain, (London, 1967).
- 236 HW, 11 January 1908 and 2 January 1909.
- 237 HW, 1 August 1908.
- 238 Pierson, S., op. cit., pp.140-1; Jones, P. d'A., op. cit., Widdrington, P.E.T., "The Church Socialist League", two parts in The Commonwealth, April and July 1927.
- 239 HE, 14 March 1908; HW, 13 March 1909.
- 240 Pierson, S., op. cit., pp.143-44; Wilson, J.S., The Messiah Cometh Riding Upon the Ass of Economics, (Huddersfield, 1909).

- 241 Cited in Clark, D., op. cit., p.158. See also Diogenes, I., "Colne Valley and Afterwards", Westminster Review, vol. 168, (1907), pp.506-11.
- 242 Indeed this is borne out by a letter Ben Riley wrote to Keir Hardie on 7 December 1906 in the Francis Johnson Correspondence (Harvester microfilm), 1906/403.
- 243 HW, 20 July and 3 August 1907.
- 244 HW, 20 July 1907.
- 245 HW, 12 October and 21 December 1907.
- 246 After 1907 only one further Labour club was added, at Crosland Moor in June 1908.
- 247 HW, 28 December 1907.
- 248 On the dispute see Clark, D., op. cit., chapter nine; and Groves, R., op. cit., pp.20-23.
- 249 The incident is related in Groves, R., ibid., pp.65-71. For Grayson's criticism of the PLP see HW and HE, passim.
- 250 These figures are approximate as they are based on returns from trade unions to the Board of Trade. See Brown, K.D., Labour and Unemployment, 1900-1914, (Newton Abbot, 1971), p.190, and passim. For unemployment in Huddersfield at this time, see chapter four above.
- 251 Labour Leader, 10 May 1907.
- 252 Ibid., 17 May 1907.
- 253 Ibid.
- 254 Ibid., 31 May 1907. See also MacDonald's reply: ibid, 24 May 1907. More generally see Moore, R., The Emergence of the Labour Party, 1880-1924, (Sevenoaks, 1978), part six.
- 255 HW, 26 October 1907.
- 256 See Pierson, S., op. cit., pp.261-8; Tsuzuki, C., "The 'Impossibilist Revolt' in Britain: The Origins of the S.L.P. and the S.P.G.B.", International Review of Social History, vol. 1, (1956), pp.377-97; idem., Hyndman and British Socialism, (London, 1961); Challinor, R., The Origins of British Bolshevism, (London, 1977); MacFarlane, L.J., The British Communist Party, (London, 1966), chapter one.
- 257 There are references to a Huddersfield S.L.P. in the profiles of Shaw in the Huddersfield Citizen of 18 March 1927 and January 1947. There is no reference to it in his obituary in the HE, 24 January 1951, and that in the Dictionary of Labour Biography, Volume Four, (Bellamy, J. and Saville, J. (eds.), London, 1977), p.157, gives 1905 as the foundation date, probably erroneously.

- 258 See HE and HW, 25 April 1908; Riley, B., and Whiteley, E., (eds.), 16th I.L.P. Conference Handbook, (Huddersfield, 1908).
- 259 HW, 18 and 25 April 1908; HE, 18 April 1908; Groves, R., op. cit., pp.58-59.
- 260 HW, 4 April 1908.
- 261 Pierson, S., op. cit., p.156. Mainly because of the leadership's conciliatory attitude towards Grayson.
- 262 HW, 2 and 16 May, and 31 October 1908; Labour Leader, 15 May 1908. He criticised in particular MacDonald, Snowden, Hardie and Glasier.
- 263 HW, 16 May 1908. Riley served on the executive council of the ILP, 1908-12 and 1915-26, see Independent Labour Party 1893-1943: Jubilee Souvenir, (London, 1943), p.32.
- 264 HW, 7 November 1908, at a meeting in the Town Hall attended by over 2500 people. See also Grayson, V., The Destiny of the Mob, (Huddersfield, The Worker Press, 1909). It is important to note, however, that following the resignation of the 'Big Four' from the NEC of the ILP in 1909 at the Edinburgh Conference, Huddersfield's delegates were vocal in calling for their return.
- 265 Trades Council Minutes, 27 May, 21 and 28 October 1908. See also Lindley Socialist Institute Minutes, 15 October 1908.
- 266 HE, 17 October and 28 November 1908; HW, 17 October 1908 and 16 January 1909. J.I. Swallow, C.H. Greenwood and Herbert Shaw were the main officers, and membership was around thirty. On Labour fragmentation generally see the editorial in HW, 13 March 1909 entitled "Duplication of Agencies".
- 267 HE, 2 November 1907. Won by W. Pickles, President of the Trades Council.
- 268 Both quotes from Groves, R., op. cit., pp.98-99. For Oliver Smith see Huddersfield Citizen, 20 January 1928 and July 1947, p.4.
- 269 HLAM, annual reports, 7 February 1908 and 2 February 1909; HE, 29 May 1909. He left to become a lecturer for the Northumberland and Durham Free Trade Union.
- 270 HLAM, 19 April 1907, 7 February 1908; HE, 8 February 1908.
- 271 HLAM, 2 February 1909, and 19 April 1907. No circulation figures or copies of the Democrat survive.
- 272 Ibid., 12 April 1907 (Finance Committee) and 7 February 1908 (Annual report).

- 273 HE, 26 October 1907, 3 October 1908 and 16 October 1909.
- 274 HE, 16 October 1909.
- 275 HE, 10 November 1906, 9 November 1907, 14 and 28 November 1908, and 13 November 1909. In addition there were separate new branches set up at Berry Brow and Sheepridge - see HE, 4 May and 24 August 1907, also 19 February 1910. The Huddersfield situation generally belies Blewett's comments that "The Unionist ancillary organisations, particularly the Primrose League, seem to have been more active than the less-developed ancillaries of the Liberal Party" around 1910, (The Peers, The Parties and The People: the General Election of 1910, (London, 1972), p.282). The Huddersfield Primrose League was only a significant organisation in the 1880s and early 1890s; by 1906 it had virtually ceased to exist. This seems also to have been the case in West Yorkshire generally. (See HE, 21 April 1906; Robb, Janet H., The Primrose League, 1883-1906, (New York 1942, reprinted 1968)).
- 276 Collins, D., "The Introduction of Old Age Pensions in Great Britain", Historical Journal, VIII, (1965), 2; Hay, J.R., The Origins of the Liberal Welfare Reforms, 1906-14, (London, 1975); idem., "Employers and Social Policy in Britain: the Evolution of Welfare Legislation 1905-14", Social History, January 1977, pp.435-55.
- 277 See especially HE, 4, 11, 18 April; 2, 30 May; and 11 July 1908 for meetings.
- 278 HLAM, 7 February and 14 April 1908.
- 279 HE, 24 April 1909.
- 280 HE, 3 October 1908, the annual report.
- 281 HE, 8 June 1907. See also similar sentiments expressed by the Free Church Council in HE, 6 July 1907. More generally see Peel, A., These Hundred Years: A History of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, 1831-1931, (London, 1931), p.366.
- 282 Blewett, N., op. cit.; Sykes, A., op. cit.
- 283 Blewett, N., The Peers, The Parties and The People: the General Elections of 1910, (London, 1972), chapter three; Jones, R.B., "Balfour's Reform of Party Organisation", Bulletin of the Institute for Historical Research, May 1965, pp.94-101; Dutton, D.J., (1979), op. cit.
- 284 Clarke, M.G., (1966), op. cit., pp.32-4.
- 285 HE, 12 January 1907.
- 286 HC, 12 January 1907.

- 287 Clarke, M.G., op. cit., p.36. The League affiliated as a separate body to the National Union in June 1907.
- 288 HC and HE, 27 June 1908.
- 289 On Harold Smith (1876-1924) see Waller, P., Democracy and Sectarianism: a political and social history of Liverpool, (Liverpool, 1981); Stenton and Lees, op. cit.; Birkenhead, 2nd Earl, F.E., (London, 1959); Camp, William, The Glittering Prizes: a Biographical Study of F.E. Smith, (London, 1960); Campbell, J., forthcoming study of F.E. Smith prefaced in "F.E. Smith: Tory Democrat or Social Democrat?", History Today, 32, (May 1982). Harold was a member of the Parliamentary Inquiry into the Marconi Scandal in 1912, Secretary of the Press Bureau during the war (under his brother) and Recorder at Blackburn 1922-4.
- 290 Clarke, M.G., op. cit., pp.36-37. The HCA's attitude tends to substantiate Neal Blewett's observation that "Too often in the urban constituencies of the North the local organisations were closed and complacent coteries of traditional notables", (The Peers ..., (1972), p271).
- 291 See appendices 2.1 and 2.4. It was, however, to recover to 27.7 per cent in 1910.
- 292 See Brown, K.D., "The Anti-Socialist Union, 1908-49" in his Essays in Anti-Labour History, (London, 1974), pp.234-61; Pelling, H., op. cit., p.146. On anti-Socialism generally see: Ford, D.J., "W.H. Mallock and Socialism in England, 1880-1918" in Brown, K.D. (ed.), ibid.; and Mason, J.W., "Political Economy and the Response to Socialism in Britain 1870-1914", Historical Journal, 23, 3, (1980), pp.565-87.
- 293 HC, 27 June, 21 November 1908, 13 March and 3 April 1909; HE, 12 September 1908. See also Sykes, A., op. cit., chapter six, on tariff reform as an alternative to Socialism.
- 294 See Murray, B.K., The People's Budget, 1909-10: Lloyd George and Liberal Politics, (Oxford, 1980); and below chapter seven.
- 295 See Groves, R., op. cit.
- 296 Snell will be discussed in the following chapter.
- 297 Pierson, S., op. cit., pp.185-92; Robbins, K., op. cit., pp.273-6. R.J. Campbell returned to a full involvement in the Church.
- 298 On Leatham see Duncan, B., James Leatham, 1865-1945: Portrait of a Socialist Pioneer, (Aberdeen, 1978), especially chapter five; also a profile in HW, 12 September 1908.
- 299 HW, 13 March, 17 July, 14 August and 23 October 1909.

- 300 HW, 14 August, 2 and 9 October 1909. On the League generally see: Holton, B., British Syndicalism, 1900-14, (London, 1976), pp.43-45; Challinor, R., op. cit., p.91, and below chapter 7.
- 301 Board of Trade Reports on Trade Unions, 1905-7, (cd. 4651), and 1908-10, (cd. 6109).
- 302 On the weavers and textile workers see: HE, 27 April, 20 July and 23 November 1907; 12 September 1908, and 9 January and 18 December 1909; also YFT, 26 April 1907. On the railwaymen see: HE, 18 May 1907. On the shop assistants see HE, 26 October 1907.

CHAPTER SEVEN

LIBERALISM CHALLENGED, 1910-1914

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Tha knows, Harry Snell was t' best man in t' three,
by a long way; but we aren't giving to have no
bloody Socialist member for Huddersfield.¹

The mains aims of this final chapter are to concentrate on the way in which the two elections of 1910 ostensibly confirmed the predominance of the Huddersfield Liberal Party and simultaneously the slump in the fortunes of the Huddersfield Labour Party, ushering in a period of extensive internal Labour dissension, secession and fragmentation which was to emasculate the party, despite indications of a growing maturity, until after 1918. The victories of 1910 were, however, to give a deceptive impression of Liberalism's strength in Huddersfield, for in less than four years a rejuvenated Conservatism, building on a creditable showing in the December 1910 election, had irrevocably vanquished the Liberal Party's predominance, replacing Labour as the main challenger and winning control of the Borough Council for the first time since its incorporation.

Furthermore, the dichotomy between the municipal and parliamentary faces of the HLA, which had been barely perceptible earlier in the period, emerged more strongly. Interventionist welfare policies introduced by the Liberal Government at national level were perfectly acceptable to Huddersfield Liberals as issues with which to win votes, but they were themselves reluctant and hesitant to introduce similar policies at a municipal level, adhering constantly to a non-interventionist self-help philosophy. (Their attitude to school feeding and unemployment being cases in point). Local Liberals saw little that was inconsistent in hailing the 1909 Budget as "sound and

progressive ... a Budget which points to solid and substantial social reform ... the finance of democracy and therefore of hope"², while resisting Labour pressure for municipal provision for the unemployed. Indeed many Liberals in Huddersfield preferred to view the People's Budget as part and parcel of the continuing fiscal debate: as the Party's Free Trade answer to the recrudescence of Tariff Reform or conversely, as the Chronicle put it, "the last despairing effort of Free Traders to cope with the growing expenditure of the country."³

In short, the ability of Huddersfield Liberalism to straddle simultaneously both middle and working-class support to successful electoral ends was again evident in 1910, but its appeal was ultimately flawed and increasingly obsolete in that it was based less on local Liberal achievement than on, firstly, a reiteration of traditional Liberalism, second the reformist aura of the national Liberal Government, and third the parlous state of its opponents, especially the Labour Party. Moreover, from 1910, as employers and workers clashed on an unprecedented level in Huddersfield there were signs of an erosion of Liberalism's hold on both middle and working-class support, perceptible more in the party's marked decline in municipal representation than in the strength and condition of its organisation.

1. The January 1910 Election: Party Organisation at a Premium

As elsewhere in the country, the January 1910 election campaign in Huddersfield was a protracted affair. Since the Budget's introduction

in May 1909 all three party candidates had been active. Arthur Sherwell, defending a slim 340 majority, spoke of the Budget as the "supreme test of the sincerity of political faith,"⁴ a theme avidly taken up by the Junior Liberal Association which went to the lengths of dissociating itself from its president T. P. Whittaker, Liberal MP for Spen Valley, who had expressed hostility to Lloyd George's proposals.⁵ Thus purged, the local Liberal organisation was in fine fettle: the Junior and Women's Associations boasted unprecedented membership levels and were in the forefront of a barrage of Budget meetings held during the late *summer and autumn which* culminated in two gains at the municipal elections.⁶ With a membership in early 1910 of 1200, a staff of fifty speakers, a magic lantern, and a 'democratic' membership fee of one shilling per annum, the Huddersfield Junior Liberal Association was a model of effective party organisation much remarked upon by contemporaries.⁷ The Liberal cause also benefited from the local Irish League's decision both to endorse the Budget provisions and pledge some 400 Irish voters to support Sherwell,⁸ and at the beginning of November, Sherwell commenced a successful tour of the Liberal clubs reporting that "It is absolutely certain that the workers generally are overwhelmingly in favour of the Budget."⁹ One commentator in the Daily News noted that "Huddersfield may be regarded as the 'live wire' of Yorkshire Liberalism" and few doubts existed that in view of the excellent state of preparedness and organisation alone Sherwell would retain the seat.¹⁰

In part such confidence was due to the state of the opposing parties. Although the Huddersfield Conservative Association had begun to

reorganise, tensions between it and the Constitutional League persisted and it remained undecided as to how much attention should be focussed on attacking the Budget as "unconstitutional and revolutionary in character ... imposing excessive burdens on industry ... making no proper provision for the unity and defence of the Empire"¹¹, and how much on propagandising Tariff Reform as an alternative. Nevertheless, by the time Sherwell had formally opened the campaign in the Town Hall on 30 December, in a speech marked by a survey of the Government's achievements and a spirited attack on Tariff Reform as "a dodge" and a "red herring" and on the Lords, two key Conservative speeches in Huddersfield by F.E. Smith and Lord Milner had established the local party's determination to concentrate on the fiscal issue.¹² Indeed it was a shift that came relatively early in the Huddersfield campaign compared with elsewhere in the country, where Blewett suggests that a similar change of tack only occurred in the New Year.¹³ Ironically, however, there are no signs that Smith's campaign demonstrably benefited, mainly because it was generally agreed that "trade is better in Huddersfield than it has been for years"¹⁴, an observation confirmed by a sixty-two per cent increase in the value of textile exports to the United States between the years 1908-10.¹⁵ Such figures accentuated an antipathy towards Tariff Reform as a universal panacea that was common to both mill owners and the working class, though for differing reasons. Moreover, the electorate generally was all too familiar with a fiscal debate which had been raging almost without respite since 1903, while the constitutional issue was fresh and, vague as Sherwell's proposals for Lords reform were, could draw support alike from the Irish,

temperance advocates, those Nonconformists still awaiting educational redress, and working men attracted by Lloyd George's anti-landlord oratory and promises of franchise reform.¹⁶ A refusal by Lord Milner to discuss the constitutional issue during his speech in Huddersfield Town Hall on 17 December¹⁷ probably did more to frustrate potential support for Harold Smith than rally it around Tariff Reform. Nor was the Conservative campaign aided by Smith's political inexperience and some bitter personal exchanges with the Examiner following the disruption of his brother's Town Hall meeting on 24 September, allegedly by organised hecklers.¹⁸ Smith never shook off charges of 'carpet bagging';¹⁹ nor did he lift his campaign out of a lacklustre repetition of the supposed virtues of Tariff Reform, despite the distinguished support of several leading local textile manufacturers. One of them, Ernest Learoyd, even went so far as to tell his work people that he viewed "with the greatest anxiety" future employment prospects in the firm under the existing fiscal system.²⁰

The Huddersfield Labour movement entered the campaign in a depressed condition. Firstly, Labour representation on the Borough Council had been reduced by two in November 1909 to only three and this reflected "disappointingly slow" progress across the country.²¹ Secondly the Trades and Labour Council was increasingly divided in approach between those delegates favouring quasi-syndicalist 'direct' action and those favouring continued political action. Thirdly, the local ILP was on the brink of suffering a secession from its ranks by its more militant 'Graysonite' section, dissatisfied with

Parliamentary Socialism and ready to stamp the Budget "a disgusting fraud" that could "do nothing for the present."²² Indeed Grayson's continued refusal to sign the Labour Party constitution, his opposition to the alliance with trade unionism, and his determination to stand as an independent caused a serious rift amongst his supporters and confusion amongst the Huddersfield I.L.P. rank-and-file.²³ Admittedly, a defence of the P.L.P.'s conduct by Arthur Henderson and James Parker during speeches in Huddersfield in November 1909 had gone some way to allaying the doubts of party workers,²⁴ while James Leatham as editor of The Worker had sought to paper over the cracks, commenting that "We have criticised keenly and shall do again, but now to the fight ... Hearts are trumps, Socialism is the game, and there must be no more criticism."²⁵ Yet the fact remained that, as the Labour Leader recognised, "There had been serious disunion in the rank and file of the local adherents, and energy which should have been devoted to the practical work of building up an effective working organisation had been dissipated in fruitless discussions as to policy."²⁶ By the end of 1909 the number of active affiliated ILP branches in the area had dropped in only two years from ten to three: Huddersfield Central with 300 members, Longwood with thirty and Milnsbridge with 150.²⁷ Nor did this, and other problems, go unnoticed by Harry Snell when he was adopted as Labour candidate in 1908:

As a constituency Huddersfield had certain well-known drawbacks from the Labour standpoint; the Liberal Party machine was one of the strongest in the country, whereas the Labour Party organisation was, by comparison, contemptible, and the wind of local prejudice blew continuously against it. The handful of people of

social standing in the borough, whose sympathies were on the side of Labour, withheld their support owing to their dislike of the youthful and harmless exuberances of Mr. Victor Grayson.²⁸

The impact of these factors was also apparent in the fact that a mere five municipal seats were contested by Labour in November 1909, half the number of the previous year; and in the local party's poor financial standing. The infamous Osborne Judgment of 1909 had not helped matters but nor was it a hindrance. As early as February 1909 the Trades Council had formulated contingency plans to circumvent the judgment, by making the railway delegates honorary members, through transferring funds and by deferring payment of affiliation fees.²⁹ In terms of the two elections of 1910 its impact was negligible.³⁰ Though two of the three ASRS branches had disaffiliated from the Trades Council by June 1910 "most unions are declaring ... [that] the work of the Labour Party, local or national must not suffer."³¹ Finance was, nevertheless, severely lacking and it was opportune that the national Fabian Society had agreed in 1909 to sponsor three parliamentary candidates, *one of which was to be Snell*, and was also ready to provide £250 plus £2 per week for a full-time organiser. This was, however, conditional upon the local party banking £150 by 31 December 1909.³² Much scraping of barrels proved necessary to raise the amount, including the withdrawal of investment in the Worker Press Limited,³³ but with three weeks to go before polling, The Worker appeal had attracted only £27. Gone, it appeared, was the enthusiasm that had raised £100 in only two days during the 1906 by-election campaign.³⁴

Yet despite all these drawbacks Labour fought a vigorous campaign in Huddersfield in January 1910, rekindling by way of a series of large public meetings addressed by Sidney Webb, Hubert Bland, W.B. Graham and others,³⁵ some of the quasi-religious fervour of the 1906-7 period. This had undoubtedly a great deal to do with the character and endeavour of Harry Snell who led his campaign with the motto "The Right to Work and the Right to Live". Born in 1865, one of several sons of a poor Nottinghamshire agricultural labourer, Snell had begun work at eight, progressing via such jobs as bird-scarer, groom, pub pot-boy and French polisher, to become a secretary at the London School of Economics. In 1884 he had joined the SDF, chairing many of John Burns' meetings when the latter contested Nottingham in 1885, although he later moved to become a member of the ILP, serving on its NAC. As paid agent for the Woolwich Charity Organisation Society between 1890 and 1897 his *self-education* continued and he won a scholarship to the LSE, thereafter becoming a Fabian economics lecturer.³⁶ More significant perhaps was his growing involvement in the Ethical Movement and his belief that it could provide a rational basis for the moral and religious life of man without theology: he was, as he himself said, "passionately anti-clerical in outlook and temper."³⁷ He had, in fact, been much influenced by Charles Bradlaugh and Annie Besant in his youth, joining the Nottingham Secular Society and later the Unitarian church in the early-1880s,³⁸ and becoming a lecturer for the Union of Ethical Societies, of which he was chairman from 1900. In February 1907 he founded the Secular Education League which urged that "the teaching of religion was not the responsibility of the State" at all, but lay

with parents and religious organisations.³⁹ One biographer has noted that for Snell "Socialism was the sister of rationalism"⁴⁰ and it was his belief in simple moral goodness as the ideal of human conduct that characterised his approach to politics. Writing on "Why I am a Socialist", Snell characterised Socialism as "a summary of all the moral possibilities of man ... it is the Law and the Prophets, the Ten Commandments all in one, ... Socialism represents the religion of today and of the future yet unborn."⁴¹ Indeed, his background, plus his life-long abstinence from drink and tobacco, rendered Snell almost the model Labour candidate for the Huddersfield constituency, given the local Labour movement's own secularist origins and ethical emphasis. It was, moreover, a measure of the declining influence of trade union "Labourism" within the Huddersfield movement that Snell was the first Labour candidate to stand in the town who lacked official trade union backing, although he received the unhesitant support of the Trades Council.⁴²

In the final analysis, however, Snell's chances were hampered by the Parliamentary Labour Party's open, if reluctant, support for the Budget and the practical difficulties presented in contrasting Sherwell's proposals with his own. Although Snell came out for an "immediate and complete abolition of the House of Lords", adding that "The Liberal Party proposes to put the House of Lords in a cage. I propose to put it in a coffin"⁴³, Sherwell's commitment that "the absolute veto of the Lords must go ... the will of the people ... must be supreme", albeit vague in terms of specific reforms, was strong enough to minimise the contrast between the two approaches.⁴⁴ In fact, as Blewett has observed, "By virtue of long tradition the

battle with the House of Lords was peculiarly a Liberal battle" and that to give prominence to the Lords issue jeopardised the distinctive identity of the Labour Party.⁴⁵ A similar dilemma was posed by the Budget: it could not be disowned, as it embodied many of Labour's own aims, but neither could it be ignored. It is likely that many voters saw the Budget as "something which staved off Socialism, while tariff reform would bring Socialism nearer."⁴⁶ To make matters worse the Liberal and Labour addresses in Huddersfield were not dissimilar. They concurred on the Budget, Free Trade, Home Rule, Temperance, trade union reform, and electoral reform; the only real differences being Snell's advocacy of public works programmes and state maintenance for the unemployed, a national minimum wage, and nationalisation of the land.⁴⁷ Indeed Sherwell's constant concern was to take the wind from Labour's sails by calling himself "a man of the people" and appealing to the "sensible section" of the Labour Party to abandon "Graysonite utopian extremism" and embrace real "practical reform."⁴⁸ This was despite Snell's accusations that he was "dressed up to look like a reformer in the hope of capturing the Socialists, who were out for a great ideal."⁴⁹

Initially Sherwell had done his utmost to ignore Snell's existence altogether commenting that "so far as this election was concerned he had seen no reason yet to discuss Mr Snell or his candidature"⁵⁰ while the Examiner added that Snell's candidature was merely "superfluous".⁵¹ Sherwell was, however, forced to break his silence when his Labour opponent, realising the need to distinguish Labour from Liberal, labelled himself "the abolition of poverty candidate"

and astutely concentrated solely on unemployment and poverty, appealing explicitly, and with some success, to working-class solidarity with the claim that "Labour men could better represent the workers than could nickel imitations of silver men."⁵² In reply Sherwell accused Snell of splitting the progressive vote, and played unashamedly on the divisions within the local Labour Party, epitomised by his remark that "Unless he was greatly mistaken many of those who three years ago favoured the Socialist party had come to see by that experiment in Socialist representation that it was a thing of sound and froth and not of practical politics."⁵³ He concluded his campaign in the Town Hall after fifty major meetings with the bold claim that "Socialism in Huddersfield as a political force is dead ... [it] died when Mr. Victor Grayson was elected to the House of Commons"⁵⁴, and it was difficult to deny at least some elements of truth in this statement.

Nevertheless, it was clear that Snell had made some headway on the poverty issue and had had some success in drawing attention away from the constitutional question without appearing to be as extreme as either Grayson in Colne Valley or indeed William Pickles, president of the Trades Council, who fought radical Liberal MP, H. J. Wilson at Holmfirth on an uncompromising single-chamber, anti-Budget, single tax platform.⁵⁵ Moreover the solidity of Sherwell's automatic temperance support had been dented by a startling admission that he "sometimes" drank wine and "very rarely spirits", for which he was lampooned in The Worker as "T. T. Sherry-Well M.P. Do As I Say, Not As I 'Sup'".⁵⁶ Even so, while this underlined the continuing

importance of the temperance vote in the town, it is doubtful that many temperance advocates seriously considered deserting Liberalism for Labour despite Snell's own impeccable temperance record, mainly because they favoured the Budget's licensing proposals, and Sherwell was duly returned with a greatly increased majority.

*

Of all the ten parliamentary elections in Huddersfield between 1885 and 1914 those of November 1906 and January 1910, both of which proved to be so crucial in the duel between Liberalism and Labour, were determined as much by party organisation as by the issues at stake. In the same way as opportune re-organisation following the 1906 General Election had been of central significance in the Liberal Party's retention of the seat at the November by-election, so had the party reaped the benefits in January 1910 of its anti-Socialist 'educational campaign' and extended re-organisation during the 1907-9 period.⁵⁷ As W. P. Raynor, President of the H.L.A., remarked, it had been "a triumph for the steady, plodding, consistent work that had been put into the constituency ... since they had the rude awakening four years ago"⁵⁸.

Similarly the inquests in the Labour camp were in no doubt that organisation had won (and lost) the day. The Labour Leader spoke of the Huddersfield Labour Party's "lack of a well-prepared electoral machine, steady discipline, and drudging canvassers" and The Worker readily admitted that "the organisation of Huddersfield leaves something to be desired ... The Liberals, it is understood, are very well organised, and machinery must be fought with machinery."⁵⁹

Clearly a meagre Labour ward organisation could not hope to make the

same impact on the voters as the massed ranks of some twenty Liberal clubs and the omnipresent membership of the vociferous Junior and Women's auxiliaries.⁶⁰ The same conclusion emerged from the "Analytical Retrospect" of the Labour Party's national agent, in which he stressed the need for a full-time agent, "careful attention to the register ... [and] ward organisation."⁶¹ Ramsay MacDonald reiterated these points in his own 'Special Memorandum on the Elections', adding an oblique comment on the splits in the local party since 1907 when he said that "owing to the conduct of the Huddersfield Labour Party, the Liberals have been able to get a firm grip on the constituency and the prospects of success are not at all bright."⁶² Yet it was not merely what the Examiner described as a "perfect organisation"⁶³ that had increased Sherwell's share of the poll by 3.8 per cent. It was also, as Snell put it, "Mammon, money and mendacity"⁶⁴, in particular transport. The Liberal Party alone had had over one hundred vehicles out on polling day (of which sixty were cars) and Smith slightly fewer, compared to the Labour Party's one.⁶⁵ Moreover, although The Worker, by now selling 6,000 copies a week, issued two special election editions of 20,000 copies each, it was still not able to compete with the influence of the daily Liberal and Conservative press in Huddersfield.⁶⁶

Nevertheless Snell had increased the number of votes polled for Labour since the by-election by 264. Although his share of the poll had dropped by 2.2 per cent to 31.3 per cent and he had clearly won few of those 1453 new electors added to the register since November 1906 his performance was very creditable by national standards, being

one of only four three-cornered contests (out of a total of twenty-seven) at which Labour did not come third in January 1910.⁶⁷ For Harold Smith, however, the result was something of a disaster: instead of benefiting from a national recovery in the Conservative and Unionist vote, and a swing from the Liberals to the Conservatives in the West Riding of 2.4 per cent,⁶⁸ his share of the vote, even in the highest turnout in the constituency's history (94.6 per cent),⁶⁹ had declined since November 1906 from 30.2 per cent to 28.6 per cent. As the Chronicle bitterly observed, Huddersfield had once again defied the national trends: "that fixed immovable body of Liberal opinion which is so marked in this district is as firmly rooted as ever ... Huddersfield ... last Monday showed how completely out of touch it is with the rest of the political world of England."⁷⁰ Equally, however, it remained crystal clear that "If Tariff Reform is to win the *general support of the working men of the West Riding*, they will have to be convinced that it will not increase the general cost of living for them", especially during a period of improving trade.⁷¹ In the meantime, with an increasingly divided Labour Party, by and large devoid of the ethical fervour of its halcyon days of 1906-7, and forced to redefine its very identity, the Huddersfield Liberal Party was sufficiently well-organised to retain its traditional vote, regain some of the working-class support lost to Labour around 1906, and attract the lion's share of the newly-enfranchised, with a broad appeal based on the issues of constitutional democracy and 'progressive reform'. It was, however, an appeal which bore little resemblance to its own municipal image of reticence, intransigence and laissez-faire self-help.

2. Labour Secession, Syndicalism and the Beginnings of Industrial Unrest during 1910

With electoral defeat for Labour in both Huddersfield and the Colne Valley in January 1910 the internecine divisions that had been bubbling largely beneath the surface since 1907 erupted into overt and acrimonious schism which was to weaken further Labour's capacity to pose a credible alternative to Huddersfield Liberalism. Only days after the poll it was rumoured that the Colne Valley Socialist League and a like-minded number of colleagues in Huddersfield were preparing to secede from the ILP,⁷² and it was against this backdrop that a debate on the future of the PLP and the ILP ensued in the columns of The Worker which rapidly became a duel between the exponents of parliamentary socialism and the exponents of direct action (both socialist and syndicalist).

Outspoken criticism of burgeoning fragmentation of the local Labour movement was led initially by James Leatham, editor of The Worker, who was consistent in his admission that although he was "aghast at the moderation" of the PLP's programme⁷³ he nevertheless admonished young men to join the ILP:

All this segregation, this hiving off of every section which is or fancies itself divided from the majority by the faintest scintillation of a parallax of a shade of a doubt is not only anti-Socialist, but anti-social ... When old wine is put into new bottles, what matters is not the bottles but the wine.⁷⁴

The only way forward for Socialism, he argued, remained through the ballot box: a Graysonite policy of attacking the Government at every turn simply because it was not Socialist could only be counter-productive. As he observed: "it would ... set the working-class constituencies against us" and cause a further dissolution of parliament when there were "grave doubts if we are in a position to stand a General Election at present."⁷⁵ Leatham's stance of temporarily supporting the Government while converting the ILP and the PLP to a greater socialist commitment from within was endorsed by the Huddersfield Fabian Society which noted that the PLP could not vote against the Government without "the gravest of consequences."⁷⁶ Also in agreement was France Littlewood, who had resigned as an officer of the Colne Valley Socialist League in protest against Grayson's independent candidature.⁷⁷ Defending parliamentary socialism he attacked

The narrow sectarianism of the 'clean Socialist' [which] is but a reversion to rank Individualism, and must be fought with grim determination by all those who believe in the solidarity of the workers we Socialist representatives have to prove to the community that we are able to make laws and administer them better than any other men have ever yet done. We have to show our opponents that propaganda by action is even more effective than propaganda by words.⁷⁸

Ernest Hunter maintained a similar faith in the ILP: "The past has taught us that all attempts to bring Socialism about from the outside of society have failed"⁷⁹, while Ben Riley, although less critical of the PLP, attacked Graysonite "obstructionism" and disunity which

would, he argued, only "weaken, if not destroy, the one power which the workers have in the fulness of time evolved as the necessary means the ultimate social and economic emancipation."⁸⁰

Much of the correspondence, however, reflected the extent of the local disillusionment with Parliamentary Socialism and the growing conviction that more 'direct action' was required. Wilfred Thompson, a disciple and hagiographer of Grayson,⁸¹ argued that all socialist involvement in Parliament merely patched up capitalism and prolonged its existence: "all localities with sufficient intelligence should, and will, secede from the ILP and form themselves into one unified Socialist Party. The Labour Party may be honest but what good is that in a class war? It has lost its independence. No longer is it of any use to the working class."⁸² The 'class war' indeed was a consistent theme of several letters in The Worker: "Wage-Slave" claimed that "our present society is to be transformed through a class-conscious revolt of the workers, individually and politically", while E. Pickup of the Clarion Club warned the ILP that "Some day they will wake up to find the working class has passed them by and the capitalist class has no use for them."⁸³ The pervasive air of secession was unmistakeable:

our differences are based upon the question as to whether it is best for us who claim to be revolutionary Socialists to pursue an independent attitude, which can only be done by breaking away from the ILP, or whether it is best for us to remain inside the ILP, and sink our independence as Socialists for the purpose of receiving a mess of political pottage.⁸⁴

There was, it seemed, no going back: "In losses of love and loyalty, no argument will serve to bring back the relations existing in the past when the bloom is once off the peach - well it's off."⁸⁵

It was in the midst of this debate that the long-expected breakaway from the Huddersfield ILP came with the emergence of the Huddersfield Socialist Party (HSP), formed originally as the Huddersfield Junior Socialist League in February 1910.⁸⁶ Its membership was mixed: Jerry Woodcock, Tom Beaumont and Willie Wadsworth had defected directly from the ILP and Fred Shaw had come from the Socialist Labour Party, but the majority like Arthur Dawson, Jesse Townend, Arthur Gardiner, Richard Fenwick, John Kramer and Percy Ellis were young men attracted to a 'pure' revolutionary Socialist party which promised much and was not part of the 'established' Labour movement.⁸⁷ As Gardiner, then aged twenty-one, later reflected: "We thought they were all twisters but us."⁸⁸ The new party's stance emerged fairly quickly: despite claims by its first secretary, C. E. Garside, that its policy was "not to try and ooze out of existence any other sectional branch of Socialism", it strongly condemned the ILP's "miserable alliance" with Liberalism and with "class collaborationist" trade unionism, in favour of "clean" or "true Socialism" which was essentially propagandist and extra-Parliamentary in nature.⁸⁹ The emphasis on Marxist class struggle was clear, as was revealed by the questions prospective speakers to the HSP had to answer satisfactorily before being engaged, which included "Do you believe in the class struggle?" and "Do you accept completely the materialist conception of history?"⁹⁰ There was also a strong strain of quasi-syndicalism

in the new HSP: Gardiner had been influenced by William Gee of the Scottish SDF, who had at one time espoused direct industrial methods⁹¹, while Fred Shaw was intimately involved in early British syndicalism though never as an office holder. It was, moreover, not without significance that the HSP's first major indoor meeting, in Victoria Hall in November 1910, was addressed by Tom Mann in his reincarnated role as industrial syndicalist.⁹²

From 1910 syndicalist ideas were making their presence increasingly felt in Huddersfield largely due to the efforts of one man, E. J. B. Allen, who was one of the movement's main proponents and lived in Honley near Huddersfield from around 1909. Allen had first appeared as the Wood Green delegate to the 1904 S.D.F. Conference at Burnley but left the SDF shortly afterwards to join the 'impossibilist' breakaway Socialist Party of Great Britain (SPGB), formed in June 1904 in protest at the leadership of the SDF.⁹³ In 1906 he launched an attack on the SPGB's emphasis on parliamentary politics, arguing that industry and trade unions offered a far more fruitful field for activity, but his proposals were rejected and he drifted into the Socialist Labour Party (SLP), which was by 1906 espousing revolutionary socialism through strike action and industrial unionism.⁹⁴ Becoming involved in the SLP's main propagandist body, the British Advocates of Industrial Unionism (BAIU), Allen edited its mouthpiece, the Industrial Unionist and organised the BAIU's London branches.⁹⁵ In this he was fairly successful and could observe in March 1908 that "we can safely say there is hardly a body of class-conscious workers in Great Britain who have not heard of industrial unionism."⁹⁶ This was, however, something of an exaggeration and within a few

months he, and other "pure industrialists", including Fred Shaw, were expelled from the SLP.⁹⁷ Although Allen had been attracted initially by the revolutionary teachings of the American Socialist Daniel de Leon and the emphasis he placed on industrial conflict as an aspect of class struggle, he subsequently rejected de Leon's belief in the revolutionary party and the concept of dual unionism as inapplicable to British industry.⁹⁸ Allen also saw the SLP's similar belief in revolutionary politics as irrelevant when industrial unionism could perform the role better and avoid politics altogether. Fred Shaw, in fact, never went this far: although he rejected dual unionism he did not dismiss politics and maintained a greater faith in revolutionary Socialism, albeit with a strong flavour of industrial syndicalism, as his involvement in the HSP revealed.⁹⁹ E. J. B. Allen meanwhile went on to form and dominate the Industrialist League in 1908, of which there was a branch in Huddersfield in 1909. The League, although small, was influential and its aims became clear from an anarcho-syndicalist tract published by Allen in 1909, entitled Revolutionary Unionism in which he eschewed politics, emphasising consolidation and propagandist infiltration of existing trade unions which he tended to view as sectional, 'class collaborationist' and inefficient benefit societies. By the end of 1910 he had also become involved as assistant general secretary in the Industrial Syndicalist Education League (ISEL), set up by Tom Mann to co-ordinate and enhance diffuse syndicalist sentiment.¹⁰⁰ From 1910 onwards Allen diverged increasingly from Fred Shaw's, and even Tom Mann's, position, gravitating towards the more insurgent and anarchistic tendencies

of French syndicalism which viewed class struggle in terms of the "irritation strike", the general strike and industrial sabotage.¹⁰¹

It is ironic that, although E. J. B. Allen was at the fountainhead of the upsurge of syndicalism in the years 1910-14, he enjoyed relatively little widespread support in Huddersfield itself outside the HSP, despite a rising pitch of worker unrest. 1910, indeed, saw the most serious wave of industrial disputes in the Huddersfield textile industry since 1883. A dispute by about 600 willyers and fettlers which began in April 1910 at sixty-six firms in pursuit of a penny an hour wage increase and a reduction in hours from 58 to 55½, was only prevented from spreading, threatening to involve 15,000 textile workers, by the eleventh hour intervention of George Askwith of the Board of Trade.¹⁰² His mediation resulted in a virtually complete victory for the workers,¹⁰³ and in October he was again instrumental in averting a serious strike, this time amongst the dyers.¹⁰⁴ In the meantime a strike had broken out amongst the cotton spinners over the attempted introduction of a "two jenny" system.¹⁰⁵ Trouble came when the employers tried to break the strike with blackleg labour, and a case of intimidation was successfully brought against a picket. Soon, the threat of serious violence was such that the blacklegs were forced to sleep on the mill premises under police protection.¹⁰⁶ Such industrial animosity had not been seen in Huddersfield since 1883.

There was, however, no evidence that the strikers or any of the main textile union leaders like Gee or Turner were inspired by, or were

even sympathetic towards, syndicalist principles at this time, though they were no doubt aware of their existence. The main factor behind the disputes was the relative decline in real wages amongst textile workers since the 1890s, though it is clear that the decline in Huddersfield was the least severe of the West Riding textile towns and that Huddersfield wages remained on average by far the highest.¹⁰⁷ But it was not simply the decline in real wages: intimately allied to this factor was the favourable condition of trade and employment at this time. As Pelling has observed: "Men could more readily defy their employers when the supply of potential blacklegs was at its lowest"¹⁰⁸ and indeed, boosted by its success in the willyers' and fettlers' dispute the General Union of Weavers and Textile Workers (G.U.W.T.W.) initiated a recruitment campaign based on new basic demands for a ten per cent wage increase, a 55½ hour week and a 1½d an hour extra overtime.¹⁰⁹ An improvement in membership came quickly: between 1910 and 1911 it increased from 3990 to 5300¹¹⁰, but, as the economist G. H. Wood, writing in November 1910 under the pseudonym of Henry Willmott, pointed out even including the membership of several other smaller textile unions total unionisation still amounted to a tiny percentage of the 200,000 or so operatives eligible for membership.¹¹¹ As he said: "How paltry it is may be seen in the fact that if a recently threatened strike in the Huddersfield district had taken place, the employers would, in that district alone, and in one section only of the trade, have locked out many more than double as many workers as the whole Union consists of."¹¹² Wood argued, moreover, that unless the General Union rapidly amended its chaotic and sectional approach to improving

membership, wages and conditions, and took full advantage of the boom conditions in the industry, then the employers, who had already begun to organise, would quickly level down wages again once the opportunity arose.¹¹³

Fred Shaw drew different conclusions from the same problems.

Attending the first conference on industrial syndicalism in Manchester in November 1910, as a representative of the HSP, he said the recent strikes had convinced him of the need for industrial unionism in that "the men's union was not strong enough to bring all the men out together" and that "The masters having organised in federations which practically dominated production in this branch of industry, the present methods of trade union organisation were out of date."¹¹⁴

Both men wanted change but Shaw believed that the whole basis of trade unionism needed amending.

Since 1906 three employers' associations had sprung up in Huddersfield: the Master Dyers' and Finishers' Association, the Association of Fine Cloth Manufacturers and the strongest, the Huddersfield Woollen Manufacturers' Association.¹¹⁵ Indeed it was perhaps this fact as much as pressure from other sources which influenced the G.U.W.T.W. to take a more aggressive stance in December 1910 by increasing its basic demands to a fifteen per cent wage increase and a fifty-five hour week for all textile workers.¹¹⁶

In addition a conference, on 17 December 1910, of most of the West Riding's textile unions made a step towards the kind of consolidation and collective action which G. H. Wood, and in another way Shaw and

Allen, had advocated by establishing a joint committee "the institute a working agreement on general trade matters between the textile societies of the West Riding."¹¹⁷ Furthermore, E. J. B. Allen, as a delegate of the Gasworkers on the Huddersfield Trades Council, had made a minor step towards industrial unionism when he succeeded in passing a resolution urging the amalgamation of all existing unions "with one central executive elected by the combined unions and with power to act unitedly whenever there is a strike or lock-out in any industry" in order "to successfully combat the encroachment of modern capitalism."¹¹⁸ Such a nebulous resolution was a long way from converting the Trades Council membership to industrial unionism, but it did nevertheless indicate a changing attitude to conflict and strike action. By 1910 the tone of Huddersfield trade unionism had changed and the scene was set for the industrial struggles which were to continue until 1914, a period marked by growing levels of unionisation and class-based militancy.

Amidst all the debate, unrest and increased militancy that characterised 1910, were signs of a deepening and irrevocable organisational divide in the Huddersfield Labour movement, of which the HSP was only a part. At the half-yearly meeting of the co-operative committee which ran The Worker, a disagreement broke out over the paper's earlier condemnation of Grayson's independent stance and its continued criticism of the Colne Valley Socialist League's aloofness from both the ILP and the Labour Party.¹¹⁹ No major split seems to have occurred, but increasingly readers in the Colne Valley, where The Worker had hitherto enjoyed a considerable circulation,

boycotted the paper. James Leatham's position as editor became more difficult and it was the events of 1910-11, notably his disappointment at the fragmentation of the Socialist movement and the rise of violent unrest, which was to lead to his resignation in 1912.¹²⁰ Throughout the spring of 1910 more and more district ILPs in the area were declaring their readiness to disaffiliate from the central ILP and at the end of April divisions appeared in the Huddersfield Socialist Sunday School movement when a militant splinter group broke away from the Paddock S.S.S to form an independent school.¹²¹ Finally, the CVSL's decision in May 1910 to leave the ILP, although not unexpected, hardened the resolve of those who had already seceded and lent the Huddersfield Socialist Party greater legitimacy, a position enhanced by growing rumours of Grayson's intent to place himself at the head of a new national Socialist Party.¹²² Towards the end of 1910 there was evidence that the HSP had gained considerably in both stature and support. The outdoor meetings in St. George's Square, marked by a consistent debunking of the ILP and the PLP and an espousal of revolutionary Socialism, became a regular feature and were excellently attended.¹²³ A "deep-red banner" and rooms in Kirkgate were acquired and at the November elections T. H. Beaumont was put up as a "revolutionary Socialist" candidate in North Central ward, a provocative act which seemed to put the seal on the split with the ILP and with the Trades Council which refused endorsement.

In the event Beaumont polled only twenty-two per cent of the vote in a straight fight with veteran Conservative councillor, E. A. Beaumont.¹²⁴ However, sitting Labour councillors Wheatley and

Pickles were defeated in straight contests with Liberals in the Newsome and Lindley wards, and although Law Taylor captured Conservative Dalton for Labour the net loss of one seat reduced Labour's municipal representation to two, the lowest since 1903. The Worker quickly seized on the result as the consequence of Labour disunity, deducing the lesson that "moderate constructiveness is superior to splendidly pure negation, that some little done is better than oceans of sweeping condemnation of everything."¹²⁵ Nevertheless, regardless of the net loss of one seat, Labour's showing in November 1910 was actually slightly better than The Worker had allowed. As table 7.1 shows, its share of the poll was the highest since 1907, as was the average vote per Labour candidate, and it continued to push the Conservative Party, at least temporarily, into third place. More importantly, although the Liberal Party's representation had actually been augmented by two in 1910, its actual share of the poll was the lowest since 1903 and only the second lowest since 1894. Indeed in view of the post-1910 municipal results this remarkable fact was itself prophetic for Huddersfield Liberalism and intimated that regardless of the fact that the party could hold the Parliamentary seat all was not well beneath the surface. It was perhaps significant that the municipal franchise in Huddersfield (at 22,269 in 1910) was less restricted and undemocratic than the parliamentary franchise (with 19,021 voters), and that it was in municipal politics that the Liberals first lost their hold.¹²⁶

Whatever the significance of the discrepancy, it remains clear that the Liberal slump was in part a result of a revival in the

Table 7.1

HUDDERSFIELD COUNTY BOROUGH COUNCIL: PARTY PERFORMANCE, 1903-10¹

Year	Percentage of Poll			Votes Won			Average Vote Per Candidate ² (No. of Cands. in Brackets)		
	Lib.	Con.	Lab.	Lib.	Con.	Lab.	Lib.	Con.	Lab.
1903	34.3	48.4	17.3	3192	4513	1612	456 (7)	564 (7)	537 (3)
1904	45.1	35.7	16.8	6002	4754	2237	600 (10)	528 (9)	559 (4)
1905	40.9	32.8	14.5	3660	2932	1297	610 (6)	586 (5)	432 (3)
1906	42.8	17.2	40.0	3784	1516	3538	757 (5)	379 (4)	505 (7)
1907	44.1	22.9	32.9	6076	3150	4537	675 (9)	525 (6)	567 (8)
1908	43.3	26.1	25.2	6908	4156	4013	531 (13)	520 (8)	401 (10)
1909	52.6	18.4	29.0	3367	1174	1855	561 (6)	587 (2)	371 (5)
1910	40.5	27.7	31.8	3612	2473	2840	516 (7)	495 (5)	406 (7)

1 Excluding Independent candidates

2 To the nearest whole number

Source: HE, HC and HW, passim

Conservative vote, which was itself a product of improved organisation and an increase in the number of Conservative candidates fielded.¹²⁷ It may also have been linked to a marked decline in voter turnout in municipal elections in Huddersfield since 1908 from 78.5 per cent to 65.2 per cent.¹²⁸ But it was also undoubtedly a consequence of the slight recovery in the Labour vote since 1907. The overall picture that emerges of municipal politics in 1910 is a slight weakening of Liberalism's grip, a feature that was to emerge even more strongly in the immediate pre-war years.

Yet, if the Labour vote had shown signs of recovery, it was merely a relative recovery, indicating only that Labour was still a major force to be reckoned with in local politics, despite its internal problems and the reduction in its actual representation. A comparison of the 1910 figures with those of 1906 and 1907 shows a significant decline in both the actual number of votes won by Labour and (more revealingly) in the average vote per Labour candidate. It is worth emphasising, however, that the years 1906-7 had proved to be exceptional and that a slightly improved municipal vote for Labour in Huddersfield in 1910 does concur with the findings of Sheppard and Halstead which suggest that Yorkshire was one of only three areas to show such an increase.¹²⁹

In short the local elections of November 1910 hinted far more accurately at the long-term trend of party fortunes in Huddersfield than the January general election had done: that Liberalism was increasingly threatened by a Conservative revival and that the Labour

Party could not hope to maintain second place or materially increase its representation while it failed to offer a united, credible alternative.

3. The General Election of December 1910: Conservative Revivalism

Neal Blewett has described the December 1910 election as "very much in the nature of an uncluttered re-run ... few voters appear to have changed their minds between the two elections", an analysis which the almost identical national results tend to confirm.¹³⁰ In Huddersfield, however, true to its proclivity to contradict national trends, there was a significant shift in party fortunes. Sherwell's majority was slashed by half to 681 and his vote by 2.3 per cent, while a revival of the Conservative poll by nearly five per cent had been sufficient to force Harry Snell into third place with the loss of nearly 700 votes (or 2.6 per cent).

The Examiner remarked that "The decline in the Socialist poll is remarkable"¹³¹ but it is clear that a number of factors combined to produce Labour's worst showing since 1895 and that the slump was not altogether a surprise. Although both Snell and Arthur Peters, the Labour Party's national agent, had pointed out in January the urgent need for an improvement in local ward organisation there were no indications that any such reforms had been carried out, largely, it seems, due to a preoccupation with internal wrangling.¹³² At the end of November The Worker reported that "The Labour organisation is, it appears, defective in Marsh, Birkby, North and South Central

wards" and little better elsewhere.¹³³ Moreover, although Snell had the advantage of the experienced William Sanders, ethical preacher, Fabian and the ILP's London organiser, as his election agent,¹³⁴ finance was once more a problem. Indeed, had it not been for the renewed support of the Fabian Society, which provided £200 from its national funds and £10 locally, it is doubtful if sufficient money could have been raised in December 1910 to contest the election: by polling day only £75 had been raised locally and Harry Snell had no private income to subscribe to the required £300 minimum.¹³⁵

The Fabian Society had in fact considered earlier in the year dropping their sponsorship of Snell but Ramsay MacDonald had advised Edward Pease that Snell had done "remarkably well and left a good impression behind in the constituency" in January and "The general feeling is that it would be a mistake to let the constituency go without a contest at the coming election."¹³⁶ Yet MacDonald's earlier belief had been that three-cornered contests were, in the main, "fore-doomed" and that if they were to be fought it must only be "where local successes, financial preparedness, and the state of the organisation make a win practically assured."¹³⁷ It was thus somewhat puzzling that he should select Huddersfield as one of Labour's best hopes in view of the local party's decline in municipal representation, its poor ward organisation and the extent of secession from its ranks, not to mention MacDonald's general policy of reducing contests to a minimum.¹³⁸ Indeed he had himself earlier noted that "the prospects of success are not at all bright" in Huddersfield.¹³⁹ However, it is likely that by maintaining a candidate there, which

would cost the Labour Party coffers nothing, MacDonald considered that he had nothing to lose: local Liberal-Labour relations were already poor, a presence on the threshold of the Holmfirth constituency would be useful, and Snell might even win. The Huddersfield contest in December 1910 was thus an exception to Labour's general strategy of that election, and one which was to realise MacDonald's worst fears about three-cornered contests.

Once again Snell's campaign faced from the outset the difficulty of establishing a distinct identity from the Liberal position. Keir Hardie pointed out to voters at a meeting in Huddersfield Town Hall on 26 November that "If they retained a Liberal candidate they would endorse the attitude towards the Osborne judgment, they would endorse the temporising with the Lords, they would endorse the bludgeoning of their fellow men in South Wales and the sending of troops in the interests of the masters"¹⁴⁰, and it was along similar class lines that Snell attempted to attract support. But it was in many respects not dissimilar from the tone of Sherwell's campaign which phrased the constitutional issue in class terms as "the right of the people to full and free representative government."¹⁴¹ In his "peers versus people" scenario he argued that the Lords reduced democratic government to "a mockery and a sham" preventing the social reforms so vitally needed.¹⁴² Moreover, a visit from John Simon only worsened matters for Snell by pre-empting the latter's concentration on a redress of Osborne and payment of MPs.¹⁴³ This added to Labour's other problems, notably the register which, nearly a year

old, tended to militate disproportionately against mobile working-class voters. As The Worker observed "Labour always suffers in the tangling of the registration red tape."¹⁴⁴ There was also the perennial problems of the powers of wealth, influence, privilege and deferential voting stacked against Labour as Snell was later to reflect:

A day or two before the poll the political machines of the other party organizations begun to operate; motor cars by the score appeared on the streets; the influence of the religious communions was drawn upon; cricket and football clubs were scoured for support; the recipients of local philanthropy were scientifically mobilised in opposition to the Labour candidate; and on the day of the poll hundreds of indigent old men and women, 'all dressed up' and 'with somewhere to go', were motored to the poll to vote against the dreadful Socialist who, if elected, would, it was stated, 'destroy the home and nationalize women'.¹⁴⁵

Yet one of the main obstacles facing both Snell and Sherwell in campaigning along broadly class lines was their new Conservative adversary, whose populist and 'socialistic' approach recalled the 'cross-class' style by which Joseph Crosland had won the seat in 1893, and anticipated the remarkable revival in Conservative fortunes on the Huddersfield Borough Council after 1910. Joseph Henry Kaye was the first locally-born man to have been adopted as Conservative candidate since Crosland. He was a self-made man who had worked his way up, with the help of a propitious marriage into the mill-owning Crowther family, to become the principle figure in Kaye and Stewart, fine worsted manufacturers of Broadfield Mills, and his political

credentials were impeccable.¹⁴⁶ He had been treasurer and vice-chairman of the HCA, an executive member of the Tariff Reform League and a member of Chamberlain's Tariff Commission in 1903. As an employer of some thousand workers, even The Worker admitted that he "stands well above the average ... [and] recognises Trade Unionism;" adding most importantly that "He probably employs a larger proportion of Labour men than any manufacturer in the district."¹⁴⁷ The Chronicle made much of his local standing during the campaign, commenting that "Huddersfield ought to avail itself of the proffered services of one of its sons - a man prominent in its industries, on good terms with his workpeople",¹⁴⁸ and it was admitted by all parties that the rejuvenation of the Conservative vote was to be explained, at least partially, in these terms. Evidently, therefore, P. F. Clarke's contention that politics in the Edwardian period was increasingly more concentrated nationally and less reliant on local patriarchs does not apply to Huddersfield in 1910.¹⁴⁹ The Examiner, indeed, attributed the slump in the Labour vote entirely to the defection of many working men to the "good employer and local man ticket" and even the Labour Leader admitted Kaye had taken "several hundred of the Labour votes."¹⁵⁰

Nevertheless it was clear that Kaye had attracted voters from both his opponents, and that this was not due simply to his local appeal. For a start, his election address was both advanced and comprehensive, with commitments to a whole range of reforms covering state insurance, housing, poor law, land and licensing. He also stated that he supported "reform of the House of Lords" by way of a "modification"

of the hereditary principle, while "the strengthening of our navy", Tariff Reform and imperial preference also received prominence.¹⁵¹ Yet it was in his approach to the fiscal issue that his campaign was most astute. Playing on Sherwell's alleged "lamentable ignorance of the industry by which the town has rendered itself famous"¹⁵² Kaye did not couch the case for an abandonment of Free Trade merely in terms of well-tried and bland repetition of what Tariff Reform would do for employment, industry and prices. Instead he concentrated authoritatively on highlighting the direct effect of foreign competition on the Huddersfield textile trade since 1890 and on seriously undermining the "dear food" charge of the Free Traders.¹⁵³ However, the positive effects of his more local approach to Tariff Reform are difficult to gauge since from 29 November, when Balfour announced that Tariff Reform would be put to a referendum, thereby effectively shunting the issue into the background,¹⁵⁴ Kaye shifted his campaign slightly to emphasise a strong navy and warning that a Liberal reform of the Lords would bring about Home Rule.¹⁵⁵ These two issues then dominated the remaining meetings of the eight day campaign, despite Sherwell's protestations that they were "red herrings."¹⁵⁶ Indeed, although the Liberals had some success in restoring the focus of attention to Lords reform as a class issue, Sherwell did not make the most of his position on social reform: by and large his campaign failed to have the appeal and drive it had had in January. Kaye's concentration on the navy, Home Rule and the state of local industry had successfully staved off the danger of large scale class polarisation. He evoked the parochial, deferential 'Tory democratic' tradition which Crosland had successfully draw on in the 1880s and

1890s to broaden and revive the Conservative vote and push Snell into third place.

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Huddersfield was one of only eight three-cornered contests in December 1910 and Blewett claims that "Labour's uniformly disastrous results" in such contests "were the most striking manifestation of its failure to expand" in 1910.¹⁵⁷ Indeed he views the successive decline in the Labour vote in Huddersfield in the four elections of 1906-10 as a "process of attrition", buttressing his thesis that the Liberal Party was extremely successful in "containing" Labour in 1910.¹⁵⁸ In terms of the crude figures of the state of the parties there is much in this view, for it is true that with a couple of exceptions the number of Labour MPs increased from 1906-10 only by virtue of the adherence of the mining MPs in 1909.¹⁵⁹ Yet the conclusions Blewett draws from this about the continued vitality and viability of Liberalism are misleading and contain flaws which are only too evident from examining Huddersfield.

Crucially Blewett confuses organisational efficiency with ideological progressiveness. He shows that the Liberals were much better organised than their opponents and the Huddersfield Liberal Party was no exception, as we have seen.¹⁶⁰ However, he has relatively little to say about the role of progressivism or New Liberalism in the 1910 contests, especially at the local level, while more recent attempts by P. F. Clarke to highlight the influence of progressive thinkers within the Edwardian Liberal Party have failed to carry conviction or be of relevance outside the narrow confines of

Parliamentary society, and possibly Lancashire.¹⁶¹ No such advanced thought was evident in Huddersfield before 1914. Moreover, although the Liberal Party retained office in 1910, albeit reliant on Irish MPs, (very much as Sherwell's victory in Huddersfield had rested on the support of five hundred or so Irish voters), it had suffered a net loss of 105 seats since 1906. It could hardly be expected to repeat its remarkable 1906 performance but 1910 was by no means the great victory it is often painted to be: in fact the Liberals held the same number of seats after December 1910 that they had done after the 1892 election. Perhaps it was the case that Liberal success in 1910 had been reliant more on efficient organisation, political initiative, oratory, habit, and divisions in their opponents' ranks, than an ideological progressiveness. Were not the cries of anti-landlordism, Free Trade and temperance in 1910 not the cries of traditional Gladstonian Liberalism?

Certainly, local organisation was more important to Liberalism's continued success in Huddersfield than ideological progressiveness, the absence of which inevitably boded ill for the party's survival in an age of creeping state intervention, militant class-conscious strike action and social concern. Indeed the discrepancy between local and national Liberalism became all too evident from a meeting of the Central Liberal Club in October 1910 when the term "New Liberal" was deprecated and a basic belief in the "old Liberal watchwords of 'Peace, Retrenchment and Reform'" was reaffirmed.¹⁶² Nor was Huddersfield alone in this respect: Martin Pugh has found a similar situation in neighbouring Dewsbury.¹⁶³ Indeed the more

one looks at the varying condition of the organisation of the three parties in Huddersfield before 1914 the more one becomes convinced that it was the most relevant factor in explaining party fortunes. The Labour Party, in particular, had failed to harness, or build upon in organisational terms, the enthusiasm of the earlier period and although it had begun to make headway by 1914 many of the wards in the borough continued to lack any Labour presence at all. If the Huddersfield Labour Party was typical of local Labour organisation before 1914 (and both Blewett and McKibbin give the impression this was the case) then the paucity of Labour success before 1914 is hardly surprising.¹⁶⁴ Enthusiasm alone was insufficient to overcome the obstacles of an undemocratic franchise, a *complex registration* procedure, lack of money and the influences of employer and chapel.

Furthermore, in assessing Liberalism's "containment of Labour", specifically in Huddersfield and Camlachie, Blewett gives only part of the picture by neglecting to indicate that the Conservative vote in these constituencies showed a distinctively upward trend between 1906 and 1910 which almost certainly had an impact on the Labour vote.¹⁶⁵ It is erroneous to assume that Labour's votes were taken primarily from the Liberal Party: this was not the case in Huddersfield, Camlachie and a host of other seats.¹⁶⁶ J.H. Kaye's five per cent increase in the Conservative vote in Huddersfield in December 1910, which continued the trend of recovery since January 1906, was without doubt of major importance in explaining Labour's declining vote, and ultimately the demise of Liberalism's predominance. It may have been, indeed, that the Labour vote in the

Huddersfield elections of 1906 had been artificially inflated by working-class disillusionment with Conservatism and by an enthusiasm for ethical Socialism which could almost have been termed "fashionable" in Huddersfield between 1906 and 1907. As The Worker perceptively commented in December 1910: "the transference of votes from the Socialist candidate only shows that in former elections we have had a certain amount of unintelligent, vaguely sympathetic support, support which was in no way based upon clear understanding or firm conviction."¹⁶⁷ In fact Labour's municipal results between 1911 and 1913 were to show a remarkable stability in terms of votes won, indicating a bedrock of municipal support numbering around 2800. This suggests that out of a period of electoral flux between 1903 and 1910 a corpus of habitually Labour voters had emerged to which the party found it difficult to add by virtue of the franchise, further internal division and continuing high level of organisation of its opponents. After 1910 the movement that occurred was from Liberal to Conservative.

4. The Undermining of Liberalism, 1910-14

1910 marked the high noon of the Huddersfield Liberal Party: never again did it hold as many as forty-two municipal seats and it was to lose the parliamentary seat at the following election in 1918, failing to regain it until 1950, except briefly between 1922 and 1923. In the years 1911-14 the undermining of the bastion of Huddersfield Liberalism, by and large unruffled since 1868, was startling in its rapidity. By 1914 all the signs were that whether there had been a war or not the all-consuming predominance of the Huddersfield

Liberal Party had been irrevocably shattered. Yet it was a volte face of Liberal fortunes not so much at the hands of the Labour Party, which remained relatively weak, as at those of a rejuvenated Conservatism, bolstered by a shift in voter allegiance. Kaye's promising performance in the December election had evoked the spirit of 1893: after a period in the wilderness the HCA once more believed it could win the seat and it was this renewed confidence, amongst other factors, which brought about both an influx of new young members and the emergence of a body of men eager to take the field in local elections.

From the outset of 1911 it was clear that extensive re-organisation had been taking place in the Conservative camp. Evidently the tensions between the Constitutional League and the Conservative Association had been resolved, for in September 1910 the two had combined, absorbing as they did so the Liberal Unionist Association.¹⁶⁸ Thus was established a united and strengthened organisation, and a leaf was also taken from the Liberal Party's book with the establishment in January 1911 of a Junior Unionists' Association boasting over two hundred members, its main function being party propaganda.¹⁶⁹ Indeed the resemblance to the shape of the HLA's organisation was even closer when it came to the Women's Unionist Association (HWUA), which advanced by leaps and bounds after 1910. In the year 1910-11 alone membership increased by 150 to 763, and although this represented only just over half as many members as belonged to the Women's Liberal Association at that time, it was nevertheless a significant advance, especially as the HWLA membership

was virtually static after 1910.¹⁷⁰ Moreover the HWUA supplemented its central activity by embarking upon a successful policy of extending its organisation throughout the constituency: by 1913 district branches had sprung up at Primrose Hill, Newsome, Berry Brow, Rashcliffe, Leeds Road, Milnsbridge, Cowcliffe and Marsh.¹⁷¹ The latter branch alone had 171 members in March 1914 and it is likely that overall membership of the HWUA had reached one thousand by the summer of 1914.¹⁷² The period after 1910 also saw the revivification of the HCA's own club organisation. Not only were existing clubs given a new lease of life by an influx of members, Paddock for instance had increased its membership to a very respectable 232 by 1913,¹⁷³ but entirely new clubs were opened at Primrose Hill, Leeds Road, Cowcliffe and Sheepridge.¹⁷⁴ The impact of the re-organisation was clear, as Councillor Thomas Canby noted when he presided at the opening of the new club in Leeds Road in June 1912: until recently a Conservative hardly dared to show his face in the area and election workers could have been counted on one hand, but of late "a great change had taken place throughout the borough."¹⁷⁵

The "great change" to which he referred had been the Liberal Party's biggest single loss of municipal seats since 1886: in November 1911 the Party's representation on the Borough Council was reduced by six seats to thirty-four and the average vote per Liberal candidate plumbed new depths.¹⁷⁶ Four of the six seats changing hands had gone to the Conservatives, bringing their representation to twenty-one, and an 8.8 per cent rise in their share of the vote restored

pre-1903 levels of Conservative support. Moreover it soon became abundantly clear that the results of 1911 were far from being a temporary aberration. During 1912 the Liberals lost three consecutive municipal by-elections to the Conservatives, who succeeded in wresting a further two seats from the Liberals in November to bring their representation to twenty-six, only one behind the Liberals.¹⁷⁷

The final breakthrough came in November 1913 when the Conservatives gained a further seat, enabling them, with the support of the Labour councillors, to change the way in which the aldermen were elected to a proportional representation basis. This gave them an additional three aldermen and thereby overall control of the Borough Council for the first time since incorporation in 1868, with thirty-one seats to the Liberals' twenty-three and Labour's five.¹⁷⁸ Nor was Huddersfield atypical, as Chris Cook has suggested in a broad study of municipal politics before 1914: "the Liberals were in decline - in some places serious decline - in municipal elections prior to 1914 ... This Liberal decline, however, was not paralleled by a simultaneous rise to power of Labour. The principal beneficiaries were the Conservatives."¹⁷⁹

The explanation of so sudden and cataclysmic a change in party fortunes in Huddersfield is not easy to surmise but a number of factors can be delineated which suggest a weakening of Liberal support, especially amongst the middle classes. Despite claims by the Examiner in 1911 that "It is a mere surface movement, and indicates no change of opinion upon ... any of the great test questions which divide the parties"¹⁸⁰, more than one defeated

Liberal candidate put the reversal down to Liberal policy, specifically "that many people were frightened of the Insurance Bill."¹⁸¹ By November 1912 this apprehension had become a deep-rooted antipathy amongst both workers and middle-class employers, as successive municipal Liberal candidates found to their cost.¹⁸²

Initially the reaction of Huddersfield employers to the bill, when it was introduced in May 1911, was in common with that of their counterparts across the country: both Liberal and Conservative members of the Chamber of Commerce expressed agreement with the bill in principle but believed it was being rushed through without full consideration of its flaws.¹⁸³ By January 1912, however, a sufficient number of members of the Chamber had moved against the act to support a resolution severely critical of the employer contribution, the obligation of employers to collect workers' contributions, the inequality of contribution and tax relative to employees' wages, and the non-representation of employers on the Health Committees.¹⁸⁴ Moreover, although J.E. Willans valiantly defended the act, if not the Government's handling of it, he agreed that it had drawbacks. It is impossible to assess how many employers, let alone Liberal employers, opposed the act. J.H. Kaye remarked that "many old Liberal employers" were leaving the party in opposition to the social reform programme, especially the Insurance Act, but there is little firm evidence of such defection in Huddersfield itself and Sherwell claimed "He had heard no complaint from a single Liberal employer of labour in Huddersfield."¹⁸⁵ Nevertheless few employers were as forthcoming in their support as George Thomson, whose own

welfare provisions at his Woodhouse Mills profit-sharing concern had anticipated the 1911 act by many years,¹⁸⁶ and it is likely that many were, like Willans, at best luke-warm.

Yet if employer opinion was seriously divided over the act there is evidence of more overt disaffection amongst working-class people at having to pay contributions out of wages they believed were already too low. As The Worker reported in July 1912: "The Insurance Act has caused a little hard swearing in the mills. The fourpence off has resulted in fervent wishes to swing Lloyd George, or alternately to send him to a certain destination."¹⁸⁷ In fact former Liberal councillor J.W. Mallinson had blamed his defeat in Lockwood in 1912 specifically on the extreme unpopularity of the Insurance Act amongst the working classes at the Rashcliffe end of the ward, and the Trades Council had earlier voiced similar opposition in a motion expressing "entire dissatisfaction with the Insurance Bill as a whole, being of the opinion that it is a mischievous and dangerous measure ... no contributory scheme of insurance for sickness and unemployment can be satisfactory."¹⁸⁸ Criticism was no less forthcoming from the Huddersfield Labour Party and The Worker which disagreed with the PLP's support and saw the bill as shoring up a bankrupt individualism: "Socialism is not employers' liability ... It is not an elaborate scheme of insurance premiums .. but automatic provision for all contingencies by the State or the Municipality as the sole employer."¹⁸⁹

Ostensibly all this tends if anything to substantiate Pelling's contentious observations that "the pressure for social reform from

the working class was politically negligible in the years before the First World War", and the popular opposition to the Insurance Bill in Huddersfield was paralleled by similarly hostile majorities in referenda conducted in Walsall and Rutland, and by poor Liberal municipal results in Newcastle-under-Lyme.¹⁹⁰ Moreover a sustained local campaign by Sherwell in January 1912 was clearly designed to whip up local support for the act, especially amongst the working class, by denying that the contributions were "an acute burden" and extolling its comprehensiveness and value for money.¹⁹¹ Yet if Pelling's thesis can be applied to attitudes towards the Insurance Act it sits less easily alongside clear demands from working-class organisations in Huddersfield before and after 1910 for a greater commitment to social reform, notably housing. The recalcitrant attitude of the Liberal Borough Council to demands from the Trades Council and Labour councillors for cheap, adequate working-class corporation housing has been discussed earlier.¹⁹² W.P. Raynor, as President of the HLA, evidently believed that the issue was losing the party votes for in March 1912 he took the unprecedented step of publicly urging the Borough Council to spend £100,000 on housing. This, he argued, should be part of "A strong forward policy on the part of the Liberal members of the Corporation [which] would certainly fit in with present-day Liberal ideals."¹⁹³ As The Worker observed:

Mr. Raynor has discovered that his colleagues need educating ... Huddersfield official Liberalism is at present in a parlous condition. During the past seven or eight years it has conceived it to be its duty to oppose everything which emanated

from the Labour and Socialist Party ... The inevitable has now happened. Official Liberalism finds itself being crushed between Toryism and the Labour and Socialist Party.¹⁹⁴

Although this was in many respects an exaggeration, in view of the "parlous condition" of the Labour Party itself, it was an accurate reflection of Huddersfield Liberalism's backwardness on social policy and its reliance on increasingly obsolete issues, which has been a key theme of this thesis.

Despite Raynor's exhortations and attempts by him to reach a closer relationship between the HLA and the Liberal Council members,¹⁹⁵ the Liberal Group on the Borough Council made few efforts either to change their general approach or more especially to evolve a progressive housing policy. Thus the HLA's *bold and unilateral* municipal "manifestoes" of November 1912 and 1913, which sung the praises of past Liberal administrations in the town, while outlining a future programme of reform, were both tardy and a reflection of the dichotomy between the Liberalism of the Council members and that of the HLA, though even the latter was several steps behind the Cabinet's approach to social reform.¹⁹⁶

This persistent intransigence was due in part to the occupational profile of the Liberal councillors and aldermen. Although there had been an increase in the proportion of Liberal shopkeepers and retailers on the Council, no working-class men sat as Liberals, while forty-five per cent of the party's representatives at the end of November 1910 (rising to forty-six per cent by 1913) were still

textile employers.¹⁹⁷ This was only a five per cent decline since 1885 and paralleled a similar stability in the proportion of Liberal members drawn from building and engineering at 8.5 per cent. Thus the occupational composition of the Liberal group on the Council had hardly changed at all between 1895 and 1913, and this was reflected in an approach to politics that was caught up in the 'civil gospel' of the 1860s and 1870s, and in the shibboleths of Gladstonian individualism. By contrast there had been a major change in the Conservative contingent: textile interests had dropped from 27.3 per cent in 1885 to ten per cent by 1913 while in the same period the shopkeeping and retail section had increased substantially from none to 23.3 per cent. Indeed, of those eighteen new Conservative members elected between 1911 and the First World War exactly half were shopkeepers, only two were textile employers and three were professional men.¹⁹⁸ It was lower middle-class shopkeepers, therefore, who appear to have provided the impetus for the Conservative revival in Huddersfield after 1910, but they were just one expression of evidence of a middle-class movement away from Liberalism which was also apparent amongst other occupational groups. Non-textile employers, for example, comprised twenty-nine per cent of Liberal Council members in 1905, 22.5 per cent in 1910, but only 8.3 per cent in 1913. A similar decline took place in the number of Liberal gentlemen on the Council: from eleven per cent in 1885 to 8.1 per cent in 1900 to none in 1913.

In addition, and perhaps more conclusively, it is clear that the municipal wards in which the Conservatives were making their greatest

gains from Liberalism between 1906 and 1913 were the more middle-class wards, notably Lockwood, Crosland Moor, Marsh and Moldgreen (See appendix 2.3). In the latter two, indeed, Liberalism had totally dominated until after 1910: by 1912 Conservatives held all three seats in both wards. Furthermore, the Conservative Party's hold on the central wards, which contained a large proportion of shopkeeper and small businessmen voters, and where the party had always been at its strongest, became absolutely solid. After 1903 no Liberal sat in any of the seats of the North/North Central ward, and in South Central the same was the case after 1907, while in West Central all three Liberal councillors sitting in 1908 and 1909 had been replaced by three Conservative councillors by 1912. This compared to a persistent Liberal strength in those working-class wards where the shop and office presence was slight and housing poor: like Longwood, Birkby and Paddock. Labour's strength after 1910 lay in *Newsome*, the more working-class section of the former Almondbury ward which had been divided in the 1908 reshuffle, and in Dalton which contained the Leeds Road industrial developments, including the chemical and sewage works. It appeared, in short, that after 1910 a hitherto gradual process of partisan occupational change especially amongst the non-textile middle classes was markedly hastened. Part of the explanation for this lay with improved Conservative organisation and part in the unpopularity of the Insurance Act, but there were also other factors.

It is clear that the shifting allegiance of the middle-class Liberal vote was related to a sense of insecurity, in particular to an

uneasiness with the direction in which the Liberal Government seemed to be moving. An antipathy to the kind of New Liberal interventionist welfare policies emerging at the national level was all too evident from the Liberal councillors' attitude to such issues as unemployment, school feeding, charity and housing. Nor was the HLA and W.P. Raynor, despite his recognition of the need to make at least the right noises about such issues, very far in advance of their Liberal colleagues on the Council. With fears that this old 'individual' Liberalism was under threat from the "creeping socialism" of the likes of Lloyd George, who appeared to have little time for retrenchment of public spending and other traditional causes of the party, it is likely that growing numbers of the shopkeeper and small businessman class of voter had begun to see Conservatism as their natural home. Indeed a gradual transition of political allegiance was rendered easier than hitherto by the relative decline in the influence of Nonconformity. Adult attendance, as has been discussed, continued to show signs of decline especially among the working class, while the Huddersfield Free Church Council had never enjoyed the sort of influence to which it had been accustomed in Robert Bruce's day, when he sat as a member of the HLA and chairman of the School Board.¹⁹⁹ Yet middle-class concern and doubts in Liberalism were perhaps deepened most by the seriousness of the strike wave that hit Huddersfield in 1913, its apparent quasi-revolutionary intent and the more general failure of the Government to deal with industrial unrest.

Initially, worker unrest in Huddersfield after 1910 had resulted in victory for the employers.²⁰⁰ The weavers' union agitation for

a fifteen per cent wage increase and a fifty-five hour week, which had begun during 1910, was revived in May 1911 and threatened a strike involving 22,000 textile workers.²⁰¹ However, a ballot of the membership failed to elicit any support for strike action and, fully aware of this, the employers refused to submit the case to conciliation, forcing the union executive to back down with a loss of face that set back their campaign for two years.²⁰² Yet it was the effects of the national rail strike in Huddersfield in August 1911, reliant as the town had become on the railways, that hinted at what was to come and aroused local employer demands for direct Government action to prevent worker agitation and picketing.²⁰³ The vast majority, both Liberal and Conservative, favoured legal redress and outraged meetings of the Chamber of Commerce and the justices demanded that the 1906 Trades Disputes Act be amended to limit picketing and make unions responsible for their actions, in order to "secure the right to labour and for the protection of the general public."²⁰⁴ To this the Trades Council angrily replied that it was not the law but the provocative police protection of black-leg labour that had aroused violent picketing, albeit not in Huddersfield.²⁰⁵ Very few Huddersfield employers, it seems, agreed with George Thomson's enlightened approach that greater industrial democracy and employer welfare was the best bulwark to industrial unrest.²⁰⁶ However, as the level of industrial action declined in Huddersfield during 1912 so employer demands for legal reform also receded. Two things were nevertheless clear: that middle-class sensibilities had been aroused and not satisfied by Government action, and that trade union membership had benefited. The General Union

of Textile Workers, for instance, increased its membership from 3819 in 1909 to 7140 in 1913 and this paralleled a new trend of union growth after 1910 which could not but help the Labour cause.²⁰⁷

Yet if 1912 was relatively free from unrest, 1913 reversed the trend with an outbreak of unofficial strike action in Huddersfield that had no parallel. Involving mainly unskilled textile workers, labourers and chemical workers, the typical demands were for wage increases ranging from 1d. an hour to two shillings a week, often accompanied by demands for minimum wage guarantees and reduced hours.²⁰⁸ Many were successful and this was perhaps surprising in view of their predominantly unofficial and 'wildcat' nature, but it is clear that the employers' capacity and readiness to resist worker demands was undermined by several factors. Although wages in many of the Huddersfield trades *compared favourably with most parts* of the West Riding²⁰⁹ 1912 had been "characterised by a boom in trade of so general and widespread a character as to make it almost unparalleled."²¹⁰ Under such conditions, under exceptional pressure, it would have appeared unnecessarily provocative for employers not to have conceded wage increases, especially at a time of rising real prices.

Beneath this reason, however, lay another one based on fear: it was generally believed that industrial unionists and syndicalists were behind many of the strikes. How accurate was this in Huddersfield? There is some evidence that Fred Shaw headed a committee of the Huddersfield Branch of the British Socialist Party which actively

encouraged unofficial strikes as the first step towards worker control.²¹¹ Certainly the growth of the Workers' Union in Huddersfield before 1914, dominated as it was locally by the BSP, and Fred Shaw's assumption of the secretaryship of the Huddersfield Engineering Union (ASE) in 1912 lay directly behind at least some of the chemical and engineering strikes in 1913.²¹² Furthermore, several other new militant unskilled unions like the United Carters' and Motormens' Association had sprung up in the town around 1913, quickly winning members by promising sweeping wage increases via strike action.²¹³ Nevertheless, it remains doubtful that overtly syndicalist ideas, confined as they were to a handful of activists, had motivated very many of the large number of strikes in Huddersfield in 1913. Many were simply 'band-waggon' or 'copy-cat' strikes inspired by the success of strikes earlier in the year in Huddersfield, notably the dyers' strike between January and March, and by success elsewhere in the country in gaining wage increases.²¹⁴ As Pelling and others have observed there is little indication that the unrest reflected a quasi-revolutionary reaction by the workers against parliamentary methods.²¹⁵ In Huddersfield, relatively few involved more than a handful of workers and violence was slight, isolated in the main to a lengthy and bitter strike of a hundred or so chemical workers at J.W. Leitch's of Milnsbridge.²¹⁶ Demands were generally realistic and there was little talk by the strikers themselves of insurrection or syndicalism. Moreover, after a summer spate of spontaneous 'wildcat' strikes the tendency was by the end of the year and during 1914 for more official consolidated strike action. This was spearheaded by the renewed General Union

of Textile Workers' campaign between August and November 1913 which resulted this time in a favourable ballot result and in the first across-the-board wage agreement since 1883.²¹⁷ Indeed by 1914 industrial activity in Huddersfield had almost returned to its customary calm, marred only by a serious engineering strike in July, involving 1500 men which was unresolved when war broke out in August.²¹⁸

It is unclear how far the middle classes in Huddersfield felt threatened by the industrial disputes of 1913, by evidence of syndicalist influence and by the rising pitch of local suffragette activity, which had culminated in the first serious act of violence in April 1913 when Longley Park Golf Club was vandalised.²¹⁹ It would have been surprising, however, if many people had not been troubled by the unrest and seen it, in whatever terms, as a "crisis of authority" with which the Liberal government seemed to be dealing ineptly.²²⁰ Certainly it could have contributed to a growing identification of the middle classes with the Conservative Party as the party of authority and of a more draconian approach to trade union law. It was, at least, offering firm solutions in contrast to the government's characteristic Asquithian 'wait-and-see' response, punctuated only by the periodic provision of troops which only worsened matters.' Indeed just how out of touch Huddersfield Liberalism had become by 1914 was illustrated by John Archer when he told the Junior Liberal Association that although Liberals could not ignore the industrial unrest they must first clear away the political questions of Home Rule and Welsh Disestablishment, before

concentrating on the social and economic problems that lay behind the unrest.²²¹ This was hardly an approach that would satisfy either middle or working-class opinion in Huddersfield before 1914.

Yet if much could be said about disillusionment with Huddersfield Liberalism's policies and intentions after 1910 the same crisis of confidence was less easily discernible in the party's local organisation. On the face of it the signs were good. Most of the Liberal clubs were in fairly good condition: several had been extended, others had acquired bowling greens, and what club membership figures that are available indicate a fairly stable situation before 1914.²²² Moreover W.P. Raynor had little but praise for the state of club activity and organisation: in 1911 he spoke of the clubs as "full of life and vim", in 1912 as in "a high state of efficiency, especially those on the outskirts of the towns", in 1913 as having "developed a marvellous activity in spending and raising money", and in 1914 as in "a healthy condition."²²³ In fact, having noted a "cocksureness and slackness in some of the wards" in the 1911 elections Raynor organised a new Liberal Educational Committee, which was expanded in March 1913 with a full-time lecturer added the following August.²²⁴

However, amidst all this evidence of a sound and healthy organisation were indications of the serious decline of the Junior Liberal Association as the party's main propagandist body. Although no membership figures survive, a special meeting of the HLA in February 1913 examined means for "the resuscitation of the Junior Liberal

Association" following the resignation of the secretary, John Archer, who had played such a central role in building up the HJLA from its revival in 1904. Proposals included the payment by the HLA of the HJLA's outstanding debts, suggesting a drop in membership and activity since 1910.²²⁵ More ominously, however, there were also signs that this decline had been a result of discord between the HJLA and the HLA: in July 1912 The Worker spoke of "serious dissension in the Junior Liberal Association" due to W.P. Raynor's alleged opposition to the auxiliary's growing concentration on land taxation.²²⁶ The HLA executive had never shared the HJLA's enthusiasm for taxation of land values, despite the role it had played in rejuvenating Liberalism amongst younger people since 1906, and had apparently discriminated against junior Liberals in the municipal candidate selection procedure. Such conflict could well have explained Archer's unexpected resignation and the subsequent decline of the HJLA. To The Worker, opposing an advanced land policy put another nail in Liberalism's coffin: "We do not mind admitting that they [land policies] have played a great part in upholding the flag of local Liberalism."²²⁷ Thus although much of the Liberal organisation remained intact in Huddersfield before 1914, betraying few signs of a collapsing municipal representation, the decline of the HJLA removed one of the party's main propaganda weapons while at the same time illustrating once again the refusal of the local party mandarins to envisage a major departure in policy.

Yet in the final analysis it was the apparent extremism of the Labour Party in Huddersfield and its continued weakness as a credible

alternative to the Liberal Party that propped up Liberalism for longer than would otherwise have been the case. Although some working men had undoubtedly adhered to J.H. Kaye's brand of 'Tory Democracy' in December 1910 and afterwards, many of those 1200 or so voters who had deserted the Labour Party since its halcyon days around 1906-7 had returned to the Liberal camp and compensated for the leaking of middle-class support. Some had returned out of conviction but many did so for the want of an alternative.

The electoral position of the Labour Party in Huddersfield improved but little before 1914, but it would be grossly misleading to say as Roy Douglas does that it was "in decline" after 1910.²²⁸ Rather, the Huddersfield Labour Party concurs more closely with McKibbin's argument that by the eve of war "the Labour Party had not been transformed, but it had, nevertheless, changed significantly."²²⁹ It had, after all, made limited municipal gains increasingly its representation from two to five between 1910 and 1913, and this reflected similar advances elsewhere in the country.²³⁰

Nevertheless the Huddersfield party was very slow to reform its machinery. A report on the state of the ward organisation in February 1911 recommended the appointment of a full-time organiser to co-ordinate activity: "The difficulty the Executive has to contend with in all its work is the time it takes the deal with the ward committees. So much time is lost through letters just missing the monthly meetings."²³¹ It took, however, until September 1911 before an appointment was made and even then limited finances prevented very much improvement. In 1912 it was reported that "no effective

organisation existed in the Central Wards" where Labour could hope to do well, and that many Labour ward committees were in a poor financial condition, but although further meetings were held "to promote efficient organisation" very little seems to have been achieved before the end of 1913.²³² Moreover, a new emphasis on the regular circulation of literature rather than on public meeting had had little major effect on Labour's municipal showing while it virtually bankrupted the party. In June 1913 the funds contained a mere £3 and it was only trade union subscriptions that was keeping the party out of serious debt.²³³

Yet the main debilitating factor for the Labour movement in Huddersfield was not so much lack of finances and effective organisation so much as continued division, in particular the aloofness of the Huddersfield Socialist Party. In August 1911 the HSP was one of twelve local Socialist bodies that signed a circular urging a Socialist unity conference that met and formed the British Socialist Party (BSP). On 29 October 1911 the HSP formally affiliated to the new party.²³⁴ As a branch of the BSP it continued to hold large numbers of public meetings and played host to many of the party's leading figures in the years up to the war notably Russell Smart, William Gee, Victor Grayson, Harry Pollitt and Harry Quelch.²³⁵ Furthermore in the November 1913 local elections Richard Fenwick was fielded as an independent BSP candidate in the North Central ward, though he won only 28.3 per cent of the vote in a straight fight with a Conservative.²³⁶ No membership figures for the Huddersfield BSP are available but it is likely that it was a

small, albeit influential, body: there is no evidence of any further secession from the ILP after 1910 and in fact one of the original founders of the HSP, T.H. Beaumont, had returned to the ILP by 1914, though as president of the Huddersfield Workers' Union, which was BSP-dominated, he retained close links with the far left.²³⁷ But small as the Huddersfield BSP was its divisive and weakening impact was clear, not least on the previous lively Socialist Sunday School movement. In June 1914 George Edwards, secretary of the Central SSS, charted the effects of the schism on the school: membership had declined from 325 in 1910 to 210 in 1911 to 140 in 1914 and, as he said, the "events of the last three years show us that the split is doing more harm than the opposition of any of the orthodox political bodies."²³⁸

Furthermore the continued divisions within the socialist branch of the Labour movement were paralleled by a resurgence of the debate over the relative merits of trade unionism and politics that had shaken the Trades Council around 1902-4. Three sections of the Trades Council, characterised by The Worker as "the old school of political thought" (the ILPers), "the solid trade unionists with no ideals", and "the new school of industrial and political action"²³⁹, had co-existed with varying affability. Although the syndicalists in loose coalition with the BSP, led on the Trades Council by E.J.B. Allen, Arthur Dawson, Richard Fenwick, A.B. Crowe, Fred Shaw and Arthur Gardiner, had extended their influence and had been instrumental in encouraging strike action during 1913, their positive long-term gains had been few.²⁴⁰ In fact it was probably

frustration, coupled with a bid to capture the Trades Council, that precipitated the crisis of 1914.

It began with an application by the Huddersfield ILP for affiliation to the Council and this sparked off accusations from both the ILPers and the BSPers that the other was seeking to pack the Council and use the unions as a tool for political ends. This revived the old debate on the suitability and effectiveness of the ILP as the political expression of the working class: the BSPers saw themselves as the best representatives while the syndicalists opposed any trade union involvement with political parties.²⁴¹ In the end affiliation was approved fifty-one votes to eighteen and shortly afterwards the Paddock Socialist Club and the Lockwood Socialist Institute also joined.²⁴² This only worsened matters and several unions, including the railwaymen and the brassworkers, disaffiliated from the Council in protest at its "politicisation"; which in turn initiated a campaign amongst the BSPers, syndicalists and some of the "stolid" trade unionists to omit the word 'labour' from the Trades Council's official full title, thereby attempting to eschew political action as the means to furthering trade union aims.²⁴³ Their efforts were, however, to little avail: Ben Riley made an impassioned speech arguing that the proposal would set back Labour politics by twenty years, while Tom Topping commented that "They could no more leave politics outside than they could leave the fact of organisation."²⁴⁴ The resolution was defeated forty-four votes to twelve, confirming the ILP's predominant position on the Trades Council and effectively settling the whole question of political versus industrial action, at least temporarily.

Yet amidst the division and acrimony that characterised the Huddersfield Labour movement for much of the period up to the war were signs of a growing political maturity, nascent re-organisation and gestures of closer co-operation between the ILP and the BSP.²⁴⁵ Firstly there was the evolution of a more co-ordinated and coherent municipal policy by the Labour and Socialist Election Committee which centralised candidate selection and standardised election addresses.²⁴⁶ Whereas before Labour candidates had tended to write their own addresses on virtually what they liked, which yielded often complex and confusing statements covering a large number of issues not always of local importance, after 1910 central monitoring had streamlined the addresses with a concentration on several key issues.²⁴⁷ These issues were municipalisation of coal and milk to render it cheaper to the consumer, a progressive municipal housing policy and cheaper tram fares for workmen. Very few other issues at any time intervened and this enabled the Labour Party to consolidate its educational programme and literature distribution around a small number of specific topics and hopefully win support by a measured, careful and repetitive exposition of these themes.²⁴⁸ This represented a serious attempt to establish a distinct rationale behind local Labour party municipal policy, although it had little electoral success in the short term, mainly because, as the Yorkshire Factory Times observed: "the outrageous language of some of the BSP men in the Market Place and in the Square has not helped to convince the public that such people are fit to govern the municipality, and the good work done by the ILP and trade union side of the movement has been considerably jeopardised."²⁴⁹

The second main indication of Labour maturity and advance came when, after prolonged discussions and consultations the whole basis of the Labour and Socialist Election Committee was changed in June 1913 so as to "materially strengthen the local movement, as it would enable the Trade Union branches to be linked definitely with the work of the party, instead of, as at present, merely through the Trades Council."²⁵⁰ This enabled the Labour Party to take fuller advantage of the growth of trade unionism at this time and meant that the committee had effectively become an LRC. The direct influence of the Trades Council was reduced thereby confirming the pre-eminence of the mainline ILPers within the party. Indeed the composition of the reconstituted body's executive committee reflected the bias towards those ILPers strongly committed to the alliance with the unions. Tom Topping was president, Ben Riley and W.H. Hudson vice-presidents, with another 'moderate', J.C. Roberts of the Postmen's Federation, as secretary. The remainder of the committee comprised thirteen trade unionists and eleven delegates from the labour and socialist clubs.²⁵¹ The effects of the re-organisation, building on the committee's earlier success in consolidating policy, placed the Huddersfield Labour Party on a broader and financially more secure footing than hitherto, ushering in improved relations between the ILP and the trade unions which augured well for future advance.

Thirdly, there were sincere attempts made during 1914 to reunite the Socialist movement in Huddersfield. Two joint conferences, called by the ILP and attended by the BSP and local socialist bodies, in February resulted in the adoption of a resolution calling upon "the

local branches of the ILP and BSP to sever their connections with all national and local bodies, and that ... a purely Socialist Party in Huddersfield" be formed.²⁵² Not surprisingly the resolution found "complete accord" from the Huddersfield BSP but not from the ILP, which opposed secession from the national party, though welcoming the negotiations as the basis for "a unity of propaganda and electoral work." The ILP had evidently had a joint Propaganda Council in mind.²⁵³ The BSP, however, would have no truck with anything short of complete socialist unity and Richard Fenwick threatened the ILP with open warfare, despite the fact the BSP had more to lose than the ILP:

If they are not out for Socialism, why don't they say so? ... if at the next general election there are a Labour candidate and a Socialist candidate in our town, and at the next municipal elections a Labour man and a Socialist are contesting the same ward, it will not be the fault of the BSP, but the ILP, and if I am any judge, that is what is going to happen.²⁵⁴

In reality, however, the BSP was more accomodating and tenuous negotiations continued up to the outbreak of war. Although unity seemed as far away as ever the two sides were at least talking, the ILP from a position of growing strength bolstered by trade union growth.

Thus, despite the fact that the Labour Party in Huddersfield on the eve of war had formulated a more coherent approach to municipal politics and had begun to re-organise, its appeal was fatally weakened

by division. It had been able to increase its municipal representation by three since 1910 but its share of the vote had dropped from 31.8 per cent in 1910 to 18.6 per cent in 1913, the worst figures since 1902. As a credible alternative for those voters disaffected with local Liberalism the Labour Party before 1914 seemed to offer little. It remained, however, a force to be reckoned with, especially given the decline of local Liberalism, and in the long term the roots had been laid for firm advance, facilitated as it transpired by the advent of war and the 1918 Representation of the People Act. In the short term, despite its consistently backward social policy, the unpopularity of the Insurance Act and its refusal to adopt working-class municipal Liberal candidates, the Huddersfield Liberal Party was able to retain much of its working-class support, many of whom remained for want of an alternative. What was most ominous for the Liberal Party and suggestive of inevitable problems to come was the shifting allegiance of the middle classes which rendered Liberalism potentially ill-equipped to cope with a Labour Party which had re-organised and resolved its internal problems as it was beginning to do before 1914. Though this shift was not easy to explain it is clear it lay in insecurity and a growing lack of confidence in Liberalism's ability to cope with industrial and social unrest. While the People's Budget had gone most of the way to straddle both middle and working-class opinion²⁵⁵ the Liberal Party had subsequently failed to satisfy both middle-class demands for legal limitation of union rights and reduced government expenditure, and working-class demands for a safeguarding of those rights and increased expenditure on welfare schemes. From a crisis of confidence in

Liberalism and continued Labour weakness the only beneficiary was Conservatism which entered the war in far better health than its opponents, buoyed up by having won control of the Borough Council.²⁵⁶ For years the Huddersfield Liberal Party had been living on past glories forged in the image of the 'civic gospel', Nonconformity and Gladstonian individualism: in the end it was its refusal to recognise that the Grand Old Man was dead, that working men demanded a political role to play and that attitudes to society had fundamentally changed which spelt its downfall.

Notes for Chapter Seven

- 1 Snell, H., Men, Movements and Myself, (London, 1936), p.190.
- 2 Huddersfield Examiner, (HE), 1 May 1909; also Murray, B.K., The People's Budget 1909/10: Lloyd George and Liberal Politics, (Oxford, 1980), p.4.
- 3 Huddersfield Chronicle, (HC), 8 May 1909.
- 4 HE, 10 July 1910, in a speech to the HWLA.
- 5 HE, 7 and 14 August 1909; also Murray, B.K., op. cit., p.173, and Blewett, N., The Peers, the Parties and the People: The General Elections of 1910, (London, 1972), p.258.
- 6 HE, 18 September, 2, 16 and 23 October and 6 November 1909; also The Worker, (HW), 6 November 1909.
- 7 See a Daily News article quoted in HE, 19 February 1910, also Herbert Samuel in Huddersfield Town Hall in HE, 2 April 1910.
- 8 HE, 6 November 1909 and 15 January 1910; HW, 15 January 1910.
- 9 HE, 13 November 1909.
- 10 R.L. Outhwaite quoted in HE, 6 November 1909.
- 11 HC and HE, 28 August 1909 at a Tory anti-Budget meeting. On the problems and tensions of the Conservative Party's national organisation, see Blewett, N., op. cit., pp.266-76.
- 12 HE, 1 January 1910; HC and HE, 25 September 1909 and 18 December 1909; also HC, 1 and 8 January 1910.
- 13 Blewett, N., op. cit., chapter six.
- 14 HE, 6 November 1909.
- 15 U.S. Consular Trade Returns from HE, 27 December 1913. More generally see Blewett, N., op. cit., pp.406-7.
- 16 HE, 1 January for Sherwell's address.
- 17 HE, 18 December 1909.
- 18 HE, 2, 9 and 16 October 1909.
- 19 Nearly half of all the candidates in 1910 were carpet-baggers and there was a distinct disadvantage in being non-local. See Blewett, N., op. cit., pp.226-7.
- 20 Ernest Learoyd of Learoyd Bros. and Co. of Trafalgar Mills, Leeds Road, where over 300 workers had the vote. See HE, 15 January 1910.

- 21 Labour Leader, 19 November 1909.
- 22 Victor Grayson in Huddersfield Town Hall, see HW, 16 October 1909; and Russell Smart in "A Bubble Budget" in HW, 15 May 1909.
- 23 See Clark, D., Colne Valley: Radicalism to Socialism, (London 1981), pp.167-79; Duncan, B., James Leatham, 1865-1945: Portrait of a Socialist Pioneer, (Aberdeen, 1978), pp.81-2; Groves, R., The Strange Case of Victor Grayson, (London, 1975), pp.98-105; Pierson, S., British Socialists, (Harvard, 1979), pp.179-83. For Grayson's own views on trade unionism see his book, The Problem of Parliament, (London, 1909).
- 24 HW and HE, 13 November 1909.
- 25 HW, 27 November 1909.
- 26 Labour Leader, 21 January 1910.
- 27 W. Whiteley (Labour Party agent in Huddersfield) to Francis Johnson, 21 September 1909 in Francis Johnson Correspondance, 1909/400. Several other socialist bodies existed but they were not affiliated to the ILP, the case in point being the Lockwood Socialist Institute. (See minutes in Huddersfield Polytechnic Library).
- 28 Snell, H., op. cit., p.187.
- 29 Minutes of Huddersfield Trades and Labour Council (hereafter 'T.C. Mins'), 17 February 1909.
- 30 This seems to have been the case across the country, see Clegg, H., Fox, A., and Thompson, A., A History of British Trade Unions since 1889, volume one, (London, 1964), p.419; Blewett, N., op. cit., pp.296-8; Gwyn, W.B., Democracy and the Cost of Politics in Britain, (London, 1962), chapter seven; McKibbin, R., The Evolution of the Labour Party, 1910-24, (London, 1974), pp.18-21; Pelling, H., "The Politics of the Osborne Judgment", Historical Journal, 25, 4 (1982), pp.894-99. The latter two put greater emphasis on the long term local impact of the judgment.
- 31 Letter Books of Huddersfield Trades and Labour Council (hereafter 'T.C. Letters'), volume one, J.W. Brierley to J. Dawson (Secretary Bradley ASRS), 23 July 1910; also 19 June 1910. On 26 October 1910 the Trades Council passed a resolution "to continue their payment of levies to the Labour Party and to entirely disregard injunctions granted by the Law Courts", see T.C. Mins, 26 October 1910 and HW, 29 October 1910.

- 32 See Minutes of Huddersfield Labour and Socialist Election Committee (hereafter 'Mins. Labour Election Committee') 19 October 1909; Pease to Johnson, 1 November 1909 in Francis Johnson Correspondence, 1909/479; Minutes of NEC of the Labour Party, 1 December 1909; also Pierson, S., op. cit., pp.331-2. Snell was an executive member of the Fabian Society for twenty years and had helped reform the Huddersfield branch in December 1908. The other two sponsored candidates in January 1910 were William Sandars, Snell's election agent in December 1910, and Will Crooks. Wilfred Whiteley was appointed full-time organiser with the Fabian sponsorship finance. The Labour and Socialist Election Committee was formed as a type of LRC and comprised 100 delegates each from the ILP and the Trades Council.
- 33 Mins. Labour Election Committee, 7 September and 5 October 1909. The decision was purely financial.
- 34 HW, 11 December 1909, and chapter six above.
- 35 HW, 8 and 15 January 1910; HE, 8 January 1910.
- 36 Foregoing drawn from: Snell, H., op. cit., (1936); Kirkman, F.B., From Plough to Parliament: The Life Story of Harry Snell, (Huddersfield, 1910); Grimsditch, H.B. in Dictionary of National Biography, 1941-50, (Oxford, 1959), pp.806-7; Stenton, M. and Lees, S., (eds), Who's Who of British MPs, Volume III, (Sussex, 1979).
- 37 Quoted in Grimsditch, op. cit. See also Snell's own publications, notably The Church of Man, (London, n.d.), The Ethical Movement Explained, (London, 1935) and What the Ethical Movement Is, (London, 1935, second ed. 1944). In addition: Mayhew, G.J., "The Ethical and Religious Foundations of Socialist Politics in Britain", unpublished D.Phil. thesis, University of York, 1980, pp.77-78; also Thompson, P., Socialists, Liberals and Labour: The Struggle for London 1885-1914, (London, 1967), pp.33-37.
- 38 Snell, H., Men, Movements ..., pp.30-6, 46-8. He was expelled from the Unitarian Sunday School for inciting "spiritual unrest"!
- 39 Snell, H., Men, Movements ..., p.176; see also his Case for Secular Education, (London, n.d.).
- 40 Grimsditch, op. cit.
- 41 HW, 9 July 1910.
- 42 Snell, H., Men, Movements ..., pp.186-7. Snell was to remain Labour candidate for Huddersfield until after 1918, and in 1922 he succeeded Will Crooks as Labour MP for Woolwich, serving as a member of the L.C.C. from 1919-25 and 1934-8. Created a baron in 1931 he was keenly involved in Commonwealth

affairs which included office as Under-Secretary for India. He led the Labour Party in the Lords until four years before his death in 1944. See also Stucke, R.B., (ed.), Fifty Years History of the Woolwich Labour Party 1903-53, (Woolwich, 1953).

- 43 Snell's Election Address (Copy in Huddersfield Public Library).
- 44 HE, 1 January 1910 for Sherwell's address.
- 45 Blewett, N., op. cit., p.236.
- 46 Edward Grey quoted in Murray, B.K., op. cit., p.239. See also pp.290 and 310-313.
- 47 HE, 1 January 1910 and Snell's election address (op. cit.) On Labour addresses generally see Blewett, pp.317-9. Snell's was not dissimilar from the majority of Labour addresses except that he placed greater stress on unemployment and nationalisation, in an attempt to differentiate his approach from Sherwell's.
- 48 HE, 8 and 15 January 1910, in several speeches.
- 49 HW, 8 January 1910 in a speech in the Victoria Hall.
- 50 Yorkshire Observer, 4 January 1910, quoted in Blewett, N., op. cit., p.257; also HW, 8 January 1910.
- 51 HW, editorial 1 January 1910.
- 52 HE, 8 January 1910; Labour Leader, 14 January 1910; HW, 8 January 1910.
- 53 HE, ibid, at Birkby Baptist Hall.
- 54 HE, 22 January 1910. Graysonite extremism was a frequent Liberal charge during the election, see for example the cartoon in HE, 15 January 1910.
- 55 See Clark, D., op. cit., pp.178-9; Groves, R., op. cit., pp.101-5; HE, 15 and 22 January 1910; also Blewett, op. cit., p.258; Labour Leader, 7 January 1910.
- 56 He made the admission at a Primrose Hill meeting on 4 January. See HW, 15 January 1910. It would have been far more damaging twenty years earlier. See Murray, B.K., op. cit., pp.107-8 on the licensing proposals in the Budget.
- 57 HE, 22 January 1910 and chapter six above.
- 58 Minutes of Huddersfield Liberal Association (hereafter 'HLAM') 3 March 1910.

- 59 Labour Leader, 21 January 1910; HW, 22 January 1910.
- 60 On local Labour weakness see Blewett, N., op. cit., p.286; and McKibbin, R., op. cit., chapter one.
- 61 Labour Leader, 21 January 1910.
- 62 Mins. of NEC of Labour Party, 24 February 1910.
- 63 HE, 22 January 1910.
- 64 HW, 22 January 1910.
- 65 HE, 22 January 1910. Huddersfield reputedly had a higher proportion of cars and motor cycles to its population than anywhere else in the country at this time (HE, 4 June 1910), Blewett (op. cit., pp.293-4) estimates that four million people went to vote by car in January 1910.
- 66 See Mins. Labour Election Committee 7 December 1909; Duncan, B., op. cit., p.61; Snell, H., Men, Movements ..., p.189.
- 67 Labour Leader, 28 January 1910; Blewett, N., op. cit., pp.260-1. Labour fielded seventy-eight candidates in all in January 1910.
- 68 See Blewett, N., op. cit., appendix four, which suggests a national swing between 1906 and January 1910 of 4.3 per cent (p.378). His 2.4 per cent West Riding swing compares with Henry Pelling's 2.3 per cent swing (Lib.-Cons.) in 'Yorkshire Region', from his Social Geography of British Elections, 1885-1910, (London, 1967). See also Kinnear, M., The British Voter, (New York, 1968), pp.31-2; and Rosenbaum, S., "The General Election of January, 1910, and the Bearing of the Results on Some Problems of Representation", Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, LXXIII, V, pp.473-511.
- 69 The turnout in Britain in January 1910 was 87 per cent. W.P. Raynor estimated in Huddersfield that 0.5 per cent of the electorate had died and two per cent removed or sick, making the 94.6 per cent even more remarkable: see HLAM 3 March 1910.
- 70 HC, 22 January 1910.
- 71 The Saturday Review, 5 February 1910 in an article entitled "Tariff Reform and the West Riding". See also Smith's post-result speech in HE, 22 January 1910, and Blewett, N., op. cit., p.407.
- 72 HW, 29 January 1910.
- 73 HW, 19 February 1910.
- 74 HW, 5 March 1910. Writing under one of his pen-names, 'Jacobus'. See also Duncan, B., op. cit., pp.61-8 on Leatham's wider political stance.

- 75 HW, 12 March 1910.
- 76 At a meeting on 31 January 1910 in HW, 5 February 1910.
- 77 Clark, D., op. cit., p.177.
- 78 HW, 23 April 1910.
- 79 Ibid.
- 80 HW, 30 April 1910.
- 81 See Thompson, W., Albert Victor Grayson, MP, (Huddersfield, 1910), and The Life of Victor Grayson, (Sheffield, 1910).
- 82 HW, 16 April 1910.
- 83 HW, 16 and 30 April 1910.
- 84 Thomas Carter of Honley in HW, 30 April 1910.
- 85 HW, ibid., Fred Green. The foregoing letters give only a taste and represent only a fraction of those published by The Worker.
- 86 HW, 26 February and 12 March 1910. No papers or minutes of the HSP survive.
- 87 On these early HSP members see HW, Aug./Sept. 1910 passim, and the Huddersfield Citizen, Feb. 1927 - March 1930 which contains biographies of many of them. On Fred Shaw see chapter six above, and below.
- 88 In an interview with Reg Groves quoted in the latter's The Strange Case of Victor Grayson, (op. cit.) p.29. On Gardiner who was a councillor 1927-30 and 1933-68 see, Huddersfield Citizen, 16 December 1927 and March 1947, also HE, 23 July 1971.
- 89 HW, 12 March 1910.
- 90 Gardiner's recollections in Groves, R., op. cit., p.29.
- 91 Ibid., and Tsuzuki, C., "The 'Impossibilist Revolt' in Britain: The Origins of the S.L.P. and the S.P.G.B.", International Review of Social History, vol. one, (1956), pp.377-97. David Clark has informed me, however, that no mention was made of William Gee when he interviewed Mrs. Gardiner before her recent death.
- 92 HW, 19 November 1910, and below.
- 93 This section is derived from references in: Challinor, R., The Origins of British Bolshevism, (London, 1977); Holton, B., British Syndicalism, 1900-14, (London, 1976); Kendall, W., The Revolutionary Movement in Britain, 1900-21, (London,

- 1969); Pierson, S., op. cit.; Tsuzuki, C., op. cit., and idem., H.M. Hyndman and British Socialism, (London, 1961); Brown, G., Sabotage, (Nottingham, 1977); and HW, passim.
- 94 See Challinor, R., op. cit.
- 95 Thompson, P., op. cit., p.62.
- 96 In The Socialist, March 1908, quoted in Challinor, op. cit., p.53.
- 97 Ibid., pp.91-9.
- 98 Dual unionism was the concept of setting up entirely new, revolutionary unions to attract workers away from the existing ones. See Holton, B., op. cit., pp.42-3.
- 99 For Shaw's political stance at this time see his article, "Industrial Unionism" in the Yorkshire Factory Times, (hereafter YFT), 7 October 1909.
- 100 Holton, B., op. cit., chapter three; also Mann, Tom, Memoirs, (London, 1923, 1967 reprint).
- 101 See Allen, E.J.B., "Working Class Socialism", Industrial Syndicalist, Nov. 1910; Revolutionary Unionism, (London, 1909) especially pp.13-14; "Industrial Unionism", The Worker, 11 June 1910; "Is Sabotage Un-English?", Syndicalist, October 1912; also Holton, B., op. cit., pp.62-8; and Brown, G., op. cit., pp.29, 52-3.
- 102 Askwith, Lord G., Industrial Problems and Disputes, (London, 1920), p.137.
- 103 The workers won their 55½ hour week and ½d. increase an hour to 5½d. with 1d. extra agreed for overtime. See, HE, 16 and 23 April, 4, 11 and 18 and 25 June 1910; YFT, 2, 9, 16 and 23 June 1910; HW, 4 June 1910. See also table in appendices on strikes and lockouts in Huddersfield 1910-14.
- 104 HE, 20 August and 29 October 1910. They had demanded a three shilling per week rise.
- 105 HE, 7 May 1910. Seventy men were involved.
- 106 HE, 4 and 11 June 1910. In the court case a blackleg had been assaulted whilst under police protection. The picket was fined 40s. plus 8s. costs for the offence. See HE, 4 June 1910.
- 107 See Board of Trade Report on Earnings and Hours of Labour of Workpeople in the UK, I: Textile Trades, cd. 4545 (1907), pp.71-73.

- 108 Pelling, H., "The Labour Unrest, 1911-14" in Popular Politics and Society in Late Victorian Britain, (London, 1968), p.150. See also Sires, R.V., "Labour Unrest in England, 1910-14", Journal of Economic History, 1955, pp.246-66; and Cronin, J.E., "Strikes 1870-1914" in Wrigley, C., (ed.), A History of British Industrial Relations, (Brighton, 1982).
- 109 HE, 9 and 16 July; at mass meetings addressed by David Shackleton and J.A. Seddon.
- 110 T.U.C., Annual Report 1911.
- 111 G.H. Wood was also secretary of two of the employers' associations in Huddersfield. For a profile of his life and work see Laybourn, K., "The George Henry Wood Collection", Bulletin of the Society for the Study of Labour History, (1980), pp.47-49; also HE, 25 June 1910 and HW, 25 June 1910.
- 112 Willmott, H., "The 'Labour Unrest' and the Woollen Trades", The Socialist Review, Nov. 1910, p.214.
- 113 Ibid., and Bornat, J., "An Examination of the General Union of Textile Workers, 1883-1922", unpublished PhD thesis, Essex University, 1981, pp.61-2.
- 114 Report of the conference in The Industrial Syndicalist, vol. one, no. 6, (Dec. 1910), p.30.
- 115 See HE, 30 November 1907; Willmott, H., op. cit., p.213; and Phelps-Brown, E.H., The Growth of British Industrial Relations, (London, 1965), p.267.
- 116 HE, 26 November and 10 December 1910.
- 117 HE, 24 December 1910.
- 118 T.C. Mins., 26 October 1910.
- 119 HE, 26 February 1910. Ben Riley was chairman.
- 120 See Duncan, B., op. cit., pp.65-66 and 81. Leatham left to set up a monthly magazine entitled Gateway which he produced from his new home at Cottingham in the East Yorkshire countryside.
- 121 HW, 9 and 30 April 1910.
- 122 HW, 28 May and 25 June 1910; Groves, R., op. cit., pp.107-8.
- 123 HW, 1 October 1910, and passim.
- 124 HE, 5 November 1910. The votes were 566 to 159.
- 125 HW, 5 November 1910; 'S.F.' on "The Moral of the Municipal Elections".

- 126 The level of municipal enfranchisement represented 31.7 per cent of the adult (21 and over) population of Huddersfield in 1911 (deduced from census returns). This compared with Salford's 27.9 per cent, Manchester's 29.2, Sheffield's 33, Leeds's 33.4 and Barnsley's 36.3 per cent: figures from Sheppard, M.G., "The Effects of the Franchise Provisions on the Social and Sex Composition of the Municipal Electorate, 1882-1914", Bulletin of the Society for the Study of Labour History, No. 45 (Autumn 1982), pp.19-25. He concludes that in municipal politics "it is reasonable to suppose that the 'franchise factor' did play a part in impeding Labour's progress before 1914", (p.23). But see Tanner, D., "The Parliamentary Electoral System, the Fourth Reform Act and the Rise of Labour in England and Wales", unpublished manuscript kindly lent by the author (recently published).
- 127 See section four below on Conservative re-organisation.
- 128 See appendices. These figures conflict with the high parliamentary turnouts.
- 129 Sheppard, M.G., and Halstead, J., "Labour's Municipal Election Performance in Provincial England and Wales 1901-13", Bulletin of the Society for the Study of Labour History, no. 39, (Autumn 1979), pp.39-62, esp. pp.51-2. Also Sheppard, M.G., op. cit., (1982).
- 130 Blewett, N., op. cit., p.140; also Kinnear, M., op. cit., pp.36-37.
- 131 HE, 10 December 1910.
- 132 See Mins. Labour Election Committee, 1910, passim.
- 133 HW, 26 November 1910; also the post-election analysis in HW, 10 December 1910.
- 134 See Thompson, P., op. cit., pp.222-3 for a profile of Sandars.
- 135 Snell, H., op. cit., (Men, Movements ...), p.187; Mins. Labour Election Committee, 4 December 1910; HW, 3 December 1910; T.C. Mins., 21 June 1910. Huddersfield Labour Party's official election expenses in the general elections of 1906-10 were: 1906, £339; Jan. 1910, £591; Dec. 1910, £376 (from Mins. of NEC of Labour Party, December 1910).
- 136 MacDonald to Pease, 14 March 1910 in Fabian Historical Documents, box 5, quoted in McKibbin, R., op. cit., p.14. See also: Mary Macarthur to Francis Johnson, 1 April 1910 in Francis Johnson Correspondence, 1910/43, urging a contest; Mins. of NEC of Labour Party, 13 April 1910; Mins. of Fabian Society Executive, 14 April 1910.

- 137 Labour Leader, 4 February 1910.
- 138 On MacDonald's strategy see McKibbin, R., "James Ramsay MacDonald and the problem of the independence of the Labour Party, 1910-14", Journal of Modern History, 1970, part 2, pp.216-35.
- 139 In his 'Special Memorandum on the Elections' in Mins. of NEC of Labour Party, 24 February 1910.
- 140 HW, 3 December 1910.
- 141 From Sherwell's address, HE, 26 November 1910.
- 142 Ibid.
- 143 Speech in Huddersfield Town Hall on 28 November, see HE, 3 December 1910.
- 144 HW, 10 December 1910. Removals and deaths accounted almost entirely for the inaccuracy of the December register: in the following January less than 500 voters were added increasing the electorate from 19,021 to 19,506, (HE, 25 March 1911). On the effects of the registration procedures on particular classes of voters see Tanner, D., op. cit., who argues the middle classes were also effected through being mobile.
- 145 Snell, H., Men, Movements ..., p.190. In 1911 the Huddersfield Labour Party attempted, without success, to reach an all-party agreement banning the use of vehicles and canvassing during elections (HLAM, 29 December 1911).
- 146 Biographical information on Kaye from a profile in HE, 28 November 1910 and his obituary in HE, 27 December 1923.
- 147 HW, 26 November 1910.
- 148 HC, 3 December 1910.
- 149 Clarke, P.F., Lancashire and the New Liberalism, (Cambridge, 1971).
- 150 HE, 10 December 1910; Labour Leader, 9 December 1910. For a fuller discussion of the impact of local employers on voting see Joyce, P., Work, Society and Politics, (Sussex, 1980), especially chapter six.
- 151 See HC and HE, 26 November for his address.
- 152 HC, editorial 26 November 1910. Also see Kaye's meetings on 29 November in HE, 3 December 1910.
- 153 See his speeches on 28 and 29 November in HE and HC, 3 December 1910.

- 154 See Blewett, N., op. cit., chapter nine; also Sykes, A., Tariff Reform in British Politics, 1903-1913, (Oxford, 1979), chapter ten.
- 155 Kaye's meetings on 30 November in HE and HC, 3 December 1910.
- 156 From Sherwell's speech on 2 December in HE, ibid.
- 157 Blewett, N., op. cit., p393.
- 158 Ibid., pp.234-64 and 389-94.
- 159 Ibid., p.389; Gregory, R., The Miners and British Politics, 1906-14, (London, 1968); Pelling, H., Popular Politics ... (op. cit.), pp.114-5.
- 160 The HJLA membership during 1910 increased from 1007 to 1450 and the HWLA by 118 to 1384 to make it the third largest in the country. See HE, 8 October and 12 November 1910.
- 161 Clarke, P.F., Liberals and Social Democrats, (Cambridge 1978); idem., "The Progressive Movement in England", Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 24, (1974), pp.159-81. See also Weiler, P., The New Liberalism: Liberal Social Theory in Great Britain, 1889-1914, (London, 1982); Freedon, M., The New Liberalism: An Ideology of Social Reform, (Oxford, 1978); Ellins, R.E., "Aspects of the New Liberalism, 1895-1914", unpublished PhD. thesis, Sheffield University, 1980.
- 162 HE, 29 October 1910.
- 163 Pugh, M., "Yorkshire and the New Liberalism?", Journal of Modern History, 50, 3 (1978), pp.1139-55.
- 164 Blewett, N., op. cit., pp.283-6; McKibbin, R., op. cit., pp.4-19.
- 165 Blewett, N., ibid, pp.393-4.
- 166 See Craig, F.W.S., British Parliamentary Election Results, 1885-1918, (London, 1974).
- 167 HW, 10 December 1910.
- 168 Clarke, M.G., "Development and Purpose in a local Conservative Association: A Study in the Huddersfield Constituencies, 1836-1966", unpublished manuscript (1966) in Huddersfield Central Library, pp.38-39. Also HE, 25 March 1911 for the HCA's AGM.
- 169 Ibid., also HE, 2 March 1912; 22 February and 28 February 1913. The new organisation moved into the HLUA's old rooms.
- 170 See HE, 18 February 1911 on HWUA. On HWLA see appendix of membership and HE, 11 November 1911.

- 171 HE, 1 March, 5 April 1913, and 11 April 1914.
- 172 HE, 7 March 1914.
- 173 HE, 18 January 1913.
- 174 HE, 29 June 1912, 15 March and 18 October 1913.
- 175 HE, 29 June 1912. Tom Canby was Conservative councillor for Fartown from 1911, president of the Leeds Road club, a J.P. and Mayor of Huddersfield 1928-9. The inaugural membership of the club was eighty.
- 176 HE, 4 November 1911 and appendices.
- 177 See HE, 9 March 1912 on West Central by-election; 27 April 1912 on a second West Central by-election; 6 July 1912 on Paddock by-election; and 2 November 1912 on the November results. 1912 was in fact the first year in which the Liberals held more aldermanic seats than elected seats, and in which the Conservatives won more votes than any party at any time since 1885 (7378 votes). Frequent charges by the Liberals of Conservative/Labour municipal co-operation were ill-founded and there is little evidence of such agreement: see HE, 9 March 1912; HLAM, 29 March 1912; and appendices.
- 178 See HE and HC, 8 November 1913; and HE, 15 November 1913. On the new method of aldermanic selection see: Mins. Labour Election Committee, 29 October, 7 November and 9 November 1913; Letters of Labour Election Committee, Herbert Eastwood to secretaries of HLA and HCA, 27 October 1913. For a comparison of Huddersfield municipal results with more general results between 1910 and 1913 see: Sheppard and Halstead, op. cit., Wald, K.D., "Class and the Vote Before the First World War", British Journal of Political Science, 8 (1978), pp.441-57.
- 179 Cook, C., "Labour and the Downfall of the Liberal Party, 1906-14", in Sked, A., and Cook, C., (eds), Crisis and Controversy, (London, 1976), pp.62-3.
- 180 HE, 4 November 1911, editorial.
- 181 Ibid.
- 182 HE, 2 November 1912; also see the Central Liberal Club's AGM for similar reports of unpopularity, in HE, 1 February 1913.
- 183 HE, 1 July 1911. More generally see: Hay, R., "Employers and Social Policy in Britain: the evolution of welfare legislation, 1905-14", Social History, Jan. 1977, pp.453-4.
- 184 HE, 27 January 1912. Huddersfield doctors were unanimous in refusing the work with the act, (HE, 28 December 1912).

- 185 HE, 13 January 1912.
- 186 See Perks, R.B., "Real Profit-Sharing: William Thomson & Sons of Huddersfield, 1886-1925", Business History, XXIV, no. 2, (July 1982), pp.156-74, for full discussion of Thomson's exceptional scheme. Also HE, 20 July 1912. More generally see: Melling, J., "Industrial Strife and Business Welfare Philosophy: The Case of the South Metropolitan Gas Company from the 1880s to the War", Business History, XXI, no. 2, (July 1979), pp.163-79; and Joyce, P., op. cit., chapter five.
- 187 HW, 27 July 1912.
- 188 HE, 2 November 1912; T.C. Mins, 26 July and 20 September 1911; there were only two dissentients. See also 25 October 1911 deprecating the PLP's support for the bill despite the level of opposition expressed by Trades Councils across the country.
- 189 HW, 17 June 1911. On Labour and the Insurance Bill, see: Brown, K.D., Labour and Unemployment, 1900-1914, (Newton Abbot, 1971), chapter seven.
- 190 Pelling, H., "The Working Class and the Origins of the Welfare State", in his Popular Politics ... (op. cit.), pp.12 and 16; Bealey, F., "Municipal Politics in Newcastle-under-Lyme, 1872-1914", North Staffordshire Journal of Field Studies, V (1965).
- 191 HE, 13 and 20 January 1912.
- 192 See chapter four above.
- 193 HLAM, 25 March 1912 at the AGM.
- 194 HW, 6 April 1912.
- 195 HLAM, 14 February 1912: a joint meeting.
- 196 See HE, 29 October 1912 and 18 October 1913.
- 197 The ensuing figures can be found in an appendix of the occupational profile of the Borough Council between 1885-1913. They bear a remarkably close resemblance to those for Bradford in Ross, D., "Bradford Politics 1880-1906", unpublished PhD. thesis, Bradford University, 1977, p.55. See also Hennock, E.P., Fit and Proper Persons: Ideal and Reality and Nineteenth-Century Urban Government, (London, 1973).
- 198 See appendix 2.11 for an index of members of Huddersfield Borough Council 1885-1914.
- 199 See chapter four.

- 200 On the unrest of 1910-14, its motives and manifestations, see: Sires, R.V., "Labour Unrest in England, 1910-14", Journal of Economic History, 1955, pp.246-66; Pelling, H., "The Labour Unrest 1911-14" in Popular Politics ..., (op. cit.); Howkins, A., "Edwardian Liberalism and Industrial Unrest: a class view of the decline of Liberalism", History Workshop Journal, no. 4, (Autumn, 1977); Price, R., Masters, Unions and Men: Work Control in Building and the Rise of Labour, 1830-1914, (Cambridge, 1980), especially chapter seven; White, J.L., The Limits of Trade Union Militancy, (Connecticut, 1978); Benson, T.D., "The Unrest", The Socialist Review, May 1911, pp.195-203.
- 201 HE, 13 and 20 May 1911; HW, 13 and 20 May 1911.
- 202 HE and HW, 10 and 17 June, 15 and 29 July 1911.
- 203 See HE, 19 and 26 August 1911 for the strike's full impact. The railway workers in Huddersfield were, according to their leader Tom Topping, seventy per cent organised (HW, 19 August 1911).
- 204 HE, 9 September and 23 September 1911. At the justices' meeting Owen Balmforth and Allen Gee opposed a resolution urging trade union law amendment which had been proposed by W.D. Shaw and J.E. Willans.
- 205 HE and HW, 23 September 1911.
- 206 See his comments at William Thomson & Sons' AGM in HE, 20 January 1912 and at the half-yearly meeting in HE, 20 July 1912. See also Perks, R.B., op. cit.; and Hay, R., op. cit.
- 207 Bornat, J., op. cit., p.481. In June-July 1912 alone the GUWTW membership increased by one thousand (HE, 20 July 1912). On the union growth generally see: McKibbin, R., op. cit., pp.86-7; Pelling, H., "The Labour Unrest, 1911-14", op. cit.
- 208 All the major strikes and disputes in Huddersfield 1910-14 are laid out in an appendix, with details of numbers involved, demands, and outcome.
- 209 See Wilmott, H., op. cit.; Board of Trade Report: Textile Trades, Huddersfield, (London, 1914); Board of Trade Report: Engineering Trades: Leeds, Halifax, Dewsbury and Huddersfield, (London, 1914).
- 210 HE, 28 December 1912, in its annual review of trade locally.
- 211 See references in the Huddersfield Citizen, 18 March 1927, in a profile of Shaw.
- 212 See Hyman, R., The Workers' Union, (London, 1971), p.62. Also YFT, 29 May and 19 June 1913; HE, 31 May 1913. No membership figures are available for the Huddersfield branch before 1914.

- 213 YFT, 1 May 1913. On "General Labour Unions in Britain, 1889-1914", see Hobsbawm, E., Labouring Men, (London, 1964), pp.179-203.
- 214 HE, 11 and 18 January, 15 March 1913; also YFT, passim, on the dyers.
- 215 Pelling, H., "The Labour Unrest", op. cit., pp.155-160; Phelps-Brown, E.H., The Growth of Industrial Relations, (London, 1959). For the opposing case which sees syndicalism to be of greater importance see Holton, B., op. cit., and Price, R., op. cit. White, J., "1910-1914 Reconsidered" in Cronin, J.E. and Schneer, J., (eds.), Social Conflict and the Political Order in Modern Britain, (London, 1982), pp.73-95, offers an analysis of the varying arguments, concluding that syndicalism was "limited in its appeal and its successes", (p.93).
- 216 YFT, 7 August 1913; HE, 21 and 28 June 1913.
- 217 The demands, discussions and eventual agreement were extremely complex. See YFT, 16, 23 and 30 October, and 6 November 1913; HE, 18 and 25 October, and 8 November 1913. The ballot result was 2742 in favour of strike action, 1058 against and 50 abstentions. 1139 others entitled to vote declined to do so.
- 218 HE, 4 and 11 July 1914.
- 219 HE, 12 April 1913.
- 220 See Meacham, S., "'The Sense of an Impending Clash': English Working-Class Unrest before the First World War", American Historical Review, 77 (1972), pp.1343-64; White, J., (1982), op. cit.
- 221 HE, 30 September 1911.
- 222 Fartown, Cowcliffe, Sheepridge, Primrose Hill, Berry Brow and Almondbury had all extended their premises. See HLAM, 9 March 1911. On membership, see appendices.
- 223 HLAM, 9 March 1911, 29 March 1912, 18 March 1913 and 27 March 1914.
- 224 HLAM, 29 March 1912; 25 February, 3 and 15 March, and 13 August 1913; also HE, 4 November 1911.
- 225 HLAM, 25 February, 3, 15 and 18 March 1913.
- 226 HW, 13 July 1912.
- 227 Ibid.
- 228 Douglas, R., "Labour in Decline, 1910-14", in Brown, K.D. (ed), Essays in Anti-Labour History, (London, 1974).
- 229 McKibbin, R., op. cit., p.72.

- 230 See Sheppard and Halstead, op. cit., and McKibbin, R., ibid; also Cook, C., op. cit., for a more cautious view of Labour's pre-war municipal performance.
- 231 Mins. Labour Election Committee, 7 February and 16 May 1911; HW, 20 May 1911. The report also recommended "the periodical distribution of literature".
- 232 Mins. Labour Election Committee, 22 August 1912 and 6 February 1912.
- 233 Mins. Labour Election Committee, 14 March 1911, 6 February, 9 July and 1 October 1912, 15 April and 24 June 1913; HW, 10 February 1912.
- 234 Tsuzuki, C., Hyndman and British Socialism, (London, 1961), pp.174-5; Pierson, S., op. cit., pp.270-6; Kendall, W., op. cit., pp.38-45; HW and HE, 4 November 1911.
- 235 HW, 8 April 1911, 27 January and 5 October 1912, 21 March and 13 June 1914; HE, 2 March 1912, 21 March 1914.
- 236 HE, 8 November 1913. Fenwick was treasurer of the Huddersfield branch of the G.U.T.W.
- 237 HW, 31 January 1914. Beaumont stood as an ILP candidate in Paddock in the 1913 local elections beating the Liberal candidate into third place (HE, 8 November 1913).
- 238 HW, 30 April 1910, 6 May 1911, 10 August 1912, 25 April and 13 June 1914.
- 239 HW, 28 March 1914.
- 240 Crowe, secretary of the Huddersfield Gasworkers' and General Labourers' Union, replaced Allen in 1911 as the gasworkers' delegate on the Council. Shaw represented the engineers, Gardiner the cloth finishers, Fenwick the textile workers and Dawson the dyers. On Dawson see Bornat, J., op. cit., pp.59 and 79.
- 241 Full report of meeting in HW, 28 March 1914. See also T.C. Mins., 25 March 1914.
- 242 T.C. Mins., 22 April 1914; Minutes of Lockwood Socialist Institute, 16 April 1914.
- 243 HW, 25 April and 30 May 1914. Also letters in HW, 2 and 9 May 1914.
- 244 HW, 27 June 1914.
- 245 See McKibbin, R., op. cit., chapter four, for the national picture of Labour advance before 1914.

- 246 Mins. Labour Election Committee, 3 October 1911 and 1 October 1912.
- 247 Compare for example R.H. Yates' address in Paddock in November 1909 with Ben Riley's in West Central in March 1912 and James Ellam's in Moldgreen in November 1912. (Copies in Huddersfield Polytechnic Library).
- 248 See The Next Step in Huddersfield: Municipal Coal at Wholesale Prices, (n.d.? 1912, Huddersfield. Published by the Labour and Socialist Election Committee), also Housing in Huddersfield, (Huddersfield, n.d.? 1912).
- 249 YFT, 9 October 1913.
- 250 Mins. Labour Election Committee, 8 August 1911, 2 January 1912, 9 July 1912, 24 June 1913 and 2 September 1913.
- 251 Mins. Labour Election Committee, 20 January 1914 (AGM).
- 252 HW, 21 February 1914.
- 253 See letters from Percy Webster of the ILP in HW, 2 May 1914, and from Richard Fenwick giving the BSP version of the negotiations in HW, 9 May 1914.
- 254 HW, 23 May 1914. See also a letter from Jack Cade of the BSP in HW, 20 June 1914 in which he was critical of false unity: "Standing together in order to get frozen together will not serve any purpose".
- 255 Murray, B.K., op. cit.
- 256 Alan Sykes in "The Radical Right and the Crisis of Conservatism before the First World War", Historical Journal, 26, 3 (1983), pp.661-676, argues that by 1914 the crisis of Conservatism was over and that the party was in an excellent position to win the general election scheduled for 1915.

CONCLUSION

Conclusion

In terms of its fundamental attitude and beliefs Huddersfield Liberalism entered the First World War in 1914 very much as it had entered the Home Rule crisis of 1885. The Huddersfield Liberal Association and the Liberal members of the Borough Council continued to be drawn in the main from a small Nonconformist manufacturing élite which persisted in its advocacy of the traditional Liberal cries of Home Rule, Free Trade, Disestablishment and Temperance, despite evidence that such issues held a diminishing appeal to working-class voters in a period of high unemployment, economic depression and a growing concern for poverty. In municipal policy the Liberal Party pursued a consistently non-collectivist approach, marked by a refusal to tackle such problems as unemployment and poor housing through municipal intervention. Individual self-help and laissez-faire characterised the party's stance and although M.P. Arthur Sherwell's more advanced brand of Liberalism, the Huddersfield Junior Liberal Association's strong support for land reform, and the knock-on effect of the Liberal Government's welfare measures from 1908, all had their impact, Huddersfield Liberalism never at any time embraced any form of 'New Liberalism'. Even isolated individuals like Owen Balmforth and George Thomson, who espoused a more radical type of Liberalism, stopped short of any openly 'progressive' or collectivist approach.

The HLA's refusal both to take working-class issues seriously and to envisage working-class Liberal candidates at either the local or parliamentary level led to growing disillusionment and frustration in the late 1880s and 1890s. This, coupled with the crippling paramountcy of the Home Rule issue and the post-Gladstonian crisis of Liberal

identity, convinced growing numbers of working men, like Allen Gee, that the road to redressing political and social inequalities was through independent labour representation. For those 'new' trade unionists in Huddersfield, vainly endeavouring to increase levels of trade union membership, political solutions to industrial problems became increasingly attractive, especially after the anti-union rulings of the 1890s which culminated in Taff Vale. Moreover, belief in the efficacy of an independent working-class political party in Huddersfield was buttressed by the aloofness, intransigence and complacency of the local Liberal Party, epitomised by its attitude to Allen Gee's Lindley candidature of 1890 and by Joseph Woodhead's insensitive and disastrous anti-union stance during the 1893 by-election. In the short term, however, Huddersfield Liberalism was sustained by wealth, influence and habit. With the exception of the fated 'Lib-Lab' talks that followed the loss of the parliamentary seat in 1893, the party never saw the necessity for conciliating Labour and pursued a policy until 1906 of ignoring the Labour challenge in the belief it would go away.

That Liberalism in the town was able to get away with this policy for so long was a measure of how far the emergence of a strong Labour challenge was hampered throughout the period by a host of difficulties, many not of its own making. The town's textile industry was relatively small-scale with a high incidence of family-run firms, and this, together with the crushing defeat of the 1883 textile strike and the prevalence until 1909-10 of relatively high wages compared with elsewhere in the West Riding, contributed towards worker deference and low levels of trade unionism (though textile unionisation was slightly higher than many parts of West Yorkshire). In consequence organised and politically motivated trade

unionism came late to Huddersfield, as did organised Socialism. This contrasted with other parts of the West Riding where industry was less diversified and larger scale, like Bradford, and where class differentiation was more marked, like Leeds.

Although the Huddersfield Labour Union was, in 1891, amongst the first in the country, and Russell Smart's showing in the election of 1895 was creditable, the growth of a distinctive Socialist cultural alternative to Liberalism through Labour and Clarion clubs, Labour Churches and Socialist Sunday Schools was retarded, partially by the strength of religious Nonconformity and especially perhaps by the Pleasant Sunday Afternoon movement. From the outset it was prominent trade unionists as much as Socialists who stood behind the growth of the Huddersfield Labour Party and it is important to note that in the early years the party's programme was not far removed from radical Liberalism. Moreover, until the conversion of the Trades Council as a whole to independent parliamentary labour representation in 1903, following a long-fought ILP campaign, the Labour and Socialist challenge in Huddersfield lacked the bite, drive and finance apparent in towns like Halifax and Bradford, where the Trades Councils had been won over much earlier, and which had seen greater Labour advances.

It was when political trade unionism combined with a religious, ethical form of Socialism during the period of the two parliamentary elections in 1906 that Labour's municipal representation shot up to eight and Russell Williams came within a handful of votes of ousting the Liberal candidate. Indeed it is likely he would have succeeded but for the operation of the franchise, which effectively excluded from voting

important elements of the party's political support and placed a disproportionate emphasis on possessing the time and ability to comprehend the complexities of registration procedures. Throughout the period before 1914, with the possible exception of the early part of 1906, the Huddersfield Labour Union and its successor, the Labour and Socialist Election Committee, suffered from a severe paucity of finance which precluded the appointment of a full-time agent and the type of extended 'educational' propaganda campaign which the HLA was able to mount in 1894-5 and 1906-10. It is true that the conversion of the Trades Council had greatly improved the situation, as revealed in the establishment of the weekly newspaper The Worker, but money remained a problem and had serious organisational repercussions.

A major factor behind Huddersfield Liberalism's continued success before 1914, and especially up to 1910, was the excellence of a party organisation that was both comprehensive and effective in its reiteration of the traditional cries of Liberal Nonconformity. Backed by finance from wealthy textile manufacturers and the manpower of the leisured middle class, W.P. Raynor totally re-organised and revived the HLA during 1906 and embarked on a highly successful anti-Socialist propaganda campaign, spearheaded by Arthur Withy and a vibrant HJLA. This was to pay dividends at the November 1906 by-election and underlined the importance of party organisation above other considerations in a marginal seat like Huddersfield. In contrast, the Labour Party's organisation was "contemptible" and there was a growing realisation amongst Labour activists in Huddersfield by 1914 that unless the party were in a position to honour its promises, Socialist ideals alone were not enough to sustain either enthusiastic support or effective organisation:

The average working man was willing to join an organisation if he thought it would bring about an immediate increase of wages; but when it came to the slow work of building up an organisation for realising Socialism the working classes could not understand it.

(Ben Riley in The Worker, 17 January 1914).

Ironically it was the quest to demonstrate the suitability and respectability of Labour as a parliamentary political alternative to Liberalism that precipitated the 'political action versus direct action' debate within the Labour movement between 1906 and 1910, which proved to be so seriously divisive and debilitating as to dissipate, almost at a stroke, the enthusiasm and promise of 1906. Graysonism, although initially popular for its rhetorical appeal, became sectionalism, most apparent in the creation of the Huddersfield Socialist Party, and such 'extremism', allied as it was with the language of revolution, syndicalism and industrial unionism, undoubtedly alienated support for the Labour cause, as the 1910 general election results and the temporary decline in Labour's municipal poll reflected. It is, of course, arguable how far it was Ramsay MacDonald's desire not to upset the secret 1903 Lib-Lab pact, manifested for example in his refusal to send prominent speakers to Huddersfield in January 1906, that reduced Labour's chances of winning the seat, and created the sort of ructions apparent in Grayson's candidature in the Colne Valley. What is clear is that he underestimated how closely Labour was running the Liberal Party in Huddersfield by 1906.

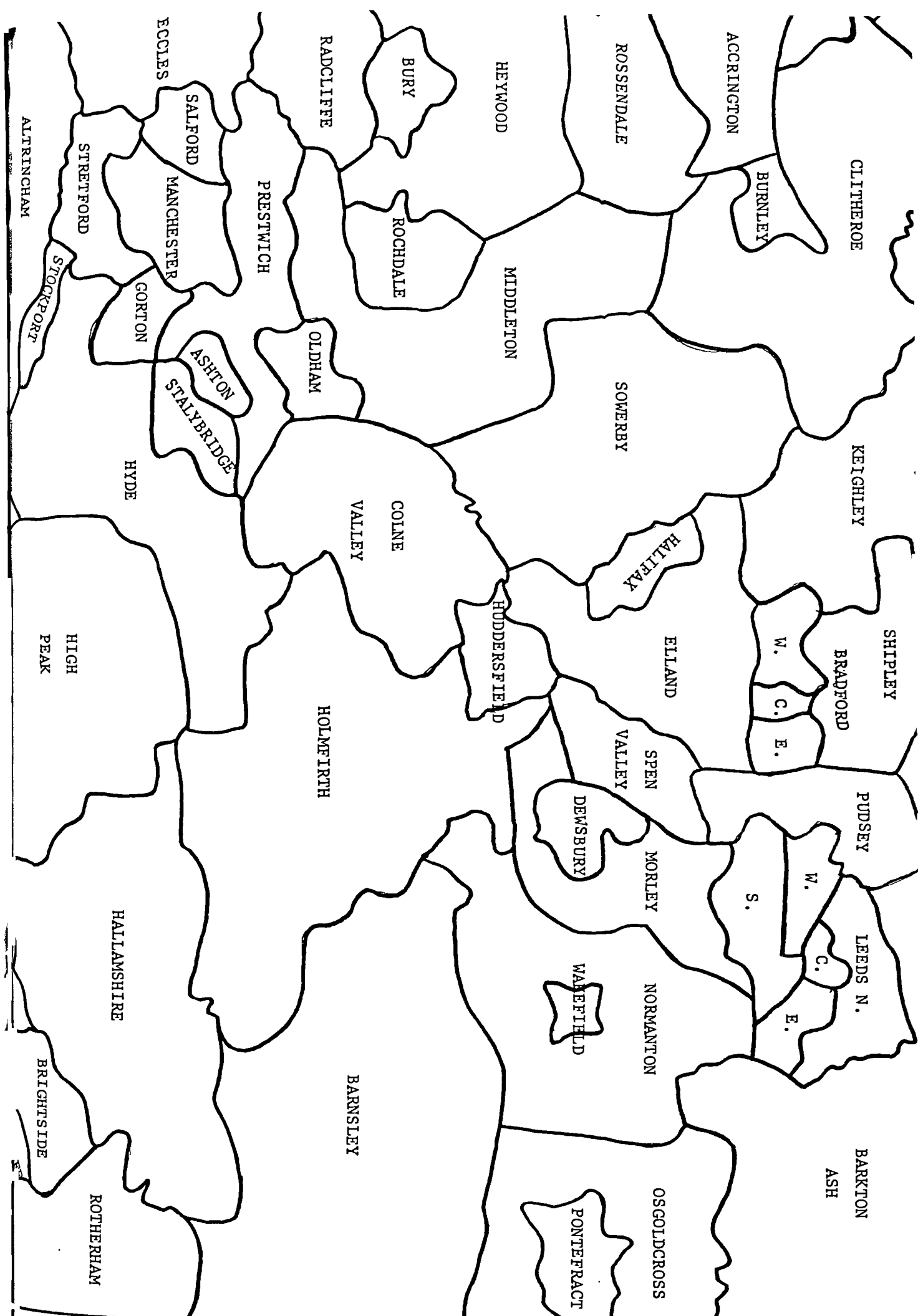
Until 1910 it appeared that it was the Conservative Party rather than the Liberal Party that was most adversely affected by the advent of a third party and this may account for Huddersfield Liberalism's

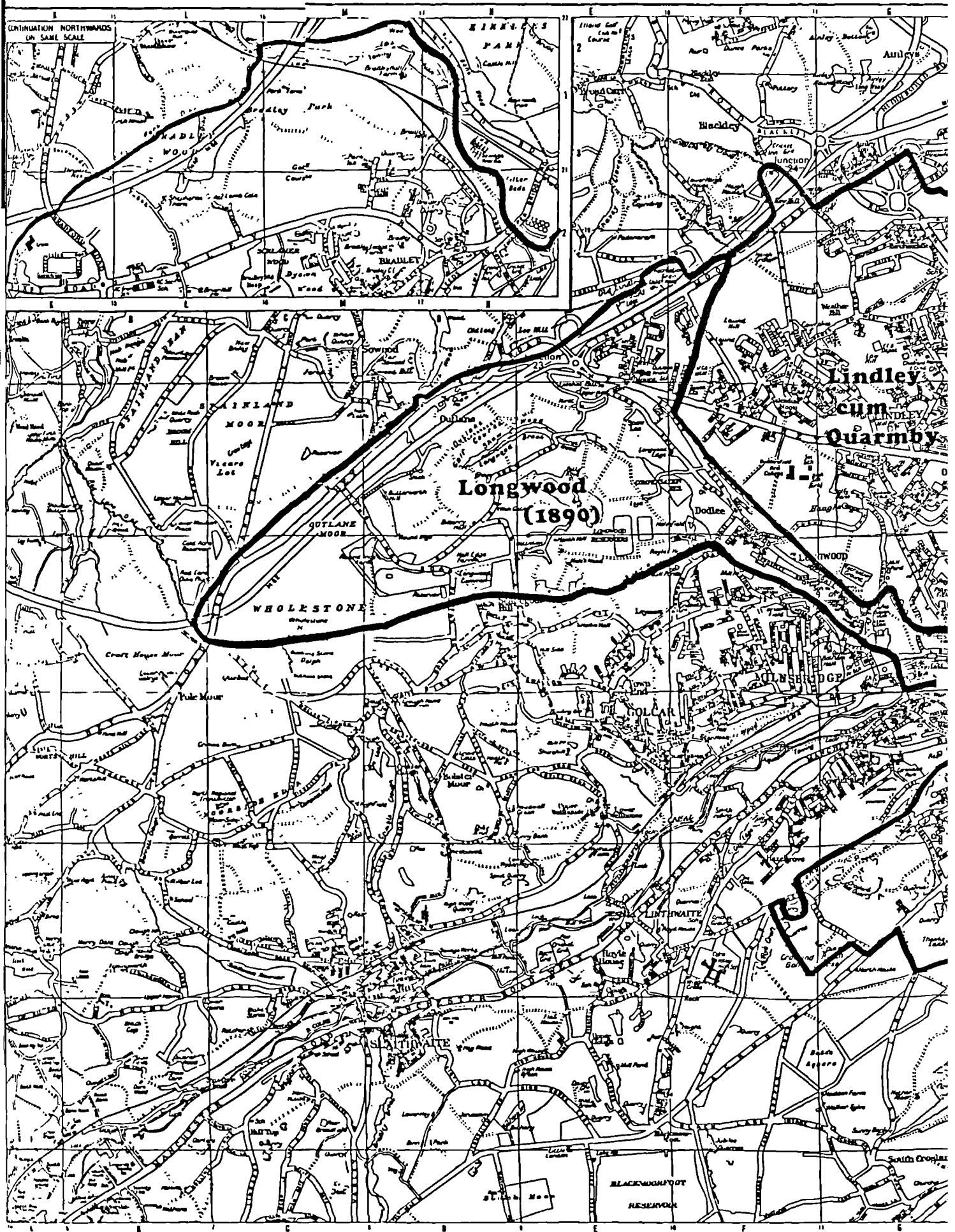
complacency. At the 1895 general election, when Smart secured 11.2% of the poll, it was the Conservative vote that fell by nearly 9%, while that of Woodhouse showed a decrease of only 2.4%. Similarly Labour's best showing at the 1906 elections represented a twenty per cent decline in the Conservative vote compared to a drop of 15.4% in the Liberal vote. In the period of Labour's biggest municipal gains between 1903 and 1906 it was Unionist representation which fell from twenty-nine to nineteen, while that of the Liberals increased by two to thirty-two. Moreover, in straight Liberal-Labour municipal contests Labour was able to win only two in thirty-four, whilst faring much better in straight fights with Conservatives. This was not perhaps surprising and it may be argued that it is evidence of Labour's lack of success in seriously challenging Liberalism. However, the underlying municipal trend after 1910 was markedly different, reflecting a collapse in Liberal representation, a strengthening of Labour's support and a substantial Conservative revival. This latter phenomenon and the presence in Huddersfield of significant working-class Toryism tends to complicate the argument for a realignment of voting along class lines before 1914. Nevertheless it is clear that Liberalism had underestimated the solidity of Labour's support and the extent to which class had come to mean much more in voting terms by the Great War than hitherto. It was painfully obvious during the 1910 general elections that Sherwell was walking a tightrope by tempering his support for measures of social reform with talk of Peace, Retrenchment and Reform in order to maintain middle-class support, whilst endeavouring to convince working-class voters of his constancy by championing the cause of the poor and the unemployed. In the short term a broad church centre-left 'Peers versus the People' appeal may

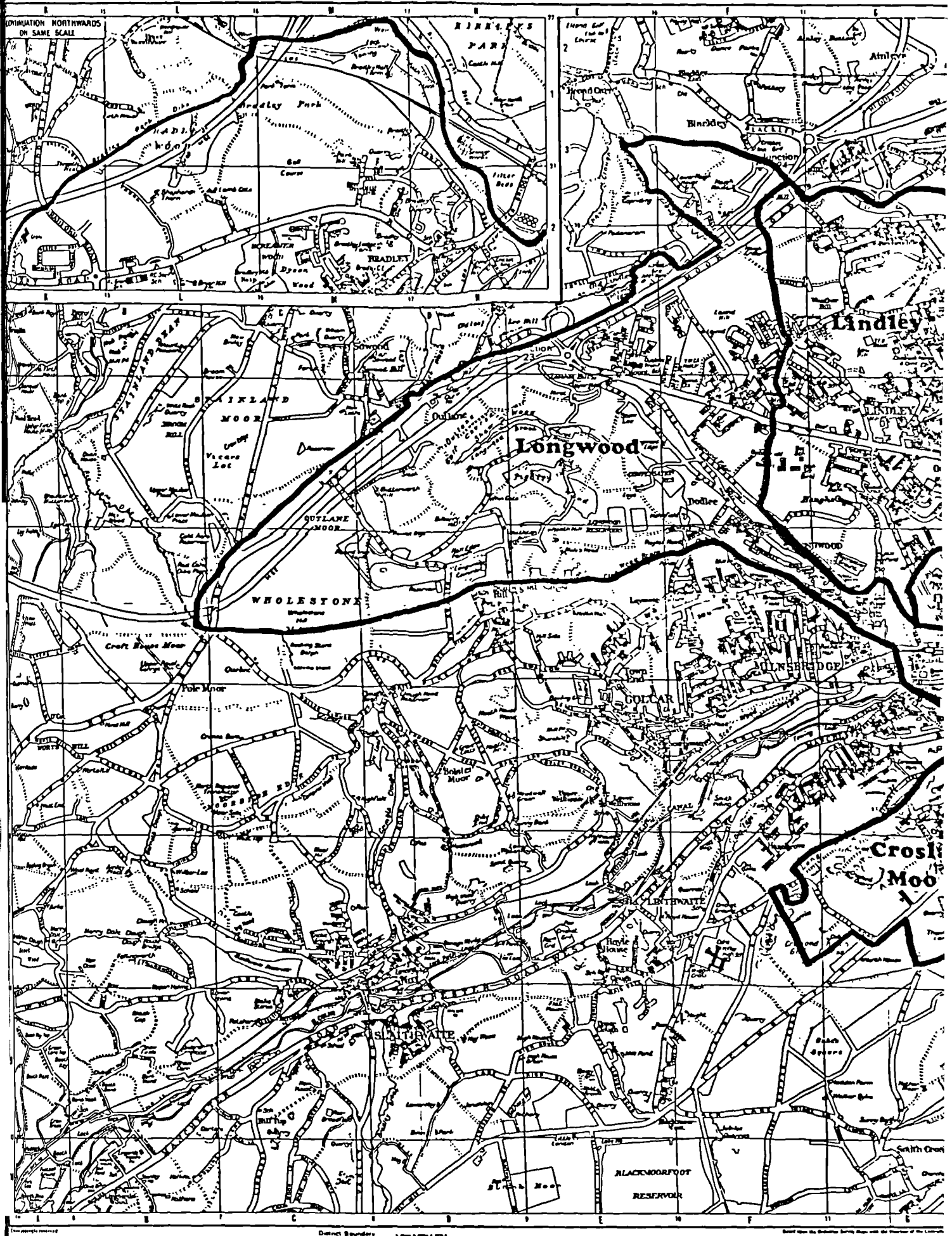
have attracted considerable middle and working-class support, but in a period of militant trade unionism, declining real wages, and the worst labour disputes Huddersfield had seen since 1883, Liberalism both nationally and locally was increasingly stranded somewhere between the employers who pulled the purse strings and controlled the HLA, and working people. After 1910, bolstered by re-organisation and an unparalleled revival of local Conservative club activity, the municipal composition of the Huddersfield Conservative Party reflected a gradual middle-class shift of allegiance away from Liberalism which had its ultimate consequence in November 1913 when the Conservatives won overall control of Huddersfield Borough Council for the first time since 1868.

On the eve of the First World War, therefore, not only did Huddersfield Liberalism face a revived Conservatism, but also a *Labour movement* which had regained much of the support it had lost during its bleakest period of division and dissension between 1908 and 1910, and which was now strengthened by increased trade union membership. Although the Labour Party was still a divided party in 1914, it was financially more secure, more mature in its outlook and policies, and could rely on an undiminishing corpus of supporters. In the absence of any form of New Liberalism or Progressivism in Huddersfield, Labour was better prepared, war or no war, to respond to the advent of a fully democratic franchise than a Liberalism which was by and large still espousing the same causes it had been three decades earlier.

MAPS











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APPENDICES

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Appendix 1.1HUDDERSFIELD PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION RESULTS 1832-1880

1832 (Dec.)	Capt. Lewis Fenton	Whig	263	63.4%
	Capt. Joseph Wood	Radical	152	36.6%
1834 (Jan.)	John Blackburn K.C.	Whig	234	48.3%
By-Election ¹	Michael Sadler	Indep.	147	30.4%
	Capt. Joseph Wood	Radical	103	21.3%
1835 (Jan.)	John Blackburn	Whig	241	68.9%
	Maj.-Gen. Johnson	Radical	109	31.1%
1837 (Mar.)	Edward Ellice	Whig	340	54.0%
By-Election ²	Richard Oastler	Tory/Radical	290	46.0%
1837 (Aug.)	W.R.C. Stansfield	Whig	323	51.8%
	Richard Oastler	Tory/Radical	301	48.2%
1841 (July)	W.R.C. Stansfield	Whig	Unopposed	
1847 (July)	W.R.C. Stansfield	Whig	542	52.7%
	John Cheetham	Liberal	487	47.3%
1852 (July)	W.R.C. Stansfield	Whig	625	51.4%
	William Willans	Liberal	590	48.6%
1853 (Apr.)	Viscount Goderich	Liberal	675	53.2%
By-Election ³	Joseph Starkey J.P.	Conservative	593	46.8%
1857 (Mar.)	Edward Ackroyd	Whig/Tory	833	58.7%
	Richard Cobden	Liberal	587	41.3%
1859 (Apr.)	Edward Aldam Leatham	Liberal	779	50.6%
	Edward Ackroyd	Whig	760	49.4%
1865 (July)	Col. Thomas Pearson Crosland	Conservative	1019	56.4%
	E.A. Leatham	Liberal	787	43.6%
1868	E.A. Leatham	Liberal	1111	58.5%
By-Election ⁴	W.C. Sleight	Conservative	789	41.5%
1868 (Nov.)	E.A. Leatham	Liberal	Unopposed	
1874 (Feb.)	E.A. Leatham	Liberal	5668	53.2%
	Thomas Brooke	Conservative	4985	46.8%
1880 (Apr.)	E.A. Leatham	Liberal	7008	61.0%
	W.A. Lindsay	Conservative	4486	39.0%

Notes

- 1 Due to the death of Capt. Fenton.
- 2 Due to the death of John Blackburn.
- 3 W.R.C. Stansfield was unseated by a successful petition for 'treating' and bribery.
- 4 Due to the death of T.P. Crosland.

Source: Craig, F.W.S., British Parliamentary Election Results, 1832-1880, (London, 1974).

Appendix 1.2

HUDDERSFIELD PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION RESULTS 1885-1910

Date	Electorate	Turnout (%)	Candidates		Results	% Poll
1885 (25 Nov.)	14,991	87.7	E.A. Leatham J. Crosland	L(LU) C	6960 6194 766	52.9 47.1 5.8
1886 (3 July)	14,991	81.6	W. Summers J. Crosland	L C	6210 6026 184	50.8 49.2 1.6
1892 (4 July)	15,466	90.1	W. Summers Sir J. Crosland	L C	7098 6837 261	50.9 49.1 1.8
By-Election ¹ 1893 (4 Feb.)	15,550	90.7	Sir J. Crosland J. Woodhead	C L	7068 7033 35	50.1 49.9 0.2
1895 (15 July)	15,832	89.8	Sir J.T. Woodhouse Sir J. Crosland H.R. Smart	L C ILP	6755 5868 1594 887	47.5 41.3 11.2 6.2
1900 (3 Oct.)	16,770	87.8	Sir J.T. Woodhouse E.H. Carlile	L C	7896 6831 1065	53.6 46.4 7.2
1906 (15 Jan.)	17,568	94.0	Sir J.T. Woodhouse T.R. Williams J.F. Fraser	L Lab. C	6302 5813 4391 489	38.2 35.2 26.6 3.0
By-Election ² 1906 (28 Nov.)	17,568	91.2	A.J. Sherwell T.R. Williams J.F. Fraser	L Lab. C	5762 5422 4844 340	36.0 33.8 30.2 2.2
1910 (17 Jan.)	19,021	94.6	A.J. Sherwell H. Snell H. Smith	L Lab. C	7158 5686 5153 1472	39.8 31.6 28.6 8.2
1910 (5 Dec.)	19,021	90.5	A.J. Sherwell J.H. Kaye H. Snell	L C Lab.	6458 5777 4988 681	37.5 33.5 29.0 4.0

Notes

1 Due to death of Summers.

2 Woodhouse appointed Railway Commissioner.

Source: Craig, F.W.S., British Parliamentary Election Results, 1885-1918 (London, 1974).

Appendix 1.3

HUDDERSFIELD PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION RESULTS 1918-1945

Election	Electors	Turnout (%)	Candidate	Party	Voters	%
1918	56,200	69.8	Sir C. Sykes	Co L	15,234	38.8
			H. Snell	Lab.	12,737	32.5
			E. Woodhead	L	11,256	28.7
					2,497	6.3
1922	56,243	83.1	Sir A.H. Marshall	L	15,879	34.0
			J.H. Hudson	Lab.	15,673	33.5
			Sir C. Sykes, Bt.	NL	15,212	32.5
					206	0.5
1923	58,029	81.9	J.H. Hudson	Lab.	17,430	36.7
			Sir A.H. Marshall	L	17,404	36.6
			C. Tinker	C	12,694	26.7
					26	0.1
1924	59,176	88.5	J.H. Hudson	Lab.	19,010	36.3
			E. Hill	C	16,745	32.0
			Sir A.H. Marshall	L	16,626	31.7
					2,265	4.3
1929	78,635	86.1	J.H. Hudson	Lab.	25,966	38.3
			W. Mabane	L	21,398	31.6
			Sir E. Hill	C	20,361	30.1
					4,568	6.7
1931	80,492	83.3	W. Mabane	NL	47,056	70.1
			J.H. Hudson	Lab.	20,034	29.9
					27,022	40.2
1935	83,103	73.2	W. Mabane	NL	37,009	60.8
			W. Pickles	Lab.	23,844	39.2
					13,165	21.6
1945	88,064	78.4	J.P.W. Mallalieu	Lab.	33,362	48.3
			Rt. Hon. W. Mabane	NL	24,496	35.5
			R.P. Harrod	L	11,199	16.2
					8,866	12.8

Source: Craig, F.W.S., British Parliamentary Election Results, 1918-49, (London, 1977).

Appendix 2.1

HUDDERSFIELD BOROUGH COUNCIL: COMPOSITION 1885-1913
(as at 2 November each year)

Year	Liberal	Conservative	Liberal Unionist	Labour	Independent	No. of Contests
1885*	44	11	0	-	-	7
1886	39	14	3	-	-	6
1887	38	15	3	-	-	4
1888	37	17	2	-	-	8
1889	37	16	3	-	-	4
1890 ¹	37	16	3	-	-	8
1891	38	19	3	-	-	6
1892	39	18	2	1	-	4
1893	36	18	3	1	-	5
1894	38	18	3	1	-	8
1895	38	17	4	1	-	4
1896	37	17	5	1	-	5
1897	38	16	5	1	-	5
1898	39	15	5	1	-	3
1899	38	16	5	1	-	2
1900	37	19	3	1	-	2
1901	33	24	2	1	-	8
1902	33	24	2	1	-	6
1903	30	27	2	1	-	10
1904	32	22	2	4	-	7
1905	32	19	2	6	1 ²	7
1906	32	17	2	8	1	8
1907	37	15	1	6	1	14
1908 ³	37	16	1	5	1	6
1909*	40	14	1	3	1	9
1910	42	14	1	2	1	13
1911	34	20	1	4	1	14
1912*	27	25	1	5	1	12
1913	23	30	1	5	1	

Notes

- 1 Longwood added increasing total number of seats to sixty.
- 2 Ben Bottomley, elected at Lindley in April 1905.
- 3 Number of wards increased to fifteen but number of seats remained sixty.
- * One seat vacant

Sources: Huddersfield Examiner and Huddersfield Chronicle

Appendix 2.2

HUDDERSFIELD BOROUGH COUNCIL: ANNUAL MUNICIPAL ELECTION DETAILS, 1885-1914

Year	No. of Contests	Unopposed Returns	3-Cornered Contests	Total No. of Candidates					Total No. of Votes Polled					
				Lib. Con. Lib. Un. Lib. Ind.					Lib. Con. Lib. Un. Lib. Ind.					
				Lib.	Con.	Lib.	Un.	Ind.	Lib.	Con.	Lib.	Un.	Lib.	Ind.
1885	7	5	-	7	9	-	-	-	3190	4070	-	-	-	-
1886	6	6	-	8	8	-	-	-	4089	4215	-	-	-	-
1887	4	8	-	5	5	-	-	-	2767	3262	-	-	-	-
1888	8	4	-	8	7	4	-	-	3775	2531	1297	-	-	-
1889	4	8	-	5	5	-	-	-	2571	3117	-	-	-	-
1890	8	5	-	9	8	2	1	-	2994	2982	1073	323	-	-
1891	6	7	1	7	8	-	1	-	4041	4248	-	130	-	-
1892	4	9	2	4	6	-	3	1	1704	3193	-	875	16	-
1893	5	8	0	5	6	-	1	-	2071	3336	-	125	-	-
1894	8	5	1	7	8	-	2	3	3075	3687	-	498	458	-
1895	4	9	0	4	2	-	1	2	2214	934	-	299	551	-
1896	5	8	0	6	5	1	-	-	3137	2572	562	-	-	-
1897	5	8	1	4	4	2	1	1	2620	2393	957	227	165	-
1898	3	10	0	4	5	-	-	-	2068	3005	-	-	-	-
1899	2	11	0	3	2	-	1	-	1423	1129	-	278	-	-
1900	2	11	0	3	2	1	-	-	1682	1400	598	-	-	-
1901	8	5	1	8	9	-	1	-	3820	5079	328	-	-	-
1902	6	7	2	8	7	-	3	-	4761	4264	1190	-	-	-
1903	6	7	2	7	8	-	3	-	3192	4513	1612	-	-	-
1904	10	3	2	10	9	-	4	1	6002	4754	2237	310	-	-
1905	7	6	1	6	5	-	3	3	3660	2932	1297	1049	-	-
1906	7	6	2	5	4	-	7	-	3784	1516	3538	-	-	-
1907	8	5	5	9	6	-	8	-	6076	3150	4537	-	-	-
1908	14	1	4	13	8	-	10	1	6908	4156	4013	862	-	-
1909	6	9	1	6	2	-	5	-	3367	1174	1855	-	-	-
1910	9	6	1	7	5	-	7	-	3612	2473	2840	-	-	-
1911	13	2	2	12	9	-	6	1	5892	5406	2820	700	-	-
1912	14	1	6	13	13	-	7	1	6500	7378	2611	283	-	-
1913	12	3	3	9	10	-	7	1	5873	5774	2732	274	-	-
1914	2	13	0	2	0	-	2	-	1099	-	394	-	-	-

Appendix 2.3

HUDDERSFIELD BOROUGH COUNCIL: PARTY COMPOSITION OF WARDS: COUNCILLORS ELECTED 1885-1913

	1885	'86	'87	'88	'89	'90	'91	'92	'93	'94	'95	'96	'97	'98	1900	'01	'02	'03	'04	'05	'06	'07		'08	'09	'10	'11	'12	'13
Almondbury	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	Almondbury	L	L	L	L	L	L
	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L		L	L	L	L	L	L
Central	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	Newsome	L	L	L	L	L	L
	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L		L	L	L	L	L	L
Dalton	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	Paddock	L	L	L	L	L	L
	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C		L	L	L	L	L	L
East	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	Dalton	C	L	L	L	L	L
	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L		L	L	L	L	L	L
Fartown	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	Birkby	L	L	L	L	L	L
	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L		L	L	L	L	L	L
Lindley	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	Fartown	L	L	L	L	L	L
	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L		L	L	L	L	L	L
Lockwood	L	C	C	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	Lindley	I	I	L	L	L	L
	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L		L	L	L	L	L	L
	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	Lockwood	L	L	L	L	L	L
	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L		L	L	L	L	L	L
	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	Crosland Moor	C	C	C	C	C	C
	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L		C	C	C	C	C	C
Longwood	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	Longwood	L	L	L	L	L	L
	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L		L	L	L	L	L	L
Marsh	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	Marsh	L	L	L	L	L	L
	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L		L	L	L	L	L	L
Moldgreen	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	Moldgreen	L	L	L	L	L	L
	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L		L	L	L	L	L	L
North (2)	LC	LC	LC	LC	LC	CC	CC	CC	CC	CC	CC	CC	CC	CC	CC	CC	CC	CC	CC	CC	CC	CC	North Central	C	C	C	C	C	C
	LC	LC	LC	LC	LC	CC	CC	CC	CC	CC	CC	CC	CC	CC	CC	CC	CC	CC	CC	CC	CC	CC		C	C	C	C	C	C
South	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	South Central	C	C	C	C	C	C
	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L	L		C	C	C	C	C	C
West (2)	CC	CC	CC	CC	CC	CC	CC	CC	CC	CC	CC	CC	CC	CC	CC	CC	CC	CC	CC	CC	CC	CC	West Central	L	L	L	L	L	L
	CL	CL	CL	CL	CL	CL	CL	CL	CL	CL	CL	CL	CL	CL	CL	CL	CL	CL	CL	CL	CL	CL		L	L	L	L	L	L

Note: Dates correspond to the municipal year beginning 1 November.

Appendix 2.4HUDDERSFIELD BOROUGH COUNCIL: PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL VOTES POLLED WONBY EACH PARTY IN THE ANNUAL ELECTIONS, 1885-1913¹

Year	Total Votes Polled	Liberal	Con./Lib. Un.	Labour
1885	7260	43.9	56.1	-
1886	8304	49.2	50.8	-
1887	6029	45.9	54.1	-
1888	7603	49.7	50.3	-
1889	5688	45.2	54.8	-
1890	7372	40.6	55.0	4.4
1891	8419	48.0	50.5	1.5
1892	5788	29.4	55.2	15.1
1893	5532	37.4	60.3	2.3
1894	7718	39.8	47.8	6.5
1895	3998	55.3	23.4	7.5
1896	6271	50.0	50.0	-
1897	6362	41.2	52.7	3.6
1898	5073	40.8	59.2	-
1899	2830	50.3	39.9	9.8
1900	3680	45.7	54.3	-
1901	9227	41.4	55.0	3.6
1902	10215	46.6	41.7	11.6
1903	9317	34.3	48.4	17.3
1904	13303	45.1	35.7	16.8
1905	8938	40.9	32.8	14.5
1906	8838	42.8	17.2	40.0
1907	13763	44.1	22.9	32.9
1908	15939	43.3	26.1	25.2
1909	6396	52.6	18.4	29.0
1910	8925	40.5	27.7	31.8
1911	14818	39.8	36.5	19.0
1912	16772	38.8	44.0	15.6
1913	14653	40.1	39.4	18.6

Notes: 1 Excludes independent candidates.

Source: Huddersfield Examiner

Appendix 2.5RESULTS OF THREE-CORNERED CONTESTS IN ANNUAL MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS FORHUDDERSFIELD BOROUGH COUNCIL, 1885-1913

Year	Ward	1. % Vote	2. % Vote	3. % Vote
1891	Fartown	LIB. 52.2	CON. 36.4	LAB. 11.4
1892	Lockwood	LIB. 42.2	CON. 38.9	LAB. 18.9
1894	Longwood	LIB. 56.7	CON. 22.4	LAB. 20.9
1897	Fartown	LIB. 45.9	CON. 42.0	LAB. 12.1
1901	North	CON. 42.9	LIB. 35.1	LAB. 22.0
1902	Fartown	CON. 43.1	LIB. 35.2	LAB. 21.7
1903	Moldgreen	CON. 41.9	LIB. 29.4	LAB. 28.7
1904	North	CON. 37.8	LAB. 37.7	LIB. 24.5
1906	Marsh	LIB. 43.8	CON. 31.2	LAB. 25.0
1906	Moldgreen	LIB. 33.9	LAB. 33.8	CON. 32.3
1907	North	CON. 40.1	LAB. 35.0	LIB. 24.9
1907	Marsh	LIB. 41.5	CON. 34.9	LAB. 23.6
1907	Moldgreen	CON. 37.8	LAB. 32.0	LIB. 30.2
1907	Lindley	LAB. 42.5	LIB. 40.0	CON. 17.5
1908	North Central	CON. 42.9	LAB. 29.5	LIB. 27.6
1908	Moldgreen	LIB. 37.6	CON. 36.1	LAB. 26.3
1908	Almondbury	CON. 41.0	LIB. 36.3	LAB. 22.7
1908	Lockwood	LIB. 39.1	LAB. 34.4	CON. 26.5
1909	North Central	CON. 42.3	LAB. 31.8	LIB. 25.9
1910	Moldgreen	CON. 41.8	LAB. 29.5	LIB. 28.7
1911	Moldgreen	CON. 35.7	LIB. 33.7	LAB. 30.6
1911	Lockwood	CON. 43.3	LIB. 33.6	LAB. 23.1
1912	Moldgreen	CON. 39.2	LIB. 31.0	LAB. 29.8
1912	Crosland Moor	LIB. 39.3	CON. 38.7	LAB. 22.0
1912	North Central	CON. 71.8	LIB. 17.9	LAB. 10.3
1912	Lindley	LIB. 41.1	LAB. 37.3	CON. 21.6
1912	Longwood	LIB. 40.5	CON. 32.4	LAB. 27.1
1912	Newsome	LAB. 41.6	CON. 30.1	LIB. 28.3
1913	Lockwood	LIB. 44.1	CON. 36.9	LAB. 19.0
1913	Paddock	CON. 39.9	LAB. 30.2	LIB. 29.9
1913	Longwood	LIB. 45.2	LAB. 27.9	CON. 26.9

Analysis of Appendix 2.5Average Percentage of Vote Per Party in Three-Cornered Contests:

Conservative/Liberal Unionist	36.95
Liberal	35.95
Labour	27.10

Position of Parties in Results of Three-Cornered Contests:

	First	Second	Third
Liberal	14 (45.2%)	9 (29.0%)	8 (25.8%)
Conservative/Liberal Un.	15 (48.4%)	11 (35.5%)	5 (16.1%)
Labour	2 (6.5%)	11 (35.5%)	18 (58.0%)

Source: Huddersfield Examiner

Appendix 2.6RESULTS OF STRAIGHT LIBERAL-LABOUR CONTESTS IN ANNUAL MUNICIPALELECTIONS FOR HUDDERSFIELD BOROUGH COUNCIL, 1885-1914

Year	Ward	Vote		Majority	Result
		Liberal	Labour		
1893	Longwood	327	125	202	Liberal
1894	Almondbury	547	358	189	Liberal
1895	Almondbury	504	299	205	Liberal
1899	Longwood	403	278	125	Liberal
1902	Almondbury	705	492	213	Liberal
1904	Longwood	436	423	13	Liberal
1905	Longwood	526	411	115	Liberal
1906	Lockwood	1210	995	215	Liberal
1906	Lindley	827	669	158	Liberal
1906	Longwood	536	480	56	Liberal
1907	Longwood	563	484	79	Liberal
1907	Almondbury	952	763	189	Liberal
1907	Lockwood	1178	836	342	Liberal
1908	Longwood	705	378	327	Liberal
1908	Dalton	470	385	85	Liberal
1908	Paddock	598	445	153	Liberal
1908	Newsome	688	536	152	Liberal
1908	Crosland Moor	668	398	270	Liberal
1909	Longwood	661	269	392	Liberal
1909	Paddock	647	398	249	Liberal
1909	Newsome	700	428	272	Liberal
1909	Dalton	450	438	12	Liberal
1910	Almondbury	493	357	136	Liberal
1910	Newsome	544	522	22	Liberal
1910	Longwood	438	384	54	Liberal
1910	Lindley	765	547	218	Liberal
1911	Dalton	432	441	9	Labour
1911	Paddock	527	441	86	Liberal
1911	Newsome	554	577	23	Labour
1912	Dalton	519	336	183	Liberal
1913	Newsome	753	506	247	Liberal
1913	Lindley	766	529	237	Liberal
1914	Paddock	566	218	348	Liberal
1914	Longwood	533	176	357	Liberal

Source: Huddersfield Examiner

Appendix 2.7

RESULTS OF STRAIGHT CONSERVATIVE-LABOUR CONTESTS IN ANNUAL MUNICIPAL
ELECTIONS FOR HUDDERSFIELD BOROUGH COUNCIL, 1885-1914

Year	Ward	Vote			Result
		Conservative	Labour	Majority	
1903	Fartown	1014	722	292	Conservative
1904	Lindley	633	679	46	Labour
1906	South	185	115	70	Conservative
1906	Dalton	333	342	9	Labour
1910	North Central	566	159	407	Conservative
1910	Dalton	290	423	133	Labour
1913	North Central	564	223	341	Conservative
1913	Dalton	409	484	75	Labour

Source: Huddersfield Examiner

HUDDERSFIELD BOROUGH COUNCIL: MUNICIPAL BY-ELECTIONS, 1890-1914

Date	Ward	Results	Consequence
24 Nov. 1890	Lindley	Lib. 462 - Con. 145	Lib. Hold
Dec. 1891	East	Lib. 285 - Con. 284	Lib. Gain/Con.
30 Aug. 1892	Central	Lib. Unopp.	Lib. Hold
26 Oct. 1892	Dalton	Lib. Unopp.	Lib. Hold
21 Nov. 1892	East	Con. 367 - Lib. 223	Con. Hold
28 June 1893	North	Con. Unopp.	Con. Gain/Lib.
22 Nov. 1893	West	Con. 722 - Lib. 576	Con. Hold
4 Jan. 1894	Fartown	Lib. 639 - Con. 591	Lib. Hold
6 Feb. 1894	Central	Lib. Unopp.	Lib. Hold
9 Mar. 1894	Marsh	Lib. Unopp.	Lib. Hold
21 Apr. 1894	Dalton	Lib. Unopp.	Lib. Gain/LU.
12 Jan. 1895	Marsh	LU. 498 - Lib. 464	Con./LU. Hold
23 Oct. 1895	North	LU. Unopp.	LU. Gain/Lib.
25 Nov. 1895	Longwood	Lib. Unopp.	Lib. Hold
25 Nov. 1895	Moldgreen	Lib. Unopp.	Lib. Hold
27 Nov. 1895	Almondbury	Lib. 524 - Con. 227	Lib. Hold
22 Aug. 1896	North	Con. 498 - Lib. 414	Con. Hold
4 Feb. 1897	South	Con. 204 - Lib. 190	Con. Hold
2 Mar. 1897	Central	Lib. Unopp.	Lib. Hold
13 Apr. 1897	North	Lib. 602 - Con. 533	Lib. Hold
4 May 1897	Central	Lib. Unopp.	Lib. Hold
10 May 1897	Dalton	Lib. 383 - Con. 89	Lib. Hold
22 Aug. 1898	Central	Lib. 206 - Con. 124	Lib. Hold
7 June 1899	West	Lib. 652 - Con. 586	Lib. Gain/Con.
29 June 1900	West	Con. 749 - Lib. 493	Con. Hold
20 Sep. 1900	West	Con. Unopp.	Con. Hold
29 Jan. 1901	Central	Lib. Unopp.	Lib. Hold
11 Mar. 1901	Dalton	Con. 222 - Lib. 190	Con. Gain/Lib.
2 Apr. 1901	Marsh	Con. 629 - Lib. 451 - Ind. 105	Con. Hold
5 June 1901	Longwood	Lib. 476 - Con. 430	Lib. Hold
6 July 1901	South	Con. Unopp.	Con. Hold
4 Dec. 1901	Moldgreen	Lib. 915 - Con. 684	Lib. Hold
9 Dec. 1901	Lindley	Lib. 763 - Ind. 334	Lib. Hold
24 Feb. 1903	Almondbury	Lib. 655 - Lib. 261	Lib. Hold
29 July 1903	Lockwood	Lib. 893 - Lib. 470	Lib. Hold
5 Mar. 1904	Lindley	Lib. 541 - Lib. 508 - Con. 412	Lib. Gain/Lab.
22 Nov. 1904	Central	Con. 167 - Lib. 148	Con. Gain/Lib.
22 Nov. 1904	North	Lab. 469 - LU. 390	Lab. Gain/Lib.
1 Mar. 1905	East	Lib. Unopp.	Lib. Gain/Con.
4 Apr. 1905	Lindley	Ind. 805 - Lib. 478	Ind. Gain/LU.
26 Feb. 1906	Lindley	Lib. 683 - Lib. 563	Lib. Hold
7 May 1906	South	Lib. 208 - Lib. 107	Lib. Hold
7 May 1906	Almondbury	Lab. 719 - Con. 690	Lab. Gain/Lib.
17 May 1906	Lockwood	Lab. 960 - Lib. 810	Lab. Gain/Lib.
31 Oct. 1906	West	Lib. Unopp.	Lib. Hold
29 Oct. 1907	West	LU. Unopp.	LU./Con. Hold
22 Nov. 1907	Central	Lib. 220 - Lib. 91	Lib. Hold
22 Nov. 1907	Fartown	Lib. 1455 - Lib. 682	Lib. Gain/Con.

Appendix 2.8 (continued)

HUDDERSFIELD BOROUGH COUNCIL: MUNICIPAL BY-ELECTIONS, 1890-1914

Date	Ward	Results	Consequence
9 Dec. 1908	Crosland Moor	Con. 762 - Lab. 371	Con. Gain/Lib.
1 July 1909	Lockwood	Lib. 546 - Lab. 351	Lib. Hold
11 Sep. 1909	Almondbury	Lib. 531 - Con. 394 - Lab. 239	Lib. Gain/Con.
6 Nov. 1909	Crosland Moor	Con. 511 - Lib. 485 - Lab. 335	Con. Gain/Lib.
7 Sep. 1910	South Central	Con. Unopp.	Con. Hold
22 Nov. 1910	West Central	Con. 364 - Lib. 305 - Lab. 269	Con. Gain/Lib.
5 July 1911	Birkby	Lib. 772 - Con. 375	Lib. Hold
24 Oct. 1911	North Central	Con. 473 - Lib. 467	Con. Hold
15 Dec. 1911	Newsome	Lab. 556 - Lib. 432 - Con. 369	Lab. Gain/Lib.
8 Mar. 1912	West Central	Con. 392 - Lib. 270 - Lab. 236	Con. Gain/Lib.
26 Apr. 1912	West Central	Con. 476 - Lib. 413	Con. Gain/Lib.
3 July 1912	Paddock	Con. 464 - Lab. 377 - Lib. 360	Con. Gain/Lib.
21 Nov. 1912	South Central	Con. 486 - Lib. 337 - Lab. 184	Con. Hold
25 Nov. 1913	Newsome	Lib. 545 - Lab. 484 - Con. 388	Lib. Gain/Lab.
25 Nov. 1913	North Central ¹	Lib. 657 - Con. 345 - Lab. 234 ²	Lib. Gain/Con.
25 Nov. 1913	North Central	Con. 554 - Con. 345 - Lab. 234	Con. Hold
25 Nov. 1913	Crosland Moor	Con. 754 - Lib. 742	Con. Hold
25 Nov. 1913	South Central	Con. 526 - Lib. 399	Con. Hold
24 Apr. 1914	South Central	Con. 596 - Lib. 367	Con. Hold

Key: Unopp. = Unopposed election

LIB. GAIN/CON. = Liberal gain from Conservative (and so on)

Notes: 1. There was one by-election in North Central in November 1913 in which electors had two votes to elect two new councillors. Four candidates stood.

2. Richard Fenwick, the Labour candidate, was a nominee of the Huddersfield branch of the British Socialist Party.

Sources: Huddersfield Examiner, Huddersfield Chronicle, The Worker, Huddersfield County Borough Council Yearbook, 1972-3, (Huddersfield, 1972).

Analysis:

Number of contested by-elections	: 49
Number of unopposed by-elections	: 18
Total	: 67
Three-cornered by-election contests	: 10 (Con. won 5, Lib. 4, Lab. 1)
Seats changing hands	: 24
Liberal seats held or gained	: 35
Conservative seats held or gained	: 27
Labour seats held or gained	: 4
Lost	: 14
Lost	: 7
Lost	: 2

Appendix 2.9AVERAGE VOTE PER PARTY CANDIDATE AT ANNUAL MUNICIPAL ELECTIONSFOR HUDDERSFIELD BOROUGH COUNCIL, 1885-1913

Year	Liberal	Conservative	Liberal Unionist	Labour	Independent
1885	455.7	452.2	-	-	-
1886	511.1	526.9	-	-	-
1887	553.4	652.4	-	-	-
1888	471.9	361.6	324.3	-	-
1889	514.2	623.4	-	-	-
1890	332.7	372.7	536.5	323.0	-
1891	577.3	531.0	-	130.0	-
1892	426.0	532.2	-	291.7	16.0
1893	414.2	556.0	-	125.0	-
1894	439.9	460.9	-	249.0	152.7
1895	553.5	467.0	-	299.0	275.5
1896	522.8	514.4	562.0	-	-
1897	655.0	598.3	478.5	227.0	165.0
1898	517.0	601.0	-	-	-
1899	474.3	564.5	-	278.0	-
1900	560.7	700.0	598.0	-	-
1901	477.5	564.3	-	328.0	-
1902	595.1	609.1	-	396.7	-
1903	456.0	564.1	-	537.3	-
1904	600.2	528.2	-	559.3	310.0
1905	610.0	586.4	-	432.3	349.7
1906	756.8	379.0	-	505.4	-
1907	675.1	525.0	-	567.1	-
1908	531.4	519.5	-	401.3	862.0
1909	561.2	587.0	-	371.0	-
1910	516.0	494.6	-	405.7	-
1911	491.0	600.7	-	470.0	700.0
1912	500.0	567.5	-	373.0	283.0
1913	652.6	577.4	-	390.3	274.0

Source: Huddersfield Examiner

Appendix 2.10

HUDDERSFIELD BOROUGH COUNCIL - TURNOUT OF VOTERS IN ANNUAL MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS, 1906-13

Year	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	Average 1906-13
Average Turnout in all Contests	71.8	77.9	78.5	73.4	65.2	74.0	78.3	77.2	74.5
Average Turnout in Lib./Con. Contests	-	-	75.1	74.7	69.1	72.9	77.6	79.9	75.4
Average Turnout in Lib./Lab. Contests	71.4	74.3	76.2	72.2	65.8	68.3	71.4	78.5	72.1
Average Turnout in Lab./Con. Contests	67.0	-	-	-	53.4	-	-	68.5	62.9
Average Turnout in 3-Cornered Contests	77.1	80.0	83.3	76.6	78.8	82.0	81.7	83.0	81.1

Source: Huddersfield Examiner

HUDDERSFIELD BOROUGH COUNCIL: INDEX OF MEMBERS 1885-1914

<u>Name</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Councillor</u>	<u>Alderman</u>
Addy, John	CON.	Yarn Spinner	North (1888-91), West (1893-99)	
Alinley, Alfred	LU.	Brewer	Longwood (1890-1, 1897-1906)	
Alinley, Smith	LIB.	Baker	Lockwood (1908-11)	
Armitage, J.T.	LIB.	Colliery Agent	Newsome (1910-13)	
Armytage, E.C.	LIB.	Gentleman	Moldgreen (1895-1901)	
Aston, J.H.	CON.	Oil Merchant	Fartown (1890-1902, 1903-7)	1907-16
Balmforth, Owen	LIB.	Book-keeper	North (1897-1904)	1904-09
Barlow, Joseph	LIB.	Woollen Merchant	Lindley (1910-17)	
Barnes, Thomas	LIB.	Painter/Decorator	Lindley (1906-19)	
Barras, F.A.	CON.	Gentleman	West (1894-1903)	
Barras, W.J.	CON.	Yarn Spinner	North (1900-3), Central (1904-10)	
Bates, C.H.	CON.	Cloth Finisher	West (1900-1)	
Batley, J.H.	LIB.	Woollen Manufacturer	Almondbury (1883-90)	
Beaumont, E.A.	CON.	Accountant	North/North Central (1883-1913)	1913-22
Beaumont, George	LIB.	Traveller	Lockwood (1905-8), Crosland Moor (1908-9)	
Beavers, A.	CON.	Painter/Decorator	North (1899-1908)	
Berry, Joseph	CON.	Architect	East (1899-1908), South Central (1908-12)	1912-33
Blamires, Henry	CON.	Woollen Manufacturer	North (1890-3)	
Blamires, Joseph	CON.	Woollen Manufacturer	North Central (1908-13)	
Bland, Thomas	LIB.	Rope Manufacturer	Lockwood (1887-96)	1913-18
Boothroyd, George	LAB.	Textile Worker	Lockwood (1906), Newsome (1911-19)	
Bottomley, Ben	IND.	Builder	Lindley (1905-29)	
Brearley, John	LIB.	Shoe Manufacturer	Longwood (1891-7)	
Brearley, Sam	LIB.	Shoe Manufacturer	Longwood (1909-19)	
Brierley, J.	CON.	Gentleman	West (1884-91)	
Brierley, J.I.	LIB.	Yarn Spinner	Fartown (1889-93)	
Brigg, J.F.	LIB.	Shipping Merchant	West (1868-72)	1872-99
Briggs, James	CON.	Publican	North (1893-6)	
Broadbent, Ben	LU.	Dyer and Finisher	Lindley (1886-1905)	1905-13
Brook, George	LIB.	Bookseller	West (1876-84)	1884-95
Brook, Jonathan	LIB.	Dyer	Lindley (1904)	
Brook, John Joshua	LIB.	Lead Manufacturer	South (1884-90)	1890-96
Brook, Tom	CON.	Engineer	South (1890-3, 1903-6)	
Brooke, Edward	LIB.	Pipe Manufacturer	Central (1897-8)	
Brooke, Joseph	LIB.	Cloth Merchant	Lindley (1876-86)	
Brooke, John A.	CON.	Woollen Manufacturer	-	1886-1900
Broughton, J.	LIB.	Woolstapler	Lockwood (1874-86)	1901-07
Brown, E.H.	CON.	Printer	West Central (1912-20)	
Burley, H.	LIB.	Hotel Keeper	North (1876-9, 1880-9)	
Calverley, B.	CON.	Gentleman	Marsh (1908-18)	
Calvert, Fred	LIB.	Builder	Moldgreen (1882-95)	
Canby, T.	CON.	Dyer and Finisher	Fartown (1911-22)	1895-1904

Appendix 2.11 (continued)

HUDDERSFIELD BOROUGH COUNCIL: INDEX OF MEMBERS 1885-1914

<u>Name</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Councillor</u>	<u>Alderman</u>
Cartwright, Thomas	CON.	Painter/Decorator	Lockwood (1896-1905), Crosland Moor (1908-13)	1913-14
Chatterton, Andrew	LIB.	Provisions Merchant	Central (1901-07)	1907-12
Chrispin, Thomas	LIB.	Ironmonger	East (1878-80 and 1892)	
Clark, Joseph	LIB.	Publican	Central (1881-97)	
Cockin, T.A.	LIB.	Packing Manufacturer	Fartown (1897-1903)	
Cook, W.H.	CON.	Printer/Stationer	West (1902-07)	
Coward, E.G.	CON.	Doctor	Almondbury (1901-04)	
Cowgill, John	LIB.	Gentleman	North (1882-8)	
Crosland, Fred	LIB.	Manufacturer	North (1891-7)	
Crosland, James	LIB.	Woollen Manufacturer	-	1868-74, 79-97
Crosland, Joel	LIB.	Woollen Manufacturer	Lindley (1897-1901)	
Crosland, Joseph	LIB.	Tinplate Worker	Lindley (1890-7, 1906-9)	
Cudworth, J.	LIB.	Stationer	Birkby (1908-11)	
Culley, John	LIB.	Woollen Merchant	North (1887-90)	
Dawson, Harry	LIB.	Woollen Merchant	Newsome (1913-17)	
Dawson, John	LIB.	Gentleman	East (1905-9)	
Day, Albert	CON.	Gentleman	South Central (1914-19)	
Day, William	CON.	Woollen Manufacturer	Dalton (1884-1900)	
Demetriadi, L.	CON.	Doctor	Marsh (1912-18)	
Denham, J.W.	LIB.	Woollen Manufacturer	Marsh (1887-94)	1894-99
Dobson, Ben	CON.	Dyer	Marsh (1901-04)	
Drake, J.	LIB.	Tailor	Dalton (1888-90)	1888-91
Duggan, H.G.	LIB.	Gentleman	Fartown (1874-7, 1883-8)	
Dyson, J.F.	CON.	Accountant	East (1900-5)	
Dyson, William	CON.	Timber Merchant	South (1888-1901)	
Eastwood, William	LIB.	Woollen Merchant	Longwood (1904-13)	
Eccles, John	LIB.	Cotton Spinner	South (1869-77)	1877-85
Ellis, Lewis	CON.	Dyer	Marsh (1905-8)	
Ewart, John	CON.	Butcher	Dalton (1903-6)	
Finlayson, J.T.	CON.	Accountant	Dalton (1901)	
Firth, James	LIB.	Provisions Merchant	East (1890-9)	1893-1906
Frost, Joe	LIB.	Chemist	Moldgreen (1898-1901)	
Garner, Richard	CON.	Mason/Sculptor	West (1897-1903)	
Garton, George	CON.	Builder	West (1887-93)	
Gee, Allen	LIB.	Bookkeeper/Journalist	Lindley (1892-1904)	1904-13
Gibson, J.S.	LIB.	Tripe Dresser	North Central (1913-20)	
Gledhill, H.C.	CON.	Hairdresser	Fartown (1902-5)	
Glendinning, Charles	LIB.	Woollen Merchant	Fartown (1873-83)	1883-98
Goodwin, J.	CON.	Gentleman	West (1884-93)	
Graham, A.	CON.	Builder	West (1891-3)	
Graham, Elliott	CON.	Grocer	West (1891-4)	1887-1901
Haigh, Armitage	LIB.	Ironfounder	South (1876-87)	

Appendix 2.11 (continued)

HUDDERSFIELD BOROUGH COUNCIL: INDEX OF MEMBERS 1885-1914

<u>Name</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Councillor</u>	<u>Alderman</u>
Haigh, C.T.E.	CON.	Cotton Spinner	Dalton (1901-10)	
Hallas, Charles	CON.	Woollen Merchant	Almondbury (1908-9)	
Hallas, Elliott	LIB.	Leather Goods Manufacturer	West/West Central (1899-1910)	1910-12
Halstead, Arthur	CON.	Gentleman	Moldgreen (1909-29)	
Hanson, Ben	LIB.	Woollen Manufacturer	Marsh (1870-87)	1887-94
Hanson, George	LIB.	Grocer	Marsh (1874-86)	
Haywood, J.	LIB.	Manufacturer	Marsh (1909-12)	
Hellawell, A	CON.	Yarn Spinner	West (1882-6)	
Hellawell, G.W.	LIB.	Smallware Merchant	Central (1882-94)	
Heppenstall, Enoch	CON.	Dyer	North (1876-86), North Central (1909-11)	1894-1910
Heaketh, George	CON.	Hotelier	West (1889-92, 1893-9), West/Birkby (1903-12)	1886-93
Heaketh, Thomas	CON.	Hotelier	West Central (1910-14)	
Hinchcliffe, A.E.T.	LIB.	Solicitor	Central (1907-8)	
Hirst, Ben	LIB.	Grocer	Longwood (1890-2)	
Hirst, John	LIB.	Gentleman	Almondbury (1882-4, 1891-7)	
Hirst, Joseph	LIB.	Woollen Merchant	Moldgreen (1875-83)	1883-87
Hirst, Reuben	LIB.	Cotton Spinner	Lockwood (1868-74)	1874-1903
Hirst, William	LIB.	Cotton Spinner	North (1875-84, 1898-1901)	
Holdroyd, George	CON.	Gentleman	Marsh (1901-6)	
Holland, H.	CON.	Builder/Joiner	Marsh (1886-9, 1891-4, 1894)	
Holroyd, John	LIB.	Dyer	South (1893-1906)	1906-11
Hopkinson, John	LIB.	Engineer/Founder	North (1871-7, 1878-80, 1884-7, 1893-5)	
Hopkinson, Law	LIB.	Woollen Manufacturer	Dalton (1868-83)	1883-92
Horsfall, H.	LIB.	Dyer	South (1880-6)	
Inman, R.H.	CON.	Mineral Water Manufacturer	South (1884, 1886-97)	1897-1921
Jackson, William	LIB.	Tea Merchant	Fartown (1875-87)	
Jagger, J.E.	CON.	Grocer	West Central (1912-38)	
Jepson, William	LIB.	Boot Manufacturer	Lockwood (1888-1903)	1903-20
Jessop, W.H.	CON.	Builder/Quarry Owner	East (1882-92)	1892-1921
Johnson, F.H.	LIB.	Builder	Dalton (1894-7)	
Jordan, James	LIB.	Textile Manufacturer	West (1868-72), Moldgreen (1889-98)	1872-86, 1898-9
Jubb, Alfred	CON.	Printer	West (1893-4)	
Kaye, J.E.	CON.	Builder	Crosland Moor (1909-11)	
Kendall, Sam	LIB.	Painter/Decorator	Almondbury (1884-95)	1895-1907
Kilburn, H.	CON.	Fish Salesman	North Central (1913-24)	
Lawley, Henry	LIB.	Railway Goods Agent	Longwood (1901-8)	
Lawton, Fred	LIB.	Yarn Spinner	Moldgreen (1906-9), Almondbury (1909-40)	
Lawton, John	LIB.	Yarn Spinner	Marsh (1906-9), Paddock (1909-15)	
Learoyd, E.G.	CON.	Solicitor	South (1901-3)	
Lee, John	LIB.	Textile Manufacturer	Almondbury (1890-5)	
Lister, Henry	LIB.	Woollen Manufacturer	Fartown (1868-73, 1887-90)	
Littlewood, T.	LIB.	Coal Merchant	Almondbury (1883-91)	

Appendix 2.11 (continued)

HUDDERSFIELD BOROUGH COUNCIL: INDEX OF MEMBERS 1885-1914

<u>Name</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Councillor</u>	<u>Alderman</u>
Lockwood, Thomas	LIB.	Gentleman	Almondbury (1896-1902)	
Longbottom, Furness	LIB.	Builder/Plasterer	Lockwood (1892-1904)	
MacGregor, Peter	CON.	Doctor	Lockwood (1886-90, 1890-2)	
Mallinson, J.W.	LIB.	Builder	Lockwood (1906-12)	
Marsden, Allen	LIB.	Waste Merchant	Lockwood (1909-13)	
Marshall, Joe	CON.	Gentleman	West (1892-1900)	
Marshall, William	CON.	Gentleman	West (1900)	
Marsland, Fred	CON.	Brewer	East (1894-1900), South Crosland (1910-14)	1914-23
Matthewman, J.B.	CON.	Dyer	Lockwood (1886-7)	
Mellor, E.	CON.	Cotton Merchant	Central (1882-5), West (1886-1904)	
Mellor, George	LU.	Cotton Spinner	Dalton (1890-4)	
Mellor, Thomas	LIB.	Draper	Fartown (1894-8)	
Mellor, Wright	LIB.	Woollen Manufacturer	-	1866-92
Midgley, David	LIB.	Joiner	Almondbury (1909-14)	
Mitchell, Rowland	LIB.	Worsted Manufacturer	Dalton (1909-15)	
Moon, Charles	CON.	Woollen Spinner	North (1893-8)	
Moore, T.H.	LIB.	Woollen Merchant	Central (1897-1904)	
Moorhouse, John	LIB.	Gentleman	Moldgreen (1885-1903)	
Moulton, A.S.	CON.	Lithographer	Almondbury (1913-26)	
Moxon, G.	CON.	Painter/Decorator	West (1886-9, 1894-7)	
Murgatroyd, W.H.	LIB.	Insurance Officer	Fartown (1891-4)	
Neaverson, Walter	LIB.	Dyer and Finisher	West (1906-12)	
Newton, Robert	LIB.	China and Glass Merchant	Fartown (1908-11)	
Noble, James	LIB.	Gentleman	Lockwood (1884-6)	
Oldfield, Josh	LIB.	Gentleman	South (1906-8), Dalton (1908-11)	
Orr, D.W.	LU.	Gentleman	Almondbury (1895-6)	
Oxley, Oliver	LIB.	Doctor	Lindley (1889-92)	
Padgett, S.	LIB.	Finisher	Longwood (1892-1904)	
Peckett, Redley	CON.	Cloth Worker	Almondbury (1907-13)	
Pickles, William	LAB.	Woollen Manufacturer	Marsh (1913-26)	
Pilling, J.W.	LIB.	Painter	Lindley (1904-10)	
Platts, J.H.	CON.	Farmer	Longwood (1913-20)	
Pogson, Isaac	CON.	Teacher	North Central (1911-33)	
Poole, Ephraim	CON.	Publican	Moldgreen (1901-4)	
Priest, Allen	LIB.	Gentleman	Dalton (1890-3)	
Priest, W.T.	LIB.	Yarn Spinner	Lockwood (1903-6)	
Pullon, H.	LIB.	Yarn Spinner	Lockwood (1913-39)	
Quarby, John	CON.	Doctor	Marsh (1889-1901), West (1904-6)	1906-20
Quarby, S.L.	CON.	Paper Merchant	South/South Central (1899-1902, 1906-9)	
Radcliffe, William	CON.	Furniture Merchant	Lockwood (1911-21)	
Rayner, Joe	CON.	Gentleman	North (1874-8, 1884-93)	
	LIB.	Yarn Spinner	Central (1895-9)	

Appendix 2.11 (continued)

HUDDESFIELD BOROUGH COUNCIL: INDEX OF MEMBERS 1885-1914

<u>Name</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Councillor</u>	<u>Alderman</u>
Redearn, J.	LIB.	Gentleman	North (1892-3)	
Riley, Ben	LAB.	Bookbinder	North/North Central (1904-9)	
Riley, Richard	LIB.	Woollen Merchant	Central (1877-80, 1883-6, 1898-1901)	
Robertson, W.	CON.	Doctor	Crosland Moor (1913-20)	
Robinson, F.W.	CON.	Doctor	Central (1901-4)	
Robinson, S.A.	CON.	Theatre Manager	South (1897-1901)	
Robson, J.H.	LIB.	Dyer	Moldgreen (1913-26)	
Robson, J.W.	LIB.	Dyer	Moldgreen (1901-5)	
Roebuck, Harry	LIB.	Woollen Merchant	Dalton (1893-9)	
Rofle, Charles	CON.	Doctor	West (1901-7)	
Schofield, Ben	LIB.	Gentleman	Almondbury (1877-84)	1884-8
Schofield, James	LIB.	Printer	Marsh/Paddock (1904-12)	1912-19
Schofield, William	CON.	Accountant	East (1880-91)	1891-2
Schofield, W.	CON.	Costumier	South Central (1913-16)	
Scholes, James	LIB.	Farmer	Dalton (1868-9, 1873-88)	
Scholes, John	LU.	Yarn Spinner	Fartown (1885-91)	
Seaton, J.W.E.	LIB.	Confectionary Manufacturer	Fartown (1905-8)	
Sellers, E.H.	LIB.	Yarn Spinner	West (1907-10), Marsh (1910-13), Newsome (1913-21)	1921-2
Shaw, Ben	LU.	Mineral Water Manufacturer	Marsh (1895-7, 1900-1)	
Shaw, Ernest	LIB.	Mineral Water Manufacturer	South/Birkby (1901-11)	1911-13
Shaw, J.	CON.	Quarry Owner	Crosland Moor (1911-21)	
Shaw, J.H.	LIB.	Tailor	Longwood (1906-9)	
Shaw, R. Mac	LIB.	Cotton Spinner	Longwood (1890-5)	1895-1905
Shaw, Thomas	LIB.	Corn-miller	Almondbury (1897-1903)	
Sheard, F.	CON.	Accountant	Moldgreen (1911-16)	
Shires, James	LIB.	Woollen Manufacturer	Longwood (1895-1901)	
Shires, Thomas	LIB.	Yarn Spinner	Paddock (1908-40)	
Singleton, William	CON.	Joiner	Paddock (1912-20)	
Smith, Carmi	LIB.	Provisions Merchant	Lockwood (1904-9)	1909-20
Smith, Joseph	LIB.	Woollen Manufacturer	Lindley (1883-89, 1901-6)	
Spake, T.S.	LIB.	Textile Manufacturer	Fartown (1907-12)	
Spivey, George	LIB./IND.	Hay Merchant	Almondbury (1895-1901, 1904-6)	
Spurdens, G.F.	LIB.	Clothier	Almondbury (1902-8), Newsome (1908-11)	
Stephens, S.	LIB.	Chemist	Longwood (1908-32)	
Sterry, J.H.	CON.	Woollen Merchant	North (1892-1900)	
Stocks, Arthur	CON.	Butter Merchant	Fartown (1912-27)	
Stocks, Ben	LIB.	Architect	Central (1885-92)	
Stuttard, J.H.	LIB.	Painter/Decorator	South (1887-8)	1892-1901
Sugden, John	LU.	Cotton Spinner	Lockwood (1879-88), North (1895-9), West (1907-8)	1899-1904
Sutcliffe, John	LIB.	Flock Merchant	North (1889-92)	
Swallow, Edmund	LIB.	Rug Manufacturer	Dalton (1897-1903, 1904-8)	1908-13
Sykes, Alfred	LIB.	Rug Manufacturer	North (1901-4)	

Appendix 2.11 (continued)

HUDDERSFIELD BOROUGH COUNCIL: INDEX OF MEMBERS 1885-1914

<u>Name</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Councillor</u>	<u>Alderman</u>
Sykes, Alfred	LIB.	Wool Merchant	Marsh (1899-1905)	
Sykes, Arthur	LIB.	Architect	Birkby (1911-38)	
Sykes, C.F.	LIB.	Manufacturer	Dalton (1899-1908)	1908-12
Sykes, Godfrey	LIB.	Textile Manufacturer	Moldgreen (1878-85)	1885-95
Sykes, John	LIB.	Commercial Traveller	Crosland Moor (1909-15)	
Sykes, J.A.	LIB.	Chemist	Lindley (1888-90)	
Sykes, J.L.	CON.	Solicitor	Fartown (1894-7)	
Sykes, J.W.	CON.	Solicitor	East (1892-4)	
Taylor, James	LIB.	Woollen Manufacturer	Almondbury (1903-11)	1911-17
Taylor, John	LIB.	Woollen Manufacturer	North (1888-91)	
Taylor, Law	LAB.	Postman	Dalton (1906-9, 1910-20)	1920-32
Tetlow, James	CON.	Painter/Decorator	Moldgreen (1903-6, 1907-13)	
Thomas, Harry	LAB.	Printer	North (1905-8)	
Thomson, George	LIB.	Woollen Manufacturer	Fartown (1898-1918)	
Topping, Tom	LAB.	Railway Worker	Dalton (1911-21)	
Varley, John	LIB.	Coal Merchant	Almondbury (1868-71)	
Walker, Alfred	LIB.	Plush Manufacturer	Lindley (1868-74)	
Walker, Edmund	CON.	Boot Manufacturer	North (1891-2)	
Walker, E.H.	CON.	Boot Manufacturer	West (1882-92)	
Walker, Joseph	LIB.	Co-op. Store Manager	Moldgreen (1905-11)	1871-90
Walker, John Lee	LIB.	Dyer and Finisher	Dalton (1882-92)	1874-86, 1900-8
Wallace, A.	LIB.	Grocer	Dalton (1894-1901)	
Walmsley, James	LAB.	Commercial Traveller	Almondbury (1906-7)	1892-1901
Welsh, Robert	CON.	Solicitor	Marsh (1884-91)	
Wheatley, William	LAB.	Newsagent	North (1904-8), Newsome (1908-13)	
Whitehead, David	LIB.	Woollen Merchant	Dalton (1892-1904)	1913-21
Whiteley, Edgar	LAB.	Cotton Operative	Moldgreen (1904-7)	1904-9
Whittell, H.A.	CON.	Publican	North (1896-1905)	
Whitworth, Albert	LIB.	Journalist	West (1903-12)	1912-13
Wilkinson, J.	LIB.	Butcher	Marsh (1897-1900)	
Willans, J.E.	LIB.	Wool Merchant	-	
Willis, A.	CON.	Tailor's Cutter	Birkby (1911-26)	1901-8
Wilson, John	LIB.	Cloth Finisher	Lindley (1876-88)	1926-42
Woffenden, T.	LIB.	Printer	Birkby (1912-23)	
Wood, J.B.	CON.	Chemist	Lockwood (1912-19)	
Wood, J.E.	CON.	Game and fish dealer	South Central (1912-21)	
Woodhead, Ernest	LIB.	Journalist	Marsh (1894-9)	1899-1923
Woodhead, E.B.	LIB.	Wool Merchant	West (1879-87), Central (1892-7)	1897-1911
Woodhead, Joseph	LIB.	Journalist	West (1868-71)	1871-87
Woolven, J.A.	CON.	Publican	East/South Central (1892-1913)	1913-35

Sources: Huddersfield County Borough Council Yearbook 1972-3, (Huddersfield, 1972).

Obituaries of Council members in the Huddersfield Examiner. Nominations for municipal elections in the Huddersfield Examiner. Pike, W.T. (ed.), The West Riding of Yorkshire: Contemporary Biographies, (Brighton, 1902).

Appendix 2.12

OCCUPATIONAL COMPOSITION OF HUDDERSFIELD BOROUGH COUNCIL, 1885-1913 (as at 30 November each year)

YEAR	TEXTILES			OTHER MANUFACTURERS AND MERCHANTS						PROFESSIONAL			GENTLEMEN			BUILDING AND ENGINEERING			RETAILERS AND SHOPKEEPERS			OTHER	TOTAL	
	LIB	CON	LAB	LIB	CON	LAB	IND	LIB	CON	LAB	LIB	CON	LAB	LIB	CON	LAB	LIB	CON	LAB	LIB	CON			LAB
1885	23	3	0	6	1	0	0	2	3	0	5	3	0	4	1	0	0	4	0	0	2	0	0	57
1890	17	7	0	7	5	0	0	2	5	0	3	3	0	3	3	0	0	3	0	0	1	1	0	60
1895	14	6	0	9	5	0	0	3	2	1	4	2	0	5	2	0	0	3	2	0	1	1	0	60
1900	15	5	0	10	6	0	0	4	2	1	3	1	0	3	5	0	0	2	2	0	0	1	0	60
1905	12	6	1	9	3	0	1	4	3	2	1	1	0	1	4	0	1	2	3	2	2	1	1	60
1910	18	3	0	9	3	0	0	3	2	1	1	2	0	3	4	0	1	5	1	0	1	2	1	60
1913	11	3	1	2	5	0	0	4	6	0	0	2	0	2	4	0	1	4	7	1	2	3	2	60

Sources: Huddersfield Examiner and Huddersfield Chronicle; Obituary Scrapbook (Huddersfield Central Library); Huddersfield Yearbook 1972-73, (Huddersfield, 1972).

Appendix 2.13

INDEX OF UNSUCCESSFUL LABOUR CANDIDATURES IN HUDDERSFIELD BOROUGH COUNCIL ANNUAL ELECTIONS, 1885-1913

Candidate	Occupation	Ward Contested	Year	A Poll Won
Gee, Allen	Bookkeeper/Journalist	Lindley	1890	30.5
Gee, John	Yarn Dealer	Fartown	1891	11.4
Gee, John	Yarn Dealer	North	1892	8.2
Andrews, Charles	Draper	Lockwood	1892	18.9
Briggs, John	Joiner	Longwood	1893	27.7
Briggs, John	Joiner	Longwood	1894	20.9
Dyson, Joe	Textile worker/Fish salesman	Almondbury	1894	39.6
Dyson, Joe	Textile worker/Fish salesman	Almondbury	1895	37.2
Topping, Tom	Railway Driver	Fartown	1897	12.1
Briggs, John	Joiner	Longwood	1899	40.8
Wheatley, William	Newsagent	North	1901	22.0
Pickles, William	Painter	Fartown	1902	21.7
Wheatley, William	Newsagent	North	1902	13.8
Whiteley, Edgar	Cotton Operative	Almondbury	1902	41.1
Pickles, William	Painter	Fartown	1903	41.6
Whiteley, Edgar	Cotton Operative	Moldgreen	1903	28.7
Wheatley, William	Newsagent	North	1903	18.8
Wheatley, William	Newsagent	North	1904	37.7
Riley, Ben	Bookbinder	Longwood	1904	49.2
Beaumont, Joseph	Dyer/Cleaner	West	1905	18.3
Brearley, Eli	Cobbler	Longwood	1905	43.9
Beaumont, Joseph	Dyer/Cleaner	South	1906	38.3
Wadsworth, Brook	N.A.	Marsh	1906	25.0
Littlewood, Ben	Textile Worker	Moldgreen	1906	33.9
*Boothroyd, George	Textile Worker	Lockwood	1906	45.1
Cliffe, Alfred	Joiner	Lindley	1906	44.7
Brearley, Eli	Cobbler	Longwood	1906	47.2
Beaumont, Joseph	Dyer/Cleaner	West	1907	11.3
Wheatley, William	Newsagent	North	1907	35.0
Greensmith, George	N.A.	Marsh	1907	23.6
*Whiteley, Edgar	Cotton Operative	Moldgreen	1907	32.0
Brearley, Eli	Cobbler	Longwood	1907	46.2
Walmsley, James	Commercial Traveller	Almondbury	1907	44.5
Littlewood, Ben	Textile Worker	Lockwood	1907	41.5
Gee, Edward	Blind Maker	Longwood	1908	34.9
Cliffe, Alfred	Joiner	Lindley	1908	30.7
Topping, Tom	Railway Driver	Dalton	1908	45.0
Yates, Robert	Insurance Agent	Paddock	1908	42.7
*Thomas, Harry	Printer	North Central	1908	29.5
Brierley, John	Bookbinder	Moldgreen	1908	26.3
Beaumont, Joseph	Dyer	Almondbury	1908	22.7
Walmsley, James	Commercial Traveller	Newsome	1908	43.8

Appendix 2.13 (continued)

INDEX OF UNSUCCESSFUL LABOUR CANDIDATURES IN HUDDERSFIELD BOROUGH COUNCIL ANNUAL ELECTIONS, 1885-1913

Candidate	Occupation	Ward Contested	Year	% Poll Won
Wood, Fred	Postman	Crosland Moor	1908	37.3
Boothroyd, George	Textile Worker	Lockwood	1908	34.4
Gee, Edward	Blind Maker	Longwood	1909	28.9
Yates, Robert	Insurance Agent	Paddock	1909	38.1
*Riley, Ben	Bookbinder	North Central	1909	31.8
Walsley, James	Commercial Traveller	Newsome	1909	37.9
*Taylor, Lew	Postman	Dalton	1909	49.3
*Beaumont, Tom	Insurance Agent	North Central	1910	21.9
Walsley, James	Commercial Traveller	Almondbury	1910	42.0
*Wheatley, William	Newsagent	Newsome	1910	49.0
Brarley, Eli	Cobbler	Longwood	1910	46.7
*Pickles, William	Painter	Lindley	1910	41.7
Riley, Ben	Bookbinder	Moldgreen	1910	29.5
Riley, Ben	Bookbinder	Lindley	1911	44.0
Yates, Robert	Insurance Agent	Paddock	1911	45.6
Ellam, James	Marine Store Dealer	Moldgreen	1911	30.6
Pickles, Joe	N.A.	Lockwood	1911	23.1
Kilner, Wilfred	Pattern Weaver	Dalton	1912	39.3
Ellam, James	Marine Store Dealer	Moldgreen	1912	29.8
Wood, Fred	Postman	Crosland Moor	1912	22.1
Sheard, David	Hosier	North Central	1912	10.3
Riley, Ben	Bookbinder	Lindley	1912	37.3
Littlewood, Ben	Textile Worker	Longwood	1912	27.1
Walsley, James	Commercial Traveller	Newsome	1913	40.2
Riley, Ben	Bookbinder	Lindley	1913	40.8
Shaw, Alfred	Textile Worker	Lockwood	1913	19.0
Beaumont, Tom	Insurance Agent	Paddock	1913	30.3
Matheson, W.	N.A.	Longwood	1913	27.9
*Penwick, Richard	Textile Worker	North Central	1913	28.3

Key: * Candidate lost a municipal seat held previous to the contest
 1 Candidate fielded by the Huddersfield Socialist Party
 2 Candidate fielded by the British Socialist Party
 N.A. No information available

Analysis: Number of individuals who stood as Labour candidates : 33
 Number of unsuccessful contests at annual elections for Labour : 71
 Number of candidates connected with textiles : 10 (30.3%)
 Number of times each ward was unsuccessfully contested by Labour :
 Longwood 12, North/North Central 11, Lindley 7, Moldgreen 7,
 Lockwood 6, Almondbury 6, Fartown 4, Paddock 4, Newsome 4,
 Dalton 3, Marsh 2, West 2, Crosland Moor 2, South 1, Central 0,
 East/Birkby 0.

Appendix 3.1

H. RUSSELL SMART'S "RIGHT TO WORK BILL" FROM THE RIGHT TO WORK
(Manchester, n.d.? 1894/5)

"For those who are desirous of further details the following clauses of a Bill securing the right to work to all adults, may be of service. Only the main clauses, shorn of legal phraseology, are inserted; subsidiary questions that do not affect any vital principle being omitted.

A BILL

To provide the right of employment to the adult inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland.

- | | | |
|----|---|-----------------------|
| 1. | This Act may be cited as the Right to Work Act, 1895. | Short Title |
| 2. | In this Act the expression "local authority" shall mean the council of any incorporated Borough, or of any rural parish, or of the county of London, and the expression "labourer" shall mean the person applying for employment to, or being employed by any local authority. | Definitions |
| 3. | Any person or persons over twenty-one years of age who have resided for six calendar months or longer within the area administered by any local authority, may demand employment of such local authority, and the local authority shall within eight days of the period of such application, provide employment for the person or persons demanding it. | Qualifying Conditions |
| 4. | The employment shall consist of digging cubic yards of earth, or picking ... lbs. of oakum, or breaking cwt. of stone* in each day, at the option of the local authority, or <u>such other work as may be agreed upon between the local authority and the labourer.</u> | The task work |
| 5. | The time at which the labourer shall commence work shall be such as the local authority may determine, but the numbers of hours worked shall not exceed nine in any one day, or forty-eight in any one week. | Hours of Labour |

* The amount of this task work would be the amount that an average labourer could perform in a day without either over-exertion or under-exertion.

Appendix 3.1 (continued)

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| 6. | The local authority shall pay the labourer each week wages of not less than one pound four shillings. | Minimum
Wages |
| 7. | The labourer may leave the employment of the local authority on giving fourteen days notice. | Leaving
Employment |
| 8. | The local authority may discharge the labourer should he:- | Dismissal |
| | (a) Fail to perform the task work specified in clause 4. | |
| | (b) Be absent from his work without leave. | |
| | (c) Arrive later than the time determined by the local authority for commencing work. | |
| | (d) Leave before the conclusion of the days work as specified in clause 5. | |
| | (e) Leave the employment of the local authority without giving notice, as specified in clause 7. | |
| | Unless the labourer can show that any of the offences specified in this clause are due to sickness, family affliction, or unavoidable accident. | |
| 9. | When the labourer is dismissed for any other offences specified in clause 8, his right to demand employment under this Act shall lapse until he has again qualified himself by a further period of six months residence, as specified in clause 3. | Conditions of
Re-employment |
| 10. | Should the value of the produce of the industries administered by any local authority show a surplus above cost of production and other expenses, such surplus shall at the option of the local authority be applied in any of the following methods:- | Surplus above
Wages |
| | (a) Returned to the labourers as bonus on wages. | |
| | (b) Expended in paying higher wages. | |
| | (c) Expended in shortening the hours of labour. | |
| | (d) In supplying free of charge commodities for the consumption of the labourers. | |

Appendix 3.1 (continued)

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|-----|---|----------------------------|
| 11. | The local authority shall have power to compulsorily purchase any land at its market value, and to erect thereon any necessary buildings, and to purchase stock and materials for the purpose of this Act, and to undertake any industries it may desire. | Powers for working the Act |
| 12. | The local authority shall have power to levy a special rate for the purpose of this Act upon the rental value of all lands and buildings within its boundaries; but lands or buildings which are used for charitable purposes, or are free for public use shall be exempt from such rate. | Rating power |

Clause 4 is the only part of the Bill that is not self-explanatory.

It is not suggested that the local authorities should set the applicants to work upon the unpleasant and unproductive labour of stone-breaking, which if necessary can be better done by machinery; but the amount constituting a fair days work being capable of being stated in actual figures, this task work would form the measuring rod by which all other kinds of labour might be gauged.

The council as the representative of the ratepayers - and especially of the property owning ratepayers - would be unlikely to set men at a comparatively high rate of wages, to work on useless undertakings. They would, assuming they had a reasonable regard for their own interests, seek means whereby the labourers might produce wealth more or less equal in value to the sum they would receive in wages, whilst the somewhat disagreeable nature of the task work would cause the men to be ready enough to "agree" to perform any other kind of labour that promised to be of a pleasanter character. Should a man here and there shirk his fair share of work, he could be put upon the measured tasks, and if he loafed at an occupation, which by comparison would be of a pleasant nature, he would be at least equally likely to loaf at the measured work, in which case the local authority could exercise its right of dismissal. On the other hand, should the local authority attempt to evade the Act by endeavouring to exact more than a fair day's work, the labourers could refuse to perform it, in which case the "agreement" would be at an end and the local authorities would be compelled to provide the task work, the threatened expense of which would be sufficient to make them relax the onerous conditions, whilst its unpleasant nature would be a sufficient deterrent to prevent the demand being made unless the grievance were genuine. The clause would further protect the skilled workmen should the local authority attempt to take advantage of his necessities and compel him to play the blackleg by doing skilled work for unskilled wages. It is true the artisan would have no power to demand work at his particular trade or better conditions than would be obtainable by the common labourer. But in organising large masses

Appendix 3.1 (continued)

of low skilled workers, much highly skilled work would necessarily be required, and for that the proper trade union rate would have to be paid. All that is necessary is to prevent special skill being exploited unless a fair rent of ability is paid for its use.

The specified task would thus form a common denominator or measuring rod by which the value of every form of labour could be arrived at, and it would be at once a safeguard by which loafing on the one hand or sweating on the other could be effectually prevented."

(pp15-16)

Appendix 4.1

PRINCIPAL STRIKES AND DISPUTES IN HUDDERSFIELD, 1910-14

Workers Involved	Numbers	Firms Involved	Strike or Dispute	Demands/Reasons for Strike	Duration	Consequence	Result	Year
Willyers/Pettlers	600	66 Firms	D	1d./Hr. Increase & 55½ Hr. Wk.	5 wks. (Apr. - June 1910)	Demands nearly all met	V	
Cotton Spinners	70	J. Firth	S	Opposition to 2 Loom Introduction	NA	NA	NA	
Dyers	1,000	Various	D	3s./Wk. Increase, 54 Hr. Wk., Increased Overtime Payment	2 mths. (Aug. - Oct. 1910)	Some increases granted	PV	1910
Woollen Operatives	700	C. & J. Hirst	S	Workers Excluded for Lateness	1 day (Sept. 1910)	Firm backed down	V	
Spinners/Piecers	50	C. & J. Hirst	S	Increase Ranging from 2s.-5s./Wk.	NA	NA	NA	
Textile Workers	22,000	Various	D	15% Wage Rise & 55 Hr. Wk.	2 mths. (Apr. - June 1911)	Union backed down	D	
Sheet Metal Workers	20	Various	S	Sympathy with Bradford Workers & Wage Increase	NA	NA	NA	
Railway Workers	1,000	Various	S	3s./Wk. Increase & 8 Hr. Day & Union Recognition	2 days (Aug. 1911)	Some increases granted	PV	1911
Gas Workers/General Labourers	NA	Huddersfield Corporation	D	7½ Wage Increase	NA	NA	NA	
Printers/Bookbinders	NA	Various	D	10% Wage Increase	NA	Increased granted	V	1912
Dyers	1,000	30 Firms	S	Various Wage Increases	2 mths. (Jan. - Mar. 1913)	Some increases granted	PV	
Plumbers	50-60	22 Firms	S	½d./Hr. Wage Increase	3 Wks. (Feb. - Mar. 1913)	Increase granted from July	V	1913
Brushmakers	NA	Various	D	10% Wage Increase	1 day (Apr. 1913)	Increase granted	V	

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Appendix 4.1 (continued)

PRINCIPAL STRIKES AND DISPUTES IN HUDDERSFIELD, 1910-14

Workers Involved	Numbers	Firms Involved	Strike or Dispute	Demands/Reasons for Strike	Duration	Consequence	Result	Year
Labourers	2-300	Various	S	1d./Hr. Wage Increase	3 days (May 1913)	4d. Increase granted	PV	1913 cont.
Slaters' Labourers	40	Various	S	1d./Hr. Wage Increase	1½ mths. (May - June 1913)	NA	NA	
Teamers	40	Read and Holliday	S	2s./Wk. Wage Increase and Opposition to Dismissal of Union Men	7 days (May - June 1913)	Increase granted but no men re-instated	PV	
Chemical Workers	80-100	J.W. Leitch	S	2s./Wk. Wage Increase	2 mths. (May - July 1913)	Increase granted	V	
Woollen Operatives	20	Thos. Hirst	S	Return of Bonus Scheme	6 days (June 1913)	NA	NA	
Boiler Makers	20	J. Ashton Riley	S	Wage Increase	NA	NA	NA	
Chemical Workers	600	Read and Holliday	S	Wage Increases of 4d.-1d./Hr.	17 days (May - June 1913)	Most increases granted	V	
Engineers' Labourers	23	David Brown	S	2s./Wk. Wage Increase	3 days (June 1913)	Increase granted	V	
Woollen Operatives	50-100	J. Lumb (Folly Hall)	S	Wage Increase	3 days (June 1913)	Increase granted	V	
Spinners/Twisters	180	J. Lumb (Albany)	S	1s./Wk. Wage Increase	2 days (June 1913)	Men returned without increase	D	
Woollen Operatives	20-30	Commercial Mills	S	Wage Increase	NA	NA	NA	
Spinners/Twisters	50-60	Kaye & Stewart	S	Wage Increase	4 days (June 1913)	Some increases granted	PV	
Woollen Operatives	100	Armitage Bros.	S	1s./Wk. Wage Increase	3 days (June 1913)	NA	NA	
Labourers/Blacksmiths	54	Prospect Ironworks	S	Wage Increases of 5d./Hr. and 2s./Wk.	NA	NA	NA	
Woollen Operatives	676	Walter Sykes	S	In support of Reacher-In Wage Increase of 1s./Wk.	6 days (June - July 1913)	Increase granted	V	

Appendix 4.1 (continued)

PRINCIPAL STRIKES AND DISPUTES IN HUDDERSFIELD, 1910-14

Workers Involved	Numbers	Firms Involved	Strike or Dispute	Demands/Reasons for Strike	Duration	Consequence	Result	Year
Worsted Spinners	NA	J. Brooke	S	Wage Increase	2 days (June 1913)	Men returned without increase	D	1913 cont.
Slaters	NA	Various	S	Working Rules and Non-Union Labour	3 days (July 1913)	Agreements reached	PV	
Engineers' Labourers	170-80	J. Sykes	S	2s./Wk. Wage Increase	5 wks. (July - Aug. 1913)	Most increases granted	V	
Warpers	20	Middlemost Bros.	S	Piece Rate Increase	7 days (July 1913)	Compromise accepted	PV	
Cellarmen	30-40	Bentley & Shaw	S	2s/Wk. Wage Increase	2 days (Aug. 1913)	Men returned with part-increase	PV	
Wood-Cutters	NA	10 Firms	S	Wage Increase to 8½d./Hr. and union recognition	7 days (Aug. - Sept. 1913)	Some increases granted	PV	
Engineers' Labourers	70	W.C. Holmes	S	2s./Wk. increase and 25s./Wk minimum wage	3 wks. (Aug. - Sept. 1913)	1s/Wk. increase granted and minimum deferred	PV	
Textile Workers	20,000 -25,000	Various	D	Wage Increases, 50 Hr. Wk., abolition mealtime working, extra overtime payments	2½ mths. (Aug. - Nov. 1913)	Many increases granted and some demands met	PV	
Textile Operatives	150	J. Lumb (Albany)	S	Wage Increases and Better Conditions	10 days (Feb. - Mar. 1914)	NA	NA	1914
Engineering Workers	1,500	20 Firms	S	3s./Wk. Increase to 26s./Wk. minimum wage	1 mth. (July - Aug. 1914)	Men returned with outbreak of war	NA	

Key: S = Strike; D = Dispute

V = Victory for Men; PV = Partial victory for Men; D = Defeat for Men

NA = No information available

Notes: Lack of detailed and conclusive information renders this table less than comprehensive. It does, however, give the general trend of strikes and disputes in the period.

Sources: Huddersfield Examiner, Yorkshire Factory Times, The Worker, Huddersfield Chronicle.

Appendix 5.1MEMBERSHIP OF LIBERAL AUXILIARIES IN HUDDERSFIELD, 1885-1914A. HUDDERSFIELD JUNIOR LIBERAL ASSOCIATION¹

1887	1888	1889	1890	1891	1892	1893	1894	1895	1896	1897	1898	1899	-----	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914
163	226	247	265	271	280	NA	211	229	241	266	255	2		116	160	251	329	349	1012	1450	1502	NA	NA	NA	NA

Notes: 1 Formed 1887

2 Dissolved in 1898 and revived in 1904

Source: Annual Reports in the Huddersfield Examiner.B. HUDDERSFIELD WOMEN'S LIBERAL ASSOCIATION¹

Feb. Nov.

1889	1889	1890	1891	1892	1893	1894	1895	1896	1897	1898	1899	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914
100	180	250	NA	300	NA	346	380	NA	NA	422	378	387	382	419	436	468	537	687	1049	1150	1263	1384	1410	NA	NA	NA

Notes: 1 Formed 1888Source: Annual Reports in the Huddersfield Examiner.

Appendix 6.1MEMBERSHIP OF THE HUDDERSFIELD LIBERALUNIONIST ASSOCIATION, 1899-1910

Year	Number
1899	140
1900	170
1901	122
1902	129
1903	157
1904	157
1905	146
1906	151
1907	169
1908	172
1909	NA
1910	NA

Notes: Formed 1887. Dissolved 1910. No figures available prior to 1899.

Precisely how many actual Liberal Unionist voters there were at any one election is impossible to ascertain: the only available guide is the H.L.U.A.'s canvas of Liberal Unionists in January 1906 (HE, 3 March 1906) for the General Election, which revealed a total of 541 (or 3.1% of the electorate and 3.3% of the turnout in January 1906). There is no way of knowing how accurate this was nor how it compared with figures for the 1886, 1892, 1893, 1895 and 1900 elections.

Source: Huddersfield Examiner.

