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Examiner...	85,500	zette...	15,000
British...	71,000	Patriot...	60,000
Standard...	66,000	Spectator...	45,000
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jun., and J. Hardman, Wakefield, Yorkshire, dyers.
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[illegible]

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF TRADES.

(Continued from our seventh page.)

Mr. Barratt, the Secretary, said some of the delegates appeared to be labouring under a mistake. The question under consideration was not one of ways and means, but of the principle of the conference, and means would be forwarded through him towards the liquidation of the expenses of Conference. (Loud cheers.) He thought his friend Dunning had deviated from the line laid down by the Committee. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Blackhurst, Sheffield, said the delegation was a mighty lever by which the working classes were to be lifted out of their miseries. He hoped the Conference would take an enlarged view of the matter, and not discontinue any.

Mr. G. Skelton, would move the previous question.

The report of the Committee be now read.

Mr. G. A. Fleming, in seconding the amendment, said that they were not a Conference of Trades Unions only, but of bodies of working men generally, who were seeking to become Unions; and therefore the non-Unionists had as good a right to be there as the Unionists.

Mr. Dunning, in reply, said it was principle and a sense of justice that induced him to press his motion. He looked on money as the *sine qua non* of the Movement. His desire was that those who laid should be represented.

The amendment for reading the Committee's report was then put and declared by the Chairman to be carried unanimously.

Mr. G. A. Fleming, Chairman of the Committee, then brought up the report, which he read as follows:—

Your Committee have taken the Address of the Chairman of the Conference into consideration, together with such other suggestions as were laid before them, in accordance with the resolution by which they were appointed, and the report is as follows:—

The primary object of all Trades Unions is to secure to the Operative a fair and just participation in the wealth he assists to produce. For some years past an opinion has been gradually gaining ground among these bodies, that their organisation and the application of their funds towards the improvement of the lot of the poor, has been the most effective that could be adopted. Repeated failure has induced scepticism as to the efficacy of STRIKES ALONE to protect the labourer from the aggression of Capital, and to arrest that downward tendency, which is the most prominent feature of his condition. At the same time, increased experience and information has excited a desire amongst some of the Trades, to attempt Association on a larger scale for the protection of industry; or at least to deliberate whether there may not be a better method of applying their funds annually collected for the use of the Society.

The great cause of the continuous decline of the wages of Labour, which forms an undeniable consequence of the present system, is a redundancy of workers, compared with the demand for their labour. Until this discrepancy can be removed, its effects cannot be averted. Experience has shown that strikes alone are not sufficient for the purpose, and some other modes must be devised by which the "surplus labour" shall be absorbed, or kept out of the market, and an equality be maintained between the work to be done and the number of those required to do it.

Strikes, in order that the body might see how far it could deal with the matter. The Chairman thought that the matter was hardly relevant.

Mr. J. Mirfield represented the Linen Weavers of Barnsley; and that body was of opinion that unless the adoption of additional measures, the part of the operatives, suited to the new circumstances, has been created. While CAPITAL possesses the unlimited power of creating *automaton* workers, it is utterly impossible for *manual* labour, in its present position, to maintain a successful struggle against its aggressions. In the merciless race of competition—increasing in rapidity and intensity, in the progress of ever-expanding scientific and mechanical powers of production and decreasing outlets for consumption—there is a power at work against which the relatively feeble efforts of Trades Unions, as at present conducted, can have no chance of ultimate success. The working classes must either adapt themselves to the new system, which have hitherto been principally employed against them. They must expend their funds—locally or generally—in the erection of machines that will work for and not against them; and instead of investing funds with bankers, to be used by large capitalists, in a way which inevitably lengthens the condition of the contributors, they must apply them to the production of real wealth and profitable results for themselves.

The time may not have yet arrived when practical measures for this purpose can be commenced. It may be, that the time has not yet arrived, when it is permitted of the formation of an association with these objects; but, at all events, your Committee are of opinion that their discussion by the present Conference is an imperative duty, and that if no immediate organisation results from such discussion, the impetus it will give to the public mind will hasten the period for those more practical and extended measures, which can only be effectually carried out by an enlightened public opinion among the producing classes. The immediate measures which it appears to your Committee this Conference may usefully take are:—

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3. The leading objects of the Conference may be divided into two departments—the first extending, having reference to the influence of the Legislature on the condition of the industrious classes; the second internal, or to efforts made by the Trades to improve their own condition.

With respect to the first of these divisions, your Committee suggest that the Central Committee should be empowered and instructed to take every opportunity, by means of petitions to Parliament, deputations to Government and members of both Houses of the Legislature, cheap publications, public meetings, and other legal, reasonable, and peaceable measures, to enable the public mind to be a measure sound and beneficial, whether it is viewed physically, economically, or morally.

4. Another measure to which serious consideration should be directed is, the establishment of Local Boards of Trade, similar to those which have so long existed in France and Belgium, composed of masters and operatives, to regulate the hours of labour, the regulation of wages, duration of labour, disputes, &c., shall be referred, and their decisions have the authority of law.

It is conceived that these two measures would very materially improve the condition of the labouring classes. Should the Central Committee be empowered to consume more upon a level with each other; equalise the condition of the workers, who would thus all be enabled to share in whatever work there might be in the market; and, by giving time for mental and moral improvement, raise the character of the whole; and, on the other hand, the proposed Boards of Trade, being equally composed of employers and employed, would have a tendency to prevent strikes and turn-outs by all differences being first submitted to an impartial tribunal, and authoritatively settled by it.

Under this general division of the business of the Association, would also fall the promotion of all public movements having reference to improved sanitary conditions for the labouring population; and generally of all such measures as would conduce to the promotion of the health and comfort of the labouring classes, and set to profitable employment, the redundant hands, who, if suffered to remain in it, would reduce the wages of the whole trade to which they belong.

Upon this most important point your Committee beg to be clearly understood; they propose no definite plan, but merely throw out the suggestion as one deserving of serious consideration from the Conference.

Your Committee recommend that no interference be attempted with the local organisation of individual Trades; but that the new organisation here proposed be simply an addition to the means hitherto applied for the protection of Labour, and that it be hoped and trusted that in due season this addition will become so effective as to supersede more local and sectional efforts. It appears to the Committee desirable that nothing should be attempted which will not carry with it the general support of the Trades; and hence they recommend the most cautious and gradual steps, believing that the most effectual way to improve the condition of the productive classes has failed because they were too far in advance of the *non* of those they were intended to benefit. The sum required from each individual trade to support the new organisation would not be large, and might easily be added to that not paid by the members of local Unions, and collected by their officers for the remittance to the Central Committee of the Association.

6. The Central Committee should be instructed to carefully prepare a constitution for concentrating the energies, legalising the proceedings, and giving effect to the growing desire for location in the L., and other measures for the protection and employment of the funds of such Unions as might be desirous of thus using them.

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The Chairman thought that the matter was hardly relevant.

Mr. J. Mirfield represented the Linen Weavers of Barnsley; and that body was of opinion that unless the adoption of additional measures, the part of the operatives, suited to the new circumstances, has been created. While CAPITAL possesses the unlimited power of creating *automaton* workers, it is utterly impossible for *manual* labour, in its present position, to maintain a successful struggle against its aggressions. In the merciless race of competition—increasing in rapidity and intensity, in the progress of ever-expanding scientific and mechanical powers of production and decreasing outlets for consumption—there is a power at work against which the relatively feeble efforts of Trades Unions, as at present conducted, can have no chance of ultimate success. The working classes must either adapt themselves to the new system, which have hitherto been principally employed against them. They must expend their funds—locally or generally—in the erection of machines that will work for and not against them; and instead of investing funds with bankers, to be used by large capitalists, in a way which inevitably lengthens the condition of the contributors, they must apply them to the production of real wealth and profitable results for themselves.

The time may not have yet arrived when practical measures for this purpose can be commenced. It may be, that the time has not yet arrived, when it is permitted of the formation of an association with these objects; but, at all events, your Committee are of opinion that their discussion by the present Conference is an imperative duty, and that if no immediate organisation results from such discussion, the impetus it will give to the public mind will hasten the period for those more practical and extended measures, which can only be effectually carried out by an enlightened public opinion among the producing classes. The immediate measures which it appears to your Committee this Conference may usefully take are:—

1. A Society, to be called the Association of United Trades for the Protection of Industry.

2. A Central Committee to carry out the objects of the said Association, and the formation of a fund to defray the necessary expenses.

3. The leading objects of the Conference may be divided into two departments—the first extending, having reference to the influence of the Legislature on the condition of the industrious classes; the second internal, or to efforts made by the Trades to improve their own condition.

With respect to the first of these divisions, your Committee suggest that the Central Committee should be empowered and instructed to take every opportunity, by means of petitions to Parliament, deputations to Government and members of both Houses of the Legislature, cheap publications, public meetings, and other legal, reasonable, and peaceable measures, to enable the public mind to be a measure sound and beneficial, whether it is viewed physically, economically, or morally.

4. Another measure to which serious consideration should be directed is, the establishment of Local Boards of Trade, similar to those which have so long existed in France and Belgium, composed of masters and operatives, to regulate the hours of labour, the regulation of wages, duration of labour, disputes, &c., shall be referred, and their decisions have the authority of law.

It is conceived that these two measures would very materially improve the condition of the labouring classes. Should the Central Committee be empowered to consume more upon a level with each other; equalise the condition of the workers, who would thus all be enabled to share in whatever work there might be in the market; and, by giving time for mental and moral improvement, raise the character of the whole; and, on the other hand, the proposed Boards of Trade, being equally composed of employers and employed, would have a tendency to prevent strikes and turn-outs by all differences being first submitted to an impartial tribunal, and authoritatively settled by it.

Under this general division of the business of the Association, would also fall the promotion of all public movements having reference to improved sanitary conditions for the labouring population; and generally of all such measures as would conduce to the promotion of the health and comfort of the labouring classes, and set to profitable employment, the redundant hands, who, if suffered to remain in it, would reduce the wages of the whole trade to which they belong.

Upon this most important point your Committee beg to be clearly understood; they propose no definite plan, but merely throw out the suggestion as one deserving of serious consideration from the Conference.

Your Committee recommend that no interference be attempted with the local organisation of individual Trades; but that the new organisation here proposed be simply an addition to the means hitherto applied for the protection of Labour, and that it be hoped and trusted that in due season this addition will become so effective as to supersede more local and sectional efforts. It appears to the Committee desirable that nothing should be attempted which will not carry with it the general support of the Trades; and hence they recommend the most cautious and gradual steps, believing that the most effectual way to improve the condition of the productive classes has failed because they were too far in advance of the *non* of those they were intended to benefit. The sum required from each individual trade to support the new organisation would not be large, and might easily be added to that not paid by the members of local Unions, and collected by their officers for the remittance to the Central Committee of the Association.

6. The Central Committee should be instructed to carefully prepare a constitution for concentrating the energies, legalising the proceedings, and giving effect to the growing desire for location in the L., and other measures for the protection and employment of the funds of such Unions as might be desirous of thus using them.

7.—It is recommended that, at least, an Annual Conference should be held to review the proceedings

of the Central Committee, and to devise such measures as shall best promote the great objects of the Association.

8.—Your Committee have purposely refrained from entering into detail on the various points enumerated; as they conceive that it will be well for the Conference to confine its attention to the first instance to the general principles, and then to proceed to carrying out the measures that may be resolved on, will be better elaborated by a sub-committee appointed for the purpose, or the duty may be devolved on the Central Committee.

In conclusion, your Committee beg to submit the foregoing proposals in no spirit of dogmatism, but in confidence, based on questions upon which discussions may profitably be raised. Whatever decisions may ultimately be come to respecting them, your Committee will be prepared to acquiesce in, and zealously to support to the extent of the means in their power.

Geo. Fleming, Chairman.

The reading was received with much applause, and was unanimously received. The first recommendation—

That a Society, to be called the Association of United Trades for the Protection of Industry,

was moved, seconded, and carried unanimously. Five hundred copies of the Report were then ordered to be printed, and the further debate adjourned until Thursday morning, in order that each member might have before him the Committee's report, and see the whole of the recommendations.

The Conference then broke up for dinner, and at two o'clock resumed, when the Chairman called on the delegates to give in any particular statements they were entrusted with.

STATEMENTS OF THE DELEGATES.

Mr. Macnamara represented the Boiler-makers of Manchester. Twenty-five shops in their trade had recently been "out," and obtained an advance of wages to the amount of three shillings per week. From the insecure way which boilers are made, the lives of the makers of them are endangered. His trade had drawn up a petition on the subject to Parliament. They would give their hearty support to the measures emanating from the Conference.

Mr. George White represented the Woolcombers of Bradford, Yorkshire. Their body numbered 10,000. Their work was carried on in a manner which was not only dangerous to the health of the operatives, but also to the health of the community. They were compelled to furnish healthy places in which to carry on their labour. He believed if conciliatory steps were