

W Dingwall

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7 Argyll St. Port Glasgow. K.B. 29 Sept. 1911.

Dear Mr Zansbury.

Pardon me for this as I know your time is valuable, but I want to tell you how disappointed I was when you could not come to P.G. last Saturday I was sure you would be with us when you had got the length of Dumbarton. Mackinnell told me you had gone South & I was sorry, but we had a grand meeting all the same indeed we had by far the best meetings of the campaign, they are no criterion for the pole.

Yet I am not downhearted. There was practically no organisation in any of the Burghs except "Killic" & not very sound there. Mac fought a good fight. The worst phase of it is, that the result showed up the Tradunionists' political blacklegs instincts, they can't keep away from the plutocrat at the Ballot Box, still 2761 is not bad under the circumstances, the figures are a little curious if you notice 'em - taking the reduced poll of the Lib 1734 & the Tory 932 & adding the 95 votes recorded more than in Dec' we get exactly Mac's vote. If we double this next time we have the seat & Mac will <sup>be</sup> there to help you. We have formed a Branch here which promises well. I would like to take advantage of your next visit to Scotland, don't know what your dates are with the Glasgow Scouts or the Paisley I.T.P. These engagements will be on a Sunday & if we can arrange here we will

W Dingwall

29 Sept 1911

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be glad of your services on Monday if you can do so. it would save Rail fare & give us a lift. for we must keep on fighting & build up a good sound organisation. please let me know your view about above.

Lorry to inform you that our eldest son Angus died at Birkenhead on 10th inst. after a brief illness & has left behind in this cruel world a sorrowing widow & two little girls who shall never know a Fathers love. My wife & one of the Daughters & myself went to the funeral which took place at St Marys Church yard Bootle. He was a good Boy & a good Socialist.

Excuse me telling you of this.

Hoping to hear from you at your earliest convenience.

I am fraternally yours

W Dingwall

P.S Please to give Mrs Lanchbury our best wishes & all old friends & Comrades WD

TALK WITH MR LANSBURY.

PARLIAMENT AND INSURANCE BILL.

"TREMENDOUS ANTAGONISM" IN THE COUNTRY

One of the most interesting personalities of the Labour movement at the present time is Mr George Lansbury, the M.P. for Bow and Bromley, who addressed meetings in the Edinburgh district yesterday. He has made a place in Parliament in a brief period. A representative of the "Evening News" has elicited his opinions on several important topics. Discussing his experiences in the House of Commons, Mr Lansbury said: "In my view the machinery of the House is not now the type required for carrying out the work requiring to be done. More and more the House is asked to cope with the social conditions of the people. The subject is thrust on Parliament. Every student of politics must be aware that such a type of question must be regarded in the interest of the well-being of the nation, irrespective of the views of Governments and parties. And yet the old procedure of the House of Commons is based on one idea, namely, that it should be used to keep the Government of the day in place and power. The tendency of all this, in my opinion—although a new member of the House of Commons who has watched the steadily growing power of the executive—is for the rank and file becoming disastrous."

Voting against Convictions.

"If anyone doubts this, let him consider Mr Lloyd-George's and Mr Winston Churchill's statements in reference to the National Insurance Bill; both stated the Government's intention to stand or fall by this Bill. And yet every person in Parliament is aware of the very grave doubt, indeed, as to the wisdom of pushing through the Bill in its present form. At the same time everyone knows that if the Government make the question one of life and death men will, out of loyalty to the Government, vote against their convictions. This is a serious matter, especially as regards social reforms, and it is quite obvious that an assembly of men dominated in this fashion should not have it in their power, against their own judgment, to impose a piece of legislation which, so far as one can judge, no one wants, and for which there is absolutely no enthusiasm. I have spoken north, south, east and west, mostly, of course, at Labour meetings, and I have found not merely no enthusiasm for the Bill, but tremendous antagonism against it."

Liberalism and Labour.

Regarding Mr Winston Churchill's speech at Dundee, Mr Lansbury expressed the opinion that Mr Churchill must for once have lost his head and given way to the pressure of some of the rich Liberals in Scotland. The speech came strangely from a man who somewhere had declared that England was a paradise for the rich and hell for the poor. Surely it was most desirable to have Labour men in Parliament and in Town Councils, expressing the desires of their class, passing legislation and administering it so as to lift the people out of wretched social conditions. If the Liberal party opposed Mr Wilkie in Dundee, they would, in the words of the Scottish people, "set the heather on fire;" for it was a well-known fact that in the Labour party there was a strong body of opinion in favour of a much more militant attitude against the Liberal party than that which had been adopted during the past few years. "As a matter of fact a large section of the party, of which I am one, feel that our business in life is not to consider what the Liberal or Tory parties may be saying about us, but definitely to put our men forward wherever we think it policy to do so. And I am quite certain that any action such as is suggested by the Liberals in Scotland would only bring about much sooner than many of us hoped the distinct severance of the Labour and Socialist party from the wing of the Liberal party. Labour had got to learn to stand and walk alone."

Socialistic Spirit Growing.

Asked whether Socialism is growing in the country, Mr Lansbury said: "That is a general question; but I will put it this way: My view is that the Socialistic spirit is undoubtedly growing, and this is evident mainly in its progress among the religious people of the land. Nowhere do I get a more hearty welcome than at religious congresses and Sunday meetings held under the auspices of various Churches; indeed, the earnestness of an ordinary Labour meeting. I testify these to the present condition of things, and I appeal to Christian people to square their daily practice with the Sunday precepts. The very latest sign of the times is that the Bishop of London, who knows social conditions as well as any public man in the country, delivered at the Church Congress one of the most eloquent appeals to all classes to remember that the Labour unrest was caused by the wretched social conditions under which so many millions of our people lived."

Working Women and Insurance.

On the women's question Mr Lansbury expressed himself strongly in favour of the removal of sex disability. "I want," he said, "women to stand equal with men before the law. Another point I think working people, and also men in the professional classes, should be considering, is the manner in which women have entered into industrial and professional life. Because of their sex women are less well paid for doing identically the same work as men. Men should take the line that women should always receive the same remuneration as men when doing similar work. It is a monstrous injustice that Parliament should now be considering the levying of a poll-tax upon working women in the shape of insurance without a single woman in the whole country having a vote as to whether it is right or wrong. Therefore I should support, and urge everyone else to support, the present Conciliation Bill as a step towards the ultimate grant of adult suffrage."

The Welter in East London.

"The industrial conditions among women discovered in London during the recent labour troubles (continued Mr Lansbury) were really appalling. In the South-East and East of London we discovered women who worked very often for wages of 3s 6d to 6s and 7s a week, and the amazing thing was that these women kept themselves pure and wholesome under such miserable conditions. What was even more remarkable to us was the fact that these women were backed up by others just a little better off, when the employers vainly tried to keep out of the fight by reason of their better-paid conditions. It was a great example of real solidarity of interests which I am certain will have its effect in the days to come."

Causes of the Unrest.

"I maintain" (Mr Lansbury went on) "that industrial unrest generally has been brought about almost entirely owing to the fact that people are now able to read and think. Everybody reads now, and although much that is perused is nonsense, still they do read, and thought is stimulated. The publication of balance-sheets and of revenue returns and of the amount brought in by the death duties is making the working man consider where it all comes from. The little education he has received is making him realise that in the last resort these things come from the social labour of all. My view is that the unrest is only beginning, and that we are by no means in sight of the end of it."

A Working Parliament.

Mr Lansbury, as might be expected, supported payment of members of Parliament which had to come. He pointed out that the ordinary man was not really aware of the cost of Parliamentary life. Even the charge for postage stamps ran up to a considerable sum in a week. At the same time he agreed with the opinions that if Parliament was only to be a social club and have academic discussions the public would be paying too big a sum for it; but he was hoping that with democracy really waking up and pushing its demands, members of Parliament would give a fair day's work for a fair day's wage. He thought that a necessary corollary of payment of members must be payment of the returning officer's expenses and second ballot.

Home Rule and the Lords.

In course of further talk Mr Lansbury expressed the opinion that Toryism as we used to know it was dead; that Tariff Reform was making no headway; and that in the future there might come into being a Central party defending capitalism. In Canada he believed the Labour party was beginning to emerge, and the result might some day prove remarkable. Regarding constitutional questions he had always held the opinion that Home Rule and the House of Lords ought to have been settled at the same time. In his opinion the country had reached a point when it should definitely recast its Constitution, and organise it on federal lines. He would have an Imperial Senate of directly elected representatives from the colonies and other dependencies and from the four kingdoms. To it should be remitted all questions relating to foreign affairs, to peace and war, inter-colonial or Imperial relationship. This would take the place of the present Houses of Parliament, and it should be open to all, peers or plebs. Then for each part of the Empire there should be the fullest self-government. He could see no

## Labour Party Angry at Mr. Churchill's Speech.

9 Oct. 1911 (223)  
**A FIGHTING CAMPAIGN.**

During the week-end several of the Labour M.P.'s will reply to Mr. Winston Churchill's threat against their policy.

He is advising the Liberals of his own constituency at Dundee to attempt to capture the second seat there, held by Mr. Wilkie, a Labour member.

This is by way of punishing the Labour party for putting up at the Kilmarnock by-election a candidate who attacked Mr. Churchill for his military policy during the strikes, and offended Mr. Lloyd George and the Liberal Chief Whip by picking holes in the Insurance Bill.

Mr. George Lansbury, Socialist M.P. for Bow and Bromley, will answer Mr. Churchill in speeches at Edinburgh and Glasgow on Sunday and Monday, and in other addresses on a Scottish tour. None of the speeches will be conciliatory.

What the Labour men complain of is the smugness with which Liberals, after an election, appropriate Labour votes as support of their measures; though before the polling Liberal Ministers couple Labour candidates with Conservative as deadly adversaries of Liberalism.

### MR. LANSBURY RECALLS HISTORY.

It is not unlikely that the mysterious tacit agreement on which Liberals and Labour have worked will now be violently broken—outside Parliament at least.

On the subject of Mr. Churchill's threat, Mr. Lansbury said to *The Evening News*: "If the Liberal party are spoiling for a fight, and the Liberal party bring on a fight, it is the Liberal party that will get considerably the worst of it.

"The question is not merely where we have seats, but where they hold seats by the vote of our people.

"I am quite sure of one thing. Mr. Churchill's speech will be remembered by Labour and Socialist supporters as a proof that when we really attack the capitalists—as we did in the recent labour upheaval—the rich men of all kinds come together and are our enemies.

"As for Mr. Churchill's statements about the use of soldiers and police, the answer is in Mr. W. E. Gladstone's and Mr. Harcourt's speeches on the Michelstown outrages. They are quite sufficient admonition for him.

"Remember Michelstown," they said. I have always remembered it, and I remember that they called Mr. Balfour 'Bloody Balfour.' And the English workman will take the view that the Irishman's life is of more value than his own or a Scotsman's or a Welshman's.

The Liberal Government which shoots one is equally as guilty as the Tory Government that shot down the other. Mr. Churchill bear that in mind when he is annoyed at our putting up a candidate to express our views on the way that the Government used the military and police forces."



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AY, OCTOBER 9, 1911.

MR LANSBURY IN EDINBURGH.

THE MILITARY IN STRIKES.

Mr George Lansbury, M.P., delivered an address last night in Pringle's Picture Palace, Edinburgh. Mr Kibble, Leith, presided, and there was a crowded attendance. The chairman stated that the meeting had been arranged some months ago by the Edinburgh Federation of the Independent Labour party, and that the chief speaker was to have been Mr Ramsay MacDonald, M.P. He expressed their great regret at the death of Mrs Ramsay Macdonald, to the value of whose work he paid a high tribute, and expressed regret that owing to restriction by the superior of the ground on which the Olympia was built a change had to be made on the meeting place.

MITCHELSTOWN RECALLED.

Mr Lansbury, who was enthusiastically received, spoke in support of a resolution indignantly protesting against the use of armed force for the purpose of coercing the workers in the recent labour troubles. He contrasted the attitude of the Liberal party towards the unfair and unconstitutional use of the military at Mitchelstown by Mr Balfour with the present attitude of the Liberal party towards recent events in South Wales and Liverpool. Mr Gladstone and Sir Wm. Harcourt put it on record in the House of Commons that the military should never be used unless the civil authority called them in and unless the civil authority were on the point of being overpowered. Before the recent strike commenced troops were moved into every centre whether they were asked for or not. In London the military occupied public property without anybody having given them any right to do so. Mr Churchill said that the soldier and the policeman was as amenable to the law as anybody else. His father said the same thing, and Mr Gladstone retorted that it was all very well, but what was the use of telling a person that the Courts were open to him when his brains were blown out? The Courts were open to them! Their graves were open to them, no doubt. (Laughter and applause.)

THE PURPOSE OF IT ALL.

Those troops were rushed all over England for the one purpose of trying to persuade the public and the railwaymen that they were doing something illegal if they came out on strike. The purpose was to browbeat the men into keeping at work. (Applause.) No one denied that the food supply must be kept open, but there was another way of keeping it open than by putting soldiers to "blackleg" railwaymen. How did the great democratic Government, whose heart bled for the poor—and who at the same time bled the poor—meet the situation? They first of all made speeches in the House of Commons. Mr Churchill put it on record that the Government intended that the food supply should be kept open. He charged Mr Churchill with meaning that if necessary the whole forces of the Crown were to be used for the purpose of "blacklegging" the railway servants. A Government that believed in democracy ought to have said to the railway directors—"You have made a mess of the food supply—of the transport trade of the country. We will put you on one side. We will organise the railway servants." They did not want to starve the people, nor did they want to coerce the workers into working under conditions which they hated, and they said that the proper thing for the Government to do was to take over the railways, and if public opinion said that the railways must be handed back to private enterprise the Government could have kept account, and settled up at the end of the dispute. But, true to Liberal and Tory traditions, the Government threw the whole weight of their power on the side of the railway companies. (Applause.)

LABOUR REPRESENTATION.

Mr Lansbury, in a reference to Mr Churchill's remarks about Labour representation, said that Mr Churchill knew which side his bread was buttered on, and, strong buccaneer as he was, he would think many times before he consented to a kind of three or four cornered fight in Dundee. But if he were anxious for it, and if the Liberal party were anxious for it throughout the Kingdom, he thought they could accommodate them. (Applause.) For any Labour man to be in Parliament on sufferance, and by the goodwill of the men of both the other parties would be intolerable. Capital was represented by Liberals and Tories, and the Labour policy must be dictated not by their convenience but by the convenience of the Labour party, and without reference to whether it would hurt the Liberals or the Tories. (Applause.)

WHY SCOTSMEN EMIGRATE.

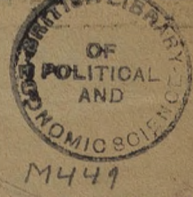
Why did Scotsmen flee the country as if it had the plague, and seek their chance abroad? It was because the worker was robbed week by week of two-thirds of what he earned. Until Parliament tackled that problem Parliament was not of much use to the workers. (Applause.) Scotland was poor only because of the capitalist system. Machinery and land and all the means of producing good things ought to be in the hands of the entire community. (Applause.) He visualised a time when men and women would perform the work of the world, not to build up property for millionaires, but for the benefit of all. He reminded them that the soil of Scotland reeked with the history of men who had done big things on behalf of freedom, and he asked them what they were doing to speed the coming of a better time. The resolution was carried with acclamation. During the evening selections were rendered by the Labour orchestra.

CHURCH AND THE INDUSTRIAL

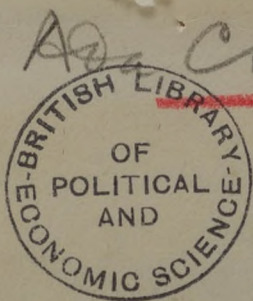
READERS of Mr George Lansbury's speech last night, and of the interview with him by an "Evening News" representative, will be surprised at the difference in tone. In the one case, we have a man eager to stir up an audience by flaming words; in the other, a man shrewd, critical, and common-sense in his judgment of public business. The speech will arouse strong protest. Mr Lansbury's picture of the Government engaged in "blacklegging" by means of soldiers on the railways is more a caricature than a presentment of reality. Take the instance of Liverpool. There was great want there, almost starvation, and a marked rise in the death-rate is on record to prove the disastrous public consequences of a strike in the transport service. Is any Government, be it of what political party it may, to stand with folded hands and allow ruin to be brought on the community at large? The railwaymen, or rather men like Mr Lansbury speaking on their behalf, take in effect this attitude: "We have a grievance against our employers. Let us kick the shins of the public." It has got to be remembered that the public interest and the public safety must go above everything with a Government representing the nation. The work must be done by somebody. Mr Lansbury is a Socialist, and believes in nationalising the great public services, railways included. Why? In the public interest, of course. Suppose the railwaymen all to become recognised public servants, would they retain the liberty to strike against Government? That would then be mutiny. Suppose, however, a strike to take place, after nationalisation, would not the Government be justified in actually using military engineers to run its trains? That would be merely employing one section of public servants to do the work another section of public servants refused to do, in face of the fact that the public service was the argument for taking them into the State's employment. Railwaymen would do well to think out carefully what their position would be as servants of the State. They might find the discipline still more severe, and the difficulty of rectifying their grievances still greater, than at present. Mr Lansbury gives food for thought in what he says, in the interview, regarding Parliamentary procedure. His remarks on the Insurance Bill especially are of grave import. Through the Bill being now treated as a question of Liberal confidence, it will not receive the candid judgment of members. And yet consider two points only, of manifest injustice. One was referred to by Mr Adamson, M.P., at Leslie. It is charging every artisan fourpence a week, whether his wage be one pound a week or two pounds. That is an income tax double weighted upon the poor. Again, there is the obvious unfairness of the treatment of women insurers, of which Mr Lansbury speaks. There are rocks ahead, but if Parliament drives right on to them, on the plea of confidence in the Government, the results cannot fail to be disastrous. Observers of political developments have a question to ask here. When will Parliament be fit to take over, as Socialists desire, all the business of production, distribution, and exchange, when it is not fit to be trusted in a relatively simple matter like health insurance?

HOLIDAY AT PEEBLES.—To-day is being observed in Peebles as the annual autumn holiday. The mills, shops, public offices, and banks are closed for the day, and special arrangements are afforded for visiting Glasgow Exhibition.

EDINBURGH PUBLIC LIBRARY. — For the week ending Saturday the undernoted books were issued to the public: Central, 5462; West Branch, 1674; North Branch, 1884; East Branch, 2966; South Branch, 1946; Portobello Branch, 1494; total, 15,426.



M449



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Arrana,  
Shelley Road,  
Worthing.

Oct. 16<sup>th</sup> 1911.

Dear Mr. Laesbury -  
I trust that  
Mr. Laesbury will  
forgive me, for writing  
to you <sup>in</sup> reply to his  
kind letter; I am  
quite anxious to  
make your acquaintance  
& so take this opportunity  
to introduce myself

to your notice. But  
I hope that Mr. Lausbury  
will be able to spare  
time - very soon - to  
bring you to spend  
a week's rest with us.  
It would give us all  
much delight.

The German Girl of  
whom I spoke about  
to Mr. Lausbury, is really  
domesticated, she will  
do anything about  
a house; On one

occasion I had to  
leave home for several  
days, & I was without  
a servant, but Fräulein  
cooked for my two sons  
& herself, & I found the  
house in fine order  
on my return;  
She is very amiable,  
I never once saw her  
out of temper! But  
one thing she cannot  
do, that is - plain  
needlework & darning.

She is a splendid  
Teacher, & is well read.  
She would be a treasure  
where there are children.

I have written to ask  
her if she would like  
to come to England  
again, and I will  
let you know directly  
I hear from her;

I am sending a  
Photo of Franlicien, —  
(Tilly Ehlers) taken in  
our garden last-year,  
she is not-very big.



~~2~~  
16 Oct. 1911

(229)  
Arcana,  
Shelley Road,  
Worthing.

I sincerely trust that  
your daughter will  
pass her exam next  
month, she will need  
a good rest afterwards;  
I should be so pleased  
if you will spare  
your daughter to come  
to us for a week or  
two's rest, I would take  
great care of her, &  
my son Jack would

Take her for runs  
in our motor car, &  
show her Sussex.

"Jack" is our boy who  
is organizer to Working  
branch of the I.L.P.

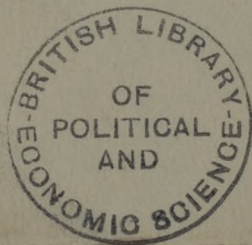
Mr. Lausbury can  
tell you that we are  
very homely people,  
but I will try & make  
Miss Lausbury very  
comfortable, if you

will allow her to  
come.

I fear, dear Mr. Lausbury  
that you will think  
me a "gossipy old  
person"! but since  
I had the pleasure  
of a chat with your  
kind, clever, husband,  
I have been thinking  
of you as an old  
friend, may I continue  
to do so?

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With our kindest  
regard to Mr. Sturtevant  
yourself & family  
Yours very sincerely  
Ada Cripps.



M449

13 Clifden Road (231)

E. C. Fairchild  
(of B.S.P.A.)

Clapton N.E.

October 25. 1911

Dear Lansbury,

I see the news in this  
mornings papers about the  
Labour N.Y. meeting and its  
action on the Insurance Bill.

If it ~~is~~<sup>is</sup> as the "Daily News"  
has it "I want today I  
sincerely hope the other  
three and yourself will  
stick to the course —  
independence — without  
any hesitancy at all.  
Much though I desire to see  
co-operation between Socialists  
and non Soc. trade unions &

on all possible occasions  
it will be the driving under  
of English Socialism if  
Macdonald's policy on this  
Bill is adopted. The  
more I study the thing the  
more convinced I am  
that whatever it may be  
actuarially, it is the  
most dangerous measure  
ever proposed so far as  
the future of organised  
labour is concerned.

When first the Labour men were  
returned I welcomed the fact  
though it was far from  
definite Socialism, but - )

think it is pretty clear now  
that definite binding  
alliance between Soc & non  
Socialist is not good for the  
working class movement.

Anyway I feel that your  
action can do nothing but good  
to the general position of  
Socialism here. Coming just at  
the moment when inside what  
seems likely to be a new  
Socialist Party - some of us  
have just achieved  
prevented its being so much  
as tinged by imperialism -  
though I don't wonder at  
extremities after so much  
opportunism — your

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departure from the Official  
Lab & Policy will be of  
immense value to the  
"possibilities"

Really, I think the time  
is come for us to make a  
socialist P.S. The working class  
are tired of the politicians. And  
in the present temper of the  
S.D. there would be no  
difficulty at all about  
making it broad enough &  
without too much insistence  
on material issues only

good luck  
Yours

M449  
J.C. Garched



THE ST STEPHEN'S INTELLIGENCE BUREAU,

CHARLES WATNEY JAMES A. LITTLE.

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TELEPHONE: 9423 CITY.  
TELEGRAMS & CABLEGRAMS:  
"OMNIACTIVE, LONDON!"  
(A.B.C. CODE 5TH EDITION.)

Westinghouse Building,  
2 & 3, Norfolk Street,  
Strand.

London, 26 Oct., 1911  
w.c.

Strictly Confidential.

Dear Mr. Lansbury,

I do not like using a typewriter, but as my scribbling is so very very rough, perhaps I had better.

You may have noticed a story in the Daily News this morning concerning the Labour Party. I thought at the time that the story in question might be productive of a certain amount of good for someone, but everybody in the Labour Party apparently united in denying that anything of the sort occurred, and the Daily News are naturally a little bit annoyed. I wonder whether it would be possible for you to add to your many kindnesses by dropping a note to Gardiner, the Editor, and saying that the facts are practically as were stated in his paper, but while there is no intention of forming a separate group there is every intention on the part of the four members in question to act independently of their party in the matter of the Insurance Bill. If you could do this, you would be doing me the greatest of kindnesses, as the stream of denial which the statement has evoked has seriously damaged my credit, though any man can see that the denials are of such character as to prove the truth of the story.

With kind regards and very best thanks,  
Yours truly,

James A. Little.

*[The National Insurance Bill]*

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**THE BRITISH HOMOEOPATHIC ASSOCIATION (INCORPORATED).**

CHALMERS HOUSE,  
43, RUSSELL SQUARE,  
LONDON, W.C.

TELEPHONE: GERRARD 194.

*From  
Dr. W.A. Davidson  
735 Noelwood Rd  
W*

NATIONAL INSURANCE BILL.

28th October, 1911.

Dear Sir,

On behalf of the Fellows and Members of the British Homoeopathic Society and the Council and other Members of the British Homoeopathic Association (Incorporated) we desire to express their cordial thanks for your good offices in response to their communications with you upon the National Insurance Bill in the interests of the Members of the medical profession and their lay patients and supporters who have adopted the principles of Homoeopathy.

*Thanking  
you*

That Clause 14 of the Bill as amended in Committee, and as it now stands, reasonably protects those interests is, in the opinion of those for whom we write, due in no small measure, to the efforts of yourself and other Members of Parliament who have so kindly co-operated with you.

It is, however, desired that the good results which have been obtained, and in particular Sub-sections (b) and (c) of Sub-Clause 2 and Sub-Clause 5 of the main Clause 14 of the Bill, which in effect seem to secure to Homoeopathic Practitioners the right to be included in the published Lists of Medical Practitioners to whom patients under the Bill may go, and the right where the circumstances justify it to dispense their own medicines, and to patients who prefer to be treated homoeopathically, the right to select from the published Lists Homoeopathic Practitioners to treat them, and the right to Homoeopathic Chemists to be placed on the published Lists of Chemists who may supply drugs, medicines and medical appliances, shall not be jeopardized by any amendments which may hereafter be made in the Clauses of the Bill which have still to be dealt with in Committee.

*Your  
kind efforts  
have been  
successful*

We should therefore be very greatly obliged if you would kindly watch the Bill through its remaining stages in the House of Commons, and do what you can to prevent the protection now afforded to Homoeopathic Practitioners, Chemists and those

*But watch  
to the end.*



British Homoeopathic Assoc.

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28 Oct. 1911

2.

Members of the general public who have adopted the principles of Homoeopathy from being either weakened or destroyed.

We are, dear Sir,

Yours faithfully,

G. Wyatt Truscott  
President, British Homoeopathic Association  
(Incorporated)

Donoughmore  
Vice-President, British Homoeopathic Association  
(Incorporated)

T.G. Stonham, M.D.  
President, British Homoeopathic  
Society  
D. MacNish  
Hon. Sec. British Homoeopathic  
Society.



**Independent  
Labour Party**

CHAIRMAN: RAMSAY MACDONALD, M.P.  
TREASURER: T. D. BENSON.  
SECRETARY: FRANCIS JOHNSON.  
HEAD OFFICE: 3, BRIDE LANE,  
FLEET STREET LONDON, E.C.

[re National Insurance Bill]

(236)

Grantham Branch

From A. H. Stuart Secretary

70 Edward St

Grantham

Oct 30<sup>th</sup>

[1911]

Dear Comrade

At a meeting of the above Branch held on Sunday Oct 29<sup>th</sup> the following resolution was passed unanimously

"That this meeting endorses the action taken by Messrs Lansbury, Snowden, Jowett & Thorne in refusing to vote with the party on the National Insurance Bill & affirms its previous decision that if a poll of the workers was taken on the measure it would be rejected by a large majority"

To G. Lansbury, M.P.

House of Commons S.W.

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Nov 1911  
The Friend. It is just on the cards that Mr. Lansbury is one of those friends from whom Mr. Lloyd George would desire to be saved. It was under the latter's *agis*, and with the hall-mark of his approval, that the belligerent Socialist first stormed the House at the bidding of Bow and Bromley, and he has since developed into one of the acutest and most uncompromising critics of the Insurance Bill. The Chancellor little dreamed what a viper he was nourishing in his bosom when he went out of his way to exhort the humdrum Liberals and Radicals of Bow and Bromley to hoist the red flag and give their votes to Mr. Lansbury. Not only has the *protégé* become a tyrant, but he has acquired an acceptable Parliamentary manner in the process. His first speech, delivered on a Friday afternoon, attracted some attention by reason of the past record of its author. It proved a disappointment as reckoned by the standards of the House, for it quickly degenerated into little more than Tower Hill blather. But Mr. Lansbury has proved an apt pupil in the Parliamentary style. He is less and less inclined to slip into the old bad habits, and has now reached the point at which, unless led astray by a side issue, he is almost capable of carrying a logical, well-balanced argument to its proper conclusion. Mr. Lansbury always had a gift of rough repartee, cultivated in the robust atmosphere of the street corner, and the House is learning to enjoy the Rolands that he gives for Olivets. He is also endowed with a tremendous voice, which can penetrate almost any chorus of disapproval. Moreover, he is always ready, even spoiling, for a fight, as Mr. Lloyd George discovered to his discomfort on Wednesday. The Chancellor had chosen to open his justification of the Post Office deposit contributor clause, as it is known in the jargon of the Bill, by bringing all his horse, foot and artillery to bear upon Mr. Lyttelton, one of the gentlest and most courteous of political antagonists and, having danced upon his inoffensive victim, ventured to turn upon Mr. Lansbury. In an instant the voice of Bow and Bromley boomed defiance from below the gangway and, realising his peril, Mr. Lloyd George made a prompt strategic movement to the rear.

Apart from the period allotted  
Our Half-Hour to questions the private member

the

the transport of His Majesty's... However, only acted... three mail trains. They... pay, but no wages from the... is not aware whether profits were... running those trains, but from... he had he thought that prob... a loss.

### BALANCES AT THE POST-OFFICE.

Mr. H. SAMUEL (Postmaster General) informed Mr. H. W. Bottomley (Ind.—South Hackney) that the number of dormant accounts under £1 in the Post-office Savings Bank was 3,460,387, and the total of unclaimed balances upon them was £372,091. No figures were available for larger accounts.

Mr. BOTTOMLEY: Will the right hon. gentleman consider the propriety of advertising the names of the people to whom this money is due? Is he not retaining money by fraud?—"Oh," and laughter.)

Mr. SAMUEL: The money is there awaiting payment. As the average value of these accounts is only 2s. 2d. I am not sure that it is worth while advertising three and a half million names.—(Laughter.)

Mr. BOTTOMLEY: Will the right hon. gentleman accept my offer to advertise them free of charge in the most widely read publication in the country?—(Laughter.) No reply was given.

### "SCOTLAND," NOT "N.B."

In answer to Mr. R. Munro (L—Wick Burghs), Mr. SAMUEL said: The use of the letters "N.B." as the postal designation of Scotland has no official sanction, and as no one now speaks of Scotland as "North Britain," and as letters addressed with those initials are liable to be sent to New Brunswick—(laughter)—the Post-office would prefer that they should not be used. A notice to this effect has indeed appeared in the Post-office Guide, and I propose to reinsert it.—(Hear, hear.)

### COUNTY COURT PROCEDURE.

Mr. J. R. P. NEWMAN (U—Enfield) asked the Prime Minister whether his attention had been drawn to remarks made by Sir Thomas Snagge at the Kettering County Court during the present week, when his Honour, in dealing with 118 judgment summonses, characterised the same as a monstrous system of our law, and said that the Treasury were running county courts like a shop, so that the more customers that went to the shop the more fees went to the Treasury, and that the work was oppressive and oppressing to county court judges. Did the Government contemplate introducing any remedial legislation in the matter?

Mr. ASQUITH (Prime Minister): I have seen a newspaper report of the remarks attributed to Judge Snagge. I cannot gather from them in what respect an alteration in existing county court procedure is suggested. Any representations addressed to the Lord Chancellor by a county court judge as to inequalities or hardships under the existing procedure in county courts would, of course, receive most careful consideration.

### THE CRIMINAL APPEAL ACT.

Mr. J. ROWLANDS (L—Dartford) asked whether the Government intended to introduce a bill to amend the Criminal Appeal Act, 1907.

Mr. ASQUITH: Although it is quite impossible to add to the Government bills at this stage of the session, the Lord Chancellor has this matter under his consideration.

### HOUSE OF LORDS REFORM.

Mr. B. HUNT (U—Ludlow) asked when the Government proposed to bring in a bill for creating a new Second Chamber with power to refer important bills to the people.

Mr. ASQUITH: I am not able to name the date on which any proposals of the Government on this subject will be submitted to Parliament.—(Deductive Opposition cheers.)

Mr. HUNT: Are we to understand, then, that the day is too far off?—(Opposition cheers.) No answer was given.

### HOME RULE.

Mr. H. A. WATT (L—Glasgow) asked whether, under the Home Rule Bill of next session, two Houses would be given to Ireland, as foreshadowed by the Chief Secretary; whether this meant that when the "All-round" scheme was adopted there would be ten Houses of Parliament in the United Kingdom; and whether the Prime Minister would give a promise that Scotland would be next dealt with.

Mr. ASQUITH: I cannot anticipate by any

to make... prevent any... The necessity... measure arises directly out of the... of Mr. Williamson by the Abors, but this opportunity will be taken of obtaining information regarding the nature and limits of the country. No expedition is being sent "against Rima," which is in Tibet.

### NEW MEMBER.

Mr. S. O. Buckmaster (L) took his seat as member for Keighley, in room of the late Sir John Brigg. He was heartily received by the Ministerialists.

## THE INSURANCE BILL.

### COMMITTEE STAGE.

The House went into Committee on the Insurance Bill, taking up clause 31, which provides for the case of a deficit in the funds of an approved society.

Mr. G. LANSBURY (Lab.—Bow and Bromley) moved an amendment to provide that no compulsory levy should be made upon persons whose wages were less than 30s. a week or during unemployment. He said there would be many families who would find the 4d. a week as much as they could afford to pay, and a levy on the top of that would be a grievous hardship. He knew just how far 30s. a week would go. When his wages were 30s. a week he neither drank nor smoked nor went to the theatre, and was obliged to leave the Hearts of Oak Society because he could not keep up his payments. Every penny of the 30s. was spent on his household.

Mr. LLOYD GEORGE (Chancellor of the Exchequer) could not accept the amendment, which he said was neither practicable nor fair.

Mr. Lansbury insisted on a division. The figures were—for the amendment, 3; against, 238.

Mr. LANSBURY moved another amendment to provide that in no case should a compulsory levy be enforced by or through the employer by way of deduction from wages. He said that up to now they had levied taxes by a vote in Parliament, but under this clause they were giving the right to someone else to go to a man's employer and take something of which Parliament would have no cognisance at all. It was a gross infringement of a man's right to spend his wages as he pleased.

Mr. LLOYD GEORGE said this amendment was exactly of the same character as the last—it was hopelessly impracticable. A levy was not likely to produce much unless it was compulsory. It would be far better there should be no levy at all, but a reduction of benefits.

Mr. C. BATHURST (U—Wilton) thought it would throw a great deal of additional odium on the employer if the levy had to be collected by a deduction from wages.

Mr. LLOYD GEORGE said there could be no odium on the employer. It was the society by a majority of its members that would decide upon the levy. It would be a costly matter to collect unless by way of deduction from wages.

Mr. W. PEARCE (L—Limehouse) said that as an employer of labour he would regard it as a very disagreeable duty to have to make this deduction from a workman's wages. It was quite different from the regular weekly deduction from a man's wages. It was, in fact, making an employer assist in the recovery of a debt. The money might be recovered in some other way.

Mr. LLOYD GEORGE: How?

Mr. PEARCE: How are all other debts recovered?—(Laughter.)

Mr. H. K. NEWTON (U—Harwich) suggested that the system outlined in the clause would enable an employer to ascertain in what society a workman was. That was a result which he understood it was desired to avoid.

Mr. W. JOYNSON-HICKS (U—Brentford) emphasised the same view.

Mr. L. S. AMERY (U—South Birmingham) said the clause was placing an unreasonable burden on the employer.

Mr. J. PARKER (Lab.—Halifax) declared his intention of supporting the clause as it stood. No other method of collecting the money would be less cumbersome.

Mr. LANSBURY: The Chancellor of the Exchequer says I am an Individualist, but I think myself to be a Collectivist. Collectivism is bearing one another's burdens, and this bill does nothing of the kind.—(Laughter.)

Mr. A. CHAMBERLAIN (U—East Worcestershire) and Mr. W. A. MOUNT (U—Newbury) raised the question of the working of the clause in the case of the casual labourer. From which of such a man's many employers would the money be collected, they asked.

Mr. LLOYD GEORGE said there was really no difficulty. There might be a notification to an employer on the face of the card. The

On clause... The Post-office deposits... The CHAIRMAN... with the arra... wide discussion wou... The first paragraph... until Parliament oth... visions of the clause shall apply to... insured persons (deposit contributor... being employed contributors, have no... an approved society within the prescri... or who, having been members of an... society, have been expelled therefrom... not joined another approved society.

Mr. A. SHERWELL (L—Huddersfield) moved an amendment the effect of which was the clause operative only until January. It was common ground on both sides. In the House, he said, that in clause 32 they had the weakest spot in the Insurance Bill. It was certainly a part of the bill which caused most misgiving to those who welcomed heartedly the object and spirit of the bill, who believed that in its main object it was probably the most notable and far-reaching contribution to the solution of the problem that the present generation had to face. It was one of the tragedies connected with reform legislation that it must appear while benefiting the many, appear harder for the few. There were a great many of people whom the House had in view in any attempt at social reform. There was the class, happily and helpfully helped by a scheme of the bill, which was the second class, happily a small class, which could not be helped by social reform, but whose only alleviation was the Insurance Bill, particularly its main provision, which was primarily concerned with the case of the deposit contributor. It could be helped a little, but it would keep on the top of the social ladder, and in the ordinary course of things would do benefits. But it could not be helped, and it could be only alleviated by the bill, which was indisputably to a large extent inadequate.

### "Not an Ins..."

Under the bill... person who became... in the ordinary b... He received sickne... disablement and... received those benef... period of time... amount of the fu... the Post-office... there was an... torium benefit... contributor might... fit than was allo... to his credit. B... posit contributi... at all.—(Opposi... in any pool... nary advanta... lows; he ha... shown to him... especially in... to unemploy... is a position... strictly on a... ad that wh... im he had, a... in one very in... tributor suffe... paid in, becau... vided, for som... deposit contri... ing to his en... could not be g... It was to be... no longer... passed.

### Two o...

On the other... arrangement was... arrangement. Th... contributions en... the employer... with the arrange... conferred, while... point, did not... the particular... the ranks of the... deposit contribu... of the commu...

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1 Nov. 1911

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

INSURANCE BILL IN COMMITTEE.

THE CASE OF THE DEPOSIT CONTRIBUTORS.

A TIME LIMIT SUGGESTED. (FROM OUR OWN REPORTERS.)

The Speaker took the chair yesterday at a quarter to three.

THE SUGAR CONVENTION.

Sir E. GREY (Foreign Secretary) stated, in answer to Mr. G. J. Bentham (L—Gainsborough) and Mr. F. Lough (L—West Islington), that the extraordinary session of the Brussels Sugar Convention on Thursday last was adjourned until the 8th December. An understanding had been come to by which the other Continental States which were parties to the Sugar Convention accepted the Russian proposal (to increase the amount of Russian sugar exported westwards) in principle, provided that an arrangement could be arrived at which was satisfactory as regards the future. The British delegate supported the Russian proposal. He expected, in the course of a day or so, to have in his hands the report of the British delegate, and when he had read it he would either make a more detailed statement or, if it could be done, lay the report before the House.

INDIAN TROOPS IN PERSIA.

In reply to Mr. J. King (L—North Somerset), Sir E. GREY said it was a fact that Indian troops had been sent to Persia. The Persian Government had not concurred in this action. The object for which the troops were sent, namely, the safety of British lives and property at Bushire and elsewhere, had not, in the opinion of His Majesty's Government, yet been attained. The Persian Government had been informed that as they succeeded in putting into operation an effective scheme for the restoration of security the reinforcements of the British Consular escort would be withdrawn. It was not yet possible to name a day when the measures in question would have been executed by the Persian Government.

In reply to further questions by Mr. King and Mr. P. Morrell (L—Burnley),

Sir E. GREY added that the Persian Government requested that the increase of Consular escort should not be made, but His Majesty's Government, in view of the reports they received of actual danger to lives and property in the one or two towns in question, were not able to abandon their intention. He understood that the Russian Government were also sending increases to their Consular escorts in one or two places, amounting to 100 in one case and from 100 to 200 in another.

THE IRISH RAILWAY STRIKE.

Mr. J. C. WEDGWOOD (L—Newcastle-under-Lyme) asked whether troops were employed in running trains in Ireland during the recent railway strike; if so, were their wages paid by the railway company; and did the profits derived from the running of the trains accrue to the company or to the Exchequer.

Colonel SEELY (Under Secretary for War) said a number of Royal Engineers were employed in Ireland in

statement now the provisions which may be embodied in future proposals for legislation.

LONDON'S CASUAL WARDS.]

A PROJECTED CHANGE.

Mr. W. ORMSBY-GORE (U—Denbigh District) asked whether the President of the Local Government Board contemplated making an Order transferring authority over casual paupers in London from the Poor Law Unions to the Metropolitan Asylums Board; whether a similar change would be made in other parts of the country; and whether the House would be given an opportunity of discussing the Order before it was put into force.

Mr. BURNS (President of the Local Government Board): I am considering whether it may not be possible to improve the present system of dealing with casuals in London by transferring to the Metropolitan Asylums Board the management of the casual wards. For the present I am not proposing to touch the system in operation in the rest of the country. I shall be happy to consider any suggestions which hon. members may wish to make to me on the London question, but I do not think it is necessary to defer dealing with it until there has been a formal discussion on the subject in this House.

Mr. H. L. LAWSON (U—Mile End): Is it possible to make this transfer without legislation?

Mr. BURNS: Yes, it is.

BUSINESS ARRANGEMENTS.

In reply to Lord Balcarras (Chief Opposition Whip),

Mr. ASQUITH said that on Friday it was proposed to take the Report and third reading stages of the Naval Prize Bill. On Monday next the business would be the Report and third reading of the Small Landholders (Scotland) Bill. The rest of next week would be devoted to the National Insurance Bill.

WOMEN AND INSURANCE.

Mr. H. W. FORSTER (U—Sevenoaks) asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether, in view of the importance of the debate on Thursday on the women's clause (No. 34) in the Insurance Bill, he would publish a statement as to the actuarial position of women before the clause was reached. He also asked whether, considering the very large number of amendments which it was understood that the right hon. gentleman proposed to accept to that clause, it would be possible to issue a reprint of the clause showing how it would read if the amendments were carried.

Mr. LLOYD GEORGE (Chancellor of the Exchequer) said he would see that both requests were complied with.

PLAGUE MORTALITY IN INDIA.

In reply to Mr. Keir Hardie (Lab.—Merthyr Tydvil),

Mr. MONTAGU (Under Secretary for India) said: The mortality from plague during the last three months in British India and Native States has been as follows:—In July, 8,987 deaths; August, 14,191; September, 28,618. There is very little plague in Northern India, only thirteen deaths from it being recorded in the Punjab during September, but a severe epidemic has broken out in the Bombay Presidency, where 20,470 of the total number of deaths in September occurred. Madras and Mysore are also affected, though in a slighter degree.

INDIAN EXPEDITIONS.

Sir W. P. BYLES (L—North Salford) asked whether the Secretary for India had sanctioned, in addition to the expedition against the Abors, an expedition against the Mishmis and an expedition against the Rima; and, if so, upon what terms.

moment a society decided that there was an additional levy, fresh cards must be to the members of that society. On the the card there would be a notification employer was to collect fivepence. of the casual labourer the procedure this—the last employer of the man would his card with fourpence. The next time man went to work there would be a change he would have to pay fivepence. On the the card there would be a notification that ever employed him was to deduct fivepence. The employers in Germany had five deductions to make; they had to distribute between five classes of cards. There it was according to the colour of the card.

On a division the amendment was defeated 230 to 90—Government majority 140.

INSURANCE COMMISSIONERS' SCHEMES.

Mr. G. LOCKER-LAMPSON (U—Salisbury) moved an amendment forbidding the Insurance Commissioners to withhold their sanction from a scheme submitted to them by a society making good a deficiency except on the ground of inadequacy. He feared that as the Insurance Commissioners stood to gain by the reduction of benefits, they would give the Commissioners the tip-off as to any scheme that did not provide for a reduction.

Sir RUFUS ISAACS (Attorney General) said the amendment was really not necessary. It would restrict the discretion which was vested in the Commissioners. He suggested the idea that the Treasury would have a mysterious reason attempt to influence the Commissioners. The Commissioners were left to decide these matters in a judicial manner.

Mr. F. CASSEL (U—St. Pancras) said another instance of the way in which the Insurance Commissioners undermined the independence of the societies. The clause as it stood would allow those societies could not be trusted with their own members. The bill would make them the mere appendages of a body of bureaucratic officials.

The Committee divided, and there voted: For the amendment ..... Against ..... Majority against.....

AN AMENDMENT ACCEPTED.

Section (d) of clause 31 provides that if six months after the declaration of a deficiency an approved society does not take certain prescribed steps to meet the case the Insurance Commissioners may take over the administration of the affairs of the society.

Mr. L. S. AMERY (U—Birmingham) moved the addition of a proviso that the Insurance Commissioners should within a period not exceeding three years, either transfer to the society its powers of self-government, or transferring its members to the Post-office fund.

Sir R. ISAACS at once accepted the amendment, which was agreed to.

THE LIABILITY OF LEAVING MEMBERS.

Mr. J. L. BAIRD (U—Rugby) moved an amendment to section (g), which provides that a member who is transferred to another society before a deficiency is made good shall not be liable to any levy just as if he had not ceased to be a member. Mr. Baird said the object of the amendment was to limit the liability of a member. As the clause stood he was liable to a levy ten years after he had ceased to be a member. He suggested that the member should not be liable if he had been a member of the original society when the valuation was made.

Sir R. ISAACS agreed that there should be some limit to the liability of a member, but he did not think it was quite covered by the amendment. After

at all. The result would be that most of them would in a very short time be turned out of the scheme with nothing. That was not the way to cure the evil of destitution and ill-health. If he, as Chairman of the Housing Committee of the London County Council, had £1,000,000 a year from national sources to spend on clearing away slums, that would do a good deal more good than spending the money on sanatoria.

Mr. T. E. HARVEY (L—Leeds) supported the appeal made by Mr. Sherwell that the Chancellor of the Exchequer should supplement his scheme by an additional grant for the medical treatment of children. It was essential to the success of an insurance scheme that diseases should be prevented in childhood which otherwise might make serious inroads on the insurance funds.

Sir R. BAKER (U—South Dorset) thought this part of the scheme so thoroughly bad that there was no use saying it should be reconsidered in three years' time. It would be better to drop it out of the bill now, and reconsider it next year.

Mr. ELLIS DAVIES (L—Eifion) did not think the Government fully realised the position of the casual labourer and the man whose wages were very low even when in full employment. In his constituency the average wages of the agricultural labourer were 18s. 7d. a week, and allowing for the time when he was out of work it was easy to see that such a man might very soon be out of benefit. He hoped the conditions in the bill with regard to labourers in Ireland would be applied to labourers in this country, or at any rate in Wales.

Mr. W. E. HUME-WILLIAMS (U—Bassetlaw) described the scheme so far as the Post-office contributors were concerned as sham insurance.

Dr. W. A. CHAPPLE (L—Stirlingshire) thought some members were making the mistake of regarding the bill as a complete measure of social reform. It was not intended to be anything of the kind. It was intended to supplement efforts for reform which were now going on, and would continue to go on concurrently with the operation of the bill.

Mr. G. LOCKER-LAMPSON said that if anything could be done for the deposit contributor it ought to be done without delay. When the present fluidity of the bill was solidified into an Act of Parliament it would be practically impossible to do anything to insure those classes of the community now left in the lurch.

#### "BEGINNING WITH THE CHILDREN."

Mr. P. ALDEN (L—Tottenham) regarded clause 32 as a sort of experiment in the direction of helping, though perhaps not very substantially, a body of people who were too weak to help themselves. He was in favour of beginning with the children. A substantial grant should be made to local education authorities for the medical treatment of children after they had been inspected. It was impossible in later life to remedy the weakness of a man who was amongst the unemployable. The bill could not do very much for the casual labourer—for the man who had never had a fair chance because he had never been properly fed. What was wanted was a means of ensuring that every man, by proper attention from childhood, should be given a fair chance.

Mr. BAIRD asked whether the Chancellor of the Exchequer endorsed the view that the clause was only an experiment.

Mr. A. ROWNTREE (L—York) urged the importance of recognising that in a bill of that kind it was impossible to do everything. The bill might not go as far as many of them wished, but if it were true that the reasons for poverty were largely sickness and unemployment anything that would provide help in sickness or would deal with unemployment was in the best sense of the word a preventive measure. He hoped that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would give some promise that he was prepared to weave into this bill some of the suggestions made by the mover of the amendment. If the bill was to be a success and if the funds of the societies were to be solvent, it was immensely important to lift up the whole standard of the health of the nation. One of the best ways of doing that was to start with the child. Medical inspection had shown that 60,000 children were tubercular. The figures emphasised the immense importance of dealing with that branch of the subject. He believed it would be found after three years' experimental operation of the bill that the deposit contributors were not an insurable class, and that they must be dealt with in another way. It would be of real advantage to any reform measure that followed this bill if the three years were used in trying to find out exactly who the deposit contributors were and what they needed.

Mr. CLAUDE LOWTHER (U—Eskdale) said that with the greater part of Mr. Lansbury's speech everybody in the House, except perhaps the Chancellor of the Exchequer, was in accord. It was a pity that Mr. Lansbury spoilt his speech by a very cheap Socialist peroration about the capitalist system. Those arguments had been relegated to the street-corner orator, whose audience in turn had relegated them to the dustbin.

Mr. LANSBURY: Well, they relegated me here.—(Cheers and laughter.)

Mr. LOWTHER, continuing, said that the

Mr. LLOYD GEORGE: ...  
we should charge people acco...  
Mr. LYTELTON said his p...  
deposit contributors were con...  
benefits to people who read...  
them.—(Ministerial cries of "I...  
sick pay which was given und...  
so bounteous a hand was read...  
many of those who would rec...  
served that the Chancellor smil...  
he had figures to show that...  
eight or nine millions of the...  
pay was already the subject...  
would ask the Chancellor if...  
figure?

Mr. LLOYD GEORGE: Y...  
Mr. LYTELTON proceeded

large classes to whom sick...  
superfluous—domestic servants...  
The spectre dreaded by t...  
classes was not sickness of a ten...  
acter, but inefficiency arising from...  
ablement in middle age. For...  
vision whatever was made in the...  
was also very neglectful of wid...  
children, and did nothing to cover th...  
premature death.

Mr. H. CAWLEY (L—Heywood) said...  
was not satisfied with the clause as...  
There was one particular difficulty...

...was ill and at the end of a year...  
ceiving medical benefit the doc...  
attend him, no matter how seri...  
case might be. The same was...  
torium benefit. But, while ad...  
fect, he could not help thinkin...  
justices of the position of the...  
tributor had been greatly exagger...  
one more so than by Mr. Lyttle...  
gentleman had said that the...  
no right to experiment with the poo...  
poor. The scheme was admitted...  
mental. But in what sense? Th...  
ment were giving an undoubted ben...  
poorest of the poor with the vie...  
whether it was sufficient or not. It...  
tain, moreover, that man for man the...  
contributor got the same money value...  
bill as did other beneficiaries. Not...  
penny paid in on behalf of the depo...  
tributors went to a friendly society or...  
one but the deposit contributors. It...  
that when a deposit contributor die...  
accumulations were forfeited. What fo...  
the benefit of the other deposit cont...  
He had received representations...  
under this scheme people who wer...  
worst off, the poor men who were bad...  
ployed and therefore ran into arrears, g...  
benefit for their contributions. Quite righ...  
great deal had been made of their case...  
such men were better off under the...  
scheme than they were under the res...  
scheme. They, at any rate, got value...  
that they paid in. Nor did he believe...  
men would be a numerous body under...  
The provisions of the bill in relation...  
were so much more generous than th...  
sions of friendly societies that such m...  
not likely to be so numerous under the...  
they would be if the scheme were like a...  
society scheme.

At 10 50 Mr. LLOYD GEORGE move...  
progress be reported, and the motio...  
carried.

#### THIRD READING.

On the House resuming, the Railway...  
panies (Accounts and Returns) Bill p...  
the Report stage, and was read a third...  
without discussion.

The House rose at five minutes to eleven

#### LORD LYTTON AND THE CONCILIATION BILL.

"FIERCE, BITTER STRIFE" IF IT NOT PASS.  
Lord Lytton, speaking at Leeds last...  
support of the Conciliation Bill, sa...  
women were going to have the vote be...  
next general election, because those...  
manded it were in earnest. If this...  
not go through, the women's suffrage m...  
would not be stopped, but the spirit of...  
tion, of which this bill was the expre...  
would be destroyed, and there would be...  
throughout the country—raging, tearing, fi...  
bitter strife, though nobody wanted it.

#### FLOODS IN CUMBERLAND.

Men from the Cumberland fells who succe...  
in getting through to Wigton market yeste...  
told of remarkable experiences of the floc...  
lowing the heavy rainfall. At Millhou...  
river Caldew overflowed the banks and...  
houses. Furniture floated about, and...  
habitants had to seek refuge in the upper...  
At the foot of Carrock Fell the roadw...  
turned into a torrent, and hillmen goin...  
meeting of the Skiddaw and Caldbeck she...  
had to turn back after some exciting at...  
to get through. Losses of hill sheep h...  
tunately been light.

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most heavily handicapped lives. Such classes—the physically bad life, the morally bad life which included the thriftless, and the casual worker with precarious employment. Amongst the last-named were many women. There was also a fourth class—those who had failed to join a friendly society within the specified time and found that the easiest way out of their difficulty was to join the Post-office Fund. From the first the Chancellor of the Exchequer had shown himself fully alive to the drawbacks of the proposals of the clause. It might fairly be asked what counter proposals the critics had to offer. Mr. Sherwell added that, speaking for himself, he frankly acknowledged that he did not see how it was possible to do more for these people on the present basis of the bill. To say that was not to indict the basis of the bill. On the whole, he was inclined to think that the basis was not merely the best, but the only practicable basis for a national insurance scheme of these dimensions.

### The Problem of the Child.

The radical defect in any proposal for a separate society for the people of the deposit contributor class was that it begged the vital question whether those people were insurable or not. He held that they were not insurable. He believed that when the House came to deal with those people it was up against the ultimate problem of poverty and helplessness, and would have to set up an entirely different machinery to meet their needs. This clause only gave a palliative where a cure was wanted. We should try to stop the stream of deposit contributors at its source. Sanatorium treatment should be provided for every man, woman, or child who needed it. But that would not be enough. The problem was really the problem of the child. Until that was realised there was no hope of improving the national health. While we had nearly 4,000,000 children out of the 6,000,000 on the registers of the public elementary schools in England and Wales suffering from defined and in many cases serious physical defects it was impossible to hope for a radical improvement in the national health. We should not secure that improvement until we linked on this great insurance scheme some provision for child life. It was in the hope that something more radical and more comprehensive might be proposed meanwhile to solve these problems that he suggested a time limit to the clause.

Mr. LANSBURY said the problem of the deposit contributor was inherent in the commercial life of to-day, in the housing conditions of the people, and in the fact that multitudes of men and women were unable to earn enough to provide the necessaries of life. A good deal of the bad health among children to which Mr. Sherwell had referred was due to malnutrition, bad feeding, and bad home conditions generally. No amount of insuring against the results of that state of things could be a satisfactory solution of the problem. The proposal to insure against ill-health and unemployment was proceeding on wrong lines. As Mr. Sherwell had said, most of these evils were preventable. What was the use of setting up an elaborate scheme for insuring against the effects of evils which we might prevent by taking the necessary steps? Take, for instance, the consumptive person. Let members pay a visit to the slums of Hoxton and Poplar, and consider whether it was worth while spending money on sending consumptive people to sanatoria, and then sending them back to their old unhealthy surroundings. The bill raised hopes among the poor that they were going to be lifted out of the Slough of Despond, but any man who understood the problem knew perfectly well that it would not help them at all. It was a fraud upon the poor. It told them there was hope for them where there was none. This country, added Mr. Lansbury, was getting richer and richer every day, and the workers are getting poorer and poorer. All of us are being borne on the backs of the toilers, and they never get them out of the depths of their backs.

from living in slums. A number of people live on these reasons, one of which is the bill. A man fell ill and died, he shifted to another because he could not do so before, and so he died. The way to provide the means was by providing the means that was what the bill did upon the poor.

Mr. CASSEL said the clause was but compulsory thrift, and that it was to be given interest on the bill at the Post-office. His clause was not to be forfeited when he died.

### THE CRUX OF THE MATTER

Sir T. WHITTAKER (L—Spencer) said this clause was the crux of the matter. The difficulty was intensified by the fact that it would be the least satisfactory portion of the bill. The matter of health insurance together in the Post-office contribution scheme would be segregated and would end in the approved societies. The scheme lost some of the advantages of the general principle of insurance which the strong helped the weak. How could we overcome the difficulty? There might be the possibility of tempting the societies to take the poor people in, though, of course, it was difficult if not impossible to compel them. He did not know what the Chancellor of the Exchequer would be able to do in that matter. He was certain that the right hon. gentleman had done and was doing his best.—(Cheers.) This clause would at any rate give those who could pay and those who could not. It would in two or three years show how many Post-office contributors there were, what sort of people they were, and why they were. Then the Chancellor of the Exchequer would have the information on which to devise a better scheme for them. Meanwhile he was not anxious to make the Post-office contribution scheme attractive. He wanted every man to get into the approved societies. In his opinion the changes which had been proposed in the bill bringing in the collecting societies and industrial insurance societies were a good door being opened very widely for the consideration of these people. It might be feared that the remainder were so few that some of the societies might be induced to swindle. If life assurance offices could have their doors who passed their doors they could take the lot without medical examination. The object of medical examination was to keep the worst. Admitting to the full all the difficulties, they should not forget that the present was a temporary one.—(Cheers.) In a few years time all the population would be taken into the Post-office element would practically disappear. He could not agree that the bill was the wrong way of beginning with this problem. There were always people who would talk what had been called "sentimental slush." When definite proposals were brought forward they said, "Not thus, and not now." The fact was, these social problems were extremely complicated. There was no one remedy. The best was always the enemy of the good. This was a splendid scheme. It would not accomplish everything. It was worth doing, and let them do it.—(Cheers.)

### MR. A. LYTTELTON.

Mr. A. LYTTELTON (U—Hansard Square) thought the measure, taken in its relation to the very poor, was extremely difficult. The Government had no right even for three years to experiment on the very poor. It was, moreover, going to involve a heavy cost on the nation as a whole. If it increased at anything like the proportion of the cost of old-age pensions—six millions was the estimate, and 13 millions the present cost—the ultimate cost of the two schemes in the next generation was estimated at 40 millions a year.—("Oh.") That was the estimate of a writer in the "Times." This would operate against the weak employer as well as against the weak employee. It was a very popular way of putting it, that the weak would get 9d. for 4d. But would the weak get the 9d? He was not in saying that a considerable number of people were supposed to get the 9d.

Rev. D. Reakes

Leake Vicarage,

(239)

Borrowby,

Thirsk.

Nov<sup>o</sup> 4<sup>th</sup> 1911

Dear George

I wonder if you  
remembers an old Whiteclapel  
friend but I felt I must  
write you a line to say  
how much I admired  
a remnant of yours at a  
meeting at New castle.

where you said that all  
you wanted <sup>the right</sup> was to give  
an unpettered vote on



public questions & that  
so few votes were now  
given in the House on  
principle. I feel in  
those few words you touched  
the greatest blot on our  
system of Party Government.

If a few more would  
boldly speak out as  
you then did, there  
would be more hope  
of an amelioration of  
the many evils that  
afflict all true men of

whichever party so greatly  
deplore.

You see I have addressed  
you in the old style as  
'George'. It seemed to  
bring the old part back  
again - We still have  
the photo you gave us of  
yourself, wife &  
children. As it is more  
than 23 yrs since I left  
Whitechapel they must  
have given to men &  
women long ere this  
I will not trouble &

249  
Busy man with a long letter  
but reading that little extract  
I felt impelled to send  
a line to express my pleasure  
wishing you God's blessing  
in all good works

Yrs sincerely

D. Reakes

Vicar of Seake with Kethes Sillerton  
Yorks

ps  
Do you ever hear of Mr  
Hall?



M449

NOV. 4.  
Nov. 7 1911 (241)

**MR. LANSBURY'S PROTEST.**

To the Editor *Daily Chronicle*.  
Will you give me space to say in reply to the Rev. D. Hayes that I still consider I represent the majority of my constituents in my opposition to the Insurance Bill? Since its introduction I have received resolutions from individual branches of trade unions and friendly societies and from the Labour Representation Committee, whose candidate I was at the last election—whose affiliated branches number more than 40, and whose members number some thousands—all urging me to resist the Bill. Numbers of Tories and Liberals have also written me urging me to fight the Bill.

During the past six weeks I have held five large and enthusiastic meetings in all parts of the division with no outsider to help me, and with free admission to all who chose to attend. At every one of those meetings I have explained my attitude towards the Insurance Bill and my work in Parliament, and at no single meeting has anyone voiced opposition; while at the largest of all two friends, both Liberals, moved and seconded a vote of confidence in me and pledging all present to support me in my fight against the Bill, and this was carried unanimously and enthusiastically.

The only notes I have received on the other side are two, one from the executive of the Liberal Association and one from an elector whose views I don't happen to know. Under these circumstances I shall continue to say that I represent the view of the constituency. As to my attitude during the election my address and literature are still in existence. I asked to be elected to take burdens off the backs of the poor by putting more on the great ground landlords and capitalists. Everyone admits that the Insurance Bill will impose an equal poll tax on all adults earning a wage between 15s. and £3 a week. This is a brutal injustice to the very poor, and in addition will only result in still further depressing the home conditions of the destitute in our midst.

Those who ask me to fight the Bill do so on those grounds and on another equally important, viz., that the causes of poverty, destitution, and sickness, such as consumption, tuberculosis, etc., are well known and could be prevented, and therefore consider it the height of folly to insure against evils which only exist because of the power given to monopolists and landlords by the private ownership of land and other monopolies. At the election I fought on a programme which sought to remove taxation from the workers on to the shirkers. The Insurance Bill does exactly the contrary.

Many other reasons could be and are given me, but I must not trespass on your good will further, except to say I am sorry to disappoint anyone's hopes or realise anyone's fears. It took me 20 years to get a seat in Parliament, and if I never get returned again I shall certainly while there act according to my own judgment and conscience, and whatever people may think of me I shall go on steadily doing my best to proclaim the solid incontrovertible truth that insurance against preventable evils is the most costly and most stupid method ever devised by the wit of man.

GEORGE LANSBURY.

Bow, Nov. 4.

243 November 9<sup>th</sup> 1911  
VS. THURSDAY. NOV

**INSURANCE AND THE COTTON TRADE.**

**SIR. C. MACARA APPEALS TO MR. LLOYD GEORGE.**

(To the Editor of "The Daily News.")

Sir,—For some time past, in correspondence and in other ways, I have been approached as to my views on the effect the Insurance Bill will have upon our staple industries, and many people, I am informed, are unable to understand why, apparently, I have remained silent regarding a measure the effect of which upon our industrial position will be much the same as if Tariff Reform had been adopted. . . .

In July last I wrote privately to the Chancellor, putting before him my views regarding the effect the Insurance Bill would have upon the staple industries of the country, and urged him not to hurry the Bill, but to give it the mature consideration in all its bearings that its importance demanded.

My communications were simply acknowledged by his secretary, but no attempt was made to meet my arguments. . . .

I have often thought that if Mr. Chamberlain had consulted half a dozen men holding positions in the staple industries similar to that which I hold in the cotton trade, and a half-dozen men holding similar positions in these industries representing labour, and had had a few hours' conversation with them, he would never have launched his Tariff Reform proposals. I have perhaps been the most determined opponent of Tariff Reform, and I have carried the workpeople along with me. If Mr. Lloyd George, before he launched his Insurance Bill, had done what I think Mr. Chamberlain ought to have done in connection with his Tariff Reform proposals, I think he would have acted wisely. . . .

During the past eight years circumstances have compelled me to make a careful study of the cotton industry of the world, and I know how slender is the margin that enables us to hold this great trade. I have used this argument with telling effect, as Mr. Lloyd George knows well, in defence of Free Trade, and I am now being asked what I have to say about this Insurance Bill.

An industry, the wages in which represent, roughly, 50 per cent. of the cost of production, is, I fear, going to be unduly handicapped in comparison with other industries where much less labour is employed in proportion to the capital invested. . . .

Except in a few special sections, the average return on the capital invested in the cotton industry is small. Owing to unusual circumstances the industry has, for the three last years, been passing through a most severe ordeal, and serious losses have been made; where dividends have been declared they are largely the result of speculation, or withdrawals from reserves.

Mr. Lloyd George, in replying to the cotton employers' deputation last July, said that wages were very much higher in the cotton industry in England than in the Continental countries, and that still we are able to hold our own. He is surely conversant with the fact that cotton mills, owing to Protection, cost very much more on the Continent than in England, and if he had been a practical man he would understand that this is a very heavy handicap, and more than counterbalances the advantages of the lower wages. The statement made by the cotton employers regarding the extra cost of the Insurance Bill applied only to the departments of spinning and weaving, but there are many other departments besides these which will be equally affected, and the accumulated extra cost on the finished fabric may be a serious handicap. No one on Liberal platforms used the above arguments with more telling effect than Mr. Lloyd George himself.

The conditions of the industries in England and Germany are not at all the same, and no better illustration can be given than that whilst in Germany there are about ten million cotton spindles, which are mostly engaged in supplying home requirements, England has 55 millions, 80 per cent. of the production of which has to face the competition of the world. This great trade represents about one-third of our total exports of manufactures, the loss of which would so seriously affect all our other interests as to render them unprofitable.

Any business conducted as a charitable institution has only one ending. If the great industries of this country are to be conducted on this basis, we shall soon realise that, instead of ameliorating the condition of the workers there will be widespread unemployment by our being unable to compete successfully in the world's markets.

I consider that the Insurance Bill is on an unsound basis, and firmly believe that we cannot do an injustice, or an injury, to either employer or workers without this injustice being ultimately felt by both, and thus affecting detrimentally the national welfare.

For these reasons I strongly urge the withdrawal of the measure until a thorough joint investigation into its far-reaching and intricate provisions, by representatives of all sections of the community has taken place. C. W. MACARA.  
33, York-street, Manchester, Nov. 8.

incomplete

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**H**

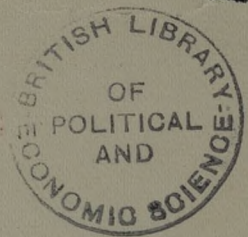
31 HIGH STREET,  
WANDSWORTH,  
S.W.

Mrs. Josephine May Hinley

Nov 9<sup>th</sup> 1911.

Dear Mr. Lansbury.

You will be surprised  
to receive this from a  
complete stranger, but I  
feel I must write to  
thank and congratulate  
you on the noble honest  
part you have taken



M449

our this infamous "Insurance  
Bill" of Mr. Lloyd George  
(Mr. Facing-both-ways)

We have been disgusted  
with the Labour party  
they seem to have allowed  
the crafty Liberals to steal  
all the Socialist programs  
& dish them up to suit  
their own ends, thus getting  
the credit & deceiving the  
people with shams, that

it is a relief & pleasure to  
find we have in you such  
a straight honest member.  
You have the satisfaction  
of knowing you have the  
admiration of every honest  
person, & the thanks of every  
genuine Socialist.

We were very pleased to  
see in "The eye witness" of  
last week the tribute Mr.  
Belle paid you.

I see in "John Bull" this  
morning the Liberals are

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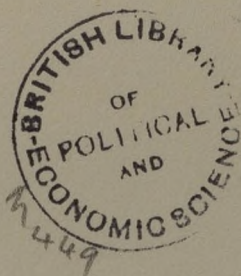
putting up a candidate in  
your constituency, it is a  
scandalous shame if correct  
though not surprising. I do  
hope the electors there will  
show a little gratitude &  
appreciate their luck in  
having an honest man to  
represent them.

We are Socialists but have to  
be very careful being in  
business in this Tory stronghold.  
As a woman I would not  
give a thank you for the vote  
until the people are  
educated, of what use is it  
to Socialist women until  
we have a candidate to

Hinley

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H



31 HIGH STREET,  
WANDSWORTH,  
S.W.

9 Nov. 1911

represent us.

I agree with Mr Blatchford  
bless him! that no real  
benefit will be gained  
until we smash the Liberals.  
I think one should welcome  
anything & any means that  
help to expose their  
hypocrisy.

Pardon my troubling you  
with this, I only wanted

you to know you have the  
respect & admiration of-

Yours sincerely

(M.M.) Josephine May Hinely

---

If all the Labour members  
were as loyal as you we  
should today be nearer  
our ideal.





6. Wellington Rd  
St. John's Road

(246)

Apr 9th 1911

Maud Arncliffe-Sennett

Dear Sir,

I am much gratified at  
receiving your portrait for the  
Group of "honest politicians"  
I thank you for signing it.  
Also for your interesting article  
on the Insurance Bill in the  
Worker.

It really is a great relief to  
find you & Mr. Pundon &  
Mr. Ken Hardie standing so  
firm & strong on "principles"  
There are a few beacon  
lights burning in that  
dark House of the "People".  
Dark as the outlook appears  
to be, I am not without hope -  
if our men will keep their  
heads & inculcate "steadiness"

Arncliffe - Sennett, 9 Nov. 1911

2  
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in their own interests,

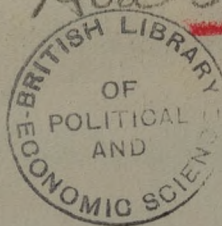


it may counteract the dangerous sort of Demagoguery

of Lord George, which first in flames the suffering masses & their taxes their miserable earnings & whose Government is in a direct responsibility for calling out the troops to quell the very men whose possessions they have seized

What a corrupt group. I am Mr. Lumsden - it will need all the steadying strength of a Philip Snowden to prevent women being dragged into the dark unknown.

I have great faith in you Mrs. very truly  
Maud Arncliffe - Sennett



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to  
Mrs. G. **Arana,**  
**Shelley Road,**  
**Worthing.**

M449

Nov. 14<sup>th</sup> 1911

My dear W<sup>m</sup> Sausbury

I have been waiting to hear from Germany before replying to your nice kind letter.

I am enclosing the P.C. which I got Oct. 27<sup>th</sup> with promise of letter. The letter arrived today

Which I also enclose.

I must explain that  
Freilien is now a nurse  
in a Hospital at "Altona".  
She is so very active,  
& must be doing something  
so - as her brothers are  
studying for doctors, it  
was easy for her to  
get into a Hospital.

I wrote & asked her  
if she would like to  
come to England to  
interview you, she

appears to take it  
for granted that she  
is really going to live  
with you! I knew  
that she would do any  
thing to get to England  
again; I really think  
that she would be a  
great help to you, as  
she does not mind  
what she does. I am  
sure Tilly <sup>[Ehlers]</sup> would answer  
the door, get up & light  
the fire, cook, & clean  
rooms, or anything!

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and as to your -  
neighbourhood, - she would  
glory in it! she loves  
the poor, & is a thorough  
socialist.

she will be coming  
after Luas, & then -  
if you still require  
help, I will send her  
to be interviewed.

I do so wish - dear  
Mr. Sausbury that  
you would run down  
here & have a rest  
for a week, we should

Ada Cripps 2

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14 Nov. 1911

Arzana,  
Shelley Road,  
Worthing.

All be so delighted  
to receive you; your  
dear, good, clever  
husband can tell  
you that we are  
just like yourselves -  
very homely people.  
we only keep one  
maid, my son's wife  
is cook, and I am  
"Generalissimo"!

Your husband made

profound impression  
upon the "Worthingites"<sup>^</sup>  
& has done very much  
good for the S.L.P.

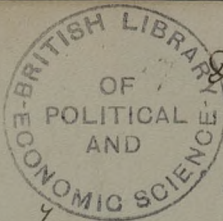
I am sending him  
a newspaper in which  
is a short speech  
by the man I spoke  
to Mr. Sausbury about.  
I have marked it.

I should be so pleased  
to hear of your daughter's  
success, - or otherwise,  
we should be glad

for her to come to us  
at any time, when  
you can spare her.  
I would take great  
care of her.

With our kindest  
regard to you both,  
& family

Yours very sincerely  
Ada Cripps.



252  
Q. Avenue. N. London.  
Nov 30. 1911. (Hornsey Borough)  
M449 [re Nat. Insur. Bill]  
To George Lansbury Esq. M. P.

Dear Sir: Wilhelmina Percival

I venture to send you a few lines - ask you if you will not help us middle class householders against this Insurance bill.

Although socialistic in your views - I <sup>also know</sup> believe you to be a just - true, reasonable and upright man.

I am a mistress who has never kept more than one servant: not being able to afford to do so: my girls have all been very happy with us, <sup>during</sup> 30 years - I have had only 4 servants: each one in turn leaving me to be comfortably married: if they were ever not well - they were cared for as my own children: but none of my servants ever had more than severe colds.

Sir - if this Insurance bill passes - it is we middle class people who must suffer: the richer people can give higher wages - and pay also the tax for their servants: there must



be thousands like ourselves - who cannot pay  
this extra tax - every year the last few years  
it is increased taxation - we have to pay our way  
and we cannot stretch our income out.

My present servant - refuses to pay an extra  
tax - because she has her clubs - the young man  
is engaged to is out of work in the winter months -  
she pays his clubs also out of her wages for the  
period. I pay her liberal wages - and help her  
in various ways - I cannot do more as far as  
money is concerned.

All living is dearer - the tradespeople to meet  
their own increased taxation charge more to their  
customers: as per increase of price of milk:

The laundries say they must charge more <sup>if the bill is passed</sup> - I  
do not know sometimes how all expenses are  
to be met.

I repeat again - it is we middle class  
people who are suffering under the burden of  
taxation: our sons have to be educated -  
home and position maintained as far as possible.

Mr Lloyd George may mean well -  
but with his £5000. a year - he entirely  
forgets the middle class who have to meet  
expenses on a few hundred - and who contribute  
largely to the masses in taxation.

Apologising for troubling you

Yours truly W. M. M. Perceva

Perceval  
30 Nov. 1911

(253)

P.S.

It is bruted about on this north side that this proposed additional burden of taxation caused Lord Seaf Sayer to dismiss <sup>his</sup> ~~the~~ extra man servant: who in revenge killed his old master: this may or may not be true: but certain it is that many employees will have to go - because the Employer cannot meet the increased taxation. I myself will have to do without extra help in my house - and I am only one of many hundreds of Mistresses nearing the age of 60 - ~~and~~ unable longer to perform work undertaken in younger years: but whose means are limited.

I have relatives at Poplar. E. who will suffer greatly under this new tax if carried.

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THE WORKER

**GREAT LABOUR MEETING, at BOW BATHS, NEW YEAR'S EVE, Sunday,  
December 31st, at 8 p.m. GEORGE LANSBURY, M.P. A NEW YEAR'S MESSAGE.**

# THE WORKER.

The Organ of the  
Borough of Poplar Trades and Labour Representation Committee.

No. 30.

DECEMBER, 1911.

One Half-penny.

Guaranteed Circulation 10,000 Copies Monthly.

See also pp. 2, 3, 4

## CHRISTMAS.

Before another issue of the WORKER Christmas will have come and gone and we shall be well into the New Year. My wife joins me in sending heartiest Christmas greetings and the best of good wishes to all my constituents: women and men, boys and girls, we wish them all the best of good times, and many happy and bright New Years.

Christmas is always a time when the worst of us, as well as the best of us, are very glad to allow what are called our fired feelings to have free play. We all like at this time of the year to at least think we are better than we really are; but far and away the best thing about Christmas is that any of us who think about it at all are bound, because of its associations, to have a softer feeling towards both our friends and opponents. I never at any time like to think about personal enemies, because I have never felt myself that kind of personal feeling towards another which can be defined as enmity; but, like everybody else who feels strongly and has convinced opinions, I know perfectly well how often I overstep what is considered legitimate in criticising my opponents. Therefore, I would ask them to join in forgetting these things, and to remember whatever there may be approaching the good in me. I will try to do this myself with regard to all those with whom I disagree, and shall try to spend Christmas playing with my children, visiting the great big family at Shenfield Schools, and, in every way I can, seeking peace and ensuring it.

This does not at all mean that those of us who adopt this attitude will be any the less keen in our revolt against social conditions. We shall go back to our work in the New Year with increased strength, and with, I think, a clearer outlook because of our time of peace.

To those friends in the district to whom Christmas will bring little pleasure and little hope, and who feel that the iron has really entered their souls, what can I say? Simply this: that I hope that they, too, will at least realise that there is amongst us a large and increasing band of men and women who are determined that joy in life for them shall mean, and must mean, joy in life for all, and that however dark and gloomy the outlook, it is also true that the very darkest time in the history both of the nation and the individual precedes the most glorious dawn. There are not fainting signs and portents in our own time that the gloomy darkness which at present hangs like a pall over so many of our people is soon going to be lifted—at any rate, in part. The splendid unrest and revolt of last year, culminating as it has done in a growing sense of the solidarity of us all, is one sign that at last the toilers are realising their true power—the power of co-operation, the power of acting together.

This, too, is the lesson of Christmas, for if I were asked what is the outstanding thing which Christmas should teach, I should proclaim with all the insistence I could, that the great central truth is the value of each human life. This value should and must be realised by our being enabled to live out the doctrine that he who would be the greatest must be the servant of all; and that other eternal truth, that really life consists not of what I take but what I give, and that character is developed, for good or for evil, in the stream of things in and amongst our fellows in the workaday world.

Individual salvation can never be fully realised except by co-operation with our fellows, and therefore to the humble and lowly, poor and weak, to the vigorous and the strong, my Christmas message is: Let us unite, let us forget our parties, let us even forget our creeds, and let us remember our common humanity.

In looking around our mean streets and on entering our small homes, let our minds go back two thousand years, and remember that even if it were only a myth that the religion

which most of us believe had its birth and made its appearance in the world through the birth of a tiny baby in Bethlehem, those who became his followers among us, the ones we have placed in the calendar of the saints, have not been gathered from amongst the mighty, but from the poor and lowly, and those who loved their fellows. In fact, it can be said of all religions that their heroes and martyrs, their prophets and teachers, have come from the poor.

We to-day inherit their work. Let us try to catch the same inspiration as they; let us each determine in the days that are left for us to be men and women determined to use our knowledge, and to use our strength for the purpose of creating such a condition of life, that all of us, through the action of each, may be able to realise the very best and truest life possible for mankind.

GEORGE LANSBURY.

## TO THE BOYS AND GIRLS.

Christmas has come again and my wife and I wish once again to send a message of love and good will to all the boys and girls in Bow and Bromley. We hope that you will all have a happy time this Christmas, and that in the days to come you will spend many, many bright and happy New Years. Christmas is the children's festival because it is a birthday celebration. Those who believe in it try to understand that twenty hundred years ago there was born in Bethlehem a tiny baby boy, a baby that nestled close up to his mother just like you all did when you were little tiny babies, and that was fondled and loved just like you, and as days and years passed away grew up to be a man, but a man unlike all others who ever lived because He went about doing good, and rich people and poor people flocked to hear Him speak. Sometimes out on the way side, sick people, blind people crowded out, or were carried out to hear Him or to see Him. All this was because they all knew that He loved them and wanted to do them good. One day lots of mothers took their children to see the Teacher, and the children and their mothers all pressed round just as you do round anyone you love, and so some of His followers tried to push them away and prevent them pushing up too close, and then Jesus said the words which no one who ever hears them ever forgets:—

“Suffer the little children to come unto me and forbid them not, for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven.”

Another day when He was speaking He told those who heard Him “that anyone who injured the tiniest of His children injured Him.”

You who are children now must therefore this and every Christmas time keep in your minds this truth, that because of the birth and life and death of Him whose birthday we keep on December 25th, all children are valuable, and that all of us must try to make their lives good and clean and wholesome.

But you will all, I am sure, like to read one other thing Jesus taught. It was this: “He who would be greatest amongst you must be the least.” This means that if we would like to be happy and like to be loved we must think not only of ourselves but of others, and this not by merely giving away money, but by giving ourselves, which comes to just this, that in play and in all our pleasure as well as in other things, we shall all be the happier if we think first of the others and ourselves last; and this is just the last thing I wish to say in this little letter. All this Christmas time keep in mind your mothers—and, of course, your fathers too—but your mothers will be the ones who will spend the money in such a way as to get far the most she can of whatever good things she can get. She will make the pudding, do the cooking, in fact you know all she will do. Well, all of you boys as well as girls just put your shoulders to the wheel

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**New Year's Eve**

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 31st, 1911,

AT

**BOW BATHS HALL.**

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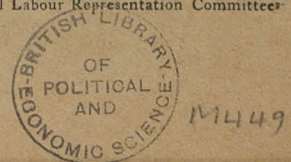
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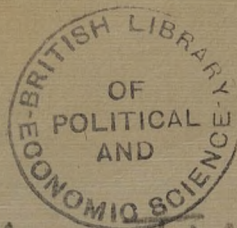
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6, Campbell Road, Bow, London, E.





256  
3640 Chestnut Street  
Philadelphia, Pa.

Mrs. Joseph Fels

M449

Dec. 11, 1911.

Dear George, -

A second letter  
from you gives me even  
greater pleasure than  
the first. I really don't  
know whether I have  
written to you. You are  
constantly so present in  
my thought that it seems  
to me I must have written  
to express some of this

thought and feeling. If  
you feel as I do, however,  
you want actual letters;  
so, in order to be done  
by as I do, I shall take  
care to write the letters.

Before I forget, I want  
to ask you for some printed  
matter on the questions  
before Parliament, and the  
English public in general.

I like what you say in  
connection with the "War God".  
It is so true to the facts

of the case. What Keir  
wrote was not so; it  
only expressed his own  
feelings and these struck  
me as limited in range.

Thank you so much,  
dear George, for carrying  
out so well our wishes  
with respect to the Play.  
One has the satisfaction  
of feeling that you were  
carrying out wishes for your  
own part, at the same time.  
Gangwill wrote us a nice  
letter about it. Said he

(257)

was "deeply touched" etc.

In an hour I shall be going with Geta, Rothchild and Joe's sister, to a play called "The Scarecrow." I know nothing of the play.

We are going because Mrs. Middleton (nee' Lola La Follette) plays in it.

Geta asks many questions about you and Dolly and sends hearty remembrances.

Her trip abroad has wrought many changes in her - all to the good, I think.

I have a letter from

Mrs. Joseph Felt. 11 Dec. 1911

258

Junie and a short "Ms.",  
"A Christmas Story" - by  
herself, I suppose. It is  
fairly well told, what  
there is of it; it lacks that  
which would make it worth  
the writing. I shall tell  
her so, yet encourage her  
to continue.

From what you say of Walter,  
he has not yet acted on  
that intention of joining  
you in the House now and  
then. Recently I re-read an  
old letter from Walter, which  
sounds strikingly alive





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ECONOMIC SCIENCES

as alert, as compared  
with what issues from  
him now. There is a youth  
and a charm about the  
matter of this letter which  
makes one feel - homesick;  
not for the present but for  
that earlier Walter.

I must leave you now, though  
it seems to me I have  
scarcely begun to talk to  
you. I shall look and hope  
and long for letters from  
you. From Bessie I expect no  
letters but I love her just the same.  
Yours lovingly, Mary.

Louis Coleman

259

THE ANGLO-RUSSIAN THREE-PLY & VENEER COMPANY,

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Dec 12<sup>th</sup> 1911

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Dear Lansbury

Will you do me the honour to accept this small present as token of my very large regard and admiration for yourself. If you will measure the latter in a ~~direct~~ inverse ratio to the former you will get it about right.

That I wish you every thing that is good under the sun, both for Christmas and the new year (or rather for all time) I hope goes without saying.

Yours Very Sincerely

Louis Coleman

(Syed) Ameer-Ali  
(1849-1928)

REFORM CLUB,

PALL MALL,

15th December, 1911.

260

Dear Sir,

Owing to the absence of any proper medical help or organised charitable assistance, such as was afforded by the Baroness Burdett-Coutts' Turkish Compassionate Fund during the Russo-Turkish War of 1877, the distress and suffering among the Turkish sick and wounded in Tripoli and the Arab inhabitants of the invaded country are frightful.

Among the latter the able-bodied have either fallen fighting for their freedom or have been mercilessly slaughtered for "military exigencies," and the "executions" are still proceeding; their farms and date and olive groves have been devastated, and the survivors are thus left face to face with starvation.

The London All-India Moslem League has undertaken to collect contributions for the Ottoman Red Crescent Society in order to co-operate with any existing organisation or to send out a mission from here, for the relief of the Ottoman sick and wounded, and the widows and orphans in Tripoli.

At this season when all hearts are open to charity and goodwill I venture to appeal to you to give the London Moslem League such help as you may feel disposed to in order to enable them to carry out this object.

Contributions may be paid into the Imperial Ottoman Bank, (London) or Coutts's Bank, (Strand), or the London and South Western Bank, Limited, (170, Fenchurch Street, E.C.) and branches, who have kindly consented to receive the same. Mr. A. S. M. Anik, 2, Fenchurch Avenue, E.C., Treasurer to the London All-India Moslem League, will also receive with gratitude any contributions sent to him.

I am, Dear Sir,

Yours faithfully,

Ameer Ali

Labour Speeches in Parliament.

THIRD READING OF THE INSURANCE BILL.

Speeches by Ramsay MacDonald and G. Lansbury.

Reasons for Support and for Opposition.

Wednesday, December 6th.

On the Third Reading of the Insurance Bill.

Mr. RAMSAY MACDONALD said he was afraid the Insurance Bill was the type of Bill which would be common in years to come. We should have large measures of social reform, rich in detail, and it would be very difficult for any group of men to say that as a whole they accepted them. In this case the Labour Party had to choose between no legislation at all and legislation which was only very partially satisfactory. If they had had their way they would have faced this problem not in this manner at all. But they had had the method prescribed for them and had therefore done their best to improve the Bill by amendments. That day they had to choose something they did not altogether like or to consent to nothing being done at all towards the solution of admitted problems.

TRADE UNION SUSPICION.

The misgivings as to the Bill were very widespread; they were not confined to a large section of the upper and middle classes who were perturbed by the servant tax; organised labour was very doubtful about the effect of the Bill because the income of the working classes was limited. Certain responsibilities were placed upon the working classes by this Bill, but there were other responsibilities which they now fulfilled voluntarily which they would not be able to undertake in view of the additional expenditure. The Trade Unions, particularly in the lower grades of labour, were very doubtful as to the effect of the Bill upon them. Fourpence a week taken from a man's income of 15/- or 17/6, plus 2d. under Part II, was a very substantial proportion. If in addition a man had to pay 2d., 3d., 4d., or in some cases 6d. per week to his Trade Union, there was naturally apprehension that the insurance enforced by the Bill would be so great that a man would not be able to keep up his Trade Union contribution. He yielded to no man in his desire to effect the purposes of the Bill, but if he had to choose between the Bill and effective Labour organisation, he would choose the latter. He was sure that that would do more to advance the interests of working men than any Insurance Bill. The moment Trade Union combination became impossible or difficult they were doing something that would materially lower the standard of living of the working classes.

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DOCTORS AS SYNDICALISTS.

Mr. MacDonald went on to say that among experienced social reformers there was a very considerable volume of opinion which was suspicious of the Bill. These people were in favour of the objects of the Bill, but they felt that in a great many points the Bill was evasive and inapplicable. He had tried over and over again to get the Bill amended, but he had failed. He often savoured of the red herring. Some improvements had undoubtedly been made in the Bill, but there had also been reactionary changes, such as the admission of collecting societies as approved societies. He was not quite sure whether he could describe the changes in regard to the position of medical men, but he would like to congratulate them upon the adoption of Trade Union methods, even to the length of syndicalism in its very worst form. The doctors had threatened that if they did not get the wages they wanted they would throw down their tools, strike, and refuse to work the Bill; not only that, but they had got together a strike fund to meet any need that might arise and had adopted the Labour method of sending representatives to the House to speak for them. The only thing which made the parallel incomplete was that Mr. Lloyd George had not threatened a lock-out. He suggested that course to the Chancellor for consideration, and if the worst came to the worst he might whisper into the ear of the Home Secretary and request him to send down the military to see that law and order were kept.

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UNJUST TO DEPOSIT CONTRIBUTORS.

The position of deposit contributors and of outworkers was still profoundly unsatisfactory. Since the clause giving the Insurance Commissioners power to say what class of workers should come in and what should remain out had been passed under the guilotine, the Labour Party had only been able

to express its disapproval by challenging a division without discussion.

They had not got the complete Bill before them—good, bad, and indifferent as it was—and they were for the first time to vote on it as a whole. There was much to be said for the proposition of the Opposition that the Bill should be delayed, but after weighing the evidence, his opinion was that there was much less to be gained by delaying the Bill than by putting it into operation with as little delay as possible, experiencing how it was going to work, and then revising not only the benefits but the legislative provisions also at the end of three years.

If the House delayed the Bill, the first thing that would happen would be a renewal of the pressure of the various interests affected. Interest after interest, trade after trade, would agitate over aspect after aspect of the Bill. Not only that, if they went on perfecting the Bill on paper they would increase its complexity. It might be improved, but however much they improved it it would leave the House a very imperfect weapon indeed because it dealt with a field that had never been accurately mapped out. For instance, there were the Post Office depositors. Assuming the principle of the Bill—and it was no use bringing forward alternative proposals now—assuming that they were neither going to supplant friendly societies by a great State organisation nor wipe out necessity for the Bill by some form of State activity which had not reached its experimental stage, he defied anyone to produce satisfactory clauses dealing with the Post Office depositor. The only way was to find out who he was; then new proposals, which could only be discovered by the failures of this Bill, could be adopted.

NINEPENCE FOR FOURPENCE.

The incidence of the cost had been popularly described as 9d. and 4d. It was not so simple as that. They had got 4d., 3d., and 2d.; the 2d. was imposed upon the people of the country by taxation; the 3d. would come partly out of profits and partly out of prices; and were they quite sure that the 4d. would come out of working class pockets? As a matter of fact until the Bill came into operation it was to bear the burden of the 9d. and as to whether it was to injure trade or to raise the standard of living. It might do something that the greatest pessimist imagined it would do, but if they postponed the third reading until next year they would then be in precisely the same position as to-day. Therefore he thought on the whole they would not gain by delay, but would gain by experience, and the sooner they began to accumulate their experience the better it would be.

The Bill was a bold and praiseworthy effort to meet one of the most grievous of our social evils. The great value of the Bill was not in what it would do immediately as a remedial measure, but in that it would compel us to face problems that we should not have faced if it had not been introduced. When

down to settle the difficulties of the Office depositor? It would not do it at all, unless pressure were brought upon it. The House of Commons would talk about Imperial affairs and would shelve social questions, but this Bill would make such indifference impossible because in three years it would take these people, as it were, by the scruff of the neck and thrust them across the bar of the House. It would compel them to consider the situation and to take legislative measures to meet it in some way or other. He would not vote for delay but for experience, and the best way to get experience was to take the Bill with all its admitted faults, put it into operation, and then see that the Insurance Commissioners and others responsible for working the Act supplied them with information enabling them to produce a more efficient Bill.

Mr. GEORGE LANSBURY mentioned that he and Mr. O'Grady had hoped to take a division in opposition to the Bill and they did that because they said that the tax which the Bill levied was upon people who could not afford to pay, and they were strengthened in that opinion not merely by Socialists but by men like Mr. Seeborn Rowntree and Mr. Charles Booth and others who had investigated poverty. Referring to Mr. Lloyd George's charges against the Conservative Party of misrepresentation, he said that neither side of the House had clean hands in this matter. Both Liberals and Tories had denounced him as a person who

wanted to take every other man's wife, who wanted to destroy religion, and take the newborn babes from their mothers. In three-cornered fights the Liberal Party had been the most wicked in this respect, and he was much amused to hear Mr. Lloyd George denounce bad literature at election times.

FACTS ABOUT POVERTY.

Reverting to the impossibility for large numbers of wage earners to meet their needs, Mr. Lansbury quoted Prof. Brodie as one whom no one would regard as a partisan. This investigator stated that of the eight million men who were engaged in regular industry nearly one million worked for less than twenty shillings a week whilst over one-and-a-half million earned from twenty shillings to twenty-five shillings a week. That referred only to men in full work, and Mr. Ellis Barker, who was a prejudiced Unionist, admitted that the wages of unskilled labourers in the engineering trades averaged about nineteen shillings a week. If members read Mr. Rowntree's book on unemployment they would see why some of them felt that to impose taxes in the fashion of the Insurance Bill was a monstrous thing. Mr. Rowntree said that, allowing for broken time, the average wage for the labourer in York was from 18/- to 21/-, whereas the minimum expenditure necessary to maintain a family of two adults and three children was twenty-three shillings and eightpence. A family living upon this scale must never spend a penny on railway fare or omnibus; they must never go into the country unless they walked; they must never purchase a halfpenny newspaper or spend a penny to buy a ticket for a popular concert; they must write no letters to absent children; they must never contribute anything to their church or chapel or give any help to a neighbour; they could not save, nor could they join a sick club or Trade Union because they could not pay necessary subscriptions. Nothing must be bought except what was absolutely necessary for the maintenance of physical health; should a child fall ill, it must be attended by the Parish doctor; should it die, it must be buried by the Parish. Finally, the wage earner must never be absent from his work for a single day.

One of his constituents had sent him a letter, asking him to read it to the House. He earned twenty-five shillings a week, was a teetotaler, and had four children. After spending what was absolutely necessary for food, clothing, and rent, there was exactly 1/6 left for every other emergency. Those who voted against the Bill would do so in order to protest against Parliament compelling people living in this way to pay money which it would inevitably bring their physical efficiency. Instead of Parliament voting to take money away from these people, it ought to pass measures enabling men and women to earn living wages. He was perfectly certain that when they attempted to collect money they would have just as big a revolt as when a poll tax was last levied in this country. The people who would revolt would not be Countesses and Duchesses of whom fun had been made in connection with the Servant agitation, but poor people who had been robbed and exploited. Parliament came forward and said: "You physical condition produces sickness, it only allows you to bring up physically inefficient children, it tumbles them into the world without real physical stamina to get their living. Because of that we are going to tax you so that we can deal with them in some other way afterwards."

Two of them could not afford a non-contributory scheme. But that night Mr. Lloyd George had given the whole case away in defending non-contributory Old Age Pensions.

UNEMPLOYMENT A SOCIAL DISEASE.

As to the unemployment section of the Bill he declared, with any reservation, that the individual employer and the individual employer were more responsible for the unemployment than any individual member of that House. Unemployment was a disease in our social system, it was a disease due to conditions, either employer or employed could cure it. Masters and men alike were engaged in a huge struggle to keep their heads above water; each was trying to get a margin for himself. If members would read the experience that had been had in the Library of the House of Commons on unemployment, even as a palliative measure, it would seem perfectly absurd. New processes of industry were continually introduced, and each time a certain number of men were displaced.

With regard to the Bill, Mr. Rowntree pointed out that the Bill was supposed to be a measure to help children in physical distress. He did not understand men who were or four square man could keep his family on 7/- a week. Mr. Lloyd George run away with

him, or he could never make the kind of speech he did. He knew perfectly well that neither he nor any member of the House could exist on 7/- a week, to say nothing of maintaining wife and children. The Chancellor said the measure would be overhauled in three years' time, but there was such a thing as the Expiring Laws Continuance Bill. The Unemployed Workmen's Act was only intended to extend over a term of three years, but it had been carried on for six or seven. In the same way once they got the Post Office contributor on the Statute Book he would very likely stop there.

WHERE THE BILL FAILED.

He believed the Bill failed absolutely to grapple with the root cause either of sickness or unemployment. Sickness arose because people were not paid proper wages or because they were not allowed to earn wages at all. He believed unemployment was inherent in the social order and could not be got rid of until the profit system was got rid of. He believed this Bill was putting into the minds of the workers insurance instead of prevention, he believed the House had been chloroformed into the ideas of insurance. What rubbish it was to say that there was more self-respect when something was paid; they had outlived that long ago. Did one's independence suffer because nothing was paid for education? Was their moral fibre injured? When he heard Mr. Lloyd George preaching these homilies about working people getting something for nothing it struck him that they could not possibly get something for nothing since they produced everything. He would go into the lobby quite cheerfully against the Bill, for the few of them who did so would be protesting against the penalising of the very poor, against the squeezing out of half-starved people part of their very subsistence. They were taking money which should be spent on food, and instead of facing in a fair and square fashion the system that robbed the workers of what they earned they were putting forward this wretched miserable scheme of insurance which would leave them in a worse position than before.

The House divided on the Third Reading, giving the Government a majority of 324 to 21.

THE SHOPS BILL.

Friday, December 8th.

On the consideration of the Shops Bill in the Standing Committee.

Mr. J. POINTER said the Bill as it was now presented was a very great disappointment to the Labour Party. Since Mr. Churchill had gone to the bellicose atmosphere of the Admiralty Office his courage had oozed out of his boot toes. The Labour Party thought Mr. Churchill should have shown a stronger front and fought more tenaciously for the things he advocated so well in the earlier days of the Bill. Then he committed himself to the position that the only thing in the Bill that he cared a straw about was the limitation of the hours of shop assistants. Now he had dropped the body of the Bill, had given the husk instead of the kernel, and expected them to grow fat upon it.

The Labour Party recognised the great boon of the half holiday and of the scheduled meal times, but they felt very strongly about the deletion of important clauses. They would support the altered Bill, not because they were satisfied, but because they had been requested by the shop assistants not to jeopardise the measure by pushing their opposition too far. They had not for that request he would not have submitted to the alterations, but the shop assistants, after all, were the people most affected.

Mr. P. SNOWDEN opposed an amendment to the Bill making the weekly half holiday begin at 2 p.m. instead of 1 p.m. The amendment was withdrawn. Mr. Snowden supported a proposal to delete clauses excluding small rural parishes from the provisions of the Bill. He said there were many towns and villages where the population did not exceed one thousand, but which, nevertheless, were shopping centres for large rural areas. Shop assistants in the country were just as much entitled to a weekly half holiday as those in the town. The proposal was adopted.

LABOUR VOTES ON INSURANCE BILL.

The following Labour Members of Parliament voted in favour of the Third Reading of the Insurance Bill:—

- W. Adamson, C. W. Bowerman, W. Brace, J. R. Clynes, C. Duncan, Enoch Edwards, A. H. Gill, F. Goldstone, J. G. Hancock, W. E. Harvey, J. Haslam, A. Henderson, J. Hodge, W. Hudson, W. Johnson, J. R. MacDonald, J. Parker, J. Pointer, T. Richards, T. Richardson, A. Smith, A. Stanley, J. E. Sutton, J. W. Taylor, J. H. Thomas, J. E. Wadsworth, S. Walsh, G. J. Wardle, A. Wilkie, J. Williams, W. T. Wilson—31.

J. O'Grady and G. Lansbury acted as tellers against the Bill. F. W. Jowett, P. Snowden, W. Thorne voted with them.

Experiments on Human Beings have proved the body building power of Bovril to be from 10 to 20 times the amount taken. Bovril

# WHY WE OPPOSED INSURANCE BILL.

Statement by the Minority in the Labour Party.

"Poverty of Workers Cannot be Cured by Taxing Their Poverty."

We have been unable to support the Third Reading of the Insurance Bill and we desire to offer a few reasons for the course we have been regretfully compelled to take.

We did not support the "reasoned" amendment moved by the Unionist Party, which was an evasion of the real issue, because, while agreeing that the Bill has not been adequately discussed, we decline to associate in such a protest with a party which is equally responsible with the Liberal Government for a system of Parliamentary procedure which has robbed the House of Commons of all claim to be regarded as a deliberative assembly.

We welcome the introduction of a Government measure for the State organisation of the treatment of sickness and the relief of destitution from disablement, because that fact is evidence of the recognition by the community of its responsibility for the social condition of the people. The practically unanimous acceptance by the country of the principle of the State organisation of relief is a very gratifying proof of the growth of the social consciousness; and the chief value of the discussions upon this Insurance Bill is, in our opinion, that they have called attention to the existence of the problem of unalleviated suffering and the urgency of the need of State treatment and support.

But while in sympathy with the general objects of the measure we believe that the methods of dealing with the problem which are proposed in the Bill are unsound in theory, will be impractical in operation, will not realise the object aimed at, but, on the contrary, are calculated to put social reform on wrong lines which, if followed, will never lead to any substantial improvement in the condition of the working classes.

### OBJECTIONS TO GENERAL PRINCIPLES.

We refrain here from any criticism of the details of the Bill, which, in so many respects, are so unjust, impractical, and ineffective, and we confine ourselves to a statement of our objections to the general principles of the measure.

The Bill proceeds on the principle that the evils of poverty can be cured by the State organisation of the present expenditure of the wage-earning classes. The poverty of the wage earners can only be remedied by securing for them the use and enjoyment of that portion of the national wealth which is now appropriated by others in the form of unearned incomes. This Bill does not tax rent and profits to any appreciable extent to provide additional comforts for the poor, but places new and heavy burdens on small and inadequate wages. The poverty of the workers can never be cured by taxing their poverty.

We have opposed the Bill, therefore, first, because of its contributory character. By exacting contributions from the workers to finance so-called schemes of social reform we are not only adopting a policy which can bring no real improvement, but we are continuing a practice which two generations of experience have proved to be ineffective and impractical. The contributory plan has been abandoned in our Education system, in Public Health administration, and in practically all our national services. The contributory system was condemned by all the Commissions and Committees which reported on Old Age Pensions, and the system was repudiated by both Mr. Asquith and Mr. Chamberlain. Notwithstanding, the principle of contributory Old Age Pensions has been established by this Insurance Bill.

The attempt to impose a contributory system of National Insurance is against the true principles of social reform; it is a discredited, irritating, unjust, and wasteful method of financing a great national scheme; and we believe it is a plan which is disapproved by the thoughtful portion of the working-class opinion in the country. In this last-mentioned view we are supported by the fact that the Independent Labour Party at its last Annual Conference declared in favour of a non-contributory scheme, and that no less than 325,000 votes were recorded for such a system at the last Trade Union Congress, which also passed resolutions in

favour of non-contributions from wage-earners below 15/- a week and reduced contributions from those with less than 25/- a week.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer has been compelled to abandon the contributory character of the Bill in respect of a considerable section of those who are to be brought within the scheme. Those employed persons earning less than 1/6 a day are to be exempt from contributing, and those paid below 2/6 a day are to have the relief of reduced contributions. This is an admission of the impracticability and injustice of a contributory scheme. But with compulsory contributions upon the rest of the wage-earners, the injustice still remains, and in many instances those who are to have the full amount taken from their wages are less able to bear the deduction than those in whose favour the contributory plan has been abandoned.

### THE EMPLOYERS' CONTRIBUTIONS.

The method of compelling the employers to pay according to the amount of labour they employ, instead of upon the profits they make, is certain to fall as an additional burden upon the workpeople. It will encourage the displacement of labour by machinery; it will add to the cost of commodities which will be paid in most cases by the consumers; and it will be an excuse for resisting the demands for advances of wages. Under this method the more labour is usefully employed, the more it is taxed. The landlords escape direct contributions altogether under this plan.

We object to the Bill, also, because it does not give relief to those who stand most in need of it and who are least able to help themselves. A contributory scheme can give conditional benefits only to those who contribute, and a vast number of the poorer workers will never be able to fulfil the conditions of benefit laid down in this Bill. This is a fatal objection to a scheme of State assistance for the succour of necessity.

While recognising that in a transition stage there must be provision for the relief of destitution and the amelioration of suffering, we contend that the primary and main purpose of every reform measure should be the prevention of poverty and destitution. This Bill is raising a colossal sum of money which is to be spent almost wholly upon attempts at relief. If half the sum were devoted to the removal of the causes of disease there would soon be little illness to be relieved. This particularly applies to the question of consumption.

### THE UNEMPLOYMENT PROPOSALS.

We object, also, to the proposal in Part 2 of the Bill by which the workmen in insured trades are to pay for insurance against Unemployment. The workmen are not individually responsible for Unemployment, and hitherto the responsibility has been placed upon the State.

We are quite aware that this Insurance Bill will give considerable benefits to some of the better circumstances. But even these benefits are too dear. The great working-class organisations—the Trade Unions and the Societies—are to be given their independence at the risk of sacrificing freedom of action.

On an examination of all the provisions of the Bill we are of opinion that it should not be accepted. The prospect of non-contributory persons it guaranteed by the measure will be disastrous to the future of true working-class independence. The measure will be so exasperating that a reaction of opinion will follow. The defects of the contributory system are admitted that our contributory scheme is a demand for a perfectly logical alternative. The House of Commons or any other body would be the only alternative. The present contributory system, and every early date of its introduction, and native of a number of reasons stated we have refused to impose upon the working class an illogical, il-con-sidered, unjust, and burdensome

# FOR 16 YEARS I HAD RHEUMATISM

## THEN I CURED MYSELF IN SIX WEEKS.

Have Such Faith That My Remedy Will Cure Others That I Will Present Any Sufferer With a Box Absolutely Free of Charge.

### SEND IN THE COUPON BELOW.

I suffered the tortures of chronic inherited rheumatism in the joints and muscles for over 16 years. The greater part of that time I was kept indoors—often could not leave my bed—and at best only hobbled about with two sticks. I shall never cease to be thankful for the happy inspiration by which I discovered the medicine that ended my 16 years' suffering in the short space of six weeks.

At the moment I applied it was the most delightful sensation I ever experienced. Another gentleman writes:— "About three months before starting your remedy I had to give up work altogether. I had tried every remedy I had heard of; some gave me temporary relief and some hadn't the slightest effect on me. I shall never cease to be thankful to you."



### REAL CURES.

There are hundreds of others whom my remedy has cured who are as thankful as I am. I wish you could see the letters of thanks I receive every day from those whom my remedy has cured. You would see from these letters—many of them from people who have suffered for twenty and thirty years—that I offer you a cure such as you have never been offered before.

Can you imagine the feelings of a man who, after suffering as I did for over sixteen years, finds a remedy which absolutely cures him within six weeks?

Naturally, he wants every other sufferer to try his remedy. This is my feeling. I have cured myself, and I want every other sufferer from any rheumatic ailment to see what my self-discovered cure free of charge.

I have put my remedy to the test in the very worst cases of

- Rheumatism,
Cout,
Lumbago,
Sciatica, and
Other Urlic Acid Ills,

and it has never disappointed me.

Here is a letter from a Brighton gentleman which is typical of those I am receiving every day from people my remedy has cured:—

"I can never express how grateful I feel to you for the great cure your remedy has effected for me. The pills are simply wonderful. I have a microscope, and after taking your pills for about a week I felt so much better, it occurred to me that I might see the uric acid in the urine. I was really amazed to find how much was coming away. I felt quite cured in four weeks, but I took your advice and continued for the remaining fortnight, and I never know what it is to feel any pain now. The speedy relief your liniment gave from

### MY OFFER.

Having spent nearly 16 years indoors, and being now in as fine a state of vigorous health as any man can wish for, my thoughts turn to the unhappy plight of the hundreds of other men and women there must be who are situated as I was before I found my remedy.

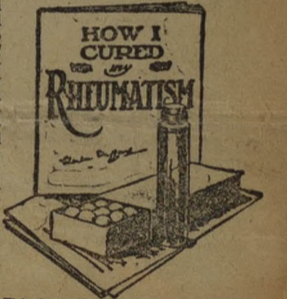
I will not have it said that I did not place my wonderful discovery within the reach of every sufferer, and that is why I have put aside 5,000 boxes for free presentation.

If you suffer from any rheumatic ailment I earnestly ask you to avail yourself of my offer to-day.

I expressly invite those who have been disappointed in the use of other remedies and treatments, and I feel that no matter how many of these so-called cures you have tried, you should be willing to give my remedy a fair trial if I undertake to send you this trial entirely at my own expense.

I have reserved these 5,000 boxes for free presentation in the hope that not one sufferer from rheumatism or any allied ailment who chances to read these lines will fail to seize the opportunity of putting my thoroughly genuine and successful remedy to a personal test. I feel that having made this offer, I have done all that can be expected of me, for I am placing my remedy on its merits in all cases at my own expense.

Won't you try this box of my cure, also my book "How I Cured My Rheumatism," may be had free for the Coupon below.



### THIS COUPON ENTITLES

A SUFFERER FROM ANY URIC ACID AILMENT TO A BOX OF MY CURE FREE OF CHARGE.

Send me a Free Box of your Cure for Rheumatic Ailments. I promise to give it a fair trial. I enclose three penny stamps to pay for postage and packing.

NAME .....
ADDRESS .....
L.L.I. 15.12.11 .....

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## THE HOLY THORN

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in bloom at Xmas time can be accommodated at the

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KEIR HARDIE.
GEORGE LANSBURY.
FREDK. W. JOWETT.
JAS. O'GRADY.
W. THORNE.

\* Mr. Hardie did not vote against the Third Reading.

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Ada Cripps

262

Arcana,  
Shelley Road,  
Worthing.

Dec. 16<sup>th</sup> 1911

Dear Mrs. Lausbury

We, - The I.S.P.

of Worthing are  
all so proud of  
your Husband!  
in regard to Lloyd  
George's "Insurance  
Bill". If They were

Only all (The M.P's)  
like Mr. George Lansbury  
what a glorious -  
England it would  
be for the workers!!

I am enclosing  
a small amount  
& should be so much  
obliged if you will  
give it away for  
me. In one

of your letters you  
said you had many  
poor knocking at  
your door. My small  
contribution will help  
just a little.

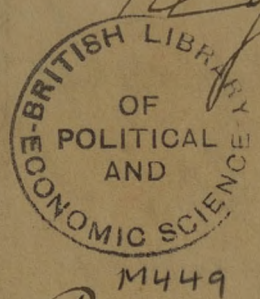
I trust that you,  
& all your family  
are quite well, I  
have been so in hopes  
that I might see

20

Some members of  
your family before  
now; We should  
indeed be only too  
delighted if you would  
accept our hospitality  
for a "sea breeze" & a  
rest. With kindest

regard to all

Yours most Sincerely  
Ada Cripps.



P.S.

Mr. Despard stayed with  
me last week, one night.





'Phone 7930 Central.

**HARRY BOULTER,**

264

Leysian Offices,  
108, CITY ROAD,  
(Opposite Old Street Tube Station).

**Practical  
Tailor.**

Dec 23<sup>rd</sup> 1911.

Dear Sir,

The Compliments of the Season,  
and many thanks for your  
strenuous efforts recently on  
my behalf. Hoping you may  
long live to continue your good work  
Yours faithfully  
Harry Boulter

POST CARD  
LONDON E.C.



THE ADDRESS ONLY TO  
BE WRITTEN HERE.

23 DEC 11

George Lausbury Esq M.P.

St Stephens Road

Bow  
E.



M449

Christmas, 1911.

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*From . . .*

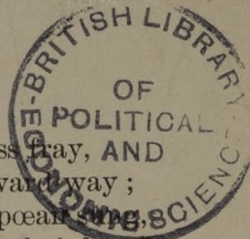
**BESSIE and GEORGE LANSBURY.**

With Love and Best Wishes  
for  
Christmas, New Year, and Always.

**Bow, London, E.**

P.T.O.

M449



Let others sing to the hero who wins in the ceaseless fray, AND  
Who, over the crushed and fallen, pursueth his upward way ;  
For him let them weave the laurel, to him be their pean,  
Whom the kindly fates have chosen, who are happy their loved among ;  
But mine be a different message, some soul in its stress to reach ;  
To bind, o'er the wound of failure, the balm of pitying speech ;  
To whisper " Be up and doing, for courage at last prevails " —  
I sing — who have supped with Failure, — I sing to the man who fails.

Oh, men, who are labelled " failures," up, rise up ! again, and do !  
Somewhere in the world of action is room ; there is room for you.  
No failure was e'er recorded, in the annals of truthful men,  
Except of the craven-hearted who fails, nor attempts again.  
The glory is in the doing, and not in the trophy won ;  
The walls that are laid in darkness may laugh to the kiss of the sun.  
Oh, weary and worn and stricken. oh, child of fate's cruel gales !  
I sing, — that it haply may cheer him, — I sing to the man who fails.

Mantley Power

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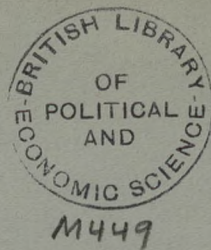
BROMWICH HOUSE,  
WORCESTER.

HAGLEY RECTORY,  
STOBBRIDGE.

Dec: 28 1911

Dear Darling

Many thanks for your kind remembrance of us this  
thous for your card - & also for the copy of 'The Worker' with  
your thanks & kind personal greetings to our constituents. I heartily  
agree with every word of both of them - it is only our the  
application of your principles that I have sometimes to part  
company with you. And I am delighted to read about the presentations  
to you & Mrs. Darling. Although, as I have told you before, I can't  
'go all the way' with you I feel very strongly that you are the right  
man to represent New & Bromley. After your election I expressed  
to you my latent satisfaction that being in touch with all minority  
we could not be able to do any harm in Parliament! Rather  
a straight & logical way of putting it I fear. But if small  
minorities can do so harm, undoubtedly they neither can do  
much good. Under present conditions of political life it seems



STONBRIDGE  
HAYLEY RECTORY

hopeless for any one to effect anything unless he belongs to one of  
the two great parties - In, I take it, one as far from one as  
from the other - hence the 'impass' in which our ancient spirit  
finds itself!

You will see from the heading of this paper that we have left  
Hayley & are settled at Worcester - with my personal help  
little it was impossible for me to carry on Parochial work.  
So now I lay myself out to help needy Parishes when they  
want me - I was helping an old neighbor near Hayley  
last Sunday & the next day.

We have got a nice house & garden here where I hope we  
shall see you some day when you want a little change & rest.  
I hope all our party are flourishing - I have always been  
expecting to see Solley's name amongst the List of Benefactors -  
but apparently she has not yet been in!  
With kindest remembrance to Mrs. Lushington & best love from mother  
I am  
Yours truly  
Wm. Power

They are beginning  
to talk about going  
to prison.

now I maintain that  
a working man will  
be worth of, I give my  
men 2/9 a day, ~~or 1/6~~  
a week loss of time  
now if that bill does  
pass, then I shall  
give 2/8½ a day to  
you see they will be  
worth of, If you enquire  
at the banking Com.  
you will find there is  
not many Farmers at  
any really money

only just from hand  
to mouth, lots of  
servant men at more  
ready money than  
these matters, I know  
if that bill becomes  
Law it will be a  
great burden to  
Agriculturalists both  
Farmer man & Maid,  
I am a Liberal & voted  
for the budget which  
it has done a lot of  
harm, if the bill  
passes I turn a  
Conservative.

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Mr. Keir Hardie on Lansbury's  
Conference Speech

Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P., writing in last week's Merthyr "Pioneer," says:—The speech of the Conference was undoubtedly that of George Lansbury. Lansbury has the frame of a giant and the frank, open face of a healthy, happy schoolboy. . . In a very few sentences he had gripped the Conference, and as he went on in his plain, blunt, homely fashion, outlining his political creed, and laying bare the faith which inspires him, the Conference kept responding in a growing degree of sympathy with the man and his message, and at the close he sat down amidst a tremendous outburst of enthusiasm. It was a great, purifying, ennobling speech which lifted the Conference to a very high level.

end of 1911  
and Vol. 4