

to precede fol. 170

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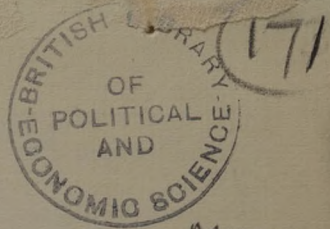
(fols. 170-269)

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Mrs. Joseph Fels

3640 Chestnut Street

Philadelphia, Jan 18th 11



M449

Dear George, -
Please take good note of the above address: your last letter reached me later than it should, because the address bore no number and was written "Chestnut Avenue". Now, I want your letters to come to me just as quickly as possible. There might be some danger of a letter

thus addressed never
reaching me at all; and
that possibility I desire most
fervently to be averted -
from any letter of yours.
What a loss in particular,
I would have sustained if
this good letter had failed
to find me! It has given
me such great pleasure,
not only in what it tells
of your hopes and purposes
and plans, but by the
distinctly Georgian tone
that breathes throughout it.

It is interesting to learn
of the different treatment

you get - from the general public
now that you are an M.P.
One expected that, however,
and rather more than usually,
in your case. It throws
the footlights on your
work, and that's a good
thing. You remember how,
when we discussed the
pros and cons of your stand-
ing for Parliament, it was
just this prominence for you
which that made one of
the strongest pros. Too often
there is danger to the
personality in ^{such} attention; but

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one has not an atom of
fear for you. Instead of
spoilings, it will strengthen
you. Instead of losing balance
you will gain poise and a
clearer sense of things. You
see, I have no fear at all of
your head being turned; but
I'll forego any further letting
out of thoughts about you.
Indeed, there is no more time
now for writing anything
of any kind, save just to
send love and loving wishes
to you and Bessie and all.
I would wish to be in this
letter. He is far away and for
a long time. - To write you again to
Mary.

House of Commons.

10th FEBRUARY, 1911.

RIGHT TO WORK.

[Mauden] SPEECH BY MR. G. LANSBURY.

Mr. LANSBURY: I have to ask the indulgence of the House on this occasion, the first on which it has been my privilege to address them. I would not have intruded in this Debate but for the fact that I, too, have had some little experience in the matter we are discussing. I represent in this House one of the very poorest districts of this great Metropolis, a district which is afflicted, in good times and in bad, with this great problem of unemployment. It is perfectly true, as the right hon. Gentleman says, that this is a very complex and difficult problem, and one which will take a considerable amount of time to work out. But if we are to work it out successfully we must start at the very beginning and on right lines. Excellent as are Labour Exchanges, excellent as to some extent State insurance may be, we who sit on these benches still hold that it is starting entirely at the wrong end of the problem; that this problem of unemployment is very much a problem of the State organisation of industry, and not necessarily organisation of industry by the State itself, but by the State taking such action that all industry should be regulated in such a manner as to secure work for all citizens willing to work.

The right hon. Gentleman has told us that the Labour party's attitude on the subject has changed. If that were true it would not matter very much if they had changed their attitude because of further knowledge or of further experience. No one in the House has any business to grumble at people taking a different view from that which they have previously held,

if they honestly find it better to do so. The right hon. Gentleman is a shining example of that. I am not at all certain that we have changed our minds. I think that, in the last resort, we have always held that the real responsibility for dealing with this question and for enforcing the right of every willing citizen to earn his daily bread lay with this House as representing the entire people. We may wish to administer through municipalities or other local authorities, but I am certain that as a party we have never really departed from the principle that in the last resort the State as represented by the House of Commons is the place where the principle we stand for must be established. Although I am a new Member, I believe I am speaking for every man on these benches in declaring that we have never at any time said that relief works were a panacea for or a settlement of the unemployed problem. I myself have always said, as the right hon. Gentleman says, that mere relief works perpetuate the evil. It is very easy in this House, however, to talk political economy, and to point out the great evils that come from relief work; but when a municipality, or a Board of Guardians, or even a Government, are face to face with large masses of people in a starving condition, they must take uneconomic measures to deal with these people and to help them out of their difficulties. When we have advocated that certain works should be put in hand, we have only done so because we have not been able to put our own principles and propositions into

effect. If we had been so able, we should say quite clearly that we agree that the mere sending of men to dig or to do work to which they are not accustomed is demoralising to the men and to the nation.

But there is something very much worse than even that, and that is to leave children, women, and men, hungry. I have in mind a speech made some years ago, in which a gentleman said he had a vision of hungry children, of homeless men, of women driven to prostitution and shame, because of the want of employment, and he said it was that which had driven him into revolt against society. That is practically what was said by the right hon. Gentleman some years ago. I am in that position this afternoon. I am in revolt against these conditions. I say deliberately that, if you deny men the right to work, if you take from them by your capitalist and landlord system the means of earning their daily bread, you cannot at the same time deny their claim to maintenance at the hands of the State. You cannot say, on the one hand, that you will protect the capitalist in turning men out from their employment, that you would protect the landlord in clearing men off the land, that you will allow your police and soldiers to back them up in so doing, and, at the same time, leave these women and children to starve. They have the inherent rights of humanity. If you and your soldiers prevent them coming to close quarters with the landlords and capitalists, if the landlords and capitalists deny these men the right to earn their daily bread, in the last resort the people have an inherent claim upon you. With society organised as it is, if you will not give them work or allow them to exercise their labour power, the only thing you can do is to maintain them in the way we suggest.

For my part I want to emphasize that portion of this Amendment. I am not concerned so much with more work. When I listen to honourable and right hon. Gentlemen who have given up work in the ordinary sense long ago, saying that work is a very blessed thing—I mean digging on the land and nasty uncomfortable work of that sort—I feel that what is meant is that it is excellent for the other fellow, so long as we are not doing it ourselves. There is plenty of work being done, plenty of things being produced, and what we need is to secure a better distribution of the work and what the work produces. I quite agree that we

have not only to set up our claim for maintenance and for the right to work. We have also to set up the claim that our little children, the children of the workers, should have a better chance than they have at present. We have had lots of sympathy this afternoon; but sympathy is not of much use to the children who are selling newspapers, or riding behind vans, or sleeping on the Embankment or in workhouses or casual wards. These children are in these conditions mainly because somebody else is getting the result of the labour of their parents or of working-class parents generally. No one has a right to talk about the unemployable in this connection. Hon. Members have asked what we are going to do with the unemployable. Whenever this question is discussed, somebody asks what is to be done with the loafer. I think I ought to say here what I have said outside, that when I deal with the loafers I will deal with those who canter round Rotten Row for want of any other exercise to obtain an appetite for their meals. If ever the democracy of this country deal with loafers, they will deal with them at both ends of the social scale. We who sit here have no sympathy either with the rich loafer or with the poor loafer. We want all the men of the country to do their share of the work of the community. I never hear people get up and denounce the loafer at this end of London who manages to live riotously and sumptuously every day. For my part I am not so very anxious about the loafer as the hon. Gentleman who sits opposite was at an earlier period this afternoon.

Mr. MARKHAM: That is not what I said. I asked the Mover of the Resolution what he was going to do with all that large body of men who never would work; many thousands of whom I know.

Mr. LANSBURY: I personally know many thousands, too, but they do not all live in the East End of London. I know exactly what the hon. Gentleman means. The men who will not work are loafers. I beg to point out that that is exactly what I mean. Some hon. Gentlemen seem to forget how these people are manufactured. I wonder how the hon. Gentleman or myself would have felt, if at twenty-five years of age, we had been pitchforked out of a job, or had wandered about for several months unable to get work of any kind; perhaps with a wife and child at home starving? I wonder

what we would have become if exposed to that kind of thing? I think his *morale*, or mine—if we had any—would have been entirely broken by it. You have to come to the cause of this. One of the causes is that you spend thousands of pounds to educate your children, and, in the end you turn them out to be van-boys or newspaper boys, or anything else. I want among the measures dealing with unemployment to take all the children out of the labour market entirely. Hon. Gentlemen here who can afford it, send their boys and their girls from one school to another, and see that they are thoroughly well educated. We, who sit on these benches, are here to claim for the children of the workers all those advantages of education that other people claim for theirs, and give them. We want that little boys and girls should not go into industrial pursuits. Industries that depend upon boy and girl labour are, in my opinion, not worthy to be kept up at all by a civilised nation. We were told that if we bring in our Right to Work Bill, if we establish the right to work or maintenance for all, that terrible things will happen down in the country. It has been said that we would bring all the labourers to London; that all the people who are now getting 12s. per week will get out of work, wander up to town, and become a burden upon the community. I want to face that proposition. The argument apparently is that at present these old people who are getting 12s. per week, with a two shillings per week cottage, would come to town. I would like to point out that Carlyle told us some time ago:—

“Somewhere, sometime, there is some rich person some rich seigneur, who is plucking off a little of that old man's earnings all the time.”

While you permit the vicious land system of our country to continue you will not need the attraction of Reading or Devizes to bring the people up. They are coming up now, driven by the hideous land system that denies them the right of access to the land. It is all very fine for the right hon. Gentleman to tell us that we must not put these attractive things before the people. He went on to develop a most extraordinary argument; that we were to keep the miners in the Rhondda Valley practically at the point of starvation. Yes, that is the old Poor Law theory. I am afraid he has been mixing up with gentlemen who have been teaching him 1834 Poor Law economics, and this has really mystified the right hon. Gentleman's mind. It is an extraordinary theory for him to have laid down this afternoon—that you

have to keep the miner in Rhondda, by not allowing him any other means to live.

I want to tell him something about miners in the Rhondda Valley, though perhaps he has heard it before.

4.0 P.M. I stayed with a collier the other day, one of those who were on strike. He told me that in every skip of coal he filled, the landlord—one of the people whom we are told are chosen of God to inherit the earth—took sixpence—that he earned for an absentee landlord 3s. 6d. per day in addition to dividends for the companies. I suppose right hon. Gentlemen will tell us that we must not remove that state of things because it is a kind of spur to the miners' industry. I want to point out to this House that it is those kinds of iniquities that the Labour party is against. For my part—and I am speaking for myself—I do not want to drive men to work under these kind of conditions. Anything I can do, any effort I can make or energy I can put forth, will be used by me in revolt against keeping idle people on the labour of other people. The Rhondda and other miners carry on their backs, as do the whole industrial population all those classes which live on rents, profits, etc. In passing, I may say there will be no social salvation at all until these people are off the backs of Labour. [An Hon. Member: “Oh.”] Yes, till they are thrown off their backs. In this connection the Irish party have shown us a very excellent example of how to do it. We have had £5,000,000 spent on cottages in Ireland. I wonder how soon the Government will spend £5,000,000 on housing in the United Kingdom. The need is as great here as elsewhere.

But I want to go into the question more strictly before us. The right hon. Gentleman told us that he had been the careful custodian of the poor, and of the men and women who have been getting assistance under his Department. The answer to him and his cheery optimism—because the right hon. Gentleman is nothing if not an optimist—that the figures he gave me for London the other day—and this is the answer to the Labour Exchange figures too—is that there were 22,554 men registered as unemployed. If you put their average dependents per member, you get nearly one hundred thousand people who are in distress from unemployment. What was the Department of which he is commander-in-chief, which he says

is doing everything it can to find work for these men, doing? It has found work for 2,627 men. In the district where the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade and myself represent we registered something like 2,753 persons, who, with dependents, number 4,350. We have passed for work 720. Yet we are told by the optimistic right hon. Gentleman that everything is well now in this best of all possible worlds, because he (Mr. Burns) is at the Local Government Board. It is stated that this is an extraordinary demand of ours. He tells us that labour is being regularised in Government Departments and in municipalities. Why, the First Lord of the Admiralty has only just recently turned out of the Thames Ironworks some thousands of men simply because one day they got some work at the hands of the Government, and the next day they got none. I am not an advocate of building "Dreadnoughts," but if we are stupid enough to build them they ought to be built on the Thames as well as elsewhere. We were told by the right hon. Gentleman that they were regularising employment, and I point out that in one of the Departments of State they so regularise it that there is practically no work in the Thames Ironworks at the present time. And there are hundreds of these men who are now unable to get work. I should like to call attention to this fact. Some people complain that we speak disparagingly of technical education. Every one of us wants all the education we can get. If any set of men in this House feel the need for education it is we who sit upon these benches—at any rate, speaking for myself, I feel it. There is one thing I almost grudge to other hon. Members, and that is their better education. You have at this present moment some thousands of fitters, some thousands of engineers, some thousands of carpenters, and some thousands of other trades who are out of work. What we are appealing for is that these men, while out of employment, should be maintained. I come now to the real crux of the problem, and that is the question of casual labour. There are many men in this House acquainted with shipping. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board spoke about Liverpool, and other Members spoke about Liverpool, and the right hon. Gentleman also spoke about the London Docks. As a matter of fact, it is not true to say that labour in the London Docks has been decasualised; as a matter of fact,

the total labour of the Dock Authority is quite a flea-bite when compared with the labour of the whole docks. They have no part in unloading or actually loading ships, and decasualisation has only taken place amongst those men who are employed directly by the Dock Authority, and who handle goods in the warehouses, and therefore to talk of the great importance of the Dock Authority in this matter is absurd. I live within a stone's-throw of the docks, and I have also to administer the poor law in the district affected. My hon. Friend the Member for South-West Ham, sits for a similar district, and I am quite certain that since the London Dock strike and the rise in wages, there has been going on, what always goes on when workmen get an advantage. All kinds of labour-saving machinery is brought in. We are not against machinery. As I said before, work is a blessed thing, but if machinery can do it we are in favour of machinery, but the old docker is on the street, and fewer regular men to the tonnage of the docks are employed than before the strike, and a great amount of the work of the docks is carried on purely and simply by intermittent labour. What are the facts brought to light by the investigations of the Poor Law Commission? The London docks and wharves employ somewhere about 25,000 men. On the very busiest day of the port there is never work for more than 15,000, and that means that you have always got 10,000 men there for whom there is no work. That kind of thing is spreading over all other industries. Whatever you may think about unemployment, it is not a question of a million of men out of work to-day, because some of those to-morrow may be in work and others will take their places. Consequently the area of demoralisation is a much bigger one than the mere million spoken of at the beginning. The right hon. Gentleman complained—I thought very ungenerously—that the dockers at Liverpool were the biggest enemies of decentralisation. If we were all in some occupation which brought us in something every week and Parliament proposed to take away even the chance to earn that little amount without making any provision for us at all, we should oppose it with all our might. A condition precedent to any successful scheme of insurance or decasualisation must be the passing of some Act of Parliament conferring on those you squeeze out of employment the absolute inalienable right either to earn their

living by some State organisation, or else maintenance at the hands of the State. You have no right to squeeze these men out, or leave them to the tender mercies of a beneficent Local Government Board. For my part, I would rather be left to the tender mercies of the prison than the Local Government Board workhouse. I want the House to realise that every thinker on the subject, every Member of the Commission, was appalled with the fact that in London and Liverpool you had this problem to face.

That problem is at the bottom of this question, and when you talk of giving us insurance and ask us to accept that as one of the steps along the road, we know very well what that means as interpreted to us. It means that the casual labourer whom you cannot insure is to be squeezed out, and left either to linger and die or taken to the workhouse, or some other such institution. I want this House to organise labour and regularise it, and get rid of those land laws which drive people to London and other great centres. Take the children out of the labour market, and do all those things which hon. Members have spoken of, but we should start where the shoe pinches the most, and give to those men and women at the bottom the right to that maintenance which a capitalistic system denies them at present. We do not want to treat them as spoilt children or give them preferential treatment. I tell this House from actual knowledge that the thing this Empire has to fear the most is that you will not have the men to man your ships or do your work because of the physical deterioration from which many of them suffer through living in our great centres of population. The thing every employer deplors is the lack of initiative amongst men. The one thing which struck members of the Poor Law Commission as they went up and down the country was that every man who gave us any evidence said that foreigners in other countries were better off because of their better education and better mental equipment. You cannot go on even attempting to equip your people and then tumbling them out to casual labour in the fashion you are doing now in the East End of London and other large industrial areas. Now Gentlemen opposite say we should accept their specific of Tariff Reform. Well, I went to Hamburg and various parts of the German Empire quite un-

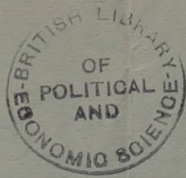
biased, because, after all, no Socialist can be an apostle of the Manchester School of Political Economy. I got through that long ago, and it appears to me that a large number of hon. Gentlemen on the benches behind me, as represented by their speeches to-day, are a long way from it too. The thing brought home to me in Germany—was that at least in Hamburg—this right for which we are asking is already established. The people in Hamburg either get maintenance or work. There is elaborate machinery bringing the labour exchanges and the Maintenance Department together, with a view to minimising the effects of unemployment. But even in Germany, whose prosperity we were told yesterday is going up by leaps and bounds, the problem of unemployment has to be dealt with in the manner we are proposing to-day. Therefore, whatever the truth or otherwise of the arguments to which we have listened for the last two days, this concrete fact remains, that they have casual labourers in Hamburg in the handling of the ships and in the building trade. Everyone must, I think, agree, that the casual labourer in the docks has an absolute right to demand that if you decasualise him and squeeze him out you must make provision for him, his wife, and family.

We have heard something about the building trade. The right hon. Gentleman told us that the bricklayer and the carpenter were appealing against the operation of our Bill, and that that was the only industry to which we could put the men. The hon. Member for North Hants told us of the effect of ferro-concrete on the building trade as it is carried on at the present time. I want to hear some Tariff Reformer tell us what foreigner has compelled us to put up our buildings in that kind of way: I think they are put up in that way because men have discovered it is a cheaper way of building. After all, that is the root of the whole matter. I quite agree that this question of getting all you can cheap and selling it dear is a very pernicious proposition, but the speech of the right hon. Gentleman was all directed towards supporting that kind of way of living. We are against it *in toto*. I am bound to say that I did not find workmen in Germany, except in those matters of State action with regard to which I agree they are far ahead of ourselves, living under such splendid conditions, whether bricklayers, carpenters, or any other kind of workmen. I found that there they were subject to

exactly the same kind of labour-saving devices as we are afflicted with here—all for the one purpose of cheapening production and saving time. We say that work or maintenance must be secured for all willing workers. I do not suppose hon. Members will concede this proposition in a hurry, but I am quite certain that in the long run they will be driven to accept it because of the economic development that is going on all round us. When I heard the right hon. Gentleman talk of the bricklayer, I wondered how many bricklayers there are to-day employed on the building now going on. During the inquiry by the Commission we started a tiny investigation of our own. We knew it was the building trade that was most affected by unemployment—as apart from the docks. What did we find? That in the period covered by the investigation there were more new buildings assessed to rateable value than at any previous period, and there were many less men employed in the building trade during those operations than in the period immediately preceeding it. How are the Tariff Reformers going to get over that problem? When they do, I shall be inclined to listen rather more sympathetically to them than I can to-day.

On this side of the House we have nothing to get from the Government except State insurance, and we are asking the House to pass this Amendment because we feel that the problem of unemployment cannot be settled by insurance. That is not the right place to begin with. You should commence right down at the bottom, and we, who represent the men and women who are penalised and driven to such straits because of the denial of their right to earn their daily bread—we feel, although the Constitutional question may be important, that the bread and butter question which so many of our millions of fellow citizens have to face is of infinitely greater importance. And though, if every one voted according to his conscience, the result might be to put the Government in a minority. I can only say we cannot help it. The business in life of my colleagues and myself is to impress upon this House the importance of the poverty problem; to press on you who believe in Empire the

fact that it may be pulled down, not by foreign foes, but by the dead weight of poverty, destitution, and misery to be found in our midst. That is a far greater danger to the State than Germany, and America; and it is because we realise this that we ask the House to carry this Amendment. Hon. Gentlemen say they want to help the poor: will they tell us how they are going to deal with a problem which affects both Germany and ourselves. If they are really honest to themselves, they must vote with us in saying that the men and women who are to-day denied the right to work shall have that right or the right to maintenance granted them at the hands of this House of Commons. In thanking you, Sir, and the rest of the Members for listening to me so patiently, let me say this in conclusion. We are often accused—we were the other day—of being people who cared very little for the Empire, but I care a very great deal for the country in which I was born, and it is because I care for it that I think and feel for the sufferings of this multitude of men and women. It was the late Thomas Hill Green, the Oxford Professor, who told us that Sir Harry Vane on the scaffold said, "The people of England have long been asleep; when they awake they will be hungry." I think the people of England have been long asleep. I believe they are awakening, and that they will find their development, not in any dream of domination of other nations or in the worn out shibboleths of Free Trade, but in that better and more excellent doctrine which teaches all mankind that the one thing to teach in living is that we are all socially interdependent one upon the other, that society should be organised from top to bottom so as to bring every man, woman and child full, free, happy lives. At present you have thirteen millions of people living in destitution. [HON. MEMBERS: "No."] Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman said so, at any rate. [HON. MEMBERS: "No."] Whether that is so or not we shall not quarrel about a million or two; if you have only one million of people living on the verge of destitution it is the business of this House, at whatever cost of power and energy, to put an end to it.



M449

so we are to exercise 'compulsion' on the
 Rhondda Vally men - to make it impossible
 for them to think of doing anything but
 go on 'heroically' digging our coal for
 some miserable pittance by the simple
 process of showing them that no other
 do men obtain anything but precarious
 starvation wages. & this dismal, sordid,
 beggarly outlook is to foster "manly
 independence"! John Burns has said so -
 so it must be right - & he is the Guardian
 (the God-ordained custodian) - of the
 "proud spirit of the poor" - I pray this
 same spirit will show John Burns it is
 quite capable of looking after itself. No use
 writing a letter even to Daily News about this
 little tin-whel God - they would not insert it.

my rays
by
writing
to you -

TELEPHONE
2626 MAYFAIR.

do not
answer, but
I wish someone
had challenged
J. P.'s figures.
Then you find

Bank transactions
through relations
it all fits just down
a funnel by Labour
exchange.

house.
The man
you see W.

78, HARLEY STREET,

175

Paul Bentinck

TELEPHONE No.
5 LEE GREEN.

Richard H. Green
(Shipowner & builder)

ELMSDALE,

BLACKHEATH PARK,

S. E.

11-2-11

My dear Lansbury

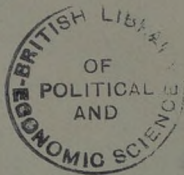
My hearty congratulations
on your maiden speech in the House as re-
ported in the Morning Post. There is no man
in England at the present moment who has a
greater responsibility on him than yourself
for there is none I believe who has given
more earnest contribution to the great
problem of the poor & their position in the
social structure. I heartily endorse your views
that labour exchanges & State Insurance are
only a small part of the necessary of a revision
of our working system, & that the whole
question is one of State re-organisation of the industry
for that reason, I deplore the fact that the
fundamental question of State re-organisation & re-
organisation of the industry, has become a party
question, instead of a non-party. I trust that
me, viz. Tariff Reform. It must, in my mind
be a condition precedent to any attempt
to provide employment & when you have
secured all possible genuine employment

surplus labour should be reduced to a
minimum to be dealt with in other ways.
The employment of child labour I entirely
agree ought to be removed from the labour
market, but then unfortunately one is of a joint
human nature & the greatest opponents even in
the working classes themselves.

Any way you have my good wishes for
your Parliamentary career & I trust you
may be guided to use your great powers
of earnest appeal to the real necessities &
advantages of the Nation, & not merely to
arousing class hatred. But I think you
proud in writing like this to you, we need men
with your knowledge to help us ^{as a nation}, but in the
measure of their power is the measure of
their responsibility & yours is great.

Yr sincere well wisher

Richard St John



M449

ROBERT WILLIAMS

(1881-1936)

LONDON ADDRESS:
10, Clifford's Inn, E.C.

St David's Buildings,
9, Cherif Pasha Street,

Alexandria, 18. 2. 1911
Egypt.

Dear Lansbury,

A May copy of the Chronicle came into my hands the other day, containing an account of the "Right to Work" debate. The report of your speech is poor and much condensed, but I read between the lines and gathered that you bravely voiced the needs of the great, inarticulate & disinherited masses. The platitudes of the President of the Local Government Board are just what one might expect, as an echo of Governmental policy and the President's attitude might be summed up in a parody of two famous lines of Browning—
 John's in his Government
 all's well with the workless.

The policy of this Government and of all Governments is a policy of "sops to Cerberus". It deals out little doles, — pensions at 70 — the end of life's allotted span according to the Psalmist; and now — insurance against sickness and unemployment at 1/- per week; an absolutely impossible payment for hundreds of thousands of London's workers

ROBERT WILLIAMS
F.R.I.B.A.

S^t David's Buildings,
9, Cherif Pasha Street,

LONDON ADDRESS:-
10, Clifford's Inn, E.C.

Alexandria, 18 Feb. 1911
Egypt.

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to make.

Do not, however, be discouraged. There are forces at work which make for the true brotherhood of man, which no vain talk about the "sturdy independence of the poor" can restrain.

I am sending to Frank for verbatim copies of the speeches in the "Right to Work" debate and shall write to the President I.G.B. for particulars of the extra £15,000,000 which his Government has spent in social work since its advent, and I may write to our old friend Robert Donald of the Chronicle on the "Independence of the Poor".

P.S. Since writing this a friend

has sent me a copy of the Daily News, wherein there is a different version of your speech and accordingly I have tried to bring my minute almost accurate - "all was well" regarding the meeting was at the I.G.B.

May true wisdom ever guide you in your work; may the Power and Love, which no man can withstand, ever uphold you and all who work and yearn for the day of man's emancipation. That day is bound to come. Those who can see afar, can discern, just above the ~~hazy~~ sombre horizon, the faint, pointed rays of its sun's glorious arising. It is forty and three years since Odger moved for Southwark. For each of these years there is a Labour man in Parliament and I am still strong in the hope of those young days. Yet the day is not come, but it will come. Let us not be dismayed. Let us look up & forward with courage. Ever paternally
Robert Williams

P.S. Since writing this a friend
has lent me a copy of the Daily
News, wherein there is a different
version of your speech and whereby
I see you used the Brewster simile which occurred to
me - "all was well because Mr. Brewster was at the L. G. B." P.H.

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See vol. 28. a, fos. 65-66, for a letter from
J.C. Wedgwood, dated 19 February 1911

BRITISH MUSEUM

Rt. Rev. Henry Mosley
Bishop of Southwell;
1868 —

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THE RECTORY,
POPLAR, E.
TELEPHONE 3368 EAST.

~~Private~~

Feb 26. 11

Dear Lausbury

I want to tell you
before it becomes public that
I am leaving here.

I am only doing it on the
strong persuasion of most
members of the Bishop's Staff.

He wants me to succeed
Lausbury at Hackney Down

THE RECTORY
POPULAR E.
1888
Church. I hate the idea of
it, & to exchange the vigorous
& democratic life of the
of the Hackensack & Hudson Valley
fills me with gloom.

But I daresay after nearly
ten years at all events, it may

be good and time for the
parish to have a change, but
for me I can't think it can
be good.

I can never say that I can
say to me of the Hudson,

& that we have fought over
the bodies of the alb-bodies!
I believe our real aim is the
same. I shall always be
writings that I can come

to know you for you have been
an inspiration to me & I
know you will not mind
my saying it as I am leaving!
I would it if I could
I should love to see I can

say

Yours ever

W. Woodley



Will you please keep this

FORWARD, SA

PARLIAMENT.

By GEORGE LANSBURY M.P.

for me
4 March 1911

The Editor has asked me to write a weekly article on Parliament. It is rather a difficult job for a new member like me, and I expect in some quarters it will be considered cheek and impudence my having any views at all so early in my Parliamentary career. My only excuse is that I have been watching Parliament for the last 30 years from the outside, and if it is true that an outsider sees most of the game, then, after all, I have some qualifications for writing on the subject.

Parliament met for this Session on February 6th for the purpose, so we were told, of proceeding at once to consider important business. We have been considering and talking ever since, but the amount of work accomplished either in bringing Bills forward or in getting them partially carried is up to the moment of writing nil, with the exception of some private Bill legislation. We have discussed on the Address in reply to the speech from the Throne almost every question under the sun—Tariff Reform, the Veto, Home Rule, Land Reform, Exchequer Grants—but as to any conclusions, none have been arrived at, except that the Government at all hazards and all costs must be kept in power.

I must, of course, not forget to mention that five whole hours of the time of the House has been given to a discussion on Unemployment. The relative importance of Unemployment in the minds of the members of the House of Commons may be judged by the amount of time considered adequate for discussing the matter. In this connection it is, of course, quite true to say that no one really wanted to discuss the question except a handful of Labour members. Somehow or other a sort of feeling seems to pervade this place, not merely on the Government side, but almost unanimously, that the fact that we are here is quite enough evidence to prove that all's well with the world.

HORSES OR MEN.

After the Address was voted, we sat down to consider what are known as Supplementary Estimates, that is to say, to spend the surplus of money which we have over-estimated for the important of the Government as a sum of which had a Development Fund.

But a good case for the Sir E. Strachey, representing of Agriculture, declared that the grant was not merely to be used for horses, but was, in fact, to be used to encourage them in this industry. James O'Grady, but that this, then, was Sir E. Strachey's point that our danger in time of war was not likely to arise owing to lack of horses, but to lack of strong men, and he also protested, and, as a matter of fact, divided the House against the grant, on the ground that if the Army wanted horses, the money should come not from the Development Fund, but from the Army Estimates. He made out an excellent case in favour of the Development Fund grants being used for the development of agriculture pure and simple. In the division we were only able to muster a little over a score of members in our support, but it is quite evident to me that in future the Government will be a little more careful in making this kind of proposals. It was, however, very curious to notice how ready both sides were to dip their hands into the public purse for a purpose of this kind. Incidentally we heard that the breed of hunters would be improved by the grant, and one wondered what would have been said to us if we had brought forward a proposition of a similar character to benefit in an indirect manner some sport enjoyed by workmen.

JOHN BURNS AND THE CORONATION.

Very many questions have been asked daily. The President of the Local Government Board has simply been pelted with them from all quarters in reference to his proposed circular, and I think it may be taken for granted that if ever it is issued, it will be in a very much modified form. He was also heckled on the subject of local authorities spending money on Coronation festivities. Such expenditure is absolutely illegal, and I would recommend the Comrades in all parts of the country where such expendi-

ture is incurred, to appear before the Auditor at the time of audit and object. Mr. Burns has promised local authorities that if the expenditure is surcharged, he will use the powers conferred upon him to remit such surcharge. In my opinion this is a perfectly scandalous abuse of power which was vested in the Local Government Board not to sanction *beforehand* illegal expenditure, but to assist local authorities out of any difficulty or emergency involving the expenditure of money which might arise, and no one contemplated that a Minister would encourage in this kind of way the expenditure of money raised locally for an altogether illegal purpose. A commentary on this is to be found in the fact that when appealed to, to issue a similar circular enabling local authorities to feed school children during holiday periods, he gave a blank refusal, so that, in the opinion of the Government, it is perfectly right and proper to spend the ratepayers' money illegally on Coronation junketting, but starving children can go on starving!

I hope our Party will be able to do something in the matter when the Estimates come along!

NO ONE-SIDED BARGAINS!

At the commencement of the Session the Prime Minister informed the House that it was the intention of the Government to take all the private members' time up to Easter, and this was the subject of a resolution which, in the end, was carried after very feeble and ineffective protests from several independent members. I regret very much that our Party decided to support the Government. I do not at all object to the making of bargains, but I do object to one-sided bargains. Up to the moment of writing, we have not a scrap of information as to when the Osborne Judgment Bill is likely to be discussed. We have not won a day in the ballot, and the outlook is very dark, indeed. There is a kind of half rumour that the Government may bring in a Bill, and, of course, give time for a Second Reading debate, but I very much question whether we shall get any further, even if we get as far. I am quite certain we shall not get so far unless we adopt a very much more determined attitude, and I would like to say quite frankly that in my opinion we ought never under any kind of circumstances to bargain away not only our own rights, but those of private members, without there being some really adequate reason for so doing. I am not going to argue whether

...taking all the time of the day, they deliberately sacrificed a day by giving further time for debating the proposition resolution which had already been more than sufficiently discussed, and both the First and Second Readings of the Veto Bill they have given very much more than ample time for its discussion. I believe that our course as a Party should always be to get the questions which we are concerned in effectively discussed. Up to the present there has been hardly any discussion of the great mining and railway disasters. We are promised Bills dealing with these subjects, but here again unless there is some stiffening put into our work, I very much doubt if any real progress will be made this Session.

THE BREAK-UP OF THE POOR LAW.

No one, so far as I can judge, appears to think it at all necessary to push the break-up of the Poor Law. For some reason unknown to me there appears much less enthusiasm over this inside the House than what I find exists among Trade Unionists and Socialists outside the House. Anyhow, so far as we are concerned, nothing along that line is likely to be done this Session, and as your readers have already heard from the Press, there is not likely to be any discussion on Unemployment other than in connection with Insurance Schemes this year, and it, therefore, does seem to me that if we were to vote for the Government taking all the time, that we ought to have insisted, and that it should have been written down, or, at any rate, have been publicly stated across the floor of the House of Commons, that so soon as the Veto Bill was through, the Osborne Judgment, and most certainly the Mining and Railway Accidents Bills, should not only be tabled, but carried through the present Session of Parliament.

THE VETO PREAMBLE.

With regard to what we are told is the

supreme question for this Session is, the Veto Bill, every Democrat will be profoundly disappointed with the preamble which pledges the House of Commons to set up at some future date a new and glorified Second Chamber, the most dangerous proposal which has ever been put before the House of Commons, and I hope that when it comes to the House no questions of political expediency will prevent us going to the Lobby against it. I am quite sure that the Front Bench Liberals, and those who sit immediately behind them, will be quite ready to join hands with the Front Bench Tories, and erect a Second Chamber which will be more important for Labour legislation than the House of Lords has ever proved itself to be, and in connection with this it appears to me that some very important thinking needs to be done by all those who are living in a time of change, and must keep in mind that any change is affected now is likely to last a long time, and if through our own want of action or our want of courage, a new Second Chamber is erected, merely will it be able to check legislation that is sent forward, but with a reformed House of Commons can so command the Constitution that it will be very difficult for our side to exercise power for generations.

HOME RULE.

There is another side, however, to this question, and it is this. Within the year we shall be discussing the question of Home Rule, and this matter ought to be, considered in connection with any questions which arise in relation to the Second Chamber. If Ireland is given, as I hope she will be given, complete and unfettered control of her own affairs, and a certain Irish representative is to remain in this House of Commons, the old question arises on what basis are the Irish members to be allowed to vote. It is perfectly certain that the education, for instance, is ruled by the English House of Commons, and the English and Welsh people will vote on the Irish education, or Scotch education, and, therefore, it would be perfectly possible to have a Government with the vote of the Irish members, and in a minority on matters of our own country. Now it seems to me that

...international affairs, the same time subordinate to the four kingdoms. Next week I will try to explain a little more, but I feel that the file of the movement, as well as those who are in Parliament, have not sufficiently considered this side of the matter. We talk of abolishing the Lords, and of establishing Home Rule, but few of us appear to realise all that it involves, and when I sit for hours in the House listening to vain repetition, the digging up of old speeches and sayings, and when I know that the who are engaged in the pleasant task of proving each other wrong, do not care for progress, but care very much more for Party, I ask myself why we are here, and the only answer is that the Democracy in England, unlike the Democracy in Ireland, has never really made up its mind what it wants, and the one thing it wants more than anything else at the present time is a truly representative Chamber in each of the four kingdoms, legislation for the domestic needs of each, and wants also some Chamber representative of the whole of the people who own allegiance to the British flag, settling controlling foreign policy, expenditure on the Navy, commercial relations, and all these questions which are so Imperial, and we shall only get these when there is a real and effective demand from the people themselves.

In the meantime, the House of Commons is discussing what it is pleased to call "Revolution." Exactly twice a week, sitting in the House of Commons, I find for something over an hour listening to the men who were supposed to be some up a vigorous and determined fight with "Revolution." It shows how the so-called crisis really concerns a matter out of over 600 members, only a few could sit through a dinner, and to listen to what could be said on the subject.

1812

LANSBURY V. BURNS, FOR THE CHAMPIONSHIP OF THE UNEMPLOYED.

By GEORGE LANSBURY, M.P.

[With the air full of persistent rumours of the resignation of Mr. John Burns from the Local Government Board office, our representative last week was able to obtain from Mr. George Lansbury the following virile indictment. The article will be read with interest by members of all political parties, as Mr. Lansbury is one of the most promising of the Labour group in the new House.—Ed. "P.I.P."]

"The object of Hollesley Bay was first of all to give temporary assistance to something like 350 or 400 men at a time; that is, the maintaining of the men down there and their wives and children in London. They were to be engaged in making roads and all kinds of industries that employ a lot of labour. The idea was that, out of these 350 men, a large number would be willing to settle in the country. That is what proved to be correct during the first year in the case of some seventy or eighty men. They themselves cultivated some plots of land under supervision, and at a prize-giving which took place experts in the neighbourhood declared that the cultivation and produce came up to the very highest class in the county. They responded to the training. Many of them were simply carmen and navvies and clerks and warehousemen, but they responded so magnificently because we put before them the hope that the Central Unemployed Body would be able to obtain another estate where cottages would be put up and the men would be allowed to go on as small holders.

Only an Obstacle.

"Then Mr. Burns appeared on the scene. He appeared just too late to prevent the erection of the cottages and the taking down of some dozen men and their families. But he arrived just in time to be an obstacle in the way of carrying through the second part of the scheme.

"He was asked both privately and publicly to sanction the purchase of a very eligible estate quite close to Woodbridge Station. It would have been an ideal settlement, and it could have been supervised by the same committee as supervised the colony. But he was firm as a flint. He broke up that scheme deliberately and of set purpose. He absolutely no ground or justification for doing so.

"He was there, and in many cases their wives were there, too. They were giving the utmost satisfaction. But he was so pushed on by his permanent officials that he refused in any sort of way to countenance the scheme, with the result that all hope was driven out of the colony, and men who before had been working night and day to have, as they hoped, their economic freedom, were thrown back into the whirlpool of London.

The Greatest Tragedy of All.

"In all my public life there has been no tragedy so great as this. I have witnessed the hopeful faces of the men, and I have witnessed their despair, and in days to come Mr. Burns and his Department will be written down as men who upheld economic conditions which were worn out, and which we had all outgrown, but to which they so tenaciously held that they broke up a scheme rather than confess that their own opinion of it had been a wrong one.

"The result of all this, of course, is the perpetuation of human misery. That is the chief thing, and the thing that the public ought to know, but the second thing is that year by year money has been poured into the place. It is true that the estate has been enormously improved, but it is equally true that the money, so far as the men are concerned, has been absolutely wasted, except for the few weeks' work that has been provided.

The "Scheme" Fails.

"Why did Mr. Burns tell us what this colony has cost, declare that it has cost all that, and yet have nothing to show for it? Had the original scheme been carried out, hundreds of families, for just the same expenditure, would have been earning their own living on the land. The scheme was a scheme for small fruit and vegetable cultivation, for co-operative cultivation and production. Mr. Burns and his Department have turned Hollesley Bay into a glorified work-house, and have sent its men back into the streets of London in a vain search for work.

"This year he has had put before him a scheme which the Herne Bay authorities and the Central Unemployed Body have prepared. It is a scheme for the reclamation and protection of a large piece of seashore. It is a scheme which Mr. Burns, for no reason that anyone knows, has rejected. But he bases its rejection on the fact that a great deal of money was spent at Fanbridge on a reclamation scheme, and only a very small sum of money was paid to the Central Unemployed Body for the work. He tries to put the blame on shoulders other than his own.

Who Are Responsible?

"The public should know that Mr. Burns and his Department are as responsible for Fanbridge as the Central Unemployed Body are for London. He and his Department were consulted. They went down. They investigated. They saw all the places. They saw the estimates. They approved of them all. Whatever failure—and I don't admit myself that it was a failure—but whatever failure there was a Fanbridge attaches to the Local Government Board and its President, as well as to the Central Unemployed Body. The reclamation of land at Fanbridge was not merely the reclamation of the hundred acres on which the sea wall was constructed, but of many thousands of acres all around.

The Wrong Way of Facing a Problem.

"The same thing is true at Herne Bay, and one would have thought that a scheme giving work under reasonable conditions for many months to hundreds of unskilled men would have been just the kind of scheme that Mr. Burns would support. But, no! The unemployed must still starve!

"There is this to be said. No member of the Labour Party—least of all myself—considers that relief works, and all that relief works mean, are a satisfactory method of dealing with the unemployed. I know that only too well. But I would point out that Mr. Burns and his Department are drawing very large salaries for dealing with this subject, and up to the present neither he nor his Department have made one single substantial effort on behalf of the unemployed. The statement that he is the parent of the Hackney Marsh scheme is palpably absurd, and everyone who knows the facts knows that that is so. I remember quite well the

member, too, many men on the Central Unemployed Body who were for ever pushing it forward.

Reactionary Officials.

"No! Mr. Burns is a splendid critic. He has a grand gift of language to denounce those with whom he disagrees, but as a constructive statesman he is in charge of the most reactionary set of public officials to be found in any State Department, absolutely devoid of anything of a constructive nature. On the Poor Law side his entire work has been to make it more difficult for the poor to get public assistance.

"Yet he sits side by side in the same Government with men like Mr. Churchill and Mr. Lloyd George, both of whom have done a great deal in some ways to help the poor and downtrodden, especially the latter, with his Old Age Pension scheme. The only thing that the Local Government Board wishes to do with people under seventy years of age is to tumble them into the infernal mixed workhouse. They are quite against the spirit of the times. They are trying to cling to the old, worn-out theories of 1834. But they won't succeed.

We Cry, "Halt!"

"This present House of Commons, both on the Liberal and Tory side, will, I am quite sure, cry a halt, and Mr. Burns and his Department will be called upon to account for themselves by bringing in some scheme for dealing on scientific lines with the prevention of destitution, and also, in the interim, some schemes for dealing with the unemployed in such a manner that their self-respect will be safe."

A SOFT IMPEACHMENT.

I sing no song of Standard Bread,
Nor elegy on low-laid Lang,
Ginnell and Wedgwood may go hang,
And several more of whom you've read.

To Suffragettes, I thus indite,
Who will not fill the census-form,
And, be there calm or be there storm,
Will not be in on census-night.

Is it because for votes ye wage,
Bellona-like, unwearied war?
Or is it that amongst you are
Some who don't like to state their age?

822a

FREDERICK C. MOOR,
House Decorator and Contractor.

185, Wanstead Park Road,

PAINTING. DECORATING.
GENERAL REPAIRS.

Ilford, March 9th 1901.

and at 232a, OXFORD STREET, STEPNEY, E.

Dear George

It was exceedingly kind of you, in the midst of your multiparious duties, to spare time to pen a message of kindly sympathy to your old friend, and I can assure you, it was heartily appreciated.

My neighbour Mr Neal who brought me your letter is an ardent politician and we watched the progress of the late fight with great interest - and when the Bow result came through we rejoiced together - He was greatly interested at some of things I told him about our boyhoods days in the old Chichsana Street Band of Hope - I remember that in those far off days you were fond of inscribing in the school books, the legend - "G. Hansbury, M.P." and now it is actually an fait accompli.

May God abundantly bless you, and make you a blessing in the House of Commons - the plodding & the uphill work notwithstanding.

I am always delighted to read in my paper of your doings in the house - and notice that you are trying to keep T.B. up to the mark, and can't even let poor Sir F. Banting alone sometimes - Shame!

I have passed through deep waters lately - after enduring much at the local medicos hands, after two months I consulted a specialist, who advised me to go into Hospital and undergo an operation for the removal of some internal growth - which I did, and they opened me up, only to find that it was Cancerous & unremovable so they patched me up and sent me home.

I am glad to say that my general health is on the improve and am much better than when I went into the Hospital - still I'm hardly ever free from pain more or less, and am afraid that my work is done, but that is as the Lord wills.

My wife unites with me in sending kindest regards to Mrs Hansbury and Co, we have intirely lost count, we stopped at three boys ourselves - we have your photo in our album and you are d'tm in our thought and conversation, altho our paths diverged.

With every good wish for your success.

always yours sincerely, Freddy Moor.

11 Mar. 1911
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PARLIAMENT.

By GEORGE LANSBURY M.P.

Parliament has at last concluded the Second Reading Debate on the Veto Bill. The Government has come through at the end with a majority of 125 in its favour. I think it will be true to say, however, that none of us are much wiser for all the talk. In the main it was, as at the first reading, vain repetition, and it also consisted very much in quotations from speeches of various members. I am not saying there were not good speeches delivered, but even the most brilliant was really a re-hash of what had gone before. On our side only four speakers were able to get in—W. Brace on Monday, J. H. Thomas on Tuesday, Philip Snowden on Wednesday, and Arthur Henderson on Thursday. It would be impertinence on my part to pass either eulogy or criticism on the matter and form of their speeches, except to say that each one made it perfectly clear that we of the Labour Party were definitely a One Chamber Party, and would resist to the uttermost the setting up of any Second Chamber with powers of over-riding the decisions of the House of Commons. Speaker after speaker on the opposition side pressed this point home. Mr. Balfour himself paying rather special attention to it, and thereby urging that in the near future the Government majority would be in danger of dwindling away. Mr. Bottomley made an interesting speech in which he implored the Government to disclose their plans for a Second Chamber, and as usual Lord Hugh Cecil put his point of view with a kind of dialectical skill he is famous for. There is one thing, however, in connection with this noble lord that will one of these days bring him to grief. He appears to have a real contempt for every one else in the House bar himself. He may not really feel this, but his whole attitude towards everyone is that of a superior person. I do not of course deary his abilities; I believe he is one of the ablest men in the assembly, but as a rule men with great ability are not at such pains as he appears to be to prove how much more important they are than other people.

Herbert Samuel, the Postmaster General, really worked him to a fury during the closing minutes of the Debate, and I can quite certain that what was really riling him was not so much what Herbert Samuel was saying, as the fact that a Jew should be contending with him in debate before, but I have never seen anyone quite so mad as was Lord Hugh Cecil and the little band of other juvenile lords by whom he is surrounded.

However, the main interest of the closing scenes centred round the earlier speeches of Mr. Balfour and the Prime Minister. Mr. Balfour as usual was very skilful, and in my opinion he made one really sound contribution to the debate, which up to the present has not been answered. He stated his case against the Government in this way: that so far as they were concerned they were a Government which believed in two Chambers, they were proposing a Bill to limit the powers of the present Second Chamber, but this was only a temporary measure to enable them to pass Home Rule and perhaps Welsh Disestablishment, etc. After this was done, his contention was that the Government proposed to set up an entirely new and strengthened Second Chamber. He professed himself as in agreement with a real reform of the Second Chamber because, as he contends, if there is to be a Second Chamber it must be one strong enough for its purpose, and the present one was not strong enough, and the Government were admitting this in their determination to set up a strong Second Chamber in the future, and of course he went on to declare that the Government were afraid to put up their strong Second Chamber because they were perfectly well aware that they could never hope to get Home Rule through such a Chamber, and therefore there was to be an interregnum to enable Home Rule to go through. These were not his exact words, of course, but they are the substance of his argument, and it is this which he called "a mere fraud" upon the electorate. Such language of course called forth a storm, but he never withdrew nor qualified it in any way, and when the Prime Minister rose to reply, everyone expected that he would at once reply to this argument; but I am bound to confess, that listening to him as carefully as I could, he appeared to me to evade it. He laid down the following conditions of reform:—

- (1) The House of Commons must be predominant in legislation.
- (2) The only functions of the Second Chamber are consultation, revision,

and subject to proper safeguards, delay.

- (3) It must be a small body, not resting on an hereditary basis, and not governed by partisanship tempered by panic.

Now the second clause of course is the one which is the most important, the last line of which says "subject to proper safeguards, delay." Will the new Second Chamber be a Second Chamber that will be called upon to meet in joint session with the House of Commons when questions arise about which they disagree? Or will it have power to reject measures until an appeal to the country has been made? These questions, although put over and over again in one way or another during the debate, have never been answered. It will be the business of the Labour Party to see that some answer is got to these questions long before the third reading of the present Bill. It will be ruinous for the democracy of England to allow a Second Chamber to be set up, whether representative or otherwise, which is either to have power to sit in joint session, or refer questions to the electorate. Such a scheme does not mean that the House of Commons is predominant in legislation. If it did, then there is no earthly reason why such a Chamber should be called into being at all, and as a member said to me to-day, if the House of Commons is to be supreme, then there is no need for us to go to the trouble of elaborating a new scheme. There were of course many other arguments put forward but this was the main and fundamental argument used on the Tory side, and it was used in various guises during the course of the debate last week.

Home Rule.

Now in connection with the Parliament Bill and Home Rule, it appears to me that both these questions are undoubtedly concerned the one with the other. We have reached the position in the House of Commons when so far as the great bulk of the members are concerned, practically no control is exercised over the Executive. The reason for this is that the business of Parliament has grown to such an enormous extent that there is no time or opportunity to discuss it in a rational manner—and this for a variety of reasons. The whole of the social framework of English local self-government has really grown up within the short space of the last 70 years. As a matter of fact, it would be true to say within the space of 30 years, because we must remember that a little over 30 years ago there was no such thing as popular elementary education. This then is an enormous piece of work which has added tremendously to the work of the House of Commons. Then there are the whole of the Public Health Services which are, many of them, less than 50 years old. Added to these we have the tremendous growth in both Army and Navy, and in fact in every direction. Under these circumstances, we have not merely to consider the reform of the House of Lords, but we also have to consider how best to get the business of the House of Commons into such form and under such management as will enable it to be controlled by the representatives of the people in a really effective manner.

Now the removal of Irish domestic questions from the realm of the discussion will do a very great deal, but England, Wales and Scotland have in my judgment just as big a claim for self-government for purely domestic matters as Ireland, and therefore I should prefer to see the present Constitutional question settled by the introduction of a scheme of Federal Government for the United Kingdom, framed in such a manner as to enable us later to bring in the Colonies and Dependencies beyond the seas. If this could be done, we could then have a smaller Imperial Parliament with just a Single Chamber which would have control of all Imperial affairs, and which ought to be able to act as a check both upon foreign policy and upon all those other questions which make the keeping of a large navy indispensable. If in the near future Colonies and Dependencies were brought in, we should also be able to link up the Empire in a very real sense.

But my chief point at the moment is that the mere passing of the Veto Bill and Home Rule, as we understand it, will not do very much to remove our difficulties, and what we have to set our minds to is how to secure the very best kind of provincial or national assemblies for the four Kingdoms, and I regret more than I can say that the House of Commons should be fooling away its time in vain repetition as it is at present, instead of in a statesmanlike manner tackling what

everybody knows is the most vital problem of our time.

I mentioned the difficulties in connection with Home Rule last week, and I emphasise them again this week, but I want particularly to emphasise the fact that a Second Chamber with either coordinate or equal powers with the present House of Commons, either elected or hereditary, will not in any kind of way make our pathway toward democracy any easier, but will make it harder, and therefore those of us who are true democrats ought at this time to be educating public opinion for Federation, and as against the present Liberal policy so far as we can understand it, we ought to be setting the policy of local self-government over all parts of the Empire, with a Federal Parliament sitting at Westminster representative of the whole adult population of all parts of the British Empire.

How weak the House of Commons is in regard to its control over the Ministry my next few paragraphs will show. After we had dealt with the Veto Bill we passed on Friday to the consideration of Supplementary Estimates. I am just beginning to understand what these really mean. They mean that our methods for estimating expenditure are of such a slipshod character that each year Ministers are obliged to come for more money, running into many thousands of pounds, which they have spent and over which Parliament has absolutely no control whatever, but is simply called upon to vote, and does vote accordingly.

A £400,000 "Job."

On Friday last we had an interesting discussion on the printing of postage stamps, and we were told that a new contract had been entered into, but that the dies were to be manufactured at the Mint. At once Sir Frederick Banbury and a group of his Tory friends were up in arms. The idea of the Government going in for direct labour for the manufacture of dies was quite enough to arouse in their minds all kinds of fears that the Government might also contemplate the actual printing of stamps without the intervention of a contractor. They carried the debate on for some hours, repeating one another at great length, and then at last we were told by the Financial Secretary to the Treasury that the work under discussion had ten years ago been given to a certain contractor without any competition at all, the total amount of the contract was some £97,000 per annum, and in June last it was necessary owing to the death of the late King to enter into a new contract, and so prices were invited from various firms with the result that they have now got a price at about £50,000; and Mr. Hobhouse told us that it was estimated that the contractors who held the work previously had made a net profit of £40,000 per year, or in ten years a profit of £400,000.

Comrades will remember that the total of the contract was only £97,000 a year. The Labour Party pointed out in this connection that there was small wonder that men on both sides of the House were eager to stand up to defend the contract system, when the Government of the day and the taxpayers of the country could be fleeced in this manner, but the real point that everyone ought to notice is that this contract made ten years ago was made behind the back of the House of Commons. No one appeared to know until Friday last that it had been made with-

out competition, and of course no one had realised the enormous profits the contractors were making. I am wondering how many more contractors are making these kind of pickings out of the taxpayers' pockets. These kind of things prove quite conclusively that the House of Commons has absolutely no control over finance. It is very doubtful how much the Government has. I am very sceptical myself as to Ministerial control. It appears to me that Ministers stand up and read whatever is given them to read by their permanent officials. To-day (Monday) we have again been discussing horse breeding, this time however for Ireland. As the Irish members appear to be perfectly satisfied, we of the Labour Party took no part in the discussion; but I would point out here again that noble lords and others who denounce the Labour Party for wanting public money used on behalf of the workers fall over one another with their enthusiastic thanks to Mr. Birrell and the Government for granting this money to Ireland for the purpose of breeding hunters, etc., again showing that whether it is in England or in Ireland, landlords and farmers and others have no objection to poking their hands deep down in the taxpayers' pocket to serve their own ends.

Your readers will probably have noticed that Mr. Gerald Balfour, late President of the Local Government Board, has resigned his pension as an ex-Cabinet Minister. Apparently he has drawn some £7000 or £8000. Lord George Hamilton, the head of the late Poor Law Commission, still draws his, and apparently intends to go on doing so, together with one or two others. I hope we may be able to raise these matters on the Estimates when they come along.

In the meantime we are pegging away at questions every day. The Labour Party at each sitting is well to the front in pushing Ministers on matters connected with the working class, but it is dull work, my masters. This place needs not 40 Labour members, but it needs dynamite to really waken it up. No one is in a hurry, no one is worrying, all that people are bothering about at the moment is to get Estimates through. We are to be asked to vote £185,000 for the Coronation expenses, together with other odds and ends in connection therewith. Of course if we have a King we must, as they say, "do him well," but see how easy it is to vote money for this purpose. How little time is needed to get all the necessary authority for spending it when you want to do it, but when it is the unemployed, the starving children, the helpless and the destitute, see the difficulties which are piled up in the way. There is no doubt about it that they have piled up barriers of law and custom deliberately and of set purpose to keep the people back, and it is only when the democracy of these Islands awakens itself up there will be any real reform. We are men are pretty powerless, but if we had behind us an awakened people even we could make things hum. At present, however, all we can do is to peg away in the hope that the workers, gathering knowledge from the information we are able to give them of what takes place here and elsewhere, will realise that the classes who control Parliament control it in their own interests, and that if the workers wish Parliament used in their own interests they must learn to send such people here as will in the long run absolutely control it in the interests of the mass of the people.

in the unamiable alliteratives of Mr. Shaw, "bungling, bounce, and burking." This method of attacking the governing powers of the I.L.P. has been condemned in very recent times. Certain discontented members of the N.A.C. adopted the same course as Mr. Shaw and his advisers. That was condemned by the almost unanimous voice of the I.L.P. Mark, it was not the policy of the green manifestants which was condemned with such striking unanimity, but the fact that they had gone a wrong way about making a declaration of that policy. Mr Shaw, with that recent warning before him, has had the folly and temerity to indulge in a course of conduct which ought to be more vigorously condemned than that of the Green Manifestants.

Let it be assumed for the moment that the "Secretariate" (Mr. Shaw might have had the courage to express himself more directly than by that ugly word), has not been all that could be desired. The obvious course was to raise such matters at the Federation and Divisional Council meetings. Has this been done? If not, why has it not been done? And why has this private and internal business of the Party been rushed into a public print. Perhaps it may be that Mr. Shaw's branch has defied the constitution of the Party, and has not affiliated to the District Federation, and by that means to the Divisional Council. This really so; and if Mr. Shaw by any retch did get elected to the N.A.C., could not be Chairman of the S.D.C., because his Branch is not affiliated. So, may be retorted, the management of the Scottish Council could not be raised.

Mr. Shaw in proper and constitutional form. If they were too little inclined to affiliate, there must be some other motive for this sudden desire to like it powerful and strong.

But now let me deal with the substance of this curious letter. It is said at "the Chairman should not only be man of business habit, but should rule or pass almost daily near the Secretarial office, and so be available for advice and oversight continually."

Personally, I cannot see what advantage would arise from having a Chairman who would "pass almost daily near the Secretarial office," nor can I agree if he did not merely pass, but sometimes went inside, that his function is that of a domineering boss. Perhaps it is the business method—to begin with by quarrelling with all others in the business, and thus secure the best working of the business.

What are we to make of the cool pertinence of the suggestion that only Glasgow man, i.e., a man who can pass almost daily near the Secretarial office is to be eligible as Scottish Representative on the N.A.C. Who is

that there was a perfect boom in Socialist activity following upon the 1906 election and the special activities of Anti-Socialist Leagues.

It will be admitted that the boom passed, and left the organisation crude, the finances chaotic, and a heavy burden of debt. Two Organisers and a new Chairman were left to struggle along with this load. The time was bad; because the movement was in the dumps.

Rightly or wrongly, it was filled with disgust. Great expectations had been disappointed. The new Chairman, introduced, wiped out the old one.

startling, and at the same time, most pleasing fact. The financial returns from the Branches from the whole United Kingdom have fallen. Scotland alone shows an increase.

In face of these facts, Mr. Shaw should at once apologise for saying that the "Secretariate" "has become a by-word, means ruin to the Scottish organisation if much longer continued."

Moreover, with all due respect to Mr. Shaw, he cannot know anything about it at all. His Branch is not affiliated, and he has not been touring the country among the Branches. He, in his simplicity, has been made the cats-paw of some disgruntled person or set of persons.

But if men are to be subjected to snarling of this kind when they have wiped out a big debt, come through a period of depression with credit and success, what may they expect when, like their English colleagues, they let their membership drop and contributions diminish? I shudder to think of it!

One more point. Mr. Shaw speaks of broken engagements. If he supposes that more than a hundred meetings can be run every week with voluntary speakers, without a number of disappointments, he exhibits complete ignorance of the very rudiments of the work. Every-day work and the vicissitudes of domestic life are responsible for many broken engagements. No Secretary, Organiser, or Chairman can deal effectively with these cases. They may struggle to get a speaker. They may get a speaker or they may not. In either case, the Branch feels annoyance and the officials are denounced and sworn at till time brings calmness and sweet reasonableness.

I believe that a letter soliciting support for Mr. Shaw as a candidate for the Secretaryship has been circulated. That should be treated with the contempt it deserves. Canvassing has been denounced at the Annual Conference. It

has never been going better than at present. The organisation of the Branches and the Federation Councils has never been healthier. After a long struggle the Council is now almost free of debt. This work is the work of the Council, its Executive, and Servants, of whom the Secretary is one.

I refrain from touching on the logic of the letter. If my Comrade reads it over a month or two hence, he will be the first, I am sure, to repudiate the only interpretation that

and unworthy of consideration. Let us band ourselves together, and return our good Comrade Ben at the top of the poll.

Yours, in unity,
GEORGE BURGESS GILCHRIST.

[We have received an enormous number of letters on this subject, but most of those who have written from the outside districts have not written to the point of Mr. Shaw's letter. Little grievances at detail.

See vol. 28.a, fcs. 67-69, for a circular of J.R. MacDonald dated 15 March 1911

of a temporary delirium.

Yours fraternally,
ANGUS C. LIVINGSTONE.

CHAIRMANSHIP OF SCOTTISH
DIVISIONAL COUNCIL, I.L.P.

(To the Editor of Forward).

Sir,

As I do not hold a brief for either Chairman or Secretary, I will allow them to defend themselves. But may I point out to your readers, and especially the members of the I.L.P. in Scotland, that such language seems strange, when we consider that Mr. Shaw has never given any of his great abilities in helping to build up a more perfect organisation than at present exists.

And the Branch of which he is a member is not, and never has been, affiliated to the Scottish Divisional Council. Mr. Shaw was appointed delegate from Mjd-Lanark Federation to Divisional Council, at Annual Meeting, held on the 6th of January, but at a meeting held on 13th February, when it was pointed out to the delegates that Cambuslang Branch (which Branch Mr. Shaw was representing), was not affiliated to Scottish Divisional Council, it was unanimously agreed to rescind the said appointment.

Therefore, I trust that the Branches will see to it that they elect an N.A.C. representative who, as Chairman of the Divisional Council, will have been a member of a Branch who is affiliated to same.

Yours, etc.

Thos. S. S.
Shotts, 6th March, 1911.

SCOTTISH DIVISIONAL COUNCIL.

(To the Editor of Forward)

Sir,

In your issue of 24th February, 1911, you give a short report of a strike that occurred at Singer's Factory, Kilbowie. In that report you state that the men went back to work under the new conditions. This was not the case, and as Secretary of the above organisation, who were responsible for bringing the men out, I would like you to correct this report. The conditions under which the men went back to work were:—That the new prices would be cancelled pending investigation by the management; further, we were assured that no man would suffer financial loss through any arrangement of these jobs. Also that the squad whose wages had been short on the Saturday would have the shortage made up. There were three different jobs brought before the foreman, and since then on one of these jobs the price has been raised so that the men are now able to make the same wages as previous to the rearrangement of the job.

I should like to point out here that there were only about 30 men affected, and that when our Shop Committee asked the men to go out, all the men in the Department but 13 came out with them (about 400), 10 of these were foremen and fitters. This will show the fighting spirit, and the recognition of the principle which we Industrial Unionists propagate. "An injury to one, an injury to all!"

Yours fraternally,
GEO. MALCOLM,
Secy. Singer Group I.W.G.B.

P.S.—Since this dispute we have enrolled 600 new members.

THE NEW PARTY.

(To the Editor of Forward).

Sir,

James Landbury
(brother of G.L.)

29 Sidney Road (185)
Forest Gate E.
Mar 22. 1911

Dear George

I am in receipt of your letter of to days date I do most heartily sympathise with you in your endeavour to do something for the poor man you should & ought to have support I suppose if not entirely lacking, ^{it is} heated with a cold indifference Russell Wakefield when he was chairman of the Unemployed told me that the worst men he had to contend with were those who just simply let things slide & take their chance. I also remember some time back Masterman voted for the Right to Work Bill now what I can see of it he is too comfortably fitted to vote or speak for the measure & this from the young man of Socialistic proclivities. As for the Commons & peers I dont suppose you ever thought any Liberal Gov would deal with the question in a drastic manner it will be a case of swallowing their convictions again you remember when the G. O. M had them in the hollow of his hand over the Franchise & then he made an easy retreat for them so they kept on gulping & hoodwinking the public who have got very short memories. All the way through I have upset some of the young bright & shining lights in the ranks of the Liberal party by telling them I knew they would

be sold over this question. Thanks very much
for invite to the House can you make it one
evening next week let me know day & time
& I will be there with perhaps a charm for Comps
Tomorrow night we have an important Church
Meeting the Question of invitation to successor
to our present Minister (2 years hence) being on the
agenda. Personally I am going strong for a Dr
Brooke D. C. L. who probably you have heard of if
you have not met him. Hope your Nellie will
go along all right and make a speedy and
complete recovery it is good thing the other little
ones are away am glad to say we are all very well
just now & trust it is so with you & Beacie &
all the rest of the Family

Yours affectionately

Kansbury



M449

WOLVERHAMPTON.

"SCRAP" THE LIBERAL PARTY.

MR. GEORGE LANSBURY, M.P., ON
VETO HYPOCRISY.

Mr. George Lansbury, M.P. for Bow and Bromley, who defeated Mr. L. S. Amery at the December election, was the principal speaker yesterday afternoon at an I.L.P. demonstration held in the Empire Theatre, Wolverhampton. Mr. J. Ditheridge (president of the local I.L.P.) presided and there was only a small attendance.

Mr. Lansbury said that he had been in many cities, but Birmingham was apparently the hub of the universe for boys who had no home to go to and no means of getting a living, and yet they spent thousands a year on educating those lads. At the moment the one staggering thing in Free Trade England—and the thing which gave Tariff Reformers their only argument—was that with the most booming year of trade ever known, wages relatively were going down, for whilst the actual payments were a little more than formerly, the purchasing power was a great deal less than before. Coupled with that they had to consider the number of people who even during booming trade were not allowed to go to work at all and the other multitude who were never sure of work from one day to another—the under-employed. Labour tended to become more and more intermittent, and Socialists said that even this was only a thing which needed better organisation. They believed there was no need for women to be sweated; children driven to the factories; old age to go unaccommodated or live on a miserable allowance of 5s. per week at seventy years of age; or sick persons to go unattended. They desired to see a maximum number of hours that men and women should work during any given week coupled with a minimum wage throughout the land. They also wanted railways and the great monopolies of the land to be taken over and controlled by the people. The stumbling block to all this was sheer downright unadulterated ignorance on the part of the people. (A voice: "What about the House of Lords. Where do they come in?")

Mr. Lansbury: Much more important to the democracy of England is the reform of the House of Commons than that of the House of Lords. If the House of Commons wants to do a thing it can do it.

In conclusion he asked the people to use Parliament for the purpose of getting control of the industry of the country and so organising it as to bring within the reach of the people the full results of their labour. (Applause.)

Mr. Lansbury was asked several questions at the end of his speech, and in reply to one asking if he desired to "scrap" the Liberal party, he said the Liberal party and their methods were not up-to-date. At the present time the Liberal party were foundering with social reform, plus a Punch and Judy fight with the House of Lords. They might think that they were engaged in the House of Commons in a terrible revolutionary effort to overcome the tyranny of the House of Lords, but that was all horrible humbug. He had never seen such a feeble revolution in all his life. Colonel Griffith-Boscawen, M.P. for Dudley, got up the other day in the House of Commons "to stem the tide of revolution," and four members behind him dropped off to sleep. (Loud laughter.) Another night the members "all cleared out" and left one member making a speech and only two others to listen to it. (Laughter.) The House of Commons had got a lot of men in it, in his opinion, who wanted to go to the House of Lords. (Laughter.)

There was an interruption at this point, and Mr. Lansbury then remarked: "I am asserting that the Liberal party is played out." (Applause.) When the Liberals stopped making peeps then, and only then, he should believe that they wanted to get rid of the House of Lords. (Applause.)

INDEPENDENT LABOUR 187

CONFERENCE.

MORE NEED FOR ANGLO-GERMANIAN
AND
ANGLO-AMERICAN AGREEMENT.

GOVERNMENT CRITICISED.

The annual conference of the Independent Labour Party was opened at Birmingham this morning.

Mr W. C. Anderson, the chairman, in his address, said there was more need for an Anglo-German Agreement than an Anglo-American one.

The present Government had been influenced by panics and scares and grossly incorrect estimates of Germany's shipbuilding plans. As a result our naval expenditure had increased from thirty-two to forty-four millions. In this respect at least a Liberal Cabinet was as much the enemy of the people as a Tory Cabinet, and it was difficult to imagine how the most primitive and untutored jingoes could have outstripped the achievements of Mr McKenna.

In Great Britain Socialism was spreading and maturing. Sometimes it grew with noise and tumult in the sight of all men; sometimes noiselessly, but it grew.

Mr Lansbury, M.P., complained of four members of the Council issuing a manifesto attacking the Labour party without the knowledge of their colleagues. He denied they had, as alleged, trifled with the principles of the party.

Mr McLachlan, one of the signatories of the manifesto, contended they had an undeniable right to issue to members a statement of what they believed the correct line the party should take.

noon.

Mr Lansbury remarked that the members of the party to which he belonged took their stand on the truth that the means of production to-day are such that there is no need for anyone to be destitute, for any child to be hungry, or for any woman to sell her body in order to live.

The main reason for the poverty and misery that exist to-day is, he contended, that the working people have never thought it worth while to consider why they are in the world at all. He wanted them to obtain some appreciation of human values, and to realise that the wives and children of working men are of equal value to the wives and children of the men of other classes of society.

He believed one of the reasons why women are in revolt—and he wished thousands more of them were—is just that they feel the injustice of the system which not only makes them the bearers of children, but the bearers of all the drudgery of the world.

The Child and the Labour Market.

He submitted that it is wrong that children should be admitted to the labour market at the early ages at which they are, and also wrong that they should be called upon to perform continually mechanical tasks that deaden their sensibilities at the most important period of their lives. It was absurd, also, to allow children to do the work of the world while adults are without it. They came forward with a definite proposition to take children out of the labour market once and for all. (Applause.)

After Mr Lansbury had submitted various other items of the programme of his party, a member of the audience asked: "What about the House of Lords? We can't do anything unless we shift them!"

Mr Lansbury: Reform of the House of Commons is of much more importance than reform of the House of Lords. I wanted to discuss unemployment the other day. The House of Lords didn't stop me, but the idiotic rules of the House of Commons. There is the question of feeding school children during holidays—

The interrupter: Would that pass the House of Lords?

Mr Lansbury: Why, it has not passed it

LABOUR TACTICS.

18 Apr. 1911
IMPORTANT DEBATE AT
I.L.P. CONFERENCE.

THE CABINET'S POWER.

OSBORNE BILL EXPECTED THIS SESSION.

The grip of the Government on the machinery of government is steadily being strengthened," claimed Mr. W. Anderson in his presidential address at the annual conference of the Independent Labour Party, which opened at the Birmingham Town Hall yesterday. About 250 delegates were present, and among the members of Parliament in attendance were Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, Mr. J. Keir Hardie, Mr. George Lansbury, and Mr. George Barnes.

Discussing international peace, Mr. Anderson said many had welcomed Sir Edward Grey's speech as if it were a ray of light heralding a new dawn. If an Anglo-American peace agreement could be drawn up it would be heartily endorsed, and might mark the beginning of the end of war. But there was more urgent need for an Anglo-German agreement. In regard to expenditure on armaments, a Liberal Cabinet was as much the enemy of the people as a Tory Cabinet, and it was difficult to imagine how the most primitive and untutored Jingo could have outstripped the achievements of Mr. McKenna. The growing solidarity of the workers of all lands, the growing internationalism of the Labour and Socialist movements, was the happiest augury for the future peace of the world.

KILLING WITH KINDNESS.

He predicted that not only would the Osborne Judgment be reversed, but out of evil good would come, and such rearrangements would be made as would permit poor men to enter Parliament and serve the State on terms approaching equality with the rich. Osborne judgments and anti-Socialist leagues having failed, he gathered that efforts would now be made on the Tory side to kill Socialism with kindness. In other words, the younger school of Unionists proposed to fight Socialism with social reform. It was distinctly hopeful to see a party which had fought three successive elections on "Tariff Reform" as a sovereign and infallible remedy for unemployment setting itself at last systematically to study the cause of unemployment.

Upon a recommendation of the Council that for the purpose of providing names of members to go upon the Labour Party list of Parliamentary candidates members should be selected by ballot in the same way as divisional representatives of the Council are elected, Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P., said the N.A.C. was trying to evade responsibility in the recommendation, and he hoped it would be defeated. The proposal, however, was adopted by 182 votes to 174.

CRITICISM JUSTIFIED.

The Parliamentary report of the Independent Labour Party members stated that they had every reason to believe that, at a very early date, the Osborne Bill would be submitted for discussion, and would also pass the House of Commons this Session.

Mr. Stewart (Glasgow) attributed a great deal of the discontent existing in the labour movement at the present time to the fact that their representatives in Parliament had been absent without notice.

Forty-two members in Parliament, twenty-five voting on the question of unemployment.

Mr. Palin (Bradford) said the real grievance was that men should, for their own private benefit, take engagements when they had entered into obligations to serve in the House of Commons.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., quite agreed with what had been said regarding attendance. The Labour members ought to attend better than they had. The matter was receiving careful attention. It was unfair to say they had never raised the question of the socialisation of industry in the House of Commons. The Copyright Bill had been mentioned, but Mr. Roberts spoke against it as representing the Labour Party.

The report was approved.

The most important debate of the day was that upon a resolution proposed by Mr. Leonard Hall, which expressed the opinion that, in order to establish the authority of the elected representatives of the people in Parliament as against the overpowering political influence now exercised by Ministers, who treated nearly every important decision of the House of Commons as a vote of confidence, on the refusal of which a dissolution might follow as a penalty, the Labour group in the House of Commons should be requested to ignore all such possible consequences and declare their intention to force their own issues and vote steadfastly on the merits of the questions brought before them.

CABINET GOVERNMENT.

The motion was supported by Mr. F. W. Jowett, M.P., who said it struck at the root of the present Parliamentary system, and sought to establish as a living reality representative government in this country. At the present time we lived under Cabinet Government.

An amendment was submitted recognising that the Labour Party, in order effectually to carry out its objects, must continue to regard all the possible consequences and effects, immediate or otherwise, of any line of action before adopting it, bearing in mind that its decision must be guided solely by considerations for its own interest as a party and by a desire to increase its opportunities for attaining its end.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald thought the House of Commons was run far too much under the control of Cabinets. What the Labour Party had got to do was to bring more pressure to bear on the Government to put their "Whips" on less frequently than they did. If they were to say they would not consider the Government, it would immediately put the Opposition in the position they desired, and all the spoils would go into their pockets, and the Labour Party would be no better off. In order to minimise the overwhelming political influence of Ministers the resolution was asking them enormously to magnify the limited powers of the Opposition.

Mr. Lansbury, M.P., said only seventeen members of the party went into the lobby in support of Mr. Keir Hardie when he wanted to raise the question of the Welsh miners.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald: The reason was because they were afraid of endangering the Government. (Cries of "Shame!" and cheers.)

Mr. Lansbury retorted that whatever reason it was, it was a cowardly reason. He dissented from the view that the censure of an individual Minister always meant turning the Government out. If a Minister made a blunder, he was the man to go. (Cheers.) Even at the cost of getting rid of Mr. Winston Churchill from the Home Office they ought to have carried their protest. (Loud cheers.) They had only heard about the wicked Tory. What about the wicked Liberal? (Laughter.) While the Government knew that the forty-two Labour members were not going to endanger their position they would not think much about them. They must put the fear of their votes into the Government Whips if they wished to realise their ideas. (Cheers.)

On the motion of Mr. Keir Hardie the debate was adjourned until...

The Crisis in the I.L.P.

(Continued from page 506.)

In the afternoon the whole scene had changed. Mr. F. W. Jowett, M.P., made a masterly speech against present Parliamentary methods, building up with sure touch a seemingly unanswerable case against Cabinet bureaucracy. The effect was so marked that Mr. Ramsay Macdonald rose to reply immediately. The chairman of the Labour Party was not at his best, but he quickly swept the conference round to his side. He accepted Mr. Jowett's indictment, but argued that his remedy was meaningless. Parliamentary questions could not be decided on their isolated merits. The opponents of Socialism were carrying out flanking attacks upon the Labour Party, as well as bombarding it in direct battle. If the Labour Party did not stop to consider the effect of their votes, they would be led into a trap by the Tories.

Cries of "Vote, Vote," were raised as Mr. MacDonald sat down, but Mr. Lansbury was seen on his feet, and an expectant hush suddenly came over the assembly. His speech was a passionate plea for a fighting policy in the House of Commons. With rugged, burning eloquence he called upon the Party to declare war on Liberalism and Toryism and to preach that Socialism was the only hope of the workers. The Government must be made to fear the Labour Party. So long as the Cabinet knew they could count on Labour votes they would disregard the Party's demands. He urged that Labour members should vote regardless of the consequences upon governments.

The burst of applause when Mr. Lansbury sat down was deafening. If a vote had been taken at that moment it is doubtful whether the official element of the Party would have secured more support than the rebels received in the morning. But Mr. Keir Hardie saved the situation by moving the adjournment. Everyone to-night is asking on which side Mr. Hardie will take his stand. The vote will depend on that; his influence will weigh the scales one way or the other. It is known that Mr. Hardie desires a more fighting policy, but it is not thought that he will accept the Jowett panacea.

Mr. W. C. Anderson, M.P., was re-elected Chairman.

HUMAN VALUES.

MR. GEORGE LANSBURY, M.P., AT WOLVERHAMPTON.

Under the auspices of the Wolverhampton Branch of the I.L.P., a meeting was addressed on Sunday afternoon at the Empire by Mr. George Lansbury, M.P. for Bow and Bromley.

Mr. J. Ditheridge presided, and said the things which the party had at heart were the questions of poverty and unemployment, and they maintained that each was capable of solution.

Mr. George Lansbury, M.P., said the I.L.P. were organised to see that there was no poverty on the one hand and no extreme wealth on the other, and when that was brought about there would be no Black Country (so-called) and no slums. They believed, and could prove, that the means of production to-day were such that there was no need for any one to be destitute, no need for any child to be hungry, no need for any of the misery, want, squalor, and dirt that they saw around them. Why was there poverty and misery? Mainly because of want of thought and want of organisation. If the working people were thinking people they could alter the condition of things to-morrow. The lack of organisation was due to the fact that workers had never really thought it worth while considering why they were in the world at all. How was it they who produced and did the work lived the worst, and the people who reaped the results of their labour lived the best? The workers had never

THOUGHT ENOUGH OF THEMSELVES.

They did not seem to think that their wives were as much to them as wives were to members of Parliament. He forgot the names of the members for Wolverhampton—(a voice: "Amery.") You gave him one dose and I gave the other. He has had a good many successes in his time; it was the worst place in the world for him to come to East London, with his panacea, at any rate"—(laughter). "There was no need to hate anyone. They were all more or less responsible for the condition in which they found themselves. But it was important to tell the solid truth. "The people who have luxury, and the people who have comfort, are bound under the present conditions to have it at the expense of men and women like you." He believed that one of the reasons why women were in revolt just now, and he wished thousands more were in revolt, was that they felt the injustice of the present system, which made not women, not only the bearers of children, but the bearers of the troubles of the world.

As Socialists they asked that working men should realise that their womenkind were of equal value with other womenkind in the world. If they had to choose between values then, surely, the woman was doing her share of the world's work, and, as such, should be lifted beyond the common ruck of things and treated as a big value in the life of the community. Yet they had the startling information that in Glasgow there were 17,000 women leading a life of shame by stress of economic conditions. Did anyone imagine that girls and women chose a kind of living death like that because they liked it? Of course they did not. He liked to look at that matter from the point of view that what was not good for his sister was not good enough for anybody else's sister—(hear, hear). They could not have

TWO STANDARDS OF MORALITY

in any human society—one for the men and one for the women. Referring incidentally to Birmingham, Mr. Lansbury remarked that the Midland city seemed to be the hub of the universe for boys who had no work to do and no home to go to, although he supposed as a matter of fact thousands of pounds had been spent on educating those lads. They were going to take children out of the labour market, and the work of the world would be done by the men and women of the world. They were told that they had reached the limit of development. That was untrue. They wanted boys and girls taken by legislative enactment out of the labour market, and women who were left widows with children dependent upon them to be given absolutely free means of living for themselves and children without going to work. Parliament, too, should enact first a maximum number of hours that men and women should work in a week. He wanted Parliament to declare for a 48 hours' week, and they wanted a minimum wage fixed throughout the country. It was their desire that great monopolies should be taken over and controlled by the people. There was talk of the reform of the House of Lords. Of much more importance to the democracy of England was the reform of the House of Commons. If the House of Commons wanted to do a right thing it could do it, but they would never get the House of Commons to do the things they wanted until the workers gave expression to their wants at the polls. He wanted the policy he had enunciated to be the fighting policy of every man and woman.

Mr. Lansbury was asked several questions at the end of his speech, and in reply to one asking if he desired to "scrap" the Liberal party, he said the

LIBERAL PARTY AND THEIR METHODS

were not up-to-date. At the present time the Liberal party were floundering with social reform, plus a Punch and Judy fight with the House of Lords. They might think that they were engaged in the House of Commons in a terrible revolutionary effort to overcome the tyranny of the House of Lords, but that was all horrible humbug. He had never seen such a feeble revolution in all his life. Colonel Griffith-Boscawen, M.P. for Dudley, got up the other day in the House of Commons "to stem the tide of revolution," and four members behind him dropped off to sleep—(loud laughter). Another night the members "all cleared out" and left one member making a speech and only two others to listen to it—(laughter). The House of Commons had got a lot of men in it, in his opinion, who wanted to go to the House of Lords—(laughter).

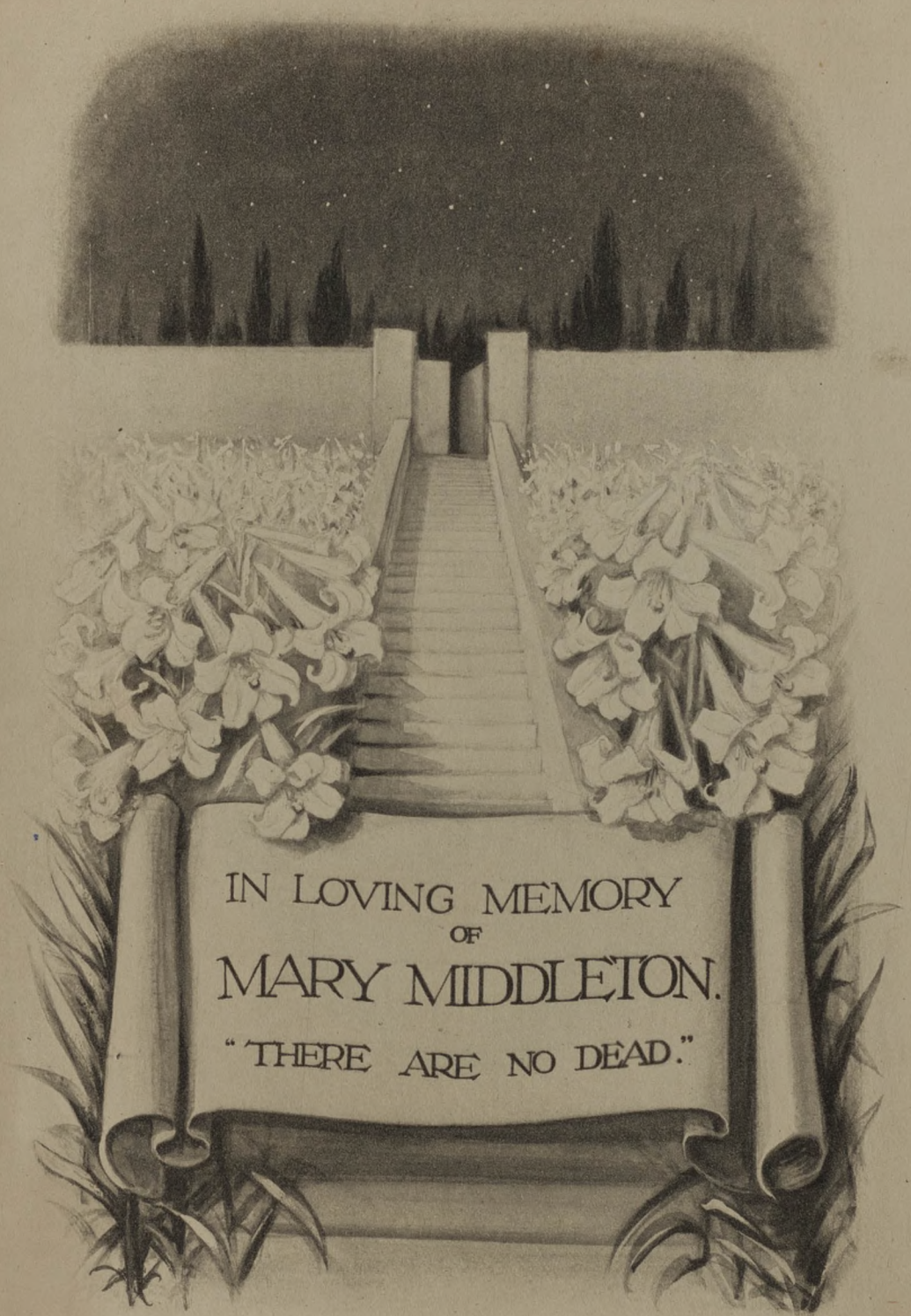
"I am asserting that the Liberal party is played out"—(applause). When the Liberals stopped making peeps then, and only then, he should believe that they wanted to get rid of the House of Lords—(applause).

Express & Star - 17/4/11

Mrs. James Smith Middleton
(n. Mary Muir; 1870-1911)

(192)

[say post-20 Ap. 1911]



IN LOVING MEMORY
OF
MARY MIDDLETON.

"THERE ARE NO DEAD."

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IN LOVING REMEMBRANCE

OF

Mary Middleton,

Who passed onward on Monday, April 24, 1911,

Aged 40 Years.

Love was her guardian angel here,
But Love to Death resigned her ;
Tho' Love was kind, why should we fear
But holy Death is kinder.

“ . . . When the hour strikes he comes—very gently, very tenderly, if we will but have it so—folds the tired hands together, takes the way-worn feet in his broad strong palm ; and lifting us in his wonderful arms he bears us swiftly down the valley and across the waters of Remembrance.

“ Very pleasant art thou, O Brother Death ; thy love is wonderful, passing the love of woman.”

The Rev. W. E. Moll, of Newcastle-on-Tyne, conducted the funeral service at Golders Green Crematorium, on Thursday, April 27th, and delivered the following address :—

With what dignity a completed life rises on our vision ! Incidental blemishes fade out. We see character as it is. God seems to repeat to us who remain the judgment he pronounces in the ear of the departed soul at the moment of death. Men and women are more truly measured by their fellows when life closes than at any other time. The trumpet note of Heaven's praise echoes to earth, and for the moment drowns, with its jubilation and beauty, the petty criticisms, the false and disproportionate judgments that blind us to true human worth : we hear in our souls the verdict of God, and we cannot but admit that the verdict is true.

This is something that all of us are feeling to-day as the picture of Mary Middleton rises to our memory. Somehow we know her as never before. Somehow the secret of what has brought rest and joy to her is one in which in some mysterious way we all feel that we have a share. It is not so much the facts of her life that we want to think about just now, as what she was in herself. Patient, loving, and strenuous in the days of health and strength, shrewd in her judgment and intuition, firm in her faith in righteousness which now and always overcomes the world, keenly interested in life through long, wasting illness and bitter anguish of body, fearlessly descending into the dark valley through which we all must reach our final home. The remembrance of her gracious and lovely life—so earnest, so pure, so full of compassion for the poor, the wronged, the oppressed ; so true to

every duty and each responsibility—that remembrance is in our hearts this hour ; we are all the richer for the life she lived ; and the thought of what she was stills the rude and idle voices of the world, and speaks to us of another and a better life than that which most men and women are content to live.

And so to-day we leave all that is mortal of that sweet and gracious life with the perfume of sweet and chaste flowers, fit emblems of her character, pressing the earthly coverlet of her bed.

And love will last as pure and whole
As when she loved us here in Time,
And at the spiritual prime
Rewaken with the dawning soul.

God has given his beloved sleep ; and we trustfully leave her in her well-earned rest. As for ourselves, the day of toil has not closed. Some of us are hastening with rapid feet towards the western hills. Other some are in the noontide heat, bearing the burden of the strong, and singing the song of the workers ; nor shall we be less vigorous nor less songful because our comrade has left us. With renewed energy shall we stoop to our problems, seeking to know and do the right. If for a bit the mists hang low and shut out the light, we can at least trust and wait. The right must at last prevail, whether the sun shine or the storm clouds lower. Life here and now is for us to live for all it is worth ; and the example of our departed comrade should send us forth with renewed vigour and courage to the fight. To your tasks, then, comrades ! Up and be doing, with a smile on your lips and your tools in your hands.

As St. Paul puts it in that magnificent lesson with its triumphant note to which we have just listened : “ Be ye steadfast, unmovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, forasmuch as ye know that your labour is not in vain in the Lord.”

Mary was the daughter of Walter and Martha Muir, and was born on Christmas Day, 1870, in the mining village of Haywood, Ayrshire. Her father worked at the neighbouring colliery, and Mary shared with her sisters the hardy living that was, and is, the lot of most working-folk. It was in the recollections of those days of her early childhood that, later in life, she found the inspiration for her work in the Labour Movement. She knew first hand the struggle and uncertainty which constantly accompany the lives of the common people, and throughout her womanhood her heart was tuned to sympathy with her working sisters, because she shared their experiences and never forgot the days of her own girlhood.

After the usual education granted by the village school of the time, Mary was marked out as a likely teacher, but a serious illness intervened, and when she again recovered health she had to turn out and fend for her own bread in domestic service.

When her parents crossed the Border and settled at Maryport, in Cumberland, Mary secured a situation within easy distance of her people, and followed the uneventful routine that makes up the life of a housemaid. She made several changes, but never went far from the Cumberland coast, and it was while in farm service near Workington that she met with an accident that no doubt led eventually, twenty years after, to her last illness.

It was while in Workington that we met each other, finding common sympathies in local Labour and Socialist work, although she was

unable to take the active part she then desired. We also found a good deal of pleasure in the Christian Endeavour Society connected with the Presbyterian Church in the town, which at that time we both attended.

We were married at Maryport on July 2nd, 1900, and spent the next eighteen months in Workington, where we had made friends on every hand. It was in those days, too, that we first came into close contact with the wider Labour Movement.

Leaving the North at Christmas, 1902, we sought more congenial opportunities in London, and after twelve months of the uncertainties usually associated with suburban journalism, work after our own hearts was found in connection with the Labour Representation Committee, then an almost unmeasured force in political life. This brought us both into close fellowship with a host of friends in the Movement, friends whose many kindnesses during these last months have been more than I can tell.

After the election of 1906, the old L.R.C. took a fresh lease of life, and with its thirty Members in the House of Commons, became the Labour Party of to-day. In that year the call came to the women of the Party in the formation of the Women's Labour League. From the beginning Mary was keenly interested in its possibilities, and I leave for her successor in the secretaryship—our own good friend, Margaret MacDonald—to deal with her work in the League.

It was always Mary's pride that she was just a working woman, and she had great joy in canvassing workmen's homes at the by-elections fought by our Party. From Cocker-mouth, where we were on familiar ground, in 1906, down to Bermondsey in 1909, she entered with the keenest zest into most of our contests ; and it was within a week or two of the latter election that she gave up the struggle against the insidious disease which had attacked her, so far as to consult a medical friend. From November until February she continued her work and attended the League and Party Conferences at Newport, although it was evident her physical strength was dwindling. Early in March, 1910, she collapsed, and had to take to her bed.

Her splendid courage and quiet serenity right through her illness were the sort of gifts that a man might envy, and none who knew her quite realised what a brave spirit she possessed until her fight was over and she had passed from amongst us. Her last days found her surrounded with an array of good comrades whose loving attentions gave her comfort and brought brightness to her bedside. Indeed, in a letter written to a friend in the North at the close of 1910, Mary said that although the passing year had been spent in bed, and often in pain, she could almost say that it had been one of the happiest years of her life, entirely on account of the loving kindness shown by her friends. Words fail me to express my gratitude to all the fine souls who rallied round us and shared our trouble, seeking to find a common joy in their kindly thoughts and generous fellowship. Those sad, sweet days when pain and courage met will always remain as memories of a fragrant past, and the friendships made round Mary's bedside will last as long as life.

Mary's passing has deprived Death of much of his dread and given to many of us a more hopeful and much more helpful outlook on our days.

“ Trust is truer than our fears ;
Gain is not in added years,
Nor in death is loss.”

J.S.M.

The reference to Mary Middleton's early life in her husband's notes recall to me many talks with her when she told me of her childhood's home, of the long walks to school and back after the breakfast of porridge, of her practice in nursing babies as one little sister after another, and then the only brother claimed her care, of the apparently irrevocable fate which decreed that domestic service was the only work open to a country child who had to earn her living after the attempt to teach and learn at the same time had overtaxed her strength. But her fondness for learning could not be stifled by the claims of pots and brushes and dusters, and in her spare time the housemaid used to read widely, such books as Drummond's "Natural Law in the Spiritual World" and histories of the Scottish Covenanters finding a place among more general reading. Her growing interest in social problems was helped and broadened by discussion with her friends. Only ten days before her death she was telling me again of how she first met her future husband when he was Secretary of the Christian Endeavour Society, and welcomed her as a new member, and of how he was already noted for his earnestness in thinking out things for himself and leading his comrades to do the same.

It was a few years later that my husband secured him as assistant secretary for the Labour Party, then very much in its infancy; and I met Mary first when she and her husband came to meet some other Socialist friends at our house. It was the wish for an opportunity of knowing her better, as well as other women members of the Party, which led Mrs. Francis Johnson and myself to arrange in the autumn of 1904 for a weekly sewing meeting to be held on Wednesday afternoons at 3, Lincoln's Inn Fields. Mary was one of the first to come, and she helped at our first sale of work on May 1st, 1905, when we gave the funds to the Independent Labour Party.

The Women's Labour League, which was to be her special bit of work in the movement, had not started then, but after the General Election of January, 1906, the demand for a definite organisation amongst the women of the Party became pressing. In the informal conferences and discussions which took place Mary Middleton was a sympathetic advocate of the new move. She helped to form the Central London Branch on March 28th, 1906, and she went also to the May Day gathering of the Leicester women and made there her maiden platform speech.

By the time the League held its inaugural National Conference, called at Leicester for June 21st, 1906, she had made her influence felt widely enough to be elected on the first National Executive—rather to her own surprise, for nobody was less self-assertive than she.

The secretarial work of the League was carried on at first by Mrs. Fenton Macpherson, but she already had the responsibility of the Railway Women's Guild and found the double work too much for her strength. In the minute book I find the writing changes on January 24th, 1907, and that Mary Middleton wrote that day's record for the first time, including the notice of her own appointment as honorary secretary. From that time onward she took over the whole duties of national secretary and treasurer for the young society, and with her courage, her conscientious drudgery at details, and her cheery tact, she piloted it through difficulties which threatened to swamp it. The secret of her success lies, I think, in

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the fact that she brought to her work faith, hope and charity—faith in the cause for which the League stands, hope for the future of the movement, and, above all, charity and the kindly sympathy which made her take endless pains to understand and to help her fellow workers, and which brought out in response the best qualities of each. Her work was carried on mostly in London, writing and keeping accounts at her home in Clapham, and coming up to the centre for meetings of various sorts. Much of it was in co-operation with Mrs. Nodin, secretary of the Central London Branch, and we had almost come to think that no London conference or demonstration, social gathering, or sale of work, could be carried through without the active aid of these two. Then there was work outside London, too—attendance at I.L.P. Conferences, at by-elections to help organise the services of the women, and at the Annual Conferences of the League, which now take place immediately before those of the Labour Party, so that she and her husband were busy at the same town in the same work, she for the League and he for the Party.

But the stress of correspondence and committees was not allowed to interfere with Mary's powers of hospitality and social enjoyment, and the Clapham home continued the traditions of the open door and welcoming fireside for friends from Cumberland and elsewhere. Her membership of the Clapham Branch of the I.L.P. also gave her scope in this direction, and she was a general favourite with her friends in the locality.

One of our brightest memories is of the trip to Germany at Whitsuntide, 1909, when a number of the Labour Members of Parliament and some of the officials of the Party went over on a Peace Mission, and were entertained by municipalities along the Rhine, finishing up with Frankfurt, Berlin, and Bremen. This was Mary's only visit abroad, and she entered into the spirit of it and enjoyed thoroughly the new experiences and the insight into the social problems of our continental neighbours.

That same summer she was very busy with the arrangements for a special "Women's Labour Day" at the Earl's Court Exhibition, of which she was joint secretary with Miss Mary Macarthur, of the Women's Trade Union League. Then she and her husband had a holiday in their homeland among the Lakes, visiting old friends in Workington and doing some tramps about the fells with Mr. and Mrs. Tom Oldham.

As her public work developed, and as each fresh duty and responsibility was put upon her, she fulfilled what was asked without fuss and without failure.

But the hardest task of all was still to come, and when it came it found her equally ready. She was called upon to face, first the growing suspicion, and then the certainty of the doctor's verdict, that she was suffering from cancer; but her courage and her serenity rose to meet the changed aspect of life and again to make the best of the trouble for the sake of others.

The autumn of 1909 found her and her husband acting as deputy mother and father to our eldest boy at our home in Lincoln's Inn Fields, when my husband and I were in India, and it was whilst there that Mary had to take medical advice. She went into hospital, but it was considered best not to try an operation, and she returned to her Clapham home, 8, Jedburgh Street, while her sister Agnes

came from the north to be with her. During the time when the operation was undecided she was keeping on her secretarial work and preparing the business of the Annual Conference of the League as if no other anxiety were weighing upon her, and she told me afterwards that in hospital she had felt specially calm and uplifted because everyone was so good to her.

Her interest in her political work continued, and she cared for it all through the long months during which her activity had to be curtailed, as keenly as during the years when she had been taking on more and more responsibilities. I was made joint secretary of the League with her to relieve her of detail work as it was found necessary, but family trouble kept me away from the Newport Conference in February, 1910, and she carried through the work there in spite of weariness and growing discomfort. She read the summary of Branch reports, and put in a characteristic touch about the value of the work which each could do, whether it were making marmalade for the cause, or delivering orations.

For another month she kept about and was at our Central Branch meeting in March. The last night she was up in town she and her husband went to see Maeterlinck's play, "The Blue Bird," and she often spoke afterwards of its beauty. It is from this that the idea for the cover of the present slight memorial was suggested by Dr. Marion Phillips and designed by Miss Dora Sulman.

The progress of the disease confined her to bed from this time, and when she helped me to draw up the Report of the proceedings of the Newport Conference she could hardly move without pain. Later on she had usually less acute suffering though much weariness, but when friends came to see her she seemed not even to think, much less to speak, of her own trouble, and threw herself into their interests and those of the various social and political movements which claimed her allegiance.

She was fortunate in her nurses. Her sister Agnes looked after her with quiet devotion, even when ailing herself, until within a few weeks of the end, when she was called north by pressing duties, and her place was taken by a friend, Miss Alice Todd, who remained until the last. During Miss Muir's visit to her home in the summer Mr. and Mrs. Wybrow, former friends in the same house, were in charge, and a district nurse, Miss Walker, came in from time to time as needed.

After her death her husband wrote: "Mary loved flowers, and many of her good friends brightened her last days with fragrant blossoms. They who would do a little deed 'for remembrance' may grant her wish and give to other weary ones lying in pain a handful of flowers to cheer them in their trouble."

Mary loved children, too, as is evident in her sketch of "Dickie, my first visitor," the little son of her neighbours, Mr. and Mrs. Hickey, and the proposal to start a baby clinic to her memory is an attempt to carry on work which she would have liked.

The only form of complaint that anyone heard from her, and even that was rare, was that she was useless as she lay there. The deeper sense in which her usefulness was greater in her weakness even than it had been in the time of her strength is shown in the notices by friends, which we reprint here, and in many other words and letters received. But in the narrow sense she did not let herself be idle, and scraps of strength were used for writing letters, thinking out plans, helping to edit the League Cookery Book, and so on, whilst for weeks together she would be occupied with needlework.

The children of the Fulham Socialist Sunday School were helped in their sale of work by her busy fingers, and other causes and friends shared the products of her industry.

On January 30th, 1911, she wrote the following letter to the president and members gathered for the Annual Conference of the League at Leicester:—

My dear Mrs. Simm,

I do not often feel low spirited, but I must confess to feeling slightly doleful this afternoon when I think of you all on your way to Leicester without me. However, I will be with you in spirit every minute of to-morrow and trust most sincerely that you will have a pleasant and inspiring Conference. I think our success in the past has been achieved by the harmonious working together of the rank and file with what I might call the more brilliant intellects of the movement. To run a social successfully may be as useful for bringing in new members as a well written pamphlet; just let us all give what service we can. It may be small, but who can tell its usefulness. But I did not set out to preach, but just to send greetings to all the delegates and to wish the League the most successful Conference they have yet had.

Yours very sincerely,

MARY MIDDLETON.

Almost all through those fourteen months she was kept to bed, but last summer there was a break for a little while when she sat up part of the afternoons and even went out driving, these latter occasions standing out as red-letter days. Her sunny courage made us almost hope that this summer might again have brought some such chance of fresh air.

At Easter she enjoyed a visit from her husband's brother, Alfred, but the morning after he had left she took suddenly worse, and in three days she had "passed onward," in the early morning sunshine of Monday, April 24th.

And we are left with the mystery of her loss.

As I think of it there rings still in my ears her "good-night" to Baby Sheila on the Sunday evening when she knew she might hardly live through the night. She still turned to smile to the baby when she was almost too ill to speak to the grown-ups—"Sheila, Sheila; good-night, Sheila!" It was the greeting of the spirit leaving us when her life should have been at its prime to the little newcomer first entering on life's pathway. And the baby laughed back at her, unconscious of everything except that here was a friend who called for a responsive smile.

In February of last year, on the day that we lost our little son, David, Mary wrote to me: "He is infinitely wiser and happier than any of us now." She had no fear of death: and we need have none for her.

"Let the bloom
Of Life grow over, undenied,
This bridge of Death—

* * *

"Knowledge by suffering entereth;
And Life is perfected by Death."

M.E.M.

"MY FIRST VISITOR."

At intervals during her illness Mary wrote many letters to her friends, and one day in October she began to write in a casual, chatty way about her visitors. These rough notes were found in a notebook she kept by her and, unfinished as they are, they will give pleasure to many of those who knew her :

"My first visitor is Dickie, aged two, who lives on the floor below. I hear his footsteps on the landing and pretend to be asleep. He stands quietly for a moment or two and then there is a tug at the bed-clothes and a reproachful little voice saying 'Missa Milliton, it's Dickie.' Greetings over, we begin our usual argument. I have a little table beside my bed, the contents of which have a wonderful fascination for him. I've been trying for a week to convince him that my scent spray would retain its usefulness much longer if he did not inquire too closely into its mechanism. That the little round box does *not* contain 'tweeties' but nasty pills which would give Dickie a pain, that too many 'pips' will make him sick (Dickie has a vocabulary of his own which only the initiated—his mother, my sister, and myself understand. He calls grapes 'pips,' the poker 'tapioca,' and the fireguard 'the gasworks'). Though I've used all the eloquence at my command, I despair of ever getting him to realise that 'Mister Milliton' has the bad taste to prefer his best books unembellished with drawings of 'moto-cars,' 'kekkes,' and 'teamers,' executed by Dickie, R.A., aged two. When I do get him persuaded to use the back of an old envelope or a sheet of my notebook on which to transcribe his masterpieces, I can see him look wistfully at the bookshelves, and I know he is pondering on the stupidity of grown-ups.

"This is Dickie's official visit, which he never fails to pay. But in case I should be lonely he often pops up for a few moments during the day. Sometimes it is to teach me the latest comic song. The last one went 'How'd you like to 'poon with me-e-e?' and the humorous part for Dickie was to try how long we could hold out the "me-e-e." Sweet and sunny-tempered though he is, he has already become imbued with that military spirit so prevalent among the youth of our country at present. The other day he marched in shouldering the 'tapioca' and, pushing his hat on one side and setting his little legs apart, he declared in a fierce voice : 'I'm a Boy Stout.' He chuckled mightily at my scared look !

From lunch on through the day I have a procession of visitors. No League matter is ever decided until I pass my opinion. The Joint Secretary comes in looking very tired, but she will not disappoint me of my daily visit. Of course she won't own she is tired. She has only seen the children off to school, dictated two or three dozen letters, attended three committee meetings, and piloted a Frenchman, who knows no English but wishes to communicate with various Trade Union officials, to their different offices and interpreted for him. The late Secretary of the Central London Branch makes me laugh when she comes in by informing me that she has been visiting the sick all the morning and is depressed. She had just come in for a few moments to be cheered up ! The Treasurer of that same Branch sympathises with a little weakness I still retain of wanting to learn new ways of house-keeping, though my housekeeping days are done, and brings me her copy of 'Every Woman's Encyclopædia' and a jar of her own making of marmalade or delicious rhubarb jam. "

TRIBUTES TO A BEAUTIFUL LIFE.

She came to us about six years ago, a gentle, unassuming woman, who crept into our hearts so quietly that we were caught unaware ; the strength of her hold on us was unsuspected until the news came that she had "passed onward."

She became secretary of the Woman's Labour League in January, 1907, on the retirement through ill-health of Mrs. Fenton Macpherson, our first secretary. Our new secretary was inexperienced in administrative work, very diffident and too nervous to speak in public, yet she successfully grappled with the task of transforming the six months' old organisation into a strong movement. She mastered the routine office work, and trained herself to the more public, and, to her, the less congenial, part of her duties, so that she could make gracious little speeches at our meetings.

But these were the least of the things she did for us.

She was a great spiritual force.

Her health failed so slowly that we were not seriously alarmed until the Newport Conference, 1909, when it became obvious she had hardly enough strength to fulfil her secretarial duties. But she was so bright and plucky that we allowed ourselves to hope the illness was merely temporary.

Soon after the Conference the blow fell ; we knew there was no cure, and some of us were so blind that we thought her usefulness ended. But with the knowledge of her doom came a greater revelation of her power.

Endurance she shared with many sufferers, and courage, too ; but Mary lived with the thought of Death all those months and faced it cheerfully—serenely, while yet retaining a vivid interest in all that interested her friends. Right up to the end she worked and thought for others. Sleepless nights were occupied by her busy fingers in shaping gifts for loved ones. A few days before the end she showed me a little coat she had made for baby Sheila MacDonald. She had no children of her own, to her great sorrow, for she dearly loved them. This mother-love of hers enriched the lives of other people's children, and she was spared the pang of having to leave motherless little ones of her own.

In the last months of her illness her room became a kind of Mecca, where tired and worried people went for balm and healing. We took to her flowers—and all our troubles. She sent us away with light hearts and a sense of peace. And with all she was so adoringly human, her saintship wore a cloak of such quaint humour that folks going to "cheer the invalid" found the tables turned on them completely.

A great light has gone out, and for a little while we who loved her are overwhelmed with the sense of personal loss, the mystery and majesty of pain and death. By trying to build up the movement that she loved and served, we of the Woman's Labour League may raise a fitting monument to her life, and for the deepening spiritual force which she kindled many hearts will hold her in dear remembrance.—MARGARET G. BONDFIELD, in the "Labour Leader."

The first time I saw Mrs. Middleton must have been very soon after her marriage. It was in the days of incessant touring with street corner work the rule, and I remember coming into Workington

straight from the smoke and factory rush of Lancashire, hoarse and exhausted, to find one of the gentlest and kindest welcomes that it has ever been my lot to receive.

Try as I will I cannot visualise the external shape of the old-fashioned Cumberland home in which she reigned, but the impression of its cool yet sunlit freshness as of some woodland glade will abide with me for all time; and I recall the sweet white towel she handed me when she realised that I really wanted to help her wash up the tea things, and how it seemed to me at the time that it was like her smile, her spotless dress, her table spread for meals, and every other ordering of her simple home-life—the very perfection of refined feeling.

How good it was in those days to find such a woman accepting the full Socialist message as the simplest matter of course!

“Young Mrs. Middleton,” as we called her—for her well-loved husband, Jim, was in those days to us chiefly the son of his father—possessed surely the very genius of hospitality. At her table everyone was so kindly served that it was no mere metaphor to say that we tasted the sunshine in the bread. After the strain of the lecture, too,—it was “The Cry of the Children”—her look, her hold of my hand, and the few warm words she spoke, remain one of the richest memories of my life.

I am certain all our speakers who have enjoyed the privilege of her sympathy will have had the same experience. She understood instinctively just what in our highest and truest moments we had *wanted* to do, and loved us for that, recking nothing of our awkward failures.

That was the secret of her influence: she was the incarnation of “mothercraft” in its highest sense; and her love for all the weak and little ones of the earth, her infinite wisdom and the sweet laughter that so often came to her and our aid, sprang from the same source.

She was years younger than I and had had little chance to acquire the learning of the schools, but yet I know many a strong man as well as woman will understand me when I say that her going from us has left us “orphaned.” Verily she was among all the women in our Movement “our comforter, a very present help in time of trouble.”

KATHARINE BRUCE GLASIER.

Remembrances of Mary Middleton throng to our minds as we think of past years of the Women's Labour League. Some remember her as the energetic, untiring secretary, anxious and concerned about many things, spending sleepless nights and harassed days in the endeavour to housekeep successfully for us. Some may have known her when the will to work was tempered by physical incapacity, and may have seen the struggle between the spirit and the flesh at the Newport Conference: the last of our gatherings she was ever to attend. Others again were privileged to see her in those final months when she had learned how to suffer and be strong. Our League stands as an enduring record of her labours in the period previous to the victory of the disease which prematurely vanquished her life, but official reports scarcely tell all the story of her love for her work. She gave herself unstintingly and achieved the success of knowing that her example had been the inspiration to many who tried to follow in her footsteps. In those days she developed a capacity for dealing with accounts and writing business letters, wonderful in one whose school education had ended so early.

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It was, however, in the last year of her life that she was most marvellous. In March, 1910, the verdict was given that she was to die within a few months, but she lived on till April, 1911, and during all those months the room in which she lived was the centre of active work; an informal conference room of the League, the Labour Party, and the I.L.P.; and she—the invalid, sometimes racked by pain, and always under sentence of death—presided. We took our troubles to Mary Middleton, and very often she found the way out. “Lying here,” she would say, “one has time to think,” and the thought was always for her work or for the friends who came to see her—never for herself. If she felt resentment at the fate which shortened her life by the most painful disease known to humanity, it was never expressed. She gladdened her visitors with her cheerfulness, and never saddened them with regret. May the blessedness which she deserves follow her, for in life she never lost heart or hope, or happiness.

To the husband who tended her with such gentle care, and to her sister and friends who nursed her with such devotion, we offer our heartfelt sympathy. To the Giver of all Good we render thanks for the sweet life which has passed upwards in the springtime, just as the tree on Clapham Common she loved to look at from her window was bursting into leaf.—Mrs. EDITH J. MACROSTY, in “The League Leaflet.”

The growing company of those who have been and are not, save for the cherished memories they have left behind them, was added to this month by the death of Mrs. Middleton, Honorary Secretary of the Women's Labour League. Mrs. Middleton was no ordinary woman. As unassuming as some of those flowers now living their brief days by our waysides, she brightened life with her cheery dignity as they do the pathway with their shining gracefulness. The founding of the Women's Labour League discovered her powers, and a personality which had long won the affectionate regard of private friends came into the wider relationship of public service. The short months when Mary Middleton was revealing her great capacity will never be forgotten by those happy in having worked with her. But alas! how vexatiously cruel life often is. Fate sat in the shadows and meted out a hard lot to her. She was doomed to drain to the lees the bitterest of cups. Sixteen months ago, she was told that a disease for which as yet no cure is known was upon her. And then came the most wonderful of all the revelations of her personality. With a resignation which made us bow and kiss the hem of her garment, she taught us how to die. As her feet went down with the hours into the darkness of the Valley of Death, a holier and a brighter light shone round her head. Not a murmur, not a complaint—and her years were only two score. Never have we been more conscious of our impotence. Fain would we build some monument that would tell of her, but the only pyramid we can raise is as a heap of sand by the sea shore built when the tide is coming in. The years will wash away the coasts of Time and in their oblivion depths will our tributes lie. But not yet awhile. Not until those who worked with her have also passed into the solemn silences.

J.R.M., in “The Socialist Review.”

Browning Settlement (200)
Labour Week, 1911

AT

Browning Hall, April 30th—May 7th,
(York Street, Walworth Road, S.E.)

A Religious Appeal
TO SOUTH LONDON WORKERS

BY

TEN LABOUR MEMBERS

OF PARLIAMENT:

See **April 30, 8.30** **J. H. THOMAS,** M.P. for Derby.

8 **WALTER HUDSON,** M.P. for Newcastle-upon-Tyne

near **May 1, 8.30** **ALBERT STANLEY,** M.P. for N.-W. Staffs.

the **2, 8.30** **J. R. CLYNES,** M.P. for N.-E. Manchester.

not **3, 8.30** **WILLIAM ADAMSON,** M.P. for West Fife.

near **4, 8.30** **JAMES PARKER,** M.P. for Halifax.

the **5, 8.30** **GEORGE LANSBURY,** M.P. for Bow and Bromley.

not **6, 8** **FRANK GOLDSTONE,** M.P. for Sunderland.

the **7, 8.30** **ARTHUR HENDERSON** M.P. for Barnard Castle.

7 **JOHN HODGE,** M.P. for Gorton.

STIRRING SONGS SOLOS ORCHESTRA

On April 30th at 7 p.m. the Oratorio "JUDAS
MACCABAEUS" by Choir and Orchestra.

[P.T.O.]

LABOUR WEEK, 1910 :

WHAT WAS SAID ABOUT IT—

“A WEEK OF WONDER.”

THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK : I am deeply grateful to you for sending to me the account of the speeches delivered by the Labour Members of Parliament. I am deeply impressed by the testimony thus given by these good men to the influence of Christ. I have rarely been impressed with greater hopefulness for the future of religion among our working people than I have been by reading the summary of these speeches.

BISHOP TALBOT : Such outspoken acknowledgment of religion and of Our Lord on the part of our Labour men is both valuable and timely. I am impressed by the fact that there is not only respect for the example and teachings of Christ, but also in the case of some speakers, whether they would call it so or not, a genuine grasp of doctrinal truth.

BISHOP WELLDON : Nothing more encouraging or inspiring has come under my notice for many years. The inspiring utterances show that the sympathy between the Church and the Labour Party may go far beyond social reform, as the Leaders of that Party are themselves so largely actuated by devotion to the character and mission of Jesus Christ.

CANON SCOTT-HOLLAND, in the COMMONWEALTH : [*The reader*] will be stirred to his very soul by the fervour with which Keir Hardie appeals to all his comrades on behalf of the eternal significance for Labour of the Person of Jesus Christ. He will be thrilled and overcome by the wonderful intensity of the self-revelation made by George Lansbury. He will rise to the strong call made through the lips of Arthur Henderson. There were living words from Philip Snowden; and words straight from the heart of Will Crooks; and good stuff from John Hodge, and Walter Hudson, and Will Steadman. It was a week of wonder. The appeal was to Jesus Christ Himself, behind, and in spite of, those who professed His faith: and we could not but bow our heads to the rebuke: and pray that we may be forgotten, if only He may be remembered.

A GERMAN PASTOR, HERR FLOEL, Darmstadt : The speaker's felt themselves to be in fact Apostles, called to bring again to their fellow-workmen the old Gospel. And it was veritably genuine sound Christianity that found expression in their words. Anyone attending the meetings came to feel as if a piece of the old primitive Christian enthusiasm had been again awakened.

HERR STOFFERS, Düsseldorf, who is bringing out a German translation : It is the most wonderful book—from a German point of view—which has ever made its appearance in the Labour Movement. A translation would simply work marvels.

Mr. FLEMING H. REVELL, the New York publisher, is bringing out an American edition, with preface by Mr. Stelzle, the Labour Leader.

PROFESSOR VALDEMAR AMMUNDSEN is bringing out an abridged Danish translation.

“*Labour and Religion*,” the report of Labour Week 1910, price 6d. (by post 7½d), from Browning Settlement, Walworth, S.E.

[P.T.O.]

(201)

Hardie preached
the same week from

Come unto me all
ye that are weary

[written by C.L.]

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From a Forthcoming Volume—"THE SECOND
LABOUR WEEK AT BROWNING HALL,"
Containing Reports of all Speeches, with
Portraits and Life-Notes of the Speakers.

The Chief Need of the Labour Movement.

An Address given by
GEORGE LANSBURY, M.P.
(Bow and Bromley.)

In **BROWNING HALL,**
On Friday, May 5, 1911,
In the Second
LABOUR WEEK.

(Unrevised Transcript of Shorthand Writers' Notes)

PRICE ONE PENNY.

London:
PRIMITIVE METHODIST CHURCH PUBLISHING HOUSE,
Holborn Hall, Clerkenwell Road, E.C.

While I have been sitting here, I have been trying to think of all the things which have sprung from this place, and the tale of them is much larger than I can tell, or anyone can tell. But I could not help but feel that here in this place you have started movement after movement, and you have given voice to movement after movement, which within a very short time have borne fruit, and things which many of us dreamed of have become accomplished facts. I heard the Anglo-American Treaty just now mentioned in prayer, and also what happened last night. Whatever our views of the ultimate government and administration of affairs in England, may be, no one who sat in the British Parliament yesterday and heard the speeches that were made could help but realise that at last the kind of ideas that Mr. Stead and his friends have been preaching from this platform are really beginning to penetrate into men's minds, where a few years ago we would have

thought it quite impossible. In England just now I believe there is a real awakening amongst all kinds of people. There is a growing consciousness that we are our brother's keepers in a very real sense. And I think that one of the forces, at any rate here in this great metropolis, that has helped to bring about that change amongst people who are not of my way of thinking politically, has been Browning Hall and my friend and your friend in the chair this evening.

Now we are here this week, the ten of us, speaking all of us from different points of view, on the subject of Religion and Labour. Let us take the last first. Whenever I read the last verses of Ecclesiastes about "the conclusion of the whole matter," I feel that the man who wrote them had some idea at the back of his mind of teaching men and women that the end of all things was not merely what so many of us start in life with thinking—how we can make the world better for ourselves, but how we can make the world better for all men and women because we happen to be here. And the Labour Movement, however clumsily we may express ourselves, and whatever quarelling there may be amongst ourselves, and however imperfectly we each of us live up to our ideals—and I am as conscious as any man or woman here of my imperfections — the Labour Movement cannot have for its ideal anything short of that. It cannot be a small sectional movement, it cannot be a small selfish movement. It must be, if it is of any worth at all, a movement that embraces every man, woman and child in the community. Although it is true we hate evil systems and hate evil conditions, the Labour Movement, if it is to do its work effectively, must be based on our love of one another, our love of mankind. It cannot in any way be based on hatred of humanity, because if that were so it would only mean that one section of the community wanted to change places with another. It would only mean that we were against the rich because we wanted to step into their shoes.

This Labour Movement of ours stands in a very real sense for the uplifting of the people of all races and of all classes. Now it is a hard thing to say, that while you who live in places like Walworth, where life is very drab, and often very grey and very ugly, are working out your own social salvation you must be at the same time working out the salvation of the men and women at the other end of the social scale. All of you have to rise together, and all of you have a common interest together. Now the very best men and women to whom we owe anything, who have taken in hand the work of the reformation of the world, have always felt that behind them and around them was this idea, that all men and women should live in a different sort of way

from that in which they were living, and in a way which would bring out the very best that was in them. There is no great writer, no great thinker, no man who has left anything of a message to the world, who has not left it in this way, that all reform must have for its ultimate object the development of the best character that a man or woman can develop, and that each of us has to find out how we can best develop what is the highest in us. And in doing that we have to consider also all the time how we can help our neighbours to develop themselves too. The Labour Movement has as its ultimate object, not merely the linking of nations together to prevent the kind of war and destruction that are represented by *Dreadnoughts* and armaments; it means the building of a commonwealth not merely for Great Britain, or for the English-speaking people, but a commonwealth of all the nations of the world, in which shall cease not merely ugly war, but also the internecine strife of competitive commercialism. And men and women, learning what love means, shall translate their love into actual deeds.

Now an ideal like that, men and women, means that there shall be some of us, who are going to be the pioneers of it. It is not an easy thing to reach out to, because we have all been brought up the other way. We have been brought up under a condition of things that to a very large extent has put us at one another's throats. But I take this view of life, if you and I are full of the idea that our business is to remove, or at any rate help to organise to remove, those things which cause misery and strife and wrong, we must have behind us, and we have got behind us, a Power which gives us strength in the day of temptation, which gives us courage in the day of defeat, and which gives us all the time the conscious feeling that we are part and parcel of the movement in the world that makes for real righteousness. Where to me religion comes in is just there. I know there are men and women who say that it is useless now-a-days to talk about religion at all. Well friends, if so it is useless to talk of reform at all. I am perfectly certain of this, that in a mere fight for more bread and butter, without having an ideal in front of you and without having the religious fervour and enthusiasm that religion gives, it is quite impossible to hope for the reformation of the world.

I am not at the moment wanting to argue as to this or that particular sect, for Old Theology or for New Theology: but I am wanting to argue for the fundamental principle that I believe was contained in the words, "This is the end of the matter, fear God, and keep

His commandments." What are His commandments? What are the commandments that we put most stress on? "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul and with all thy strength; and thy neighbour as thyself." Well, friends, when you look around just now, what makes you angry with religion, what makes you say hard and bitter things about religion? It is not that there is too much religion, but that there is not enough religion in the world.

An American friend of mine wrote a beautiful little book, entitled "Where Knowledge Fails," and in that little book he sketches out the condition of things in the middle of the Victorian era, when Huxley and Tyndal and Darwin and the great giants of science were putting forth their new theories as to existence, and you had for years the gospel of Pure Reason taught. There are books extant to-day which told us that by pure reason men and women were going to enter the Promised Land. They told you that if only the dogmatism of theology could be swept out of being, men and women would be so enlightened that they would become as gods, knowing all things. Well, friends, forty years at least have gone by since the very latest of those things was promulgated. We have had Herbert Spencer, and all the rest of these philosophers, and where are we to-day? Is there a man or woman here who will say that with all that Rationalist teaching this country of ours is the better because for forty or fifty years great intellects belittled religion, and men declared in favour of pure reason as against the pleadings of the Spirit and the feelings of the heart? I say with my American friend, we have to confess to the utter failure of the philosophers to lead us out of the morass of poverty and destitution. And therefore this friend of mine—who is not of the same way of thinking as I—comes to the conclusion that I came to long ago. He says that to him, at any rate, religion has come to mean not so much the formulating of a long series of theological tenets as the force that is in a man or in a woman, which impels them in spite of themselves, in spite of their surroundings, to be better and truer men and women because of the thing they believe. And he goes on to say that he still feels that he must teach his children to pray, must teach them that there is a God. And he still feels that these children of his will be the better men and women because they have learned at their mother's knee, or in chapel or in church, to sing hymns to the Unseen, to pray to the Unseen, and to build their characters and their lives on the acknowledgment that there is some Greater Power in the universe than they can see around them.

I cannot help feeling, that if we sit down and think the matter out for ourselves, we are bound to come to exactly the same conclusion. What, after all, is the motive that moves us when we go into a church or chapel? I go very often on Saturdays to speak away in the provinces on Sunday, and I go into a church because there is there some kind of magnetic attraction for me. I never go merely to hear the preacher; it doesn't matter to me who the man in the pulpit is. I like to sit, or kneel, in a church and try to be for a few minutes right away from the world and everything that bothers and perplexes and distresses me. I like to feel that at any rate there is some communion between me and what I cannot see but what I feel is around and above me. It may sound a very superstitious thing to feel and to say that a church is different from a field or from one's own home. In a way I agree that you worship God in the open air, with the birds singing and with all Nature bursting into life in the springtime. I believe that you can worship God wherever you are. But in the church there is a sort of thing that I believe we miss in these hurrying, scurrying days of ours, the getting apart for just a little while, and thinking about ourselves in relation to the great universe and the Creator of the universe.

And those of you who are here, don't you often feel weary and heartsick of the struggle, sometimes merely to live? If you are in any movement don't you oftentimes feel heartsick and weary at the failure of the movement to move along? Well, it is good under those conditions, to get apart and rest just a little while, and remember that whatever you may say about Him and His Message, there was Someone who lived 2000 years ago, Who went through this world bearing the burden of sin and sorrow in His Life, and that He too lived weary days, He too lived a hard life and very often a life of depression. But He left with mankind this message, He left with you and me this ideal, that "One is our Father," and that through Christ we approach Him. And because of His Life we, humble individuals as we are, are of value in the eyes of the Great Creator of all men and women. That, at least, gives me comfort, at least it helps me to overcome difficulties, and at least it does this for me—it makes me very much humbler than I otherwise would be, and in these days it is a good thing that all of us, especially those of us who do much talking, should be taught humility. For me at any rate, worship and all that is connected with worship, does not only mean being inside the church and kneeling there and saying one's prayers: it means also that in all the ways one can, one's life has to be ordered duly

because of the thing one professes. That is the biggest difficulty right through our lives.

Isn't there nowadays a great responsibility resting on each one of us who is a parent, or comes in contact with children? Will any man here who looks out on the world with a clear mental vision, say that the bringing up of children and the condition of children in the workshop and in factories is quite what we should desire? Is there any man here who will say that boys and girls ought to listen to the sort of things they do listen to in factories and workshops, and even in the streets? And is there any man here who will say that any child they know is better because it has never been taught to reverence God, or reverence religion? Is there any man here who will say that his children are the better because they have never entered a church, never come in contact with religion, never had anything to do with God at all? I think there are very few men that will say it—honestly, anyhow. Any man who really thinks about it is bound to admit that a big chunk has been taken out of his child's mental and spiritual development, by robbing it of that side of life. I want to say further that in my opinion—and I have had pretty good experience of the subject—you rob a child of the very best things in life by denying it any knowledge of all the history of acknowledged good men and good women who have lived in this faith, which we call Christianity, all down the centuries.

Now the other thing I want to say is that to me, at any rate, the inspiration for social work has come altogether from the feeling that I am a unit, one of the great human family, and that my business in the world is to do what one conceives to be one's duty, and to fear God and honour His commandments. Now any man who knows the Labour Movement and knows the Socialist Movement, knows perfectly well that the thing that hinders the progress of the movement is the selfishness, very often, of the men and women who are in the movement, and we know, too, that all of the movements for lifting up humanity are hindered because people consider themselves rather than the movement of which they are but a part. I don't think anybody can truthfully deny that. And the real root reason for that is that men and women have felt that the movement was themselves, not that they were part of the movement. Christianity teaches me that I am only a unit, only a part of the community, and that every other part of the community is of as much value as I am, and therefore it keeps me rather more humble than I otherwise would be. It does another thing. When I am heartsick and almost heartbroken at times over the things one runs up against, and when I see all the difficulties that one has to meet and overcome, I cannot help but fall back on the faith

that comes to me, and has come to many and many a thousand in the same plight as myself, that there is a Power in the world, and that that Power does hear the prayers that go up from the universe, and does order our life, and orders the life of all those who care to follow the commands and the ideas that one finds in the New Testament.

Now I know what is said, that none of us live up to our ideals, none of us are true Christians, in the sense that Our Lord was the first Christian. That is perfectly true. I am an imperfect man, a weak man in many respects, as most of you are weak men and weak women in many respects. That doesn't make it any the less true that one gets help and strength to be better than one otherwise would be, by reliance on Almighty God. It doesn't make it any the less true that we get help and strength from believing and from applying the faith that I have tried to tell you about this evening. And I would ask you to remember that all down the centuries the men and women who have preached this Gospel, who have done the world's work, have in the main been men and women who have found their inspiration in the same kind of creed that you hear from this platform Sunday after Sunday. And to-day I cannot help but remember that most of the suffering in the world, wherever it is being staunched, wherever it is being in any way palliated, is being palliated and helped by good men and good women, who are trying, however mistakenly, but in their own way, to live out lives of devotion and self-sacrifice for the good of others. I bid you remember Father Damien. After all I have never yet heard of a Rationalist philosopher taking his life and his courage in his two hands, and going out to the South Seas to attend to the lepers there. Damien did that. And I always feel a reverence whenever his name is mentioned, or whenever I mention it myself. I wish I had a tenth of his moral courage and religious social enthusiasm. And how did he get his courage? He got his courage because he believed that God was behind him. He put his faith and his trust in, and drew his inspiration entirely from, the Life of Our Lord. When you see yet another kind of thing happen, that a man or a woman who has lived a hard, besotted life of drunkenness, suddenly gives that up and turns right round and lives an entirely different life, because of a faith which we call Christianity, I am not going to believe that that is all mere superstition. It works itself out in their actual life, and I believe it can work itself out in your life and in mine.

The reason I want the Labour Movement to be a religious movement is that I want it to be an unselfish movement, I want it to be a movement that is going to

work in a human and whole-hearted manner for the good of all men and women, and it is because I believe that without religious enthusiasm it will become as selfish and soulless as any other movement that has cursed the world. And I say to you, men and women, and especially to the young ones, you may in entering on life take one of two paths. You may say that you will join movements that are going merely to give you personal satisfaction. You may say, if you will, that you are going to devote your life to getting the best out of it for your individual selves. Well, I believe that real happiness does not lie that way. I believe that the condition of the world to-day is owing to the fact that the mass of men and women have tried to live out their lives along that line. I believe with old Carlyle that we have got to get back to knowing God; we have forgotten Him for a good long while in England. If to-day the men and the women who are in the Labour and Socialist movements, instead of merely putting God on one side would take the other path, if the young men and the young women would just take this line,—that they are coming to work for the social salvation for mankind because they believe that Christ came into this world to teach us how to live, and that His doctrine of how to live is the best kind of way to live,—if they do that, I believe the movement is going on by leaps and bounds.

I in my own person know the difficulties that come up against a man who wants to live an ordinary peaceable Christian life. I don't at all say that we shall overcome them, but I do say that each one of us will be the better by having a real true religious faith. And although the days may be dark and gloomy, and the light seem a long way off, it is still true that though

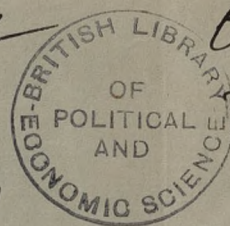
the tired waves, vainly breaking,
Seem here no painful inch to gain,
Far back, through creeks and inlets making,
Comes silent—flooding in—the Main.

That is true of all the movements that make for the uplifting of the race. I want to see the Christian men and women joining with the Labour people in proclaiming to all men and women this, which to me is an unalterable truth, that "One is our Father" and we are all brothers and sisters. If instead of thinking each for himself we did as Christ did, and think of others, this world would be a place of beauty and a place of joy. It is in that spirit that I ask you to-night to consider the claims of the Christian Message.

*Printed by Smithers & Co. (T.U.) Newington Butts,
London, S.E.*

one of the young men name 49 Victoria St (206)
is Johnson and he knows you Stratford
Ontario
Canada

Arthur Lambury
(brother of G.L.)



7/27/11

Dear George & Bessie

just a line to let you know we are

all quite well hoping you are all the same I am pleased
to tell you that we are all quite settled here for good
the winter has been a long one but the work has
been just right so we are going fine we have
taken a larger house and a better one but not
much more rent we have taken 3 young fellows
as boarders only just come out here in fact
they have not landed but a fortnight they
are Merchants and they have got jobs in the
Gt Trunk Railway Shops ^{that} ~~we~~ are situated here
and they are nice young fellows 3 Pals coming
from Creve out of the L & N W Shops

they say they did not have full time there
for 2 years and over as regards things in
general we are doing fairly well out here
the job I am on is still the same only tomorrow
we all are signing a Petition for more money
and we shall get it because labour is very
hard to get here just at present and things
are improving rapidly here since we have
been here my old Foreman has gone to a
Place ~~so~~ called Guelfh and he wants me to go
with him but this suits us and I think
I shall stay here I might get a bit more money
but the shopping is deare so with all I think
I shall stop here for a time anyway Nellie
has had no end of People come to her for

Arthur Lansbury

7.5.1911

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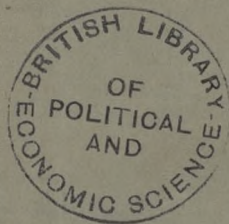
to go to work but it is no good now we
have these young fellows the children are going
on fine still keeping up at School and they
go about here now the same as if they
were in the Old Country we get news
of you now and again in the Papers and
I will close now with Nellie and the Children
Joining me in sending their Love to you
all

I Remain

yours affectionately
Arthur & Nell

P.Y.O

Remember us to Jim & Harry



M449

Mrs. Walter Murray Guthrie ~~208~~ Tuesday

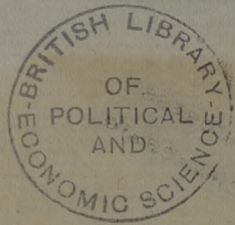
TELEGRAPHIC ADDRESS:
GUTHRIE, AUCHNACRAIG.

DUART CASTLE,
ISLE OF MULL.

[post 3 June 1911]

Dear Mr. Sansbury,

Thank you so much
for your letter & for yours
& Mrs. Sansbury's sympathy.
My husband is so pleased
at your having thought
of him - He is terribly
ill & suffering. The
worst of it is, the
doctors are so discouraging
& give neither help or
hope. My husband is



QUART CASTLE
181E OF MULL

M449

heroically, have a patient
never thinking of himself
but only of me &
our children -

Tom have always been
such a hardworking
man himself, you can
imagine how hard it
is for him to give
up all his interesting
work, & do nothing
absolutely nothing!

Too weak to do more than
crawl from bed to arm
chair, too blind to
see to read or write -

He is only 41 & he has
done so much in his
life to make other
people happy & alleviate
suffering, it seems hard
to see him suffer so
much himself -

I got him home with
great difficulty a
fortnight ago, & I am
so thankful we just
managed the journey.

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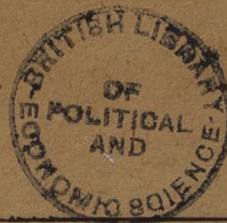
Again thank you for
your kind thought-
in writing, the sympathy
of those who understand
& really care is the
greatest help now.

Yours sincerely

Oliver Johnson

JULY 29. 1911.

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9

SHALL WE GO TO WAR?

BY GEORGE LANSBURY, M.P.

The friends of peace in this country ought to be up and doing. Mr. Asquith's statement, backed up by Mr. Balfour, and indirectly supported by Mr. J. R. Macdonald, is of the very gravest importance. At present all that we really know is just this: that between ourselves and France on the one hand and Germany on the other there are very strong differences as to the rights of each party over Morocco, and it is evident that Great Britain may be at very short notice rushed into a war about which hardly a dozen men in the House of Commons know anything. Under these circumstances the people who believe in peace should make their position clear.

First of all, we should make the common people understand that the disagreement affects not the workers but the great monopolists and capitalists who wish to exploit the rich parts of Morocco and the land behind. In this quarrel it is money, and money only, that is at stake, and we who believe that war, and all that war means, is simply a disaster to the common people, ought to tell the Government of this country that if there is no party in the House of Commons to take action, there is, at least, still a remnant to be found in the country who will have no part nor

lot in a war which has solely for its object the exploitation of a subject race.

We should make known our demands upon the Government. They are just this: that the dispute, instead of being thought about should be at once referred to the Hague Tribunal for settlement. If in the end the war is forced upon us, we ought at the very outset to say that in any event even if we are victors we will still refer the whole matter for settlement to the International Court at the Hague.

If once it can be understood throughout the civilised world that Great Britain would never again fight for the settlement of a dispute, but only in the event of being forced to do so because either party refused arbitration, and that in the end, even if the conqueror, would still have the dispute settled by arbitration, it would rally to her flag all that is best and noblest in the civilised world.

For my own part, I want the Socialists, the Liberals, the Tories, and above all, the men and women of good-will who belong to no party, but who believe in the solidarity of the human race—I want them at this crisis to declare that here in England there is a section of men and women who still believe in peace, and who still believe that nations should never again fight merely for the sake of material advantage the one over the other.

SWEATED WORKERS.

Toilers Who Cannot Pay the Insurance Bill Premium.

Striking facts and figures relating to the poverty of large masses of the people were supplied at a meeting held in Caxton Hall to consider the position of sweated workers under the provisions of the National Insurance Bill.

JEWS "LIKE RADIUM."

Mr. Zangwill Talks of the World's Duty.

Speaking at the Races Congress on Friday, Mr. Israel Zangwill, speaking of the Jewish races, said that to preserve the Jews, whether as a race or as a religious community, was not part of the world's duty. The world's duty was only to preserve the

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11 August 1911
Postponed from Wednesday, 9th August, 1911.

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QUESTION.

6. Mr. Lansbury,—To ask the President of the Board of Trade, if he is aware that dissatisfaction exists amongst the third and fourth class clerks in the employ of the Port of London Authority and formerly employed by the London and India Dock Company in consequence of the authority not carrying out the agreement contained in the Act of Parliament constituting the Port of London Authority, viz., that the position of employees should not be worsened because of the transfer of their services from the company's service to that of the authority; and whether, with a view to settling their grievances, he will receive a small deputation from the men concerned.

ANSWER.

G.L.

Mr BUXTON:-

I am informed by the Port of London Authority that the position of the Clerks referred to by the Hon. Member has not been worsened, but that, owing to a recent classification of the staff, the scales of pay have, on the whole, been improved.

The Port Authority also inform me that, in the early autumn, there will be a selection made to fill a large number of vacancies in the higher grades, and that this will benefit a number of the clerks referred to.

In the circumstances it would, I think, at least be premature to consider the question of a deputation.
(11th August, 1911, - Board of Trade.)

M

Hotel Cecil London Aug 17th 1911

John Kelly

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Dear Mr. Tansbury,

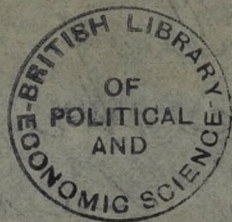
You are quite right what business is the face of the Hospitals & Asylums for the preservation principally of those who are infirm and perhaps born so, who have only a remote chance, in many cases of being of any use to themselves and their Country but a great drag. I say again what business has the Civil authority to bring out the Military and practically murder those who are to all purpose both in mind and body capable of helping themselves & as you see by their present attitude helping others to get their just demands for labour given without which all comes to a standstill. If you are going to allow people to kill off the young or old and healthy for goodness sake do away with the Hospitals & Convalescent Homes &c as the ends of both are quite antagonistic.

You are an employer of labour and do you mean to tell me that some of the prices paid and hours worked by some of these Strikers is conducive to Health Law and Order.

gentlemen & leaders of the Militant Classes
whether Tory or Liberal have as a rule
no consideration in their households
for their pet Cats and Dogs than they have
for other human beings who perhaps
for the moment run a bit counter
whether right or not to their inclinations and
fancies. They only count one in the Census
and are not distinguished in the total from
the King to the Pauper's Baby and why should
they arrogate to themselves this overbearing
and intolerant spirit. The shooting down
has commenced at the wrong end.

I have spoken to a lot of Policemen both
married & single & they are in
sympathy with the masses to which
they belong

Yours truly
John Kelly



M449

SOCIALISTS AND THE SCHEME.

1911
MR. G. LANSBURY, M.P., ON "EFFICIENT SLAVES."

Mr. George Lansbury, M.P., speaking at the annual meeting of the Birmingham Socialist Church, held in the Hippodrome, last night, said they in that city had had a hard row to hoe. The most blatant Imperialism existed in Birmingham. The people had been under the domination of one personality—of one, who, starting as an out and out Republican, had ended by becoming the strongest supporter of things as they are. Socialists had also to fight the Birmingham caucus which ran everything in the interest of the possessing classes. However, they had made an impression, as the last municipal elections showed, and he trusted that eventually the City Council would be captured entirely in the interests of the people.

Turning to Imperial politics, Mr. Lansbury said the House of Commons became more and more not the master of the Government, but the servant of Government, and if a Labour party were in power and treated the House of Commons in the same fashion as the Government did he should be opposed to it. He hoped the masses would never be lulled into contentment. He wanted them to feel that what they were out for was not merely to get another shilling a week or another couple of cubic feet space to breathe it, but to possess everything they produced. Mr. Lloyd George was a very sympathetic person, who wanted to do things for them, but the Socialist party stood for the people doing things for themselves. (Applause.) Sitting through the debates on the Insurance Bill—the bill that was going to bring milk and honey and rich fruit to parched lips—(laughter)—he never heard a word which in his judgment altered his opinion that those who promoted and pushed it through did so in order to rivet the capitalist system round the necks of the people. The idea was to make a man or woman a more efficient slave for the benefit of the employer. The Socialist Church did not want a man to be a good machine for the purpose of grinding out profit for others. They held that a workman did not live by bread alone, but that he also wanted the opportunity to develop his mind. Though he had not been very long in the House of Commons he had come to the conclusion that the mere building up of parties was a bad thing. Another conclusion he had reached was that leaders were an unmitigated nuisance. (Laughter.) He believed power of initiation in legislation should be given the people, and was also in favour of constituencies being able to recall a member, and if necessary to give him the "sack."

they are so many more

MR. LANSBURY PROTESTS. 213

The speech made by the member for Bow and Bromley last night was a curious mixture of sense and nonsense, of revolutionary hog-wash and sound criticism. It was, for instance, a perfectly true thing to say that all the machinery which the present Government has set up and which they propose to set up is merely fastening more non-producers on the necks of the people. And it is not a very great exaggeration to state that the whole achievement of the Labour Exchanges up to the present has been to tell some people that no work is to be had, and to give others news of work that they would have heard of in any case. (Mr. Lansbury forgot that the Labour Exchanges had incidentally created work—for the friends of the Government who founded them.) But then the Chancellor of the Exchequer's friend proceeded to say that he was sorry the strike ended in the fashion it did. Even the events of last month have not convinced him that the general public—in whom are included the working classes and all who did not go on strike—has the right to protection. It may be a pretty piece of rhetoric to say that the railwaymen on strike should have the protection of the State; but protection against what? we would ask. The anger of the public? The disgust of their loyal colleagues? Men who are wrecking signal-boxes and pulling drivers off their vans need no protection. But we think Mr. Lansbury is right when he announces his distrust of so much smoothing over of difficulties by conciliation; all goes well for a time, but the real difficulty remains unhealed, and in the end breaks out worse than before. It is simply an example of Liberal opportunism.

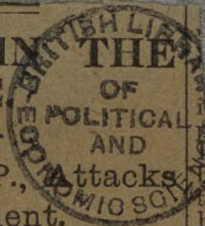
SENDING THE OWNERS BOOKS

There was a great rally of the Socialist forces at Birmingham last night

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DEMOCRACY IN THE HOUSE

M449



Mr. Lansbury, M.P., attacks the Government.

Sept. 1911

There was a great rally of the Socialist forces at Birmingham last night, when Mr. George Lansbury, M.P., addressed a mass meeting in the Hippodrome in celebration of the 19th anniversary of the local Socialist Church.

Mr. Lansbury prefaced a vigorous attack on the Government by congratulating the Birmingham Labour forces on the recent municipal victories. He remarked that they had had to fight a most blatant Imperialism.

Addressing himself to the political situation, he declared that they had in the House of Commons, especially on the front bench and in the person of Mr. Lloyd George, sympathetic persons who wanted to do things for them. This was particularly apparent in regard to the Insurance Bill. All through the debates he never heard a speech which signified that those who were pushing the Bill through and talking of social reform meant anything else than this: That they wanted such measures passed to rivet the capitalist system still stronger on the necks of the people. All the time the Bill was defended on the ground that it would be a bigger service to the master by making the wage-slave a man of stronger muscles and larger chest.

There was no hope for social salvation until women and men were recognised before the law as absolutely equal. (Cheers.) Any Government which brought in a Bill to give more votes to men whilst leaving women out was only making for the further debasement and degradation of womanhood. The House had not yet earned the elements of democracy. At present matters were ruled by one or two men in the Cabinet. "Leaders," he added, "are an unmitigated nuisance, and every democracy that ever depended on a leader has generally gone to the devil."

The Rev. Amold Pinchard also spoke.

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"BLATANT IMPERIALISM."

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MR. G. LANSBURY ON THE
BIRMINGHAM CAUCUS. 1911

Birmingham came in for some criticism in a speech delivered by Mr. G. Lansbury, M.P., at the nineteenth annual meeting of the Birmingham Socialist Church, held at the Hippodrome, Birmingham, last night. Mr. Fred Hughes presided, and among those present were the Rev. the Hon. James Adderley and the Rev. Arnold Pinchard.

Mr. George Lansbury declared that the most blatant Imperialism existed in Birmingham in a different form to any other city in the whole country. They had the domination of one personality; starting out into life, rallying support to himself as an out and out Republican, and in the end becoming one of the strongest supporters of things as they were. They had to fight the whole of what was termed the Birmingham caucus—a caucus that was running everything, and running their town in the interests of the possessing class. It was a subject of great congratulation that in this year 1911 they had at last made some dents in the armour of their opponents. Politics, generally, at the present time, were in a very parlous condition—parlous because there was precious little democracy about them.



LABOUR'S PROTEST BIG DEMONSTRATION AT BIRMINGHAM.

LANSBURY AND STRIKES.

WHAT THE NATIONAL UNREST HAS SHOWN.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)
BIRMINGHAM, Sunday Night.

There was some strong speaking at the annual demonstration of the Birmingham Labour Representatives' Council to-night. The demonstrators filled the Town Hall, and at the outset the assembly rose simultaneously at the call of the chairman in expression of sympathy with Mr. Ramsay MacDonald in his bereavement.

Mr. Leonard Hall then moved from the chair a resolution condemning the use of the military in Birmingham during the recent strike. The attitude of the civic authorities, he declared, was as scornful and brutal an insult to the working people of Birmingham as if they had deliberately spat in their faces.

"We are going to teach the blighters a lesson," cried Mr. Hall amid cheers. He left three questions with the audience:

1. Did Alderman Sayer, acting Lord Mayor, personally requisition the troops?
2. Did he ask the agents of the railway companies if he and the soldiers could give them assistance against the strikers? And
3. Was it not time the Birmingham people themselves took a hand in the administration of their city instead of leaving everything to that caucus of commercial cormorants and anti-democrats who had for years had all their own way?

This resolution, seconded by Mr. H. Simpson, was unanimously carried.

The Chairman then delivered an attack upon the use of the legislative engine by the existing parties in Parliament, the Labour members coming in for a good deal of banter. Mr. Will Crooks was referred to as a "poor old fathead" apropos his Labour Disputes Bill.

A resolution urging the importance of the workers seeking the advancement of a forward municipal programme in connection with the coming elections for the City Council was proposed by Mr. Fred Hughes and seconded by District Councillor Fathers.

Mr. Fathers said the fourteen Labour candidates who would take the field should stand for a minimum wage of 30s. per week for Corporation employees. "We might as well tell the Lord Mayor where we are going to begin; the Lord knows where we shall end."

The resolution was carried, though there was opposition by a section who wanted to move an amendment but were ruled out.

MEANING OF THE STRIKES.

Mr. George Lansbury, M.P., who earlier in the day had addressed a brotherhood at the New Central Hall, spoke as an optimist on the social situation. He came, he said, to Birmingham filled with a new hope. The solidarity of labour during the recent strikes had been magnificent, and the men and women involved, and of them destitute, had shown the courage of heroes and heroines such as the world had never seen before. (Applause.) Personally he was sorry that the strike ended in the fashion that it did. He did not want so much conciliation. He was not in favour of so much smoothing over of difficulties. (Applause.)

After all, when there was an ugly sore the best thing to do was to have it cut out. (Renewed applause.) He quoted figures showing the wages paid to certain classes of railway servants, and which provoked the strike and said there was no room for arbitration about that matter. The sweating wages were a disgrace, and any company employing people under such conditions had no right to have the protection of the Government against strikes.

The men ought to have the protection of the State until the company paid its servants a proper living wage. The important thing which the recent strikes had shown was that when labour left off working there were neither profits nor dividends. He urged the workers not to admit the principle of the employment of the military to intimidate strikers, and declared that if they did so when a Tory Government sought to reverse the people's decision in regard to the House of Lords they would use the same weapon against them.

His criticism of the present Government was that all the machinery they had set up and all they proposed to set up was putting more non-producers on the necks of the people. For example, there was the elaborate system of Labour Exchanges, and all they had accomplished at present was to tell the people where there was no work and let them know of jobs that they would have heard of in any case. (Laughter.) He asked how were the toilers going to get the full product of their work? He said deliberately and with more confidence than ever that they would never get it until they nationally owned and controlled the means of production.

NATIONAL INSURANCE.

Proceeding to discuss the National Insurance Bill Mr. Lansbury stated that he had consistently opposed the measure from the time of the second reading. He held that it was a reactionary step to take phtisis and to compel men to insure against phtisis and not against smallpox. Both diseases were contagious and they were both scourges. Mr. Lloyd George was wrong on the assumption that the individual was responsible for his sickness. What was really the case was what the Chancellor of the Exchequer himself admitted in the House of Commons in an unguarded moment, that phtisis and other diseases were the result of poverty. The Government had no right to make the unhappy, poverty-stricken people insure against the results of their poverty. (Hear, hear.) If there was to be a poll tax in this country—and he admitted that from the point of view of logic there was some thing to be said for it—it ought to be levied in proportion to a man's income. Public health was a matter that concerned the entire community, and he maintained that there ought to be at the disposal of every mother—a he did not care whether married or not—all the nursing and all the medical and physical comforts that she needed and for the baby every scrap of maintenance required. (Hear, hear.) He believed the passing of the National Insurance Bill would spell destruction to the trade union movement in this country, while the casual labour problem, instead of being solved, would be accentuated. His solution of the problem was that the State should organize every industry that capital could not organize at a living wage.

MR. GEORGE LANSBURY, M.P., AT EASTBOURNE.

SOCIALIST MEETING.

On Sunday evening a meeting in connection with the local branch of the British Socialist Party took place at the Hippodrome, a goodly gathering being present to hear Mr. George Lansbury, the Socialist Member for Bow and Bromley, who was the chief speaker. Mr. E. J. PAX, of Tunbridge Wells, presided, amongst those present in the auditorium being Mr. W. R. Saffery and Mr. and Mrs. F. Allen, whilst a number of prominent local Suffragists occupied one of the boxes.

The CHAIRMAN, in the course of his opening remarks, proposed the following resolution, which was carried unanimously: "That this meeting of Eastbourne citizens requests that the Libraries' Committee of the Town Council, in order to be fair to all its citizens, should at once place the Labour paper, the *Daily Herald*, upon its reading stands at the central and branch libraries."

Mr. LANSBURY spoke at considerable length upon "the present unrest among women and men." He supposed that most people were not satisfied with the condition of things in the country to-day. If they talked to the swells they found these were not satisfied because they were frightened at what Mr. Lloyd George "and other villains" were doing for them. He called attention to the fact that at no period in the history of mankind, so far as they knew, was the production of things they needed for the well-being of the community so plentiful as to-day, and yet men and women were dissatisfied both with themselves and with the condition of their fellows. Even the rich people with their wealth were dissatisfied because they were beginning to understand, through investigation and observation, that in our midst misery accompanied their wealth, and so they were asking themselves why it was in the midst of plenty, while they had every comfort, pleasure and leisure, there was all this destitution and misery. When he first came to Eastbourne he always stuck to the front, and if they took a walk to Beachy Head there was something exhilarating about the atmosphere, and somehow it was difficult to realize that even in this place, where, he supposed, as much wealth came into a small compass as anywhere else in the land, that down at the back there were poor people who were miserable and living wretched lives. Going about this place as about other country places what one came to do when one's eyes became opened was to contrast the condition of their own children with the condition of those in the low-lying parts of the town. There should be no such thing as people living in less cubic space than was necessary for the health of the children, and he ventured to say that if they went to the working-class part of this town they would find overcrowding and people squeezed together in a condition that would make them ask whether land was scarce, and if there was not proper room for the people to spread out. Only a few minutes' drive out of Eastbourne there were miles and miles of land where people could be housed in a decent manner. The Tories—they had got a good Tory Member—and the Liberals tied with one another in talking about great social problems, and they would go on talking until they were kicked into doing something. Don't let them imagine that any Government would do anything for the people until the people made them do things. The present Liberal Government was no exception to that. In the first place neither Liberals nor Tories would look the thing fairly and squarely in the face or admit that the conditions under which people lived to-day were conditions that were made by men and could be unmade by men. Cabinet ministers, archbishops and bishops and clergymen of all denominations had got to understand that the first vital thing was that each individual human being in the community was of equal value and that each man and woman was entitled to as high a standard of living and development as they claimed for themselves. Mr. Lansbury proceeded to expound the cause of Women's Suffrage, and observed that the brunt of the trouble during unemployment fell upon women. He expressed himself as being strongly in favour of giving women the vote, and while not committing himself to the support of militant tactics, urged that the cause which made for the recent outbreaks should be removed. With regard to the general industrial unrest, he said that some people thought it was bad for the working man to be dissatisfied. Some thought strikes were bad for trade, and generally speaking he should much prefer that strikes did not take place and that differences could be settled in a different way, but life to-day, especially industrial and commercial life, was a fight from beginning to end. Touching upon the land question, the speaker said they wanted people to understand that land was the property of the whole of the people in the country, and that they had got to get rid of the incubus of the landlord. He was opposed to buying out the landlord.

A number of questions were asked at the conclusion of Mr. Lansbury's speech.

Mr. ALLEN inquired if Mr. Lansbury meant to call Mr. Lloyd George a villain, particularly as the latter had alluded to him as "my friend Lansbury."

Mr. LANSBURY said he should not call Mr. Lloyd George a villain, nor would he call him a great statesman. At the time of this particular allusion he had not spoken to Mr. Lloyd George, and had as a matter of fact spoken to him only twice in the House of Commons.

Mr. ALLEN also asked why Mr. Lansbury objected to the Insurance Act.

In reply Mr. LANSBURY gave three objections. First he said it was only a palliative and not a preventive measure against consumption, the causes of which, he contended, should be first removed. Then it placed a poll tax on those least able to bear it, and it also taxed women, which meant taxation without representation.

Several theological questions were also raised, but Mr. LANSBURY declined to enter into an argument on those points, although he gave his views upon the subject.

Nid yn unig caniatwydd i Mr George Lansbury siarad ar y Maes ddydd Sadwrn, ond estoddi gynulleidfa yn rhifo gryu 500, llawer ohonynt yn ddyntio o ddylanwad ac yn arweinwyr, a chafodd hefyd gymeradwy-aeth uchel i amryw o'i syniadau.

Wrth godi i anerch, cafodd gymeradwy-aeth uchel y dorf. Dywedodd fod yna lu o gamsyniadau am Sosialaeth, ac yr oedd angen eu hysmild ymait. Nid oedd y Sosialwyr a miadrata oddiarynt eu capell, eu heglwys, eu teuluoedd, na'u heiddo, Priodol i'r Radicaliaid gofio fod Bradlaugh yn athist, ac os oedd rhai Toriaid yn gwrandao arno, er ei fod yn deall mai prin iawn oeddynt yn Nghymru—(chwerthin)—dylent gofio fod Mr Balfour yn sceptic. Os oedd Cristionogaeth yn golygu brawdoliaeth, o dan Sosialaeth yn unig y gellid ei gael yn ymarferol (clywech, clywech). Ystyr Sosialaeth ydoedd fod i'r oll gynrychali corph o bobl i gael ei fwyhau gan y bobl a'i cynrychant. Yr oedd y ffordd o'u blaen yn perthyn i'r oll o'r bobl. Yr oedd y cynllun presenol o gymdeithas yn tori i'fyny y teulu yn ddiidugarodd. Bwth oeddynt yn ei faddwl. Yr oeddynt mewn oes newydd. Er enghraifft, pe deuai y rhai oedd yn hysp nmser gwneyd y Castell yn ol i'n plith yn awr gwelent fod yr oes yn wahanol iawn i'r un yr oeddynt hwy yn byw ynddi. Yr oedd yn bryd i'r werin bobl ofyn pa fudd gaent o wneyd Deheudir a Gogledd Cymru (i'raddau) yn hyll. Pa les gaent? A oeddynt yn cael mwy o foesoldeb, mwy o Gristionogaeth, a mwy o eirwired? O ran corph, nid oedd yr oes hon i'fyny a safon yr oes yr adeiladesid y Castell ynddi. Yr oedd Sir Gaernarfon yn un o'r siroedd gwaethaf yn nglyn a difrod y darfoddedigaeth. Buasai gan y bobl adeiladasant y Castell hawl i ofyn paham yr oedd genym ni yn yr oes hon fwy o afiechydon a rhai newydd na ddychmegasant hwy erioed am danynt. Yr ateb roddai Sosialwyr oedd fod masnach yn cael ei chwario yn mlaen o safle profith. Ni chaniatid i ddynt na myned i weithio mewn chwared nae yn y meysydd os na chedd riswm allai wneyd ddu ohono. Yr oedd cyflogau yn ystod y deng mlynedd diweddar wedi bod yn sefydlog, ond yr oedd costiau byw wedi codi. Ni phryni punt yn awr ond gwerth 18s o bethau. Er yr holl fantasiau roddai peirianwaith, elai bywyd yn galetech yn lle hawddach. Rhaid oedd i'r gweithiwr, nid yn unig gadw ei hun, ond pawb arall hefyd. Yr oedd rheolwyr a chyfrauddalwyr y ffyrdd haiarn wrth eu gwaith arferol pan oedd yn streic, ond ni symudai y trenau, ond pan aeth y gwyryw ar streic, stopiodd y trenau. Rhaid oedd newid perchenogaeth y tir. Pe gallesid dynion fyw ar y môr, buasai rhyw lanlord yn sicr o'i anglyhechu a chodi rheil am fyw arno (chwerthin). Rhaid oedd trethu y tir-feddianwyr, nid dimai, ond 1p y 1p.

Ar y diwedd, cael gair gan y Parch Silyn Roberts ac ereill, a diolchwyd i'r siaradwr. Mewn atebiad i gwestiwn, deallir i Mr Lansbury ddwydd mai un o'r nesurau hollaf diatod o'f faen nhrwyf Seisedd oedd y Measur Yswiriol.

Liverpool Daily Post 18/4/21

NEWS FROM

"REAL REVOLT AND BROTHERHOOD."

MR. LANSBURY AT CARNARVON.

LESSONS OF THE STRIKE.

A CALL TO QUARRYMEN.

Mr. George Lansbury, Labour M.P. for Bow and Bromley, visited Carnarvon on Saturday and addressed an open-air meeting on the Castle-square, organised by local members of the Socialist party. The gathering, over which Mr. George Davidson, a gentleman occupying a prominent position at Harlech, presided, was attended by some hundreds of people.

It was explained by the Chairman that the announcement that Mr. Ben Tillett had also intended to be present was a rumour without any foundation. The chairman went on to say that he heartily agreed with Mr. Lansbury in the matter of industrial combination, whether it be called unionism or syndicalism. He suggested, however, that the workers should not entrust their cause to professional leaders, of whom the House of Commons was half-full at present. Let the men act by themselves and for themselves by appointing as their delegates those who were absolutely their own comrades (cheers).

QUESTIONS FOR QUARRYMEN.

Mr. Lansbury, who was cordially received, stated that he was there at the invitation of friends to explain what Socialism was. He found it, at any rate, a great deal of superstition as to what Socialism really meant. He claimed for Socialism that it was the only system of life in which brotherhood was possible. It also meant that that which was produced by the common labour of the whole community should be enjoyed by the community (hear, hear). The builders of Carnarvon Castle, if they happened to visit the scenes of their earthly activities, would be entitled to ask of the present generation what they were getting for making ugly the beauties of nature in that neighbourhood. Were they getting a better living than their fathers? Were they getting more morality, more truthfulness, better men and women physically? He ventured to say that physically, at any rate, the present race of workers were not up to the standard of the men who had worked against all comers centuries ago. The people who built the Castle would be entitled to ask why Carnarvonshire stood at the top in regard to consumption, and what about the King Edward Memorial for the purpose of dealing with consumption? His reply was that it was all because labour to-day was organised for the purpose of producing profit, and profit alone (hear, hear). Though the last three years had witnessed the biggest boom in trade ever dreamed of, the power of wages was going down. The talk about the dignity of labour was very well for persons and members of Parliament, but there was no one who did not run away from labour when he could (laughter). He could not do quarrying in North Wales if he were offered a pound a day, not a pound a week, for doing it, more especially if he had to do it to extra rent and profit for the landlord. Let them all have a turn at it, if such was necessary (hear, hear).

DURING THE RAILWAY STRIKE

directors and their managers kept on working, but their brains never set the trains going, nor did the shareholders rush forward and say: "All right; we can do without labour, but labour cannot do without us." No; they called upon the Government to protect the supplies with the aid of the military. The glory of the recent upheaval was that it proved successful: that the rich and well-to-do depended absolutely upon the labour of the community, and upon nothing else (cheers). If capital was essential, why could the capitalists not have worked the railways themselves? And did not the quarrymen of North Wales not think that they were as capable of working the quarries for themselves as for the capitalist and the landlord? The ownership of land must be altered. He did not believe a scrap in any form of taxation of land which did not take the full social value of the land—the value which the population gave for it. When complaints of bad housing were made in London, they said that there was no room. Well, they would not say that in Carnarvonshire. There was plenty of room there—miles of it (laughter). "What we Socialists want is, you should claim that land was not made by man but by God, and belongs to the whole people, for the use of mankind and not for the profit of the idle few. I do not care whether they are barons or marquises, kings or princes, no man has a title deed from heaven to corner the earth. We ask you to get rid of the tribute that you pay to the landlord year by year. You want to tax them, not a halfpenny in the pound, but the full social value" (hear, hear). Socialists also pointed out that the industries of the country depended upon the labour of the people, just as education and the police were under their control. The owners could be either

BOUGHT UP OR PENSIONED OFF.

All the people had to do was to cease bothering Parliament about things which did not matter, and start worrying them about things which did matter. Primarily, the object of his visit was to ask the workers, both men and women, to organise politically, instructing the Government how a thing should be done, and seeing that it was done. But there was another weapon (a Voice: "Strike"). They could not possibly realise what the recent upheaval meant. It had shown that right down at the bottom of the social scale there was a spirit of real revolt, and, what was more, a spirit of true brotherhood. The fact of 60,000 dockers and others in Liverpool refusing to return to work until 100 of their comrades had also been reinstated was the most splendid example of real heroism he had ever read of (hear, hear). Who cared about the workers until they came out on strike? Who in the pulpit or in the Church bothered about them till they came out on strike? No one. Those men were now tumbling into their trade unions in their thousands, because they had learnt the power of standing still and doing nothing. He did not desire them to fight soldiers or police, but merely stand just as their comrades in London and Liverpool did, and they would then see that the capitalist system could not do without them. He wanted the quarrymen to get into their trade unions. Anyone who stood outside stood against his class; anyone refusing to join was really blacklegging (hear, hear). Let the workers' Union, who were determined that women should be paid the same wages as men, and were going to have 50s a week as a minimum. They owed this as a duty to their children, who would have a chance of a better life than was here and now to be enjoyed. God never intended that the best things of the world should be for the few, leaving only poverty and degradation to the remainder (cheers).

SHOULD SOCIALISTS SUPPORT THE "DAILY POST AND MERCURY"?

At the close of his speech Mr. Lansbury handed a number of written questions. In one of them he was asked whether Socialists should support the "Liverpool Daily Post and Mercury," which had opened its columns to receive contributions for loyal workmen in the recent strike. "I want the workmen to support their own newspaper and control it," was the reply.

Another question had relation to the provision in the Insurance Bill by which an injured workman, if receiving 10s a week compensation, is debared from receiving any more from the insurance fund? Mr. Lansbury said he had called this a fraud upon the workmen, and in response to the charge, the workmen should see it was altered before the third reading.

It is not the idea of compelling a man who is out of employment to pay 7d per week towards the scheme conceived in Colney Hatch was the next question. "It is the maddest piece of legislation ever introduced into the House of Commons," declared Mr. Lansbury, "and I am prepared to go to the ball and debate it now, though it is very late" (laughter and cheers).

There followed a short speech in Welsh by the Rev. Silyn Roberts, M.A. (Blauau Festiniog), who urged the quarrymen to take full advantage of the classes in economics established for their benefit under the auspices of the Bangor University Colleges.

The vote of thanks was proposed by a member of the North Wales Quarrymen's Union.