

Volume 7

Section I

1913

to

1917

(fols. 1 - 392)

Lansbury
Coll.

to precede
fol. 1

Vol. 7

(fols. 1-148)

1913

Olive Tilford Dargan
of U.S.A. (see who's who in America,
1918-1919) The Charles gate

(2)

Boston, Mass

Jan 6th 1915

My dear Mr. Lauby:

It was
great comfort to have your letter
which Mary Fels sent me. I
seemed to me that the whole world
was suddenly stricken blind and
not one left to lead the way. To
learn that you were standing
firm and seeing true was like
new life in my veins. When

SLUMS AT WEALDSTONE
ADULT SUFFRAGE.

not die, and she sends you,
with her affectionate greeting
this message: "The courage
of the sword is mortal, but
eternal is the courage of
Truth." What you are facing
now might well daunt the
soul itself, but my faith
in you is one with my faith
in the final triumph of
human brotherhood. And
joy is in my heart that you
are on this earth.

the madness is over, the working
people of every nation will look
back and know at last how
they have been deceived. In
that day they will ask who have
been their friends - who kept
the vision - who held the
faith - and in that day
you will receive your reward.

My dear Miss Whitney thanks
you and Mrs. Lansbury for your
remembrance of her. You gave
her an interest that does

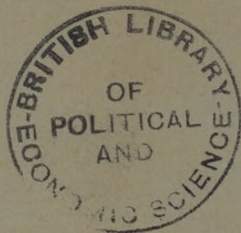
③

With love to you both. I am

with deepest sympathy

Yours

Olive Dargan

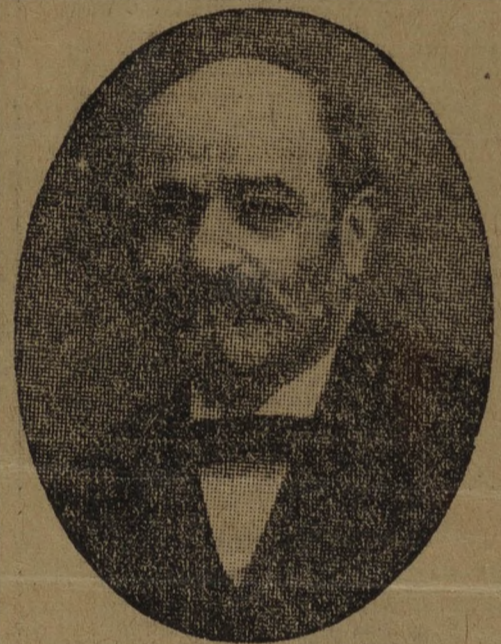


M449

FELS TO SPEAK ON SINGLE TAX

Renowned Advocate of New System Will Deliver Lecture Free to People.

Joseph Fels, founder of the Fels Fund of America and apostle of the single tax theory, will deliver a lecture on the favorite subject in the assembly hall of the Louisville Free Public Library, Fourth and York streets, tomorrow night at 8 o'clock. The lecture will be under the auspices of the Peo-



JOSEPH FELS, Founder of the Fels Fund and advocate of the single tax.

ple's Forum, an organization recently launched for the purpose of bringing to Louisville leading lecturers of the country for the discussion of matters of general public interest.

Mr. Fels is recognized as a leader in advanced theories on taxation, and has organized the Fels Fund for the purpose of promulgating his ideas throughout the country. He has delivered lectures in every State in the Union advocating the single tax, and has raised a large fund, not only from general contribution, but has himself been a donor of great magnitude.

Mr. Fels is a retired business man and delivers his lectures in the manner which the head of a large business institution would talk to department managers and employes in his establishment. The single tax theory does not contemplate a tax on real estate, for real estate includes improvements; nor does it contemplate a tax on land, for it would not tax all land but only that having a value irrespective of its improvements, and would tax that exactly in proportion to its value.

Mr. Fels would abolish all taxes save that on real estate and to abolish all of the tax on real estate which now falls on buildings or improvements, making the assessment merely against the bare land, or what is sometimes called "the unearned increment of land values."

Mr. Fels spoke in Louisville last year and is anticipating a large audience to meet him to-morrow night. The lecture will be free to the public.

BIRTHDAY SURPRISE

POLY
DIS

Meeti
anc

STAT

Legal
sitic

The F
technic
lic Libr
at 1 o'clock
the offic
in the l
arrange
members
Straus b
the soci
the Lou
may be
tution.

The m
Society,
seven, w
in all p
tate will
ble. Th
last mee
disband
usefulne
"Ther
society t
Crutcher
been ta
than p
istence.

"It is
entire m
ter of c
Louisvill
meeting
for the

In th
Head i
the fou
technic
Board
Free P
banding
whose n
ed. Th
Attorne
soon as

Messrs
deis, G.
Dr. Cha
tees on
appointe
Polytech
hold on
various
It is he
sentativ
techr
tomatic
the no
they r
were a
Capt
dent o
lives i
tees i

ed
TY,
C
C
C
C
C
S.
18c
35c
24c
2c
0c
5c
0c
0c
rich
le at
t fail
...67c
90c
35c
54s, 10c
Co.
ENTS
uise Wash-
aldeman,
ldeman,
Donald,
son, of
re,

SOCIALISTS AND SOCIALISM. (5)

By GEORGE LANSBURY. 93 Jan. 1913

The Editor has ordered me to join in the discussion on the attitude of Socialists towards Socialism raised by Cecil Chesterton.

I have no wish to be regarded as a leader in this matter; my whole attitude towards social questions rules me out for such a position. It has never appeared to me that I can be anything more than a learner. One's body grows old, but one strives to keep the mind young and active. Of all the people who are a nuisance to a cause it is particularly those who have, at some period of their lives, stopped thinking, and allowed their outlook on men and affairs to become stereotyped, instead of widening with the passage of years.

While I am not a leader, I am not a very faithful follower. In matters which are called religious I have accepted, and do still accept, some measure of authority. But in those matters which I see around me, I decline altogether to blindly follow the path "great" men please to map out for me.

In my judgment, the difficulties in the Socialist movement are due, in the main, to the fact that we have in it a number of very able men, each of whom poses as an infallible social and economic pope, with his own authoritative interpretation of the Holy Writ of Karl Marx. Each of these pontifical persons draws around himself a number of followers, all eager to prove that the adoption of their doctrine is the one way by which the workers can march to social salvation. We have but to read the Socialist papers to see how these groups love one another, and how bitterly they can assail, not doctrines, but persons. Even on doctrines it is quite bewildering to read the various Socialist publications, for quite often it is sufficient for one section of the movement to put forward a proposal to ensure its at once being violently attacked by the other sections.

Certain Broad Facts.

There are, however, certain broad facts, which I propose to state, to account for much of the confusion in our ranks; the confusion, deplorable as it is, of which this discussion is the fruit.

The tendency of modern legislation, however necessary or beneficial it may be, has been first of all to create a huge bureaucracy; and secondly, to create a feeling of dependency amongst great masses of the people. We have agitated for the feeding of school children. Yet none of us who have to do with the ad-

ministration of the Provision of Meals Act can help but deplore the harrying and worrying of the children (and the parents) who are brought within the jurisdiction of the Care Committees (and remember, the same kind of persons as compose these will compose the Health Committees under the Insurance Act). More deplorable still is the fact that many of the men and women who are responsible for this treatment of poor children are members, or ex-members, of Socialist bodies.

No wonder our appeal to the workers falls on deaf ears, when the same people who have preached revolution come, in the guise of State officials, to preach thrift on nothing a week. So, too, the man in the street recognises the one-time revolutionist in the Labour Exchange manager, who offers him a job to break a strike; and he also recognises the National Insurance officials, from D. J. Shackleton downwards, as those who have turned from the preaching of revolution to bringing it about—by the doling out of rare and refreshing fruit (rare to the worker, but refreshing to the official) in the cause of 9d. for 4d. Even such an Act as the Shop Hours Act has gobbled up hundreds of men in the same way. The result of this "splendid" seven years of Liberal legislation is that thousands of men have found social salvation for themselves — by a system under which the capitalist seeks to rivet more and more firmly the shackles of slavery upon the workers. And they get these jobs either as a reward for deserting their cause, or in return for their lending the colour of Labour to capitalist efforts at "reform."

A Sheer Illusion.

The argument that this kind of legislation can be best administered by Socialists is sheer illusion; for these men carry out the law just as thoroughly (which means just as harshly) as those who don't profess any "ism."

The effect of this on our movement is bad in every way. Men and women taken out in this way mean a loss to the movement, because, in my experience, it is the brightest and brainiest that are taken. The fighting force that is so necessary to us is diminished, and of those that are left the earnest ones have their enthusiasm damped down; and cupidity is stirred up amongst those with purely material motives for remaining in the movement. On those we wish to convert the effect is that they come to look on our movement as a job-hunting agency for the smooth-tongued young shavers (I don't say Sha-

STRAIGHT TALKS.

XVIII.—SHEER SYNDICALISM.

What does it matter to you whether you kick a Conservative or a Socialist?

Send 600 men to Westminster, and they are out of touch with Lancashire and Cornwall, with Wales and Portsmouth.

They become "leaders."

Deal with affairs locally, and you do more for yourself.

A few men can do their own work.

Many men have to appoint a few to do their work for them.

It is better, therefore, that localities should look after themselves and not get Westminster to look after them.

vians) whose superior opportunities for education have made them prominent.

The return of a man to Parliament, too, is looked upon as being a good thing for him. To have M.P. after one's name is at once to become a bigger draw at public meetings, and as a person of some importance, worth a salary and conditions of life considerably better than those working people would dream of asking for themselves. This in turn reacts upon the member. The continual treatment of such men as superior persons tends to make them believe that they are superior persons; and a system which makes the rank and file consider that a Trade Union official, or an M.P., should be better paid in that capacity than when working at his trade, is productive of grave evils. The standard of life which £400 a year represents is none too high, but the disquieting thing is that the men and women who find the money should perpetuate the notion that men of their class are worth £400 a year when they themselves exist on about an eighth of that sum.

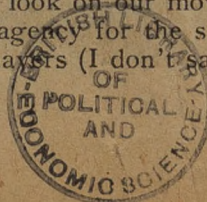
Belloc's Servile State.

I may be told that, having signed the Minority Report of the Poor Law Commission, I am responsible for some of the bureaucratic tendency of recent legislation. I have always denied that this is so; but I do not propose to argue that matter here, except to say that as far as I understand it—and I still think I understand it—the Minority Report proposals for dealing with Public Health, the Poor Law, and Workhouses, would have resulted, not in the creation of more officials, but the abolition of thousands.

(To be continued.)

Printed by THE VICTORIA HOUSE PRINTING Co., LTD., Tudor Street, London, E.C., for the Proprietors, THE DAILY HERALD PRINTING AND PUBLISHING SOCIETY, LTD., and Published by them at Victoria House, Tudor Street, London, E.C. Monday, January 13, 1913.

M449



little
for the Progressive Party in the experience through which the single-tax movement is going in this country.

As most of our readers probably know, the single-taxers have a tower of financial strength in Joseph Fels, the Philadelphia millionaire. For many years a generous donor to the cause, Mr. Fels decided two years ago to systematize his giving. He secured the appointment of a Joseph Fels Fund Commission, through which he contributes, dollar for dollar, an amount equal to that raised by single-taxers, for campaign purposes, in the states in which single-tax fights are going on.

This looked like good, sound policy as well as a decided "windfall" for the single-tax movement. But here is the candid review of the situation which the Joseph Fels Fund Commission has now sent out to the single-taxers of the country:

Several changes in the policy of the Joseph Fels Fund Commission were conceived at the Boston conference.

Joseph Fels renewed his offer to double all the money raised, but he limited the amount.

"I will match you dollar for dollar," he said—"up to \$2,000 a month. But," he added, "I shall not again put a dollar where no dollar has been raised." And he gave his reason: "I can see now that you can pauperize a democratic movement as easily as you can a people."

He has been doing more than he promised; much more. In the three years' existence of the fund Mr. Fels has given \$115,000, whereas "all other contributions" have amounted to only \$60,000. And he didn't mind this. What has hurt him and alarmed the commission is that "all other contributions" are falling off.

There has been a disposition to "let Fels do it."

This isn't fair, or fine. And it isn't democratic. But it is true, as is indicated by two observations.

In some places where local single-taxers were supporting healthfully their own fight till the fund appeared to help them, they ceased altogether to raise money afterward, either for themselves or the fund. It is right that the fighters in a cause should have the support of noncombatants, but it is wrong for them to become dependent. Hence the first change to be gradually established in the conduct of the fund:

Hereafter the commission will aim to do everywhere what it did in California; it will not furnish money absolutely, but will only match dollar for dollar the funds raised in a fighting state or city.

The other, more serious observation, is the gradual falling off in the contributions. If this continued we should realize Joseph Fels' fear—the pauperization by a rich man of the clearest, most fundamental, most intelligent democratic movement in the history of the world.

If the single-tax movement can be "pauperized," then any movement can be pauperized. Which is a reminder that the Progressives can hardly be too democratic in their methods of raising funds

careful ab

SOCIALISTS AND SOCIALISM.

Chic Post Jan 14 1913
WHERE "ANGELS" DO HARM.
Jan 14 1913

(Continued from yesterday.)

During the last year or two it has been borne in upon me more than ever that, unless we are quickly up and doing, Belloc's Servile State will be in full swing in the lifetime of many of us; and the slave-owners will have as their henchmen ex-Socialists and ex-Trade Unionists, ordering and controlling our lives on the plea that we are unable to manage ourselves.

It is, therefore, the duty of all those who hate capitalism, State and private, all those who believe in justice and liberty, to cease quarrelling about names and come together in an organised fashion to stir up the people to revolt against the wage system and all that it implies.

Let us put on one side the old idea of Government: a Cabinet that rules, chosen by a caucus that pays, be that caucus Liberal, Tory, Labour, or Socialist. We see how caucuses work now. Take the Conference just held on the Osborne Bill.

Stage-Managed by a Caucus.

The whole thing was stage-managed and controlled by a caucus representing, not merely the Trade Union official element, but the Parliamentary Party also. In fact, so astutely has Mr. J. R. MacDonald manipulated things, that the whole of the Labour movement dances to one tune whenever public action is to be taken on Labour questions.

In this sort of thing we have a fore-taste of what would happen if these same gentry held the reins of Parliamentary Government.

In the face of these facts, we have to ask ourselves whether it is wise to give so much power to members of our own class. We shall have to carry out reform of Parliament as laid down by Fred Jowett, and a good deal farther, before we can be sure that it is worth preserving. I have always, as a Socialist, believed that the workers must manage industry for themselves, and that, although the recently much-discussed Guild-Socialism is very attractive, Parliament should be a real National Assembly, representing all productive and distributive and social services, met to discuss ways and means of organising the resources of the country in the best possible fashion.

People Don't Need Governors.

We have to get into the minds of people that they don't need governors; governors are only needed by men who want privileges at the expense of others, by men who wish to hold the means of life

against others. We have got to arouse in them the fierce hatred, not of men, but of conditions, and show them that the only way out is by conscious effort on their own behalf; that the State cannot save individuals, but that individuals must co-operate to save themselves. Also, to arouse, first in ourselves, and in the minds of those with whom we come in contact, the kind of spirit that will make us realise that our lives are incomplete until our neighbour has the same opportunity of existence as we have.

In this wise: We all want to make war on Poverty; but think of the miserable fashion in which it is being waged! We are not demanding, we are not urging, the workers to demand anything like the same standard of life that we obtain for ourselves. The Brummagem slogan of "three acres and a cow" has been turned into the inspiring demand for—three rooms and a scullery! How many of the Fabians and I.L.P.ers who are taking the lead in this campaign would be content with this miserable standard of existence?

Stimulating to Demand.

I do not care much how people are to get things, but I care very much about stimulating them to demand things, for I know how necessary it is for mental and moral development to live amidst decent surroundings. Some of us have left urging the people to demand the world for the workers to urge them to demand something that approximates to the conditions of life in Portland Prison. I am quite prepared to see some of these people come out and demand a national minimum of a pint of skilly per diem. For the workers, of course, not for themselves. I have noticed that numbers of us, who have been crying in the market-place against the evils of private property, have done the best we can to acquire it, either in business, in Government, or municipal jobs, as Trade Union officials, or Members of Parliament. We denounce Christians for not practising what they preach, but we are often in the same boat, and the people don't accept our Jesuitical explanations.

It is because our ideal has been reduced to mere time-serving that we are where we are. Our great leaders send us messages, as one did the other day, telling us of the great things that will come to us this year, if we only follow him and his section of the movement. We know that sort of thing to be rubbish. Every man and woman who give that message a

moment's thought knows that this Parliament—the Parliament that refused miners 5s. a day—will do nothing of any worth. And those good people who are passing resolutions asking for the next Session to be devoted to social questions are crying for the moon. The Liberal Party has once more changed its outlook, and has drawn to itself the people who believe in Governments and governors, and who trust Asquith because they know he will do nothing to upset the equilibrium of the present system of slaves and slave-owners.

Face the Wilderness.

We, who are up against this, must take our courage in both hands and face the wilderness—not the wilderness of doubt and despair, but the wilderness of free air that will harden us and strengthen us as pioneers to the new land beyond. For myself, I want to be with those men and women who will go to the poor, will go to the destitute, and tell them they are sentient human beings, and that they should demand human conditions of existence; and that they cannot obtain those conditions while they consent to be the drudges of society, the hewers of wood and the drawers of water for the intellectual, the rich, and the idle classes.

I want to go with just this message: that humanity can only realise its full greatness when each of us is content to be the servant of the other; that the poor cannot obtain salvation except by both men and women working together, to rise or fall together; that the bane of life is that the poor do not yet understand that riches can only be got at the expense of labour, and that therefore those who labour must understand what brotherhood and co-operation really mean, and must desire no condition of life they are unwilling to share with others.

What we really have to teach is a new rendering of religion. We have to make each other understand it consists of doing as well as praying; and I don't care if, in teaching people these things, we are called Syndicalists or Socialists; the great thing is we should find our unity in work for our ideal, put the truth as it presents itself to us, agreeing on this fundamental point: that everything of worth is produced by labour, and that those of us who obtain things without labour obtain them from those who do. We must make Labour realise this, too, and rouse the common people to combine together with the determination to end the wrong of private property, and make the means of life accessible to all.

Printed by THE VICTORIA HOUSE PRINTING Co., LTD., Tudor Street, London, E.C., for the Proprietors, THE DAILY HERALD PRINTING AND PUBLISHING SOCIETY, LTD., and Published by them at Victoria House, Tudor Street, London, E.C. Tuesday, January 14, 1913.



the sheet
Daily Herald
1913
Jan. 17
even more soundly

A WORD TO THE LABOUR PARTY CAUCUS. (8)

B. ROBERT OWEN.

In the current "Socialist Review" the trumpeter of the Labour Caucus sets out the view of the gang on the result of the Lansbury Bye-Election. In course of time this view will be accepted by the faithful and such as are without bowels, and will be duly inscribed upon one of the tablets of the law: for there is but one God (in India), and his prophet is also a Caledonian.

The writer is an unconscious humorist. After wasting much time and ink to show that the election was futile and foolish, he says that the one tangible result was the loss of a safe Labour seat to the Tories! Assuming that the seat *was* a Labour seat, there are not lacking in Bow and elsewhere Socialists who would regard no election as entirely barren if it resulted in a similarly tangible manner!

But for the moment let us not dally over mere words nor enquire what constitutes a "safe Labour seat," for lower down it is written:

"Individualism makes for the destruction of the organised cohesion of the integral elements of democracy."

Where Lansbury Sinned.

"The integral elements of democracy"—i.e., Macdonald, Henderson, the Liberal Party, and the Cabinet's peace of mind! Thus we realise where Lansbury sinned. He transgressed against the "organised cohesion" of the Labour and Liberal parties! And when the word passed round, "Think the same things, say the same things, and hang together"—well, Lansbury thought differently, spoke differently, and in due course hung separately.

Now let the air be cleared of the official delusion that Bow and Bromley was a safe Labour seat. Had the seat been occupied by the usual timeservers it would have been safe enough, but no seat can be safe for anybody with ideas and a determination to put them into operation. Lansbury, knowing the local electorate through and through, might have condoned every Liberal iniquity against women and against the workers; he might have blessed the Insurance Act; he might have whitewashed Isaacs and Montagu; and he might have retained in reward therefore a comfortable armchair job at £400 a year and cheap dinners thrown in. He did none of these things, however, and local Liberals have their reward.

Let a Liberal Try.

Henderson's seat is safe; Macdonald's seat is safe. Both have theories of Labour representation, and that is all. Anything beyond a theory is dangerous. You are permitted to theorise about the reversal of the Osborne Judgment—until Asquith decides that you shall not have it, and then, "woe unto ye of little faith," for it is faith alone that will pull you through.

A final word to the Caucus! Send one of your timeservers to Bow and Bromley—a Liberal if you like! He might poll one or two of those fictitious "local" I.L.P.ers who protested so loudly during the election about their duty and their conscience, but never revealed either their names or addresses.

Mr. Austen Chamberlain has cancelled his engagement to speak at the Public Hall, Redditch, this evening.

Printed by THE VICTORIA HOUSE PRINTING Co., LTD., Tudor Street, London, E.C., for the Proprietors, THE DAILY HERALD PRINTING AND PUBLISHING SOCIETY, LTD., and Published by them at Victoria House, Tudor Street, London, E.C. Thursday, January 16, 1913.



George
T. M. O'Brien
with in up
Feb

National Liberal Club, (9)
S.W.

John Owen 14th Jan. 1913.

My dear Joe. (N.A., Glasgow)

I should have written you earlier, but the work has been heavier since the New Year. Things are going as well as you could wish. A big thing in social or economic reform takes a good deal of time to work out, & we are not likely to repeat some of the mistakes that have been made in the past.

I have had less time for going round to see friends than ever before. I should like to visit George Lansbury for one, but I never get away from the office until late, & this is likely to last for a few months. I hope Lansbury will get back to Parliament before long, as he was the homeliest man there.

You are likely to have some forward move in the States when Wilson comes into office. He seems to promise a measure

10

of Free Trade, if not of Taxation of
Land values. Well, we shall go a bit
forward on these lines here before many
years.

When do you return to England?
I don't know how the Single Tax
movement is progressing in different parts
of the States & Canada, but there will
be lively times in politics here again.
You get the Single Tax so easily in the
Colonies that you get no fun with it.
If it weren't for the landlords & Tories
generally, progress would be rather a
monotonous thing!

With kindest regards to Mary &
yourself.

Yours sincerely,
John C. C.

Memorandum.

11

Malesbury Rd School J. M. Dept.

Box

L.C.C. Electoral Area.

To Mr. Sausbury

21st Jan

1913

Dear Mr. Sausbury:

Accompanying
this note you will find a copy
of the "Borougher"

I feel sure you will be interested
to read the article by your
daughter Dorothy ^[Thurston] on her
"impressions of New York"

I trust Eric will be happy
in his new home and school
but you would be sad last
evening I know

With kindest regards

Yours sincerely
Maurice Walter Jones

Tom Donald

12

CONISTON,
HORNCHURCH,
ESSEX.

24 Jan'y 13

Dear Geo.

Enclose £5
of which Mr Allen 10/-
Mr Lewis £1. I had
been wondering if you
were going to have a
dinner and of course
so soon as I saw
the noble writing I
knew! I am glad
to say we are all well.
The boy started business
this year earns nothing
for 5 years so I shall

CONISTON
HORNCHURCH
ESSEX

have to keep on at it!

I took the liberty of
sending you some
pears in the summer
but did not put my
name in the box so as
to save you the trouble
of ack^g them - but I
hope they were rec^d -

I went to the Albert
Hall the foggy night
& was laid up for two
weeks - I don't care much
for your friends (G.B.S.)

attitude a bit. He is a
clever man but a bit
fogged - many plays
have made him - !

I had not heard you
speak for a long time
but you were the only
one heard in the park
of the ball in which I
sat. - Well kindest
regards to all
Yours

Tom Donnelly

Harris

9, Garville Road,

Rathgar,

Dublin.

30.1.13.

14

Dear Mrs Lansbury,

It was a rare
treat to see and hear your
brave man Tuesday evening
and didn't we stand up more
than once! Jim him a rapturous
welcome! I would never be tired
listening to him. I hope & trust
he won't be worn out before his time.
The strain is so great on him.
Alas, Miss Deborah Webb did

not see him here as she had hoped
to. Mrs Sheehy Skeffington had
arranged it, but my friend Miss W.
was suddenly prostrated by illness &
has been in bed since Saturday.
Her health is very frail, but her
strength for the Cause never fails.
We have lived together more than
twenty years. Today she wrote
to Mr. Lansbury under difficulty &
she has asked me to tell you so, &
you will make all allowance
for her under the circumstances.
I am now going to pack up the
bread platter from her to you
both.

15
and may I ask your acceptance
of some Irish Home gown & made
Pocket handkerchiefs? - for yourself.

Mrs. Sheehy Skeffington called
with little Owen today to say that
Mrs. Skeffington had gone to Yulla-
more road to see Mrs. Conroy,
Mrs. Conroy & Miss Hoskins -
What a vindictive sentence!
Hard labour and banishment "out
of humanity's reach."

In Mountjoy, Dublin, the
prisoners might see visitors & receive the
offerings that their friends delighted to
send them. Fruit, flowers, home made
cakes and good bread &c. &c.

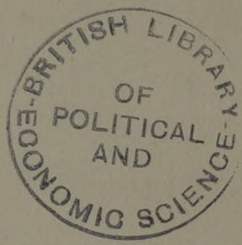
15

With best wishes for travel

Mr. Lambury & from Mrs. Lambury & children.

Very sincerely Yours.

Sarah Deavers Harris.



M449

^{Webb}
9 Gornille Rd. Dublin.

30. 1. '13

16

Dear Mr. Lonsbury,

I have forgotten,
but perhaps you know
who wrote the following
lines:—

" Whene'er is spoke a noble
thought,
Whene'er a noble deed is wrought,
Our hearts, in glad surprise,
To higher levels rise."

That was my experience
when I read of your passionate
arraignment of Mr. Asquith,
in Parliament, which you
sustained with such dignity,
and again on hearing of

Your honest recognition
of membership, for
rejection, if still, as
an advocate of women
suffrage.

Thank you a thousand
times for your champion-
ship, and for the en-
couragement and inspir-
ation it has been to many,
and thanks to Mrs.

Lambert, your faithful
creditor; and will
you both please accept
this piece of Irish work-
manship? My idea was
carried out by James Daly,
a poor cripple in the

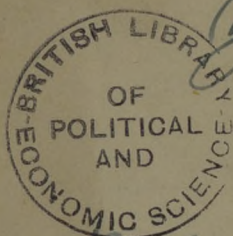
Dublin Hospital for Incurables,
who did the designing
and carving. The work
was especially congenial
to him, as he is staunch
for women's emancipation,
and had heard of you
and seen your portraits
in The Suffragette. He is
also an ardent Nationalist,
his father, a Fenian,
having died in prison,
at the time when Irish-
men were punished for
aspiring to freedom, and
Irishwomen are now punished.

I had hopes of seeing
you when you were in
Dublin, but was prevented by

¹⁷
illness. However my friend
Miss Harris had that
phaine, and I have
heard much about your
fine address, as well as
Mrs. Petrick-Lawrence's.

With hearty best
wishes for yourself and
family, I remain
Yours truly,

Sebnah Weble.



M449

P.S. I suppose you
have read Wordsworth's
poem, The Happy Warrior.
I did not know how ap-
propriate my reference to you as
such was when made; not till
afterwards when I reread the poem.

Joseph Fels

18

3640 CHESTNUT STREET
PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Feb. 10th, 1913.

George Lansbury, Esq.,
103 St. Stephens Road,
Bow, E, London, England.

My Dear George:--

Mollie has received your letters of the 16th and 23rd ult., and I am ashamed that I have taken all this time to get the little information I have dealing with your suggested trip to America. The other day I went over to New York and had a long talk with my friend and colleague, Frederick C. Howe, who is now the head of the People's Institute, which among other educational work is running a series of big meetings at Cooper Union and other gathering places for the masses. Howe is doing a great piece of work and is interesting various and sundry kinds of people. He tells me he is now hard at work getting in touch with several other public men, and he believes he can get up a series of "talks" which will warrant recommending you among others to come over and help in the job.

~~Women and the vote~~; ~~you mentioned~~ were noted down by Howe: "Labor and Politics"; "Socialism versus Syndicalism"; "Religion and Every-Day Life". These struck him as taking titles, but you can suggest others by and by.

Howe could not say what the pay would be, but it will largely depend on the number of cities that are willing to invite the speakers. I am sure it can be made self-sustaining, and the thing shouldn't bankrupt you or anyone else.

Until lately Mollie had an idea to go with me to Argentine, Paraguay and Uruguay, but the long trip would be too much for her. She will return to England from here some time next month with friends that are going across.

I have settled on sailing on the 22nd inst. by the Lamporte & Holt Line S.S. Visaria from New York for Buenos Ayres, and should land there in about 24 days, say March 18th, although I may stop en route at Montevideo, as the ship touches there. My only address for the present will be in care of Ramsey, Bellamy & Co., Buenos Ayres, Argentine, S.A.; they are a large machinery concern and have business connection with Harry Llewellyn Davies (brother of Crompton L. Davies) who lives at Dumfries and is now in South America. I will get through as quickly as I can down there, so as to return to England where important things are doing these days.

The new President promises well, I think. He wrote me in answer to a letter, inviting me to come and see him, but I shall write him that, knowing him to be too busy these days, I will take advantage of his invitation at a later time. I would like to learn first by his own acts what he amounts to.

Mollie will no doubt be writing you. Meanwhile we hope you are all jolly well and happy.

Much love
Yours
Joseph Fels

I expect
to hang out
at the Plaza Hotel
at Buenos Ayres

FEB. 14, 1913.

TH

THE 'HERALD'S' FUTURE.

Position Placed Before the Shareholders.

LANSBURY'S CALL FOR FUNDS.

A great meeting of the shareholders of the DAILY HERALD was held at the Memorial Hall, Farringdon-street, London, last night. The business was to consider the future of the HERALD, and the hall was filled with enthusiasts, who had an array of talent to talk to them.

Lansbury presided, and said the conveners of the meeting were sorry they had not been able to give longer notice of it. The HERALD had been in existence since April 15 last year. He was not going to enter into a history of its ups and downs, or its sins of omission and commission; but for ten months it had kept alive one of the liveliest papers the country had seen, and given to the workers' and women's movement the finest cartoonist ever seen here—Will Dyson. In 30 years' experience he had seen no movement so spontaneous as that of the League. We wanted Tillett to live, and therefore asked him to take a rest for a few weeks. In regard to Victor Grayson, he was seriously ill and physically unable to get up. With these two and friend Rean we had literally been from John O'Groats to Land's End. The DAILY HERALD had been cheered in Dublin. Except in Wales, every part of the British Isles had cheered the paper. Hundreds of helpers had assisted Rean in his work all over the country, and week by week the Executive Committee had planned out methods of procedure.

At the moment when the League was formed a sum of money was given us on the condition that we should maintain our own policy and not let ourselves be turned from it.

The End of the Money.

We had come to the end of that money. But to-day our paper was better than ever before; and we had more advertisements. Our circulation was steadily going up—"Bravo" and applause—and our returns were steadily going down.

We have lost and are losing money every week. It will take some months before we can pay our way.

We feel that the scheme we have before us will, if we have a chance, put the paper in such a position that we shall go steadily forward. We have never had money to spend on experiments or advertisements until we had this recent present of money.

We have a real fighting chance of living, and our paper stands better with the public than before.

But we are at the end of the money given us, and we have to tell you plump and plain that we want £11,000 and upwards. He saw they did not cheer at that. He had buried the paper time after time and seen it appear next morning. Promises or the actual cash to £11,000 were wanted. One friend had put up £2,000 out of that £11,000. He made only one condition—it was a very important one—provided that we put up £9,000 and put it up as he had done his money, with conditions that the paper retains the fighting policy of those at present in management—its shareholders and editorial staff. The meetings of the next few days ought to go far to raise that sum. Was it not possible for us in London and in the country to get this small amount? What is it we stand for?

The Policy.

Some people complain that the paper has not had a definite enough policy; others say it had gone too far one way or the other. He did not believe in a partisan party. Truth was many-sided, and no single set of people had it all. Freedom of expression without fear of what people say—Priests or politicians, Labour leaders or anyone else should not deny us the right to express truth as we saw it. The ordinary man and woman must make their voices heard. The great mass of people must establish Socialism: it could not be imposed on them.

Sacrifices had been made for the paper: the Leaguers' tumbled coppers week after week into our coffers. But we come to ask for more: he believed we would spend it more wisely than ever, because of our experience. This to glorify the great Labour movement.

He concluded with calling attention to Garibaldi's speech, in which he said: "I have nothing to give you—perhaps it's starvation if you follow me, or death—but it's liberty for Italy!" We want not political but social economic freedom, and for that we come to you so that our children may have what we only dream of to-day.

Mr. Naylor (London Society of Compositors) said he had predicted a meeting to declare a dividend, but this was not called for that purpose. There was no alternative to the continuance of the HERALD. It had died many times, but was the liveliest of corpses. It was never so strong as when it was nearly dead. No antagonism or flattery could now divert us from our course. Never was the working of the paper better organised than now.

If the DAILY HERALD is to be transformed so as to make it even more attractive to our supporters and to those who had not yet become our supporters, we must have £11,000, either in cash or well-meant promises. We wanted £11,000,000, but would take £11,000.

Transformations.

Future issues of the DAILY HERALD would show what transformations of the paper were expected. They did not want to tell the "Daily Mail" what they proposed. The general appearance of the paper was to be altered, but only one policy was possible for the paper. It would stand for independence of thought and action on all questions, political and economic. Dyson had not been nobbled by the capitalist, he would stand by the HERALD and refuse the inducements offered to him, in cash and otherwise. Ben Tillett on more than one occasion had saved the DAILY HERALD, and when it was suggested that after our struggles the DAILY HERALD would disappear from the scene, he had said: "No, if it goes, I go with it."

An official newspaper cannot represent the rank and file. Whatever happens, the DAILY HERALD will remain the DAILY HERALD, or the present directors will not be responsible for its direction.

Lansbury stated a promise of £200 had been handed up to him from a lady who had already contributed heavily to the paper, provided the rest of the money was subscribed. He then called upon Will Dyson, who was received by loud and long applause.

Dyson said he rose with diffidence to speak at a business meeting. He was capable of wrecking the Bank of England, if asked to do so. The demise of the DAILY HERALD would seem to him a national catastrophe. We usually associated national calamities with weightier matters—those associated with the diminishing of dividends. Its death would affect the class which we would not call the lower orders in their efforts to make themselves free men. All freedom without economic freedom was counterfeit coin.

Beyond and above class considerations, the world needed a vigorous, menacing and dangerous proletariat, such as would shock society into a healthier state. The class of Fat Men

held up to our youthful eyes the benefits of bloody war. The industrial, social and economic war we recommend is of much more benefit—to victors and to vanquished. The HERALD turned the virtues of the lamb into the vices of the lion. The DAILY HERALD and Socialism were out to destroy the ugliest thing in the world—the servility that makes the world what it is. Respectability manifested itself in the ranks of the Labour Party. The tone of the House affected them; its effects were seen beyond the House itself, owing to the fact that this tone was perhaps even more visible in the Fleet-street organ of the Labour Party than in the party itself, and for that reason we must fight it.

The People Can Speak.

The people of England could speak in the HERALD. He was pregnant with ideas that could only find expression in this paper, and for this reason he personally would regret the death of this disreputable rag. (Applause.)

Two promises of 10s. each, and one of £1, were announced during the collection.

Lansbury, in introducing Tillett, spoke of the brave way in which Tillett had faced all difficulties on the Board of the HERALD.

Ben Tillett said he loved the HERALD because it had given him a lot of trouble. Only a mean enemy would wish the paper to die. It had been critical, but not brutal. It was an organ of international importance. It was an expression of the voice of Labour the world over—to fight poverty and the Fat Man, fat in other than oleaginous ways, was its purpose. It could represent the Labour, Trade Union, and Socialist movements—with the rebel spirit, daring to say that every woman and man belonging to the lower order was queen and king, great in all the potentialities of humanity. They of our class are the real live factors that make for a nation's greatness. "Justice," the "Clarion," and even the "Labour Leader" were doing their own work, but the DAILY HERALD has its own specified work which no other paper can do. The paper was 'agin the government' (applause); as long as it lived it will be 'agin any government' unless it's our-

Late last night the "Herald" was informed by

Mr. Lansbury that a friend had promised £5,000, on condition that the balance of the required amount could be raised by Monday. So, with the £2,000 from the friend referred to at the meeting, the sum of £7,000 out of the necessary £11,000 is promised.

This will be heartening and stimulating news to other enthusiasts and subscribers.

...selves, and then it must be careful. We represent 15 million and another 15 million, the women, who are doing bravely the work of the world. This paper would be the eyes that would see all the misery and wickedness of the world, and a heart to feel the aspirations of the most distant lands and bring the peoples together. If the working classes read the DAILY HERALD as much as Cabinet Ministers we should want a 20 million issue.

The chairman announced promises from many persons amounting to £80, and said that the collection amounted to £13 9s. 6d. Bow and Bromley branch of the League had got £2 profits from a dance. A taxi-driver promised 10s. out of his first week's wages, having just started work again. A B.S.P. in Barrow-in-Furness, quite a boy, yesterday told him he was sending up a little every week and collecting from some people to whom it was a real sacrifice. It would be awful to him if the paper died after all the sacrifices that had been made for it.

Mr. Lapworth said the DAILY HERALD would not die. He felt the responsibility of keeping a paper going when such sacrifices were made for it. But he felt that those who put money into the paper had had value for money. It had put a fighting spirit into the working-class movement.

"Herald's" Gain in Talent.

He announced that Edward Carpenter was going to write for the paper. He had further to announce that G. K. Chesterton was going to chuck his job on the "Daily News," and write for the DAILY HERALD. (Applause.)

We were now spending £250 a week less than we were spending last July.

To-day ours was the only paper which gave freedom to those who wrote and drew.

The paper started with £300. The staff of the paper was perfectly class-conscious. A Labour Party should be a free and independent party. The paper would be an open platform, but for principles, not personalities. Tailoresses work from 8 to 8. Is that the kind of life we want to live? We are out to break laws and kill the servile respect for laws. The superior Socialist person said scornful things about the women, but if we had a tithe of the spirit of the women all would be better. Prominent politicians did not ask our permission before getting drunk; why should we have to ask their permission? Neither I.L.P., Syndicalism, B.S.P. or anything else would be written on our pages; but we would break up the spirit of servility. It's better to die fighting than starving. (Applause.)

Organiser Rean said the DAILY HERALD League had given him the greatest surprise of his life. Three thousand people came through a snow-storm in Glasgow to hear the speakers at a League meeting. He was the son of a man who spent three winters in the Arctic regions in search of Franklin. He loved the spirit of such men; but the same spirit could be seen in the fight for the HERALD. Tom Mann was ready to sweep the Welsh people together to help us. He would die with the DAILY HERALD; it was the culmination of what he had humbly worked for. Go forth, then, and say everywhere: "The life or death of the HERALD would reflect credit or shame on the English." It must live to alter the England we love, but wish to see altered. (Applause.)

A friend in the hall offered 5s. for one of the posters containing a cartoon of Dyson's. It was moved that a letter of sympathy with Grayson, hoping for his rapid recovery, be sent to him. In conclusion, the chairman announced that Mr. Harry Harben, who gave up his candidature as a Liberal on account of the Party's attitude towards the Women's Movement, had joined the Board; also Robert Williams, of the Transport Workers; further, J. C. Gordon, of the Tinsmiths' Union, one of the original members of the Board, had also rejoined.

Woman's Tangible Appreciation.

"A yet voteless woman," who could not get to the meeting, owing to a cold, forwarded a cheque for five guineas, in appreciation of the HERALD's aid to the women's cause.

WELL-KNOWN SUFFRAGISTS ARRESTED.

Miss Daisy Lansbury, Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, and Miss Emerson, were arrested in Bow late last night, while engaged in a Suffrage propaganda tour.

There was a great deal of excitement and trouble in the locality. The ladies were bailed out by Mr. Lansbury.

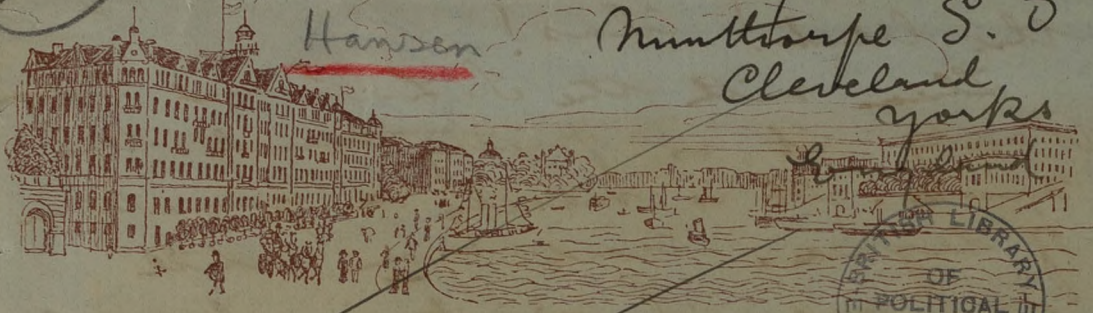
In the House of Commons last night another protest against the treatment of women was made by a stranger, who was summarily ejected.

SPOILT BY THE CROSS.

When George Ravenhill, who won the Victoria Cross at Colenso, was charged with begging at Canterbury yesterday, an officer from his old regiment said that winning the Cross had absolutely spoiled Ravenhill, who had already forfeited the annuity of ten pounds which accompanied the Cross.

20

Mrs. Frederick Red Cottage
Hansen
Muntthorpe S. D
Cleveland
yorks



GRAND HOTEL & GRAND HOTEL ROYAL
M449

Stockholm den Monday Feb 17 1891 3

Dear Mr. Lansbury

Your letter to the Branch re Woman's Suffrage has been forwarded to me here; and I will return it in time for the next branch meeting, which I shall just miss. We only return to England in the first week in March.

Your letter is a good one and cheers me up a little.

I've been feeling pretty bad of late. When we arrived in Hamburg we got the definite news of the

21

breakdown. I was round the Treasury the day of the working woman's deputation to Lloyd George and we left London the next day.

One grows pretty sick of it all. It is so very disgustingly blatantly insincere. Such "thumping lies" surely it is only possible for men to tell women! Women could not lie so unblushingly by themselves though I frankly admit they can lie.

What worries me a great deal is the general feeling of hopelessness in the labour world as ^{well as} in the suffrage.

Some of us who don't mind fighting at all, do get a bit so much of it all when we realise how indifferent to the real things, so many ^{are} will

Here am I, now in the thick
of the Swedish Suffragiate
and Miss Bergman, the
vice president of the party here
calmly told me last night
that the conditions under which
women work here in Stockholm
did not interest her at all.

All she cared about was
the political position etc.

Wild horses can't drive
into her head that politics
must not be divorced from
daily life - that if they are,
women must bring about
a re-union. I could not
bowl for a vote merely
because I had not got one.

Yet that is frankly what
a mass of women are doing.

They don't care a tinker's
curse about what they can
do with it, and will promptly
go to sleep again as soon

must one work and hope for
the best! Alas!

Then with the S. L. P and Labour
Party it is pretty much the
same. It is merely a question
of degree. And you still
see me. I wait in hourly
dread to see it reported that
George Lansbury has resigned
from the S. L. P and is
going to run a little show
all his own. Anything can
happen these troublous days
and wiser men than you are
have made horrible blunders.

I think the whole socialist
world is in a sort of ferment.

We spent a very interesting
evening with Carl Lindhagen
the socialist Burgomaster
of Stockholm. He reports
just the same trouble in
his party. But he appears
to have got to the pitch
where he goes on protesting
and exposing a mob

Mrs. Frederick Hansen

17 Feb. 1913

of his, who ^{tries} to make his life a misery, ^{until he} is rewarded from time to time by the rank and file supporting him through thick and thin.

Lu Jack Lindhagen has the reputation of being always the pioneer of a reform in the Swedish Parliament and when it has become the fashion to support it, he always goes one further. He did splendid work for the women. The government took up their bill, so now he feels he can breathe and pay more attention to other things. Some members of his party hate him like poison.

Apparently life must continue to be one long quarrel with most of us.

Please don't be badgered into leaving the S. L. P. There is not any other

I grant they may lie as reasonable on some things, but for all-round reason - you would find it short of the celestial regions even if you find it there, which is doubtful.

I am still simmering with anger at your resignation of your seat. What a howling how you could have made over the withdrawal of the Bill and the Speaker's ruling. Alas! Alas.

I've been having a little lively correspondence with Francis Johnson on ~~the~~ behalf of our branch who sent up a resolution for annual conference which he appears to think will fail to get put on the agenda because only a large minority voted for it at the divisional conference. He promises to put it before

committee.

We are all at sixes and sevens, and that is the truth. Heaven only knows how it will work out!

Perhaps we had all better take to ourselves the advice of the parliamentary potentate who recommended us to "Wait and see".

"Don't be silly" and "Wait and see" have become historic phrases have not they!

I've got to address a public meeting here tomorrow night and therefore my soul is not at peace. Why do people want other people to talk at meetings?!

so senseless. They can all find out for themselves all about everything - just as I've had to do.

Why can't we all be allowed to hold our tongues? So much harm is done by talking.

Give my love to your wife and tell her to do my talking for me. I'm sure she could do it better.

With friendly greetings
to you
Sincerely
Marion Coates Hansen

191

Stockholm den

GRAND HOTEL & GRAND HOTEL ROYAL



Lansbury's Children.

BOW WINDOW-BREAKING OUTBURST.

Severe Sentences on Suffragists.

Zelie Emerson, aged 26, an American subject, of 19, Southampton-buildings, Chancery-lane, was charged at the Thames Police Court yesterday with committing wilful damage to the extent of £2 8s. to a window belonging to the Liberal Association, Bow-road.

Mr. Saunders, who prosecuted on behalf of the Commissioner of Police, said after a meeting of the Women's Political Union, Detective Foster heard a smashing of glass at the offices and saw defendant in the front garden. She threw a stone at the window and broke it. In the front garden was a handkerchief in which were three stones.

Defendant said last Thursday night she had to complain about the police when arrested, but on this occasion they were much better.

Mr. Dickinson sentenced her to two months' hard labour.

Eva Watson, aged 38, dressmaker, of 321, Roman-road; Annie Lansbury, aged 30, home worker, of 35, Athelstan-road, Bow; Sylvia Pankhurst, 28, artist, of Cambridge Studios, Notting Hill Gate; and Alice Moor, 22, married, of 9, Athelstan-road, Bow, were charged with being concerned together in maliciously damaging a window valued at £3 10s., the property of Charles Selby, undertaker, of 146, Bow-road.

Another Window.

In this charge, Mr. Saunders said the window was broken in similar circumstances. Inspector Beaton said after the meeting in the Bow-road. Miss Pankhurst joined the other defendants at the corner of Bow-road, and all four threw stones at 146, Bow-road. Two stones went through the window. He arrested Miss Pankhurst, who endeavoured to throw herself to the ground, and struggled. The other defendants were also arrested.

At the station Miss Pankhurst said: "I have a few more here; take them." Then she took three stones from her pocket, and added: "There is no doubt about it this time; if I missed last time."

In reply to Miss Pankhurst, the inspector said the crowd was not hostile to the women. Mrs. Watson said the damage was not done maliciously, but politically.

Mr. Leicester: That does not make it less malicious.

Miss Pankhurst said a few days ago someone paid her fine against her wish, so she came again. If they could get a state of turbulence in the East End and other parts they would get the vote. She would again do the hunger strike.

Riff-Raff!

Mr. Leicester sentenced her to two months' hard labour, saying if she liked to behave like common riff-raff she must be treated as such. The other defendants were each sentenced to a month's hard labour.

William Arthur Lansbury, son of Mr. George Lansbury, was sentenced to two months' hard labour for wilfully smashing a window at Bromley Town Hall. The damage done amounted to £3 10s. The defendant said he had broken a window, and would continue to break windows in order to compel the Government to take action in regard to the poor and woman's rights.

SCENES. (25)



WILLIAM ARTHUR LANSBURY, son of George Lansbury, who was sentenced, yesterday, for a window-breaking protest at Bow. (See page 7.)

THE BOW SCENES.

25

19 Feb. 1913



WILLIAM ARTHUR LANSBURY, son of George Lansbury, who was sentenced, yesterday, for a window-breaking protest at Bow. (See page 7.)



Home Office

Home Office

Whitehall,

S.W.

(26)

19th February, 1913.

Dear Sir,

I forwarded to Mr. McKenna last night your letter relating to the cases of your ^{Annie} daughter, Mrs. Watson and Mrs. Moore, who were sentenced at Thames Police Court yesterday to one month's imprisonment with hard labour for window-breaking, and to the case of your ^{Wm. Arthur} son who was sentenced to two months' imprisonment with hard labour for a similar offence.

Mr. McKenna now desires me to inform you that, in view of the circumstances of the cases, the hard labour will be remitted, and that, so long as the prisoners conduct themselves properly, they will be allowed the privileges of Rule 243A.

With regard to your request for particulars of the rules relating to letters and visits, I am to say that prisoners who have the privileges of Rule 243A are allowed

David C. Lamb
(1866—)

28



Telegraphic Address,
"SALVATION, LONDON."

Any communication respecting
this letter should be addressed to
the Foreign Secretary.

59134

The Salvation Army.

FOREIGN OFFICE, INTERNATIONAL HEAD QUARTERS.

101, QUEEN VICTORIA STREET,
LONDON, E.C.

Private

19th February 1913.

Dear Friend Lansbury,

I feel my heart goes out to you and yours at this time. God bless you and help you. What a terrible struggle and trial it must all be to you - and these dear children. I can understand the deep feelings of revolt against existing conditions. I have been through it all.

The action of the children may appear madness - a wild protest which actually produces nothing. That is not the question which troubles me at present. I think of them and you and their mother - and then of their future and of what lies close to their heart, and which prompted their recent action. May Christ - the Master - be near to them and you. I can say no more.

In deep and true sympathy.

Believe me,

Yours sincerely,

David C. Lamb

Commissioner.

George Lansbury, Esq.
Bow.

Barbara Tchaykovsky

(29)

23.ii.13

Harlow.

Dear Mrs. Lansbury I must just send you a
line of very heartfelt thanks for coming
out to us.

I don't think Harlow has had such an earnest
talk to for a very long time - & your words will
sink in & make their mark.

I hear we have 5 new members & we
got £1 for the kiddies + 30/- odd for
general expenses - Really a record collection!!

Yr. Tchaykovsky.

Ernest

Thurtle

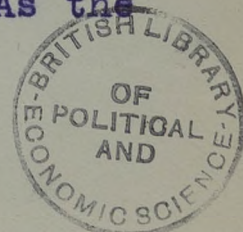
21/3/13.

30

to
Dear Mrs, Lansbury,

Your letter has just arrived, and it has impressed us both as being a wee bit doleful in tone. Dolly is so much imbued with this idea that not content with hastening to write a reply herself she also wants to press me into service. I protest that I've left my fountain pen at the office, whereupon she directs me to the rickety typewriter we have on hire. Then I object that I've nothing to say, and she says I'm to say anything so long as it is cheerful. What am I to do in the face of this persistent henpeckery but at least make a show of obedience.

I'm willing enough to say something cheerful if I only knew what it should be. The plain truth is - it is Good Friday and I must tell the truth- that I suspect you are not nearly so much in need of cheering up as we imagine. It is not cheerful to be left alone, I know, and of course Mr. Lansbury is a wandering agitator par excellence, but I fancy you are rather glad of it, when you think of how he does agitate and what he agitates for. I think there is always compensation for separations in the increased joy people have when they are together. Dolly's new work makes it impossible for us to have lunch together as we did formerly, and she informs me that on the whole it is a very good thing, as we shall get tired of each other less quickly. As the



Yankees would put it, she is "some" philosopher!

By this time you will have one of your gaol birds out of the cage, and the other won't have much longer to stay. I expect they found the time long enough and very dreary. It is hard to see how it will all end. Just ~~now~~ it looks as though the different martyrdoms will all be in vain.

Dolly strongly suspects you, from some hint you gave her in a letter some time ago, of going back on your promise to come over the water next autumn to see us and America. Please don't do that. You will enjoy the trip immensely I'm sure and make Dolly half wild with delight to have you with her. I'm all right as a makeshift, as a kind of every day companion, but I can see myself dropping back into a very insignificant role when you and Dolly's dad come over. And I shall be well content. So do come.

Much love,

Yours sincerely,

Ernest

(31)

Evelyn Sharp

Mrs. TELEPHONE,
1783 WESTERN.

H. Nevins

15, MOUNT CARMEL CHAMBERS,
DUKE'S LANE, KENSINGTON, W.

April 17, 1913.

Dear Mr. Lamsburg,

Just a word of

good cheer to you: And I

wish you all luck in your

fight, which is our fight, and

the best fight that was ever

put up in this country or any

other. At all events, it is
the only thing that keeps me from
despairing of our country at
the present moment. If they
put men into prison (like
you), and men like McKenna
& Asquith into the Cabinet, it
is about time they took

women into their counsels
and acquired a sense of
proportion:

Wishing you all luck,

Yours very sincerely

Evelyn Sharp

Pension Belle-Rive
Thonon-les-Bains
Haute-Savoie

Henry D. Harben

France May 6th

[1913]

21

My dear Laubsatz, I am glad to see that you only got 3 mos. that you have appealed. Up to now we have had no news of Trafalgar square; but that seemed arrive to-day. Let me know if you have any difficulty about bail, or if for any other reason, I ought to come back. I don't much want to, as I may be arrested. My wife purchased the printer of the Saffrage etc - I have written to our local Board of Health their papers, denying the right of any civil, military, or religious power to prevent us ~~from~~ ^{from} our meeting how we like, - assuming

That we are renewing our sub. to the
W.S.P.V. So we have every reason for
remaining here till July, if possible; one
may as well have a good holiday, if one
is in for trouble. Don't worry - it
is a gambler's throw that McKenna
is making - & it is not likely to win.
There will have to be more gambling, &
that will become my misfortune. Any
thing may happen before your Appeal
comes off - if you do have to do 3
months, it will be endear you more
to thousands of people. I am
wondering whether I shall be as written
in the Herald, as it is on its new
basis. I would rather be free;
but I leave that entirely to others to
decide - as I don't want to run away.

and it takes a lot of time if we
properly; if we don't, I don't think we
could remain on the board. ... I am
now, as I am immersed in a book I
am scribbling on the Land Question.
Best wishes, & best of good will from
A. J. P. M. } - in the faith

Henry S. Harben

Ben Tillett

(1860 - 1943)

425 Mile End Road, E. 9-5-13.

35

Dear George;

I think the womenfolk are splendid. It is indeed good to know women like these live-if only for the sake of the race.

I find a real sympathy being diverted to the "Suffragettes" and that ought to be the means of giving the "Hooligans" a real fight in the near future.

I am full up with work as you may well guess; but I am going to have a hand in the "Free-Speech" fight.

I felt for you and the courage as well as the splendid spiritual quality of your fight. I am all the prouder to know you are making a fight of it and shall be glad to think that you will be able to win out. Your example has done so much for the movement, that you ought to feel glad as well as proud although one counts the cost, it is good to know what a ~~dxax~~ strong man can.

But there is fighting to be done and we shall have to make the best of the fight in the near future.

Best of luck Mate and the best of love to you and yours.

Sincerely, your Comrade,

Ben Tillett.

Daily Herald League
Westminster Branch

(36)



33 Marsham St.
Westminster
May 18th 1913

Dear Mr. Lansbury

The Westminster Branch of the Daily Herald League is giving a Social and Dance in the Council Chamber of the Carlton Hall on Saturday, May 24th from 7 - 11.30. The great event of the evening is to be the formal presentation of the banner to the Branch, the first the League has ever had, and I am writing on behalf of all our members to beg you to give us the great pride and joy of receiving the banner from your hands! We have ~~all~~ been working very hard for our first social and if you could possibly come it would not only be a very great pleasure to all of us but would ensure the success of the evening and give our little struggling Branch a good "lift-up"! It would only be quite a short ceremony and we would not, of course, expect a long speech, but a few words from you on giving the banner would be most encouraging.

Dartford Herald League:
Westminster Branch

(37)



10 May 1913

Mr. Bean has promised to come
and we are also asking Mr. Dapworth &
Bill Dyer to look in on us for the
presentation ceremony which we thought of
having at 8.30, but of course we
would alter this to any time you liked.
We would be very honoured if Mr. Dandley
and all your family would come
and if you would let us know we
would send complimentary tickets.

With love from your fellow-rebels in Westminster
Celia Beatrice Fry

P.S. The banner has been designed & is being
made by two of our members.
May we hear from you as soon as possible
so as to be able to advertise our evening
well!

Lady Petrick Lawrence

38

ENTRANCE, 3 & 4, CLEMENTS INN.
TELEPHONE: 1314 HOLBORN.
TELEGRAMS: "PETHLAWRO, LONDON."

87, CLEMENTS INN,
W.C.

May 14. 1913

my dear Mrs. Lausbury.

The country is looking so
lovely just now in the freshness
of its blossom & leafage.

My husband & I are going
down from London in the
car to our cottage in the
country and we should

be so very very happy if
you & Mr. Lausbury could
come with us & spend a
quiet Sunday -

The Car will call for us
on Saturday morning
about 10 o'clock ✓ ~~to~~

Could pick you up on
the way - if that would
suit you. I hope so much

that you can come
to warmest greeting.

Emmeline Pettuck Lawrence

8 Salisbury Terrace

(40)

Hawthorn St

Eliza Gill

(cousin to Bessie L.) Kott^m

My dear Cousin [post-14 May 1813; post-30 July 1813]

I cannot tell you in words, how indignant we all are at the Undictive treatment of poor old George. We thought it hard enough on the children but they did have youth on their side, but in spite of our indignation we cannot but be proud to think that one belonging to us Dares to Speak and Do.

— Should be glad Bessie

if you or one of the children
could let me know in what
division he is placed and
if he can receive any letters
if so, if they are opened
before he gets them

I have done nothing
but think of you at
home, but I do know, your
hearts & souls are in the
Cause. & that will help
you to bear up, altho
it is hard for one to
suffer for the sake of
doing their best & using
their energy for the wel-
fare of ~~the~~ those that are
unable to help themselves

Do write as soon as you get this that
we may know what treatment he is
undergoing.

With fondest love to you and
children

From your loving Cousin
Elijah Gell

Bessie, little did we think when we used
to set up waiting at Edmonton ^{for George coming home.} that this was
going to take place.

60 Oakley Square

J. Murphy

N.M.

Dear Mr. Lambton [Post 14 May 1873]

Please permit me to congratulate you as I cannot get in touch with your worthy & splendid husband, on his march on in this matter as in all other matters he puts his hand to. My sympathy for you & yours as I am sure does that of thousands of people, he of course will not serve the time, but he is not the man to finish at that. I write thousands

more am our. to keep
 the course which is dear
 to your heart and, ^{before the public} I claim
 the privilege of calling him
 friend though I have never
 spoken to him, but when I
 hear him speak (I would so any
 distance to be as here) or read
 anything he has to say, a thrill
 runs through me. I am
 quite sure you agree
 in what he has done, may
 you get comfort from your
 children who are "beeps of
 the good old block"

Your Very Sincerely
 J. Murphy

P.S. Please do not trouble to answer this

THE CHURCH SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

Public Meeting in Coventry.

REPLY TO CANON BAILLIE.

Concluding a successful annual conference in Coventry, the Church Socialist League held a largely attended public meeting on Wednesday evening in St. Mary's Hall as a form of demonstration of their movement. The chair was taken by Mr. George Lansbury, who at the opening of the proceedings said he wished as publicly as possible to express the very profound regret of every one of them that their good friend the Rev. G. K. Ten Bruggenkate was no longer with them. They all deplored his loss very much indeed, because he was one of the younger clergy who threw themselves heart and soul into the movement they were there to represent, and they all regretted him very keenly indeed. That regret was tempered by the knowledge that there were young men and young women still in Coventry and other parts of the country whom he influenced and who had a very great respect for him and love for his memory. He hoped that they might be imbued with his example and that they would try to show their appreciation of all that Mr. Bruggenkate tried to do by doing their best to follow in his footsteps.

PRINCIPLES AND IDEALS.

The Rev. W. C. Roberts, rector of Crick, was the first speaker. He said there was very strong hope that large numbers of Churchpeople in Coventry would soon find themselves within the Church Socialist League. He had in his mind some words which were written by Canon Baillie to the Rev. P. E. T. Widdington, and read the previous evening. Canon Baillie said that "the ideals of the League so far as they could be defined were ideals on which all Churchpeople were agreed." He understood that Canon Baillie represented the ordinary tendency of Church opinion in this place. Canon Baillie went on to say in his letter that he disapproved of their methods. But they did not commit anybody who joined the League to any method at all. Methods they did not expect to be unanimous on, and they should not venture to take the name of the Church on of God merely in support of methods or tactics. It was precisely because they believed, as Canon Baillie believed, that the principles and ideals for which they stood were principles and ideals which, fairly put before honest Churchpeople must secure their adherence. It was because they had that belief that they came into public at all. Plainly Canon Baillie had misconceptions of Socialism in his mind, and probably other Churchpeople had similar misconceptions also. The League was not a political institution at all. It was not a League organised to support the Labour party or any imaginable Socialist political party that ever might exist in this country. It was not, for instance, like another organisation that so far as he knew still existed. There was, or had been, an organisation called the Church of England Liberal and Progressive League. That consisted of members of the Church who were prepared to support the Liberal party. Well, the League was not like that; it was not the least bit like that. They were not going to tie themselves to the tail of any set of politicians—hear, hear!—however enlightened or admirable they might be. As individuals they might or might not support them in their private capacity, but as a League they had nothing to do with caucuses or political parties. There were those who thought the League was apt to encourage people who called themselves materialists; that they encouraged people to think only of external conditions of comfort and security and to ignore the inward life. That again, of course, was a misconception. They as much as any other Christians asserted that under any circumstances goodness and virtue was possible, and should be asked for, but what they wished to arouse the Church to was how heavily weighted against goodness and virtue of any kind the circumstances of the lives of great numbers of people were, and that these circumstances could be altered, and must in the light of God's justice be altered through the direct and explicit efforts of God's Church. (Applause.) He did not know how it was in Coventry, but in the more thinly populated places it was certainly the case that they get a large proportion of Churchpeople coming taking for themselves the circumstances of life in—well they found themselves were scholars—and given to them by God. There was

The rich man in his castle,
The poor man at his gate,
God made them high and lowly,
And made their fortunes differ.

...nevertheless go to get every Christian to recognise that this was a lie. (Applause.) They did not recognise it now, neither the poor man at the gate nor the rich man at the castle; they believed it. The League had to point out that though the earth was the Lord's and all that was therein, that the distribution of everything in the world was, by God's ordinance, entirely given over into human control, and that we were responsible for the distribution and the ordering of the material things in the world.

CHRISTIAN CHURCH AND SOCIETY.

Mrs. Donaldson, who followed, said in the course of a spirited address, the work of the League was to re-teach the relation of the Christian Church to society. The Church was concerned with the whole of human life, social, individual, material, and spiritual. One of their most scholarly members said recently that of all paradoxes the most startling remained that all the Christian churches, institutions almost invariably possessed doctrines and principles which would revolutionise the world. It was pathetic to note with what surprise and gratitude the very mildest amount of speaking out by Church dignitaries in times of great industrial strife or social agitation was received. They saw great headlines in the papers, "Bold utterance by the Bishop of so and so," "Daring speech by the Dean of ditto," "Startling suggestions by Canon someone." (Laughter.) It was thus quite obvious that these men were thought to be speaking in despite of their Church and showing great courage in scattering a miserable few grains of the salt with which they as a Church should be salting the earth. (Hear, hear.) One Church dignitary said the other day "by setting the supreme value not upon men's bodies but upon their souls. Christianity is naturally a great democratic force, and the belief that all souls are of equal value in God's sight has proved the foundation stone of modern democracy." Here was the old scribes eating assunder the soul and the body. You could just have a democratic soul and an aristocratic or plutocratic body. (Laughter.)

REV. CONRAD NOEL AND COVENTRY CHURCHES.

The Rev. Conrad Noel, Vicar of Thaxted, in the course of his speech, said he did not believe that religion had honestly much to do with daily life in Coventry. (Applause.) He had been looking round the churches that day, and there was a sort of feeling about them that he did not like. In a little country town that he had acquaintance of the religion the people believed had to do with their daily life; it went well with their daily life, but it was not the religion of Christ. The religion of the countryside was a sort of moderation with a want of enthusiasm, a want of courage, a selfishness in spiritual affairs, and a sort of joy in being anti-missionary. They were absolutely united in hating any missionary work to bring people into God's house and service. His first trouble when he went there he found a huge church he was appointed minister to, with room to suit heaps and heaps of people. Yet if anybody came into the church and unknowingly took a seat that belonged to somebody else—they had not paid for it, but it belonged to them, he did not know why—it gave them the greatest possible satisfaction and joy to say the seat was theirs and in turning the stranger out. Their religion was that they were going to have a special and separate and roomy seat in heaven, and therefore they delighted to have a special and separate and roomy seat in the place on earth. Their horror was to see someone come into church and join them, a Christian congregation, whose face they did not know. He might be a "foreigner," he might come from the nearest village. Horrible thought! That was their religion, and he was not sure that there was not just the least spice of that religion in Coventry. (Applause.) The kind of god worshipped by that selfish kind of person was not a god at all, but a devil, really. (Hear, hear.)

RELIGION AND EVERYDAY LIFE.

Mr. Lansbury asked his hearers what earthly difference the religion of each one of them individually had made in his actual business working-day relationships with his fellowmen and fellow-women? If they were honest, they men at least, they would know perfectly well that their religion had all been spiritualised, and had not been brought down to everyday life at all. The religion as expressed through the churches and chapels to-day meant nothing at all to the ordinary men and women of to-day in their everyday lives. (Hear, hear.) The last ten years were the biggest ten years he had lived through, because the ordinary common people were waking up. (Applause.) They were waking up to a realisation of the fact that their interests were identical one with the other. They were waking up to a view of the solidarity of life that few people had dreamed of. It was for the Christians of this country for the Christians of Christendom to come in now and take a lead in that movement, to go amongst the poor and the workers not to further enslave them as some churches did, but to go amongst them to help that spirit of revolt against present day conditions; to help that spirit which taught men and women that they should band themselves together as brothers and sisters. And it was for Christians to do it because they were told centuries ago by the greatest teacher that the world had ever seen, that the thing we all had to do was to serve one another.

post G 15 May 1913 (45)

MRS. PANKHURST MAKES

Missing From Her Flat Since Her Visit to the Pavilion.

SYLVIA'S SLEEP STRIKE.

The King and the Suffrage Petition Incident.

Mrs. Pankhurst has disappeared since her dramatic visit to the suffragist meeting at the London Pavilion.

She has not been seen at her flat in Little Smith-street, Westminster, since she left in the W.S.P.U. motor for the Pavilion on Monday afternoon.

A prominent member of the Union yesterday refused to divulge Mrs. Pankhurst's present address, but repeated the leader's promise that she would attend another suffragist gathering at the London Pavilion next week.

It appears unlikely, in view of the attitude which she has recently adopted, that Mrs. Pankhurst is making any attempt to evade re-arrest. Owing to the precarious state of her health it is thought that she has left London to recuperate.

"IF THE LAW WERE STRETCHED."

The companion of the suffragist in nurse's uniform who tried to present a petition against the "Cat and Mouse" Act to the King at Chichester on Monday has written to the *Daily Sketch* giving her own story of the incident. She says:—

Sir.—You may be interested to know details as to the presentation of a petition to the King which took place yesterday at Chichester.

Nurse Gifford and I left for Chichester by an early train and arrived at about 10.30. We made inquiries and learnt that his Majesty was not expected till 6.30 p.m. At about 3.30 we returned to the station and settled ourselves in the public waiting room or hall through which the King was to pass, and whilst we waited the time was beguiled away by the stories and yarns of a charming old veteran, with whom we had made friends.

A little before 6.30 we were asked by a most kind and considerate policeman to leave the waiting room, as the King was expected at once, and go outside. This we did, and waited beside another lady in a nook till the King walked past with the Duke of Richmond, inspecting the sturdy line of Reservists drawn up opposite.

At the psychological moment Nurse Gifford darted out, ran across, and, bowing, presented our petition. The King most graciously bent forward to receive it, but was prevented from doing so by the Duke of Richmond, who pushed the petitioner away, and she was then hurried away by the King's own detective.

I was taken in charge by the Chief Constable, who was most kind and courteous. We were hurried into a waiting room, where we were lectured at some length by this much-heated detective, and told that for this outrageous offence we might, if the law were stretched, be arrested!

I gently inquired why we were not arrested in this case, and was told it was through the King's special clemency. I should like to know if it is true that a subject may not present a petition to the King, and since when the law came in operation?—Yours truly,
THE OTHER PETITIONER.

NO FOOD, DRINK OR SLEEP.

Miss Sylvia Pankhurst is on a sleep strike at Holloway.

Before she went back to prison she told her friends that she would walk about the whole time to keep herself awake.

In conjunction with pangs of hunger and thirst the craving for sleep must be an ordeal almost beyond human endurance.

Miss Annie Kenney is also understood to be on a hunger and thirst strike at Holloway. She is in a very weak condition.

Burly George Lansbury, the champion of the women's cause, expects to go to prison to-day.

"I am going to hunger-strike," he said to the *Daily Sketch*, "and I mean to go through with it."

"Mind you, I'm not in love with the thought of the ordeal I shall have to undergo, because it's not an easy job to go without food for many days. I've been used to regular meals for years, and I expect to have a bad time."

"I shall surrender at 4.30, and I shall, if allowed, make an emphatic protest against the differentiation of the magistrate as agent for the Government in calling upon me to find sureties or go to prison and at the same time leaving Sir Edward Carson and his friends free."

"I believe that I am being sent to prison simply because I am a weaker political opponent than Sir Edward Carson and because I am not able to return favours to the Government as he can."

"Among the chief of my reasons for refusing to be bound over is the fact that the Government, or those responsible for the prosecution of Queenie Gerald, suppressed important letters in which big names were mentioned."

46

[31 July 1913]

GAOL FOR MR. LANSBURY.

REFUSAL TO BE BOUND OVER TO KEEP THE PEACE.

46

Refusing to find sureties to keep the peace, Mr. George Lansbury, ex-M.P. for Bow and Bromley, was sentenced in default at Bow-street yesterday by Sir John Dickinson to three months' imprisonment. Mr. Lansbury was summoned at Bow-street on May 12 for making a seditious speech, and was then ordered to find two sureties in £500 each, and to enter into his own recognisances in £1,000 to keep the peace for twelve months. An appeal was made to a Divisional Court, who decided that the jurisdiction of the police court had been properly exercised.



MR. G. LANSBURY.

Mr. Lansbury now said that he was not prepared to find the sureties. Justice was not being impartially administered among his Majesty's subjects. He was going on to say that "evidence was suppressed in the Piccadilly flat case," when he was stopped by the magistrate and told to keep to the point. He then said he should refuse to enter into the required recognisance. A number of men loudly cheered Mr. Lansbury as he was removed to the cells.

June 1913
of vol. 30.a.7

T
A
B
B
B
C
C
C
E
L
P
U

VI
AR
L
PC

bc
Pa
J
C
B
C
p
nl

Ju
3
3
3
A

re
al
to
to
A
h

47

1 August 1913

BRITISH LIBRARY
MR. LANSBURY
OF
POLITICS
AND
ECONOMIC SCIENCE
1913
M449
Hunger Striking In Pentonville Prison.

In the House of Commons this afternoon Mr. Wedgwood endeavoured to move the adjournment to call attention to what he described as a "matter of urgent and public importance."

This was the continued imprisonment of Mr. Lansbury at Pentonville.

The Speaker, amid roars of laughter, called attention to a standing order which prohibits any motion for the adjournment of the House on days of Supply.

This was one of the days.

The question was raised by Mr. Hunt, who asked the Home Secretary if he would make it clear that Suffragists, whether of the goose or the gander gender—(laughter)—were not given privileges not allowed to other people.

Mr. McKenna did not think any advantage was extended to the Suffragists.

Replying to questions regarding Mr. Lansbury, the Home Secretary said he was on hunger strike, and therefore was not enjoying privileges given to political prisoners.

In reply to Lord H. Cecil, Mr. McKenna said he made an offer to all militant suffrage prisoners that if they would agree not to join in any action to break the law—not if they refused to join an organisation—he would consider whether he would recommend the exercise of the Royal prerogative.

Lady Petrick Lawrence

48

ENTRANCE, 3 & 4, CLEMENT'S INN.
TELEPHONE: 1314 HOLBORN.
TELEGRAMS: "PETHLAWRO, LONDON."

87, CLEMENTS' INN,
W.C.

1913
May 16. 1913 -

Dear Mr. Lansbury.

May 31 - June 1st shall
be kept sacred. We shall
look forward with the greatest
pleasure to seeing you &
your dear wife there.

I am sending you special
copies of votes for women with
my husband article -

"Why I am being made
a bankrupt."

I think the point of
the encroachment of the
Executive on the liberties
of the People one to be
very seriously considered
by all ~~liberal~~ defenders of
the Constitution whether

they are here on the woman's
question, or not.

Something ought to be done.
A great demonstration of
protest organized by all
Suffrage Societies & other
organizations would be very
good business just now.

In the thick of the fight —
Yours in haste with all good wishes
Emeline Peltuck Lawrence