

Volume 5

Section I

Jan. 1912

to

26 June 1912

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1



Photo: Thomas.
**Mr. GEO. LANSBURY, M.P., one of the best
respected men in the Labour movement.**

2

**GREAT LABOUR MEETING for ADULT SUFFRAGE at BOW BATHS, Sunday,
January 28th, at 8 p.m. Mrs. DESPARD, Miss M. WARD, HENRY D. HARBEN,
and GEORGE LANSBURY, M.P., L.C.C.**

THE WORKER.

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

No. 31.

JANUARY, 1912.

One Half-penny.

Guaranteed Circulation 10,000 Copies Monthly.

see also pp. 3, 4

The Federation of Trade Unions

With the grave unrest in the industrial world and the growing attacks upon trade-unionism by the employing class, the question of sectional trade-unionism is once more up for consideration. I remember the growing enthusiasm with which I and others threw ourselves into the work of organising unskilled labour in this district some years ago. Since that time, it would be almost true to say that until last year, the organised movement just marked time from the industrial point of view. It is true that politically and municipally we wakened up. To some extent we captured the Board of Guardians, the Borough Council and the L.C.C., but organised as trade unionists for the purpose of raising wages, our work was small indeed.

Now, once more in the natural order of things, the cry appears to have gone forth that we must have a union of the unions, and there is growing up amongst us a sort of feeling that here is a new condition of things; and we must all welcome the determination of the railway men to bring about a union of all their forces. The recent crisis could not have ended as disastrously as it did for the men, if—instead of speaking with several voices before the Commission—they had spoken through one voice.

But the splendid example set by the Transport Workers is the one that must be followed. At present the railway men are outside this great combination. If they can be brought in, we shall then have Railwaymen and Carmen, Dockers and Stevedores, Ship-Stewards and Sailors, Firemen and Engineers, all federated in one solid mass.

Now if—in addition to this—people in London can make the Building Trades Federation a live thing once again, we can do some splendid work on behalf of the people of this and similar districts. There are to be two organising meetings in these next few weeks, at both of which I am to preside—February 7th at Limehouse and February 9th at the Holborn Hall. I hope every worker in the Building Trade, skilled or unskilled, will make a point of attending and so help on the building-up of a really strong organisation.

We must also, however, keep in mind the various sectional organisations connected with the unskilled labourer. Whatever may be thought of skilled trades, there is certainly no reason at all why there should be more than one national union for unskilled workers, and I hope that the efforts being made to unite the Gasworkers' Union with the other great unskilled unions in the country will be successful. Vested interests in the shape of permanent officials should not be allowed to stand in the way. We want unity and unity we must have!

Reading some of the newspapers, we can see that there is a sort of feeling that the amalgamation or federation of unions in this sense is a very dangerous thing. It is only dangerous for those who are afraid that Labour may possibly come by its own. Let all those who are denouncing strikes just remember that Parliament has done practically nothing for the workers or their children for a generation, with the possible exception of the Old Age Pensions Act. But even this has been accompanied by a fall in wages, or, at least, in the purchasing power of wages, which more than makes up for any small advantage which may have been gained in that direction.

I do not want men to lose sight of Parliament. We must have through and by the workers, all the social organisation that goes to make up a society; but while we are getting there, we must just remember that if we allow the condition of the people to get worse, there will be no material at all with which to work out social reform, to say nothing of social revolution. Therefore, we must just face the fact that the House of Commons, bossed and controlled by the party caucus and the constituencies bossed and

controlled in the same manner, is and are quite hopeless as means for raising the condition of the people. In fact, I believe that through the operation of the Insurance Bill, the status of the great mass of the people will be distinctly lower. Be that as it may, Parliament will pass neither a measure fixing the minimum wage, nor a "Right-to-Work" Bill, and I, like thousands of others, am thrown back on to the voluntary organisation of the workers in their trade unions.

I deplore as much as anyone the suffering and misery that will accompany industrial strife, but there the workers are in Lancashire locked out because of their determination to stand by the principle of trade union organisation. In the meanwhile, there is no one to help them in the struggle with poverty and disease—as I know from personal observation—but themselves. Here in our own midst, the Building Trade is more casual than ever. More advantage is taken of the men than for years past.

On the other hand, we have the witness of Liverpool and our own Docks and our Carmen in London of what can be done. Tens of thousands of pounds paid in extra wages because of last summer's social upheaval is a sure guarantee that if only the whole body of workers will come together, first in their local organisations, and then link up nationally and finally, internationally, they can use their industrial weapons to the very best advantage, and finally take control of the political machine also.

Anyhow, we must shout once more, and shout it at every opportunity, the one word, Solidarity! This, after all, only means unity in life, and if this is learned, and learned thoroughly, I have no doubt myself that the workers will win their own way through. The first and last thing is—get organised! Come into the great movement. Be part of the great Brotherhood of Man. Take no account of those whose interests are on the other side. The workers either rise as a whole or sink as a whole.

So I appeal to trade unionists to fight in their trade unions for federation, and for non-unionists to come in and become members. We want men and women, young and old, and then each and every one will be better for taking their share of the work.

GEORGE LANSBURY.

The Tories and the Insurance Bill

The Tory party are attempting to make capital out of their supposed hostility to the National Insurance Bill, and the Tory candidate for Bow and Bromley, together with his friends, is now denouncing this Bill in no unmeasured language. We, ourselves, have nothing to say in defence of its main principles, but we certainly do object to the Tory party, which in the House of Commons supported the Bill—especially the principle of levying a poll-tax—we do object, we say, to this party coming out into the constituencies and professing to be against it.

Our objection to the Bill was just this, that the proposal to levy a tax on workers earning less than £3 a week was, in our judgment, an iniquitous proposition. We would like one of the electors in Bow and Bromley to write and ask the Tory candidate a plain question. Is he or is he not in favour of a contributory scheme of National Insurance? That is, is he in favour of levying a tax on working men and their employers for the purpose of insurance against sickness and unemployment? If he is, then he must not object in principle to the present Bill, and as a matter of fact, there is hardly any other course open, once the principle is admitted, than that adopted by the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

We want to have a clear understanding with our

**The L.R.C. Stores open from 9.30 a.m., 6 Campbell Road, Bow. E.
Workers, support your own Stores! Your own men run it, and profits are yours**

ADULT SUFFRAGE.**A Mass Meeting**

IN SUPPORT OF

VOTES FOR ALL MEN & WOMEN NEXT SESSION,

At **BOW BATHS HALL, Roman Road,**
SUNDAY EVENING, JANUARY 28th, 1912.

Chair taken at 8 p.m. by Mrs. DESPARD.

Speakers: Miss M. WARD. HENRY D. HARBEN. GEORGE LANSBURY, M.P., L.C.C.

Telephone—East 3034.

INEXPENSIVE FUNERALS
 ARRANGED TO SUIT ALL CLASSES.

C. SELBY & SON,
 Funeral Directors & Carriage Proprietors,
146 Bow Road, (Corner of)
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Branches:—31 CAMPBELL ROAD, BOW;
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Modern Cars and Carriages. Distance no object

H. HEATH & SONS,
 STAINSBY ROAD, LIMEHOUSE, and
 1 & 3 BARCHESTER STREET, POPLAR.

Pure Rich Milk with all its Cream. Deliveries twice daily in Limehouse
 Bow, Bromley, and Poplar.

Telephone—No. 1364 East.

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PIANOS, ORGANS,

And all kinds of Musical Instruments,

ARE TO BE FOUND AT

86 & 88 ST. LEONARD'S RD., POPLAR

Proprietor - - **ALF. W. YEO.**

: Pianos from 2/6 per week, Organs 1/3. :—

A. R. ADAMS,

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78 St. Leonard's Road, Poplar.

FUNERALS ANY DISTANCE AT LOWEST CHARGES

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W. GIRTON, 106 BOW ROAD,
 (Opposite N.L.Rly Station)

PIANOS. High-class Iron Frame, Check Action, 2/- per week.

Phonographs and Records from 1/- per week.

All kinds of Musical Instruments.

Depot for Jones's celebrated Sewing Machines. Needles for all
 kinds of Sewing Machines.

IF YOU WANT TO HELP THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

JOIN A TRADE UNION, such as the

**AMALGAMATED
 TOOLMAKERS**

Bow Branch: L.R.C. Rooms, Campbell Road, Bow, E.
 Meets Saturdays, 8 to 10 p.m.

➔ Paid in—Various Benefits and in Proga-
 ganda and Educational Work, £110,000
 Reserve Funds, £20,000.

Copies of Rules, Records, etc., from Bow Branch or from—
 William F. BESTON, Gen. Sec., John Bright Street, Birmingham

Dock, Wharf, Riverside & General Workers Union.

All Dock Workers who wish to improve their conditions should
 join the above Union. Where men have organised with us, Wages
 have been increased, gangs strengthened, and over £73,000 gained
 in compensation for our members. Entrance Fee 1/-, contributions
 3d. per week. 1d. extra will insure your wife and all the family.
 Local Branches: "Export," "Green Dragon," High Street, Poplar.
 Fridays 8 p.m. Lockgate men, Labour League Rooms, Fridays 8 p.m.

For further information apply Ald. W. DEVANEY, District Secre-
 tary, Labour League Rooms, Poplar.

**NATIONAL AMALGAMATED UNION OF SHOP ASSISTANTS
 WAREHOUSEMEN AND CLERKS.**

Central Office: 122 GOWER STREET.

BOW AND BROMLEY BRANCH

National Insurance & Trade Union Protection for shop workers

An Appeal to Shop Assistants (both sexes), Warehousemen, Clerks,
 Packers and Porters to join the above Union.

The above Union has decided to become an approved Society. All shop workers
 will be obliged to subscribe to the State Fund. This Union has always offered greater
 advantages to shop workers than any other Society. Neither Friendly Societies nor
 Insurance Companies have the slightest interest in improving the conditions of
 shop life. Further particulars by writing Local Secretary,

T. E. KELLEY, 2 TRELIS STREET, BOW.

Don't delay, but write at once. 22,000 Members. Reserve Fund, £32,000

Do you want to save money !!!

JOIN THE

L.R.C. Loan Society,

AT

6 CAMPBELL ROAD, BOW,

Open every Saturday Evening 7 to 8.30.

6d. per share. All Loans granted in full.

H. E. BIGG, Secretary.

Trustees: { GEORGE LANSBURY, M.P., L.C.C.
 Councillor C. E. SUMNER.
 Councillor J. H. BANKS.

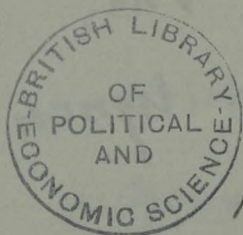
CHURCHMEN AND M.P.s SUPPORT THAMES WORKERS' GREAT DEMONSTRATION



Over ten thousand Thames shipyard workers assembled in Canning town on Saturday and marched to Trafalgar square where they demanded that a fair share of the nation's naval work should be given to the Thames. The Mayor of Poplar presided, and speeches in support of the men's demands were made by Arnold Hill, the chairman of the Thames Ironworks Company, by Sir William Bull, M.P., Mr. Will Thorne, M.P., and Mr. George Lansbury, M.P. The Bishop of Barking expressed his sympathy with the workers and with Mr. Hills. (1) Procession leaving the Mayor of West Ham addressing the crowd. (5) Mr. Will Thorne speaking. (6 and 7). General view of the huge crowd in the Square.—Daily Sketch Photographs.

Mrs. Josiah C. Wedgwood (5)
Madders Hall (n. Ethel
Bowen)
Stone, Staffs.

20-1-12



M449

Dear Mr. Lunsbury

We are just
horrified to think
of you having to wait
3 hours at these bleak
stations, in the snow,
and then missing
your meeting. If the

secretary & chairman
knew about it, they
would want to lynch
us.

It is charming of
you to say ~~there~~
— in spite of all this —
that you enjoyed being
here. They ~~all~~ all so
much liked having you,
only to me it was
a great disappointment.

for I had keenly looked
forward to your visit
and hoped to be at
your meeting, or at
the least to enjoy
your company here.

Please sponge
out of your mind all
this dreadful business
with the snow & trains,
and only leave the
nicest recollections,
so that we may have

(6) a chance of seeing you
again here some day,
when the roads shall
be excellent & the
thermometer uppish,

If we had met
I wanted to tell you
— but perhaps after
all I have more
courage to write it —
How very keenly I have
admired the gallant
independent way you
have been fighting me

P.S. Bring a child to see me some day in London
- I'm dancing too if she will come.

Mrs. Josiah C. Wedgwood (7)
political battle of his
20 Jan. 1912
last year. Perhaps it
goes to my heart of
all people, because
I know how Josiah has
often had to suffer in
doing the same sort
of thing. There is
nothing else for an
honest man to do;
- but I do respect it,
and I hope you won't
mind my saying so.
We are all with you, here,
yours ever sincerely
Ethel Wedgwood.

P.S. Bring a child to see me some day in London
- I'm dancing too if she will come.

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political battles of his
20 Jan. 1912
last year. Perhaps it

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- but I do respect it,
and I hope you won't
mind my saying so.

We are all with you, here,
yours very sincerely
Ethel Wedgwood.

Lansbury, Mrs. George
Lansbury, George

New-York Life Insurance Co.



CHIEF OFFICES FOR UNITED KINGDOM; TRAFALGAR BUILDINGS, TRAFALGAR SQUARE, W.C.

London, 23rd Jan. 1912

1st, Mrs E.J. Lansbury,
103 St. Stephens Road,
Bow. E.

Dear ~~Mr~~ Madam,

re Policy No 1119094

Referring to your application for a loan on the above policy we have now the pleasure to enclose cheque for the amount shown below.

The duplicate of the agreement duly countersigned on behalf of the Company is enclosed herewith and this document should be carefully preserved in order to be returned to the Company in exchange for the policy when the loan is repaid.

We take this opportunity to point out that the loan may be repaid at any time whilst the policy is kept in force by payment of premium and interest, and if this would be a convenience to you we would be prepared to accept repayment by instalment of not less than £1. at a time. In case the loan or any portion thereof is repaid prior to the date to which interest is paid in advance the proportion of unearned interest will be refunded at the time

Receipt for ~~premium~~ and interest will follow.

Loan		£75- 0- 0
Interest to 21/3/12	11 - 9	
Stamp duty	1- 0	12- 9
	<hr/>	<hr/>
		74- 7- 3

Yours truly,
W.R. Collinson,
Secretary,
per

POLICY LOAN AGREEMENT.



Pursuant to the provisions of Policy No. 1119094 issued by the **NEW-YORK LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY** on the life of George Lansbury----- said Company has this twentythird day of January 1912, loaned to the undersigned, and the undersigned has borrowed and received from said Company the sum of Seventy-five----- Pounds Sterling (£ 75-----), and

In Consideration of the premises, the undersigned hereby agrees as follows: —

1. To pay interest in advance on such loan from the date of said loan to the next anniversary of the said Policy, to wit 21st day of March 1912 and annually in advance thereafter at such rate as, after deduction of income tax, leaves a net rate of five per cent. per annum, which interest shall be payable at the principal Office of the said Company in London.

2. To pledge, and doth hereby pledge, said policy as sole security for the payment of said loan and interest, and herewith deposit said policy with said Company.

3. To pay said Company said sum when due with interest, reserving, however, the right to reclaim said policy by repayment of said loan with interest at any time before due, said repayment to cancel this agreement without further action.

4. That said loan shall become due and payable—

(a) Either if any premium on said policy or any interest on said loan is not paid on the date when due, in which event said pledge shall, without demand or notice of any kind, every demand, notice or any statutory requirement being hereby expressly waived, be foreclosed by satisfying said loan in the manner provided in said policy;

(b) Or, (1) on the maturity of the policy as a death claim or an endowment; (2) on the surrender of the policy for a cash value; (3) on the selection of a discontinuing option at the end of any dividend period. In any such event the amount due on said loan shall be deducted from the sum to be paid or allowed under said policy.

5. That the application for said loan was made to said Company at its principal Office in London, was accepted, the money paid by it, and this Agreement made and delivered there, and that said principal and interest are payable at said Office.

Witness to the signatures
and identity of the Borrowers

Borrower

Signature J. A. Banks

Signature G. Lansbury

Occupation Secretary

Full Address Lansbury

Address 6 Campbell St Bow, London

103 St Stephens Rd

Wm E

For the **NEW-YORK LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY,**

J. A. Banks
SECRETARY FOR
ENGLAND, SCOTLAND AND IRELAND

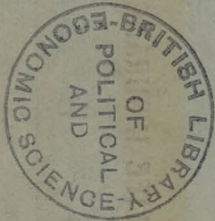
Branch Office, Prem. paid in full to Cashier.

191

Forwarded from

Examined, Earl

M449



Loan Agreement.

NEW-YORK LIFE INSURANCE
COMPANY.

(10)

Rev. Theodore C. Gobat

S. JAMES' VICARAGE,

DARLINGTON.

Feb. 9. 1912

My Dear L. Lansbury.

Will you do us the honour
of being the godfather of our
future child, - a little girl who
was born on Jan. 29?

If you consent, I need hardly
say that we shall most expect
you to be present at the baptism,
which will, I think, be on Saturday,
Feb. 24, much as we should like
you to be. - We will feel
some one to stand as 'proxy'
for you. Now shall we

JAMES VICARAGE
DARLINGTON.

expect you to bestow any
sort of present! - but I
ask you because I should like
to think that a day to come,
when we have parted away, that
our little girl should recognize
our interest in the great cause
because you have devoted yourself.
All I would ask of you is to
find her a place sometimes in
your prayers, that she may
grow up with a heroic zeal
for the setting of Paddy's will
done on earth. ☩

My wife and the babe are
going on very well. My wife
lives with me but you will
consent to be godfather.
With every good wish, and kindest
remembrance from us both

Yours very sincerely
T. C. Gobart

When are you likely to be up
this way again?
The Widdowson Church Congress
people have written for me asking
to suggest names of prominent
Lalton leaders who are Christians,
whom they could invite to speak.
Do you know of any?

On Thursday, February 15th, 1912

IN
SION COLLEGE,

Thames Embankment, E.C.

At 8 p.m.,

THE

Rev. F. Lewis Donaldson

M.A. 1860—

(Vicar of St. Mark's, Leicester),

WILL LECTURE ON

**“The Soul of the Labour
Movement.”**

Chairman: GEO. LANSBURY, M.P., L.C.C.

MISSION FREE.

DOORS OPEN 7.30

QUESTIONS.

DISCUSSION.



Sion College is within one minute's walk of Blackfriars Bridge (L.C.C. Trams, District or Metropolitan Railways), and three minutes from Ludgate Circus.

12.

IN view of the existing industrial unrest, Mr. DONALDSON's lecture will be of great interest to all who take an intelligent interest in the affairs of the day; and is of special importance to Church people, who are bound to consider every question from a moral standpoint. By his long and intimate association with the Labour Movement in this country, Mr. DONALDSON is pre-eminently qualified to deal with his subject, and we trust this opportunity of hearing him will not be neglected.

THE CHURCH SOCIALIST LEAGUE,
LONDON BRANCH.

The First (1907) Report of
a Joint Committee appointed
by the Convocation of
Canterbury says :

=====

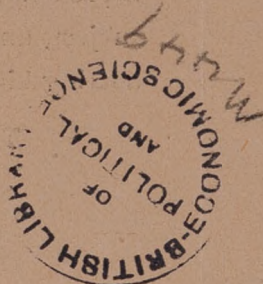
Fellowship is Heaven,
and lack of fellowship
is Hell.

=====

“It is time, we think, that the Christian Church should make clear to itself the nature of the demand for the reconstruction of Society which is at present urged upon us. Behind the more technical (industrial and political) proposals, lies a fundamental appeal for justice, which the Christian Church cannot ignore.”



Six bishops and a number of other clergy and laity constituted the above-mentioned Committee; and in the light of their united utterance we beg to call your special attention to the over-mentioned.



J. Gilbert Dale (13)

TELEGRAMS,
DALENSTER, LONDON.
TELEPHONE,
WESTERN No 4333.

31, WARWICK GARDENS,

KENSINGTON, W.

Feb 22/12.

My dear Lansbury

I am sure you do not need any words of commendation from an obscure person like myself. Nevertheless I feel I would like to congratulate you on your very powerful speech in Hennington to-night. It was magnificent and most convincing. My

wife was greatly impressed
by it and another person
said you would convince
the most sceptical.

I thank God there are
men like you in the House
of Commons and in our
movement.

I was sorry not to have
the opportunity of a word
with you after the meeting.

With best regards

Yours for humanity

Hilbert Dale.

Rev. Theodore C. Gobat

S. JAMES' VICARAGE,

DARLINGTON.

Feb. 23. 1912

My Dear Friend,

My wife and I are very much pleased that you will
be present at our little party. The baptism is
to be on (Saturday) at 3 p.m. The name is St. Jean
Dorothea. I know you will think of her as of us all.
My wife's brother will stand as proxy for you.

My wife is hoping for my good recovery - and wishes to
be remembered by kind regards to you and your good wife.

2. JAMES VICARAGE

DARLINGTON.



M449

as thanks the letter for her good wishes.
 We shall be proud to see you ~~in the autumn~~, or
 whenever you come to this neighbourhood. It is an evening
 of ~~Waddesborough~~ for the Congress, we shall be delighted
 to have you up here. Let us know in good time, as we are
 certain to be asked to put up some ^{one}.
 With all good wishes

Yours affectionately

Theresa Colver

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POLITICAL
AND
ECONOMIC SCIENCE
449



[Photos]

THE BIG CAGE AND THE LITTLE CAGE.

[Barratt.]

Paupers at a meal in a workhouse. To many of them the captive bird is an unpleasant reminder of their own unhappy lot.

“HITTING A MAN WHEN HE’S DOWN.”

A Strong Appeal to “Penny Pictorialites” to

SMASH THE WORKHOUSE!

By **GEORGE LANSBURY, M.P., L.C.C.**

(Member of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws.)

“THE three main causes which reduce men and women to pauperism,” said Mr. George Lansbury to our Special Commissioner, “are old age, sickness, and widowhood. Hundreds of thousands of men, women, and children are incarcerated in our workhouses as a consequence of those misfortunes for which they are in no way responsible.”

“What about the won’t-works?”

“There are some of those also in our workhouses, though they form only a fraction of the whole. But the bulk of the forlorn million and three-quarters who come in contact with the Poor Law every year, as well as the additional million or so dealt with by charitable bodies and under the Unemployed Workmen Act, are the victims of circumstances over which they have no control.

“Instead of curing and preventing the destitu-

tion from which they suffer, the present Poor Law system simply aggravates the condition of the unfortunate, and further demoralises those who are really capable of helping themselves. The system is utterly wrong, and cannot be set right by petty tinkering. As the first step towards improvement, it is essential that the workhouse should be utterly abolished. Do you know for what purposes workhouses were first established?”

“To provide work for the able-bodied unemployed, I believe.”

“Precisely. But their functions have developed until the ‘mixed workhouses’ are now the final refuge of worn-out workers, widowed mothers with their children, and unwed mothers with theirs; the blind, deaf, dumb, epileptic, and imbecile, as well as sick persons generally; in addition to those who, for various reasons, cannot support themselves. All these classes, who obviously require differential

than that of English workhouses. From Ireland statistics were obtained only for one large workhouse, and in this case the results were as bad as those of the Scottish poorhouses.

"It is a fact that, in all the small workhouses, and in many of the larger ones, the infants are wholly attended to by, and are actually in charge of, aged and often mentally defective paupers. Do you wonder that young wives dread the workhouse?"

"I do not indeed! Does the same principle work with regard to all the sick folk who are left to the tender mercies of the Poor Law?"

"Certainly it does. As I stated in my pamphlet, 'Smash-up the Workhouse!' all the evidence given to the Commission on the Poor Law by the medical profession distinctly shows that most of the money now spent in the relief of sickness through the Poor Law is wasted, because people so hate the workhouse, and all that it means, that they only accept its hospitality as the very last resort, when most of them are too far gone to be benefited by the treatment they receive.

"Think, too, of the effect of the workhouse system on the incurably infirm. Unable to get out into the fresh air by their own efforts, they are generally tucked away under the roof of a four- or five-storey building, where they know quite well that they will stay until they die. The reason for putting them there is to save trouble. The authorities know that they will only need removing when they are taken out in their coffins."

"But I understand that the average cost of maintaining the inmates is about £26 per annum. Surely it should be possible to make proper provision for such a sum?"

"Unfortunately it is not so under the present system. The enormous contributions of the rate-payers are not only wasted, but are wasted in such a way that they produce the very maximum of misery and demoralisation for the unfortunate people they are intended to benefit."

"What sort of food do they get?"

"It does not take long to learn the menu by heart. For breakfast, bread-and-margarine with tea; for dinner, soup, bread, and potatoes (the soup sometimes a nasty mess of rice-water in which float lumps of fat); for tea, the same as breakfast. That is the average diet.

"It is a pathetic sight to see the unhappy inmates sitting in rows, before bare tables, on which their food is served to them in utensils of the ugliest description. Side by side on the same benches the semi-lunatics and the sane, the able-bodied and the lame and deaf, are huddled together; and before they may begin their nasty meal the workhouse master gabbles 'Grace.' There is a solemn mockery if you like, for the workhouse inmates have precious little to be thankful for!"

"Are the officers kind on the whole?"

"Doubtless they mean to be, but how can they help growing callous and hard-hearted? After a few months or years their charges come to be grouped together, whether deserving unfortunates or worthless vagrants, under just one heading, 'Paupers.'

"But don't go away thinking I condemn workhouse officials as a class: many of them are great-

hearted men. It is not the officials who are bad, but the poisonous system they administer."

"And how would you fill its place?"

"By a national curative and preventive system which would actually be found cheaper in the long run as well as more humane. To begin with, sick persons have no business in the workhouse; the Public Health Authority is the proper body to deal with them. While the Poor Law does not assist the sick until they are destitute as well as ill—by which time it is probably impossible to cure them—the Public Health Authority would seek out the ailments at the earliest possible moment, and, by 'the stitch in time which saves nine,' prevent them from falling into invalidism and destitution. The same principle should be administered generally, but at present applied to infectious cases.

"Taking the care of mothers alone; think what proper attention in their own homes would save the community! For want of proper attention, for a few days or weeks, when their children are born, many women are crippled for life and become a permanent charge upon the rates; from lack of a little attention at birth many children are blind all their days, and may spend their lifetime in the workhouse or in some charitable institution. If the Public Health Authority were responsible in all cases of sickness and infirmity, an enormous amount of human suffering would be prevented, and many millions of pounds saved to the community."

"What would you do with those who are merely worn-out and aged?"

"Reduce the age for old-age pensions, or, if that is impracticable, raise supplementary local pension funds (from the same sources which at present maintain the workhouse) to provide for the old folk in the homes of their own relations. This would be infinitely cheaper than keeping them in the workhouse—and how much happier they would be!"

"What about the children?"

"England—the richest country in the world—could easily afford to grant poor widows, whose crime is their misfortune, a sufficient allowance to bring up their fatherless children decently. How much better to spend the money in that way than on soul-destroying workhouses!"

"I hope every reader of THE PENNY PICTORIAL said Mr. Lansbury in conclusion, "will take heart the fact that destitution and poverty come from the main from causes which are not the fault of the individual, but which society can, if it will, correct collectively. And the first step towards curative control, which will make the United Kingdom a happier land and the British of the future a sturdier race, is to abolish the workhouse."

"My last words are just these: I want work to understand that the widows and orphans of the rich are kept by them; the aged and worn-out are kept by them—the workers. The demand of the Minority Commissioners—that the widows and orphans of the workers, the worn-out, old to both men and women, shall be maintained by the community—is simply a demand that the workers, their wives and children, shall be considered of equal value with every other man and woman in the land."

26 Feb. [1912]

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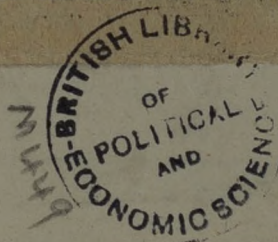
the reader.

Mr. George Lansbury, M.P.

Mr. George Lansbury, M.P., is often sarcastically alluded to in the Tory Press as "My friend Lansbury," owing to the fact that when speaking on his behalf at the Bow and Bromley election Mr. Lloyd George referred to him in those terms. Those who heard Mr. Lansbury at Tuel-lane Brotherhood meeting, yesterday, on his first visit to the Calder Valley, will not be surprised that Mr. Lloyd George should be proud to call him "friend." He gave an eloquent, touching, and humane address, pleading the cause of the workers of the land, and pointing out why indifference to religion was so prevalent among the great masses of the people. He spoke with earnestness and conviction, giving one the impression that he meant every word he uttered. He, like the Chancellor, has the cause of the people at heart, although they may differ in methods of attainment.

The Ugliness of Sowerby Bridge.

Sowerby Bridge people would not be flattered by Mr. Lansbury's comments upon their town. He imagined that 150 years ago it would, with its verdure-clad hills, be one of the fairest places on God's earth, but now it was defaced by mills and sordid dwellings. He did not hesitate to describe the place as



26 Feb. [1912]

ALFAX EVENING COURIER

ugly and hideous. Residents of Sowerby Bridge, no doubt admit that their town is not exactly a sylvan retreat, but they would hardly relish being told so in such blunt language. Mr. Lansbury, in his denunciation of the place was pursuing an interesting train of thought. He was arguing that life at the present time, despite the advance of machinery, was not really enjoyed to its full capacity by either employers or employed, and he wondered whether residents on those hills 150 years ago, if they could but return, would not say that they preferred life at that time, with all its limited advantages, to the hustle and competition of the twentieth century.

The Two Paths

Halifax Evening
February
RY 26, 1912

BRITISH LIBRARY
OF
POLITICAL
AND
SOCIAL SCIENCE

CHURCHES AND LABOUR.

MR. GEORGE LANSBURY, M P., AT
SOWERBY BRIDGE.

Workers Not Hostile to Religion.

Tuel-lane United Methodist Church, Sowerby Bridge, was crowded on Sunday afternoon when the weekly meeting of the Brotherhood was held. The Rev. H. R. Barry was in the chair, and with him in the pulpit were the Rev. C. Steadford, who offered prayer, Mr. J. W. Shaw, who read the lesson, and Mr. George Lansbury, M.P. Mr. L. Wolfenden (Triangle) gave an acceptable rendering of the solo "I heard a voice."

At the outset of an impressive address, Mr. George Lansbury, M.P., said that when a minister stood out for Labour it was the duty of all the Labour movement to stand by that minister, and that was the reason why he had accepted Mr. Barry's invitation to come to Sowerby Bridge. His subject would be Religion and Labour, with some references to that terrible thing called Socialism. Everybody, he proceeded, was well aware that in this country to-day no one was satisfied. Everywhere they turned there was uneasiness and disappointment. They had had 40 years of elementary education, 100 years of the greatest development in the method of producing things which the world had ever seen, and 100 years of men thinking of religion as something personal to themselves—something that simply dominated their individual souls without reference to others. But were men and women happier to-day than their forefathers? They had invented wonderful machinery and erected more works and factories, but he thought all would have to admit that they had got little which was of much real worth. Speaking from experience he knew that business life was one grim struggle, while the workers, those with 16s. to 30s. per week, had also their troubles. The average working class woman had a life of sheer drudgery from the time her first child was born until she died. For her all the ugliness and the erection of chimney stacks and factories had not done much to lighten her burden. But they had not to blame one set of individuals for this state of affairs. He believed that when the working people of the country understood the true Christian theory of life—which was that every human being was of equal value in the sight of God with every other—they would not be content with the present condition in which their women lived, and they would not be content to let their children go into the mills and factories at 12 or 13 years of age. People to-day wondered why the churches were not full, and none could shut their eyes to the fact that the common people did not hear the Gospel gladly. It was not hostility to religion which kept them away, but it was the conditions of life which were so adverse between the practice and theory of religion. What the Labour and Socialist movement said to the religious people, at any rate what he had come to say, was that there was no message to be given to mankind which was so grand or so elevating as the teachings of Jesus Christ. He did not want those who called themselves Christians, however, to be merely content with being that on Sundays and then during the week acquiescing in the miserable system which dooms thousands to misery and want all through the year. He wanted them to realise that they could not cure the evils by mere words. What they suffered from was that morally they had forgotten God with the exception of the shell. The best mission they could send to the poor was the preaching of revolt in order that they might seek to change their present conditions. It was really atrocious that the churches should be always taking them charity. What the poor wanted was the right to live. To go and rob them for two-thirds of their time and then give them some of the proceeds back, was a Dick Turpin kind of charity. It was his contention that people were here in this world to do the best not merely for themselves but for the entire community, and if they were living under conditions which were anti-Christian, in the sense that they were not able to live good lives all the week round, then they should not be satisfied with praying and singing and hearing beautiful sermons—they should seek to find the cause which prevented people living Christian lives, and instead of acquiescing in the things around them they should fight those influences until they got a finer life than at present existed. The only way to do that was to find out the root causes which led up to all the worry. Man had made the conditions and man could unmake them if they only wanted to. They could alter those conditions, and in the doing of it they could get their inspiration from the teachings of Christ. Until they realised that any ordinary working man or woman was as necessary a part of the great productive machine as any other man or woman, and had an equal right to live as any other man—until they recognised that and were determined to recognise it, he did not think there was much hope for the redemption of the race—(applause).

Private

Baxter, A. J.

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Simpson, Baxter & Co.
Chartered Accountants.

R. Simpson, A.C.A.

A. J. Baxter, A.C.A., F.P.A.A.

Telephone: - London Wall 7938.

Telegrams: - Vincemus, London.

Code: - Liebers.

Broad Street Avenue, E.C.

March 8th 1912.

George Lansbury Esq, M.P.
House of Commons, S.W.

Dear Sir,

As one of those present at the London Opera House last evening, may I ask you to accept an expression of my cordial appreciation for the very fine speech you delivered?

Your treatment of the subject raised it above the plane of political strife and drew much needed attention to the inner meaning of a great movement, such a movement indeed, as you truly said, as comes but once in the life of a people.

In a week or two I leave for America on business, probably remaining there permanently, and I am very glad to think there are such men as you in England ready to take such a fearless stand for the sake of humanity.

In conclusion, I am sure there must have been many present last night opposed to Socialism, who will, like myself, reflect that if you have so clearly discerned the truth in the matter of the woman's movement, you may be equally right in your championship of the other great cause, to which you are rendering, as you have in the past, such invaluable and unremitting service.

I am, Sir,
Yours very truly
A. J. Baxter.

Oakfield

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Buttance

New Southamptone

March 8th 1912

E. B. Price

Sir,

Judging from what you are reported to have said
at the Women's Meeting at the Opera House -
you seem quite to take it for granted that
all women are anxious for the Franchise -
I can only say that I move about a good deal
and see a good many people. And that I can
only recollect out of them all, one lady who
wanted the Vote; and she said she would
that I'd did not want it - being so sensible"
But the Law is not made for Wise people,
but for Fools, Wise people can always use
their influence wisely, without the Law -
Fools require the Law to keep them from
behaving like Fools; to the detriment of
other people. And seeing that the majority
of the Women, who clamour for the Vote.

are. Excitable, dangerous, Women. Can you
wonder, that we who have our tails about us,
do not wish to be governed. By such, Females?
If governed, we should certainly be, in Britain
because unlike the Colonies, we have a
million more Women than men.
Give Women the Vote, and by their violence
and numbers, they will force whatever
schemes, seem good to them, on the Country.
I am considering a very terrible Woman,
and, am, a good deal in a small way.
I wish I would rather see England governed
by Playmen, and, stable lads,
than by, creatures reckless and irresponsible,
such as Lady Courtney Lytton.
Give Women the Vote, and, they will use it
for a year or two, till tired of it, then
they will become, still more dangerous
as, leaders, "Mahu waghers" in the hands.

of unscrupulous men that is the real danger.

I am Sir

Yours faithfully

W. P. R. C.

Private &
personal.
Please send your
letter to The Tree Woman.

Jessamine Cottage.

13lers Green.

Mary Gawthorpe
[q.v. in E. Sylvia Panthurst,
The Suffragette movement, 1931]

Bucks..

20. III. 12.

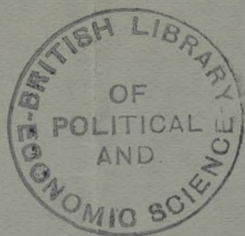
Dear Mr. Lansbury.

Here is a little gift for
your defence fund (per New Age)

and I wish it could be much
more. Please acknowledge from

M. Suffragette "A Militant
Suffragist."

I had already been
wondering whether any of you
could see the district under -



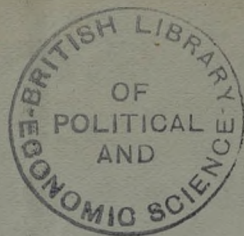
M449

Current in connection with the
Duffrajit arrests — refusal of bail
and hard labour sentences. All
these things, which work up men
but see it, are so many
precedents for harsh treatment of
(and women)
men, rebels in the future. We
have not fought for ourselves
alone in the past, in
demanding proper treatment of

20 March 1912

* ostensibly political offenders. Let
 working men not for get it: it is
 possible and probable that the
 rights of free speech, and the
 right to *rebel even, may be lost
 to them if they are not "alive
 in defence" at every turn.
 Movement isn't always "proper"
 as the decay of ~~Western~~
 Civilisations has proved more
 than once in the past.
 Working men should know what

Hence for my recent protest
 Williams Ball a
 striking man
 Are cases of



M449

This freedom for public criticism

really stands for. Then they
will not lightly regard the
hard-earned fights of the past
pioneers; and let funds be lost.

I am so glad you are
alive to all this.

But I am not surprised!

Yours very sincerely,

Mary Gawthorpe.

TER, TUESDAY, MARCH 26, 1912.

ONE HALF-PENNY.

'MEN AND RELIGION.'

Great Revival Movement in America.

NEW YORK, March 16.

A religious revival of unprecedented proportions will be held in this city from the 9th to 24th April as the culminating feature of the nation-wide campaign of the "National Men and Religion Forward Movement." This movement has had the moral support and financial backing of a group of well-known financiers and business men, headed by Mr. Joseph G. Cannon, president of the Fourth National Bank of New York, the original projector of the campaign to revive religion and allay the growing social unrest.

The April congress will be made up of delegates to the number of 300 from representative laymen's organizations of all denominations from all parts of the country. Sessions will be held in Carnegie Hall, with auxiliary meetings in neighbouring churches. The lay speakers will include President Taft, Mr. Bryce, the British Ambassador, Mr. William Jennings Bryan, and Mr. Booker Washington. Among the clergymen who have promised to speak are Archdeacon Madden, of Liverpool, and Dr. C. R. Gray, of Glasgow.

A unique feature of the affair is the advertising methods employed. Display advertisements are being published daily on the sporting pages of all the New York daily newspapers as follows:

"MEN AND RELIGION."

"This advertisement is issued to say to every man, woman, and child in Greater New York that the Churches are sincerely interested in the people, and want to help them in highest ways." "If you want to know more about the Men and Religion Forward Movement ask the editor or the nearest clergyman." Electric signs of similar import have been placed at points of vantage along Broadway, and help to enhance the brilliance of the Great White Way.—Reuter.

UNDER BRITISH TUTELAGE.

Kaiser and Mr. Churchill's Speech.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

BERLIN, Monday.

The "Börsen-Courier" claims to know from a personage in close touch with the Federal Council the nature of the differences which have arisen lately between the Kaiser and the Imperial Chancellor.

"The Kaiser and Admiral von Tirpitz," the journal declares, "considered the recent speech of Mr. Churchill as an attempt to place Germany under British tutelage, and an interference in the domestic affairs of the Empire."

MORE MOTOR MURDERS.

PARIS BANDITS SHOOT THREE MEN DEAD.

BANK LOOTED.

CHASED BY POLICE IN MOTOR-CARS.

ESCAPE BY JUMPING ON TRAIN.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

PARIS, Monday.

To-day the motor bandit gang surpassed even their exploits in the Rue Ordener and the Rue du Havre. Within a few hours they committed three cold-blooded murders, stole, though they afterwards abandoned, a magnificent new motor-car, robbed a bank, and—escaped. The car was a brand-new, 18-horse-power De Dion Bouton Limousine, on its way from the manufacturers to Nice, in charge of two chauffeurs. At 8.30 a.m. the car was suddenly held up by four men near Montgeron, on the great high road, about 14 miles south of Paris, at a point where the road is being relaid, on the verge of the Forest of Senart. The men suddenly emerged from a road-mender's shelter, and, running towards the car, waved their handkerchiefs for the car to stop. It drew up two yards from where they were standing; instantly the men sprang forward with their revolvers, which had been concealed in the handkerchiefs, covering the chauffeurs. A moment later several shots rang out, and one chauffeur fell, mortally wounded. The other opened the door of the car and sprang out. A bullet struck him, but he had the presence of mind to drop and sham death, keeping his hands folded over his stomach. Two more bullets struck his hands as he lay on the ground.

At this moment a wagon drew near, but the driver pulled up at a safe distance on being menaced with a revolver. The bandits hurriedly got rid of the dying chauffeur by depositing him at the roadside; then, turning the head of the car towards Paris, waited for another man who, up till then, had been concealed in the shelter to join them, and started. Two or three hundred yards along the road they picked up the second chauffeur who

SKI PARTY BURIED AVALANCHE.

Feared Loss of Ten Lives.

VIENNA, March

The "Korrespondenz" states that a party of eleven persons who set out this morning on a ski expedition on the Hochberg, near Vienna, was overtaken and buried by an avalanche.

One member of the party has been rescued from the snow alive, and one body has been recovered.

A relief expedition has started out, but it is feared that the remainder of the party has perished.—Reuter.

CHINESE DISORDER.

Foreigners Attacked and Killed.

ICHANG, March

Messrs. Sheldon, Hoffman, and Hicks, of Chengtu University, have been attacked by pirates 100 miles above Ichang. Hicks was killed. The others were wounded, but have returned to Ichang with an escort.—Reuter.

PEKING, March

Telegrams from Chung-King, a town in Szechuan, on the Yangtse Kiang, report the murder of an American clergyman named Hicks. His companions, Messrs. Hoffman and Sheldon, are stated to have been wounded. The party was apparently attacked by robbers in a gorge. The party was completely looted.—Reuter.

LADY WARWICK.

Suddenly Drops Lecture Tour in United States.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

NEW YORK, Monday.

The sudden interruption of Lady Warwick's American lecture tour, and her mysterious departure for Southampton on Saturday has caused much comment here. The letter that she wrote to her business manager, Mr. Keedick, just before the liner sailed, is in the following terms:

"I have cables from my husband and home compelling my immediate return upon important business. The cost affects us considerably; my presence is necessary."

The friends of the lecturer told her that illness obliged her to leave the tour.

They would repeat the statements in case.

WEDGWOOD said he did not think it would be safe to make them a few days hence, when people were getting of the Ulster Unionists, as they were afraid of the Syndicalists.

CRAIG—We are prepared to take our risks. We shall not funk it any more.

WEDGWOOD gave another quotation and said that it would be difficult to distinguish between the people who made speeches and Mr. Tom Mann or the men sentenced in connection with the "Syndicalist." He pleaded with the Government, not in the interests of these men, but in the interests of the Liberal tradition and of the country, to reconsider their course of action.

GEORGE LANSBURY (Lab., Bowdoin) who seconded the amendment said that hon. gentlemen opposite were organizing the importation of arms, and were raising a tremendous amount of money for the purpose of arming the Opposition. He said "No." Well, he was either telling lies in the Press or was doing this to meet a certain end in regard to Home Rule. If the Government were to rebel against Home Rule, it was right when people were starving and they believed it right to do so that they should appeal to men not to join the men of their own class. In the "Syndicalist" the writings were taken place, but a condition of the right to take place, and therefore the men had been sentenced were in the same position as the hon. member for Ulster.

APPEAL TO THE SOLDIERS.

They went on to deal with the Tory papers that the Government were to use the forces of the country that they were to be marched to the country for the purpose of attacking the miners. He was going to do his best to let the miners know that they were absolutely right to say that they were all their labour on their own terms and not being dictated to either by Government or armies. Any Government that might they were going to put down by attacking a tiny journal like "Syndicalist" were making the biggest mistake any Government had made in its history. They were asking that un-armed people should not be attacked by the Government. Was there any member of the Government who would attack with a revolver an unarmed man under any circumstances?

He was asked what was done to the military to be used. A house was burned down. He was asked if these people who thought that property was not matter, but that human life was matter. A human being was not property he knew of. They were asking a factory, but they could not take a human life. Without any reason, he associated himself with the Government that appealed to the soldiers not to attack unarmed people. For an armed man to be called upon to fire upon unarmed people was a cowardly thing. When disputes were in progress and crowds of people collected, the Government, whatever the temper of the Government, to keep it in order, without being killed. The proper course was to allow the police to be equipped with weapons that would kill, and that would enable them just to get out of the road for the time being.

He set the troops to shoot their mothers down," Mr. Lansbury said, "you know perfectly well that they are calling upon them to murder their mothers. I am here to say that I hope the soldiers will have manliness and courage to say they are ready to defend their country against foreign invasion, but they are not ready to shoot down their mothers and wives and children, and the capitalists who are the cause of their submission."

calist' was bound to bring about. He was arrested for distributing amongst the soldiers this very open letter, and with the object of inducing them to refuse to obey the orders of their superior officers if they were called upon to shoot in time of rioting. This man is now committed for trial, and I cannot say anything more about him except that I took the view that the Director of Public Prosecutions ought to assist in the conduct of the proceedings. Does the hon. member for Bow think that if Crowsley was to be prosecuted for distributing those leaflets, those who were responsible for the initial publication of the open letter should be allowed to go free?"

MR. LANSBURY—"I quite agree you have to prosecute all of us, and (pointing to the Opposition benches) those hon. members too."

SIR RUFUS ISAACS said he would deal with hon. members opposite later in his speech. When the question of prosecuting the "Syndicalist" occurred he had to consider against whom there was sufficient evidence. He had in the end to prosecute the only persons against whom he had evidence—the persons whose names appeared on the imprint of the paper. Then the hon. member for Bow and Bromley asked him quite properly why he had prosecuted the publisher and printers and did not prosecute those who were lurking somewhere behind the curtain. His answer was that he had no evidence except against those three men. What happened after that? The Crowsley prosecution and the prosecution against Bowman and the Buck brothers had been reported in the papers, and questions had been put in Parliament.

MR. TOM MANN'S ARREST.

Then Mr. Tom Mann made a speech. He would not go into the details of it, as the matter was sub-judice. He could only speak from the prima facie evidence put before him. Mr. Tom Mann in that speech distinctly affirmed that he was responsible for the publication, that the Government were prosecuting the small men because they dared not prosecute the person who was really responsible, and that he as chairman was the person who was responsible. It was from that speech and another that the evidence was obtained from which it was quite plain that Mr. Tom Mann accepted responsibility for the publication and challenged the Government to prosecute him for it. He also said that he would continue to publish the "Syndicalist," and there and then sold and distributed it.

It is said that an obsolete Act passed in 1797 was being put into force. It was true that there had been no prosecution under that Act since 1804, but that was because the offence was extremely rare. (Hear, hear.) The Act was not obsolete. It was to be found in every modern textbook of criminal law. What was more important, under the King's Regulations for the Army, a short notice giving the effect of the Act had to be read once in every three months at the head of every unit. The Act was, therefore, very much in force.

FULL RESPONSIBILITY ACCEPTED.

"I hope," Sir Rufus proceeded, "the House will understand that in what I am going to say I am not attempting to divest myself of any shred of the responsibility which rests upon me. I want the House to realise how it is that the prosecution of Mr. Tom Mann has taken place. The hon. member for Bow and Bromley (Mr. Lansbury) suggested that he had been singled out for arrest because he was prominent in the world of syndicalism and because he took a very prominent part in the labour unrest at the present time."

"I said that that was the predominant feeling outside among the workmen over whom he has influence," Mr. Lansbury remarked.

"I am sorry to hear it," replied the Attorney-General, "and I hope my hon. friend in justice not to myself but to the Government, when he sees these men outside, will point out to them that it was not at the instigation of the Government that he was arrested. He took place in the speech in..."

more lenient view of the case. ("Hear, hear," and Opposition cries of "Oh.")

ULSTER "BOMBAST."

"There is one other question that has been raised," said the Attorney-General, "that of statements made by Privy Counsellors and others in regard to Ulster and other parts of Ireland. (Ministerial cheers.) Mr. Lansbury has said that he ought to have interfered there, but so far as I am personally concerned I have no jurisdiction in Ireland. I am not Attorney-General for Ireland. But I am not going to ride off on that plea. I have always thought that hon. members of the House, and more particularly right hon. gentlemen, or gentlemen or noble gentlemen holding high position, did take upon themselves the gravest responsibility when they chose to use inflammatory language in Ireland with reference to Ulster and with reference to Belfast. (Ministerial cheers.) Whether these words were seditious or not was a different matter."

I cannot help thinking that many of these wild utterances were nothing but bombast—(loud cheers)—and, in the mouths of high authority or authorities who ought to utter them, no one takes them too seriously, and no one really imagines that they lurk behind them anything but a desire to use strong language in a cause in which no doubt they feel very strongly." (Ministerial cheers.)

MR. HAMERSLEY (U., Woodstock) referred to whose utterances had been made in the earlier part of the debate and asked leave to make an explanation. What he had said was that while yielding to one in loyalty to King and country, if at any future time coercion were used—which God forbid—to force the Ulsterists of Ireland to come under a National Parliament in Dublin by a Home Rule Act which had never received the sanction of a majority of voters in England, neither his sons nor himself would take any part in such coercion. If those words could be construed as inciting soldiers to disobey the orders of their officers, he could only say that that was far from his thoughts.

MR. KING (L., Somerset) also referred to the prosecutions.

MR. WEDGWOOD'S amendment for the rejection of the Consolidated Fund Bill was rejected by 176 votes to 27—Government majority 149. The Bill was read a second time, and the House rose ten minutes before midnight.

HOUSE OF LORDS

Crown Refuses to Displace John Fitzgibbon, M.P.

On March 13th an Address to the Crown was carried in the House of Lords by 36 votes to 36, praying for the removal of John Fitzgibbon, M.P., from membership of the Congested Districts Board of the land on the ground of certain speeches delivered in relation to the agrarian question in districts under the jurisdiction of the Board.

At yesterday's sitting of the House of Lords Lord Chesterfield brought up the following reply from his Majesty to the Address presented by the House:

"My Lords,—I have received the Address praying for the removal of John Fitzgibbon, M.P., from his office as one of the members of the Congested Districts Board, and I have given full consideration to the grounds for the removal set forth therein. I am informed that John Fitzgibbon has expressed regret for the conduct complained of, and has promised whilst he remains a member of the Board to abstain from any repetition of the whole subject will continue to be under my watchful attention."

AMERICAN PRICES

Mrs. H. Finnis Johnson
(n. Annie Thompson)

37, ROTHERWICK ROAD,
HENDON, N.W.

26th March 1912

Dear Mr. Lansbury.

You will be surprised to hear from me, but as your husband is such a busy man, I am writing to tell you how very proud my husband & I are of him, & his doings in the House. He has fulfilled our expectations of him, & I assure you that

27
they were not small. It is customary for folks to wait until their friends are dead before eulogising them, but we think that is a mistake.

We have the very highest admiration & esteem for Mr. Lansbury & think it an honor to have known him. He is indeed a true friend of Humanity & his influence must be widely felt. I hope he will not suffer physically from the arduous nature of his work, & we all hope that during the summer you will

both come up & see us. We
are on the Hampstead Garden
Suburb, quite close to Golden
Green Station, altho^{ugh} the postal
address is Hendon.

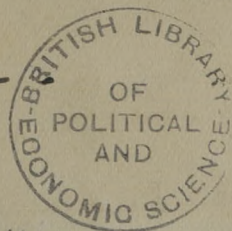
Enclosed is £1 for
the Defence Fund. (I'm sorry
it isn't more) If it must be
acknowledged, let it be as from
H.A.T. or merely put under
"collected by G. Lansbury". Harry
finds his position very awkward
in these troublous times owing
to his views, & if he were
known to have subscribed to
this fund it might become

more than awkward for all of us.

Hoping you & the
children are all well, looking
forward to seeing you later
I remain

Yours affectionately
H. Annie Johnson.

I'm afraid I haven't in the
least expressed what I wanted
to say, but you will all
remember that I never had
the gift of speech



M449

TREASON TRIALS UNDER LIBERALISM.

A PROTEST AND AN APPEAL TO BRITISH SOLDIERS NOT TO SHOOT.

By GEORGE LANSBURY, M.P.*

I suppose that everyone will agree that at this moment there is more unrest among the working classes than at any period within the knowledge of any of us. It is at this moment that the Attorney-General, acting, I suppose, quite within the law, has thought fit to single out a quite obscure little journal which had a circulation that did not come up to hundreds, even if it went to that, and to take these men and put them on their trial practically for sedition.

LIBERALS AND TORIES GUILTY.

I would like to say with regard to both Liberal and Tory Parties that I do not think they come into court with very clean hands from the point of view of law-breaking and advising the breaking of the law. A good many Liberals, when the Conservative Government passed the Education Act, went into the country and quite as deliberately incited their friends in the Passive Resistance League to break the law so far as that Act was concerned, and they were not prosecuted for so doing. I am not standing here to say anything in judgment upon them. If they believed in what they were doing I think they were entitled to do it. In Ulster Unionist members of Parliament are doing something which, though not applicable at this moment, is going in their judgment to apply after a few months' time. They are organising the importation of arms, and they are raising a tremendous amount of money, running into hundreds of thousands of pounds, for the purpose of arming men; they are either telling lies in the Press or that is true. They are doing that for the purpose of meeting certain emergency measures in regard to Home Rule. I can say that no one belonging to either Party can say that it is a very wrong thing for people, when feeling strongly, to give expression to their views, even if those views happen to be opposed to the law. If Unionists are allowed to claim the right to rebel against Home Rule, then those people who are starving can appeal to their own men—men sprung from the same class—not to use arms against them and shoot them down.

THE CASE OF PRIVY COUNCILLORS.

I think the House of Commons and the Attorney-General will admit that the case of the "Syndicalist" what was done was not to meet a condition of things taking place, but to meet something that might take place. The men who wrote the "Syndicalist" are in exactly the same position as the Unionist members from Ulster. There might have been some justification—which I do not admit—if the troops were being used, or if there was a likelihood of their being used, but everyone knows that there has not been any likelihood during this strike of soldiers being used in this way, and therefore the case is on all-fours with the Ulster case. Our case against the Government, or rather the Attorney-General, is that he has allowed men in the high position of Privy Councillors in the State to advocate rebellion under certain conditions and has not prosecuted a single man, and that then he comes out and lays hold of men like those connected with the "Syndicalist."

We are told we should respect the law. I want to respect the law, but I cannot respect the law when it is administered like that. I cannot respect the law which discriminates between Privy Councillors and men who have to earn their daily bread. If the Government were right in prosecuting Bowman and the Bucks they ought also to prosecute Sir E. Carson and his colleagues behind him. Not having done that, I wish to appeal to

Liberals who retain some regard for the rights of the individual they used to express when Mr. Balfour was Chief Secretary for Ireland. Over and over again I have sat in the gallery of the House of Commons and heard him denounced for doing things in Ireland similar to those which the Government are doing at this moment in England. What was always the answer by Mr. Gladstone and Sir William Harcourt? It was that it was the most futile thing to put down the expression of opinion as to the condition of Ireland, and that the right thing to do was to find out why people said these things and to get rid of the causes. When they committed outrages it was stated that the right thing to do was to find out what led up to the outrages. That is what should have been done in regard to the Syndicalists.

"PATRIOTS" AND "TRAITORS."

It has been said that Labour members are traitors. I want to say to all Liberal members I do not know what you mean by patriotism or being a traitor. We are all citizens of this country, and, so far as I am concerned, there is no country in the world I love like England. Whenever I go abroad and come back I am very glad indeed to feel that I am again at Newhaven or some other port. I yield to no one in love of my native country, but if you mean that I am a traitor because I protest against the perpetuation of the condition of things now prevailing I say I am a traitor. I am in positive rebellion against the condition of things under which our people are living.

What is going to happen if this conference fails? The "Observer," which, I believe, is edited by an ex-Fenian, told us yesterday that strong measures are going to be invoked, and we are told by other Tory journals—I hope the Liberals like them—that the Government are going to use the forces of the Crown, and that, generally speaking, soldiers are going to be marched about the country for the purpose of over-awing the miners. I am going to do everything I can to make the miners realise that they have a right to sell their labour on their own terms, without being dictated to by Governments, and if any Government think they are going to put down unrest and crush out this spirit of unrest by taking hold of a tiny little journal like the "Syndicalist" they are making the biggest mistake that any Government has ever made in our time.

FIRING ON UNARMED COWARDLY.

What are we asking? That unarmed people should not be attacked by armed people. Is there any member of Parliament who would attack with a revolver an unarmed man under any circumstances—a man who was not attacking him at all? Why do they suppose they are obliged to use the Army? Perhaps a house is burned down or a factory is burned down. I am one of those to whom property does not matter, but to whom human life does matter. In my opinion a human being is worth all the property I know of. You can rebuild a factory, and you can re-make a machine, but you cannot bring back a human life under any circumstances, and without any reservation whatsoever I associate myself with those men when they appeal to the troops not to fire on unarmed people, and I say if men be called upon to fire at unarmed people it is a most cowardly and wicked thing.

It may be asked, What are you to do? I was in Colchester the other day, and I was speaking to some men in the Army—I do not mean publicly, we were walking about—who came from the colliery districts of this country, and they were in mortal terror that they might be sent down to

places where their own fathers, brothers, or cousins might be residing, and that the officers might call upon them to fire upon their own relations. It is against human nature to ask men to do anything of the kind, and if I were the only man ready to do it I should protest against anything of the kind being done. Our opponents will say, What are we to do if we are in a riot? I have been in a great many disturbances, and I have read the whole of the debate connected with Mitchelstown. Every argument the Attorney-General can use to-day Mr. Balfour used then, and he was contradicted by the Liberal Party out-and-out. The argument was that the crowd was too tumultuous and riotous, that they could not be kept in order, and that shots had to be fired. The whole strength of the Liberal Party took the other side.

HOW TO STOP RIOTS.

It is perfectly well known as regards crowds that if you want to terrorise people you will use arms; if you want to prevent them carrying on their agitation you will use the military; but if you only want to put down a momentary disturbance you will confine yourself to the same kind of weapon which the people have in their hands. In London we have had a great number of disputes with great crowds of people, and those of us who have been close to the disturbances outside Parliament have remarked how the police, no matter what the temper of the crowd, were able to keep them in order and keep them moving without any violence at all. The proper course to adopt is simply to allow the police to have their hands with weapons that will kill people, but just to get them out of the road for the time being.

What is it these people are fighting for? Exactly the same thing that the Irish people fought for at Mitchelstown and other places—for the right to live. Why is it that Liberals are not on their side as they were on the side of the Irish people when they were struggling? It is because there are not yet enough people who are interested in it. When there are, then I venture to say that the same kind of change of opinion will take place that took place over that. The workmen who are out on strike are out to get more of what they earn each week. The plan of campaign in Ireland was to enable the tenants to get more of what they earned each week. There is really no difference in principle about it at all.

Let the House of Commons think what this manifesto says. Some men commit an outrage. Then police or soldiers are let loose. Are you realising at this moment the vast numbers of people who are not connected with this strike at all, the six or seven hundred thousand men and their women and children who are living on partial strike pay? And what is their condition? If we realised that I think we might understand that they feel a little rebellious under these conditions. They are fighting for their very existence so that they may have what is a subsistence for their women and children.

The Government tell us that they must preserve order. I deny their right altogether to bring armed troops against these people. I am an old anti-militarist; I used to come to the House of Commons to listen to the late John Bright. One thing I honour him for is the stand he took during an unpopular period against wars that took place which were popular. I honoured him for being the apostle of peace he was for the most part of his life, and I learned from him and a good many more people then in the House of Commons the impression that war was a very bad thing.

One man of another nation helped

me to believe war wrong by writing about it, and I invite the Attorney-General to consider whether the publishers of the Biglow Papers should not be at once prosecuted. It might help the House of Commons to remember that James Russell Lowell, who was American Ambassador here, held these views which I hold. I am proud to be a follower of his. He was laughed at for a time, but later on we were proud to welcome him as one of the most distinguished ambassadors who ever came to St. James's. Here is what he says:—

Ez fer war, I call it murder—
There you hev it plain an' flat;
I don't want to go no furdur
Than my Testymnt fer that.
God hez said so plump an' fairly
It's ez long ez it is broad,
An' you've gut to git up airly
Ef you want to take in God.

'Taint your eppylettes an' feathers
Make the thing a grain more right;
'Taint a-follerin' your bell-wethers
Will excuse ye in His sight.
Ef you take a sword an' dror it,
An' go stick a feller thru,
Guv'ment aint to answer fer it—
God'll send the bill to you.

Tell ye jest the oond I've come to,
Arter ciperin' plaguay smart,
An' it makes a handy sum, tu,
Any gump could larn by heart;
Labourin' man an' labourin' woman
Hev one glory an' one shame,
Ev'ry thing thet's done inhuman
Injers all on 'em the same.

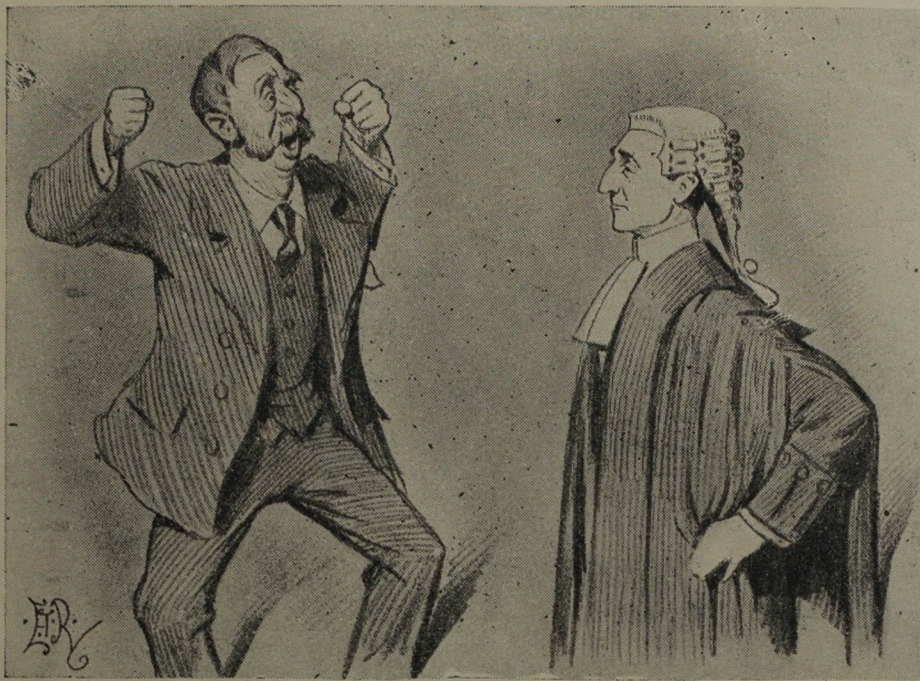
Those are the sentiments I stand by in the House of Commons. You call upon one set of the working classes to murder another set of the working classes, for the soldiers are drawn from the working classes. If you set out to shoot down their fathers and their mothers you know perfectly well that you are calling upon their loved ones.

I hope that British soldiers will have manliness and pluck enough to say, "We are ready to defend the country if need be against foreign invasion, but we are not ready to shoot down our brothers, our sisters, our wives, and our friends in defence of the capitalists, who are trying to starve us into submission." Remember that is what it all comes to; that is what you are counting on.

AN APPEAL TO BRITISH "TOMMIES."

I hope that the British Tommies will have too much British spirit in them to allow themselves to be used in this great crisis against their own class, and, further, I hope that the House of Commons will compel the Attorney-General not to discriminate in this business, and will say to the Government, "If you are going to prosecute people for preaching rebellion, then everybody has got to be treated on equal terms." And I say, further, I hope the next time, if people are put on their trial, that such a wicked judge as the Recorder of London will not be in charge of the trial. Of the things that one learns in public life one of them is that the worst method of getting a good judge is to draw him from either side of this House. The Recorder for London made a most iniquitous charge, and I think it is time that some method was adopted for appointing men to the Bench who do not hold such strong political, biased views. Do not let the House of Commons think this is a small thing. If you knew the kind of letter-bags that some of us are getting on this subject you would know that feeling is very strong indeed. I want to join in asking the House to say that this sort of prosecution shall stop, and also to say that you will not lock up—as many of the workmen believe—the best of their organisers outside on a technical defence, for something that is said, because you want to take him away from the men during this period of crisis. That, at any rate, is what the men are feeling, and they are giving expression to it outside.

* Speech in the House of Commons on Monday, March 25th.



LANSBURY MISTAKES HIS MAN.

Comrades LANSBURY, WILL THORNE and Co. find their usual street-corner methods wholly ineffectual to shift the ATTORNEY-GENERAL from the discharge of a plain duty. (We trust his hearing will not be permanently affected by the amount of bellowing he has had to submit to.)

(MR. LANSBURY and SIR RUFUS ISAACS.)

more earnestness or with more sincere wish for the good of the country on the whole than the PRIME MINISTER."

Thereupon the House with characteristic flexibility turned to business, and before it rose at early morn had read the Mines Bill a third time and sent it on to the wakeful Lords.

Business done.—Coal Conference finally broken down, Mines Bill read a third time by 213 votes against 48.

Thursday.—CRAIG (not the gallant Captain, but CHARLES CURTICE, Member for South Antrim) has unearthed fresh iniquity on part of a banal Government. Appears that, a vacancy presenting itself in office of Sergeant-Instructor at the Royal Hibernian Military School, Dublin, Colour-Sergeant H. MOORE applied for and was appointed to the post, being, CHARLES CURTICE says, "at the time a Roman Catholic."

Phrase seems to suggest avowedly temporary condition of religious conviction. Odd on the face of it; turns out to be justified by result. According to CHARLES CURTICE's interesting narrative Colour-Sergeant MOORE entered upon his duties on 25th May, 1910. On the 1st November, 1911, "having in the meantime become a Protestant," he received notice terminating his engagement. "In the meantime," indefinite in point of date, subtly conveys idea of military promptness and precision in the right-about-face. Probably Colour-Sergeant MOORE was brought over by closer study of the gentleness

and charity of Protestantism as practised in Belfast. However that be, Ulster wants to know why this thing is thus?

UNDER-SECRETARY OF WAR makes timid answer to effect that Sergeant-Instructor at this school has always been a Catholic, and that suitable provision was elsewhere made for the convert. CHARLES CURTICE obliged to accept answer for moment; but more will be heard of the matter.

Business done.—The Suffragette though in prison yet speaketh. Last year, Bill designed to bestow suffrage upon women, read second time with overwhelming majority of 167. To-day, the House, having meanwhile had fresh and fuller experience of what happens when Lovely Woman stoops to politics, throws out the same measure by majority of 14. Thus are the shop windows in the Strand and further West avenged. Decision the more significant since in exceptionally crowded House division was taken after unloosing of Party bonds.

Friday.—Curious how an incident intrinsically unimportant sometimes leads to grave issues. Take for example the little affair of ISAAC NEWTON and the apple. Had ISAAC not happened to be under a certain tree at a particular moment when the apple was ripe to fall, we might to this day, ignorant of bearings of Law of Gravitation, been wondering how we can keep our feet on the surface of a sphere hurrying

through space at reckless speed. In a way it's the same with LANE-FOX and those thirteen pigs, late resident on the farm of Mr. DODSON of Sprotborough.

It was so far back as August that these pigs with a weird history first strayed within ken of Member for Barkston Ash, West Riding. Whenever, as not infrequently happens, LANE-FOX trots them out—or, to be more precise, invokes their wraiths—the House, possibly discovered in moment of lethargy, displays keenest interest. Whether from cultured art or casual oversight LANE-FOX is always distantly allusive in his reference to details in the career of the pigs. As *Jeames's* birth was "wropped in a mistry," so the death of the Sprotborough pigs—if indeed they be dead—is enveloped in haze. LANE-FOX's most precise reference is found in the phrase "reported to have died or been destroyed or buried." Whether he knows more and is desirous of sparing the House a shock is a secret he will carry back with him in brief Easter Recess to the Barkston Ash Division, West Riding.

L.-F. never was what may be called unduly sprightly in manner. Effect of this obscure tragedy, brooded over day and night, has been to invest him with



BENN TROVATO.

"I will undertake to put a little figure of a man of average height beside it for purposes of comparison."

(MR. WEDGWOOD BENN.)

Mrs. Thomas Fisher Arnwin
(2. Jane Cobden)

30

3, ADELPHI TERRACE,
STRAND.

Tuesday.

April 16th 1912.

Dear Mr. Lambury.

I see you are
speaking at the
International Suffrage
Shop, close by here,
tomorrow evening, & I
see writing to say how
glad we shall be if
you & Mr. Lambury will

Come here first, a little
before 7. 0' clock, I have
dinner with us - I am
so sorry I cannot come
& hear you but I am
engaged to Mrs. Gogabee
that evening at 8.30.
And with kindest regards.

Yours sincerely,
Jane Condit Merrill

Vera Wentworth

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VOTES FOR WOMEN.

The Women's Social and Political Union.

All Communications, unless marked "private," will be opened by one of the Hon. Secretaries:

Committee:

- MRS. PANKHURST, Founder & Hon. Sec.
- MRS. PETHICK LAWRENCE, Hon. Treasurer.
- MRS. TUKE, Joint Hon. Sec.
- MISS CHRISTABEL PANKHURST, Organizing Sec.

- MRS. WOLSTENHOLME ELMY.
- MISS MARY GAWTHORPE.
- MISS ANNIE KENNEY.
- MISS MARY NEAL.
- MISS ELIZABETH ROBINS.

Auditors:

MESSRS. SAYERS & WESSON, Chartered Accountants, 19, Hanover Square, W.

Bankers:

MESSRS. BARCLAY & Co., 19, Fleet Street.

OFFICE: 4. CLEMENT'S INN, STRAND, W.C.

Publishing Office: THE WOMAN'S PRESS, 156, Charing Cross Road, W.C.

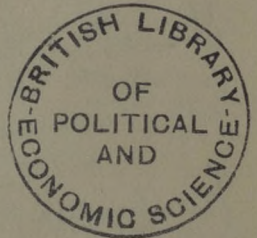
Newspaper: "VOTES FOR WOMEN."

Telegraphic Address—WOSPOLU, LONDON.

Telephone—2724 Holborn (three lines).

Holloway Prison 19

23/4/12



M449

Dear Mr. Jansbury

I'm afraid we are on the verge of another hungerstrike. You will no doubt remember my letting you that there were a certain number of us who would not do prison work on principle. I myself had been one of these until my interviews with you, after which I decided to do the work, for the time being at any rate. Several of our number however felt that they could not

conscientiously made this compromise,
but as they had been told by
the governor that the privileges
did not depend upon doing
labor, they gave in, and the
strike was settled. They
would never have stopped
striking had they understood
that prison work was required
of them as a ~~condition~~ ^{condition} ~~of their~~ ^{of their} ~~principles~~
principles. They have now
been told that if they do
not work they will have none
of the privileges, but will be
again forced to eat prison
food & have letters & visits
once in two months as before.
The governor denies that he
ever said such a thing, tho'
he said it to all of us & even
the woman ~~and she~~ ^{and she} heard
him say it. These people

are naturally blazing with
indignation against all this
lying and treachery, and
declare that they will strike
if they do not get their privileges
without doing prison work.
Even those of us who were
prepared to do work, have
now drawn back in a
protest against the ~~treachery~~
treachery.
I myself could not do
work & get privileges ~~any~~
that my comrades had nothing
at all. Many people would
be most willing to do prison
work if the privileges did
not depend upon it.
So some to bolster you with all
the horror against, but
I thought I had better let

33/ you know in case you could
do anything before we start.
I hope I have made the
situation perfectly plain but
one seldom can write an
intelligent letter here &
so bad for ones brain.
~~Thank~~ Everybody's thanks
for your great help to
our cause you are a
credit & I would not
venture to write you
again. Love them.

Most sincerely yours.

Vera Wentworth.

P.S. Did you send Aunt
450 thanks as usual;

P.P.S. Love to Dolly.

P.P.P.S. This letter is smuggled
out so please don't advertise.

Syndicalist
AN APPEAL TO SOLDIERS. (34)

May 1912
By GEORGE LANSBURY, M.P.

It might help the House of Commons to remember that James Russell Lowell, who was American Ambassador here, held these views which I hold. I am proud to be a follower of his. He was laughed at for a time, but later on we were proud to welcome him as one of the most distinguished Ambassadors who ever came to St. James's. Here is what he says :

Ez for war, I call it murder—
There you hev it plain an' flat ;
I don't want to go no furdur
Than my Testymnt fer that.
God hez said so plump an' fairly
It's ez long ez it is broad,
An' you've gut to be fairly
Ef you want to be good.

'Taint your eppylettes an' feathers
Make the thing a grain more right ;
'Taint a-follerin' your bell-wethers
Will excuse ye in His sight.
Ef you take a sword an' dror it,
An' go stick a feller thru,
Guv'ment aint to answer for it—
God'll send the bill to you.

Tell ye jest the eend I've come to,
Arter cipherin' plaguey smart,
An' it makes a handy sum, tu,
Any gump could larn by heart ;
Labourin' man an' labourin' woman
Hev one glory an' one shame,
Ev'ry thing thet's done inhuman
Injers all on 'em the same.

Those are the sentiments I stand by in the House of Commons. You call upon one set of the working classes to murder another set of the working classes, for the soldiers are drawn from the working classes. If you set out to shoot down their fathers and their mothers you know perfectly well that you are calling upon them to murder their loved ones. It is nothing else.



the State to take possession of the sources of
of wealth and to abolish the abuses of m
monopoly or exploitation, they will de-

35

FROM MRS. F. W. PETHICK LAWRENCE.

87, Clement's Inn, W.C.

May 14th, 1912.

Entrance 3 & 4, Clement's Inn.

Dear Mr Lansbury:-

I have been reading the report of your speech at the Pavillion which is given in this week's Votes for Women, and I feel so deeply touched by your words that I want to write and thank you for it. It seems wonderful to me that you should understand our Movement as you do. Indeed I feel you can say " our " Movement because it belongs to your spirit and is part of all that for which your life and work stands. I was especially moved by your reference to John Brown and the story of the black woman and baby whom he blessed on his way to the scaffold. The essence of the meaning of our Movement is in that sentence of his " Thank God, I am willing and able to die for someone"

With greeting to Mrs Lansbury and yourself.

Yours sincerely,

George Lansbury Esq., M.P.
103, St Stephens Road,
Bow. E.

F. Pethick Lawrence

HOW I BECAME A SOCIALIST.

II.—By GEORGE LANSBURY, M.P.

A TESTIMONY AND A CONFESSION OF FAITH.

It is difficult, except for those who are suddenly converted, for many of us to say at what particular moment we became Socialists. I have always felt that I was a Socialist so soon as I commenced to think.

I spent most of my youthful days roaming about stables and riding in brick carts, and, a little later on, in and out of railway trucks; occasionally riding on an engine, and stealing away at nights to watch the signalmen in their boxes, and sometimes to feel the joy of helping one of them to make his porridge, and, better still, to eat it.

A MOTHER'S INFLUENCE.

My father took very little interest in public affairs, but my mother always had some idea of what was going on. One of the memorable days of my life—I must have been somewhere about 6½ years of age—was when I was held in her arms on Blackheath, watching the polling for David Salaman, the Jew, who eventually won the fight for the removal of Jewish Disabilities. I did not know much about it, but I have always remembered that my mother was on the side of the Jew.

One of the other things which I remember quite well, and which helped, at least, to make me have democratic feelings and tendencies, was being sent round on Sunday and other nights to tell my father's workmen what time they had to go to work the next morning. Overtime in those days was the rule rather than the exception. I never could understand why it was that those who worked so hard lived in such tiny houses, and, like most boys of that time, I put all the evils of life down to the aristocracy, royalty, and kings.

Quite early in life I became a most rabid Fenian because I thought that Ireland was downtrodden and oppressed by the landlords. I never dreamed either then or for some years afterwards that my own upbringing and whatever advantage I had in life over others (which, by the way, was not much) was gained at the expense of those workmen and their families who earned profit for my father.

FIRST CONTACT WITH SOCIALISM.

It was not until the eighties that I heard the word "Socialism" in its modern sense. I went to one of the first meetings that Hyndman addressed. I tramped round London listening to Shaw and Burrows and the host of others who in that day were preaching Socialism. Like everyone else I took part in all the big meetings connected with Henry George; I was present at his debate with H. M. Hyndman. I also attended, among other debates, the great St. James's Hall encounter between the late Charles Bradlaugh and H. M. Hyndman.

During all this time I was working as a voluntary worker for the Liberal Party in the East End of London, and as such I organised a deputation to Ireland to see for ourselves what evictions meant. I think the finishing touch to my education was seeing the Irish Question just as it was, and also the realisation that the tenants on the Drapers Estates of one of the City of London companies really earned the rent which helped to pay for the great City banquets, and also helped to pay for the building of the People's Palace in East London and its upkeep. I saw much clearer than any theoretical political economy could have taught me that without these tenants and their labour there would be no rent, no dinners, no People's Palace. I applied the same kind of reasoning to what I saw of the place where I lived and worked, and understood that while many other things may be and are important, in the last resort it is human labour which is the absolutely essential factor in carrying on production.

I read a great deal during these years: Morris's "News from Nowhere," Henry George's "Progress and

Poverty," Gronlund's "Co-operative Commonwealth," Hyndman's "England for All," and some parts of his "Historic Basis of Socialism," and with much mental strain went through Walker's "Political Economy" and Karl Marx's "Capital." The books dealing with political economy never made much impression on me. I suppose it is necessary that some people should be steeped in that kind of thing; I am only an ordinary person, and I should never recommend a beginner to start building up his Socialism merely by book reading. I am quite certain that those of us who possess the very

I came to the conclusion that Liberalism would progress just so far as the great capitalist moneybags would allow it to progress, and so I took the plunge and joined the S.D.F. At that time there were no other Socialist organisations except the Fabian Society and the Socialist League, and with regard to the former I always had a feeling (which even yet I have not got over, although I am now a member of the Society) that Fabians were much too clever and superior for ordinary persons like myself to be associated with.



THREE BLIND MINISTERS.

Mr. JOHN BURNS (with characteristic optimism): "What's wrong with them? Don't they know John Burns is at the L.G.B.?"

Mr. ASQUITH: "Daresay there's something wrong, but I haven't a notion what it is."

Mr. LLOYD GEORGE (with flash of inspiration): "Let's appoint a Committee of Inquiry."

[The Government, it is stated, are appointing a Committee to investigate the causes of the Labour Unrest.]

poorest intellect, if we will only use it on the things we can see and understand around us, will realise the truth that Socialism stands for.

BREAK WITH LIBERALISM.

My final break with Liberalism really took place after a controversy with Lord Morley, who was then looked upon as one of the great leaders of the Liberal Party. I argued with him that if the Government could fix rents in Ireland and so indirectly fix the income of the tenants, there was no logical reason why industrial wages and hours should not also be fixed by Parliament. I found that the Liberal Party, with him as its spokesman, were quite willing to adopt principles for dealing with poverty in Ireland which they were quite unwilling to adopt in this country, and, in passing, it is curious to notice this last thirty years have seen succeeding Governments, Liberal and Tory alike, breaking all the canons of orthodox political economy in their social legislation for the sister island.

I cannot say that at this time I was a Socialist, or rather a Social-Democrat, in what Hyndman or Quelch would call the full sense of the word, but I joined the S.D.F. because I felt that they stood in England for revolt against present conditions, and for a reorganised society which would be built up by the efforts of the workers themselves. I had no clear notion as to how this could be done. My mind swayed first to the beautiful ideas contained in "News from Nowhere," and then again to Bellamy's "Looking Backward" and Gronlund's "Commonwealth," but amid all the changes that I have experienced since these days I am still fixed in the essential ideas that I started with.

MY CREED.

The poor are robbed daily. Members of Parliament, Cabinet Ministers, and all the classes who are not engaged in manual labour, live on the backs of those who toil, and it is these toilers who one day must rise up and throw us off. As to how it will be done eventually I do not know, but this I do

know: that no set of experts will ever save the people or bring about a state of freedom. Neither will any system which sets out to regulate and control the people's lives. The sacred right of going to hell if one so desires is, of course, an extreme kind of doctrine to stand by, but, all the same, people who are kept in order either by the fear of the law or starvation cannot be called free. So the Socialism which I am doing my best to get people to accept is the theory of life which starts out with the assumption that human beings, as human beings, are entitled to the fullest opportunity of mental and moral development that is possible; that the object of civilisation should be not merely to increase riches, learning, and culture for the few, but the raising of the whole of society.

THE WOMAN QUESTION.

I have also come to see that what we call the Woman Question is of the very greatest importance for the future of our society. One of the things which makes me an enthusiastic champion of the woman's cause is that I realise that the same principle of superiority which the well-to-do man holds so far as regards himself and the workman is in many ways exactly the same kind of feeling that men have towards women. It really comes to this: What value do we put on each other? The coalowner never dreams that it would be right and proper for either himself or his sons to be called upon to hew coal, or, in fact, to carry on what is called the manual labour of the world. He demands for himself a much higher standard of life and much better conditions. On the other hand he is quite satisfied that thousands of his fellow men should submit, and in his opinion rightly submit, to conditions of life and labour which for himself would be intolerable.

It is much the same in regard to women. We shut them up in their little cottages, their tenement houses, the wretched flats of Scotland, and tell them that their "sphere" is the home. Every man knows quite well that he would not submit to such conditions for himself. Again, either for a man's pleasure or from sheer economic necessity, a woman sells herself on the streets. There are very few people, in fact I know of no one, who would receive such a woman into their own home to be a friend, a companion, of their family. On the other hand, we all know quite well that no questions are asked of a man in this connection. He is welcomed, and married off to our daughters and our friends' daughters as an honoured person.

In this way we do definitely assert by word and by deed an opinion that a woman is not so valuable a person as a man. This is no question of arguing as to the rights or wrongs of present-day moral codes. All I am wishing to point out is that this so-called moral code operates in the most immoral and wicked sense possible. To me, at any rate, there appears no way out but by economic freedom. When this comes for both men and women it may be that what are called "morals" to-day will be entirely recast, but this I feel certain of, that whatever moral code is laid down, either by religion or by the law of the land, it will apply with equal force to both men and women.

This is another reason why I think women ought enthusiastically to support the Labour movement. Whatever our differences are, we certainly in a rough sort of way recognise what sex equality really means.

SOCIALIST DOGMA.

I want, however, to say two or three things quite generally. I think that none of us who are Socialists have any right to be dogmatic. It appears to me that most of the difficulties in regard to Socialist unity are to be found in the fact that we are really too intolerant of one another. I have never found any difficulty in being able to take part in public meetings and other work with any Social-Democrat, or, in fact, with any man who in any way believes in the doctrine of Socialism, and yet it appears to me that because very often of supposed differences

Kindly address reply to Care of -
or office of "Christian Herald" -
E. H. C. Ridder

Christ's College, (37)
Christchurch.
New Zealand.
20th May 1912.

G. Lansbury Esq. M.P.
Bow. London.

Sir,

I have the honour under instructions of directing to your esteemed notice, the accompanying pages, viz - "The Physical Law of Christ", in which it is ventured to assume that no affront will be counted, and that the conclusions drawn from your public utterances, which have impelled this approach, are not a 'mistaken subtraction'.

Be this as it may, your kind perusal of the lines is earnestly solicited. The Message they embody bespeaks a new interpretation of the gospel of Jesus Christ unto men, which, it is believed, consummates the ultimate fulfillment of the "Glad tidings" rehearsed in Bethlehem of Judaea.

It is proposed to arrange an initial compilation of the expounded doctrine in simple book form for universal distribution, but practical means to this end being lacking, the substance of this address is being disposed to such men in the multitudes of mankind, as, by their public works, their spoken professions or expressed writings, have justified human faith in counting upon their zeal for whatsoever promises to the elucidation

(38)

of creature wretchedness and the whole uplifting
of fallen or suffering humanity.

Of the world's need, no man's expression
is wanting to make evident!

It is held by the Author in this purpose
that when upon mortal comprehension there evolves
a new and unassailable truth, — being neither the
outcome of human vanity, nor the aim of
individual aggrandisement, — it becomes the right of
all men's intelligence, and that in the great vat
of Universal Thought, lies its test for good or
ill.

It is believed that comprehension of this
vital message will not be wanting, nor
response tardy.

In conclusion I have to add that for
the integrity of my part in this communication,
and my personal good faith, I have pleasure
in presenting the name of the Editor of the
"Christian Herald" (of New Zealand) — Mr Louis P. Christie,
of Christchurch.

Publicity of this letter is kindly not desired.
Anticipating the favour of your reply,

I am, Sir,

Yours faithfully,

E. H. C. Ridder.

with letter of 20 May 1912 from E. H. C. Ridder
of Christchurch, N. Z.

"That THY way may be known upon earth; THY saving health upon all Nations:"

THE PHYSICAL LAW OF CHRIST.

Under the physical conditions ruling the earth, the fulfilling of the Gospel of Christ (except in phraseology) is an impossible attainment. Were it otherwise, every human creature in the World would be a living Christian mark; for a state of abounding content and happiness here and ever, is the only desire of all the people of all the races of all mankind. No other contention has dominated the souls of the children of men since the evil desire of the eyes, and the gross lusts of the flesh, rived from the grasp of mortals the balance of physical law that maintained it.

Every belief, every scheme, every strife possible to human dream and devisement has been endeavoured in the vain pursuit of that forfeited golden mean, but now as alway, to the sane and steadfast mind, no delusion of hope is born of these. "Vanity of vanities, all is vanity!".

One there came of mankind to earth, in whom was re-incarnated the uncorrupted law and light of all the divine plan; in whom was transcribed all things that in the order of sinless man should be, with the power to teach it unto a lost World anew: which in mercy was promised, and in truth fulfilled.

Cruelly, mockingly, blindly, was the teaching received, and, so far as the sin of man was not withheld, its sublimest conceptions were blasphemously disregarded and destroyed. Yet, because the message was divine, and being divine deathless, revelation has ceased never, in her infinite processes, to regenerate by the trial

of human pain, all that saving worth, mutilated and defaced in its re-appearing by sinful disobedience and unseeing iniquity; to reclaim that "new testament" of Original Enactment, which was not, as in our mistaken interpretations we have confessed it, a Spiritual essence, a Spiritual teaching, or a Spiritual force, but a Physical Law, as touching all material things.

Fiercely, impenitently, gropingly, yet hungrily, have men striven to regain the text of that great salvation; that mighty principle from which should be evolved the perfect working of earth's latest day; and, blent anew, the harmony of eternal song: that glorious truth redeemed from the depths of mortal hell, twice ten hundred years ago by Him of Nazareth.

For, as much as the flower of the plant may not appear without first the establishment of its root and stem, so the spiritual aspect of man's life may not be developed without the fundamental basis of true material condition. THIS IS THE LAW.

And now revelation greeteth her finished work in the regeneration of that text by which men may seek to know, and buckle on their armour to fulfil, that infinite law.

The earth is in travail for new birth. It is for human kind to resolve the manner of her living off-spring: Whether by it we shall rise on the wings of a glorious uplifting, or sink downwards to the unrevealed fathomless pit.

The Interpreter.

Whitmonds (41)

18, WESTMINSTER MANSIONS,

Mrs. Josiah Clement
Wedgwood (n. Ethel Bowen)

GREAT SMITH STREET,

WESTMINSTER.

[? 27 May 1912]

My dear Mrs Lunsbury,

Your wife has
promised — subject
to your engagements —
that you and she will
come and spend a
peaceful 10 days with
me in Gloucestershire this

summer. So, as I
really want to make
sure of you, I am
writing now to ask
when you will come?
Towards the end of
August would be a
good time; — but
any time that suits you both
shall suit me.

Do come; it is lovely
country, beautiful air;
and the rest will
do you both worlds of
good.

Affectionately

Ethel Wedgwood

Bertha Kunz Baker
(of U.S.A.)

(43)

152 EAST 22ND STREET
NEW YORK.

just

[? 7 June]

[? 1912]

Dear Mr. Rusby -

Just a moment
to say that

I find people
very cordially
interested in
your coming
and hope

1
NEW YORK
FRANKLIN ST. STURBEAT

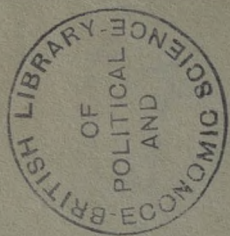
I will give you
personal testimony
how ~~the~~ the young
fighters are —

neatness kind of regard
to Mrs. Rankin & all the same
as to ~~some~~ — Faithfully
Outback. Baker

to welcome
you -

I hope to
send details in
a day or two -

I expect
to see you
daughter -
tomorrow



I arrived two
days ago —

know that of there
any reason in my
composition — it must
come to the ~~level~~ — for I
attain was proper Churched

M449

M4

Mrs. Friedrich Hansen

45

Red Cottage,

Nunthorpe, S.O.

Yorks.

June 20th 1912

Dear Mr. Lansbury,

I suppose you will be aware that the new Reform Bill is possessed of a Clause which will debar married women in England from serving as county and town Councillors. It is definitely stated that "a married woman shall not be registered as a local government elector or vote as a local government elector for the purpose of a County Council election or



M449

for the purpose of a Municipal borough council election."

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Now what do you think of that for a piece of gross impertinence, particularly after the gallons of advice we have received from the anti-suffragettes about doing our duty on local ~~and~~ authorities?

Had you not better suggest in the House of Commons that a bill ought to be brought in, which will prevent all women in future from bearing and giving birth to children, and transfer that right on men! Then of course you could nicely do without women and get us all caged up if you have at the stamina to

kill us all off at once. Insult upon insult is heaped upon our injuries!

I am again in the midst of a little campaign to be put on the Burgers list as a ratepayer with a view to doing my duty nobly on the Town Council if they will elect me. The Town Clerk promises to back one under the 1907 Act - and now comes this 'smash up' clause in the Reform Bill! What Revising Barister who has had sufficient intelligence to read the clauses of the Bill will decide to give a married woman the benefit of the doubt

left in the 1907 Qualification of Women Act?

Alas - alas! Do you think Dorothy and Edgar and one or two others of your own special little family colony could manage to slay the prime movers of such disgracefully insulting proposals? John Parsons should receive their special attention.

I have not time now but I want your help and advice about the 'deserted wife' question under Poor Law. The L. G. B. inspector told us yesterday that the Department desired all deserted wives to be shipped off to the Workhouse. A devilish scandal! No other word for it. But more later. Sincere greetings,
Marion Coates Hanson

Weekly Dispatch

N.B.—This Form must accompany any inquiry respecting this Telegram.



BEIR & SPOTTISWOODE, Ltd., Lond.

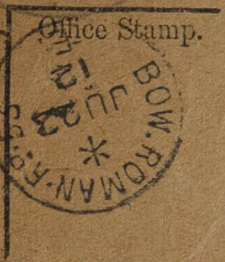
POST OFFICE TELEGRAPHS.

47a

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If the Receiver of an Inland Telegram doubts its accuracy, he may have it repeated on payment of half the amount originally paid for its transmission, any fraction of 1d. less than $\frac{1}{2}$ d. being reckoned as $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; and if it be found that there was any inaccuracy, the amount paid for repetition will be refunded. Special conditions are applicable to the repetition of Foreign Telegrams.

Office of Origin and Service Instructions.



London Ok (22 June 1912)

Charges to pay } s. d.

Handed in at } -10 .M.

Received here at } -48 .M.

TO { Reply Paid 24 Words George Penbury
103 St Stephens Road Bow.

We should be glad of your opinion on the problem of London Street perils there are to be 10000 more auditors in London by year Editor Weekly Dispatch.

(48)
[say 214] June 1912

Forcible Feeding as adopted in Birmingham.

The following letter has been addressed by Mrs. HUDLESTON, of 6, Wetherby Terrace, South Kensington, to a friend, on her release last Monday afternoon:—

“ We started hunger strike on Friday after tea. We were forcibly fed Sunday afternoon and Monday morning. They first attempted to use the nasal tube, forcing it up my right nostril and causing me intense pain, but the tube came through into my mouth. They then gagged me and tried to force a stomach tube down my throat; this entirely stopped my breathing and involuntarily I struggled convulsively for breath until they removed it. They then forced a passage up my left nostril and kept the tube there in spite of the pain, which was beyond description, while they poured a little food down, but I was unable to retain it. During the whole of this time I was trembling violently and held down by wardresses with tears in their eyes.

“ **Monday Morning.**—They made three attempts to force a tube up my nostril—each time it came into my mouth—the agony was intolerable. I was carried out by two wardresses in a dazed condition sobbing. After a few moments, when I thought the efforts to feed me had been relinquished, three wardresses, by the doctor's orders, supported me back, still dazed and unresisting. They made three more attempts through my nostril, tying me into the chair with cloths under my arms and round my feet. They gagged my mouth, and Dr. Hickman (sent from the Home Office, I understand) put his finger into my mouth, and tried to force the tube down my throat, which made me resist convulsively.

“ **At no time did I voluntarily resist.** Finding they could get no food down even after the sixth attempt, they took me out in a collapsed condition and put me into a hospital cell, and later in the day I was discharged.

“ The above is a true account of exactly what took place, and is not in the slightest degree exaggerated.

“ E. HUDLESTON.”

Let the British Public state whether this system of torture under the McKenna Administration is to be further tolerated.

to precede fol. 49

Vol. 5

25 June 1912

(folo. 49 — 132)

[? 25] June 1912

[see also below: 5 and 8 July 1912

PRIVATE NOTICE QUESTION.

Mr. Lansbury, - To ask the Home Secretary how many persons in prison for offences connected with the suffrage agitation are on hunger strike; how many are now being forcibly fed; how many are in hospital, and what is the cause and nature of the illness which has caused their removal to hospital; how many persons have been discharged from prison, and what were the reasons for their discharge.

Mr. Ellis Griffith.

The number of prisoners now refusing to take food is 57. 29 are being fed by tube, and 15 from a cup or spoon. The remaining 13 refused food only yesterday, and it has not yet been necessary to feed them. I have not had time to ascertain how many prisoners are in hospital in the other prisons, but in Holloway there is only one, admitted before the refusal of food began on account of a slight sprain to the knee. Within the last three days, 16 prisoners have been released on medical grounds in connection with their refusal to take food, and one on other grounds.

