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[See also at 5 Sept 1935]

The Times, August 19, 1935

THE MODERN WORLD AND WAR

CHRISTIANITY'S TASK

MR. LANSBURY'S PLEA FOR A TRUCE OF GOD

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES

Sir,—The whole civilized world is preparing for war; the armaments industry is going full steam ahead. My friend George Barnes has asked, Is there no voice in the world which can call a halt? I am not thinking only of the Italo-Abyssinian dispute. It is the general world situation, of which the Abyssinian questions are only incidental, which perplexes and worries people like myself. The terrible acceptance of future war as something we must prepare for as unavoidable is creating fear and despair among masses of people in all lands.

Many voices are heard blaming this nation or some other. I think we have all sinned and come short of the glory of God. Surely it must be obvious that once more in the world's history civilization is at the parting of the ways. If we go forward along the road which inevitably leads to war then we are all quite sure religion, morals, civilization will all crash to ruin and the world once more relapse into barbarism.

I am certain if our Government possessed the wisdom and the will to take the initiative and call upon the League of Nations to summon a new world conference, for the one single purpose of discussing how the vast stores of national resources and the tremendous unsatisfied markets of the world can be organized and regulated for the service of mankind, a great response would come from the common people everywhere. It is said the moment is not opportune. I disagree. Now is the day and now is the hour when action must be taken if we are to save ourselves from the fate which threatens us.

Surely in this crisis the voice of Christendom and all religions should be heard. I appeal to our Archbishops to take the lead in this matter. I propose they appeal to his Holiness the Pope to join in and call a solemn convocation or congress representative of every phase of Christian and other religious thought, call the gathering to meet in the Holy Land at Jerusalem, and from Mount Calvary "call a Truce of God" and bid the war spirit rest.

I know men say wars are not entirely due to economic causes, but who is there who reads the speeches and writings of Hitler, Mussolini, and the Japanese statesmen will deny that for them war is considered necessary, because they must get out into the world, must get access to more territory and more raw material? Who will deny that in each case these statesmen consider themselves as "have nots" as opposed to ourselves and others who are the "haves." As I see these things there is only the Christian way out, and once again in ringing tones mankind needs to hear the word of God calling all nations to turn away from strife and pursue the path of cooperation. No one will say there is not enough room, enough raw materials, enough markets for us all. I am certain that with the true Christian spirit applied the white and coloured races can cooperate to create a better civilization than has yet been dreamed of. If the Churches, led by their leaders, will take the field and tell statesmen the solemn truth that Christ's teaching and the teachings of all great philosophers is not moonshine, not sentiment, but cold, solid truth, and has within it the promise of this life, a great revolution in men's thoughts and action will take place. In this day of ours, through the providence and mercy of God, science and invention enable us to say there is power to give the highest and noblest life for all the children of men, no matter whether they are born black, brown, yellow, or white.

I wish, Sir, to challenge our leaders to take the action I suggest, so that at least the voice of those who claim to speak for the God of love and peace shall be heard clarion clear throughout the world calling to all nations to halt and accept the truce of God suggested above.

I may again be told this is all mere sentiment and people like me are fools; it may be so. Even if we are it is, I respectfully say, the foolishness of the Gospel which has taught me that the law of God is love and the application of that law is sharing. My beloved country has power with America, France, and Russia over most of the earth's surface. All four nations owe allegiance to the principle of cooperation and service. Surely the Churches, led by his Holiness the Pope in cooperation with our own leaders, will not fail the world.

I cannot believe the men who hold these great positions can dare to risk remaining silent while mankind is rushing to ruin. They must act, and must act now. I bid them remember faith and prayer is not enough. Let us pray to God for courage, strength, and will to put our whole faith and confidence in His word who has taught us that the way of life is love. Yours truly,

GEORGE LANSBURY.

39, Bow Road, E.3, Aug. 18.

18 Aug. 1935

Incl. in Times 19 Aug. 1935: see above, fol. 353. Place at 5 Sept. 1935 and see also fols. 355-356 below

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THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION.

MR. LANSBURY'S PLEA FOR A TRUCE OF GOD.

(Letter to the Editor of "The Times", August 19th. 1935).

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the field and tell statesmen the solemn truth that Christ's teaching and the teachings of all great philosophers is not moonshine, not sentiment, but cold, solid truth, and has within it the promise of this life, a great revolution in men's thoughts and action will take place. In this day of ours, through the providence and mercy of God, science and invention enable us to say there is power to give the highest and noblest life for all the children of men, no matter whether they are born black, brown, yellow or white.

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GEORGE LANSBURY.

39, Bow Road, E.3.
August 18th.

5/9/1935.



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constructive effort would create new and peaceful relations between the states, and that Christians, before all people, ought to offer a lead in this direction.

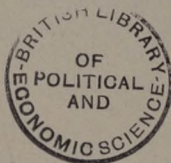
PRINCIPLE v. COMPROMISE

The deterioration in the position of international affairs, crisis succeeding crisis, has made the testing of a series of so-called practical proposals a matter of some urgency and importance to the peace movement. Members of the Fellowship and especially members of the responsible committees have had not only to clear their own minds but also to urge others to make sure that principle shall keep them clear of the pitfalls of compromise. The failure of the theory of disarmament by agreement, the agitation for collective security under the auspices of the League of Nations, the international police force proposal, the demand for the imposition of sanctions on Japan and even on Germany, and their actual imposition, at least in part, in the case of Italy, the plea for rearmament for defence, the scheme for civilian anti-gas precautions with its relation to propaganda for a larger air force—in all these matters the absolute Christian pacifist position, at first regarded by most as unpractical, has had to be maintained as the one sound and morally tenable position, not only in spite of specious arguments for short-cuts and immediate practicabilities but also because of real perplexities and apparent conflicts of loyalty and duty. No small part of the work of the Fellowship consists in continually bringing fundamental principles to bear both in open discussion and in private correspondence upon the problems raised by current issues.

CONSTRUCTIVE PEACE POLICY

The growing possibility of a new outbreak of international war has brought out again the importance of a steady testimony, negative it may be, against all war and of an absolute refusal to take any part in war whatever the case put forward for it or the new name under which it may pass. But not less clearly have we recognised the essential importance of the pacifist's constructive task in peace-making. He has to translate his principles into a programme and also to prove that the reconciling spirit can work effectually in creating relationships of justice, generosity, mutual regard and common service between the nations.

As a positive statement of policy calculated to create peace in the world, Mr. George Lansbury's letter, addressed to *The Times* on August 9th, 1935, has been of great service to the cause. It is well worth reprinting.



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George Lansbury
to The Times 19 Aug. 1935

The Christian Pacifist Message

Sir,

Many voices are heard blaming this nation or some other. I think we have all sinned and come short of the glory of God. Surely it must be obvious that once more in the world's history civilization is at the parting of the ways. If we go forward along the road which inevitably leads to war then we are all quite sure religion, morals, civilization will all crash to ruin and the world once more relapse into barbarism.

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Yours truly,

GEORGE LANSBURY.

SOCIAL POLICY

A group has spent much time in discussing both the shape of the social system that would be consistent with Christian principle and the means of making the transition to it from the present state of things. There is no hesitation in condemning the greater part of the economic and social arrangements under which we live. The principles and motivations of the present scheme of things are those of selfishness and ruthlessness. Much that goes on around us in the ordinary work and life of our time is certainly inconsistent with the Christian Gospel. Undoubtedly the Gospel is in some sense revolutionary; and its pages awaken the hope of a new society based on fellowship. Dare we then use such a phrase as "Christian Communism" as the shortest description of a system (opposite in method, spirit and ideals to the present state of things) that the New Testament would lead us to adopt? Relations of complete trust, mutual service and membership one of another must be brought into being between persons and groups and classes if they are to be realised between nations and races. The principles of justice and generosity for which surely Christians must work will be part at least, and an indispensable part, of the foundation of international peace, true as it is that international peace is a pre-condition of progress towards the social ideal.

But some are pessimistic as to the power of men of good will to unseat privilege unaided. And others are doubtful of the sufficiency of good will as a motive force for our social machinery, for the driving, for example, of a large scale industry. On the other hand, the use of violence and coercion to bring in a new order would be but one more resort to Satan for the casting out of Satan. But still, short of recourse to revolutionary violence, there is a question whether any other form of coercive action is permissible to bring about a change. Then there is the question whether Christians ought or are not

compelled to reach political and economic results by working through political parties and even by setting up a new Christian party. In this social question, and in other phases of the problem of peace, it may be that the key to the solution lies rather in example. However, the matter cannot be left simply to individuals. The duty of a group to produce both a statement of principle and a workable scheme must be fully recognised; and we have to admit that neither our thinking nor our aspiration has gone much farther than that of some others in this matter, though the whole Fellowship is obviously very deeply concerned.

THE INNER LIFE OF THE FELLOWSHIP

It is a part of the work of the Fellowship to watch very closely the course of events and the relations of nations, groups and classes and to bring political and economic analysis to bear. As has been suggested already it is our duty as Christians to translate the principles of the New Testament not only into a personal ethics but also into a common politics and into a social and economic programme, capable of setting the life of the people of our day on the level of the Kingdom of God. That is what practical peacemaking involves. But Christian citizenship is possible only if, beyond the political and economic facts, we are continually aware of the psychological problems of nations and persons, of the fundamental fears and false valuations that explain the violence of governments' self assertion, and if we are prepared to see and to make plain the spiritual solution of these problems. In committee meetings and in wider gatherings, and not only at times specially set apart for devotion, members of the Fellowship continually remind one another of the fundamental principles of the New Testament—forgiveness, membership one of another, mutual service, common sharing, and all that love means in the New Testament sense of "care"—and they remind one another also of the fundamentals of membership in the Fellowship of Reconciliation which is taken to mean a solemn personal committal to the whole way of life of which the Cross is a symbol. Christianity, for members of the Fellowship, involves a complete surrender, with whatever sacrifice may be involved, to a ministry of reconciliation and practical peacemaking through the power of transformed personality. The F.O.R. is, at least in spirit and intention, something other than a propaganda organisation seeking to hold huge meetings and to add numbers to its membership. From the beginning the hope has been cherished that it might become an order of Christian peacemakers, men and women through whom the spirit of the New Testament, the Holy Spirit, might effectually work. We are very thankful for lives among us which have gone far to prove to us the practicability, even in these days, of the reconciling life. But we have been continually reminded that the failure of most of us has been due in very large part to the comparative

See vol. 28. a, fos. 207 and 208 for letters of
Arthur A. W. H. Ponsonby, dated Sept. 17th 1935.

[by Wm. G. A. Ormsby-Gore (4th Baron Harlech;
1885 -)]

[pre - Oct. 1935]

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HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT

KITCHEN AND LAVATORY ACCOMMODATION

Memorandum by the First Commissioner of Works

In 1854, just over 100 years ago, the old Houses of Parliament were burned down. Immediate steps were taken to replace the old buildings with new, to the design of Sir Charles Barry with the result that within the next 25 years the Palace of Westminster, as the building now exists, was to all intents and purposes completed. The buildings, therefore, represent the ideas on planning which were in vogue almost 100 years ago and the fact that they continue to serve their purpose even to the extent they do at the present day is a tribute to the foresight and skill of those responsible. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that, judged by modern standards and ideas, the buildings fall far short of providing an ideal locus for some of the activities carried out therein.

It does not, of course, follow that during the past 100 years no improvements have been made to the interior arrangements of the Houses of Parliament. Ventilation, drainage, lighting and many other matters, particularly on the engineering side, have been improved and to a large extent brought up to date in accordance with the march of scientific developments.

In two respects, however, the internal arrangements of the building fall substantially short of what may be regarded as reasonable and proper in the case of a building such as the Houses of Parliament.

The first of these is the lavatory accommodation. Generally the drainage system of the Houses of Parliament is fairly satisfactory and certain of the lavatories (notably those adjacent to the lobbies of the House of Commons) have been recently modernised, but the Victorian idea of the separate isolated W.C. still obtains to a large extent in the Houses of Parliament,



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Parliament, particularly in the case of the House of Lords. The matter has recently received the consideration of the House of Lords Offices Committee, but the difficulty of finding alternative accommodation for those who would be displaced under any scheme of providing sanitary accommodation within the walls of the existing building, coupled with the desire to avoid the heavy expense of building a separate sanitary block in one of the courts, has resulted in a failure to reach as yet any solution of the problem.

The other matter which calls for urgent consideration is that of Kitchen accommodation. No doubt, when the present kitchens were built, they represented the most up to date ideas existing at that time. In accordance with the common practice in the case of town houses, a practice which existed until a few years ago, the Kitchens were placed immediately below the Dining Rooms. Since then in common with many other arrangements at the Palace of Westminster the Commons Kitchens have been subjected to much criticism, Select Committees having reported on the matter as long ago as in 1863 and 1867. For the past 25 years the Kitchens have been almost continuously a source of complaint, and in nearly every year one tinkering improvement or another has been in course of discussion or execution.

Much modern equipment, including refrigerating plant, has been supplied, but the Kitchens and Service layout, in default of major reconstruction, will always retain its predominant 19th Century character.

Many complaints have been received of recent years in regard to the smell of cooking in various parts of the buildings. The trouble is largely due to the fact that the Kitchens are below the Principal Floor and the fumes associated with cooking tend to rise. Again, the Servery on the Principal Floor is situated on the Terrace Front and all food served to the

Strangers

Strangers Dining Room has to be carried across the corridor. This servery next the Members Smoking room is as you know a very unsatisfactory place and is the main cause of many of the complaints about the food provided by the caterer. Furthermore, there are in the building several staff bars, messes, etc., any one of which may be the source of undesirable odours. The substitution of gas for coal in the Commons Kitchen and certain alterations in ventilation have resulted in some improvement, but the trouble cannot be wholly removed so long as the existing arrangement of rooms obtains.

As regards the House of Lords Kitchens, I and my advisers have for a long time been of the opinion that the maintenance of two separate Kitchens is wasteful both of accommodation, which is urgently required for many purposes in the Palace of Westminster, and as regards the cost of maintaining and renewing the plant, and of providing fuel, lighting and household articles, all of which are provided free to the Kitchen Committees. Furthermore, whereas the Commons Kitchens supply chiefly dinners, the House of Lords Kitchens supply almost exclusively lunches and teas, and it is considered that the House of Commons Kitchens could easily and adequately serve both the Lords and the Commons. Suggestions for amalgamating the two kitchens made by my predecessors in the past have, however, failed to bear fruit owing to the difficulty of obtaining the concurrence of the various Authorities in the Palace of Westminster. I have, therefore, come to the conclusion that the only possible means of securing the adoption of a scheme for dealing in a comprehensive and satisfactory manner with the lavatory and kitchen accommodation in the Palace of Westminster is by the appointment of a Joint Select Committee of both Houses to consider the lavatory and kitchen accommodation throughout the buildings. It is only by appointing a body of this kind which has authority to investigate accommodation

accommodation of all kinds, whether under the control of the Kitchens Committees, the Lord Great Chamberlain or the Serjeant at Arms, that progress in the matter may be relieved from the practical certainty of being brought to a full stop by objections or inability to commit themselves on the part of any one Authority.

The Chief Architect of the Office of Works has prepared various schemes whereby the Lords and Commons Kitchens can be combined and satisfactory arrangements made for serving both Lords and Commons from the same Kitchen. These schemes vary in cost from £7,000 to £20,000. The Chairman of the Commons Kitchen Committee and the Lord Great Chamberlain have been informally consulted and both agree as to the desirability of setting up a Joint Select Committee. I propose, therefore, with your permission to move for the appointment of such a Select Committee at the earliest convenient date.

I might perhaps add that the present leader of the opposition when First Commissioner of Works was strongly in favour of the establishment of a Joint Select Committee to consider accommodation questions in the Palace of Westminster with even wider terms of reference than I myself propose, viz. to consider the Kitchen, Refreshment and Lavatory accommodation in the Palace of Westminster.

i.e.
George
Lansbury
who resigned
the leadership
on 30 Oct. 1935

See vol. 28. a, fols. 209-219 for "A page
of History by G. L."; dated Oct. 1935.

Parliamentary General Election, 1935.

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Polling Day: THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 14th, 1935,
7 a.m. till 9 p.m.



TO THE ELECTORS OF BOW AND BROMLEY.

39, Bow Road, E.3,

November 3rd, 1935.

My Friends,

I have pleasure in telling you that I have again been unanimously chosen as Labour Candidate for our Division. My candidature is also supported and endorsed by the National Executive of the Labour Party.

I am not a newcomer, or stranger. It has been my good fortune and privilege to serve you continuously during the past fifty years. I live with you, and have a complete knowledge of everything connected with the religious, social, municipal and political life of our Borough.

This Election is one of the most important in the history of our country. Fascism and Dictatorships are rampant throughout the world. Democracy has almost ceased to exist in Europe. Persecution of the foulest description reigns in many lands. Everywhere governments prepare for war. I strongly urge every one of you to think well before you vote. I quite as strongly urge you to use your vote. Dictatorship arises because peoples do not value their democratic rights. The evils from which Fascism arises can be overcome if the masses use their votes intelligently and refuse to give way to the hopelessness of despair.

Poverty, unemployment, casual labour, slums, and all the social and economic evils from which we suffer, are not sent by God or Nature. They all arise out of conditions created by man, and by man can be removed. The world is said to be cursed by abundance. Surely you will give me your votes, and thus give me power to demand from Parliament such legislation as will secure that abundance shall be a blessing, and not a curse.

The present Government has tried every worn-out theory of restriction. They limit production, restrict supplies, and in the end industrial Britain remains in ruin. Millions suffer from unemployment, low wages, and the dreadful fate which befalls old age. Slums, bad housing, and all the social evils remain with us. Vast industrial areas once prosperous are now in decay.

The Tory Government which now rules us has no remedy, and after four years of office and power, offers nothing but promises. Their posters simply distort and misrepresent the facts.



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I ask you to give me your votes so that in the House of Commons I may in your name demand a new social order, based on co-operation. We co-operate to provide many social services: education, transport, roads, health and other services are organised for the good of all. In fact, all progress is on Socialist or Co-operative lines.

Give me power to demand that the labour of able-bodied men and women shall be used in the same spirit to produce and distribute goods for the use and service of the nation. We create armaments and poison gas by national effort: surely we can organise to supply our needs. The wealth we possess, the wealth we can create, is ample, more than ample, to give us nursery schools within which our children will very early discover the joy of living, and mothers find peace, rest and contentment in knowing that their little ones are loved and cared for. We are rich enough to give all our children and young people a true, individual education such as will develop healthy minds in healthy bodies. I shall not, however, vote for raising the school age and keeping boys and girls at school until they are fifteen or sixteen years of age, unless the Government provides from national funds full and sufficient maintenance grants to enable mothers to feed and clothe the growing boys and girls. Neither shall I vote for this reform unless, out of national funds, money is provided for building the schools needed for the accommodation of the children which raising the school-leaving age will leave at school. We cannot pass these charges on to localities, or to other educational bodies.

We are rich enough to give pensions sufficient to maintain our aged and infirm workers, and especially for single women of all ages, without forcing them to beg for charity, or submit to the horrors of Poor Law, now called Public Assistance—the kind of thing you and I would hate to live under.

Even to-day we could, if we would, lower the hours of labour so as to increase the number of employed, and increase wages and salaries—and so increase consumption. We are rich enough to maintain the unemployed decently without breaking up homes and destroying family life through the hideous Poor Law or Means Test—which I shall vote to abolish.

As to the slums and housing: given the will, slums can be quickly abolished and decent houses provided. You who are old enough, can remember how quickly factories were built and equipped for war purposes. Whenever we have the will we can do much better for saving and perfecting life.

Won't you all, men and women, give me your votes, your authority, to struggle in Parliament for these things?

There is, however, one great danger which overshadows us all. If war comes, progress of any sort will be impossible; whether it be a war waged by a group of nations, called a League, against one or more offending members, or a war such as has been waged for some years by Japan against China. The Great War which ended in 1918 left mankind a legacy of mutual hatred and evil bitterness, which, seventeen years later, has brought the whole world into an armed camp. Instead of a world safe for democracy, we have almost all Europe governed by dictatorship, and instead of peace, war and danger of war threatens our very existence.

I am a Socialist because the Christian religion teaches us that love, co-operation, brotherhood are the way of life which will give us peace and security. Imperialist domination has never given permanent peace or security either to victors or vanquished.

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I am a Pacifist because I accept as literally true the words "Those who take the sword perish by the sword." I gave up the Leadership of the Labour Party because I know it is impossible to cast out war by war, or to establish peace by brute force, whether the war is a collective or national war. I cannot support war under any conditions.

The last war cost in human life and suffering at least one hundred million people. The nations, in spite of all the words about peace, are once more lining up for war. All are armed to the teeth, and daily increasing every foul weapon of destruction, including poison gas. In our own land we are warned that we must teach our children air-raid drill, and be prepared to bomb and kill more women and children quicker than those with whom we may be at war; and rebuild our Navy and in ~~the case of the Navy~~ ~~we have spent~~ ~~thousands~~ ~~of~~ ~~pounds~~ ~~on~~ ~~what~~ ~~are~~ ~~called~~ ~~defence~~ ~~services~~ ~~since~~ ~~the~~ ~~war~~ ~~ended~~; and now Mr. Baldwin says we must spend more because we have not spent enough. This is sheer madness: the greater our armaments, the more certain war becomes.

I appeal to my fellow Christians, to all people of all creeds, Jew and Gentile, rich and poor, old and young, to join me in a great crusade against this madness of war.

Send me to Parliament with a mandate to call the nation to one great, supreme effort for peace. If a strike threatens, or breaks out, everybody urges arbitration and conciliation. If peace is to be saved this is what we must do in international affairs. The Italian-Abyssinian dispute is but an incident in the rapid march to barbarism which all mankind is treading. It is the powder magazines from the Baltic to the Black Sea, and from the American continent across the Pacific to Australia, which we have to fear.

I want power in your name to demand that our Government shall go to Geneva and summon the world to a new and nobler conception of life. Our nation is the most powerful, the most wealthy in the world. We control, apart from the Dominions, hundreds of millions of people; hold for our own profit, huge territories rich in all natural resources needed for the service of man. Our great possessions bring us neither peace nor security. Like Rome, Persia, Assyria, and other great Empires, we have discovered that the fruits of domination bring us only "Dead Sea Fruit." The day and the hour has come when, because of our faith in the Gospels, because we believe that Christ had, and still has, the words of eternal life both for this world and the next, we must put our all into the common pool of service.

At Geneva we must renounce Imperialism, call upon all nations to join with us in a great endeavour to abolish the causes of war; and by so doing, usher in the days of Peace.

Do not believe that this is a dream. It is the only realist policy for preventing war. Modern wars are always waged for territory or markets. The American Secretary of State, Mr. Cordell Hunt, and Sir Samuel Hoare, both admit that the problem which confronts us is one of the "Haves" and "Have nots." Both agree that it is the sharing of raw materials and markets for which we must aim. Great capitalist combines, with the aid of Government, control, for private gain, production and distribution of cotton and wheat, iron and steel, copper and tin, nickel and tea, rubber and pepper. Surely Governments which can unite, organise and sacrifice for war, can, if they so determine, organise together for peace. Why should we aid private enterprise to restrict and expand production and markets, and create conditions that ultimately lead to war? It is much easier to co-operate in friendly relationship than to fight and beggar ourselves and others.

I will explain this policy more fully at my meetings. Meantime, come and help me. Give as much energy, thought, time, and enthusiasm to securing peace as you do to war when war comes, and we shall win.

Do not believe those who say we shall become poorer if, through a real League of All Nations we establish co-operation and sharing. None of us are content or secure to-day. Give up reliance on brute force, accept and act on the teaching "Do to others as you would be done by," and you will live. This promise of Our Lord's is true. Once we go to the world in His Spirit, once we offer to co-operate and share our gifts and our resources with other nations, we shall become the strongest, the most powerful people in the world. Our armour will not be poison gas, or machine guns, but the armour of righteousness, peace and love.

Yes, my friends and neighbours, many of you have travelled along a weary road of hope deferred, and like myself will soon reach the end of the road; others have the whole world before them. Let us at this election unite and take the path of Peace. War, Preparation for war means sham glory, hollow victory, and ultimate disaster. Peace alone can give us victory, because peace is founded on the simple rock of God's truth, that Love is stronger, more enduring than hate, and "Perfect Love casteth out all Fear."

My love to you all.

Yours truly,

George Lansbury

Income $\frac{w}{c}$ in detail

Gen Election 14 Nov 1935

363

Collections at Meetings

Local Labour Party	£5-0-0
Ruth Mercer	3-0-0
G. H. Nichols	-10-0
M ^r & M ^{rs} Cruse	5-0-0
G. Blumson N.U.R.	10-0-0
Lord Parmoor	5-0-0
H. Allwright	10-0
J. H. Franckson	10-0
Lord Noel Busceton	5-0-0
J. J. Snell To G. H. Union	-2-6
J. Franklin	2-0-0
M ^{rs} H. A. Bulley	10-0-0
M ^r & M ^{rs} Strawbridge	1-1-0
G. Stone	10-0
G. Yates	5-0
E. Stephenson E. J. U.	1-0-0
E. J. Cruse A. E. U.	2-0-0
N. U. G. & M. W. ^s	100-0-0
Frank Cooke	-2-6
	<u>£151-11-0</u>

J. Elder	13-0
M ^{rs} A. Topson	3-0
M ^r Guerland	2-18-2½
S. Butchins	8-1
M ^{rs} Harris	8-0
M ^{rs} Stainers	7-3
M ^r Ashley	-10
E. Cruse	2-5-7
J. Goodway	1-11-10
M ^{rs} Harilo	12-0
E. Cruse	3-16-1
M ^{rs} Stadward	9-0
E. Cruse	2-16-2

£16-9-0½

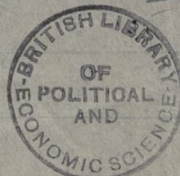
Collecting Sheets

M ^r Guerland	7-0
E. J. Cruse	4-6
M ^r M ^{rs} Ellijott	6-0
M ^{rs} E. Cruse	10-0
M ^{rs} E. Holton	7-3
M ^r W. Laycock	1-15-0
M ^r J. Fisher	17-0
M ^{rs} Ferne	1-6
M ^r J. A. Ashley	5-0
" W. Laycock	9-0

£5-2-3

Sale of Photos

2 Gross @ 3^d each £3-12-0



M449

Statement of Accounts

Gen. Election 14 Nov. 1935

364

Income

24/10/1935 - G. Lansbury	£ 50-0-0
6/11/1935 G. Lansbury	100-0-0
14/11/1935 G. Lansbury	200-0-0
Donations	151-11-0
Collections	16-9-0½
Collecting Sheets	5-2-3
Photos, 2 gross	3-12-0
	<u>£ 526-14-3½</u>

Expenditure

28/10/1935 S. Butchers	£ 25-0-0
4/11/1935 S. Butchers	25-0-0
6/11/1935 S. Butchers	110-0-0
15/11/1935 S. Butchers	190-0-0
6/12/1935 S. Butchers	12-17-5
6/12/1935 G. Lansbury	150-0-0
	<u>£ 512-17-5</u>

150

Cost of Election 362-17-5
~~£ 50~~

Balance
to Party £ 14

200-0-0

Income 10-0-0

Photos 2-2-0

Photos 2-2-0

Income L.P. 10-0-0

12-2-0



M449

General Election 362. 0.0
 [14 Nov. 1935]

Spaid . 200

Also Income 10

Photo 2.

Received in Nov 62. 0.0 of Mrs E. C. C. 6 1/2 24 from my
 & from friends prints
 General workers 100. 0.0

There was a small balance of 14 or thereabouts

at the election etc



M449

366

G. L.
re Ernest Lovell

----- 39, Bow Road,
Bow, E.3.

27. x.35.

Dear Private Secretary,

Mr. Lansbury has been asked to intercede with the Authorities on behalf of Private Ernest Lovell, No. 3708254, formerly of the 2nd Battalion Highland Light Infantry.

Mr. Lansbury knows no more of the case than is stated in the enclosed papers, but he agrees with the man's friends and relations that the sentence is a very severe one, and he would therefore be glad if you would put it before your Minister for his sympathetic consideration.

Yours faithfully,

Private Secretary,

The Private Secretary,
War Office, S.W.1.



M449

367

THE BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION

Broadcasting House, London, W. 1

TELEPHONE: WELBECK 4468 TELEGRAMS: BROADCASTS, LONDON

John Reith
(121 Baron Reith; 1889 -)
(V.S.)

22nd November, 1935.

Dear Mr Lambour,

Thank you for your letter of the 20th November, and for your kind offer to broadcast a talk on "Peace and Security". May I first go back a little, so that I can explain to you in some detail our attitude to the question you raise?

You may remember that the Archbishop of York broadcast a talk on "The Christian's Duty" in face of the international situation as it was on September 1st. Both he and we had many letters, mostly of agreement, but also of criticism; and among the latter were several from listeners who asked us to allow the use of the microphone to some "out-and-out" pacifist at an early date. This we decided we could not do, chiefly because we felt that it would be highly unedifying for one of the leaders of Christian thought in the country to be at once deliberately contradicted by another Christian.

We did, however, and do realize that this question is one on which Christians are by no means agreed. And therefore, after a good deal of thought, we decided to have two more talks; one by a complete "non-resister", and another explaining and summing up the arguments of this speaker and of the Archbishop of York, and commenting on them. In making our arrangements, we kept in close touch with the Council of Christian Pacifist Groups, and we selected our speakers after full consultation with Mr. Percy Bartlett and Mr. Henry Carter. The two whom we chose were the Rev. Canon Stuart Morris, who is a member of the Council of Christian Pacifist Groups, who will broadcast on January 19th from 4.50 to 5.10 p.m.; and the Rev. J.S. Whale, President of Chesnut College, for January 26th from 5 to 5.20 p.m. President Whale is an exceptionally good broadcaster, and holds strong views on the point at issue. He does



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22 Nov. 1935 - 2 -

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John Reith (1st Baron Reith)

not accept the Archbishop's position, but he is a man of judicial mind, who - while himself leaning more in the direction of Canon Morris's position than of Dr. Temple's - can be trusted to give a reasoned and reasonable statement of the views of both speakers.

That the Council of Christian Pacifist Groups is satisfied with our arrangements, the following, quoted from a letter which we received from Mr. P. Bartlett, will, I think, show you:

"We are all very much indebted to you for the sympathetic interest you have shown and for the trouble you have taken in the matter. I am sure that these talks will be much appreciated by many who were profoundly disturbed by what happened on September 1st."

I hope this does not seem an inordinately long introduction to the answer which I fear we must give to your request; but I was anxious for you to know that we have not been either biassed or neglectful in the matter: and I am sure you will see that it would be extremely difficult for us now, either to ask you to take the place of one of the speakers we have already engaged - you will, I know, be the last person to wish this - or to have yet another talk on the subject.

It may, of course, be that the talk you propose would cover wider ground than that which will be covered by the two speakers I have named; if it would, please do not hesitate to let us know, and we could consider the possibility of a talk by you at a later date. Or perhaps you will consider that the arrangements we have made are adequate?

Thanking you for your kind offer, which we much appreciate,

Yours sincerely,
John Reith

The Right Hon. George Lansbury, M.P.,
39, Bow Road,
E. 3.



M449

L. W. Agnew

369
243, Stamford Road,
Barking, Essex.

Dec. 2nd. 1935.

Rt. Hon. George Lansbury. M.P.

Bow Road. E.

Dear Comrade. Lansbury.

I feel compelled to write you just now, I have been laid aside for a few weeks, with Bronchitis, and this has given me a good opportunity to do some reading, to tell the truth I have just finished your wonderful book, "Looking Backwards and Forwards" I say wonderful for the reason that it is really the most human little book that I have read for years. You see Comrade, I am a old resident of Bow, having been bred, and born, at the foot of Bow Church, I moved some 13 years ago to the great L.C.C. Estate at Dagenham, where I have been actively engaged with both the Becontree Labour Party and the Barking Labour Party. As a resident at Bow, I was brought up in a very strong Tory family, so it is unnecessary for me to say that I was always one of your opponents, however I must admit that you have always held some influence over me, and I know that when I did see the light some 13 years ago, that it was you whose influence I had always felt, that brought about that conversion.

I have been a Labour Member of the Barking Borough Council for some 18 months now, and still George Lansbury is my guiding light. Reading your book brings back many people who I knew in my younger days, and who now I have learnt to respect, or at least to respect ^{my} ~~their~~ memories of them. Alderman. Mrs. Lambert is one that comes readily to my mind, she having been

our next door neighbour, when I was a mere babe, in the High Street. Charlie Sumner. to was one that I always felt a great respect for despite the fact that I allowed myself to be blinded by my Parents convictions. To-day I am teaching my kiddie to think for herself, shewing her the evil created in the World, by the present system of Society, I am determined that she shall benefit by my mistakes.

I was personally acquainted with the late member for the Romford Constituency, of which Barking is part, Mr. H. T. Muggeridge and I were good friends, the present member. John Parker, was our nomination from the Ward Party to the Romford Division, and that result you will remember was that John was returned with a thumping majority. To return to your book, yes I shall read it again, and I shall certainly add it to my bookshelf, my Daughter too shall read it, and I shall tell her, that is the George Lansbury that I knew personally, but was so blind that I had first to become a married man, before the Truth of his Political Teachings were those that should be mine, I thank God that the light came when it did, I have never been happier than since I have been active with the Party, my one hope is that I may be spared years enough to see the result of the fight, started by those good Comrades, gone before, that are mentioned in "Looking Backwards and Forwards" and your worthy self. I am going to ask you a great favour, I expect you will say, 'I knew there was a catch in it' Comrade, have you a photograph of yourself that you could spare me, if you have and will autograph it for me, I should treasure it, if not, I want to get one to frame for my home, I shall get one from the "Daily Herald" and get you to add your autograph, now Comrade, there hosts of things I want to write you on, but to go further at present, is I am afraid more than I can ask you to tolerate, I hope you will bear with me when reading this, I feel that I cannot commit to paper that which

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I feel. Sometimes I feel that I am really unworthy of trust that has been placed in me, when I think what a sorry figure I would ~~em~~ cut beside George Lansbury, but I remember I am a cog in the wheel, and moreover I have more chances than you had in your younger days, I get fresh heart, and feel that I am really strong, while I keep you in mind. Now Comrade, no more for the present, my one hope is that God will preserve you for years to come yet, in your great Fight. I shall write again at some future date, so you will have to resign yourself to your fate, at my hands.

Naturally I shall look for a reply, to this letter which I ask you to try and understand, wishing you all good.

Yours very fraternally,

Councillor.

E. W. Ayres

By John Reith
(12th Baron Reith; 1889 -

371

WELBECK 4468
BROADCASTS LONDON

BROADCASTING HOUSE

LONDON W. 1

9th December, 1935.

Dear Mr Lansbury,

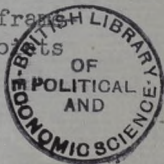
When I acknowledged your letter of November 27th I promised you that you should have a further letter shortly. I am sorry so much time has elapsed, but I wanted to give your proposals the most careful consideration.

Our Controller of Programmes has discussed your suggestion with a number of his people, and has very reluctantly come to the conclusion that it would not be possible to give you facilities for a broadcast on the lines set out in your letter.

I fear I must agree with him, but I should like you to know exactly what our reasons are.

Firstly it appears from your letter that you do not quite appreciate our general policy in matters of this kind. You say that you have as much right to get permission to broadcast as had Lord Lloyd and Mr. Winston Churchill on the subject of India. I think you know that but for certain exceptions mentioned in its Licence in regard to official governmental communications, the Corporation does not recognise the "right" of anyone to broadcast, either as a private citizen, or in a representative capacity.

Secondly, in making its decisions about the inclusion of particular subjects or views in the programmes, the Corporation does take a very wide view and does not hesitate to deal with controversial matters, but when it does so it is particularly careful to provide for a balanced discussion. Our attitude to the requests of Lord Lloyd and Mr. Winston Churchill to broadcast on India was exactly the one we feel we must adopt in your case; we told them that we could not give them opportunities to speak on India except in the framework of a series of talks which would include the main points



M449

9 Dec. 1935

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- 2 -

Sr John Reith (1st Baron Reith)

of view then held upon that subject. When, however, the Government of India Bill was put before the public, then we arranged such a series, and asked both Lord Lloyd and Mr. Winston Churchill to contribute.

Taking your request, we feel, as I said in my letter of November 22nd, that Christians are not at one on the attitude they should adopt in the face of war, but we have arranged for the Christian Pacifist views to be expounded to show that there is another very different view to that already expressed by the Archbishop of York when he broadcast in September. This makes a balanced picture. A third talk by you would necessitate yet another one giving the contrary opinion, and we feel that such extension and repetitions are unnecessary.

We ourselves have selected the speaker to give the Pacifist view. He does not represent any particular organisation, although we ascertained before making the choice that he would be acceptable to the Council of Christian Pacifist Groups, who were responsible in the first instance for the suggestion that such a talk should be given.

Finally, we feel bound to say that were the circumstances otherwise, and had the speaker on behalf of the Christian Pacifist view not been chosen already, we should at the present time feel some hesitation in inviting you to be the exponent of that view. As you say in your letter, you have given up the leadership of a political party as a result of your views on this question, and that fact would cause political significance to be attributed to a broadcast by you. You may feel that the public would be wrong to draw such a conclusion, but in matters of this kind the Corporation must adopt an attitude of strict impartiality. Had the Council of Christian

9 Dec 1935

(373)

- 3 -

John Reith (1st Baron Reith)

Pacifist Groups suggested your name as a speaker we should not have felt able to take this advice on account of political implications. It is, I am afraid, inevitable that a political interpretation would be placed on what you said, whether you were speaking in addition to, or in place of, the person we have already chosen.

We are sorry not to be able to agree to your suggestion, and I must apologise for having written at such length, but I wanted you to have as full an explanation as possible.

Yours sincerely,

Geoffrey

I should say that the matter was admitted to & considered by our Board's Governors.

The Rt. Hon. George Lansbury, M.P.,
39, Bow Road,
London, E.3.

GHS



re Nurse Faure.

374

COLONIAL OFFICE,
DOWNING STREET, S.W.1.

58049/35

14th
December, 1935.

Dear Private Secretary,

With further reference to your letter of the 12th August, enclosing for the attention of the Secretary of State a letter from Mr. Alf Rowley, of Seychelles, about the dismissal of a nurse from the Seychelles Government Medical Service, I now write to inform you that a report has been received from the Governor on the matter.

The Governor is satisfied that Mr. Rowley's account by no means accurately reflects the truth of the situation. Miss Faure was not called upon to perform duties for which she was unqualified; or, indeed, any duties which she had not before the date of her complaint performed without complaint.

Miss Faure was interviewed by the Governor himself and was unable to adduce any satisfactory reason

THE PRIVATE SECRETARY TO
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
GEORGE LANSBURY, M.P.



M449



reason for her refusal to undertake the duties to which she had been assigned; and the Governor came to the conclusion that she could no longer be retained as a fully competent nurse in the Government Medical Service.

Yours sincerely,

E. H. Boyd

Alexander Greene
(of U.S.A.)

(no trace)

375

The Cloisters
5801 Dorchester Avenue
Chicago

17 December 1935-

My dear Mr. Hausburg,

You have, undoubtedly,
forgotten me; but you were
gracious enough to fix me
a few minutes of your time,
one evening last summer,
when I called at the House
of Commons. I introduced
myself as an Anglo-Catholic,
a pacifist and a Single Taxer.

I was pleased to read of your
re-election, and I have been
greatly interested in the

many letters and articles
that have resulted from your
letters to the Times, calling
upon the Pope and the
Archbishops to come out
strongly against war. While
you did not succeed in
getting what you asked for,
you did arouse much
favourable comment from
many sources, due to the
sincere and convincing
tone of your appeal!

I am also pleased to
learn of the election of
several single Taxers to
parliament.

May I recommend a
renewable new book
that has made a profound

The Claxtons
2801 Parkchester Avenue
Chicago

impression on me and which
has had splendid reviews
in England and in this
country — "Our Enemy; the
State," by Albert Jay Nock.

With best wishes for
your good health and
happiness, I am

Cordially yours
Alexander Greene

A. E. Lansbury

377

11, LEE PARK,
BLACKHEATH, S. E. 3.

19-12-35

Dear Mrs Lansbury

my family join with
me in wishing you and
your family a happy
Xmas and new year

I still hope when the
weather is better that
you and Miss Lansbury
will be able to pay us
a visit and come to
tea

We hope you are in
the best of health.

Yours Sincerely
A. E. Lansbury

378

'There is nothing like it in journalism. To live in the country without it is to suffer a narrowing of knowledge, interest and power. On every page is new knowledge or clear thought about the country, and about human life and work in the country. There is something about everything and nothing is uninteresting. Variety, humour, and vitality, extraordinarily good value'—*Times* 'Most original'—*Spectator* 'One of the most remarkable successes'—*Newspaper World* 'Singularly attractive'—*New Statesman* 'The most human thing that ever came out of the country'—*Star* 'Goes to the ends of the earth'—*South Africa* 'An excellent 2s. 6d. worth'—*Economist* 'No Bishop's study should be without it'—*Guardian* 'Always admirable'—*Manchester Guardian*

THE COUNTRYMAN *A non-Party Quarterly Review*
of Rural Life and Industry Edited and Published in the Country
in the Spring (April), Summer (July), Autumn (October) and Winter (January)

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1866
J. W. Robertson Scott, *Governing Director*

E. K. Robertson Scott, *Director and Secretary*

20th. December, 1935.

Dear Mr. Lansbury,

It occurred to me that you might be amused by
this article.

I hope to have the pleasure of shaking your hand
again at Filkins.

With every good wish for 1936,

Yours sincerely,

J. W. Robertson Scott.

The Rt. Hon. George Lansbury, M.P.
39. Bow Road
LONDON, E.3.

ed/bh

'I prefer it to any other periodical'—*John Masefield* 'To express my feelings properly I send a Life Subscription'—*H. G. Wells* 'You are occupied with the most vital of all subjects'—*Havelock Ellis* 'Agriculture can never regain even a moderate degree of prosperity unless it is treated on the lines of THE COUNTRYMAN, i.e., without Party bias'—*Lord Ernle* 'I send you a friendly handshake and very good wishes'—*General Smuts* 'The most notable COUNTRYMAN, scholarly, humanistic and comparable with the chief literary and political reviews.'—*U.S. Department of Agricultural Yearbook*

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Arthur Foley Winnington Ingram
(Bp. of London; 1858 - 1946)

Dec. 20 1855-

FULHAM PALACE, S.W. 6.

379

Dear Lady -

Thank you very much for the two quilts.

I always love to be the love of the

home which I also share.

Ever yours &c &c
Arthur

✓ Bishop of London

For my wife
C. D. W.

Selma ^{B.} Kahan

La Pitchounette (380)
Chemin de Notre Dame
St Raphaël. Var

20. xii 1935

My dear Mr. Lausbury,

What can I wish you?
That Peace should reign on earth at
last.

I often think of you - & would just
love to see you again.

A successful New Year to you

and good health, & courage
most devotedly yours

Eliza

Selina Kahn



M449

Frank Smith, M.P.
(1854 - 1940)
67, LONGLEY ROAD,
LONDON, S.W.17.

PHONE:
STREATHAM 9670

381

Dec: 22nd 1935

My Dear George:

Here's to you! with all the best
my heart can wish you & yours.

I haven't been able to see you,
as I wished, of late. But I have
been with you in heart & mind.

I am off on Monday for
Palestine, & where else I don't
quite know at the moment
of writing. But I'll send you
word from time to time, just
to keep the old flame alight.

I know how much at heart
the ^{present} horrible state of affairs
will burden you, but

God is in His Heaven - and if
all has gone wrong with the
world, it is because men will
follow their own stupid ideas,
have no ears to listen to Him.

I hope to cross from Marseilles
to Jaffa during the coming week
- unless Mad dog Muss drops a
bomb on us on the way!

My base will be P.O. Box 20
Zion Jacob-Palestine, so, I
may hear from you.

All the best, dear old Comrade,
I will keep in touch while I am
away, I hope to see you all alive
O! on my return - If not, then
for sure "on the other side"

Best of love
Ever yours Frank.



M449

Christopher Addison (1st Baron Addison;
1869 - 1951)

382

Let send my continued affection
and respect.

Yours truly,

Right hon Christopher Addison
23.12.35
Pitlochry House

POST



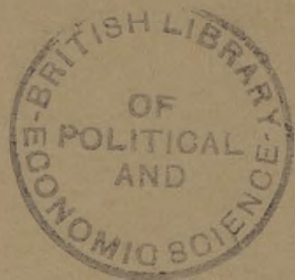
CARD



The Rt Hon Sir George Trevelyan M.P.

39 Bow Road

London E. 3



M449

Rev. Henry J. Kitcat

UXBRIDGE 211.

383

CONEYCOTE,
HILLINGDON,
UXBRIDGE.

23/12/35

My Dear Ladybury
Thank you so
much for your
beautiful card,
& remembrance of
us. Our love &
best wishes to you
& yours. Be sure your
ideal of peace &
love will not be in
vain, nor your labours
for that ideal

Ever yours
Rev Henry J. Kitcat

Rev. Canon Stuart Denton Morris

384

Say 24 Dec,
1935

1935

A Christmas Greeting

From

Canon and Mrs. Stuart Morris

10 Old Church Road,

Harborne,

Birmingham 17.

I came upon the midnight clear,
That glorious song of old,
From Angels bending near the earth
To touch their harps of gold :
'Peace on the earth, good-will to men,
From heaven's all-gracious King !'
The world in solemn stillness lay
To hear the Angels sing.

Still through the cloven skies they come,
With peaceful wings unfurled ;
And still their heavenly music floats
O'er all the weary world ;
Above its sad and lowly plains
They bend on hovering wing ;
And ever o'er its Babel sounds
The blessed Angels sing.

Yet with the woes of sin and strife
The world has suffered long ;
Beneath the angel-strain have rolled
Two thousand years of wrong ;
And man, at war with man, bears not
The love-song which they bring ;
O hush the noise, ye men of strife,
And bear the Angels sing !

For lo ! the days are hastening on,
By prophet-bards foretold,
When, with the ever-circling years,
Comes round the age of gold ;
When peace shall over all the earth
Its ancient splendours fling,
And the whole world give back the song
Which now the Angels sing.

E. B. Sears.

Gordon Crosse

(386)

64 Lauderdale Mansions

W 9

Dec 30/35

My dear Lansburg, just a
line to thank you for your
card - it is good of you to
remember me in this way
year by year - and to
assure you ~~of~~ my very best
wishes for 1936 -

It was a great bit of luck

seeing you in October, &
I enjoyed our talk immensely -
- not to mention the
irruption of Mr Davidson

Once more - my love
and best wishes

yours ever

G. Cross



M449

Francis L. P. Sturge

(387)

TELEPHONE:
CLOUGHTON 34.

WORFOLK,
STAINTONDALE,
SCARBOROUGH.

30: X 11: 35-

Dear Mr Lausbury,

My wife & I always
value your kind Christmas
message.

You may hardly remember
us - but we had the
pleasure of your visits
when your son was
at school in York. I
should like to meet him
again - but I think he
is in Australia if he

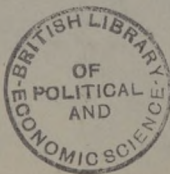
should be in England, I
would like to convey to
him my kindest remembrance

We have followed your
accident & recovery &
resignation from leadership
as so many, many others
have, with deep sympathy
& interest.

I pray that the coming year
may bring peace & blessing
to you & yours

Sincerely

Francis P. Sturge



M449

From

388

MISS MAY MORRIS, KELMSCOTT MANOR, LECHLADE
GLOUCESTERSHIRE

(d. 1938)

New Year's Eve 1935

Dear Mr. Lansbury

May I tell you how much I was looking forward to meeting you at Filkins on Saturday when you came to open the new village buildings. I had made all arrangements to come but was suddenly laid low with an Influenza attack, and had to give it up. If you are ever in our neighbourhood again I should like to show you Kelmscott, where my Father's home remains as it was in his day, and where I am doing what I can to preserve the fine old cottages while making them comfortable.

With many wishes for a prosperous New Year

Yours sincerely
May Morris

end of 1935
and of
Vol. 15