



Labour
Heritage

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Linda Anne Shampan

John Grigg

My partner, Linda Shampan, who was the exceptionally efficient Labour Heritage secretary, died on 21st April. Linda frequently contributed to this bulletin and a book review by her is in this issue.

Linda's parents came from families that fled from the oppression of Jews in different parts of the world. Her father's family came to England from Poland and her mother's family fled Iraq to India from where descendants emigrated to England and America. Seeing she was not of Anglo-Saxon stock people sometimes asked "Where do you come from?" Linda replied "Willesden", where she was born in 1949.

She read Chemistry at Oxford. She subsequently trained as a social worker,

then as a nurse, and then as a psychotherapist. Despite a lifetime of ill-health, Linda spent her life helping people, and her mother once called her the 'Madam of the Good Deeds'.

She was involved with many causes, among them CND, the Gipsy Council, Medical Aid for Palestine, the Refugee Council, the Jewish Socialist Society, Action on Disability, the Medical Foundation and the Labour Party (although sometimes critical). Linda loved music, was a fine pianist and was practising the violin in her final years.

Throughout her life Linda helped and supported many friends and I was astonished that so many people attended her funeral at Mortlake where there was standing room only in the gallery. Linda will be greatly missed. She was a remarkable person. And for me a wonderful person.



Walter Ayles

John Grigg

In 1950 my father took me to my first Labour Party Election public meeting in the Heston Junior School Hall where Walter Ayles, MP for Hayes and Harlington, made a rousing speech to an audience of about 20 in support of Bill Williams, the M.P. for Heston and Isleworth. In those days there were election meetings every evening and candidates would address two, or even three, helping each other out on the platform in neighbouring constituencies as well as their own. I remember Walter Ayles' thunderous condemnation of pre-war Tory governments that had presided over mass unemployment, slums and poverty.

I came across Walter again when reading a biography of Ray Strachey. She was one of the first 16 women to stand for Parliament in 1918 and was a prominent member of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (NUWSS) that, unlike the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) led by Emily Pankhurst, pursued the attainment of votes for woman by 'constitutional means'. Before 1914 NUWSS gave organisational and financial support to several Labour candidates because the Labour Party was the only political party formally committed to female suffrage. When the war began in 1914 NUWSS, like WSPU, decided to put political suffragist campaigning in abeyance and backed the war effort. This involved suspending support for Labour candidates although in the early days of the war it was by no means certain that a general election would not take place. The withdrawal of support caused consternation in constituencies where Labour was relying on what was considered to be an agreement of financial

assistance from NUWSS. Only one constituency continued to receive support - that was Bristol East where the candidate was the eloquent orator I heard 36 years later in Heston, Walter Ayles.

So I was nudged into finding out more about Walter Ayles.

Walter was born in Lambeth in 1879, one of five children of Percy Ayles, a railway porter, and Elizabeth (nee Little). It was a religious family and Walter later became a Methodist or Congregational lay preacher and temperance campaigner, and then a Quaker after the first world war.

He left school at 13 to work in a cardboard box factory before entering an engineering apprenticeship with the London and Southern Railway. He left the company in 1897 during an industrial dispute when he refused to replace one of the men who were locked out. He was unemployed for six months and then worked in a newsagents before moving to Birmingham to resume his engineering trade, where he became district secretary of the Amalgamated Engineering Union (AEU). In Birmingham he was an outspoken opponent of the Anglo-Boer war. In 1904 he joined the Independent Labour Party (ILP) and was elected to the Birmingham Board of Guardians. That was the year he married Bertha Winifred Batt, an active member of the Women's Freedom League. They had a son in 1913 who was killed serving in the R.A.F. in 1943. In 1910 they moved to Bristol where he continued his trade union activities, became the Bristol ILP full-time general secretary and was elected to Bristol City Council for the Eastern Ward. On the council he was a strong advocate of municipal ownership of energy and transport.

He was a strong supporter of women's suffrage and worked for the cause with

Mabel Tothill, an ILP and NUWSS member and a Quaker, who was the first woman to sit on Bristol City Council.

When war was declared in 1914 Walter was the only Bristol councillor to vote against a motion offering 'whole hearted support' for the war effort. He became a national executive member of the No Conscription Fellowship and was imprisoned for two months as a signatory of the 'Repeal the Act' (Military Service Act 1916) pamphlet. He was conscripted under the Act in 1916 and claimed conscientious objection status and was offered non-combatant service. This he refused and served prison sentences in Wormwood Scrubs, Wandsworth, Dorchester, Wakefield and Leeds throughout the war. Meanwhile he had been selected as the parliamentary candidate for Bristol East but could not stand in the 1918 General election because he was not released from prison until April 1919.

In 1922 he stood in Bristol North. The Liberals were strong in Bristol and had never lost the seat and he was defeated in a straight fight with the Liberals by a substantial majority. However in the 1923 General Election the Conservatives intervened and split the vote allowing Walter to win with only 37% of the poll. In Parliament he led an unsuccessful attempt to reduce the size of the British Army. He lost the seat in 1924 when the Conservatives stood down, but won it back in 1929 when an Independent Liberal ran against the official Liberal candidate and once again a split vote allowed Walter to win with less 50% of the votes. He lost again in 1931 when the Labour minority government was wiped out after the great depression and after Ramsay MacDonald's defection from Labour to form a coalition government with the Conservatives and

the National Liberals. He finally fought and lost in Bristol North in 1935.

After losing his seat in 1924 Walter was appointed secretary for the No More War Movement (NMWM). He retained that post until 1932. Thomas C Kennedy writes in the *Biographical Dictionary of Modern Peace Leaders* that in 1932 there were controversies in the NMWM over the role of the League of Nations and many colleagues thought he had softened his pacifism for reasons of political expediency. There was also an issue concerning the movement's financial status. He resigned and then became general secretary of the British Commonwealth Peace Federation.

Soon afterwards he moved to Orpington in Kent where he became a local councillor. Bertha died in 1942, a year before their son Ronald was killed in the war. He married again in 1944 to Jan Ogilvie Middleton and after the war they were living in Heston, a quarter of mile or so away from where I was living with my parents.

He won Southall for Labour in 1945 and held the Hayes and Harlington seat after boundary changes in 1950. Failing health caused him to resign in January 1953 and Walter died in Kingussie in Scotland in July where he is buried in the local cemetery.

Walter made few speeches in the House of Commons but in those he did make, and in the parliamentary questions he asked, one can detect his Christian beliefs, his devotion to disarmament and peace, and his fight against poverty. On one occasion his question referred to the lack of employment of women in the Ministry of Pensions, and he spoke and seconded the second reading of the Safety of Employment (employers liability) Act in

1949. An extract of this speech is shown below.

“As regards industrial friction, I am a loyal trade unionist and probably one of the oldest trade unionists in this House. I was locked out in 1897 because I refused to take the job of a man already locked out. My trade union and industrial experience extends over 50 years. As a result of a long and active experience in my trade union, for nearly half a century with a clean card, my experience has proved to me that the greatest cause of industrial disputes, whether they are official strikes or unofficial strikes, arises from a sense of injustice. Unequal treatment of workers is a great cause of that sense of injustice. This Bill will do a great deal to remove insecurity. No good employer wants to avoid obligations, and no bad one should be allowed to do so. Men working with a sense of everything having been done to give them security, will work all the better because they know that every safeguard has been provided.”



Walter, as I witnessed in 1950, was a forceful platform speaker. Thomas Kennedy writes ‘...in the view of some critics, he would have been more successful, both as a politician and peace leader, had he been less dogmatic. Still, Ayles laboured long and hard for peace and suffered for his beliefs not only due to his imprisonment in World War 1 and the controversies of the interwar period, but also in the bitter irony of his only son dying in action during the Second World

War. Ayles endured this loss with the aid of the Quaker faith he had adopted after his experiences as a conscientious objector and his abiding belief that ‘Christian socialism could somehow bring peace and goodwill to humanity.’

Sources: Bristol Radical History Group, Hayes Peoples History, Peoples Republic of Stokes Croft, Hansard, Biographical Dictionary of Modern Peace Leaders, Ancestry, Wikipedia.

Herbert Rogers and Bristol Labour Party

Jonathan V. Wood

The Bristol parliamentary constituency, which was Bristol East until the late 1940s and became, as a result of boundary changes, Bristol South-East was represented during the twentieth century by two of the Labour Party’s most famous left-wingers, Stafford Cripps and Tony Benn. Cripps was the Labour Left’s leading figure during the 1930s while Tony Benn was the best-known and most influential Labour Left parliamentarian in the 1970s and 1980s.

Herbert Rogers worked closely with both Cripps and Benn, shared their radical views and often supported them in their clashes with Labour Party orthodoxy. Unlike them, he never acquired a national reputation but as a founder-member of Bristol East Labour Party, constituency party secretary for over six decades, election agent and city councillor, he had a major role in Bristol Labour Party. Years after his death, the *Bristol Evening Post* described him as the ‘Grand Old Man of Bristol Labour Party’

Bristol East Divisional Labour Party

Herbert Ernest Flook Rogers (Flook was his mother’s maiden name) was born in

Bristol in 1896, the son of Ernest Rogers, a carpenter and joiner, and his wife Florence. He joined the Labour Party in 1912, when he was still a teenager. He was one of the local labour movement activists who met in the Bethesda Schoolrooms in Church Road in the St. George's area of Bristol and founded the Bristol East Divisional Labour Party. Rogers became the new party's secretary and held this post until 1979.

In 1923, Walter Baker, a Union of Post Office Workers' official, became Bristol East's first Labour MP. Rogers, who was the election agent as well as party secretary, claimed that party members' 'systematic activities' on polling day was one of the reasons for the large Labour vote. Baker was re-elected in 1924 and at a post-election victory rally praised Rogers for his 'untiring efforts' as election agent.

The General Strike of 1926

In 1926, the coal owners demanded the coal miners agree to lower wages and district level, instead of national wage agreements. The miners, supported by the Trades Union Congress (TUC), refused to accept these terms and came out on strike on May 1st. Attempts to find a settlement failed and the TUC's General Council called a general strike in solidarity with the miners.

In Bristol the General Strike was strongly supported by local trade unionists. Rogers and other Labour Party activists organised aid for the strike and the Labour Party HQ in Church Road, St. Georges became an information centre for the strikers. Discussing the General Strike many years later, Rogers remembered it as an opportunity for radical change. 'What did we want from the General Strike? We wanted the workers to take control of the

country. I've never known such a mood of solidarity among working people'

The TUC General Council called off the General Strike on 12th May. The miners continued their strike but were eventually forced to return to work. Rogers attributed this defeat to the failure of the trade union leadership saying: 'We had a great opportunity, but we were let down by our leaders'

Herbert Rogers' Election to Bristol Council

In 1929 Rogers was elected as Labour councillor for St George's East ward. He was an outspoken critic of injustice. In January 1932, the Conservative-dominated National Government cut unemployment benefit by 10%. In Bristol, thousands joined a protest march against these cuts. The local police lost control of the crowd and the Chief Constable ordered a baton charge in which marchers and by-standers were badly injured, Councillors Rogers demanded action against the police violence and wrote indignantly: 'Surely your men have not been instructed to trample to death law-abiding citizens whose only object is to pursue the legitimate conduct of citizens.'

Ernest Golding lived in St George's in the inter-war years and in the 1980s still remembered Rogers' dynamism and dedication to the cause of Labour.' 'Herbert Rogers was the local agent and what energy and enthusiasm he put into his work. The Labour Party was his life'

Herbert Rogers and Stafford Cripps

Walter Baker died in 1930 creating a parliamentary vacancy in Bristol East. The Labour Prime Minister, Ramsay MacDonald, wanted to make the distinguished lawyer Stafford Cripps the Labour Government's Solicitor General.

With the Labour leadership's support, Cripps became the Labour candidate in Bristol East and won the by-election held in January 1931. The Parliamentary Labour Party was decimated in Labour's disastrous defeat in the 1931 General Election and Cripps emerged as one of the major figures in the much-diminished Parliamentary Party.

In the 1930s, Cripps moved rapidly to the left, advocating a radical move towards socialism, and became the Labour Left's leading figure. He was Chairman of the Socialist League, an affiliated organisation which established itself as the most important Labour Left grouping until its disaffiliation and disbandment in 1937 and his financial contributions ensured the survival of *Tribune*, the left-wing weekly founded in 1937. His outspoken radicalism brought him into conflict with Party officials.

Cripps and his uncompromising calls for socialism were strongly supported by his constituency party. Rogers loyally backed Cripps and was one of several left-wing activists who were influential in the constituency party, including Alderman Walter Hennessey, Chair of Bristol East, Deborah Barker and R. St John Reade. Rogers and Deborah Barker joined the Socialist League while in 1936 St John Reade helped to set up the Bristol and District Labour Association. This was one of the unofficial constituency party associations in the Constituency Parties Movement which campaigned successfully for constituency party representatives on the NEC to be elected solely by individual Labour Party members.

When, in November 1934, a leading article in the *Daily Herald* was highly critical of Cripps, Bristol East's Executive Committee, passed a resolution expressing concern about the Herald's comments,

declaring the Party's full confidence in Cripps and demanding that the comments be withdrawn, and an apology be given. It was Rogers who forwarded this resolution to the *Herald*.

The United Front and the Unity Campaign

In 1935, the Communist International responded to the growing threat of fascism and in particular the rise of Nazi Germany by calling for a coalition of all anti-fascist forces to resist fascism. An anti-fascist alliance of this kind was called a 'Popular Front' or 'People's Front' and Communist Parties campaigned to establish Popular Fronts in their countries. The British Communist Party (CP) approached the Socialist League and the Independent Labour Party (ILP,) which had disaffiliated from the Labour Party in 1932 to pursue a more socialist policy, with proposals for a British Popular Front. The Socialist League and the ILP opposed the concept of the Popular Front because they believed an alliance with non-socialist anti-fascists was incompatible with an anti-capitalist political programme. They wanted a United Front of working-class parties and organisations and this tactic was accepted by the Communist Party.

In November 1936 the Communist Party, the Socialist League and the ILP established the basis for a Unity Agreement. The National Executive Committee (NEC) of the Labour Party, in response, warned Labour Party members not to get involved in United Front activity. A Socialist League conference in London in January 1937 voted for the Unity Agreement and a Unity Manifesto was produced. The NEC promptly disaffiliated the Socialist League from the Labour Party.

Cripps was the leading Labour proponent of the Unity Agreement and was strongly supported by Bristol East Labour Party. Rogers was a committed supporter of the United Front as several other Labour councillors in Bristol, including the influential Alderman Hennessey.

The Unity Campaign in Bristol and the Dissolution of the Socialist League

Rogers wrote frequently to Cripps about the Unity Campaign in Bristol and his letters reveal how the initial optimism and enthusiasm produced by the launch of the Campaign gave way to disillusion.

In March 1937, Bristol Borough Labour Party discussed a resolution backing the NEC's opposition to United Front activities and narrowly passed an amendment to the resolution which postponed consideration of the issue until the NEC made a definite statement on the issue. In the same month, the NEC announced that after June 1st Socialist League members would be ineligible for Labour Party membership. In April, Bristol Borough Labour Party passed a motion supporting the NEC's opposition to the United Front.

Socialist League members risked expulsion from the Labour Party and Rogers moved a resolution to dissolve the Socialist League, but it was amended. Cripps argued the Socialist League should remain in existence until the Labour Party Conference in October. In a letter to Cripps, Rogers argued this would damage the Left because Labour councillors in Bristol who belonged to the Socialist League would be expelled from the Party and lose their seats. Rogers and other left-wingers advocated the League's immediate dissolution and their views did much to influence the decision made by the National Council of the League to

disband the organisation before the June deadline.

Divisions within the Unity Campaign Committee in Bristol

The Unity Campaign continued as an alliance between individual Labour Party members and the CP and ILP. However, Rogers informed Cripps in May 1937, that Labour Party members who favoured the United Front were becoming dissatisfied with the local Unity Campaign and complained that the CP and ILP had not done their share of the work, the bulk of which had been done by Labour Party members already active in the movement.

Rogers noted that only 25% of those who had signed Unity pledge cards had attended Unity Campaign meetings and that the campaign had failed to bring any 'new blood' into the labour movement. He warned that if the NEC implemented its threat to expel Labour Party members who shared political platforms with CP and ILP members the Bristol Labour councillors who had given their backing to the Unity Campaign would be expelled. Rogers approved of the decision of the Bristol branch of the Socialist League to withdraw from the Bristol Unity Committee and set up a Labour Unity Committee restricted to Labour Party members.

Bristol's example was followed nationally. The National Unity Campaign Committee disbanded and was replaced by a Labour Unity Committee. The Unity Campaign failed to mobilise mass support. In June 1937 Rogers wrote to Cripps about a meeting organised for Labour Party members who had signed Unity pledge cards. A thousand circulars had been sent out but only fifty people attended the meeting and Rogers commented that it appeared 'many people signed the cards

without accepting any responsibility.’ The 1937 Labour Party Conference rejected proposals for a United Front decisively.

Herbert Rogers’ Negative View of the Labour Party in 1937

In his correspondence with Cripps in the latter half of 1937, Rogers expressed deep pessimism about the state of the Labour Party. In July 1937, the Parliamentary Labour Party abandoned its opposition to the government’s rearmament programme and decided to abstain rather than vote against the government’s defence estimates. He made caustic comments about this decision and believed the policy of abstention would please no one and greatly disappoint those who had hoped Labour could become a Peace Party.

Listing long-standing Labour Party members who had resigned, he concluded ‘. . . the outlook is very bleak and. . . it makes things exceedingly difficult for us in trying to rouse the workers’ In the winter of 1937, Rogers lamented the degree of apathy in Bristol East Labour Party which he attributed partly to the fact there had been no elections in some of the wards for several years. He was also concerned that the Divisional Party had concentrated on social activities and fund-raising and neglected political work.

Herbert Rogers and the Popular Front

After the failure of the Unity Campaign, most of the Labour Left adopted the idea of the Popular Front, an alliance of all democrats, including non-socialists, to oppose fascism. Cripps advocated the Popular Front in *Tribune*.

In a letter to Cripps in June 1937, Rogers described the Popular Front as ‘the only practical way out’. In another letter in November 1938, Rogers strongly favoured cooperation between Labour and Liberals

in a Popular Front to defeat the coalition government led by Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain whose policy of appeasing the fascist dictators was much criticised. However, he was emphatic that Labour’s participation in a Popular Front should not lead to a weakening of the Party’s commitment to socialism and was keenly aware of the political limitations of the Liberals. He proposed that a future Popular Front should include the entire Left and argued that the participation of the Communist Party would ensure socialist principles would be upheld in a broad anti-fascist alliance.

1939 Bridgwater By-election

The movement for a broad anti-fascist alliance able to topple Chamberlain’s government was strengthened by the Munich Agreement which many considered to be a capitulation to Nazi Germany. A by-election was due in Bridgwater, a seat Labour had little hope of winning. The Bridgwater Labour Party decided not to contest the by-election and most of its activists supported Vernon Bartlett, the Independent Progressive candidate. The NEC and Labour Party officials objected strongly to local Labour Party members campaigning for Bartlett but were unable to prevent this happening.

Rogers and other members of Bristol Labour Party provided active support to Bartlett’s election campaign. Rogers offered Bartlett his services and became a member of Bartlett’s Organising Staff during the campaign. The van used by the Bristol Labour Propaganda Corps travelled to Bridgwater to help Bartlett.

When Bartlett won, Rogers called it a ‘wonderful result’. However, Labour’s leaders and officials had strongly opposed Party members working for the independent candidate. Since Rogers was

employed as a Labour Party election agent and was the vice-president of the National Union of Labour Organisers and Election Agents, the union which represented Labour agents, his work for Bartlett's election campaign would have serious repercussions.

Cripps' Memorandum, the Expulsion of Cripps and the Petition Campaign.

In January 1939, Cripps submitted to the NEC a memorandum proposing electoral agreements between the Labour Party and other political opponents of the National Government, but the NEC rejected these proposals. Cripps then despatched copies of his memorandum to Labour MPs and affiliated organisations, an action which the NEC considered open defiance. Cripps was summoned before the NEC and asked to reaffirm his loyalty to the Labour Party and withdraw his memorandum. He was warned that refusal to comply with these demands would result in his expulsion from the Labour Party. He rejected this ultimatum and was expelled from the Party

After his expulsion, Cripps launched the National Petition Campaign. His petition contained six points, including a Peace Alliance of Britain, France and Russia which would mobilise peace-loving nations to defend democratic rights against fascism and government control of armaments firms and vital industries.

The General Council of Bristol East Divisional Labour Party decided to contact every Divisional and Central Labour Party to ask them to join the protest against Cripps' expulsion. Rogers was an active campaigner against Cripps' expulsion and for the Petition. He told the *Bristol Evening Post* in February 1939 that over 600 people in the city had promised to work for the Petition and that Bristol East Party would organise an intensive political

campaign comparable to an election campaign.

Bristol East Labour Party passed two resolutions for Labour Party Conference. The first called for the Party constitution to be changed so that a member expelled from the Labour Party would be allowed to appear in person at the Party Conference. The second protested against the NEC's decision to expel Cripps and instructed the NEC to meet Cripps to discuss his readmission to the Party.

Rogers mobilised opposition to Cripps' expulsion and campaigned for the Popular Front. In February, he spoke in favour of the Popular Front at a special ward Labour Party meeting in Easton. He addressed the five ward labour parties in the Bristol East Division and all five voted for resolutions supporting Cripps.

A meeting of Bristol Borough Labour Party voted in favour of Cripps' reinstatement but also voted to back the NEC's rejection of Popular Front proposals. Rogers welcomed the Borough Party's backing for Cripps but was disappointed that the proposals in Cripps' Memorandum had not been discussed. He considered Bristol Labour Party members remained ignorant of the case for a Popular Front and were unable to make a considered decision on the issue.

Rogers continued campaigning for the proposals in the petition and spoke at open-air meetings organised by the local Petition Committee alongside other local leftists such as Walter Hennessey and R.St.John Reade. Despite Rogers' efforts on behalf of Cripps and the Popular Front, Labour Party Conference endorsed Cripps' expulsion and rejected the Popular Front by overwhelming majorities

The Threat to Rogers' Position as Election Agent

During this period of internal Labour Party conflict, Rogers' position as election agent came under threat. The South Wales and South-Western group of the National Union of Labour Organisers passed a resolution expressing concern over Rogers' conduct as a vice-chairman of their union and asking that he 'be dealt with according to rule'. What they objected to was Rogers' work for Vernon Bartlett in the Bridgwater by-election. Rogers regarded this as a threat to expel him from the Agents' union though this was denied by the Secretary of the South Wales and South-Western Group. The situation which arose after the outbreak of the Second World War necessitated a reorganisation in Bristol East Labour Party and this led to Rogers losing his post as election agent.

The 1943 Bristol Central By-election

Cripps' expulsion and the Petition Campaign resulted in a conflict within Bristol Labour Party between left-wingers like Rogers and other members who accepted the official Party line. These political divisions in the Bristol Party lasted for a number of years. They became public again during the Bristol Central by-election in 1943.

The by-election occurred during the wartime electoral truce. Shortly after Britain's declaration of war, the Labour Party agreed to an electoral truce which meant it would not contest by-elections in seats held by other parties. When a by-election was announced in the Conservative-held Bristol Central constituency in 1943, the prospective Labour candidate withdrew rather than oppose the Conservative candidate. However, the latter was opposed by a

number of candidates including Jennie Lee, the wife of left-wing Labour MP Aneurin Bevan, who stood as an independent socialist.

Herbert Rogers was one of a number of Bristol Labour activists, including several other councillors, who ignored the electoral truce and campaigned actively for Jennie Lee. The Executive Committee of Bristol Borough Labour Party confirmed its decision to accept the electoral truce, asked Party members not to help independent candidates in the by-election and called on those Party members who had been working for Jennie Lee to observe the electoral truce. The Committee also voted to discipline those who flouted this policy by withdrawing support and recognition from councillors, party officers and other Labour Party members who refused to abide by the Party's decision.

Rogers and six other Labour councillors, including Walter Hennessey and R.St John Reade, issued a statement explaining why they continued to assist Jennie Lee despite the Borough Labour Party's decision. They declared their 'wholehearted opposition' to the electoral truce which they called contrary to democracy, welcomed the candidature of Jennie Lee who, in the absence of an official Labour candidate, was someone who shared the Labour Party's political views and urged members of the labour movement to work and vote for her. The Borough Labour Party and the Labour Group on Bristol City Council withdrew recognition from Labour councillors and Party officers who had given public support to Jennie Lee.

The Disaffiliation of Bristol East Labour Party

Bristol East Labour Party rallied behind its members who had campaigned for Jennie Lee and was disaffiliated for this. In April

1943, Bristol Borough Labour Party voted to reorganise Bristol East Labour Party, a decision endorsed by the NEC, and created a new constituency party to replace the one which had been disaffiliated. Rogers and other members of the disaffiliated Party continued to meet together and support Cripps even though he had been expelled from the Labour Party.

Stafford Cripps and Herbert Rogers 1945-1950

Until 1945, Cripps remained an independent MP and his loyal constituency party had been disaffiliated. However, in March 1945, Cripps re-joined the Labour Party and Rogers and other Cripps adherents in Bristol were reconciled with official Labour. During the Attlee Government, Cripps the former left-wing rebel who had been expelled from the Party, became one of the leading figures of the post-war Labour government. He was appointed President of the Board of Trade, in 1947 he was given the post of Minister of Economic Affairs and later that year became Chancellor of the Exchequer.

While Cripps ascended to high office, Rogers did not stand for re-election as councillor for St George's East ward in 1947. A major redistribution of parliamentary constituencies occurred in 1948 and a series of boundary changes in Bristol resulted in the existing Bristol East constituency becoming the new Bristol South-East.

Herbert Rogers and Tony Benn

Cripps had increasingly been suffering from poor health and his deteriorating health eventually forced him to resign as Chancellor of the Exchequer and MP. for Bristol South -East in October 1950 which caused a by-election in the constituency. Rogers was keen that Tony Benn, then 25

years old, should become Labour candidate and was active in ensuring Benn's selection. Benn was elected MP for Bristol South-East in November 1950.

Many years later, Benn recalled that in 1950 the constituency party was still divided between Rogers and other left-wingers who had sided with Cripps and those who had followed the official party line. Benn noted the radicalism of Rogers, describing him as 'An old Marxist' and commenting 'He was a very radical man with a very deep feeling for the Party'. He was impressed by Rogers' organisational skills. He had a card for every single elector on a card index.'

Rogers worked closely with Benn. When the latter's father, Viscount Stansgate died, Benn inherited his peerage which meant he had to become member of the House of Lords and could no longer remain MP for Bristol South-East. Benn did not want to become a peer and fought a protracted campaign lasting two and a half years to reject the peerage and remain an MP, fighting and winning a by-election in which his opposition to the peerage was the key issue. Rogers, the constituency agent, was one of the local Party officials who supported Benn's campaign. Eventually, the passage of the 1963 Peerage Act enabled him to renounce his peerage and continue as an MP.

Benn's resistance to the peerage and the resulting by-election campaign stimulated political debate in Bristol Labour Party. Rogers worked with Benn and other local Labour activists to create the New Bristol Group which between 1962 and 1966 published broadsheets and held seminars on local issues with the aim of encouraging greater local democracy.

Labour won the 1964 General Election and Harold Wilson became Prime Minister.

The policies pursued by Wilson's government produced widespread disillusion among left-wingers, especially the government's public support for the United States' brutal and controversial war in Vietnam. Rogers was an outspoken critic. At a meeting of Bristol South-East's General Management Committee in June 1965, he condemned the Labour Government's policy on Vietnam.

How Rogers Lost the Secretaryship

A change in the Labour Party's political culture ended Rogers' lengthy tenure as constituency party secretary. During the 1970s, the number of Bristol South-East Labour Party members who were young and well-educated increased. There was friction between Rogers and many of the newer members. This was a generational rather than an ideological clash. The octogenarian activist continued to hold very left-wing views but expected party workers to obey his instructions. Many younger members regarded his approach as authoritarian and anachronistic, often making the comment 'His methods were fine in the 1930s'

In 1979, in the election for the constituency party secretary, Rogers was opposed by a much younger member, Dawn Primarolo, who was then a twenty-five-year-old schoolteacher and subsequently had a successful political career. She was elected MP for Bristol South in 1987, held several ministerial posts after Labour returned to power in 1997 and eventually joined the House of Lords as Baroness Primarolo. In the election for party secretary, she defeated Rogers by 26 votes to 24.

This result was not completely unexpected, but the end of Rogers' decades-long incumbency had a strong impact. The defeat was a blow to the veteran socialist

campaigner who left the meeting soon after the result of the election was announced. He revealed his feelings when he visited Tony Benn shortly after and told him 'I've just come to tell you that I'll never come back again' Rogers died at the age of 96 in December 1992.

Conclusion

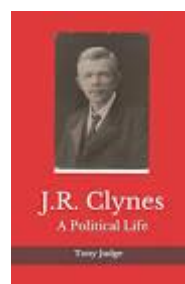
For much of the twentieth century, Herbert Rogers' life and the history of Bristol Labour Party were closely intertwined. He gave decades of dedicated service to the Labour Party while frequently disagreeing with its official policy. Rogers epitomised the devoted local activists whose work was so important in building and sustaining the Labour Party.

Sources: Papers of Sir Stafford Cripps, Labour Party local and N.E.C. minutes and reports, The Times and local newspapers, Bristol City Council Museum Collections

J.R.Clynes: Number Two in Labour's First Government

Peter Clark

John Robert Clynes is the least known of the leading figures of the early twentieth century Labour Party. Yet he was the leader of the party immediately before Ramsay MacDonald and was MacDonald's deputy in the 1924 government. He was a self-effacing man, reliable and utterly loyal to the labour movement. He also wrote two modest but readable volumes of memoirs.



He was born in 1869 in Oldham Lancashire to a family that had migrated from Ireland to work in the cotton textile industry. His father later worked as a grave digger for Oldham Corporation. As Irish immigrants the family had to live in the worst slums, and take the lower paid jobs.

Clynes began working in a textile mill, two miles from his home, at the age of ten as a “piecer”. His work was to run, barefoot, between the spinning machines clearing up broken threads. It was potentially dangerous work. For this was paid two shillings and sixpence a week (12.5p). He worked six hours a day, receiving some schooling in the afternoon. From the age of twelve he was working full-time for ten shillings a week (50p), but spent such spare time as he had educating himself at the Oldham Equitable Co-operative Society library. By his early teens he had read and become entranced by the plays of Shakespeare. Like other working class autodidacts he also read works by Thomas Carlyle, Charles Dickens and John Ruskin. Clynes acquired a small library from purchases at second-hand bookstalls in Oldham, saving up his pennies for the purpose. One treasured purchase was a dictionary which cost him sixpence. (2.5p). He studied this by the light of a candle. Another work that he read and reread was William Cobbett’s *Easy Grammar of the English Language*. (In 1923 he wrote an introduction to a new edition of this work.) A lot of Shakespeare and poetry was committed to memory. As he worked, he later recalled, he “used to repeat appropriate passages of poetry in time with the glide and thrust of the jennies. “Had anyone heard me I should have been thought mad; but the everlasting noise was my safeguard, and my small voice was swept away.” On one occasion the foreman caught him reading John Milton’s *Paradise Lost*. “Books’ll never

buy thee britches,” he observed contemptuously.

In his teens he started to organise the piecers into a union. Piecers often graduated to being spinners who were well unionised, but were not unionised themselves. In this work Clynes encountered opposition from the Spinners’ Union as well as mill-owners, but he persisted and spread his net to other Lancashire towns. This meant correspondence, organising meetings and public speaking. A speech made when he was nineteen was described by another trade unionist. “He was nothing to look at – a frail lad, pale and serious in ungainly clothes. For three quarters of an hour the piecer-orator spoke with well-measured sentences of sincerity and grammatical precision.”

As a young trade unionist he left south Lancashire for the first time to attend a conference at Plymouth. The train journey made a profound impression on him. “To look through the carriage window and see grass and bushes that were really green instead of olive, trees that reached confidently up to the sun instead of our stunted things, houses that were mellow red and white and yellow, with warm red roofs, instead of the Lancashire soot and slates, and stretches of landscape in which the eye could not find a single factory chimney belching – this was sheer magic.”

Clynes was present at the inaugural meeting in Bradford of the Independent Labour Party in 1893, and at the first meeting of the Labour Representation Committee in London seven years later.

After three attempts he was finally elected as Member of Parliament for Manchester North East in 1906, defeating the sitting Conservative. He joined twenty-eight other newly elected Labour MPs, thirteen of

whom were from Lancashire and Cheshire. He took a seedy bed-sitter in Lambeth, returning to Lancashire at the weekend to join his wife, Mary, and two children. The parliamentary group organised themselves initially under the chairmanship of James Keir Hardie who was not universally popular with the trade unionists. He grew to love the House of Commons, regularly attended and listened, being particularly impressed by the former Conservative Prime Minister, Arthur Balfour. He asked questions and spoke regularly, generally on issues relating to trade union interests.

When the Great War broke out, Clynes supported Britain's commitment to war, aligning himself with both majority trade union opinion and feelings in Lancashire.

In May 1915 Prime Minister Asquith transformed his exclusively Liberal administration into a national coalition, bringing in Conservatives and offering places to the Labour Party. Nineteen months later, when Asquith was replaced by Lloyd George, Clynes was appointed Parliamentary Secretary at the Ministry of Food. The Minister was Lord Rhondda in the House of Lords, so Clynes was the Ministry's spokesman in the House of Commons. He became a Privy Councillor and relished the role, even though worry, he said, turned his hair white. He wrote later, "Never was it more clearly shown than in the work of the Food Ministry that the State is a better shop-keeper, a better employer and a better salesman than the private owner and the capitalist." In early 1918 Rhondda died and Clynes was promoted to replace him. Minister though he was, Clynes was always self-effacing. There is a story that he was at a conference at Blackpool and at the canteen was served a minute portion of fish. He asked the waitress for a second helping, to which she

replied, "I'm afraid I daren't. They say the Food Controller is present."

At the end of the war Clynes was in favour of Labour remaining in the coalition, but the Party was for disengagement, so reluctantly he resigned from the government. He retained his seat in the 1918 General Election and became Deputy Leader of the Parliamentary Labour Party and took over as Leader in 1921. He could be pugnacious and incisive in debate, but his authority was hampered by his having been in the Coalition government. At the same time he was immersed in trade union activities, and his union was merged with a number of smaller unions, to form the General and Municipal Workers' Union.

The General Election of 1922 saw the return of sixty-seven new Labour MPs, a credit to Clynes's leadership. Many ILP members who had opposed the war, including Ramsay MacDonald and Philip Snowden, returned to Westminster. When the enlarged number of Labour MPs assembled there was the re-election for leader. Though honest and popular, Clynes lacked the presence and charisma of MacDonald who won. He was aware of his own limitations and graciously accepted being Deputy Leader again, and urged the Party to reunite behind the new leader.

When Ramsay MacDonald formed his government in January 1924 Clynes was appointed Lord Privy Seal and Deputy Leader of the House. Having had departmental responsibility during the war, he was initially disappointed not to have a Ministry to run. Henderson and Clynes had been the only two Labour men of 1924 to have had ministerial experience, though the former Liberals Haldane and Trevelyan had served in Asquith's government. Clynes was in effect Deputy Prime Minister and, to the chagrin of Philip Snowden, had 11 Downing Street as

his official residence, though he and his neighbour at number 10 did not see a lot of each other. Unlike his job at the Ministry of Food, which he had enjoyed, being Lord Privy Seal brought with it a lot of tiresome ceremonial duties. But in the House of Commons, because of MacDonald's frequent absences, Clynes often had to speak on behalf of the government.

Shy and unprepossessing in appearance, he was determined, conscientious and hard-working. His thoughtfulness, however, also made him sometimes slow to reach a decision, and prone to procrastinate. "When in doubt, do nowt", it was mockingly suggested, was his practice.

His wife, Mary, accepted the responsibility of being a fine hostess, able to hold her own with well-educated guests. She was unimpressed by 11 Downing Street: it lacked both a piano and a sewing-machine. Beatrice Webb, not always easy to please, approved of Mary. "She reads GBS with appreciation and delights in good music," she recorded with upper middle class condescension in her diary, "[and] has no desire to escape her class" (This tells us more about Beatrice Webb than about Mary Clynes.) Mary outlived her husband by just one month after nearly sixty years of marriage.

Miles Mallieson and the Fulham ILP Arts Guild

John Grigg

West London Observer. May 1926

The dramatic guild of the Fulham branch of the ILP arts guild, gave their final public performance at St. Augustine's Hall, Lilly Road on Monday evening when they presented "Black 'Ell," a stirring one act play by Miles Malleeson, honorary

director of the Independent Labour Party Arts Guild, and also "Foiling the Reds," a tragedy with a moral, by "Yapples," the well-known humorous contributor to the New Leader.

Some excellent acting was seen, honours going to Mr. R.C. Ward, who, as a disgruntled British Soldier, gave a passionate display in "Black 'Ell", and to Mr. R. Steel, the hero of the second play, who, as a typical British workman, fails to see socialist agitators in their dastardly attempts to ruin the British industries.

Incidental music was provided by members of the West London Co-operative Orchestra, by kind permission of Mr. J Mason, and the singing of the 'Red Flag' concluded a very successful and enjoyable evening.

When I first went to the pictures in the 1950s and 60s a very familiar sight was the sharp nose and receding chin of Miles Mallieson.



He was born in 1888 in Croydon and went to Brighton College and Emmanuel

College Cambridge; where it is said he caused a sensation by successfully giving a speech at a debating society dinner posing as the politician who had failed to attend.

In 1911 he studied at what became the Royal Academy of Dramatic Art (RADA). Between 1921 and 1965 he appeared in 120 films (Yes! 120).

In 1914 he enlisted in the army and was sent to Malta but was invalided out in January 1915. Later that year he met Clifford Allen who converted him to pacifism and socialism and he became a member of the Non-Conscription Fellowship. By 1916 he was writing in support of conscientious objectors and wrote two anti-war plays, book copies of which were seized by the police.

In the 1920s he became director of the ILP Arts Guild and helped establish amateur dramatic companies across Britain. His 1934 play *Six Men of Dorset* about the Tolpuddle Martyrs was performed by local theatre groups under the guidance of the Left Book Club Theatre Guild. He died in 1969 and a memorial service at St. Martin's in the Fields was addressed by Dame Sybil Thorndyke and Laurence Olivier.

Sources: Wikipedia and West London Observer May 1926

Book Reviews

Two Hundred Years of Dulwich Radicalism by Duncan Bowie.

Reviewed by Linda Shampan

What a fascinating read! Duncan Bowie has distilled sixty life stories of people from the 18th century to the present, connected by having spent a period of their lives in the Dulwich area, [now part of London Borough of Southwark], and their

contribution to radical ideas and action in a range of spheres. It is a book that could be read chapter by chapter to get a feel of history moving forward including key issues of the day – or dipped into to find out about particular people and the injustices they took up. It reminded me of being at a marvellous party, wandering the room, entering into conversations with a variety of people and finding out a bit about each of them..

In the first chapter we learn the origin of the phrase '*bold as brass*' - Brass Crosby from County Durham was named 'Brass' after his maternal grandfather John Brass. As Lord Mayor of London, living in Dulwich, he sought to stop the government recruiting in the City for sailors to fight against Spain and was imprisoned in the Tower during 1782. From this and other issues he fought for in his *Defence of the City Corporation against National Government interference* developed the phrase 'bold as Brass' and an obelisk stands in his memory at St George's circus, Southwark.

Later, we read about radical MPs such as Charles Buxton, MP for Surrey East (including Dulwich) 1865-71, an active critic of slavery and colonial government, radical activists including Louise Michel, anarchist and veteran of the Paris Commune of 1871; socialists and social reformers and radical Liberals; suffragettes, pacifists, communists, Labour politicians from the 1920s onwards, and well-known 'local heroes' including Jack Jones and Tessa Jowell.

I was interested in the chapters on Ebenezer Howard, the 'father of modern British town planning' and Henry Aldridge, the housing reformer, both active within the debates in the 1880s onwards about how to address the crisis of overcrowded slums in the major cities.

Bowie notes that the labour movement took time to recognise the importance of the housing issue, but campaigns by the TUC and other groups did eventually lead to the 1909 *Housing and Town Planning Act*, the beginning of legislation on housing. There is a lot of interesting detail given of the process towards improvement of working class housing, perhaps reflecting Bowie's own professional career in planning and housing within local, regional and national government and university teaching. (Sadly, government policies of recent years have reversed much of these improvements).

Memorable stories of perhaps less well-known Dulwich residents include Frida Knight, who organised a refugee relief committee for Spanish republicans and drove an ambulance to Spain in 1937, later working in Paris and imprisoned by the Germans in 1940, surviving over a year in an internment camp from which she eventually escaped. She remained politically active in the Communist Party and CND until her death in 1996. And that of Sam King, born in Portland Jamaica in 1926, who joined the RAF in 1944 after seeing a recruitment advert in the *Daily Gleaner* and served until 1953. He was then turned down when applying to join the Metropolitan Police – who did not recruit their first black officer until 1967. He was one of the organisers of the first Caribbean carnival in London, was active both in trade union work and in the Caribbean community, and was Mayor of Southwark 1983-4.

200 years of Dulwich Radicalism is published by Community Language in association with the Socialist History Society @ £10.

Labour's Past, (ed), Nathan Yeowell, L.B. Tauris, 2022

Reviewed by Dianne Hayter

A new book of essays seeks to reclaim the value of understanding Labour's history to any planning for the future.

122 years on from the founding of the Labour Representation Committee, 116 from the founding of the PLP and 100 years since Labour became the official opposition, the book asks what history can teach about the way forward for the party,

As a political activist for over 50 years, I share the view – along with Labour Heritage – that it's time for the movement to re-find one of the lost arts of political development – the study of our history. Whilst economics, political science, psephology and sociology play a part in any analysis of society and the search for new solutions, it's often the lessons of the past – what was tried and failed, what was tried and succeeded, the role of structures, of personalities, of external events, how we governed, or failed to govern – that can help plot a path to make ambitions a reality.

Labour has won just eight elections with an overall majority – only five with a majority in double figures. Whilst for some that paints the reality of the challenge, the ever optimistic Nick Thomas-Symonds (also a historian) draws from this the lesson that the party can recover.

What more can be gleaned? Sweeping views of the past century point to some commonalities in Labour victories. They happened when we were united, when we spoke for and with the unions, were in tune with voters' concerns, when our aspirations were their aspirations. And when we were patriotic.

What created that coalition of attributes? This volume of essays points of the importance of individuals (leaders), as well as to the interplay of circumstance and personality, and reminds us of the zeitgeist of the times. Patrick Diamond quoting John Gyford, not from this century, but from immediately after the 1970 defeat: “The sense of estrangement felt by many working class votes towards a government whose politics sometimes seems to bear little relation to the realities of the everyday life of ordinary people, and whose concern for permissive legislation, the arts, [and] higher education and .. could not mask its failure to deal .. with housing, unemployment and the cost of living”. One politician of the time, Tony Crosland, warned that Labour’s increasingly middle-class leadership risked losing focus on its traditional supporters, leaders who’d hardly ventured from London and who were deaf, even then, to issues about immigration.

Crosland’s preoccupation with a more classless society made him concentrate on that perennial problem of HOW to address harsh, specific and unmerited inequality. As he wrote in *Socialism Now*, carrying “through a radical, equalitarian programme, involving a major redistribution of resources, is a formidable task”.

Which is why – for me, as a political player more than as a historian – we need to understand and interrogate our history. Since 1900 our members and leaders shared the common endeavour: to win power to change society, but importantly, to fashion the policies, and what we now call “agency”, to make things happen.

Neither our leaders nor the movement were asleep at the wheel, uncaring or lacked diligence. So we have to grasp why they were not always able to make and

embed seismic changes, and then go on to win elections.

Glen O’Hara recalls Edmund Dell’s warning that “British governments have learned few lessons from .. history .. parties continue to promise what they cannot deliver”. In 1945 and 1997 we called the big questions right (NHS or education), and did what we promised, but still we failed to satisfy a changing economy, new expectations, a trusting electorate.

And over Brexit, did we fail to hear, or fail to heed?

Unless we understand not just what we got right and what we got wrong, but why and how we got things right or wrong, the tragedy would be to repeat the history. Just five majorities in double figures. We have to do better, not just to win, but to govern. And that, for me, is the issue – what we actually do in office.

With contributions from politicians (Rachel Reeves and Nick Thomas-Symonds) as well as academics, the book assesses both what transpired over the century but also how it was seen both at the time and by subsequent historians, reviewing those judgements and drawing lessons for the future.

Nathan Yeowell describes 1997-2010 as “by far the most electorally successful, continuously sustained period of government in Labour’s history”. Yet for a dozen years large parts of the movement spent energy disparaging it, whilst even those who knew better failed to celebrate and champion the successes.

As the book, chapter by chapter, testifies, it’s hard work to make fundamental changes. Hopefully the pages will provide some of the clues to ensure our future steps are surer.

Save Lives by Nicolette Jones (Abacus, 2007)

Reviewed by Barbara Humphries

If you were fortunate enough to have studied 19th century history at school you may have heard of the Plimsoll Line. It was named after Samuel Plimsoll, a man who persisted in trying to get legislation to save the lives of seamen and passengers on ships in the British Empire and internationally. Sailing ships carried cargo and passengers across the world's oceans, regardless of the weather or season. Overloading on the orders of shipping merchants led to many of them sinking with the loss of thousands of lives. Jones describes the sudden and violent deaths of these people and the loss to their families.

Plimsoll entered the House of Commons as a Liberal MP. Committed to parliamentary reform, he had spoken in favour of the Electoral Reform Act of 1867 and the Secret Ballot Act. He had made his fortune as a coal merchant. Both cargoes and passengers could be more safely transported by road, even from locations within the UK, such as Newcastle. However a ship could take on a heavier load than a horse drawn carriage.

Plimsoll thought that the Liberals led by William Gladstone were better allies than the Tories, led by Benjamin Disraeli.

Plimsoll attracted much support from the trades union movement. He made friends with George Howell of the TUC, and Havelock Wilson of the National Amalgamated Seaman's and Firemen's Union. He campaigned vigorously up and down the country drawing thousands to his meetings, especially in seaports such as Hull and Bridlington. A petition was collected to be presented to Parliament. A Ladies Committee was set up attracting

famous names such as Florence Nightingale.

The response of Parliament was to set up the Royal Commission of Unseaworthy Ships. This gave the Board of Trade the right to inspect and rule that ships which were judged to be unseaworthy could not be allowed to sail. There were no rules however on how high or low the load line had to be and it was in the end a recommendation that a ship should be lightened. In 1871 a Merchant Shipping Bill was introduced, but it fell short of enforceable legislation.

The author notes that Plimsoll did not have much time for Parliament and indeed he had to shout and bawl to get his cause discussed. This did not go down well with MPs. Finally a load-line was agreed and became part of the Merchant Shipping Act of 1876.

Concerns over shipping safety continued into the 20th century. The United States passed legislation in 1931, followed by other countries across the globe. In the 1970's left wing MP Tony Benn used the example of the campaign for safe loads on ships to illustrate how change can be brought about, not just by the actions of MPs but by campaigning to change public opinion.

The Clash: a novel by Ellen Wilkinson (Merlin Press, 1929)

Reviewed by Barbara Humphries

This novel is mainly based on factual evidence and real events. Most of the characters are fictional, but there are some named historical figures.

Joan Craig is a 26 year old trades union organiser and socialist propagandist, working for the National Industrial Union

of Labour. It is 1926 and the labour movement is faced with its fight of the century, a general strike in support of the miners. It has been called for May 1st but negotiations with the government are going right to the wire.

A government subsidy to the coal mining industry has run out. The coal mining bosses want to cut pay and increase the hours worked by the miners. In the meantime the government led by Stanley Baldwin has been appealing for volunteers to join the Organisation for the Maintenance of Supplies (OMS) to keep transport running.

The General Council of the TUC is in permanent session, hoping that negotiations can continue. In the local areas committees of trades unionists (Trades Councils) are forming councils of action, taking decisions on the movement of fuel and food.

Joan is aware that a strike will lead to sacrifices on the part of workers who have spent their whole life in an industry and will lose pension rights as well as wages. The novel gives a good insight into the tension and dilemmas of May 1926. It also relates the personal dilemmas Joan faces as she is introduced by friend Mary Maud of the Bloomsbury set into a different world of luxury living on the part of those who see the strike as a news scoop to advance their writing careers. One of this is Anthony Dacre. He proposes that Joan become his mistress as his wife, Helen will not give him a divorce. He wants Joan to give up her career as a trades union organiser, which she is not prepared to do.

A refusal by the printers to print a cartoon in the *Daily Mail* is used by the government as an excuse to pull out of negotiations and the strike goes ahead. The TUC publishes the *British Worker* as

an antidote to Churchill's *British Gazette*. After nine days the strike is called off without any agreement, a total surrender. The miners face a lockout, dependent on charity.

Joan goes to Shireport in order to organise the relief effort and to get away from Antony. She is in her element, working with miners' wives in Women's Relief Distribution Committee, with the Women's Co-operative Guild, to alleviate their poverty. She works closely with colleague Gerry Blaine, who is an ex-airman. He has dreams of setting up a Labour Training College using his father's inheritance. This is never achieved but plans are in place for a leftwing journal attracting famous writers with substantial input from Joan.

Joan's friendship with Antony and Helen is put to the test when she accepts an offer to return to London to speak at a fundraising extravaganza at which she speaks her mind in support of the miners, alienating the wealthy celebrities in the audience.

For more information about Labour Heritage, or to order publications, please see: www.labour-heritage.com