

Labour Heritage



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1940 – The Labour Party's Role. Mike Watts

This is a brief history of one of the most dramatic parliamentary debates in our history, which resulted in Neville Chamberlain being replaced as Prime Minister by Winston Churchill, and the Labour Party's role in the transition.

When war was declared in September 1939 one of Prime Minister Chamberlain's first acts was to bring Churchill back into government as First Lord Of The Admiralty, a post he held at the outbreak of World War 1 in 1914. In addition Chamberlain also appointed Churchill Chair of The Military Coordinating Committee making him effectively second only to himself as the most powerful politician responsible for the armed forces.

It should be remembered that at this time Churchill was regarded as an ageing has-been and a joke, particularly by his fellow Conservative Members of Parliament. He had been in government on and off since the beginning of the 20th century. His political career had been littered with blunders and displays of appalling judgement. His worse blunder was the Dardanelles campaign in World War 1 which was a total failure resulting in many deaths and his subsequent resignation. Churchill's lack of judgement put him on the wrong side of most of the issues between the wars, the formation of the Black & Tans, Indian home rule, and the abdication crisis. He welcomed Hitler's coming to power in 1933 as a bulwark against communism. However, he did begin to realise the threat of a rearmed Germany under the Nazis and called repeatedly for Britain's rearmament programme to be stepped up. He became a bitter opponent of Chamberlain's policy of appeasement towards Nazi Germany.

From the declaration of war in September 1939, until the first few months of 1940, Britain experienced the phony war. On land, nothing much happened. The British Expeditionary Force was shipped to France and the German and French armies exchanged a few shots at each other across the Maginot Line.

At sea, which of course was Churchill's responsibility, things were different. There were sinking of ships and some gun battles, notably The Battle Of The River Plate in December 1939 which resulted in

the scuttling of the German pocket battleship Graf Spee.

Churchill was bored and longed for more action. Germany was shipping iron ore from Sweden via Norwegian ports and Churchill proposed a British invasion and capture of the Norwegian ports in a seaborne operation remarkably similar to the Dardanelles adventure. His plan was approved by the cabinet and in April 1940 Britain invaded the Norwegian ports. Immediately, Germany invaded Norway. The operation was a disaster and with great losses the British troops and navy had to retreat in confusion.

Clem Attlee leader of the Labour Party called for a debate in Parliament on the Norway campaign and the Government granted a two day adjournment debate on 8th & 9th May. Adjournment debates were usually pretty tame. The motion was “the House do adjourn” and it was rarely pushed to a vote. It should be noted that the Tories had an overall majority of 242 in the House Of Commons at this time. Following a lacklustre speech from Chamberlain, Clem Attlee replied with a powerful speech which took the Government unawares because he widened the debate from The Norway Campaign to a condemnation of the Government’s overall handling of the war. He finished with these remarks “in this life or death struggle we cannot have our destinies in the hands of failures or people who need a rest, we want people at the helm other than those who now lead us”.

Clem’s speech seemed to galvanise the Tory rebels. Two of the most boring speakers in the House, Admiral Sir Roger Keyes and Leo Amery rose to the occasion with dramatic and moving speeches the latter famously quoting Oliver Cromwell, looking directly at Chamberlain he said “You have sat too long here for any good you have been doing. Depart, I say and let us have done with you. In the name of God

go”. That evening the leaders of the PLP met and decided to divide the House at the end of the debate.

The following day, Herbert Morrison opened for Labour and announced that they would divide the House on the motion. This had a sensational effect. Suddenly, it became a motion of confidence. Sir Samuel Hoare was due to speak next for the Government. Instead he was brushed aside by a furious Chamberlain who stated “I do not seek to evade criticism but I say this to my friends - and I have friends in the House. No Government can prosecute a war efficiently unless it has public and parliamentary support. I accept the challenge. I welcome it indeed. At least we shall see who is with us and who is against us, and I call upon my friends to support us in the lobby tonight”. This shocked many on the Tory benches including Bob Boothby who called out “not I”.

When the vote was announced it caused a sensation. The Government won but with a majority cut from 242 to 81. 39 Tories voted with Labour and 134 abstained. Chamberlain realised immediately that he was in trouble and asked Clem Attlee and Arthur Greenwood, Labour’s Deputy Leader, to meet with him. He asked them to join a coalition Government with him.. Clem replied that he would have to consult with his party but if they agreed to come into a coalition they would not serve under him.

The following day Attlee with Hugh Dalton travelled to Bournemouth where the Labour Party Conference was in session. They met the National Executive Committee and put two questions: Will Labour agree to serve in a coalition? Will they serve under Chamberlain? The answers were yes and no respectively. Clem telephoned Chamberlain to tell him the result. Clem and Hugh Dalton then immediately caught a train back to London. When they arrived they discovered that Chamberlain had resigned.

Chamberlain met with both contenders for the new premiership, Churchill and Foreign Secretary Lord Halifax who was an arch appeaser. There are conflicting accounts of the meeting but it seems there was general agreement that the next Prime Minister could not come from the House Of Lords. Chamberlain therefore reluctantly advised the King to send for Churchill. The King complied reluctantly. Halifax was an old friend whereas Churchill had given vociferous support to the King's brother, Edward VIII during the abdication crisis. The King did not trust Churchill's judgement.

Churchill met with Attlee and invited him to join a coalition government which Clem agreed to on behalf of the Labour Party. Churchill appointed Chamberlain as Lord President of the Council and retained Halifax as Foreign Secretary. A war cabinet of Churchill, Chamberlain and Halifax as well as Attlee and Greenwood from Labour was formed. Leading Labour figures including Ernie Bevin, Herbert Morrison and Hugh Dalton were brought into the Government.

Although Churchill theoretically commanded a massive majority in The House he was not in a strong position and many thought his time in power would be short. Significantly, although Chamberlain had resigned as Prime Minister, he failed to resign as leader of the Conservative Party. Churchill was unpopular with large numbers of Tory backbenchers. Although they reluctantly accepted the new government, Churchill was very unpopular on the Labour benches. They remembered Tony Pandy, the Black and Tans and Churchill's role in the General Strike. While this was happening Germany invaded France, Holland and Belgium. The war had begun in earnest.

The following day, Churchill addressed the House of Commons for the first time as prime minister. He delivered his famous

“blood, toil, tears and sweat” speech which contrary to subsequent mythology was met with sullen silence on both sides of the House.

In the war cabinet Halifax was pressing hard for a negotiated peace with Germany. A peace that in fact would be surrender. In theory Churchill had a majority with the support of Attlee and Greenwood. But everyone knew that unless he could command the majority support of the Tory members of the war cabinet he was doomed. He desperately needed Chamberlain's support. For a while Chamberlain sat on the fence but eventually and surprisingly he backed Churchill.

Churchill gradually strengthened his position until fate intervened. In November of 1940 Chamberlain died and shortly afterwards the British ambassador to Washington, Lord Lothian died enabling Churchill to “promote” Halifax to the post. Churchill was now unassailable. As a final snub he invited Halifax to propose him as Leader of the Conservative Party and was elected unanimously.

With the subsequent glorification of Churchill the role of the Clem Attlee and the Labour Party is often overlooked. Although in a minority of 242 in the House there were four key moments when Labour's actions were significant if not decisive:

- Labour's insistence on a debate on the Norway Campaign
- Clem Attlee's speech widening the debate to an attack on the government's handling of the war
- The decision to divide the House thus making it a confidence vote
- Refusal to participate in a coalition under Chamberlain



The Land Question: from Cave People to 1945 Dave Wetzel

For most of the two million years that humankind has walked this planet, land has been a free common resource like sunshine and fresh air. Hunter gatherers had no need to claim ownership of land as it was in plentiful supply for their small populations. Indeed it was only ten thousand years ago that humankind discovered agriculture and people who sowed the seeds needed security of tenure to ensure they received their harvest. Even in these conditions land was mostly held in common as land users usually paid a tribute (or land rent) to the rest of their community for their own exclusive occupation of a parcel of land. These tributes were then used to provide roads, fresh water, defence, places of worship and other communal services.

Most economists have ignored the fact that when two or more people wish to enjoy exclusive use of the same site an economic rent arises. When we buy or rent a house we are actually making two payments; one for the actual building and the second for the location of the building i.e. identical buildings in different locations can have hugely different prices or rents.

In England, since the Norman Conquest in 1066 the theft of land and land rents has been a consistent theme. The Barons and the Church were not given land ownership by William the Conqueror, but as his tenants they had to pay rent, taxes and provide services for the King (services

such as keeping trained men at arms for the King's wars [knights, archers and infantry plus their weapons and equipment], rudimentary health and education services, enforcing the laws through local courts and "entertaining" the King and his large retinue whenever he visited their domain). The history of England has been a continuous effort by the Barons and so-called "landowners" to avoid their payments and duties to the Monarch and illegally claim ownership of the community's land. E.g. the Commons Act 1236 allowed the Lord of a Manor to enclose any manorial land that had previously been common land. Even today freeholds do not imply ownership of land but simply the right to hold land free of the duty of paying rent to the Crown – the only true landowner in the UK is Elizabeth Windsor.

Yes, Magna Carta did provide us with some benefits - no imprisonment without a prompt trial by our peers and habeas corpus but like today, these reforms mainly helped the rich who could afford lawyers and not the ordinary peasants and the main purpose of the Barons at Runnymede was to reduce or eliminate their obligation to pay rents, land taxes and services to the King for the land they held. Since then, landowners have acquired land by ingratiating themselves with the Monarch or stealing our common land in the most brutal ways with the English enclosures, the Highland clearances and other devious methods.

Naturally, this theft has led to repeated peasant revolts brutally put down, also the Diggers, the Levellers, Cromwell's land tax on rich royalists, repeal of the Corn Laws, the Chartists' Land Plan, Irish land revolts, creation of smallholdings, the National Trust, the Garden City Movement, demands for allotments, council smallholdings, the right to roam, the Mass Trespass of Kinder Scout (led by ramblers and the Young Communist

League) and demands for nationalisation for this stolen land and land wealth to be restored to all the people via an annual Land Value Tax (LVT).

Writers like Adam Smith, John Stuart Mill, Thomas Paine, David Ricardo, Karl Marx, Henry George, Leo Tolstoy, Mark Twain, Albert Einstein and many others have all drawn attention to the need for land reform and the collection of the land rent, generated by us all, to be used to fund public services.

In 1900 when the Labour Party was formed, land reform was a major political subject. Henry George, the American economist and philosopher had toured England, Scotland and Ireland introducing the working class to his seminal book "Progress and Poverty – An inquiry into the cause of industrial depressions and of increase of want with increase of wealth... The Remedy" a book which advocated the collection of the rent of land to replace taxes on wages, trade and production and that all natural monopolies such as railways, water, energy supply etc. should not be private stock companies but owned collectively by all. In 1906 a survey of the newly elected Labour MPs showed that after The Bible, Progress and Poverty was the book that had most influenced them.

Surprisingly, the then Liberal MP, Winston Churchill stated on May 4th 1909 in the House of Commons "*Land Monopoly* is not the only monopoly, but it is by far the greatest of monopolies -- it is a perpetual monopoly, and it is the mother of all other forms of monopoly. Unearned increments in land are not the only form of unearned or undeserved profit, but they are the principal form of unearned increment, and they are derived from processes which are not merely not beneficial, but positively detrimental to the general public. Land, which is a necessity of human existence, which is the original

source of all wealth, which is strictly limited in extent, which is fixed in geographical position - land, I say, differs from all other forms of property. Roads are made, streets are made, services are improved, electric light turns night into day, water is brought from reservoirs a hundred miles off in the mountains -- and all the while the landlord sits still. Every one of those improvements is affected by the labour and cost of other people and the taxpayers. To not one of those improvements does the land monopolist, as a land monopolist, contribute, and yet by every one of them the value of his land is enhanced. He renders no service to the community, he contributes nothing to the general welfare, he contributes nothing to the process from which his own enrichment is derived."

In his 1909 Peoples' Budget, Lloyd George introduced a form of land tax for which he had to make too many concessions to landowners in his own party and in the House of Lords for it to be effective. Despite this the landowners bitterly fought this modest reform. The Country Landowners Association was formed to destroy any attempts at land reform and the land tax (and a modest income tax) was only passed by the House of Lords in 2010 when the new King George V (our present Queen's grandfather) threatened to appoint enough Liberal Peers to outvote the Tory majority in the Lords.

The First World War interrupted the land valuations and there were many appeals by landowners who employed clever lawyers and accountants to find the many loopholes and even the landowners who actually paid, had their land tax refunded when it was finally repealed soon after the war.

Every Labour Party manifesto from 1906 to the Second World War declared support for annual Land Value Tax (LVT). Philip

Snowden introduced Land Value Tax in his 1931 Budget which became law but the National Government led by Ramsay MacDonald stopped any valuation of the land so that the tax could not be charged. The 1935 Tory government repealed the provision for LVT.

In 1938, Herbert Morrison moved a private members' bill for Site Value Rating (a local LVT) for the whole of the old London County Council area. In the early 1960s, when a member of the House of Lords, Herbert Morrison wrote a reply to me confirming he still supported annual Land Value Tax.

During the Second World War when the Coalition Government needed funds; both civilians and members of the armed forces were facing death and injury; buildings were being bombed and landowners faced the total loss of their landholdings if the Nazis had won, it would have been an excellent time to have introduced annual Land Value Tax – a relatively small price to pay for victory and a worthwhile tax for creating jobs and prosperity and protecting green spaces in peace time.

Labour's 1945 manifesto dropped the previous mentions of LVT but declared a belief in land nationalisation and a promise to work towards it. However, following their stupendous victory it is surprising that no action was taken to bring land into public ownership and no attempt was made to introduce LVT. However, the Attlee government did introduce planning controls but unfortunately tied this to a "Betterment Levy".

The Land Question from 1945 to date will be the subject of a future article.

John Wheatley: Labour Leader and Architect of Council Housing Steve Schifferes.

John Wheatley, a leader of the "Red Clydeside" group of Labour MPs in the 1920s, was a key figure in the development of housing policy in the UK, and the architect of the 1924 Housing Act which built nearly 500,000 homes in the interwar years and put council housing on a firm financial and political basis for the next 50 years.

He was also one of the most prominent Labour politicians of Irish origins in the formative years of the party and someone who retained his Catholic roots even as he expressed strongly left-wing views. As a Clydeside politician, Wheatley was also instrumental in converting the Glasgow region to a Labour stronghold which it remained for nearly a century. But his real legacy was in the development of housing policy, from the rent strikes which convulsed Glasgow in 1915 and led to nationwide rent control to his struggle to build enough homes to erase the housing shortage as Minister of Health.

Wheatley's concern about housing stemmed from his own impoverished background as the son of an Irish miner in the Lanarkshire coalfields who had left County Waterford in Ireland to seek his fortune in Scotland when Wheatley was aged 7, in 1876.. Wheatley himself went down the pits at age 12, and lived in a one-room terraced house with his eight brothers and sisters, parents, and lodgers. The children all slept together in a bed that was rolled out at night. There was only a communal toilet and water had to be hauled from a common tap. Wheatley later described the degrading conditions of such housing in his pamphlet *Mines, Miners, and Misery*, where he blamed the mine owners for dehumanising their workforce.

Wheatley managed to escape from the pits through self-education and eventually managed to become a successful businessman, setting up a printing firm which printed Catholic religious calendars and local papers. His financial success allowed him the freedom to carry out his political activities without interference, and he was able to subsidize the printing of leaflets and the organisation of meetings.



Wheatley had not started out as socialist but as an Irish Nationalist, and was a leading member of the United Irish League in Glasgow before he joined the Independent Labour Party in 1907. As such he was in close touch with leading Irish nationalists such as James Larkin and James Connolly. Wheatley was a devout Catholic, and his conversion to socialism was influenced by a politically active Catholic priest in his parish. His first act was to set up a Catholic Socialist Society, to convince the Irish Catholic community that there was no incompatibility between religion and socialism. He ran foul of the Catholic establishment in the City, and in 1912 an angry mob converged on his houses to burn him in effigy for his heretical beliefs – an event he watched with equanimity from his front porch.

Glasgow was a heavily Catholic city, with around 20% of the population of Irish Catholic origin. The Irish were concentrated in the most unskilled occupations and the poorest housing conditions in the inner city in wards like Gorbals, near the docks where they furnished much of the workforce. Before

World War I, the Irish vote in Glasgow was strongly nationalist, and generally voted for the Liberals who supported Home Rule. It was Wheatley as leader of the Labour group who gradually wooed the Irish vote into the Labour camp. The link with the Liberals was weakened by the success of the Irish struggle for independence – which Wheatley fully supported. But the key to gaining Labour support among the working class voters of Glasgow, including many Irish Catholics, was the Labour Party's long campaign for better housing..

As leader of the Labour group in Glasgow City Council from 1912, Wheatley soon seized on the housing issue as the one he would make his own. Glasgow had the worst housing of any major UK city, with the majority of its population living in unhealthy one or two room tenement blocks with little sanitation. Death rates for the poorer wards were very much higher than in the affluent West End. And housebuilding had virtually ceased as the "housing famine" increased, putting pressure on rents.

From the outset, Wheatley argued that only the government could supply the answer to the housing problem by building reasonably priced housing for workers. He sought to capitalise on the successful activities of the Glasgow City council to help subsidise the cost of building such housing, proposing that the surplus from the municipal tramways be used to build "Eight pound (per year) cottages for Glasgow citizens."

What transformed the housing issue in Glasgow was the First World War. As a major munitions centre, Glasgow's population expanded rapidly with an influx of workers to the shipyards and armaments factories. The result was a squeeze on housing, especially affecting existing tenants whose husbands were in the armed forces. The ILP under Wheatley – despite

its anti-war stance – began agitating over the evictions of servicemen’s wives, calling the landlords the “huns at home.” By October 1915 they had built a mass movement, led by women, of rent strikers who prevented evictions and marched on the sheriff’s court. When the workers at the Parkhead Forge (led by a Wheatley ally, David Kirkwood) threatened to go on strike to the support the rent strikers, the government conceded and introduced rent control throughout the UK for the duration of the war.

The tactic of the rent strike, and its appeal to working class Glasgow citizens, may have owed something to the experience of Irish immigrants who had engaged in rent strikes against their absentee landlords in a series of political campaigns in the 1870s and beyond. John Wheatley’s own father was a supporter of Michael Davitt, one of the instigators of the Irish agitation.

Wheatley himself was always clear that rent control was a temporary measure due to the failure of the private rented sector, and the real answer was the provision of state-subsidised housing. In 1922 he was elected to Parliament, and in 1924 he had a chance to put his ideas into practice when he was appointed Minister of Health in the first Labour government.

There had already been two failed attempts to involve the national government in the provision of housing after the war – The Addison Act in 1919, which aimed at providing “Homes Fit for Heroes” but fell victim to the Geddes Axe and was cut by the Coalition Government as too expensive. In 1923 Neville Chamberlain introduced a housing act designed to subsidise private sector provision, but little housing was built

Wheatley built the foundations of his housing policy carefully, first working to gain an agreement between builders and the building trades on the expansion of the

apprentice system to ensure there was the workforce to expand housing production. He also sought agreement with building materials suppliers to limit any price increases, and carefully consulted the local authorities. Under Wheatley’s plans, local authorities would receive long term 40 year subsidies to build council housing under municipal control with a guarantee against any losses. Wheatley aimed to eliminate the housing shortage in ten years, with house building rising from 135,000 per year to 450,000 houses per year in the final year of his plan. Wheatley aimed at a high standard of housing suitable for skilled workers and available to all, “homes not hutches” as he called it.

Wheatley’s Catholic roots emerged when as Minister of Health, he refused to sanction state support for birth control clinics, despite pleas by a delegation led by Margaret Sanger and H G Wells. Wheatley’s radicalism was commented on by Beatrice Webb, the wife of the Fabian socialist Sidney Webb, who said that Wheatley would have been a communist had it not been for his Catholic faith.

Wheatley continued to attend mass and support his local Catholic church despite his radical political views, and educated his children in private Catholic schools in Glasgow.

Wheatley fell out with the Labour leadership under Ramsay MacDonald over his attitude to the 1926 General Strike, and due to his left wing views was not reappointed in the 1929 Labour government – and remained a fierce critic of its orthodox economic policy in the face of the growing world economic crisis. He died in 1930, just before the Labour government fell and the pound was devalued. MacDonald joined a new National government dominated by the Conservatives.

That government abolished the Wheatley Act as too expensive and returned to a policy of slum clearance with its emphasis on the rehousing of “slum dwellers” in houses and flats of lower quality. This led to a number of rent strikes by existing tenants who objected to having their rents increased in order to subsidize the rents of the new tenants, who at that time could not afford council housing.

Wheatley’s legacy lived on however; the post World War II expansion of council house building – and council housing became the basis for Labour’s rise to power in the major urban centres. Glasgow finally fell to the Labour Party in 1932, under Wheatley’s one-time ally Patrick Dollan, and stayed Labour until the SNP won control in 2017.

Bursary for Compass Project in memory of Stan Newens

Thank you to all the Labour Heritage members who contributed to the Bursary we established in honour of Stan – we achieved our target of raising £3,000 for this year. We hope to continue this as an annual bursary. Please see below the report sent to us by Birkbeck College.

The Compass Project at Birkbeck a report prepared by the Compass team for Labour Heritage

Compass students were some of those most disproportionately affected by the coronavirus pandemic, with many incredibly vulnerable to financial hardship. Your generosity plays a vital in providing the security needed for our students from forced migrant backgrounds. We are delighted to share the stories of just some of the students who have been supported by the Compass Project. Thank you, once again, for supporting Birkbeck and this incredible group of students.

Birkbeck has worked with sanctuary seekers since 2016 when it launched the Compass Project, a programme designed for and targeted towards people from forced migrant backgrounds who would like to continue their education at university.

At the heart of this provision is a commitment to ensuring that the university is welcoming, supportive and accessible to students who face many barriers to access and inclusion in the higher education context.

The Compass Project offers pathways into university education at Birkbeck for people seeking asylum in the UK. We run workshops and events designed to provide people from forced migrant backgrounds with the knowledge and skills to start their academic journey.

The students we support are passionate about their education, and the Compass Project helps them to embed themselves in the UK and begin a journey to securing personal stability, employment, and happiness in the country they now call home.

At Birkbeck we strive to be a strong voice and critical friend to the wider education sector in promoting and supporting routes into learning for forced migrant communities and sharing the benefits this brings to all.



Over the last five years, thanks to the generosity of donors and our community partners, we have been able to expand our support and services, adapting to the needs of our students. Birkbeck has become a place of sanctuary for so many from forced migrant backgrounds.

This year, 80 asylum seekers applied for a place on the Compass Project. With the support of our Birkbeck community, we are pleased to have offered 20 of them the chance to study at Birkbeck.

Throughout the pandemic, the Compass Project has continued to grow and adapt to provide a holistic, individual approach for students to remove barriers to study. Following the move to remote learning, some students needed laptops as they previously relied on library computers. Other students required support with housing and food vouchers throughout the pandemic. In addition, our online teaching has also been complemented by tailored online support from academic mentors, online events, and BBK chat (online mentoring with students further on in their studies), to create digital communities of support for Compass Project students. This support would not be possible without the generosity of our donors.

Hana* LLB Law

“When you have refugee status on your shoulders, it means that a painful past is hidden behind it. Strong reasons that have forced you to be where you are and changed your life forever. In 2018, I arrived in the UK. It was the first time I had been here, and I had no idea how things worked. I had to learn everything. It was not an easy period for me at all as I was alone in a foreign country.

But I fell in love with London and everything here. I am very happy that my daughter will grow up here, in this country where her dreams are free.

Once a month, I would meet with my support worker and eventually we began to discuss studying. At the time I was still an asylum seeker (I now have my refugee status) and did not know that there was a possibility I was eligible to study in the UK. When I found out about the Compass Project, I was speechless.

It had been 5 years since I was totally detached from university, and I was committed to starting again. When the opportunity to study came to me, I knew what my purpose was. I wanted to continue my fight and chose the strongest weapon: the law. I would like to do a lot for this country for everything it has given to me and my daughter. Thank you for supporting the Compass Project, and for changing my life for the better.”



Sierra* Certificate of Higher Education in Psychodynamic Counselling and Counselling Skills

“I am originally from Jamaica, where I left school at 16. I achieved good grades while I was there, and I have since never lost my commitment to learning and education.

I am a survivor of trafficking and, before coming to Birkbeck, I was held in a detention centre, which was an extremely difficult experience.

After some time, I was able to join a charity for refugee women where I got into contact with a member of the Compass Project team. I was told all about the

Project, the work it does to support refugees and people seeking asylum into higher education and what life as a Birkbeck student might be like.

Prior to starting my course, I had some reservations about undertaking a university level qualification. As I had been out of education for a long time, I had some concerns about whether or not I would be able to manage studying at such a level. Psychodynamic Counselling was of a particular interest to me because I have always wanted to help others and the theory and practical skills I gained in class also helped me with my own personal trauma. I am glad that I have now been able to turn the helping aspect of my personality into a qualification.

Without the Compass Project, I would never have seen myself as a university student. I want to thank the donors because their funding of the Project literally saved my life.”

Michael, Compass Project Alumnus

“I was brought to the UK when I was young by my father. Three years later, he abandoned us, and I was left to look after my younger siblings. I was unable to access accommodation support as I couldn’t provide either a passport or a birth certificate. I was refused help time and time again. At 16 years old and feeling out of options, I used someone’s identity to gain work. However, after 7 years I was arrested and imprisoned for identity fraud.

I took on several jobs whilst in the prison to keep myself busy and to stay out of trouble. One of the most enjoyable was to be a listener. I was trained by the Samaritans and took part in over 100 hours of listening sessions. This is where my passion for counselling began. After I was released from prison, I gained the right to study at Birkbeck through the Compass Project. Birkbeck made me feel valued as

a person and a student, rather than being seen as a criminal.

Education created a safe and conducive environment that allowed me to cut ties with my past and succeed in building a meaningful life for myself.”

Michael is now taking his education even further, studying at Goldsmiths, University of London. He, like many others who benefited from the programme, is still involved in helping current Compass students.

Thank you Labour Heritage, the support that you have given our students will help them to complete their studies at Birkbeck, and will have life-long benefits for them, their families and society as a whole.

(*Some names anonymised)

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**Labour’s 1918 transformation
Trevor Fisher**

The history of the Labour Party divides into two phases. As any history book says the first stage began with the founding of the Labour Representation Committee on the weekend of 26-27th February 1900. However only 2 Labour MPs were elected in the 1900 election and progress was slow. 29 were elected in 1906 forming the Parliamentary Labour Party (PLP), but after the two elections of 1910 the Party still only had 42 MPs.

It was in fact very difficult to see Labour making real progress and challenging the Liberal and Tory Parties while voting was limited to men and some 40% of men – the poorest working class males – did not have the vote. Since middle and upper class males were never going to vote Labour, the existing parties were secure for the time being.

This all changed in 1918 when the vote was extended to men over 21 and women over 30. As most of the new voters were

working class, it was assumed they would vote Labour if given the chance.

The Fabian element of the Party saw the possibilities of the new voting system and Sidney Webb of the Fabians drew up a new constitution which was passed by the NEC and the Party conference. His pamphlet on the subject is the key guide to what had been decided – and the start of the second phase of Labour history. A Labour government was a real possibility but the Party had to have a broader appeal than the old Representation Committee had achieved. The second phase which is still on-going was based on an attempt to become an election winning organisation

The Second Phase

The explanatory pamphlet which Webb wrote to explain what the party had decided is a vital document. The subtitle indicates why the New Constitution was more than just a rule book, giving prominence to the phrase *A Party of Handworkers and Brainworkers*. The key organisational difference between what had gone before and the 1918 model was set out in the first paragraph as being “Instead of a sectional and rather narrow group, what is established is a national party, open to anyone of the 16,000,000 electors agreeing with the party programme”.

The second paragraph defines what he meant by the previous organization being “sectional”, which Webb saw as a party of trade unions, mainly the large ones, three ‘relatively small Socialist Societies’, Trades Councils, local labour parties, co-operative societies and the Woman’s Labour League. Gaining some MPs, the party membership as existed proved in Webb’s view “definitely and avowedly socialist in their opinions”. However these members could only join affiliated organizations and what had to happen to win in constituencies was to have a constituency membership.

The third paragraph defines the new Party, “organized on the double basis of national societies and constituency organizations”. The trade unions and socialist societies would stay as they were, but alongside them at conference. would be constituency organizations The aim was to get three or four hundred in the next few months. The constituency organizations would be bodies of individually enrolled members, and Webb was at pains to stress – in paragraphs 5 and 6 – there would be “a special appeal to the 6,000,000 women electors”. Labour had never had a woman on the National Executive, but “strenuous efforts will be made to enroll individual woman” and “provision is made for there being always at least four women members on the National Executive”.

Webb then spends a paragraph on election to the Executive, to take place at Conference and always by card vote as the unions wanted. This seventh paragraph states there would be three lists to vote for the National Executive, a trade union list of 13 members, five from the constituency parties designed for men, and four for women. This meant, though Webb did not point this out, the union delegates had a majority on the 22 member committee.

The Crucial Eighth Paragraph

The eighth paragraph was in many ways the most important for it defined both the main objective of the new party and this, stressed on the first page, was to attract specific groups. Webb says that while the party has never been formally confined to manual workers – a point misunderstood to this day – the party was now publicly thrown open to all workers ‘by hand or brain’ and though Webb did not define clause 4 of the constitution as stating this, it was the case that this was where the statement was made, thus creating a legend. He went on to spell out key aspects of the new objective namely that the wage earner who was the target would find the party aiming

“To secure for the workers by hand or brain, the full fruits of their industry and the most equitable distribution thereof...on the basis of the common ownership of the means of production and the best obtainable system of popular administration and control of each industry or service”.

It is a widespread illusion that the party had decided upon nationalization as the only method to achieve this aim, but Webb is clear the declaration “leaves it open to choose from time to time whatever form of common ownership” would be appropriate, including the co-operative to the nationalized firm and administration including national guilds, ministries of employment and municipal management.

Paragraph nine discusses the Party’s post war programme – while arguing in paragraph ten that the programme was less important than “the spirit underlying the programme”, standing against inequality and the struggle for survival. Labour rejects the survival of the fittest – social Darwinism – and claimed that this was a scientific approach to achieve “either the fullest life or its utmost efficiency”. Webb claims the party was internationalist – as opposed to Liberal ‘cosmopolitanism’ – and repudiates Imperialism. The NEC has supported the idea of a League of Nations, Webb claims this was ahead of other parties.

The pamphlet appears to have been published in April 1918, and Webb is cautious about its chances in what Lloyd George would announce as a ‘Khaki election’. The party was in his view “the party of inspiration and promise” and might be “the party of the future”. Perhaps it might be, as the final sentence spells out, “destined... to play as large a part in the political history of the twentieth century as the Liberal Party did in that of the nineteenth”.

An Enduring Foundation

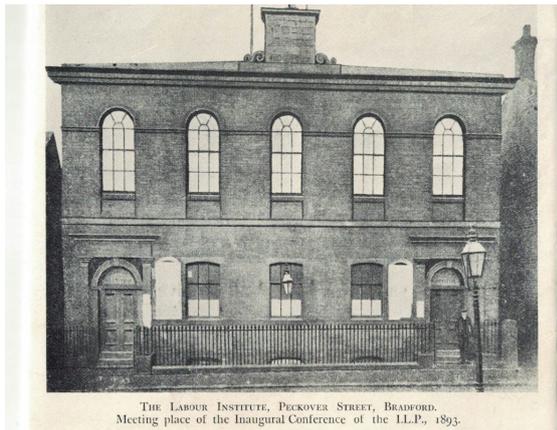
Webb’s constitution evolved over time and Clause 4 in particular lost its iconic status being revised in the Blair era. Other aspects written in 1918 were less successful, the hope for female involvement was not really successful till the feminist movement of the 1970s which was roughly the time that the manual worker membership began to be overtaken by white collar and professional membership, though it is still the case that when the Red Wall or traditional manual working class deserted Labour in 2019 this came as a shock. Sociologists had been pointing to demographic shifts as early as the 1970s, perhaps the decade when the Webb party model began to appear out of date, but as Labour does not have a research department this had not been understood.

However despite evolution the basic structure of constituency parties and affiliates – mainly trade unions – remains in place. When Keir Starmer tried to revive an electoral college for leader elections at the 2021 conference this was rejected, but conference remains much as Webb envisage it operating. At a more fundamental level, the rise of individual member democracy reflects the need to have active constituency operators for electoral purposes – which is what Webb wanted to happen.

The party in 2021 is not the party of 1918, but it is a plant grown from the seed planted by Webb and his colleagues in the last months of the First World War. The Webb document outlining his hopes and achievements, long neglected, needs to be brought into focus as the key historical document it has always been

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(Comments welcome – via website:
trevorfisherhistorian.com)



The Labour Institute Peckover St, Bradford, meeting place of the Inaugural Conference of the ILP 1893 [picture found by John Grigg, sellotaped into a scrap book, when clearing 20 Heath Rd , HQ of Heston & Isleworth CLP, shortly before its demolition in 1972]

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The ILP, a cautionary tale: tracing the fate of Labour's largest left-wing split - Richard Price

Every time the Labour left has suffered a significant setback in the last 35 years there have been resignations and calls to form a new left party. Attempts like Arthur Scargill's Socialist Labour Party rapidly collapsed into irrelevance, but if there was a left split in the party's history that on the face of things had some prospects it was the disaffiliation of the Independent Labour Party in 1932.

As one historian of the ILP notes, at that time "its membership was over five times as great as the membership of the Communist Party of Great Britain. In the 1931 elections the Party had returned more candidates than the Labour Party in Scotland. It had an extensive organisation at both national and local level, a well-regarded national journal supplemented by many more local publications."

More than that, without the ILP, the Labour Party would never had existed. Its first chair was Keir Hardie, it had played a key role in Labour becoming a mass party, and it was widely regarded as the keeper

of Labour's socialist conscience. If the Social Democratic Federation was an odd alliance of sturdy proletarians and the privately educated, the ILP was the party of clerks, teachers, radical non-conformists, pacifists and skilled workers. It provided most of the early leaders and thinkers of the Labour Party, and strongly supported women's suffrage.

In August 1914, while the vast majority of Labour and trade union leaders rallied to the flag, the National Council of the ILP came out against the war. ILP members played a key role in forming the No Conscription Fellowship, and were the most important anti-war force in Britain. It greeted the Russian Revolution enthusiastically, but declined to affiliate to the Comintern.

Before the reorganisation of the Labour Party in 1918 which for the first time allowed individual membership, the ILP had been a key component of a federal party. Now it found itself a socialist island within a big sea of less engaged "Labourist" members. It gained prestige from the election of the Red Clydesiders, and membership rose to perhaps 50,000 in the early 1920s. At the 1923 general election, 45 ILPers were elected out of a total of 191 Labour MPs.

As the prospect of power approached, ILP founding fathers like Ramsay MacDonald and Philip Snowden moved rightwards. The 1924 minority Labour government's sole significant achievement was ILP member John Wheatley's Housing Act, which expanded affordable working class municipal housing.

Through its own publications and summer schools, and in collaboration with the Labour College movement and the Plebs League, the ILP became a ginger group within the wider labour movement, stressing the need for political education, planning and radical reforms.

The defeat of the 1926 General Strike seriously weakened the trade unions, and their leaders, with the notable exception of A.J. Cook, beat a hasty retreat. For the Labour leaders it was a salutary warning of the dangers of extra-parliamentary action. Fenner Brockway and Jimmy Maxton, who became ILP chair in 1926, took the opposite view, earnestly drafting and promoting socialist policies and championing anti-imperialism.

Elected to Labour's NEC in 1927, Ellen Wilkinson served on the programme committee and the Living Wage Enquiry. It was, she wrote, "curiously difficult to produce a programme for a party which hasn't a philosophy".

In June 1928, Cook and Maxton issued a manifesto "to the workers of Britain", accusing the MacDonald leadership of making "peace with capitalism and compromises with the philosophy of our capitalist opponents". From July to September a series of mass meetings were held up and down the country, but the campaign fizzled out when the Communist Party (which had a hand in drafting the manifesto) withdrew support and embarked on five years of ultra-leftism.

With ILP policy proposals such as *Socialism in Our Time* and *The Living Wage* rejected by Labour, frustrations and tensions multiplied. Within weeks of Labour forming its second minority government in 1929, Maxton was asking "Has any human being benefitted by the fact that there has been a Labour government in office?" 140 of Labour's 287 MPs were nominally ILP members, but when push came to shove only 18 of them accepted new standing orders which obliged them to obey the decisions of the ILP conference rather than the Labour whip.

Above all, it was the government's failure to deal with rapidly rising unemployment

– up from 1m when it took office to 2.5m by December 1930 – and its introduction of the hated "not genuinely seeking work" clause that angered the ILP MPs. But Maxton's attempt to move a motion censuring MacDonald at the 1930 Labour Conference was defeated by 1.8m to 330,000.

The bulk of the PLP continued to follow MacDonald up to the point when he jumped ship to form a National Government with Tories and Liberals in August 1931. In the first week of October, Labour's Conference voted by 2.1m to 193,000 to oblige all Labour candidates to agree to accept PLP standing orders. 19 ILP candidates refused to accept the decision, and were not endorsed by Labour nationally. Only three were elected on 27th October and joined by two others, formed a separate parliamentary group.

Although disaffiliation sentiment ran strong in ILP heartlands in Scotland and Bradford, it was opposed by a sizable minority, with regional conferences heavily split. Maxton wavered for several months. But the tide was unstoppable, and on 30th July 1932 in Bradford the ILP voted to disaffiliate by 241 votes to 142.

These were inauspicious times to split: Labour's catastrophic defeat in 1931; trade union membership down to 4.4m; unemployment up to 3.5m. Of 28,000 members pre-split, only 16,700 followed it out of the Labour Party. Labour members generally accepted that a minimum of parliamentary discipline was necessary if the party was to recover. The ILP's Glasgow base imploded. Fenner Brockway, defeated in Leyton East in 1931, could not persuade his local ILP divisional party to follow him. Post-disaffiliation, the ILP entered an almost perpetual state of crisis. It failed to attract much of the Labour left. In the same month as disaffiliation, 3,000 ex-ILP members launched the Socialist League

and veteran left-winger George Lansbury became Labour leader. The ILP's new-found independence was immediately riven by factional struggle between the Maxton-Brockway leadership, the pro-Stalinist Revolutionary Policy Committee, the left reformist Unity Group, and the Marxist Group, which included C.L.R. James.

The ILP did play a creditable role in the Lancashire Cotton Strike of 1932, the 1934 Hunger March and the mobilisation for Cable Street in 1936. Its councillors held the balance of power on Glasgow Council for much of the 30s. It abandoned rigid pacifism and sent a small contingent to fight with the POUM militia in Spain in 1937. But a disproportionate amount of energy was consumed by debating its relationship to the Communist Party – a process only terminated by the Stalinist repression of the POUM.

Membership continued to fall, down to 4,392 in 1935 and 2,441 in 1939. Branch numbers fell from 450 in 1932 to 284 in 1935. Just three of 19 candidates in the 1935 General Election were elected. An Indian summer during the Second World War saw the ILP poll an average of 24% in the 12 by-elections it stood in. But most of the remaining membership collapsed into the Labour Party shortly after the 1945 landslide. Disaffiliation, according to one historian, was “suicide during a fit of insanity”. For Fenner Brockway it was “the worst mistake in my life”.

With thanks to Labour Briefing (Labour Briefing Co-operative) where Richard's article first appeared.

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Forgotten Wives: How Women get Written out of History – Ann Oakley. Book Review by Caroline Needham

I have long admired the work of Ann Oakley, whose early work included a ground-breaking academic study of housework. As a socialist feminist I have long admired her studies of women and childbirth, gender and society as well as her fiction writing.

I found *Forgotten Wives* a joy to read. More than a century ago the work of Booth, Shaw, Tawney and Beveridge began to shape 20th century understanding of poverty, class and gender. Their work informed and created the London School of Economics and their names are widely recognised by social historians and economists. However the recognition has largely been attributed to the men who have these surnames who married Mary [Booth] Charlotte [Shaw] Jeanette [Tawney] and Janet [Beveridge].

The women featured in this book each provided their academic competence, hard work ethics and management skills to more than equal the work of their husbands. Their diligent support enabled the publication of work which is still influential today and a continually thriving LSE. The book will, I hope, bring recognition to the women who never sought such attention in their lifetime.

As the author acknowledges her well researched study reveals the strong role of partners way over and beyond domestic chores and raising children. Whilst this book is historically significant, I am surely not the only reader to nod in recognition at some of her observations on marriage.

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Giving the Rank and File a Voice: Martin Eady

Late in 1920 the short post war boom broke. Unemployment rose and prices and wages began to fall. The attempts to reduce the already poor wages of the miners led the Miners' Union leadership to invoke the much vaunted Triple Alliance between miners, transport workers and railway workers. But on April 15th 1921 the transport and railway unions declined to strike in support of the miners. This day was immediately dubbed "Black Friday". Bus workers in London held solidarity meetings, leading Ernest Bevin to say that there was no need for unofficial movements. At this time there was no leadership from below.

The Communist Party had been founded in August 1920. Initially it steered clear of so-called 'reformist' organisations. But Lenin's 1920 pamphlet "Left wing Communism, an infantile disorder" argued for Communist Parties to 'go where the workers are' and work within reformist organisations, including the Trade Unions and Labour Party. The Comintern eventually agreed this position. The Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB) adopted an industrial strategy concentrating on heavy engineering, textiles, mining and transport.

Technology

Until the development of relatively cheap duplicators the only means of producing written material (leaflets, pamphlets etc) was expensive letterpress printing. Only the official organisations could afford this process.

In 1902 David Gestetner designed a rotary duplicator called Cyclostyle No 6. It was produced at his factory in Tottenham. A company called Roneo started producing duplicators in Romford from 1907. I well remember Roneo Corner in Rush Green Road. Then in 1923 the spirit duplicator

was invented. This did not use ink and was cheaper, albeit with poorer quality. Associated Automation produced these in Willesden. It is interesting that 'light' industry was already developing in London at these early dates. So now there were opportunities for unofficial and rank and file organisations to produce publicity and propaganda material.

The 1924 Tram Strike

Between October 1922 and 1923, wage cuts totalling 5/- per week were imposed on tram workers. Then, in June 1923 the three London tram companies, but not the London County Council, announced a further reduction in wages. In response, the newly formed Transport & General Workers Union claimed a rise of 8/- per week and a standardisation of wage rates. The top rate of a bus driver was 86/6d per week while a tram driver got only 67/- a week after two years' service. On 20th March 1924 London's 16,000 tram workers and the London General Omnibus Co's 23,000 bus workers struck. A threatened sympathy strike by Underground workers finally led the employers to offer an increase of 6/- per week and the strikes were called off. Tram workers never did achieve parity, right up until the last tram ran in 1952 (see my book 'Hold on Tight' PP64-65).

Red Friday

In April 1925 the Government returned Britain to the gold standard. Sterling was revalued and deflation set in. Coal exports were badly hit and the employers responded by attempting to cut miners' wages again. To head off a crisis the Government agreed to subsidise miners' wages. 31st July 1925 was hailed as 'Red Friday'. But the subsidy was only for 9 Months and its withdrawal led to the General Strike.

The story of the General Strike is well known. But the factors analysed above meant that there was an avalanche of rank

and file publications, mostly produced by Communist Party members and sympathisers. The Working Class Museum Library in Salford has an extensive collection of these, mostly collected by Ruth and Eddie Frow.

Some extracts from Rank & File publications:

July 30th 1925 *The Live Rail* No 7, fortnightly ½d. The paper of the LCC tramway workers.

‘The Communist Party says “all power to the workers”. Support miners and woollen workers, who have been locked out for resisting a 5% pay cut. Demands an all-grades programme for standardisation of conditions in the different tram depots and Charlton works.’

July 1925 *The Indicator* No 1. ‘Reds at London Bridge and New Cross. ... there is the lack of a strategy from Trade Union leaders to deal with the industrial crisis.’ It makes an appeal for shop committees and warns of the danger of war against Soviet Russia.

7th August 1925 *The Indicator* No 2. It notes that the threat of action had forced the “boss class” to back off for now. But the TUC has limited the fight to a defensive one. Criticises the railway negotiating machinery which was set up under the Railways Act of 1921 (Conciliation system similar to Whitley Councils). Calls for action committees.

4th – 11th August 1925 *The Indicator*. Anniversary of the outbreak of war in 1914. It highlights the danger of an invasion of China. Warns of the danger of use of troops against strikes. Appeals to servicemen not to scab.

May 6th 1926 *The Live Rail* daily strike edition Thursday morning: Reports that the General Strike is rapidly extending. The TUC produces ‘The British Worker’ on

the presses of the Daily Herald. The police have occupied the offices and stopped production. There is a mass march to protest the arrest of Saklatvala, the Communist MP for Battersea.

June 11th 1926 *The Camden and Granby St Spark* No 29.

Analysis of the General Strike. Criticism of the leadership of the TUC and NUR (National Union of Railwaymen).

June 19th 1926 *The Bus Worker* No 1.

In the aftermath of the General Strike the Combine (Underground Group) attempted to establish a tame ‘TOT’ (Trams – Omnibuses – Tubes) Union. Notes that bus workers have better conditions compared to the miners, due to “The economic position of our industry” and “Our organisation”. Says that the shameful collapse of the TUC General Council and the traitorous collapse of the T&GWU’s Executive Council in the General Strike are not to be used as an excuse for dropping out of the T&GWU.

There is an appeal to donate to the miner’s relief funds as they face an immediate 10% pay cut. Analysis says that the calling off of the General Strike was a deliberate policy, not a mistake.

July 23rd 1926 *The Bus Worker* No 3
Communist Group.

Following a lack of action by T&GWU officials in response to victimisation of strikers by Tillings Bus Company, Barking branch called a meeting. This called for an all-London conference to organise support action and states their determination not to work with non Trade Unionists. More lessons from the General Strike and criticism of Ramsay MacDonald and ‘parliamentarism’. “Change the leaders and build a rank & file movement”.

July 31st 1926 *The Busworker* No 4.

The last number sold over 1,000 copies. Criticises the failure of T&GWU officials to defend victimised members. Applicants

over 40 years of age are told there are no jobs. Reports on the introduction of Bundy time clocks to replace bus inspectors.

August 1926 *The Busworker No 5*. "Build the T&GWU against the tame company union". Letter from fraternal red taxi men. Sales are now 1,500 per issue with 20 bus garages covered. Report of a Communist group meeting. The Labour Party had disaffiliated 6 branches which had accepted communists.

August 1926 *The Busworker* Catford edition. It reports that the Tillings staff magazine is building a "Staff welfare society" to try and split the T&GWU.

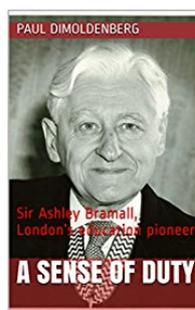
August 4th 1926 Who wants war? Communist Party. It reminds people of Churchill's intervention in Russia in 1919, the Black and Tans in Ireland 1922-25, British airplanes bombing Iraq.

There are many more Rank & File publications in the collection from 1926 right through to the defeat of the 1937 bus strike. (for a full account of that strike see Hold on Tight Chapter 11). It is clear that despite the defeat of the General Strike morale and organisation among the rank & file, at least in London, remained strong.

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Working Class Movement Library
51 The Crescent, Salford M5 4WX
www.wcml.org.uk

Hold on Tight by Martin Eady
Capital Transport Publishing Ltd 2016

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★★★★★

Zoom Labour Heritage

Thanks to Maurice Austin's work, we are very pleased to have continued with several interesting and stimulating online meetings on Zoom.

In October, we had a lecture by **Paul Dimoldenberg** on: 'The 1945 election and Labour's post war housing drive'.

Paul Dimoldenberg is a Labour councillor on Westminster City Council, and a writer – his latest book is a biography of Ashley Brammall, ILEA Leader: 'A sense of duty'

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In the coming months, we hope you can come to the following meetings arranged jointly by Maurice for Labour Heritage members and Colchester Fabians. (links to meetings will be sent out nearer the date):

Thursday 9 December 8pm

Jo Jervis, Director, Renaissance.

Renaissance aims to build bridges between Labour and the electorate, particularly those former Labour voters who have moved to voting for the Conservatives over the past decade.

Monday 17 January 2022 6pm

Jon Cruddas MP for Dagenham & Rainham by Zoom, topic to be confirmed

Thursday 27 January 2022 8pm

Wes Streeting MP for Ilford North & Shadow Secretary of State for Child Poverty

If you have a topic you could offer Labour Heritage for a future Zoom lecture, please contact us at

labourheritage45@btinternet.com

1945 – Labour Gain at Stockton: report in the Northern Echo

George Chetwynd was a miner's son, born in 1916, who passed the 11+ and obtained a History BA at King's College. He was a WEA lecturer in the 1930s. During the war, he was with the Royal Artillery for two years before being commissioned to the Army Education Corps. A constant advocate in Parliament for industrial development in the North East, he left Parliament in 1962 to take up the Directorship of the North East Development Council. Harold Macmillan was back in parliament within six months after winning a by-election in Bromley, Kent. I came across this Northern Echo report during recent research. **John Grigg**

It looks like a fair cop... out the squad of police are only escorting their M.P., Mr. Alec Spearman, Conservative from the Town Hall.

Stockton

EARLY RESULT GAVE ONE OF FIRST SURPRISES

Mr. Harold Macmillan Defeated by 8,664 Majority

G. R. Chetwynd (Lab.)	27,128
M. H. Macmillan (Con.)	18,464
G. P. Evans (Lib.)	3,718

LAB. GAIN.

1935—Macmillan (Con.)	25,285	Maj.	8,664
Miss Lawrence (Lab.)	19,216		
Tossell (Lib.)	5,158	Con. maj.	4,068

This was one of the earliest results declared, the time being 9.50 in the Corporation Hall, where the counting took place, or 50 minutes after it began.

Mr. and Lady Dorothy Macmillan arrived just as the result was declared. Mr. Macmillan had come by train from London.

The result comprised one of the first surprises of the election. It was declared from the Town Hall at 10.5 by the Mayor (Coun. A. Ross) and, not having been expected so early, there was only a small crowd present. The candidates, Mayor and Town Clerk (Mr. Eric Bellingham) walked to the Town Hall from the Corporation Hall in West-row.

Capt. Chetwynd in moving the vote of thanks to the Mayor as returning officer, said that he hoped Stockton had given a lead to the rest of the country and there would be a Labour Government in power.

Mr. Macmillan, in seconding, congratulated Capt. Chetwynd and said that he knew that he would distinguish himself in the House of Commons. He added that it was his sixth contest of Stockton and he had won three and lost on the other three occasions.

DEPOSIT FORFEITED

Mr. Gordon Evans, who loses his deposit, observed that the election, by the clean way in which it had been fought, had upheld the best traditions of British democracy.

Later Capt. Chetwynd, M.P., told the Northern Echo: "This election has been won because we have appealed to the electorate on a policy and not on personalities. This election has proved that thinking people refuse to be stampeded by election scares. The enthusiasm shown by all for the Labour cause has reaped a great reward. I assure the people of Stockton that I will serve them to the utmost of my ability as their representative."

There were 82 spoilt voting papers and the percentage of those voting was 80.

Spennymore

FEW PEOPLE

MR. DALTON ON TORY

LABOUR VOTE ALMOST

Reason

.....	12,024
.....	8,600

.....
Labour Heritage Bulletin: John Grigg is currently editing the bulletin. Articles, comments or enquiries welcome. Please contact John at labourheritage45@btinternet.com