

Notes

Chapter 1 From foundation conference to government

1. Thomas Jones, *Whitehall Diary Volume 1: 1916–1925*, ed. Keith Middlemas (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), p. 266 (diary entry; 22 January 1924).
2. Donald Sassoon, *One Hundred Years of Socialism: The West European Left in the Twentieth Century* (New York: The New Press, 1996), ch. 2.
3. Interview with John Fisher (grandson of Andrew Fisher 1862–1928, Prime Minister of Australia in 1908, 1910–13, 1914–15 and a minister in the world's first Labour government in 1899), University of Sydney, 21 November 2003. For a photograph of Andrew and Margaret Fisher with Ramsay and Margaret MacDonald with their daughter Joan in 1911, see David Marquand, *Ramsay MacDonald* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1977), between pp. 352 and 353.
4. Labour leader Arthur Henderson had been President of the Board of Education in Asquith's Coalition Cabinet and in Lloyd George's War Cabinet until succeeded by George Barnes in 1917. Other Labourites in wartime governments were: J. R. Clynes, John Hodge, George Roberts, William Brace, George Wardle and Stephen Walsh.
5. Robert Rhodes James (ed.), *Winston S. Churchill: His Complete Speeches, 1897–1963, Vol. III: 1914–1922* (New York and London: Chelsea House in association with R. R. Bowker, 1974), p. 2921.
6. Harold Nicolson, *King George V: His Life and Reign* (London: Constable, 1984), p. 384.
7. David Jarvis, 'Stanley Baldwin and the Ideology of the Conservative Response to Socialism 1918–1931' (University of Lancaster, PhD thesis, 1991), p. 139 quoted in Martin Pugh, "'Class Traitors': Conservative Recruits to Labour, 1900–30', in *English Historical Review*, vol. cxiii, No. 450 (1998), p. 38.
8. Lloyd George to Megan Lloyd George, 4 February 1924, in Kenneth O. Morgan (ed.), *Lloyd George Family Letters, 1885–1936* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1973), p. 202.
9. *New Leader*, 11 January 1924.
10. For the Gill Bennett Report, see Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 'A Most Extraordinary and Mysterious Business': *The Zinoviev Letter of 1924* (London: Historians, LRD, No. 14, 1999).
11. For Margaret Bondfield, see Mary Agnes Hamilton, *Margaret Bondfield* (London: Leonard Parsons, 1924).
12. For Clement Attlee, see Robert Pearce, *Attlee* (London: Longman, 1997).
13. *Beatrice Webb's Diaries, 1912–24*, pp.17–18, quoted in R. T. McKenzie, *British Political Parties: The Distribution of Power within The Conservative and Labour Parties* (London: Mercury Books, 1963), p. 305.
14. D. Marquand, *Ramsay MacDonald*, particularly ch. 27; K. Laybourn, *The Rise of Labour: The British Labour Party, 1890–1979* (London: Edward Arnold, 1988), ch. 5.

15. Jonathan Lawrence, 'Labour – the myths it has lived by', in Duncan Tanner, Pat Thane and Nick Tiratsoo (eds), *Labour's First Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 351–4.
16. See David Marquand's entry on Ramsay MacDonald in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); Marquand, *Ramsay MacDonald*, pp. 1–2, 647–55; Laybourn, *The Rise of Labour*, ch. 5.
17. Richard Lyman, *The First Labour Government* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1957).
18. *Labour Magazine*, November 1924.
19. David Howell, *MacDonald's Party: Labour Identities and Crisis, 1922–1931* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 21.
20. Ralph Miliband, *Parliamentary Socialism: A Study in the Politics of Labour* (London: Merlin Press, 1972); Michael Newman, 'Ralph Miliband and the Labour Party: from Parliamentary Socialism to "Bennism"', in John Callaghan, Steven Fielding and Steve Ludlam, *Interpreting the Labour Party: Approaches to Labour Politics and History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), ch. 4.
21. Paul Foot, *The Vote: How It Was Won and How It Was Undermined* (London: Viking, 2005), pp. 267–70, 427.
22. Marquand, *Ramsay MacDonald*, chs 14–16.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 391.
24. Pat Thane, 'Labour and Welfare', in Duncan Tanner, Pat Thane and Nick Tiratsoo (eds), *Labour's First Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 90–4. For centenary histories, see also Brian Brivati and Richard Heffernan (eds), *The Labour Party: A Centenary History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000); Keith Laybourn, *A Century of Labour: A History of the Labour Party, 1900–2000* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2000).
25. Andrew Thorpe, *A History of the British Labour Party* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001 edn), p. 51.
26. Howell, *MacDonald's Party*, *passim*.
27. Thorpe, *A History of the British Labour Party*, pp. 8–9.
28. Keith Laybourn, 'The Failure of Socialist Unity in Britain, c.1893–1914', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th series, vol. iv (London: Royal Historical Society, 1994), pp. 153–75.
29. *Labour Leader*, October 1924.
30. Ross McKibbin, *The Evolution of the Labour Party, 1910–1924* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974), pp. 136–7. McKibbin gives slightly different figures but indicates that the union percentage was 60 per cent in the 1922 general election, 52 per cent in 1923 and 57 per cent in 1924.
31. For examples of socialist failure in the 1895 election, see David Howell, *British Workers and the Independent Labour Party, 1888–1906* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983), pp. 129–282 *passim*.
32. John Shepherd, *George Lansbury: At the Heart of Old Labour* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 77.
33. Kenneth O. Morgan (ed.), *Labour In Power, 1945–1951* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 9; David Howell, 'When was "The Forward March of Labour?"', *Llafur*, vol. 3, (1990), p. 59.
34. Jack Reynolds and Keith Laybourn, *Labour Heartland* (Bradford: University of Bradford, 1986), pp.75–82; Laybourn, *A Century of Labour*, pp. 52–3.

35. Robert Taylor, 'PLP's first 100 years', *Tribune*, 10 February 2006, pp. 8–9. See also, Geoff Hoon, "'Organised socialism has risen in the night"', *ibid.*, pp. 10–11; David E. Martin, "'The Instruments of the People? The Parliamentary Labour Party in 1906"', in David E. Martin and David Rubinstein (eds), *Ideology and the Labour Movement: Essays Presented to John Saville* (London: Croom Helm, 1979), ch. 7.
36. John Shepherd, 'Labour and Parliament: The Lib.–Labs. as the First Working-Class MPs, 1885–1906', in Eugenio Biagini and Alastair Reid (eds), *Currents of Radicalism: Popular Radicalism, Organised Labour and Party Politics in Britain, 1850–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 208–10.
37. Kenneth O. Morgan, 'The High and Low Politics of Labour: Keir Hardie to Michael Foot', in Michael Bentley and John Stevenson (eds), *High and Low Politics In Modern Britain* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), pp. 286–7.
38. Pamela M. Graves, *Labour Women: Women in British Working-Class Politics, 1918–1939* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), *passim*.
39. Bob Holton, *British Syndicalism, 1900–1914: Myths and Realities* (London: Pluto Press, 1978), *passim*.
40. Ross McKibbin, *The Evolution of the Labour Party 1910–1924* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), pp. 82–6.
41. Duncan Tanner, *Political Change and the Labour Party, 1900–1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 420–1.
42. Trevor Wilson, *The Downfall of the Liberal Party, 1914–1935* (London: Collins, 1966), pp. 84–92.
43. Margaret Cole, *Growing Up Into Revolution* (London: Longmans, 1949), p. 86.
44. Chris Wrigley, *Arthur Henderson* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1990), 114–21; F. M. Leventhal, *Arthur Henderson* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989), pp. 64–72.
45. McKibbin, *Evolution of the Labour Party*, ch. 5, pp. 88–111; *The Times*, 7 August 1914.
46. Kenneth D. Wald, 'Advance by Retreat? The Formation of British Labour's Electoral Strategy', *Journal of British Studies*, 27:3 (July 1988), pp. 284–5.
47. Arthur Henderson, 'The Outlook for Labour', *Contemporary Review*, CXIII, (February 1918), p. 122 (emphasis added).
48. G. D. H. Cole, *A History of the Labour Party From 1914* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1948), pp. 140–1.
49. For a recent study, see Matthew Worley (ed.), *Labour's Grass Roots: Essays on the Activities of Local Labour Parties and Members, 1918–45* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005).
50. *Daily Herald*, 13 December 1919.
51. *Labour Leader*, 13 October 1922.
52. For the Poplar Rates Revolt, see John Shepherd, *George Lansbury: At the Heart Of Old Labour* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), ch. 11.
53. Morgan, 'The High and Low Politics of Labour', pp. 285–312.
54. Herbert Morrison, 'London's Labour Majority', *Labour Magazine*, 8 (1929/30), p. 68, cited in Stefan Berger, 'Labour in Comparative Perspective', in Duncan Tanner, Pat Thane and Nick Tiratsoo (eds), *Labour's First Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 315.
55. Dominic Wring, 'Selling Socialism: Marketing the Early Labour Party', *History Today* (May 2005), pp. 41–3.

56. The best history of *The Daily Herald* is Huw Richards, *The Bloody Circus: The Daily Herald and the Left* (London, Pluto Press, 1997).
57. Reynolds and Laybourn, *Labour Heartland*, pp. 43–6.
58. Duncan Tanner, 'The Labour Party and Electoral Politics in the Coalfields', in Alan Campbell, Nina Fishman and David Howell (eds), *Miners, Unions and Politics, 1910–47* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996), pp. 59–92.
59. Kenneth O Morgan, *Consensus and Disunity: The Lloyd George Coalition Government, 1918–1922* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), pp. 213–15.
60. David Powell, *British Politics, 1910–1935: The Crisis of the Party System* (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 118–23.
61. Harold Laski to O. W. Holmes, 13 December 1923, in Mark DeWolfe (ed.), *Holmes-Laski Letters: The Correspondence of Mr. Justice Holmes and Harold J. Laski, 1916–1935* (London: Oxford University Press, 1953), pp. 569–70.
62. Michael Newman, *Harold Laski: A Political Biography* (Basingstoke: Macmillan – now Palgrave Macmillan, 1993), pp. 69–71; Isaac Kramnick and Barry Sheerman, *Harold Laski: A Life on the Left* (London: 1993), *passim*.
63. There is an extensive literature. The main works include: Ross McKibbin, *Evolution*; Keith Laybourn and Jack Reynolds, *Liberalism and the Rise of Labour, 1890–1918* (Beckenham: Croom Helm, 1984); Keith Laybourn, 'The Rise of Labour and the Decline of Liberalism: The State of the Debate', *History*, 80 (June 1995), pp. 207–26; P. F. Clarke, *Lancashire and the New Liberalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971); Wilson, *Downfall*; Kenneth O. Morgan 'The New Liberalism and the Challenge of Labour: The Welsh Experience, 1885–1929', in Kenneth D. Brown (ed.), *Essays in Anti-Labour History: Responses to the Rise of Labour* (London: Macmillan, 1974), pp. 159–82; Michael Bentley, *The Climax of Liberal Politics: British Liberalism in Theory and Practice* (London: Edward Arnold 1987); Duncan Tanner, *Political Change and the Labour Party, 1900–1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).
64. Lyman, *The First Labour Government*; Marquand, *Ramsay MacDonald*; Howell, *MacDonald's Party*; Maurice Cowling, *The Impact of Labour* (Cambridge and London, Cambridge University Press, 1971).
65. Duncan Tanner, 'Socialist Parties and Policies', in Martin Pugh (ed.), *A Companion to Modern European History, 1871–1945* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997), pp.144–50.
66. James Joll, *Intellectuals in Politics: Three Biographical Essays* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1960), pp. 26–8. We are grateful to Professor Kenneth O. Morgan for this reference. See also, Sassoon, *One Hundred Years of Socialism*, pp. 52–3.
67. Sidney Webb to William Robson, 16 December 1923, Norman Mackenzie (ed.), *The Letters of Sidney and Beatrice Webb, Volume 111: Pilgrimage, 1912–1947* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), p. 186.
68. Egon Wertheimer, *Portrait of The Labour Party* (London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1930), pp. 275, 284.
69. J. R. MacDonald, *Socialism and Society* (Independent Labour Party: 1905), p. xix.
70. Richard Lyman, *The First Labour Government* (1957), pp. 14–15.
71. *New Leader*, 14 December 1923.
72. Lord Stamfordham to George V, 28 December 1923, RA PS/GV/K 1918/84.
73. C. R. Attlee, *As It Happened* (London: Heinemann, 1954), pp. 58, 62.

74. J. H. Thomas, *When Labour Rules* (London: Collins, 1920), pp. 7, 9.
75. Jonathan Davis, 'Left Out in the Cold: British Labour Witnesses the Russian Revolution', *Revolutionary Russia*, 18:1 (June 2005), pp. 71–81.
76. J. R. MacDonald to George V, 10 October 1924, RA PS/GV/K1958/26.

Chapter 2 'Over the threshold'

1. Labour Party, *Report of the Annual Conference*, 1923, p. 175.
2. 'Over the Threshold' is taken from the title of the 'Report to the Executive Committee, 1923–4', published in the Labour Party, *Annual Report*, 1924, p. 3.
3. Labour Party, *Report of the Annual Conference* (1923).
4. Paul Ward, *Red Flag and Union Jack: Englishness, Patriotism and the British Left, 1991–1924* (Woodbridge: The Royal Historical Society, 1998), pp. 167–9.
5. Matthew Worley, *Labour Inside the Gate: A History of the British Labour Party between the Wars* (London: I. B. Taurus, 2005), pp. 23–4.
6. Ben Pimlott (ed.), *The Political Diary of Hugh Dalton, 1918–40, 1945–60* (London: Jonathan Cape. In Association with the London School of Economics and Political Science, 1986), pp. 10–11. See also Greg Rosen, 'Willie Adamson', in Greg Rosen *Dictionary of Labour Biography* (London: Politicos, 2001), pp. 6–7.
7. Kenneth O. Morgan, *Consensus and Disunity: The Lloyd George Coalition Government, 1918–1922* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 213.
8. Keith Laybourn, *A Century of Labour: A History of the Labour Party* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2000), pp. 38–40.
9. Worley, *Labour Inside the Gate*, pp. 60–4.
10. *Labour Party General Election Manifesto*, 1923.
11. Keith Laybourn, *Philip Snowden: A Biography* (Aldershot: Temple Smith/Gower/Wildwood, 1988), p. 99.
12. Parliamentary Debates, 5th series, vol. 168, 15 December 1923, col. 479.
13. David Marquand, *Ramsay MacDonald* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1977), pp. 299–302.
14. Ross McKibbin, *The Evolution of the Labour Party, 1910–1924* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), pp. 159–60.
15. *Liberal Magazine*, xxxi (December 1923), p. 705
16. Richard Lyman, *The First Labour Government* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1957), p. 70. F. W. S. Craig gives slightly different figures for the 1922 and 1923 elections, including the Conservatives contesting 54 (rather than 64) more seats in 1923 compared to 1922. F. W. S. Craig, *British Electoral Facts, 1885–1975* (London and Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1976), pp. 12–14.
17. G. D. H. Cole, *A History of the Labour Party From 1914* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969), p. 153.
18. Michael Kinnear, *The British Voter: An Atlas and Survey since 1885* (London: Batsford, 1981), pp. 43–4.
19. Chris Cook, *The Age of Alignment: Electoral Politics in Britain, 1922–1929* (London: Macmillan, 1977), p. 168.
20. H. W. Massingham article in *Nation*, 6 February 1924; Labour Party, National Executive Committee, Minutes, Box VI. According to George

- Lansbury, in the *Daily Herald*, 9 January 1924, Massingham ran the *Star*, along with T. P. O'Connor.
21. Robert. E. Dowse, *Left In the Centre: The Independent Labour Party, 1893–1940* (London: Longmans, 1966), p. 102.
 22. *The Times*, 1 October 1914; Marquand, *Ramsay MacDonald*, ch. 10, entitled 'Public Enemy'.
 23. P. Snowden's pamphlets included *A Plea for Peace* (Blackburn: Blackburn Labour Party, 1916), *Labour in Chains* (London: National Labour Press, 1917), *How to Pay for the War – Tax the Unearned Income of the Rich* (London: 1916), and *War and Peace* (London: National Labour Publications, 1918).
 24. Laybourn, *Philip Snowden*, ch. 5.
 25. A. J. P. Taylor, *English History* (London: Penguin, 1975), pp. 198–9.
 26. Gordon Brown, *Maxton* (Glasgow: Collins/ Fontana, 1988), pp. 122–3.
 27. Dowse, *Left in the Centre*, pp. 93–4
 28. Independent Labour Party, *Conférence Report, 1923*, p. 91.
 29. *New Leader*, 6 July 1923; F. M. Leventhal, *The Last Dissenter: H. N. Brailsford and His World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), pp 180–1.
 30. Arthur Ponsonby Diary, 11 December 1923.
 31. *New Leader*, 21 December 1924.
 32. *Ibid.*, 11 January 1924.
 33. *Forward*, 26 April 1924.
 34. 'Report to the Executive Committee, 1923–1924', Labour Party, *Annual Report, 1924* (London: Labour Party, 1924), p. 3.
 35. *Ibid.*, p. 4, quoting from the Executive of the Labour Party statement for January 1924.
 36. NEC of the Labour Party, Minutes, 2 September 1924, outlines the issues from 1922 to 1924.
 37. James Klugmann, *History of the Communist Party of Great Britain: Formation and Early Years*, vol. 1: 1919–1924 (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1968), pp. 166–81, traces the moves made by the CPGB to gain affiliation to the Labour Party, and Labour's response, in immense detail.
 38. Pollitt Papers, CP/IND/POLL/3/1, 'The New Phase in Britain and the Communist Party' (draft by R. P. Dutt), p. 29.
 39. Labour Party, *Annual Report, 1924*, p. 127.
 40. Andrew Thorpe, '“The Only Effective Bulwark Against Reaction and Revolution”: Labour and the Frustration of the Extreme Left', in Andrew Thorpe (ed.), *The Failure of Political Extremism In Inter-War Britain* (Exeter: University of Exeter, 1989), pp. 11–27.

Chapter 3 Labour takes office

1. Frederick Maurice, *Haldane 1915–1928* (London: Faber & Faber, 1929), *passim*.
2. The Earl of Oxford and Asquith, *Memories and Reflections 1852–1927*, vol. 2 (London: Cassell, 1928), pp. 207–8.
3. *Memorandum By Lord Stamfordham*, 10 December 1923, RA PS/GV/K 1918/34
4. Kenneth Young, *Baldwin* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1976), pp. 54–5.
5. Harold Nicolson, *King George V: His Life and Reign* (London: Constable, 1984), p. 382.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 383.
7. MacDonald Diary, 8–9 December 1923.
8. *Forward*, 15 December 1923.
9. John Shepherd, *George Lansbury: At the Heart of Old Labour* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 208.
10. Beatrice Webb, *The Diary of Beatrice Webb: Volume Three, 1905–1924* (London: Virago & BLPES, 1984) pp. 430–1. (Diary entry, 12 December 1923.)
11. Jim Middleton to Frank Hughes, 15 February 1924, MacDonald Papers PRO 30/69/1169.
12. Sidney Webb, 'The First Labour Government', *Political Quarterly*, 32 (1961), pp. 7–9.
13. *Manchester Guardian*, 19 December 1923.
14. Philip Williamson, 'The Labour Party and the House of Lords, 1918–1931' *Parliamentary History*, vol. 10, pt 2 (1991), pp. 317–41.
15. MacDonald to Massingham, 24 December 1924, Massingham Papers. For Massingham, see Alfred Havighurst, *Radical Journalist*: H. W. Massingham (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), ch. 11.
16. MacDonald Diary, 10 December 1923; MacDonald to Massingham, 19 December 1923; Massingham to MacDonald, 21 December 1923, Massingham Papers.
17. Massingham to MacDonald, 21 December 1923; MacDonald to Massingham, 24, 29 December 1923, *ibid.*
18. For the *Report of the Machinery of Government Committee* (1918), see Peter Hennessey, *Whitehall* (London: Fontana, 1990), pp. 292–9 (emphasis added); Peter Hennessey, *The Prime Minister: The Office and Its Holders since 1945* (London: Allen Lane, 2000), p. 338; Hans Daalder, *Cabinet Reform in Britain* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1964) pp. 273–7.
19. Harold Wilson, *A Prime Minister on Prime Ministers* (London: Michael Joseph, 1977), p. 198.
20. Beatrice Webb, *Diary*, 15 January 1924.
21. *Ibid.*, 3, 15 January 1924.
22. Philip Viscount Snowden, *An Autobiography: Volume Two, 1919–1934* (London: Nicolson & Watson, 1934), pp. 594–8.
23. J. H. Thomas, *My Story* (London: Hutchinson, 1937), pp. 74–5.
24. Richard Lyman, *The First Labour Government* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1957), pp. 99, 101–2.
25. For a scathing attack on MacDonald, see L. Macneill Weir, *The Tragedy of Ramsay MacDonald* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1938), pp. 167–8.
26. J. R. MacDonald, *A Policy for the Labour Party* (1920).
27. MacDonald Diary, 10 December 1923.
28. *Ibid.*, 10 January 1924.
29. *Socialist Review*, xxiii:124 (January 1924).
30. David Marquand, *J. Ramsay MacDonald* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1977), pp. 50–3, 131–5 J. R. MacDonald, *Margaret Ethel MacDonald: A Memoir* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1913), *passim*.
31. M. A. Hamilton, *Ramsay MacDonald* (London: 1929); *The Times*, 22, 23 December 1923.
32. *The Times*, 23 December 1923.
33. MacDonald Papers PRO 30/69/1258.

34. Haldane to Mary Haldane, 13 December 1923, Haldane Papers MS 6006.
35. MacDonald to Haldane, 23 December 1923, Haldane Papers, MS 5916.
36. Haldane to MacDonald, 24 December 1923, printed in Richard Burdon Haldane, *An Autobiography* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1929), pp. 321–3.
37. Robert Keith Middlemas, *The Clydesiders: A Left-Wing Struggle for Parliamentary Power* (London: Hutchinson, 1967) p. 137; Hennessey, *Whitehall*, pp. 292–3.
38. Haldane, *Autobiography*, pp. 321–3.
39. Brigadier General Thomson was a leading pioneer of airships in the 1920s. In 1924 his friend, Ramsay MacDonald – also a flying enthusiast – appointed a Cabinet Committee which recommended dual state and private company construction of the R100 and R101 airships by the Air Ministry and Vickers Ltd. The novelist and aeronautical engineer Nevil Shute in 1924 worked at Cardington on the early design of the R101. In 1930 Lord Thomson, Secretary of State for Air in the Second Labour Cabinet, died tragically in the R101 disaster. Neville Shute, *Slide Rule: The Autobiography of an Engineer* (London: Heinemann, 1954). We are grateful to Peter Hore for this reference. For Lord Thomson and the R101, see John Shepherd, *George Lansbury: At the Heart of Old Labour* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 263–4.
40. Williamson, 'The Labour Party and the House of Lords', pp. 317–25.
41. Haldane, *Autobiography*, pp. 324–5.
42. Haldane to Mary Haldane, 12/13 January 1924, Haldane Papers MS 6007; Haldane to Elisabeth Haldane, 11 January 1924, Haldane Papers MS 6013.
43. Thomas Jones, *Whitehall Diary: Volume 1, 1916–1925*, ed. Keith Middlemas (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), pp. 264–7.
44. Neil MacLean to Ramsay MacDonald, 8 February 1924, MacDonald Papers PRO 30/69 1169.
45. Neil Maclean to Ben Spoor, 26 January 1924, *ibid.*
46. *The Political Diaries of C. P. Scott, 1911–1928*, ed. Trevor Wilson (London: Collins, 1976), Diary entry 6 January 1924.
47. *Ibid.*
48. Lord Parmoor, *A Retrospect: Looking Back on the Life of More than Eighty Years* (London: Heinemann, 1936), p. 194.
49. Haldane to Elisabeth Haldane, 11 January 1924, Haldane Papers MS 6013.
50. Middlemass, *The Clydesiders*, pp. 139–40.
51. William Gallacher, *The Rolling of Thunder* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1947), pp. 65–6.
52. MacDonald Diary, 21 January 1924.
53. For the Union of Democratic Control, see Martin Schwarz, *The Union of Democratic Control* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971).
54. Raymond A. Jones, *Arthur Ponsonby: The Politics of Life* (London: Christopher Helm, 1989), pp. 140–1.
55. Ponsonby to MacDonald, 11 December 1923, MacDonald (JRM) Papers, PRO (69)/196 30/69/196.
56. Jones, *Whitehall Diary: Volume 1, 1916–1925*, p. 264.
57. Colin Cross, *Philip Snowden* (London: Barrie & Rockliff, 1966), pp. 190, 195–6.
58. Keith Laybourn, *Philip Snowden* (Aldershot: Temple Smith, 1988), p. 107.
59. J. R. Clynes, *Memoirs, 1924–1937* (London: Hutchinson, 1937), ch. 1.
60. G. D. H. Cole, *A History of the Labour Party* (London: Kegan & Paul, 1948), p. 159.

61. Henderson to MacDonald, 18 December 1923, MacDonald (JRM) Papers, PRO 30/69/196.
62. MacDonald to Henderson, 22 December 1923, *ibid.* 1169.
63. Fenner Brockway, *Socialism over Sixty Years: The Life of Jowett of Bradford (1864–1944)* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1946), pp. 206–8.
64. David Howell, *MacDonald's Party: Labour Identities and Crisis, 1922–1931* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 102–3.
65. Quoted in Peter Slowe, *Manny Shinwell* (London: Pluto Press, 1993), p. 123.
66. Emanuel Shinwell, *Conflict Without Malice* (London: Odhams, 1955), pp. 90–1.
67. Welsh to MacDonald, 26 January 1924, MacDonald Papers PRO 30/69 1709.
68. Wilson to MacDonald, 25 January 1924, MacDonald Papers PRO30/69/1169.
69. MacDonald to Wilson, 26 January 1924, *ibid.*
70. Henry Slessor, *Judgement Reserved* (London: Hutchinson, 1941), pp. 92–4.
71. Patrick Hastings, *The Autobiography of Sir Patrick Hastings* (London: Heinemann, 1948), p. 235.
72. W. Martin, P. Dollan, D. Kirkwood and W. Stewart to Ramsay MacDonald, 31 January, 14 February 1924; MacDonald to H. P. Macmillan, 13 February 1924; Rosslyn Mitchell to MacDonald, 25 January 1924; MacDonald to Mitchell, 11 February 1924, MacDonald Papers, PRO 30/69/689.
73. Robert Smillie to Ramsay MacDonald, 20 December 1923, MacDonald (JRM) Papers, PRO 30/69/1169. See also Robert Smillie, *My Life for Life* (London: Mills & Boon, 1924), pp. 303–4.
74. George Lansbury to Arthur Henderson, 15 January 1924, Lansbury Papers, vol. 28, fo. 162.
75. George Lansbury to Ramsay MacDonald, 18 Jan. 1924, *ibid.*, fo. 163.
76. It is not clear if this meeting at MacDonald's home took place, since neither party later mentioned it publicly. MacDonald Notebooks and Diaries, MacDonald Papers, RMD/2/22 (John Rylands Library).
77. *The Times*, 9 January 1924.
78. *Daily Mail*, 22 January 1924.
79. *Manchester Guardian*, 7 January 1924; Memorandum by Lord Stamfordham, RA, GV 1918/164. See also Nicolson, *King George V*, p. 384.
80. For the episode of Labour ministers and court dress, see Nicolson, *King George V*, pp. 391–2. See also Anne Perkins, *A Very British Strike* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2006), pp. 38–41.
81. J. R. Clynes, *Memoirs, 1869–1924* (London: 1937), p. 347
82. G. D. H. Cole, *A History of the Labour Party from 1914* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1948), p. 159
83. Andrew Thorpe, *A History of the British Labour Party* (Houndmills: Macmillan – now Palgrave, 1997), p. 57
84. Robert E. Dowse, *Left In The Centre: The Independent Labour Party, 1893–1940* (London: Longmans, 1966), p. 102.
85. M. Margaret Patricia McGarran, *Fabianism In The Political Life of Britain, 1919–1931* (Chicago: Heritage Foundation, 1954).
86. *The Times*, 24 January 1924.
87. *Daily Graphic*, 24 January 1924.
88. *Manchester Guardian*, 23 January 1924.
89. *Morning Post*, 23 January 1924.

90. House to Haldane, 6 February 1924, Haldane Papers, MS 5916.
91. Lytton to Haldane, 6 February 1924, *ibid.*
92. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 and 24 January 1924.
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Chapter 5 Minority government

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Chapter 6 Foreign and imperial policy

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Index

- Aberavon 29, 33, 42, 67, 181, 186
Acland, F. D. 120
Adamson, William 25–6, 60, 76,
101, 145
 Secretary of State for Scotland 26
Addison, Christopher 96, 98
 1919 Housing Act 96, 98
Admiralty 86
Advisory Committee on Motherhood
 and Child Endowment 80
Agricultural Wages Bill/Act 94, 120
 Central Wages Board 94, 120
Aldred, Guy 77
Aliens 200
Aliens Act (1905) 95
Aliens Act (1919) 95–9
Aliens Restriction Act (1914) 95–6
Aliens Restriction (Amendment)
 Act 95
Alexander, A. V. 17
Alexander, W. A. 165
Allen, Clifford 34–6, 56
Ammon, Charles 139
 Parliamentary Secretary to the
 Admiralty 166
Amritsar Massacre 148
Anderson, Sir John (later Lord
 Waverley) 69, 91
Andrews, Elizabeth 27
Angell, Norman 56, 102
Anglo-French 127, 134, 154–5
 memorandum 127
 relations 134
 resolutions 154–5
Anglo-Irish Treaty (1921) 167
Anglo-Soviet Conference 157–8
 Foreign Bondholders 157
 Treaties 5, 111, 117, 121, 157–8,
 161, 169, 171, 173–4, 179,
 181–2, 187, *see also* Russian
 Treaties
 negotiations 169
 relations 170, 182
Anomalies Act (1931) 79
Appropriation Bill 164
Arnold, Sydney 43, 52
Asquith, H. H. 11, 27, 34, 41, 44–5,
 52, 73, 101–2, 107–8, 110–11,
 114, 117–19, 140, 159, 173–4,
 176, 178–80, 184
Astor, Lord 136
Astor, Nancy 75
Associated Society of Locomotive
 Engineers (ASLEF) 68
Attlee, (Major) Clement 2–5, 13, 17,
 20, 33, 36, 48, 53, 114, 200, 204
Australia/n 1
 Labour Party 1
 Queensland 1
 Trade union movement 67
Ayles, W. H. 123

Bagot, Millicent 182
Bailey, W. Milne 94, 96
Baker, Jenny 77
Baldwin, Oliver 115
Baldwin, Stanley 1, 15–16, 27–8,
 41–2, 51, 58, 63–4, 68–9, 76, 94,
 96, 108–9, 114–16, 139–40, 145,
 152, 156, 161, 167, 173, 176,
 178–82, 184–5, 187, 190, 194,
 198–9, 205–6
Balfour, A. J. 115, 130, 150
 Declaration 150–1
Ball, Major Joseph 116, 183
Banbury, Sir Frederick 2
Barker, George 191
Barnes, Trevor 164
Basra 126, 145
Beatty, (Admiral) Earl 86, 156
Beaverbrook, Lord 175, 178–9
Belgium 135

- Bell, Florence Harrison 8
 Bell, Gertrude 136
 Bell, Richard 7
 Benn, William Wedgwood 111, 119
 Bennett, Gill 169, 183
 Benson, S. H 15
 Bentham, Ethel 75
 Berlin SPD 14
 Bernstein, Eduard 19
 Besant, Annie 147
 Bevan, Aneurin 132
 Bevin, Ernest 8, 68, 70–1, 191, 194, 197
 Birkenhead, Lord 115, 179
Birmingham Gazette 189
 birth control 76–8
 Blain, Herbert 116
 Blair, Tony 2, 8
 'Black Friday' 17
 Blum, Leon 19
 Board, F. A. 77
 Boer War 7
 Bolshevik 69, 109, 113, 170–4, 183, 195
 Revolution 158
Bolshevik Party Communiste Francaise (PCF) 19
 Bondfield, Margaret 3, 36, 65, 75–6, 79, 128, 202
 Boothby, Robert 84, 116
 Bottomley, Holford 15
 Bottomley, Horatio 33
 Bowman, Guy 166
Bracher's Herald Book of Labour Members 5
 Bradbury, John 50
 Brailsford, H. N. 2, 35
 British Broadcasting Company (BBC) 181, 200
 British Commonwealth 149
 British Empire 131, 138, 146–7, 149–50, 165
 Exhibition 72
 British Socialist Party 9, 34, 37
 Brockway, Fenner 36, 112, 127–8
 Bromley, Fred 128
 Brown, Gordon 100
 Buchanan, George 26, 35, 101, 125, 164, 191
 Buck, Benjamin 166
 Buck, Charles 166
 Building Materials Bill 99–100
 Buxton, Charles Roden 35
 Buxton, Noel 65, 120, 131
 Callaghan, James 2, 20
 Campbell-Bannerman, Henry 111, 132
 Campbell J. R. /Campbell Case 5, 35, 113, 117, 119, 121, 125, 128, 145, 160–9, 174–80, 182, 184, 187, 193, 195–6, 203
 Camps, H. E. 91
 Carpenter, Edward 31–2
 Cave, Lord 53
 Cavendish, Lady 136
 Cecil, Robert 136, 202
 Central Committee on Women's Training and Employment 78–9, 202
 Chamberlain, Austen 42, 108, 115–17, 136, 175–6, 179, 190
 Chamberlain, Ivy 79
 Chamberlain, Neville 96, 98, 115–16, 190, 202
 1923 Housing Act 96, 98, 202
 Chapman, Sir S. 172
 Charmley, John 190
 Chelmsford, Lord 53–5, 65–7, 139, 148, 156
 Churchill, Winston 1, 24, 84, 110, 112–13
 Circular 1190 103
 Citizen's Alliances 188
 Citrine, Walter 197
 Democracy or Disruption: An Examination of Communist Influence on the Trade Unions 197
 Clayton, Sir Gilbert 156
 Clydeside/r/s 6, 22, 26, 34–6, 54–6, 61, 78, 101, 160, 178, 191
 MPs 34–5, 54, 78
 Clyde Workers' Committee 113
 Clynes, J. R. 17, 27–8, 39, 43, 54–5, 57–8, 68, 92–3, 100, 109, 117, 125–6, 136, 171, 176, 193–4
 coal crisis (1925) 94

- Cole, G. D. H. 2, 11, 58, 161–2, 177
 Cole, Margaret 11
Colliers' Weekly 109
 Colonial Office 150–1
 Colwyn, Lord 86
 Comintern 170, 181, 203
 Committee of Imperial Defence (CID) 139, 156
 Committee on Women's Training and Employment (CCWTE) 78–9
 Communist/s 2, 9, 18–19, 37–40, 56, 72–3, 94, 113, 125, 157, 162–5, 167–8, 170, 177–8, 181–2, 187, 192, 195–8, 203, 206
 Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB) 9, 32, 37–40, 113–14, 122, 125–7, 163–5, 167, 169–70, 177, 181, 195–7, 205
 Attempted affiliation to Labour Party 38
 Class Against Class 197
 Congress (sixth) 196
 Minority Movement 94
 The Future of the Labour Government – A Call to All Workers (1924) 195–6
 Congo Reform Association 141
 Congress Party of India 147
 Conservatives (Tory/ies) 1, 3–4, 6, 8, 15–16, 23–4, 26–8, 30, 34, 38, 41–2, 44–5, 47, 152–3, 51–4, 60–4, 67, 70–1, 74–5, 83–4, 86–88, 91, 94, 101, 103, 106, 109, 111–19, 123, 128, 136, 139–41, 145, 148, 150, 152, 155, 159–61, 163, 172–4, 177, 179–84, 186–90, 194, 198, 202, 204–5
 1922 Committee 116
 Looking Ahead: Unionist Principles and Aims (1924) 116
 MPs 148, 189–90
 New Conservatism 116
 Constitution 2, 69
 Consultative Committee on Women's Organisation 76
 Cooperative movement 65, 74
 Cook, Arthur James 94
 Cook, Chris 114
 Cook, Robin 3, 183
 Cooper, Selina 82
 Court of Criminal Appeal 139
 Craig, Sir James 167
 Ulster Prime Minister 167
 Cramp, C. T. 69, 192, 194, 206
 Crawford, W. H. 109
 Cripps, Sir Stafford 53
 Crooks, Will 7
 Crowe, Sir Eyre 182, 186
 Curzon, Cynthia 75
 Curzon, George 130, 170

Daily Chronicle 159, 174
Daily Graphic 66
Daily Herald 15, 88, 115, 121–2, 125–7, 140, 144–5, 184, 190, 203
Daily Mail 181, 203
 Dalton, Hugh 29, 114
 Daniels, E. S. 76
 Davidson, J. C. C. 42, 69, 116
 Davies, Rhys 163
 Dawes, General 134
 Dawes Plan/Scheme 5, 94, 128–9, 135–6, 138, 141–4, 146, 153, 190, 193, 202
 Dawes Report 50, 134, 143–4, 146
 de Man, Hendrick 18
 The Psychology of Socialism 18
 Derby, Earl of 115
 Devonshire, Lord 147
 Director of Public Prosecutions (DPP) 162–3, 168, 178
 Disarmament Conference 134
 Dockers' strike (1912) 163
 (1923) 69
 (1924) 39, 70
 Dollan, Patrick J. 34, 36
 Dominions affairs 147
 Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance 131, 150, 153–4
 Duckers, Scott 113
 Dunnico, Rev. Herbert 191
 Dutt, Rajani Palme 165
 Dutton, David 186
 Dyer, Brigadier General 148

 Education Act (1918) 102
 Egypt 151–3, 161, 165
 Independence revolt (1919) 152

- Emergency Committee 71
 Emergency Powers Act (1920) 69–70,
 72, 163, 201
 Esher, Lord 136
Evening News 117
 Exports Credit Act 90, 124
- Fabian Society/ Fabians 7–8, 11–12,
 17–19, 25, 27, 65, 147
*The Position of the Two Parties and
 the Right of Dissolution*, Fabian
 Tracts 210, 18
 Family Endowment Society 80
 Fellowship of Reconciliation 131
 Fenn, Lillian 27
 Ferguson, Aitken 113
 Ferguson, Arthur 193
 First World War (Great War) 10–11,
 18, 25, 32–3, 47, 56, 82, 102, 110,
 130, 132–3, 141, 146, 148, 150,
 152, 156, 160, 164, 167, 177, 187,
 200, 203
 Fisher, H. A. L. 102
 Foreign Affairs 172
 Foreign and Imperial Policy 130–60
 Foreign Office 3, 21, 130, 132, 134,
 136–8, 141, 145, 153, 160, 183,
 185, 202–3
Forward 35, 101, 123
 France 133–8, 140, 143,
 150, 153
 Franchise Act (1918) 204
 Franco-British relations 134
 Franco-German relations/hostilities
 132–3, 143
 French 142, 154, 165
 Fuller, William 166
 Fyfe, Hamilton 122, 125
- Gaitskell, Hugh 18
 Gallacher, Willie 56, 127
 Gandhi, Mahatma 148–9
 Gardner, Benjamin 100
 Geddes, Sir Eric 69
 Geddes Axe 96, 102–3
 General elections 128, 159–60
 1900 7, 64
 1906 9, 58
 1910 (December) 25
 1918 (Coupon) election 16, 25, 43,
 47, 54
 1922 3, 17, 26–7, 29, 31
 1923 1, 17, 21, 26–30, 41, 43, 47,
 54, 56, 60, 65, 75, 86, 113,
 121, 138
 1924 3, 29, 59–60, 113, 117–19,
 128, 145, 159–61, 178, 180–1,
 183–9, 194, 203–4
 1929 194, 198
 General Strike 165, 193, 202
 Geneva 154
 Protocol 155–7, 160
 Genoa 170
 German exports 118
 German/y 132–8, 140–4, 154,
 160, 165
 Communist Party 165
 German SPD 14
 General Strike (1936) 94, 197–8
 Gibbons, Joseph 113
 Gladstone, Herbert 9
 Glasgow Trades and Labour
 Council 193
 Glasier, J. Bruce 32–3
 Gold Standard 84, 88
 Gosling, Harry 71, 89
 Government of India Act
 (1919) 149
 Government of Scotland Bill
 (1914) 101
 Governments
 Attlee government
 (1945–51) 204
 Baldwin government (1923) 75
 Baldwin government (1924–29)
 156, 190
 Blair Labour government
 (1997–2001) 183
 Callaghan and Wilson
 governments 1964–1970,
 1974–79 20
 Coalition (Lloyd George 1918–22)
 2–3, 16–17, 152, 170, 199
 Viscount St. David's Committee
 (public works) 89
 Conservative government (1922–24)
 27, 132

Governments – *continued*

- Conservative governments 16
- First Labour
 government/administration
 (1924) 1–2, 5–7, 9, 12, 14–24,
 30, 35–7, 38–52, 54, 56, 58,
 60–2, 64–7, 70–4, 76–85, 86–94,
 96–8, 102–6, 108, 110–18,
 120–9, 131–2, 134, 136, 138–42,
 144, 146, 148, 150, 152–4,
 156–9, 160–4, 166–8, 172–8,
 181–4, 186–9, 192–207; and *see*
also Labour Party
- Budget (1924) 87
- By-elections 112–14
- Cabinet 1, 3–4, 17, 22–33, 36,
 43, 45–9, 51–60, 62–70, 72–3,
 75, 87–92, 99, 101–2, 105,
 109, 115, 124, 127, 129, 134,
 136, 138–9, 143, 146–7, 150,
 155–6, 158, 161, 164–75,
 174–5, 179–80, 182, 185–6,
 188, 196–7; Unemployment
 Committee 89
- Parliamentary defeats 120
- Labour governments 2
- Second Labour government
 (1929–31) 63, 183, 187
- Cabinet 101, 130
- Graham, Duncan 61, 122, 138
- Graham, William 33, 191
- Grant, Sir Arthur 176
- Great War *see* First World War
- Greenwood, Arthur 17, 55, 99
- Gregory, J. D. 155, 182
- Grigg, Edward 110
- Guest, Captain Freddie 119
- Guest, John 93
- Hadow Consultative Committee of
 the Board of Education (1924–26)
 6, 103
- Report on the Education of the
 Adolescent* 103–4
- Hadow, Sir Henry 103
- Haldane, (Lord) Richard Burdon 17,
 41, 45–7, 51–5, 61, 65–7, 75, 81,
 89, 92, 99, 106, 139, 140, 156,
 171, 177, 185
- Committee (1918) 45
- Lord Chancellor (1912–15) 52
- Secretary of State for War
 (1905–12) 52
- Hall, Fred 60, 117, 163
- Hall, Sir Reginald 116
- Hamilton, Molly 36, 50
- ‘Hands off Russia’ campaign 14
- Hankey, Sir Maurice 134, 139, 156,
 166, 168–9, 185
- Cabinet Secretary 166
- Hardie, James Keir 7–9, 22, 32–3,
 100, 148
- Hartshorn, Vernon 60, 146
- Hashemite Arabs 150
- Hastings, Sir Patrick 43, 62, 100,
 162–3, 167, 175
- Attorney General 162, 164,
 166–8, 177
- Hayes, Jack J. 91, 124, 191, 201
- Hemmerde, Edward 62
- Henderson, Arthur 7, 10–12, 17, 22,
 25, 27–9, 33, 37–8, 43, 46, 48,
 54–5, 58–9, 62, 64–5, 67–8, 70,
 73–4, 89, 91–6, 111–12, 117,
 124–5, 127, 130, 131, 145, 151,
 155–6, 164, 166, 171, 185, 190–1,
 193–4, 198, 200–1, 205
- Women and the Labour Party*
 (1918) 74
- Herriot, Edouard 19, 135–7, 142–4,
 153–4
- Popular Front 19
- Radical Party 19
- Hoare, Sir Samuel 139
- Hobson, J. A. 2, 43, 85
- Hobhouse, L. T. 111
- Hodges, Frank 38, 60, 196
- Horne, Sir Robert 176, 179
- House, Col. 66
- housing 88, 96–9, 99–100, 104
- Joint Industrial Committee 97
- Act (1919) 96
- Act (1923) 96
- Act (1924) 96–9, 202
- Horridge, Mrs. Justice 166
- Howell, David 6–7, 27, 191
- MacDonald’s Party* 7
- Humphreys, Trevor 166

- Hussein-McMahon correspondence 150
- Hutt, Allen 133
- immigration 95–6
- Incitement to Mutiny Act (1797) 163–4, 203
- income tax 88
- India/n 147–50, 161, 165, 170, 190, 195
 Act (1919) 149
 British relations 148
 Committee 148
 Congress Party 148
- Indian National Congress 148
- Indian Nationalists 149
- Independent Labour Party (ILP)
 6–11, 22, 32–6, 39, 50, 57, 59, 62, 65, 76, 78, 82, 97, 122–4, 127, 132, 138, 151, 169–70, 190–1, 193
 Conference (1914) 193,
 Conference (York, 1924) 138, 160
 MPs 34–5, 138
 National Administrative Council (NAC) 124
 Socialism in Our Time 36
 United Council 34
- Inter-Allied Conference (London, 1924) 128, 136–7, 140–5, 153, 157, 160, 202
- Iraq 126, 136, 144, 150, 165, 190, 195
- Irish Boundary Commission 117, 161, 167
- Jewish–Arab relations 151
- Jewish Homeland 150–1
- Jewish Labour movement 151
- Jews 152
- Jewson, Dorothy 75, 77–8, 80
- John Bull* 33
- Johnston, Thomas 101, 123–4, 177
- Joint Electricity Authority 90
- Jones, Graham 33, 138
- Jones, Jack 164
- Jones, Thomas 1, 54, 57, 88–9, 99, 104, 110, 115, 136, 143, 166, 168–9, 185, 187, 205–6
- Jones, Thomas A. 188
- Jowett, Fred 27, 33, 36, 48, 59, 64–5, 122, 138
- Judd, Denis 148
- Kell, Major-General Sir Vernon 165
 Head of Security Services 165
- Kenworthy, J. M. 111, 118
- Keynes, John Maynard 85
- Khartoum 153
- Kimberley, Earl 51, 53
- King George V 1–2, 18, 22, 28, 41, 43–5, 57, 63–4, 72, 207
- Kirkwood, David 34, 43
- Krassin 170
 Trade delegation 170
- Labour Magazine* 5
- Labour Electoral Association 8
- Labour Party 1–24, 26–7, 30–3, 36–44, 48–51, 53–4, 56, 58–63, 65, 67, 71–81, 83, 85–6, 91–4, 96, 102–5, 108–9, 111–13, 119, 121–3, 125–9, 130, 132, 138, 140, 145, 148–9, 151–2, 159, 160, 163, 165, 169, 174–7, 184–5, 186–8, 190–200, 202–6, 180–200, 203–6; *see also* Government, First Labour government (1924)
- Advisory Committee on Education 103; *Secondary Education for All: A Policy for Labour* 103
- Advisory Committee on International Questions (ACIQ) 131
- Advisory Committee on Motherhood and Child Endowment 80
- Archives 4
- Attempted affiliation to the Labour Party 38
- By-elections 112–13
- Cabinet reform 45
- Capital Levy 29, 41, 85–6
- Conference (1924) 104, 196;
 Conference (1925) 78,
 192–3, 204, 206; Conference (1958) 131
- Constituency Labour parties 10

- Labour Party – *continued*
 Constitution (1918) 12
 Divisional or Borough Labour parties 12–13
 Foreign policy 29
 General election costs and funds 29
Labour and the New Social Order (1918) 12, 25, 27
Labour's appeal to the nation (1923) 25, 28
Labour's call to the people (1922) 25
 London Labour Party 38
 Manifesto (1923) 76, 97
 Membership 25
 MPs 8, 25, 30, 91, 101, 189
 Municipal results 10, 188–9
 National Executive Committee (NEC) 27, 36–7, 43, 68, 74, 76, 91–2, 192, 197
 New Labour 8, 15
 Press and Publicity Department 15
Red Flag 15
 'Victory Rally' 31–2
 Women's Day 81
 Women's Advisory Council 27
 Women's Conferences (1921) 80; (1922) 80; (1923) 77; (1924) 78; (1925) 78, 80
 Women's Section/members 13, 26–7, 74, 190
- Labour Representation Committee (LRC) 7–9, 32–3, 64, 199
- Labour Representation League 8
- Labour Research Department 11, 55
- Labour Scottish manifesto 100
 Scottish Home Rule 100
- Labour Woman* 77
- Lamond, Jamie 60
- Lansbury, Edgar 73
- Lansbury, George 13, 15, 17, 21, 25, 27, 48, 62–4, 73–4, 122, 125–7, 139, 140, 144, 164, 172, 197
- Lansbury, Minnie 73
- Laski, Harold 2, 17–18
- Laski, Frida 77–8
The Position of the Two Parties and the Right of Dissolution, Fabian Tract 210, 18
- Law, Andrew Bonar 16, 28, 42
- Lawrence, Frederick Pethick 43
- Lawrence, Susan 75, 79
- Lawther, Will 114
- Leach, Willie 33, 36, 56, 125–6, 138, 145
- League of Nations 136, 143, 146, 150, 153–5, 202–3
- League of Nations Unions (LNU) 131
- Lee, Jennie 75
- Leeds Convention of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Council (1917) 21, 34
- Leeds Liberal Federation 188
 Cabinet Committee 188
- Lees-Smith, Hastings 43
- Lenin, V. I. 1, 19
- Leventhal, Fred 91
- Liberal Magazine* 30, 109
- Liberal Party 6, 8–9, 11, 18, 22, 25, 29–30, 41, 107–12, 115, 118–21, 123, 127–8, 150, 159, 174–5, 184, 186–9, 199, 204–5, *see also* Liberal/s
- Lib-Lab Pact (1903) 9, 204
- The Sham Treaty* 159
- Liberal/s/ism 1–4, 6–12, 16–18, 20, 22–30, 34, 36, 38, 41–7, 51–4, 56, 61–7, 71, 75, 83–5, 88, 94, 99, 100–2, 107–15, 117–21, 123, 127–9, 131–2, 134, 139, 146, 150, 159–61, 172–5, 177–80, 183–4, 186–90, 194, 200–1, 203–4
- Linlithgow, Lord 116
- Lloyd, Geoffrey 116
- Lloyd George, David 2–3, 11, 16–17, 26, 44, 69, 85, 87, 97, 107, 109–10, 112, 114, 118, 121, 130, 132, 150, 159, 170, 173–6, 178–9, 187, 199
- People's Budget (1909) 87
- Megan 2, 174
- Wartime Cabinet 11,
- Lloyd-George, Gwilym 114
- Locarno Conference 155–6, 160
- London Conference (1924) *see* Inter-Allied Conference (London, 1924)
- London Dock Strike 14

- London General Omnibus Company 71
- London train workers' strike 71
Court of Inquiry 72
- London Traffic Strike 39
- Lords, House of 52-3
- Lossiemouth 47, 49-51, 59, 66-7, 109, 157, 168
- Lunn, W. 60
- Lyman, Richard 4, 20-21, 47, 178
First Labour Government (1957) 21
Lyttleton Times 67
- Lytton, Lord 66
- Maclean, Neil 54, 101, 125
- MacDonald, Margaret 49
- MacDonald James Ramsay 1-9, 11, 14-23, 25-9, 31-68, 71-3, 86-7, 89, 92-4, 100-2, 104, 106-9, 111-12, 115, 117-21, 123-8, 130-62, 165-83, 185-7, 189-94, 196-8, 199-200, 202-5, 207
- Aberavon 29, 33, 42, 67, 181, 186
- A Policy for Labour* (1920) 20
- A Socialist in Palestine* 151
- Cabinet construction 27-60
- Foreign Secretary 1, 3-5, 22, 36, 56-8, 67, 112, 130, 134, 136, 141, 145, 160, 170, 183, 203, and *passim* 130-60
- Government 1-2
- ILP 34
- Labour Leader 3
- Leicester seat 33
- Moderation 31-2, 39
- Prime Minister 1-4, 33, 56-7, 168, 173, *passim*
- Socialism* 19
- Socialism and Society* 19
- Socialism: Critical and Constructive* 14, 151
- The Awakening of India* (1910) 148
- Woolwich by-election (1931) 33, 56
- MacManus, Arthur 181
- Macmillan, Margaret 102, 106-7
- Manchester Guardian* 54, 66, 114, 159
- Manningham Mills strike 32
- Markeiwicz, Countess 75
- Markham, Violet 79
- Mann, Tom 167, 177
- Marquand, David 6
Ramsay MacDonald (1977) 6
- Marx, Karl 95
- Massingham, H. W. 17, 31-2, 44-5, 49, 157
- Masterman, Charles F. 99, 161, 173
- Maxton, Jimmy 34-6, 43, 54, 56, 100-1, 122-3, 139, 163-4, 191
- McKenna, Reginald 49
Duties 87-8, 201
- Mesopotamia 125-6
- Middle East 150-1
- Middleton, J. S., 7, 96, 112, 125, 127
- Miliband, Ralph 5
Parliamentary Socialism 5
- Militant Tendency 205
- miners 61-2, 147, 160
- Miners' Federation of Great Britain 9, 60, 93-4, 146
- Minimum Wage Act 93
Bill 124
- Minkin, Lewis 205
Contentious Alliance 205
- MI6 (Secret Intelligence Service) 181-2
- Mitchell, Roslyn 184
- Morel, E. D. 27, 56, 102, 124, 128, 130, 141, 172, 203
- Morley-Minto Reforms (1909) 149
- Morning Post* 66, 88
- Mond, Sir Alfred 73, 76, 78, 110, 114
- Mond Scale 73-4
- Morgan, Kenneth 10
- Morrison, Herbert 14, 48
- Morris, William 31-2
- Mosley, Oswald 82, 102
- Montagu-Chelmsford Report (1918) 149
- Motherhood, endowment of 80
- Mowat, Charles Loch 167
- Muir, J. W. 33
- Naval estimates 118
- Nation* 31, 44, 99, 157
- Nation* (New York) 133
- National Debt 84, 86-8
- National Democratic League

- National Federation of Women Workers 76
- National Grid 89, 202
- National Health Insurance 6
- National Insurance Act (1911) 10, 63
- National Insurance Act (1924) 201
- National Left-Wing Movement 197
- National Liberal Club (NLC) 108
- National Union of Agricultural Workers 121
- National Union of General and Municipal Workers 75
- National Union of Railwaymen 68, 146, 192
- National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies 10, which became National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship (NUSEC) 76
- nationalisation 2, 86, 90, 190, 200
land 12
- Nevinson, Henry 36
- New Leader* 35–6, 57
- Newport 14
Chartist march 14
- New Statesman* 154
- New Zealand 1
Labour Party 1, 7
- No-Conscription Fellowship 131
- Noel-Baker, Philip 131
- Nollet, General 142
- Norman, Montague 171
- Northern Ireland 167
- Observer* 150
- Olivier, Sidney 51–3, 147–9, 171
- O'Neill, J. J. 111
- Paris Peace Conference (1919) 130
- Parker, Inspector 165
- Palestine 150–2, 200
- Parliamentary Enquiry into the Conditions of Domestic Service (1925) 79
- Parliamentary Labour Party (PLP) 6, 9–11, 16, 24–5, 27, 33, 36, 40, 61, 72, 75, 89–90, 92–3, 119–20, 122–5, 127, 129–30, 138, 140, 145, 190–2, 194, 203–4
- Parmoor, Lord 46, 53–5, 66–7, 153–4, 156, 171, 185
- Passfield White Paper (1930) 152
- Paul, William 196
- Pax Britannica* 146
- Peel, Sir Robert 49
- Pensions 82
- Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations at the San Remo Conference (1920) 150
- Phillips, Dr Marion 26, 74–5, 77, 79–80, 202
- Phillips, Morgan 205
- Phillipps, Vivian 114, 118, 121
- Pile, Jonathan 183
- Poincaré, M. 134
- Police 91, 201
Strike (1919) 124
- Police and Prison Officers' Union 91, 201
- Pollitt, Harry 38, 196, 205
- Ponsonby, Arthur 17, 27, 33, 36, 56–7, 102, 130–2, 138, 157–9, 170–2
Dorothy 171
Memorandum 158
- Popular/ism 13–14, 39, 48, 63, 73, 117–18
Councillors 14
Socialists 191
- Post Office Savings Bank 3
- Prevention of Evictions Act 100
- Privy Council 72
- Purcell, Alf 172
- RAF 125–6, 139, 144, 146, 200
- Railway clerk 68
- Rail strike (1924) 39, 68–70
- Rapallo Treaty (1922) 170
- Rathbone, Eleanor 80
- Reparations 133–4, 137, 138, 140, 142, 144–6, 154, 160, 202
American Reparations
Agent-General 137
Commission 134, 137, 141
- Red Scare 3; *also see* Zinoviev Letter
- Rendall, A, 119
- Representation of the People Act (1918) 12, 74

- Revolt on the Clyde 14
 Rhineland 133, 143
 Rhondda Labour Party 27
 Robson, William 19
 Rosenberg, Rosa 125
 Ruhr/Ruhr Crisis 5, 35, 132, 134–8,
 141–4, 191
 Russell, Bertrand 17, 131
 Russell, Dora 77–8
 Russell, Earl 53
 Russia/n, 3, 11, 14, 21, 26, 37, 73, 89,
 90, 95, 157–9, 162, 164, 170,
 173–5, 177–81, 183, 195, *see also*
 Treaties below
 Bolshevik/s 11, 37, 45
 Loans 157
 Revolutions 21
 Treaty/ies 157–60, 162, 171–5,
 177–8, 180, 187, 189, 203
 White Russian forgers 183
- Saklatvala, Dr 205
 Salisbury, Lord 130
 Samuel, Sir Herbert 150, 187
 Sanger, Margaret 77
Family Limitation 77
 Sankey, Sir John 53
 Savage, Michael 1
 Scott, C. P. 54, 106–7, 109, 111, 121,
 175, 187
 Scottish Home Rule 26 100–1,
 Scottish Home Rule Association
 100–1
 Scottish Workers' Parliamentary
 Election Committee 9
 Scurr, John 122, 163
Section Francaise de l'Internationale
Ouvriere (SFIO) 18–19
 'Cartel des Gauches' 19
 Seely, H. 118
 Sex Disqualification Act
 (1919) 81
 Shackleton, David 7
 Shaw, George Bernard 32
 Shaw Inquiry (1920) 70
 Shaw, Thomas (Tom) 70, 88–9, 92–3,
 97, 119, 124
 Shinwell, Emanuel (Manny) 26, 33,
 35, 60–1, 93, 105, 177–8
- Shopworkers' Union 76
 Simon, E. D. 99
 Simpson, George 192
 Simon, Sir John 44, 108
 Singapore 118, 139
 naval base 118
 Sinn Fein 75
 Six Point Group 76
 Slessor, Henry 61–2, 175–6
 Solicitor General 61–2, 175–6
 Smillie, Robert 32, 43, 62,
 122, 191
 Smith, Ben. 191
 Smith, Herbert 146
 Smuts, General 134
 Snowden, Ethel 57–8, 68
 Snowden, Philip 9, 15, 17, 25, 27–9,
 32–4, 36–8, 43, 46, 48, 54, 57–8,
 65, 67–8, 83–9, 103, 105, 113,
 133, 138–9, 141–4, 156–8, 160,
 171–2, 176–8, 180, 185, 191,
 193–4, 200–2
 Budget (1924) 87–8, 180
Labour and the National
Finances 85
Socialist Budget (1907) 86
 Snowden, Tom 82
 Social Democratic Federation
 7–9, 63
 Socialist unity debates 7
 Socialist/s 3, 9, 11, 27, 54, 179
 Socialism 3, 14, 117
 Soviet Union/Russia 21, 39, 45, 127,
 157–9
 Special Branch 164–5
Spectator 42
 Spencer, G. A. 196
 Spero, D. G. E. 63
 Spoor, Ben 33, 55, 117, 138
 Stack, Sir Lee 153
 Standing Joint Committee of
 Industrial Women's Organisations
 (SJIWO) 74, 77
 Stephen, Rev. Campbell 35
 Stewart, J. 33, 138
 Stockholm Conference 1
 Stopes, Marie 77
Married Love (1918) 77
 Strachey, St. Loe 42

- Strikes 68
 Builders' strike 39
 Dockers' strike (1912) 163
 Dockers' strike (1923) 69
 Dockers' strike (1924) 39, 201
 London train workers; strike (1924) 71
 London traffic strike 39
 Rail strike (1919) 69
 Rail strike (1924) 39, 68–70
 Transport strike (1912) 163
- Sudan 153
 Suez Canal 152
 Sugar Beet industry 82
 Sunderland 1
 Supply and Transport Committee (STC) 69, 71–2, 201
 Sutherland, Halliday 77
 Swarajists Party 149
 Sweden 1
 Social Democratic Coalition 1
 Socialists 18
 Syme, John 92
 Syria 150
Sydney Morning Herald 66
- Taff Vale 8
 Tariff policy 115
 Tawney, R. H. 2, 17, 102–3
 Secondary Education for All: A Policy for Labour (1922) 103
 Taylor, Robert 9
 Thane, Pat 6
The Labour Organiser 15
The Sun 66–7
The Sunday Times 182
The Times 33, 65
The Women's Leader 75
 Third International 39
 Thomas, J(immy) H. 17, 21, 25, 28, 36–7, 39, 43, 45–8, 54–5, 57, 63–5, 68–70, 72, 88, 130, 136, 146–7, 166, 169, 179, 182, 191
 Secretary of State for the Colonies 146–7
 When Labour Rules (1920) 21, 25
 National Union of Railwaymen 46
 Thomas, Leslie 47
- Thomson, Brigadier-General (Lord) C. B. 47, 52, 65, 139, 145
 Thorpe, Andrew 6, 178
 Thurn, Donald 182–3
 Thurtle, Dorothy 77
 Thurtle, Ernest 118, 123, 139
 Tolpuddle Martyrs 14
 Tonypandy 162
 Tory/ies *see* Conservatives
 Tracey, Herbert 5
 The Book of the Labour Party 5
 Trades councils 21
 Trade Facilities Act/ Bill 123–4
 Trade Union Act (1913) 10
 Trade unionists 3, 7–9, 11, 17, 21, 27, 38, 40, 45, 48, 53, 64, 72, 82, 85, 91, 93 124, 190, 193, 197
 Unions 6–10, 12–13, 15, 18, 20–2, 25, 32–3, 38–9, 43 45, 48, 53, 56, 60, 64, 67, 69, 72–75, 92, 97, 116, 145, 147, 164, 195, 197, 205
 MPs 8, 75
 Membership 27
 Trades Union Congress (TUC) 7, 36, 44, 69, 71–3, 80, 91, 93–5, 156
 Advisory Committee on Motherhood and Child Endowment 80
 Joint Research and Information Department (JRID) 94–5
 Home Office Advisory Committee 95
 Southport (1995) 8
 Transport and General Workers' Union (TGWU) 8, 191
 Treasury Counsel 178
 Treaty of Versailles 5, 22, 130, 133–4, 138, 140–1, 146, 150
 Trevelyan, Sir Charles P. 4, 27, 33, 47, 51, 56, 101–2, 106, 123, 131, 148, 193, 202
 Trevelyan, George Otto 102
 Trevelyan, G. M. 102
 Triple Alliance 147
 Tsarev, Olga 182
 The Crown Jewels (1998)
- Turkey 150
 Turner, Ben 118

- unemployment 2, 5–6, 9, 13–14, 21, 28–9, 35, 68, 75–6, 78–80, 82–6, 88–91, 95–7, 99, 119, 139, 147–8, 170, 180, 201–2
 benefit/s 6, 90
 Unemployment Insurance Act (1922) 80
 Unemployment Insurance Act (1924) 90
 Union of Democratic Control 5, 22, 56–7, 102, 124, 128, 131–2, 138, 141
 Unionism 117
 Unionist 173
 United Services Club 139
 United States 133
- Villard, Oswald Garrison 133
Vorwärts 19
- Wake, Egerton 114
 Walker, R. I. 121
 Wallasay Trades and Labour Council 192
 Wallhead, R. C. 122
 Walsh, Steven 53, 60, 145
 Ward, John 189
 Washington Disarmament Conference (1921) 132
 Wasserstein, Bernard 152
 Wealth tax 2
 Webb, Beatrice 3, 43, 45–6, 51, 64, 67–8, 73, 83, 92, 99, 101, 117, 120, 161–6, 174–5, 184, 186–7, 190
 Webb, Sidney 12, 15, 17, 19, 24–6, 44–6, 51, 60, 62, 65, 67–8, 72, 88–9, 147, 162, 171, 186, 190
 Wedgwood, Josiah 33, 69–70, 72, 81–2, 138, 147–8, 156, 171
 Weimar Republic 170
 Weir, Lachlan MacNeill 4
The Tragedy of Ramsay MacDonald (1938) 4
 Wells, H. G. 77
 Welsh, James 61
 Wembley Stadium 72–3
 Wertheimer, Egon 19
- West, Nigel 182
The Crown Jewels 182
 West Ham South 9
Westminster Gazette 174
 Wheatley, John 4–6, 33–6, 43, 48, 55–6, 64–5, 73, 77–8, 88, 97–101, 104, 117, 138, 171, 177, 180, 191, 199, 202
Eight Pound Cottages for Glasgow Citizens 97
 Housing Act (1924) 4–6, 97–8, 104, 180, 202
 Witcop, Rose 77
 Wilkinson, Ellen 75
 Williamson, Philip 44
 Wilson, Harold 2–3, 20
 Wilson, James 61
 Wilson, Trevor 11
 Wintringham, Margaret 75
 Wood, Ian 99
 Wood, Sir Kingsley 168, 176
 Woolf, Leonard 2, 131
International Government (1916) 131
 Women's Cooperative Guild 13
Maternity: Letter from Working Women 76–7
 Women's Day 81
 Women's Emancipation Bill 76
 Women's Freedom League 76
 Women's Labour League 10, 13, 49, 74–5
 Women's movement 6, 10, 68, 74, 202
 Workers' Birth Control Group 78
Workers' Weekly 128, 145, 161–5, 167–9, 178
War and the Workers 165
 Worley, Matthew 27
 Wrigley, Chris 112
- Young Report (1920) 102
- Zaghlul, Inrahin 153
 Zinoviev, Gregori 181
 Zinoviev (Red) Letter 2–3, 40, 160, 161, 178–9, 181–3, 185, 187, 189, 191, 193, 195–7
 Zionist/s/m 151, 200