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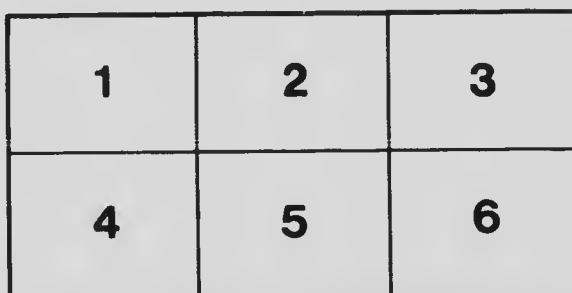
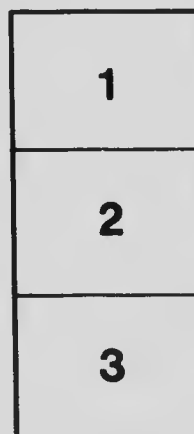
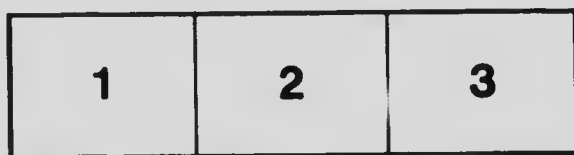
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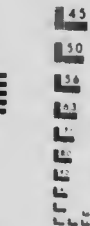
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JAS. KEIR HARDIE'S LIFE STORY

From Pit Trapper to Parliament

BY
J. McARTHUR CONNER
Toronto

THE INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY OF TORONTO.



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In presenting this story of James Keir Hardie, the idea was to encourage those people who desire to bring about a unity of the working class forces in Canada by giving them a resume of the history of the founder of the labor party in the United Kingdom. But no history of Hardie can ever be written without drawing extensively on the writings of Mr. J. Bruce Glasier, Mrs. Katherine Bruce Glasier, Mr. Frank Smith and Willie Stewart, Hardie's personal friends. The files of the *Labor Leader*, *Socialist Review*, *Glasgow Forward*, *Merthyr Pioneer*, *Kilmarnock Standard* and *Cannock Chronicle* and many others whom I desire to thank for the quotations I have used from their works.—J. M. C.

Jas. Keir Hardie's Life Story

CHAPTER I.

A man is thought a knave, a fool,
A bigot plotting crime;
Who for the advancement of his kind
Is wiser than his time.
For him the gibbet shall be built,
For him the stake prepared,
For him the hemlock shall distil,
For him the axe be bared.
Him shall the scorn and hate of men
Pursue with deadly aim,
And envy, malice, hatred, lies,
Shall desecrate his name.

—Robert Burns.

September 26th, 1917, will be the second anniversary of the death of James Keir Hardie, and with his death there passed out of British politics, one of the most picturesque figures of political life. The world knew him as a fighter, an agitator, a Socialist, who having the courage of his convictions, was ready to follow his principles to the furthest legitimate trend, a member of parliament who never bowed his head before the conventionalities of the House of Commons, who took risks without regard to the immediate consequences whatever and whenever he thought the greater gain for the future lay with the permanent well-being of democracy, a class fighter admittedly without any reserve.

Mr. Hardie was born at Laigh, Brannock, Old Monkland, Lanarkshire, on the 15th day of August, 1856. His father was a ship carpenter, but owing to long spells of unemployment his mother was also obliged to assist in adding to the family income by farm work, and little Keir was in his early days entrusted to his grandmother. The home consisted of a one-room dwelling with a floor of baked mud, whitewashed walls and thatched roof. He received no school education, but his mother, of

whom he frequently spoke with the tenderest affection, taught him to read, and at the age of sixteen he learned to write, his first lessons being given to him by a kindly collier who taught him to write on the coal face down the pit with a piece of chalk, and in after life he would recall the days when his studies were pursued with the aid of the storekeepers' placards and the open pages of books seen through the storekeeper's window. He first entered the pit at the early age of seven years, being employed first as a "trapper," and afterwards at digging coal. To understand Hardie you must know something of the story of his blighted childhood. Let me give a story in his own words in an article in the Scottish labor paper Forward on the New Year before he died.

"The year 1866 was nearing its close. Owing to a lockout in the ship-building yards on the Clyde, my father had been out of employment for nearly six months. The funds of the union were so exhausted that the benefits were reduced to one and sixpence and two shillings a week. I was the only breadwinner, being employed by a high-class baker in Lancefield Street, Glasgow, for three and sixpence a week. My hours were from 7 a.m. till 7.30 p.m., 12 1-2 hours each day. I was the eldest of a family of three, and the brother next to me was down with fever, from which he never recovered, though his life dragged on two or three years thereafter. As most of the neighbors had children, they feared coming into the house because of the danger of contagion, and my mother, who was very near her confinement, was in delicate health.

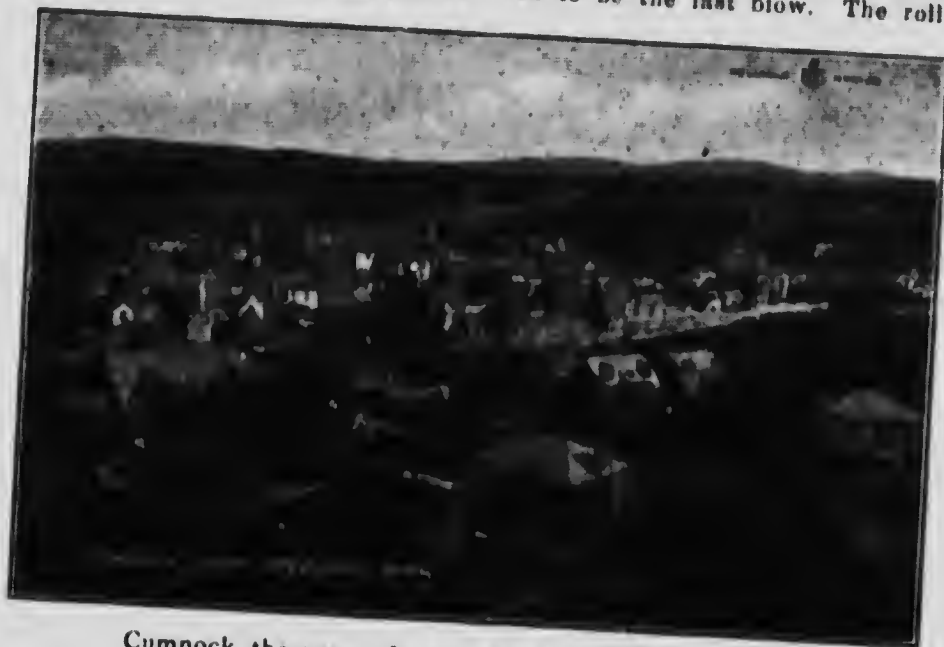
"It was the last week of the year, Father had been away two or three days in search of work. Towards the

end of the week, having been up most of the night, I got to the shop fifteen minutes late, and was told by the young lady in charge that if it occurred again I would be punished. I made no reply, I couldn't. I felt like crying. Next morning the same thing happened—I couldn't tell why, but that is neither here nor there. It was a very wet morning, and when I reached the shop I was drenched to the skin, barefoot and hungry. There had not even been a crust of bread in the house that morning.

"But that was pay day, and I was filled with hope. 'You are wanted' stairs by the master," said the girl be-

I therefore dismiss you, and to make you more careful in the future, I have decided to fine you a week's wages. And now you may go!

"I wanted to speak and explain why I was late, but the servant took me by the arm and led me downstairs. As I passed through the store the girl in charge gave me a roll and said a kind word. Out in the rain I wandered round the streets most of the day. I knew my mother was waiting for my wages. As the afternoon was drawing to a close I ventured home and told her what had happened. It seemed to be the last blow. The roll was



Cumnock, the scene of many of Keir Hardie's triumphs

hind the counter, and my heart almost stopped beating. Outside the dining-room door a servant bade me wait till 'master had finished his prayers' he was much noted for his piety). At length the girl opened the door, and the sight of that room is fresh in my memory even as I write, nearly fifty years after. Round a great mahogany table sat the members of the family, with the father at the top. In front of him was a very wonderful coffee boiler in the great glass bowl of which the coffee was bubbling. The table was loaded with dainties. My master looked at me over his glasses and said in a pleasant voice: 'Boy, this is the second morning you have been late, and my customers leave me if they are kept waiting for their hot breakfast rolls.

Page Four

still under my vest, but soaked with the rain. That night the baby was born, and the sun rose on the 1st of January, 1867 over a home in which there was neither fire nor food, though, fortunately, relief came before the day had reached its noon. But the memory of these early days abides with me, and makes me doubt the sincerity of those who make a pretence in their prayers. For such things still abound in our midst."

Can you wonder, then, that after years found Keir Hardie such an advocate of the feeding of school children, so that no child might feel the pangs of hunger as he had experienced it in his childhood days.

For seventeen years he worked as a miner, educating himself all the time.

And the first book that he mastered when he was thirteen years of age was —what do you suppose— "Sartor Resartus"—after which a course in Ruskin, Burns, Henry George must have been mere child's play. At a later date he published his "Precursors of Henry George" in Glasgow, and no more considerate publisher could the aspirant of authors have reasonably demanded.

He became active as a trade unionist and was appointed miners' agent. Somewhere about the year 1880 he left Lanarkshire and came to Ayrshire, having received an appointment as miners' organizer for Ayrshire, and he took up his residence at Old Cumnock. He at once set to organize the miners of that district, and his efforts laid the foundation of the strong position on which the Ayrshire Miners' Union stands to day. While he was acting as miners' organizer Mr. Hardie became district correspondent for the Cumnock News, a localized edition of the Aberdeen and Saltcoats Herald and thus gained an early experience in journalism which afterwards stood him in good stead. He conducted the Cumnock News with considerable ability, giving bright, racy reports of all the local events and contributing in addition a special column of mining notes under the pen name of "Trapper," which proved extremely popular and greatly increased the circulation of the paper in all the mining district of Cumnock. The only other paper in Cumnock at that time was the Cumnock Express, a localized edition of the Aberdeen Observer, which was conducted by the late Mr. A. B. Todd, author of "Covenanted Scenes." Mr. Hardie and Mr. Todd were cast in entirely different moulds and frequently fell foul of each other in their respective organs. Mr. Hardie greatly enjoyed the "Cumnock News" which were often times a bitter and acrimonious fashion both of them descending to personal recriminations and invariably losing sight of the original question at issue. Mr. Todd has left it on record in his Autobiography that one magazine would try to chastise a crocodile with a silk whip as to make the clever Scottish Keir Hardie wince by the most of things that could be written about him. While writing for the News Mr. Hardie started a little magazine called the Miner, and this was really the precursor of the Labor Leader, which for many years he owned and edited though

to now in the hands of the Independent Labor Party. All this time Hardie devoted himself most assiduously to his own self improvement. He read very extensively and wrote a good deal and for a long period he rarely spent four or five hours out of the twenty four in bed. He revelled in Carlyle and John Stuart Mills. He dabbled in philosophy, theology and science, he had a great fondness for the Scottish national songs and ballads and had a remarkable knowledge of general literature. Locally he took a great interest in politics, religion and temperance. He became too advanced for the members of the local Liberal Association some of whom declined to appear on the same platform with him at a political meeting because they claimed he was scattering the seeds of socialism broadcast. His first church connection was with the Congregationalists. There he was leader of a secession. The little congregation was almost rent in twain over some domestic trouble about the minister. Mr. Hardie by the way whose sympathies lay with the minister, left with a minority and formed a branch of the Evangelical Union. Their place of worship was on the second storey of a tenement. The services for a time were conducted by hymen and oftener by Mr. Hardie than anyone else. He made a good appearance as a preacher and it was thought by some of his friends that he might blossom out into a full fledged minister. Mr. Hardie was an ardent temperance worker and started a branch of the Good Templar Order which flourished for a number of years and he was a powerful speaker on the question of temperance and it was quite an open secret in those days that he on more than one occasion had declined a permanent appointment as a lecturer of the Scottish Temperance League. After taking to journalistic work Mr. Hardie began to learn shorthand and he gathered around him a number of young lads whose minds had a similar bent. They met together once a week in a room in the schoolhouse and Mr. Hardie who was a little further advanced than the rest in the "winged art" gave them lessons on the blackboard. It was a usually helpful class and most of the members ultimately were awarded the certificate for proficiency. Several became expert stenographers and are to day using this useful shorthand with in professional and commercial life.

CHAPTER II.

One thing which has signalized this Congress is the beginning of the revolt against Broadhurst & Co., for Hardie was the only speaker who spoke against the tactics of the (Liberal) Labor M. P.'s.

(Thomas Browning in William Morris' "Commonwealth," 1887.)

At 19 years of age Hardie was prominently known in Scotland as a powerful agitator in the workers' interest and often addressed meetings with Alexander MacDonald, M.P., who was a prominent Labor leader of the old liberal school and MacDonald, after introducing Hardie at the miners' meetings referred to him as one of the coming Labor leaders of the country.

In Lanarkshire he was victimized because of his opinions and went to Ayrshire as a newspaper reporter because no colliery in the country would employ him. In Old Cumnock he was prevailed upon to accept the position as secretary and organizer of the Ayrshire Miners' Trade Union, and it was here that he demonstrated his ability as a fighter and organizer on the workers' behalf.

At that time in that district the coal companies run co-operative stores in connection with their collieries, and they made it compulsory for every worker to buy his groceries and provisions at these stores, and at the end of the year paid a dividend on the goods purchased. But every customer was also compelled to sign a paper that if they moved away from the district before the year ended they forfeited their right to any dividend. With the result the Coal Company a couple of months before the year ended absolutely paid reduced wages to the miners—especially those with big families—who were scared to quit for fear that they would lose their dividends at the co-operative stores. Keir Hardie instituted law proceedings against this company for withholding dividends from the workers, with the result judgment was given in favor of the men, making it illegal to sign documents that they would forfeit their dividends if they quit working at the colliery.

Another case which Hardie fought in the Law Courts was known as the "Four o'Clock Case." It was the rule that when the miner descended into the pit at 7 a.m. he was not permitted to come up again until 4 o'clock p.m. This

was before the eight hour bill had ever any hope of being placed on the statute book. If he was suddenly taken ill, say, at 9 a.m., he had to wait until 4 p.m. before he could get up the pit to go home.

Hardie fought this case with the aid of a young lawyer named "Andrews," who had just commenced practising law in Old Cumnock, and was anxious to make some showing, as it was his first case. Keir Hardie sat beside him during the trial and kept continually handing him notes of what to say, which resulted in upsetting the judge that he did not know where he was at and he gave judgment in favor of the men getting up at any time, though it was found out two years later that he had given a decision which the law of the land did not back up.

The coal company would not supply the material to the men in order to have proper ventilation in the mines, which resulted in many men taking chronic bronchitis as a result of inhaling foul air. The men in desperation began to carry out to the mines bed clothes, which they used instead of lattice cloth (which the company refused to supply) in order to get a little fresh air at the coal face when working. Keir Hardie drew the attention of R. B. Cunningham Graham to the disgraceful situation. Mr. Graham was then the parliamentary representative of North Lanarkshire (and while a member of parliament had been converted to Socialism and Labor politics). The case was discussed in parliament, and Keir Hardie became very popular with men who chose him to represent them at the British Trade Union Congress at Swansea, as the representative of the Ayrshire miners, where he first came into national prominence.

The Swansea Congress was held in the year 1887, just two years before the great dock strike of 1889, the spirit of which vivified the drybones of the trade union movement.

For it should be borne in mind that in the decade following the passing of the second Trade Union Act in 1876 the trade unions had become more and more stolid, had paid an ever-increasing attention to benefits and steadily decreasing attention to that social revolution which was their essential aim. Strikes were discouraged and every kind of industrial action that was likely to be embarrassing to the employers was looked at askance, while the

political. . . the unions had forgotten the words of Robert Owen and the ideals of the Chartists and had handed themselves over entirely to the leadership of Mr. Gladstone. Their politics as well as their economics had ceased to be their own; they had become the politics and economics of the middle class.

Once the dock strike of 1889 had sent its spirit throughout Great Britain it became difficult to realize how reactionary a condition was the trades unionism of 1885. It was two years before this great dock strike that Keir Hardie spoke before the Swansea Trade



Keir Hardie as he appeared before the Swansea Congress in 1887

Union Congress and was greeted with ridicule. His speech was practically a motion for a vote of censure on Mr. Henry Broadhurst, M.P., who was then secretary of the Congress. On a point of procedure the attack was squashed. Later, on the question of "Labor Electoral Representation," Mr. Hardie renewed the attack. He quoted a case where Mr. Broadhurst, M.P., had supported the candidature of a man who was an employer of the worst type. Keir Hardie pointed out that it was impossible to advance the cause of labor if this sort of thing took place. His speech created an uproar. A heated debate followed, and Mr. Broad-

hurst received much applause, when he held up Mr. Hardie to ridicule. He asked how long Mr. Hardie had found this new code, how long had he been the apostle of purity of election, how long had he sacrificed his life to trade unionism and politics, that he should rush to Congress and to the Congress and him (Mr. Broadhurst) especially as to what he should and what he should not be in the matters of politics (cheers). . . . He should like Mr. Hardie's good opinion—(hear, hear)—but he was not going to purchase it at the risk of apologizing to him as to his political conduct and humbling himself at his feet and telling him that before he made another political speech, he would go to the high prophet and priest from Ayrshire and ask his blessing and direction in the enterprise. (Ras of laughter.)

And, as a writer in the "Labor Leader" puts it years afterwards: "Though this was the temper of the Congress Mr. Hardie's efforts were not in vain. It only needed someone to say it for the trade unions to understand that they could not blow hot and cold out of the same mouth.

There was another sentence in Mr. Broadhurst's speech in which he said that he was not aware that either Mr. Hardie or the man he represented had made sacrifices for the labor movement. Thirty years later we can re-read that sentence, drop the negative, and say that all the workers throughout the world are aware of the great sacrifices made for the great labor movement both by Mr. Hardie and the men he represented.

Thirty years ago it was true to say the miners of Great Britain had done little for the labor movement. To-day the case is reversed, and the labor movement of the United Kingdom would be in a sore plight if it had to do either without the miners' organization or the miners' leaders.

When Hardie returned home from Congress he put his ideas to the test in Cwmnock by announcing his candidature for the "County Council" in opposition to Mr. R. B. Angus, director and manager of the "William Baird Coal and Iron Company," who it was thought no one could beat, as he was considered such a strong man. The election was run on straight class lines and to the surprise of everybody Hardie won over his capitalist opponent by a large majority. The result of this elec-

tion was really the birth of Independent Labor Representation in the United Kingdom.

CHAPTER III.

Six months after Keir Hardie had stood at the Swansea Congress and advocated independent political action he fought his first parliamentary contest on April, 1888, which was the first parliamentary labor contest with the declared object of forming a working-class party holding allegiance to neither of the two capitalist parties. The idea that the working class, socialist and non-socialist alike, form a separate political section of the state first emerged in Hardie's Mid-Lanark campaign.

His opponent, the official Liberal, Sir George Trevelyan (now Lord St. David) was eager to get into Parliament, and he offered Hardie four hundred (\$2,000) a year and a safe seat somewhere else if Hardie would withdraw from the contest. Needless to say, the offer was rejected and Hardie polled 712 votes, but the contest aroused a controversy on the question of labor representation that spread throughout the land. Arising out of that controversy the Scottish Labor Party was formed in August of that year.

The Scottish Labor Party's first conference was a very miscellaneous assembly. Several communists of the William Morris type took part, but not a single trade union was represented. A manifesto was issued to the workers of Scotland explaining the objects of the new party and the following extracts will give an idea of the lines upon which it was proposed to proceed: "The attitude of the official Liberals makes it unmistakably clear that they care nothing for the interests of Labor, except in so far as they can be made subservient to those of the middle class. Liberals are eager to use our political power against Tory landlords, but they are afraid that in the hands of outsiders and independent men the same weapon may be turned against the social injustices of which Labour is the prey. We do not intend any longer to be merely tools for political tricksters.

"Hitherto the workers of Scotland have been kept divided in the political field, fighting against each other under the banner of Whig or Tory, for party

objects, which, with the exception of such acts as those already mentioned, have been of no value to labor. If any workman doubts this, let him figure out how much his actual condition would be improved if the whole programme of the Liberals or of the Conservatives, or both together, were made law to-morrow. Some may argue that by and by the so-called "party of progress" will adopt labor reforms as part of its policy, as it has adopted home rule for Ireland. Our reply is that when men die of hunger, as they are doing to-day, no delay can be permitted, and that if the workers of Scotland want labor legislation they must, as the Irish have done, form themselves into a concrete political party and give the other political parties no rest nor peace until their demands are conceded.

"The first step to this end is the formation of an Independent Labor Party, which will rally at the polls the forces of workers and of those who sympathize with our efforts.

"It has been by acting in this way that the Irish people have secured the almost undivided attention of Parliament, and have obtained relief from some of their greatest grievances. It is by acting this way that we in Great Britain shall make Parliament alter the present condition of affairs, in which every twentieth inhabitant is a pauper, a million men are out of work, one-fifth of the community is insufficiently clad, what are known as starvation diseases are rife among large classes, and in which one-third to one-half of the families of the country are huddled together six in a room. In the name of those who suffer from those evils we call on you to enroll yourselves in the Scottish Parliamentary Labor Party, and to assist it in carrying on its programme at the next election in your division."

Their programme, some of which has found embodiment in legislation, and it is interesting to know the S. L. P. was the first party in Britain to advocate the payment of members, the miners' eight-hour bill, old age pensions, and provisions of meals for school children. The programme—here it is:—

- (1) Adult suffrage, with abolition of plural voting.
- (2) Triennial parliaments; elections to be all on one day.
- (3) Simplification of registration laws, so as to prevent removal

from one constituency to another disfranchising a voter.

- (4) Payment of member by the State, and of official election expenses from the rates.
- (5) Home rule for each separate nationality or country in the British Empire, with an Imperial Parliament for Imperial affairs.
- (6) Abolition of the House of Lords and all hereditary offices.
- (7) A second ballot.
- (8) Nationalization of land and minerals.
- (9) Labor legislation: (a) An Eight-Hour Bill; (b) Abolition of the present poor law system and substitution of State Insurance to provide for sickness, accident, death, or old age; (c) arbitration courts, with power to settle disputes and fix a minimum wage; (d) weekly pays; (e) homestead law to protect furniture and tools to the value of £20 from seizure for debt; (f) application of the factories and workshops acts to all premises, whether public or private in which work is performed.
- (10) Prohibition of the liquor traffic.
- (11) No war to be entered upon without the consent of the House of Commons.
- (12) Free education; boards to have power to provide food for children.
- (13) Disestablishment.
- (14) Reform in the system of civic government and abolition of sinecure offices and pensions.
- (15) Simplification and codification of the civil and criminal law.
- (16) State acquisition of railways, waterways, and tramways.
- (17) National banking system and the issue of state money only.
- (18) Cumulative income tax, beginning at £300 per annum.

R. B. Cunningham Graham became president of the Scottish Labor Party, Dr. G. B. Clark vice-president, and Keir Hardie hon. secretary, and at the general election in 1892 ran about a dozen candidates, all of whom were badly defeated.

The propaganda of an independent party had spread from Scotland across

the border to England amongst the most active groups in town and cities in organizing labor parties were in London, Bradford, Halifax, Keighley, Huddersfield, Leeds, Manchester, Liverpool, Bolton, Oldham, Leicester, Nottingham, and Birmingham, which merged into the Independent Labor Party when it was founded as a national organization at Bradford in 1893.

CHAPTER IV.

In 1892, Keir Hardie contested West Ham as a Socialist candidate, when the flag of socialism was raised in earnest; and so vigorously was the battle pressed that the Liberal candidate was beaten from the field, and when the poll



—Labour Leader

Hardie first carried the Unemployed Problem to the House of Commons

opened it was a clear-cut issue between the champions of the people and privileges. It was a momentous struggle, the result of which carried consternation into the ranks of the twin enemy. It sounded the clarion cry to labor to "come out from among them," to choose their own leaders, raise their own standard, and march to their political emancipation. Keir Hardie was the victor; the returns showed a majority of 1,232 in his favor, which the capi-

talist press had to give to the public—that the first man to run, and be elected on a socialist ticket, was James Keir Hardie.

From that day to the time of his death the press reviled him, lied about him, and I heard him say one time in my presence, that when the press began to speak the truth about him he would ask himself, "O Lord, what have I done against my country."

The day Keir Hardie entered the British House of Commons the press contained the statement of his entry, and that he had sat during the session with a cap on. In fact, some newspapers went so far as to show pictures of Hardie sitting besides all the other members in parliament with his cap on. A statement which never had any truth in it. On April 1914, in the Manchester Guardian, Hardie replied to an article which the paper had on himself on the occasion of the twenty-first anniversary of the founding of the Independent Labor Party. Here is the account of his first entry to parliament, told to the Manchester Guardian by himself:

"The brass band, of which so much has been heard in connection with my first entry to the House of Commons in 1892, and of which I have seen pictorial illustrations, including the big drum, consisted of one solitary cornet. The facts are these: The dockers of West Ham had decided that I should go to Parliament in a coach like other M.P.'s, and had actually raised money for the purpose. When, however, I declined their offer, they resolved on a beano of their own, whereupon they hired a large size waggonette to drive me to Westminster, from which to give me a cheer as I entered the gates and, good, honest souls, invited me to a seat therein. Only a churl could have said to them nay. The cornet player "did himself" proud on the way from Canning Town, and the occupants of the brake cheered lustily as I was crossing the palace yard. The cornet may also have been used, though I cannot now for certain recall.

"The statement that I perambulated the floor of the House in my offensive cap until recalled to orderliness by the awful tone of Mr. Speaker Peel is without any foundation. In fact, I was walking up the floor to take the oath in conversation with Sir Charles Cameron, then one of the members of the City of Glasgow, who, with hands deep in his trousers pockets was wearing his hat.

He did not realize that it was against him that the speaker's cull was directed until I called his attention to the fact that he was wearing his hat, which he at once removed."

Mr. Frank Smith, in his booklet from pit to Parliament, throws further light on the incident. "On the morning of the opening of Parliament, some of his supporters, wage slaves every one—all honor to them—decided quite amongst themselves to put down a bob (25c.) all round and drive our member to the House in a carriage and pair. This took the form of a waggonette of the bean-feast variety, cornet man on the box seat to make it complete. To those who know the ways of the workers, it will be clear that this was a generous desire to show honor to the man who represented them. The conveyance drove to the house where Hardie was staying, while he was at breakfast, and the announcement was made to him for the first time: "We've come to take you to the House of Commons." These honest-souled fellows in the joy of their hearts sang all the way. "England Arise," etc., and on arrival at the House the cornet man was inspired to give tongue to the 'Marseillaise.' How dare any approach the sacred domains of parliament, in such unconventional fashion! And when after his arrival, he brought, and in addition pressed, the claims of the unemployed, no wonder they (the capitalists) howled at him, until in just indignation he finally denounced the 'fat beasts' who sought to silence by after-dinner abuse the voice that demanded the 'right to work' of every citizen, and the responsibility of the state in regard to the provision of the same."

The entrance of Hardie into the British House of Commons upset all conventionalities, for it was not until Keir Hardie entered parliament in 1899 that the British House of Commons was told that unemployment and poverty were matters of great national concern, as well as Church Disestablishment, or the reduction of income tax.

Nor did he fear any man if he believed the measure he advocated to be right even if in its advocacy he had to stand alone.

For instance, shortly after Hardie was elected a terrible mining explosion occurred in Wales, in which the toll of dead amounted to several hundred. At the same time a bill was introduced in parliament to give £10,000 (\$50,000) a

year to one of the sons of our present King George V., who was then only a few months old. Keir Hardie opposed this measure, and moved an amendment that the money be sent to the widows and orphans of the miners in Wales,



“QUEER HARDIE”

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who had lost their husbands and fathers with this terrible disaster. Parliament was shocked and, needless to say, no one voted for the amendment but himself. Newspapers ridiculed him, and *Spy* produced his famous cartoon in

Vanity Fair, “Queer Hardie,” which was reproduced all over the world.

The more opposition that Hardie found to confront him the greater became his determination to fight the workers' battles. For Hardie possessed that Scottish dauntlessness which enabled him to fight so hard to make the world better. He would often tell his audience that he came of a Covenanted stock, who had given their lives for the cause of freedom. For it is not generally known that a predecessor of Keir Hardie, by the name of Andra Hardie, was sentenced by the British Government (at that time under the administration of Sidmouth and Castlereagh), on July 6, 1820, to be hanged, and beheaded both, and that his body should be divided into four parts, to be disposed of as His Majesty should see fit, all because he dared to advocate the right of workmen to vote. And when on September 20th he was executed in the spacious square of Broad Street just under the walls of Stirling Castle, in the presence of a great assemblage of people, he spoke to the multitude as follows:—

“My dear friends, I declare before my God I believe I die a martyr in the cause of truth and justice.” His voice sounded clear and strong across the whole square, for an answering shout came back from the people, and the dragoons drew their swords, and the judge interfered to prevent Andra Hardie saying more in this strain. “My friends,” he continued, “I hope none of you are hurt by this exhibition. Please after it is over, go quietly home and read your Bible, and remember the fate of Andra Hardie.”

Twelve years later, during the rejoicings over the Reform Bill in 1832, when workmen were granted the ballot, his old mother had in her window:—

“The Cause is good, the prize is won,
But for the same
I lost my Son.”

Let me tell you another story to show that the dogged persistence which Hardie possessed was the gift of forbears:

One of his uncles, when a boy, as a result of an accident in the pit which affected his spine, was said to be doomed to lifelong incapacity. His mother—Keir's grandmother—unable to provide the necessary expert surgical treatment and yet determined he should have it, actually carried the boy of ten years of age eleven miles to and eleven miles

back to Glasgow infirmary twice a week for many a weary month, until at last maternal affection and medical skill triumphed. Is it, then, surprising that offshoots from such stock exhibit a spirit that "never says die."

CHAPTER V.

The election of Kier Hardie to the British House of Commons gave the Socialist and Labor forces a centre, a personality around which the Independent groups which had been struggling alone and spread all over the United Kingdom could gather. And no one realized this more than Hardie himself, and in order to make the advance of the working-class movement more effective and rapid and bring the theory in line with practical political action



—Labour Leader.

he rallied a few trusted comrades at the Trades Union Congress held in Glasgow, in 1892, who hoisted the political standard around which Labor could gather as an independent force.

A call was sent forth by these men for a national convention of Independent Labor bodies, socialist and non-socialist, all over the United Kingdom, to meet in Bradford, in 1893. One hundred and fifteen delegates attended that conference, amongst whom were Robert Smillie, president of Miners' Federation of Great Britain; Mr. Ben Tillett, general secretary of the Dockers' Union; Mr. Tom Mann, Amalgamated Society of Engineers; Mr. J. R. Clynes, Gasworkers' Union, and Mr. George

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Bernard Shaw. The conference adopted a socialist platform, declaring for the "collective ownership and control of all means of production, distribution, and exchange," and the "independent representation of labor in Parliament and public bodies."

Hardie presided at the conference, and in his opening address used these words:—

"The Labor movement is not an organization. It is neither a programme nor a constitution, but the expression of a great principle—the determination of the workers to be the arbiters of their own destiny. We are here, such as we are, such as circumstances have created us, the expression of an unborn dying determination on the part of democracy to insert itself in its own spirit and through its own methods."

In 1894 Hardie changed the monthly paper, which he owned, "The Miner," into a weekly paper, under the name of the Labor Leader, and in its first issue of March 31st of that year he wrote:

"We shall arrive—in fact we have arrived. The Labor Leader in the future will be what it has been in the past. All sorts of sham, all hypocrisy, humbug, cant, self-seeking, and dangerous abuse of power will be ruthlessly exposed and effectively dealt with. . . . The Labour Leader will, I hope, be a vigorous defender of the rights of the people. The duty of a leader is to lead just as the business of government is to govern, and the Labour Leader will endeavour to give a faithful lead to the democracy on all the great issues of the hour. . . ."

"By working all together we shall arrive."

In a later issue of April 14th he wrote "The success of the Labour Leader is now practically assured. In every part of the country it has 'caught on,' to use a colloquialism."

During the period of his editorship he conducted the Leader as a resolutely militant organ of Independent Labor and Socialist principles. His special article, "Between Ourselves," written by himself every week, was read with interest and widely discussed.

By 1904 the National Council of the I.L.P. was able to arrange with Hardie for the purchase of three-quarters of the shares of the Labour Leader, Hardie giving the I.L.P. complete control over the management and editorship of the paper, and entered into an undertaking

not to start a weekly journal again for a period of five years.

The success of the new National I. L. P. in its propaganda amongst the Trade Unions resulted in the adoption of a resolution by the Trades Union Congress in advocacy of an eight-hour day. This was a great advance when you take into consideration the fact that the trade unions discussed a year or so previous to that the advisability of demanding that Hardie be asked to resign his membership in the Trade Union movement for having the audacity to advocate eight hours a day for trade unionists.

In 1894, at the Norwich Trade Union Congress, on the motion of Mr. Greenall (Lancaster Miners), a member of the I. L. P., seconded by Mr. Tom Mann, and supported by Keir Hardie



—Labour Leader.

and the Right Hon. John Burns, a resolution in favor of socialism, was carried, the success of this resolution aroused a great deal of discussion in political and trade union councils.

In the election of 1895 Hardie lost his seat in West Ham in a campaign conducted by the capitalist press of misrepresentation. This defeat liberated him from parliamentary duties for active propaganda work with a tour to the United States at the invitation of the organized labor movement in that country. Mr. Frank Smith, in a booklet on Hardie, gives a fine description

of how Hardie took his defeat in West Ham.

"We're beaten, Keir," were the words a trusted comrade gasped out at the end of the exciting contest at West Ham, 1895 election.

"Even his opponents turned to see how he would take it." He just smoked on for a moment, unruffled and apparently unmoved. The dull roar of conflicting forces filtered through the windows as the watching multitude outside heard on the one hand of defeat and on the other of victory—a victory, by the way, brought about by the unholy alliance of pharisees and publican, backed by prejudice and privilege and wealth from outside sources, contributed in order to stem the tide of socialism.

"The reply came—quiet, calm, without a quaver—'Never mind, lad; don't lose heart; there's plenty of work to be done in other ways to hasten on the good time. We shall live to fight another day.'"

"He walked out of the room with a determined tread, the look on his face showing a fixed purpose—the saving of the workers from themselves. Even in the hour of disaster, he would have no denunciation of those who had been tricked into desertion to the enemy. 'They'll find out their mistake and won't be gulled so easily again. It only shows the need there is of more spade work. Let's get at it, laddies; the future is with us!'"

Such is the spirit of the pioneer!

CHAPTER VI.

"A rebel does not compromise, but cheerfully goes down to death if necessary, fighting for great principles. Hardie has done so, but his life has not been a failure. A righteous cause cannot fail.

Hardie was a great seer, a great chief, a king amongst men. He was not on the market. He could not be bought or sold, and his influence has kept the movement to which he was more closely related free from the wiles of the party politician.—Robert Smillie, president Miners' Federation of Great Britain.

The independent stand taken by Keir Hardie in regard to political action for the workers interested two eccentric old ladies by the name of Kippen, who began making enquiries

about him. They had heard that he was not good to his wife, and they decided that the best place to go for information as to the truth of that statement would be Hardie's mother-in-law. Reassured that he was a splendid husband, they offered Hardie, when he was returned a member of parliament for West Ham £300 (\$1,500) per annum so long as he remained in parliament, and they were much upset when Hardie refused the offer.

Hardie did not hear anything again of them for a number of years. But when he was elected to parliament for Merthyr Tydvil in Wales, and had become the leader of an independent working-class party in the British House of Commons, a donation of £1,000 (\$5,000) was made to the Independent Labor Party by the Misses Kippen, who entrusted to John Redmond, leader of the Irish Party, the honor of presenting to Keir Hardie the £1,000 for the Independent Labor Party to use. Later on a donation was made by them of £1,000 to the Irish Party. The cheque was given to Keir Hardie to present to Mr. John Redmond for the use of the Irish party. These two old ladies had the notion that the Socialist and Labor forces should be united with the Irish party in its work in the House of Commons, and they chose this method to get Hardie and Redmond together so as they would get acquainted.

When the ladies died in 1914 they bequeathed a legacy of £4,500 to Keir Hardie, and the same amount to John Redmond. Hardie handed his money over to the Labor Party, which was used to help the Daily Citizen, the daily paper of the Labor Party, which has gone out of existence since the war began.

It is not generally known that Andrew Carnegie, the steel magnate, sent to Keir Hardie £100 to help his election expenses. At the same time the workers in his steel plants in Pittsburgh were out on strike demanding a living wage. Hardie accepted the money and sent the \$500 to the strikers to help them in their fight for better conditions. That was the first and last donation of Carnegies' to the election fund of any working class candidate.

The defeat of Hardie at West Ham liberated him for special propaganda work all over the country. To strengthening and building up the I. L. P. into an efficient political organization and

finally on the invitation of the labor movement in the United States, he toured that country, delivering lectures on independent political action.

At that time Mr. Eugene V. Debs was lying in Woodstock jail, Illinois, for participation in the railway strike of 1894. When Hardie landed in the United States the committee that was conducting his tour wished him to go first to Niagara Falls and see one of the wonders of the world with its magnificent scene of rushing water which is now harnessed to supply light to many towns and cities, but Hardie expressed the desire to go immediately to see Debs the man who while in jail could issue from the prison the following manifesto to the American people in January, 1895:

"In going to jail for participation in the late strike we have no apologies to make, nor regrets to express. No ignominy attaches to us on account of this sentence. I would not change places with Judge Wood, and if it is expected that six months or even six years in jail will purge me of contempt, the punishment will fail in its purpose.

"Candor compels me to characterize the whole proceeding as infamous. It is not calculated to revive the rapidly failing confidence of the American people in the federal judiciary. There is not a scrap of testimony to show that one of us violated any law whatever. If we are guilty of conspiracy why are we punished for contempt?

"I would a thousand times rather be accountable for the strike than for the decision.

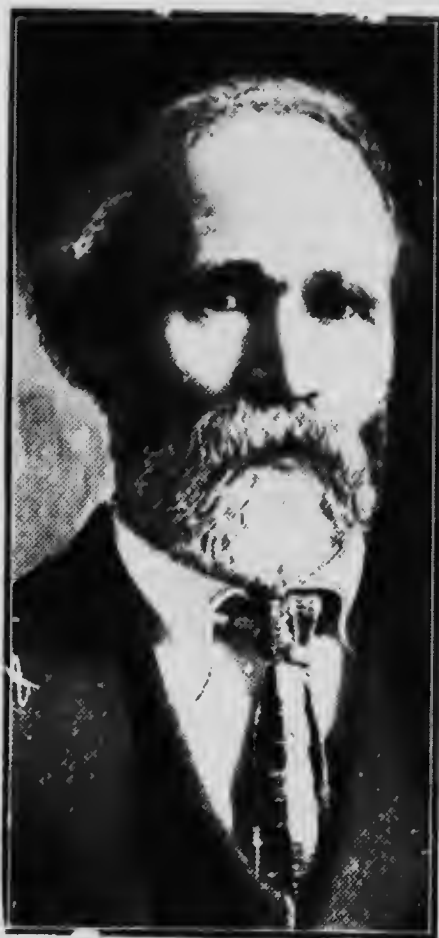
"We are by chance the mere instrumentalities in the revolutionary processes in operation through which industrial slavery is to be abolished and economic freedom established. Then the starry banner will symbolize, as it was designed to symbolize, sound, political, religious and economic emancipation from the thralldom of tyranny, oppression and degradation."

Hardie felt in an honor to go and visit a man who was willing to endure imprisonment rather than cease fighting on behalf of the workers.

When Hardie reached San Francisco he was invited to dinner one day by a gentleman whose name I withhold, but who was known as the Silver King in Frisco, who was one of the wealthiest men of that city.

At that time William Jennings Bryan was running for president of the Unit-

ed States, and the silver question was the issue on which the election was fought. The Silver King made a proposition to Keir Hardie in the presence of Mr. Frank Smith and the Rev. Mr. Scott, that when Hardie got back to the Old Country if he would make a speech favorable to the silver question which could be used in the United



J. Keir Hardie in 1899

States as being the opinion of the Labor movement in Britain, he would make a present of \$100,000 to the political Labor movement. Failing that, if he would deliver a favorable speech making it understood that it was his own personal opinion of the silver issue he would receive a personal gift of \$20,000. Smith and Scott looked across the table waiting to hear Hardie's reply. A smile spread over Hardie's face as he kept his eyes fixed on the man who was making the proposition, but

he only said that he never accepted of offers of that kind. Yet that night he walked through the street in San Francisco with his eyes heavenward, a clear conscience, and sixty cents in his pocket.

Returning to the Old Land he threw himself into the work of building the movement which he had founded, and in 1899 he published four pamphlets which created a sensation all over the country. The pamphlets were:—

“Lord Overtown, Chrome Charity, Crystals, and Cant.”

“The Overtown Horror.”

“Overtown Fictions.”

“More About Overtown.”

This Lord Overtown was the proprietor of a large chemical factory in Glasgow, whose specialty was the manufacture of chrome. Overtown was a very religious man. He was head of the United Free Church in Scotland, and was very interested in the saving of the souls of the people that they might get to heaven. So interested was he that he paid for a number of years the salary of the Rev. John McNeil (late Cooke's Church, Toronto) to go about the country holding revival meetings in order to save the people from their sin and wickedness. While in the factory which he owned he refused to provide the necessary equipment for the workers to wash their hands after working with the chrome, which is a very poisonous product.

The employees, having no facilities for washing their hands at dinner time, had to eat their lunch with their dirty, poisonous hands, which resulted in the chrome attacking their faces, and finally eating away the division of their nose. The men were at that time paid fourteen shillings per week. The pamphlets created a sensation, public opinion was aroused, and finally resulted in wash basins being installed in the factories and better wages for the workers were also secured.

CHAPTER VII.

In 1898, during the Welsh miners' coal strike, Keir Hardie accompanied by Robert Smillie addressed large meetings of the miners of Merthyr Tydvil regarding these meetings. A. Yates, editor of the Merthyr Pioneer, wrote, “That Hardie stumped the whole district advising the miners and putting stamina into their backs that was so

very necessary to the successful issue of the strike." The impression that he created then may best be gauged by the fact that when he fought his first parliamentary contest in Merthyr he was fighting for a seat in Preston coincidentally. These elections were fought during the heights of the jingo excitement of the Boer war. Hardie as also did Lloyd George, opposed the South African War and had conducted a stop-the-war campaign. In the midst of the war an election was sprung in the year 1900 and Hardie found himself nominated to contest two constituencies one in Preston, the other Merthyr Tydvil. Hardie did most of his campaigning in the Preston division, and he was only able to speak twice in Merthyr during the campaign, though Mrs. Paakhurst, who by the way, with her family, gained their political education in the socialist movement, addressed a number of meetings on his behalf. To the surprise of everybody he won in Merthyr over his opponent by a majority of 1741 though he was badly defeated in Preston.

As soon as it was known that Hardie had won in Merthyr he made his way back to his home in Cunnoek, where he had first been elected to public office

CUNNOEK, 12th October 1900

DEAR SIR OR MADAM,

A SOCIAL GATHERING will be held in the LEICESTER TOWN HALL on the evening of TUESDAY 23rd next to congratulate our townsman

MR J KEIR HARDIE

on his election to the House of Commons as Member for Merthyr Tydvil

YOU WILL BE SERVED AT 8 PM

Kind's notes, per return, either of the undersigned if you intend being present

JOHN COOK, *Wentworth, Kent*
JAMES HOWAY, *Barbich, Kent*

and the good true-hearted comrades held a reception to do honor to Hardie, who had again been elected to parliament. It was then that the writer heard him declare that if success had come it was his wife who should get the credit, for when he first entered parliament in 1892 his wife had kept the house and family on the meagre sum of twenty-five shillings per week. I can remember that gathering just as it was yesterday. One comrade got up and sang Hardie's favorite song, "Mary o' Argyle," so that when it came Hardie's turn to sing he was not to be beat, so he sang the

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Welsh song "Land of my Fathers." Councillor Neil presided, John Milligan on behalf of the Cunnoekians congratulated their esteemed townsman on his success at the polls, and Sandy Barrowman sang a song which he had composed for the occasion, to the tune of "When the King Comes Awre the Water."

We may suffer and 'thole their abuse,
And hear the auld, auld loein' story,
They may bluster an' blaw fu' crouse—
Imperialist, and Jingo Tory.
Ah, I ae'er could brook, I ae'er could
brook,
The cheek o' Chamberlain an' Arthur.
But things hae taen a briehter look,
For Hardie he's got in for Merthyr.

Since Gladstone was laid to rest
Our rulers hne been weak an' shollow,
They put oor patience to the test.
And preach a creed I canna swallow.
Noo, able men ure far between,
An' honest anes a hantle scarceer,
An' they will glower wi' a' their een
When Hardie tak's his seat for Mer-
thyr.

We've kent him lang la Cunnoek here,
An' prized him as a kindly neighbor,
While he's been travellin' far and near.
The trusted advocate o' labor.
Aa' Welshmen quick to see an' ken,
And judge a worthy individual,
Hae chosen him o' a' their men
To represent thair Methyr Tydvil.

The news frae Lancashire was fair—
We ae'er had muckle hope o' Preston.
They're aff the Tory creed down there,
An' dinna naanorstan' the question.
But taffy telegram next day
Made Milligan to dance and widdle.
Says he, wi' mony a hooch hurray,
I'm facing up to Martha Tiddle.

The victory of Hardie brought the Socialist movement again into prominence, and the British Trade Union Congress was able to take action following up the resolution passed at the Congress at Plymouth in 1899 which was placed on the Agenda by the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, and carried by a vote of 540,000 for as 434,000 against. Here is the resolution.

"That this congress having regard to its decisions in former years, and with a view to securing a better representation of the interests of labor in the House of Commons, hereby instructs the Parliamentary Committee to invite

the co-operation of all co-operative societies, socialist and other working class organizations, to jointly co-operate on lines mutually agreed upon on convening a special congress of representatives from such of the above named organizations as may be willing to take part to devise ways and means for securing the return of an increased number of labor members to the next House of Commons."

The conference of these organizations met in 1900, and was held in Farringdon Memorial Hall, London. It was attended by 130 delegates, representing a membership of 568,177. The proceedings were on the whole harmonious, and a basis for a constitution was drawn up.

Amongst those present were Mr. W. C. Steadman, M.P.; the Right Hon. John Burns, M.P.; Mr. J. Keir Hardie, M.P.; Mr. J. R. McDonald, M.P.; Mr. A. Wilkie, M.P., and Mr. Richard Bell, M.P., and other leaders of the various working class movements. The principle resolutions carried were two. The first resolution moved was: "That this conference is in favor of working-class opinion being represented in the House of Commons by men sympathetic with the aims and demands of the labor movement." To this Mr. George Barnes moved, seconded by Mr. John Burns, M.P., an amendment which added to the resolution the following words at the end, "and whose candidatures are promoted by one or other of the organizations represented at this conference." This was agreed to by 102 votes to 3.

Mr. Keir Hardie then moved "That this conference is in favor of establishing a distinct labor group in Parliament, which shall have its own whips and agree upon a policy which must embrace a readiness to co-operate with any party which for the time being may be engaged in promoting legislation in the direct interest of labor and be equally ready to associate themselves with any party in opposing measures having an opposite tendency, and further, members of the labor group shall not oppose any candidate whose candidature is being promoted in terms of resolution 1; "This resolution was agreed to unanimously. The conference then proceeded to elect a committee and secretary and to establish some rules to guide it.

In 1902 the I.L.P. nominated Mr. Phillip Snowden in the bye-election at Wakefield. Bruce Glasier in his mem-

orial tells how the I.L.P. met together to discuss the advisability of contesting the bye-election and how Snowden said, "Yes, I stand." A stream of spring sunshine suddenly flooded the room. "See," cried Hardie, "a promise from the sky. That means victory."

The contest was a straight fight between an I.L.P. and a Tory candidate, and aroused considerable interest and brought for the first time the official support of trade union leaders amongst whom were Richard Bell, M.P., of the Railwaymen's Union, who appeared on the I.L.P. platform. Snowden was defeated, though he polled 1,979 votes against 2,960 votes for the Tory.

Bruce Glasier reminded Hardie on the failure of the promise of the sky, but Hardie maintained the promise was fulfilled. "A victory over the Tory with no Liberal in the field would have been neither an I.L.P. nor a labor victory. The real victory is that we have compelled the liberal trade unionists to take their stand for labor on an I.L.P. platform against a Tory. When next we fight a Liberal they will have to stand with us then or explain why they won't, and then you will see what will happen. This contest is the making of a Labor Party. Do you not call that a victory, my boy?"

The union of trade union and socialist leaders at Wakefield paved the way for the election of Mr. David Shackleton, a trade unionist and a nominee of the labor representation committee, which was followed by the election of Mr. Arthur Henderson (a trade union nominee) at Barnard Castle in a three-cornered contest. Then came the bye-election at Norwich, when an I.L.P. candidate was put up. Here was the test for the trade unionists. Would they stand together when the candidate was a socialist and support the mandate of the British Trade Union Congress? Mr. C. H. Roberts (now Minister of Pensions in the British Cabinet) was the candidate. Mr. Arthur Henderson and Mr. David Shackleton rallied to the support of C. H. Roberts, but Mr. Richard Bell would not, and urged the electors to support the Liberal. His action created a ferment and at the annual conference of the labor representation committee they adopted its famous "independence pledge" which all labor M.P.s. and candidates were bound to sign and which pledged them to abstain strictly from identifying themselves

with or promoting the interests of any parliamentary party not affiliated or its candidates.

CHAPTER VIII.

On August, 1900, the strike of the Taff Vale Railway occurred, when an injunction against the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants was applied for and obtained.

An appeal to the House of Lords resulted in the decision that trade unions were liable for the actions of their agents. This was followed by



Mrs. Keir Hardie

the Taff Vale Railway Company taking action to recover damages from the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants when the court decided against the latter, and damages and costs to the extent of \$115,000 had to be paid.

On the top of that came the revelations regarding the Chinese labor question in South Africa. Public opinion was aroused and resulted in the labor representation committee returning to Parliament at the general election in 1906 thirty members and following this success at the polls the L. R. C. changed its name to that of the Labor Party.

In recognition of Hardie's work as

pioneer and founder of the labor party he was chosen as its leader in 1906 the chairmanship of the labor party proved a seat of misery to him, though he prized the honor of being first titular leader of the new party vacated the chair after two years a feeling of one liberated from his

In 1907, owing to the state of health, Keir Hardie made a tour of the world, coming first to Canada, then Japan, thence to China, India, Australia and New Zealand, returning to the latter country the labor party the city of Johannesburg invited him to address a public meeting, and the interests organized a demonstration to break up the meeting.

In the riot that occurred the laborer rescued the British flag which was being trampled by an excited mob. Hardie brought the flag back to London with him, and anyone visiting his room at Neville's Court could see that it hanging on the wall beside the table where Hardie did most of his writing. This flag he kept as a memento of his visit to South Africa.

His visit to Canada led him to oppose what he termed as "organized immigration," protesting that there were hundreds of acres of good land in Britain on which the people could be placed. Some of his speeches on India advocating a system of self government caused the capitalistic press of both Britain and India to snarl. Speeches were published and accredited to him which he never delivered all in an attempt by the capitalistic journalists to assassinate him politically while he was investigating the facts regarding the people in India. Returning to the House of Commons after his tour he delivered a powerful plea in the house on behalf of the Indian people, of which Charles Duncan, M.P., says:

"I remember once listening to a speech he delivered in the house shortly after his return from his world tour. He was speaking on the Indian question. I was much impressed with the quiet dignity and force, coupled with the detailed knowledge he displayed of his subject. Shortly afterwards I was stopped in the lobby by a Liberal member, who asked me if I had heard Hardie's speech. I said 'Yes.' 'Well,' replied he, 'that speech alone was worth all the money his long journey had cost him.' The compliment was kind, but well merited."

Katharine Bruce Glasier tells the story of how when Hardie was in India he visited an Indian village and drew from a little dark-skinned schoolboy the tragic finding that all his food that day was a tiny poke of dried millet seed, scarce two spoonfuls of that which India's wealthy rulers feed their canaries, and Hardie's tears fell on the little fellow's upturned face so that the rumor ran round the Indian village that a God had come on earth again.

In 1910 the miner's organization came into the labor party, which increased the Parliamentary members to forty. The following table will show all the organizations which comprise the labor party:

Socialist Organizations.

- Independent Labor Party.
- British Socialist Party.
- Fabian Society.

Industrial Organizations.

- Trade Unions.
- Co-operative Societies.

With the labor party now a factor in politics, what was Hardie to do but to go about the strengthening the organization he had brought into existence. Hardie became to the people a man of sorrows and acquainted with their grief, and he would often in his public meetings in the industrial centres say:

"Your wrong is the wrong of society to-day. No politics are worth an honest man's touch that do not seek to right it. Show the will, the way, and the hand will be there. Poverty for willing workers is in modern Britain a crime. Out of the Liberal party, out from the Tory party! Together let us build up our own labor party and our own labor politics. True to each other, true to ourselves, there is no earthly power that can resist us, and God will not, for God is on our side."

Then see him with arms outstretched and in clear warm voice would come the familiar appeal:

"Come now, men and women, I plead with you for your own sake and that of your children, for the sake of the down-trodden poor, the weary sore-hearted mothers, the outcast, the unemployed fathers, for their sakes and for the sake of our beloved socialism, the hope of peace and humanity throughout the world. Men and women I appeal to you,

come and join us and fight with us in the fight wherein none shall fall."

In his book, "Prophets, Priests and Kings," Mr. A. Gardiner tells a good story of Hardie. One day when Mr. Hardie was entering the House of Commons a policeman stopped him. "Are you at work here, mate?" he asked. "Yes," was the laconic reply. "On the roof?" "No, on the floor." And Hardie passed in happy in the pride that would not reveal itself. An Englishman adds Mr. Gardiner, would have wanted the policeman's number and would have had his day embittered by wounded vanity.

In the long passages of a sketch of Mr. Hardie in the second volume Mr. Gardiner writes: "It goes without saying that there is a strain of poetry in him, for poetry is in his blood. The prophet does not only see the naked fact, he may have the vision gleam. It goes without saying too that it was the power of Burns with its fierce democratic passion and its gallantry of the humble and sincere that appealed most to him. One who heard him lecture on Burns told me that it revealed to him a world of unsuspected tenderness and emotion in the heart of this rugged, uneducated sing man."

But indeed it must be so. It is the fierce antipathy of the theorist that the world sees deep down in his being. These weaknesses are seen to lead their roots in sympathy as fierce the sympathy with the class from which he sprung from which he never deserted.

CHAPTER IX.

"Send me to parliament to work for the souls of those for whom Christ died."—J. Keir Hardie, in speech during election at West Ham, 1892.

"I doubt if since the days of the Chiphum sect there has been a closer mixture of religion and politics in any one individual. He represented the exact antithesis to the German Atheist Socialist. It was only gross blindness of many of his political opponents which prevented them from seeing this and caused them to attribute infidel motives which they did. They were the real infidels who would not believe that God would work His will through the unorthodox. May God give us a few more 'atheists' like Keir Hardie!" —Canon J. G. Adderley.

"He had a great fund of tenderness in himself and when one touched it one had revelations of a character possessing a grave beauty and sweetness of its own."—Christian Commonwealth.

In all that has been said and written about Hardie, one strange thing is evident; the persistency with which his name is linked with that of Christ, and the necessity his biographers feel of using Biblical terms in describing him. As a patriarch or apostle out of the heroic days of Christianity he towered among men. His witness to the compelling power of Christ's religion will never lose its strength."—Christian Socialist.

After the return of the labor party with a larger representation in parliament in 1910, Hardie gave more of his time to preaching the Gospel. In the same year Mr. William Ward, president of the National Council of Pleasant Sunday Afternoon Brotherhood, appended to Keir Hardie to visit France in order to proclaim the Gospel of Jesus Christ from the Social viewpoint, so at Whitsuntide over two hundred and fifty members of the brotherhoods and sisterhoods banded themselves together and at their own expense accompanied Keir Hardie to proclaim the Gospel of the Nazarine to the working class in the manufacturing districts of Lille and Leige. So early on Whitsunday morning this band of workers headed by the Upper Norwood Temperance Band, foregathered in the great square outside the railway station at Lille when the band then played a few selection of sacred music and were eagerly listened to by a vast concourse of people. The party then made their way not to the palaces and mansions of the rich but following the example of the Master, to the headquarters of the workers where the poor dwell. They were to meet at Bourse du Travail where the working class organizations of the district were waiting to receive them. So dense was the crowd in the streets that it was with difficulty that they were able to reach the spot. Arriving at the place they had a remarkable reception. Large banners had been prepared which were carried in the procession. They were as follows, the words being in French:

"We represent five hundred thousand English workers."

"All for each and each for all."

"Jesus Christ leads and inspires us."

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"We proclaim the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man."

"Our basis is the teachings of Jesus Christ."

"We invite you to the meeting at Bourse to make our acquaintance."

This demonstration was headed by Mr. William Ward and Keir Hardie, arriving at the hall an official welcome was given by M. Delroy, member of the Chamber of Deputies for Lille to whom Mr. Ward responded and conveyed the greetings of the British brothers to the French audience. Pasteur Nick one of the leading clergymen in Lille spoke the most significant pronouncement of the day was made by Hardie when he declared that the impetus which directed him in his life's work had been derived more from the teachings of Jesus Christ than all other sources combined and he finished up with the remarkable statement that "we have sown on this continent the seed of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. It may have to be watered with tears and even made weedy with blood but a hoastiful harvest is sure to be reaped."

At the conclusion of the address Mr. Ghesquiere rose and sang "L'Internationale," and as he finished the last verse the audience joined in the chorus:

"Tollers from on end fields united,
The party v... ll who work;
The earth be... us the people
No room here... e sick.
How many on our flesh have fattened!
But if the noisome birds of prey
Shall vanish from the sky some morning
The blessed sunlight will stay.

Chorus.

"Tis the final conflict, let each stand
In his place.

The international party shall save the
human race."

The British delegates responded by singing "All Hail the Power of Jesus' Name."

Regarding this meeting Professor Paul Passy wrote an article entitled "The Dawn," in the monthly issue of the L'Espoir du Monde, a translation of one of the passages will give you the view of Professor Passy concerning this gathering.

"The most important feature was the fine speech by Mr. Keir Hardie, embodying in magnificent language both the social and spiritual aspirations of the working classes and indicating what

...attitude should be with regard to Christ. In spite of its beauty, however, it was not the speech which interested me most. It was the attitude of the crowd of these some two thousand socialist workingmen who listened to this teaching so new to them; it was this that I observed with such a keen emotion. It was easy to follow the feelings with which they were animated. At first they listened with wonder then they were perplexed, then began to mistrust. These men spoke of Jesus Christ, of the Gospel; were they 'gammoning'? Was it not some ruse, some dodge to wheedle these poor men in order to put them in bondage of some other form of ecclesiasticalism?

They were soon reassured, however. This man with the strenuous and yet kindly aspect was it not their Keir Hardie, the old collier whose devotion to the working classes had been affirmed a thousand times? Were not those who were gathered round him Delory and Ghesquiere their own socialist members of parliament; V. Renard, the well known authority on labor question? No! There was no need to fear, a trap, they might rest assured that their own impressions would guide them correctly.

And then, marvelous thing! The religious instinct awakened in these poor men, all the stronger perhaps, because it had been lying dormant for so long a time; and they heard with increasing interest the Christian statement of the orators. Then the interest turned to approval which gradually became more and more ardent, and towards the end of Keir Hardie's speech it was with stampings of enthusiasm that these men who both call themselves and believe themselves to be materialists cheered the words of the old Scotch tribune on the fatherhood and the work of Jesus Christ. For a moment it seemed as if the people had rediscovered theiravior.

However I feel that I am perfectly right in saying that a breach has been made in the thick ramparts of prejudice which separates our people from the true gospel. All those who applauded the orator at Lille can now say in all sincerity: it is not true that a man who believes in God, who loves Jesus Christ, is necessarily a participator in exploitation and tyranny. A man can say as Keir Hardie said, 'that it was the spirit of Christ which leads men to take up the cause of the oppressed

without being a hypocrite or imbecile.'

Returning from France we find Hardie at a later period addressing the Progressive League at Manchester at which he said:

'When I want to demonstrate what religion can do for a people in establishing the kingdom of God I point to the flowers of the fields, to the birds of the air, and I ask why it is if God made the flowers so beautiful and the birds so full of joy that mankind is so burdened with sorrows and suffering? The reply I give is that if men want to release God's life in themselves they must lay themselves in God's hands as do the flowers of the field and the birds of the air. The man who is engrossed in business equally with the man who is engrossed in toil, is closing the avenues through which God is seeking expression. When I hear good people talking of reform from within I picture to myself the children born in districts where the song of the bird is never heard, where there are no green fields and bright flowers, where poverty reigns supreme, where the only playgrounds of the children are the hard stone streets. What chance is there for these children to develop big souled lives worthy of their creator?'

In the preface in the book on labor week at Browning Hall Mr. Herbert Stead has this to say regarding the speech Hardie delivered during the labor week:

'But the most overpowering witness borne to the supreme value of the gospel came from the lips of the founder of the labor party. As he spoke one seemed to see the hammer of Thor in the hands of the Christ. He was the Covenanter, the evangelist. . . . When he spoke of the comradeship of Christ as the rock that never yielded in the darkest and most stormy times, one felt the experience and conviction of a life time were bursting into speech. . . . Here was the leader of labor, the creator of the Independent Labor Party, who had fought his way to the House of Commons, and after years of obloquy and abuse had succeeded in gathering around him a party powerful far beyond numbers which had left a deep impress on the course of legislation.' He announced himself as ready to sacrifice everything in order to proclaim afresh the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

This is the man whom his opponent circularized his constituency declaring

ch was an atheist one time and when he visited his constituency accompanied by his daughter to address some meeting a man got up and accused Hardie of being an atheist. Is it any wonder that before he could reply his daughter was on her feet saying, "shame on you! shame on you, to say that about the man who taught me to lisp the Lord's Prayer!"

Since the days of Christ till Hardie came upon the scene there has not been anyone who from both the religious and economic standpoint fought the battle of the opposed and downtrodden as he did. Truly he was the voice in the wilderness preparing the way and making the paths straight for general economic justice.

CHAPTER X.

"He was a brave and true man who led the people in the way he thought right, uncaring for the personal consequences."—Right Hon. Andrew Fisher, High Commissioner of Australia.

"Take him for all in all, he was a MAN; we may not look upon his like again."—R. C. Wallhead.

"He was Scots—Scots to the very marrow of him. Introspective, logical, minded, but effusively kind, generously sympathetic and magnanimously charitable. That was why he is great; this is why he loomed big in the hearts of his fellows."—Forward, Glasgow.

Few people realize that Hardie pioneered the first political party in the United Kingdom to promote the candidature of women for election on public bodies, and is at present the only political body in the United Kingdom to elect women on its national executive.

The second conference of the I. L. P. in 1894 adopted women's enfranchisement as one of the first measures on its programme, and elected Mrs. Katherine Bruce Glasier a member of the national council. Since then the national council has never been without one or more women members.

For the weak, despised movements Hardie was always ready to do propaganda and agitate to win the people to their support. The greater the misrepresentation by their opponents the harder did Hardie fight. This was noticeable in the Labor Party and Women Suffrage movements, but when people began to speak well of them and when money and support were easily

obtained for their work Hardie's enthusiasm for them began to cool though he did not leave them.

The I. L. P. has been the cradle of women of the United Kingdom starting out on their political career. It was the I. L. P. that Carlyn Martin began her great work and likewise Isabel Ford. Mrs. Parkhurst and her daughters first started their career in the I. L. P. Then who has not heard of Margaret McMillan, who has done such splendid work for the medical care of children, and Mary MacArthur (Mrs. W. C. Anderson), one of the leaders of the trade union movement among women. Mrs. Pearce (who wrote in the Labour Leader as Lily Bell), Enid Stailey, Mrs. Philip Snowden, Mrs. Ramsey MacDonald and Margaret Bondsfield, all great advocates of women's enfranchisement, commenced their careers on the platform of the I. L. P.

On the public platform Hardie never failed to say a word on behalf of women's rights to full citizenship. Here is a quotation from one of his speeches:

"The admission of women to citizenship on terms of political equality with men is with me a sacred principle, and I would not wish to be in association with any movement or party which could be guilty of the unfairness and injustice of denying to women those rights which men claim themselves."

In 1905 Hardie issued a pamphlet entitled "The Citizenship of Women," which was a plea for women suffrage and in 1906 Hardie introduced a motion in the House of Commons to enfranchise women. In January of 1907 the Labor Party conference met in Belfast and rejected a motion in favor of the Parliamentary Labor Party taking up Women Suffrage. But that did not hinder Hardie from advocating for the right of women to vote. For, after all, the working-class are a peculiar people and a most difficult people to deal with, and Hardie's success with them was that he continually threw out challenges to them, though, notwithstanding this continual ring of defiance, there beat in his breast one of the tenderest of hearts.

His challenge to them on their action at Belfast appeared in the Labour Leader on 1st February, 1907. Hardie said:

"The Labor Party is too much a part of myself, has too many years of my life in it, to make severance from it a light matter, but I cannot be a party to an act of injustice. . . . Democ.

may mean the rule of the majority, and the majority at Belfast, under a misapprehension due to a sense of irritation. I think, pronounced against the enfranchisement of women. But woe betide the day in the life of a nation in which its public men have not the **courage to sacrifice place and popularity at the call of conscience.**"

On Feb. 26, 1915, which, I think, was one of the last speeches Hardie made on the floor of the House of Commons, he protested against the introduction of child labor in agricultural districts. Let me give a few quotations from that speech:

"Every child between the age of five and fourteen is nominally entitled to such education as the public school can give. There always has been a certain amount of strife in many agricultural districts between those who desire the children to be allowed to remain at school until they are fourteen and those who want cheap labor of the children for their farms. It now looks as if the latter were becoming the more powerful and were obtaining the approval of the Government. That is a very serious situation." Hardie then proceeded to quote cases of children working in districts at the age of ten and eleven years taken from a document submitted to the Board of Education by Miss Susan Lawrence, and concluded his speech as follows:

"We put forward as our first claim that a living wage should be fixed by law, if need be, or, at any rate, by Wages Boards.

"We demand that suitable cottages be provided for agricultural laborers. We now have all sorts of Acts and all sorts of Departments for this purpose, and it cannot be expected that agricultural laborers are going to be content to live the kind of life in the future that they have lived in the past.

"There is a proposal upon which I do not know whether my colleagues would be unanimous, but which I feel might be used to great account in solving this problem for the war period. I refer to the employment of women. I can remember in Scotland my own mother, who was a farm servant, often at work after she was married, with her children growing up. I have seen her employed in the fields at kinds of work that I would not like to see women employed at now; but there is much work about a farm which is perfectly respectable and clean, and which calls for a

certain amount of intelligence, such as milking, the handling of milk, the making of butter, and many other occupations which a woman can do with advantage to herself and to others. But the average woman brought up in the town has lost all instinct for, and all contact with, the life of a farm.

"Then, if we are to permanently solve this problem, there must be a fresh land policy. This country cannot afford to allow its land to be sacrificed and its laborers degraded to perpetuate an old-time system of private ownership. Before the agricultural problem can be solved some form of common local ownership and co-operation amongst producers will require to be adopted."

Hardie was not the disgruntled, deontionalized advocate of an impracticable cosmopolitan industrialism, as generally conceived. Indeed, nearly all affirmations commonly made affecting Hardie require a liberal insertion of oots. The limelight in which he lived so long succeeded in distorting the real man almost beyond recognition. The late Morrison Davidson, writing on Hardie, says: "When we met . . . the conversation had a delightful disposition to turn on the 'auld Scots ballads' chapbooks, and folk lore, with which he was surprising conversant. Even in literature proper his taste was choice, and some of his fugitive compositions which I have perused had the touch of a master style rather than of a literary amateur."

When Morrison Davidson published his book on Scottish men and affairs Keir Hardie wrote him the following letter:

"My Dear Friend,—It is a pleasure for me to know that an edition of your valuable articles to 'Reynold's' on Scottish men and affairs is about to be issued in volume form. I am of those old-fashioned people who place considerable value on national life, customs and languages. These are all the growths of the ages, and as such are a part of our very being, and not to be lightly regarded or set aside. No better means for retaining all that is best in the life of a nation has yet been devised than that of a National Parliament, through which national sentiment finds expression and embodiment in the laws of the land. Fletcher of Saltown doubtless hit upon a great truth when he said: 'Let me make the songs of the people, and who will may make their

laws'; but after making full allowance for all the truth there is in the saying, the fact remains behind that the makers of the laws are evolved from the singers of the songs. That is to say, in anything approaching a national system of representation, such would be the case. When, however, the men elected to make the laws are alien in thought and feeling to the people and form but a small section of some far-off Legislative Assembly, then all national feeling languishes, and finally dies out. This is what is happening in Scotland; for which reason, if for no other, I am and have been from the beginning, a hearty advocate of Home Rule.

"That the passing of years may mellow the wisdom which comes from your active brain, and strengthen and increase your power as a faithful Lender of Democracy, is the heart's wish of your sincere friend,

"J. Keir Hardie.

"House of Commons, Aug. 11, 1903."

That letter shows the real Hardie—Man and Statesman.

Hardie was happier in his own home, at his own fireside, than he was anywhere else; and it was there that he found the nearest approach to the peace that he longed for in his days of weariness and longings, almost literally, for a lodge in some vast wilderness as he once phrased it, "ten miles from everywhere." But these longings were only visions, for the spirit that was in the man constrained him to go forward, fighting all the road, till he wore himself out and till he had to accept the longer rest, the permanent rest, the only rest he ever could have accepted or that could have compelled him into the mediative retreat apart from man, the antithesis of the life that he lived for between thirty and forty years in the very storm centre of political events. He looked a weary man too. "I don't live," he would say, "I exist." These interludes of sheer physical reaction, these wearinesses of the spirit, are the adjuncts that are inseparable from the exhaustions of strenuous life and are by no means uncommon to men of high-strung natures. Sitting one day in a little village inn, the remark was made to a prominent Irish agitator, "You look tired." "Tired!" he replied, "I'm just so tired I declare to God I could lie down and die at this very moment if it weren't for the cause that

is at stake." Part of the price that men such as these have to pay "weariness often."

N.B.—Mr. Morrison Davidson, famous Scotch writer, who for years sat in the press gallery of the British House of Commons and wrote the front page editorial in Reynold's Newspaper for thirty years.

CHAPTER XI.

In 1913 Hardie was presented by his constituents with an illuminated address by the workers of Dowlais Valley in appreciation of his labor on behalf of the workers, and in reply said "that he hoped it never could be said of old Keir Hardie that he had been unfaithful to the interests of the workers. It was then he revealed to the public that the doctor had warned him that he had not long to live, and any great shock would have a disastrous effect. In the same year he was elected Chairman of the I. L. P., in order to preside at the coming of age conference. This was in addition to holding the chairmanship of the British Section of the International Socialist Bureau, which includes the Labor Party, the Independent Labor Party, British Socialist Party, and Fabian Society. Here we come to Hardie's work as an internationalist, for no story of Hardie can be complete without describing some of his activities in the great working-class movement all over the world.

In 1888 the eyes of the world began to turn toward Paris, for the following year would be the centenary of the French Revolution. The suggestion was put forward almost simultaneously by the various working-class and Socialist groups in Britain, France, Germany, Holland, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark to hold a great working-class Congress to proclaim the new hopes of economic emancipation and demonstrating the world-wide unity of the working class. No sooner, however, did the project begin to take shape than a feud sprang up between the rival Marxists and Possibilists section in France as to which section should invite and control the proposed gathering. In consequence of this split, two rival Socialist and working-class congresses were held in Paris in July, 1889. The Marxist congress was attended by the majority of the Continental Socialist parties, and amongst those present were Guesde, Lafargue,

Liebknecht, Bebel, Vollmar, Dr. Adler, Ansele, and other famous leaders. Britain was represented by William Morris, Right Hon. John Burns, Cunningham-Graham, and Mrs. Annie Besant. Keir Hardie sympathies did not confine themselves to any one section, as he attended both conferences. The Possibilist Congress was the larger gathering of the two, though both congresses urged the workers to agitate for an eight-hour day, a minimum wage, prohibition of child labor and unhealthy occupations, the abolition of standing armies. May Day was instituted by a resolution of the workers to celebrate the first day of May as a universal holiday, in order to demonstrate the internationalism of the working-class.

At the Amsterdam Congress (1904)—which was held during the Russo-Japanese War—the opening of the congress made a great impression on Hardie, for no sooner had the chairman declared the Congress open than Katayama of Japan and the Russian delegate marched to the platform and embraced each other as a token of friendship between the Socialists of the two countries. At the Copenhagen (1910) unemployment and militarism formed the chief topic. A resolution was presented condemning militarism and war and insisting that Socialists should oppose all increase of armaments and do all they could to prevent war. Keir Hardie, on behalf of the British and part of the French section, moved an addition, recommending that in the event of an outbreak of war a general strike, especially in industries which supply war material. This was opposed by George Ledebour, on behalf of the Germans, and was eventually rejected by the congress on the understanding that the proposition should be circulated by the International Bureau for discussion in the various countries. The results of this discussion were to be presented at the congress to be held at Vienna on September, 1914, which was prevented by the outbreak of war. A resolution in favor of Socialist and Trade Union unity and co-operation was unanimously adopted.

The following table will give congresses held since 1889:—

- 1889—Paris, 350 delegates.
- 1891—Brussel, 350 delegate.
- 1893—Zurich, 400 delegates.
- 1896—London, 800; British, 472.

1900—Paris, 500 delegates.

1904—Amsterdam, 500 delegates.

1907—Stuttgart, 500 delegates.

1910—Copenhagen, 587; 33 nations.

In 1912 a special meeting of the congress was held to discuss on November 28, 29, and 30 the war situation in the Balkans.

Keir Hardie during his chairmanship of the I. L. P. was the means of bringing unity with the British Socialist Party, who came into the Labor Party, thus bringing in the extreme wing in the Labor movement, which resulted in the Labor Party having every section of working-class thought represented in the political movement of the workers.

Towards the end of July of 1914, when Europe was overshadowed with war, in response to a hurried summons by the International Socialist Bureau, Keir Hardie, accompanied by J. Bruce Glasier and Dan Irving, attended a special meeting of the International Socialist Bureau at Brussels (Belgium). The meetings were also attended by Jean Jaures, Adler, Haase, and Morgan. Four resolutions were passed. The first was that the I. S. Congress fixed to meet in Vienna should in consequence of a state of war in Austria be held in Paris, and that the date should be August 9, 1914. The second resolution was that the subject of "The War and the Working Class" should have precedence over the other subjects on the agenda. In the evening a great anti-war demonstration was held in the Crique, when Emile Vandervelde presided, and the speakers included Jaures, Haase, and Hardie. After the meeting a great procession was formed. Thousands of men and women with banners and songs marched through the streets, almost every man and woman displaying a card with the words, "Guerre a la Guerre" (war against war). Forty-eight hours later on, returning to Paris, Jaures was assassinated.

In Great Britain large demonstrations were held all over the country in order to protest against Europe being plunged into war, and a manifesto was issued by the British sections of the International Socialist Bureau.

"The long-threatened European war is now upon us. For more than a hundred years no such danger has confronted civilization. It is for you to take full account of the desperate situation and to act promptly and vigorously in the interest of peace.

"You have never been consulted about the war.

"Whatever may be the rights and wrongs of the sudden, crushing attack made by the militarist empire of Austria upon Serbia, it is certain that the workers of all countries likely to be drawn into the conflict must strain every nerve to prevent their governments from committing them to war. Everywhere Socialists and the organized forces of labor are taking this course. Everywhere vehement protests are made against the greed and intrigues of militarists and armament mongers.

"We call upon you to do the same thing here in Great Britain upon an even more expressive scale. Hold vast demonstrations against war in London and in every industrial centre. Compel those of the governing class and their press who are eager to commit you to co-operate with Russian despotism, to keep silence and respect the decision of the overwhelming majority of the people who will have neither part nor lot in such infamy. The success of Russia at the present day would be a curse to the world.

"There is no time to lose. Already by secret agreements and understandings, of which the democracies of the civilized world know only by rumor, steps are being taken which may fling us all into the fray. Workers, stand together, therefore, for peace. Combine and conquer the militarist enemy and the self-seeking Imperialists to-day, once for all.

"Men and women of Britannia, you have now an unexampled opportunity of showing your power and rendering a magnificent service to humanity and to the world. Proclaim that, for you, the days of plunder and butchery have gone by. Send messages of peace and fraternity to your fellows who have less liberty than you.

"Down with class rule Down with the rule of brute force Down with war! Up with the peaceful rule of the people!

Signed on behalf of British Section,
International Socialist Bureau:

J. KEIR HARIDE, M.P.) Chairman.
ARTHUR HENDERSON, M.P. (Secy.).

A few days later war between Great Britain and Germany was declared, and the I. L. P. National Council, which included Keir Hardie, issued a manifesto concerning the war, part of which said:

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"To us who are socialists the workers of Germany and Austria, no less the workers of France and Russia, are comrades and brothers; in this hour of carnage and eclipse we have friendship and compassion to all victims of militarism. Our nationality and independence, which are dear to us, we are ready to defend; but we cannot rejoice in the organized murder of tens of thousands of workers of other lands, who go to their death and be killed at the command of rulers to whom the people are as pawns.

"The war conflagration envelops Europe; up to the last moment, we labored to prevent the blaze. The nation must now watch for the first opportunity for effective intervention.

"As to the future we must begin to prepare our minds for the difficult and dangerous complications that will arise at the conclusion of the war.

"The people must everywhere prevent such territorial aggression and national abasement as will pave the way for fresh wars; and throughout Europe the workers must press for frank and honest diplomatic policies controlled by themselves, for the suppression of militarism and the establishment of the United States of Europe, thereby advancing towards the world's peace. Unless these steps are taken Europe, after the present calamity, will be still more subject to the increasing domination of militarism and liable to be drenched with blood.

"We are told that International Socialism is dead, that all our hopes and ideals are wrecked by the fire and pestilence of European war. It is not true.

"Out of the darkness and the depth we hail our working-class comrades of every land. Across the road of guns we send sympathy and greeting to the German Socialists. They have labored unceasingly to promote good relations with Britain, as we with Germany. They are no enemies of ours, but faithful friends.

"In forcing this appalling crime upon the nations, it is the rulers, the diplomatists, the militarists, who have sealed their doom. In tears and blood and bitterness the greater democracy will be born. With steadfast faith we greet the future; our cause is holy and imperishable, and the labor of our lands has not been in vain.

"Long live Freedom and Fraternity!
Long live International Socialism."
When this manifesto was issued, which denounced the rulers, but show-

el sympathy with the working people in this dark hour of tragedy, the capitalist press immediately howled against Hardie, calling him pro-German and every other name to prejudice him in the eyes of the public. But what was the effect of this manifesto in Germany? It encouraged Liebknecht to stand out in defiance of the armed autocrats, making them shrink and pale, and which finally brought Haase and Ledebour on his side, protesting against the violation of Belgium, and calling on the people to down the military cast in Germany.

To his intimate friends Hardie said, "Through lack of physical strength, I am unable to fight for a just peace as I did during the South African War, but stick to it, lads; we'll win through yet. When the peoples come to their own senses again there will be a tidal wave for humanity. The entrenchments against war, capitalism, and oppression will be built higher up."

CHAPTER XII.

The war weighed heavily upon Hardie. The fact that his lifelong dream, his fondest hopes were shattered in an hour, broke his heart. "It is hard to begin all over again," he would say. Rest was ordered, but one might as well ask the Niagara Falls to remain still. For him activity was life. He made every effort to rest, but of no avail. The great crisis was ever present in his mind, but the fact that the working people that he loved so much and had given his life for were at one another's throats hung over him like a cloud which would not go away. In the *Merthyr Pioneer*, February 28, 1915, Hardie wrote of a chance meeting with Lord Morley:

Passing along the lobby the other day I met a familiar figure, the outstanding figure of the trio who resigned from the Ministry rather than soil their consciences by the blood shedding in which we are now engaged. He stopped and shook hands with me. "You have been ill," he said. "What was the matter; was it the war which so weighed upon your soul and spirit that it made your body sick?" I had to smile a vague assent to the question. "The war," he said, "when will it all end? What shall we gain? If we lose, we shall pay an awful penalty; if we win, the penalty will be greater still."

He sighed as he walked away with the weight of eighty gathering years bending his shoulders. I stood and watched the retiring figure, and thought to myself: there goes the last of England's great statesmen. To-day it is not statesmanship or principle which actuates those who hold office. They are as completely under the power of the capitalist as any ordinary member of the Stock Exchange.

At the Norwich conference of the I. L. P. Hardie spoke for the last time to the National Conference though few realized it at that time, and protested against the imprisonment of 53 seamen in Russia for no other offence than belonging to a trade union (shame). Their secretary was illegally arrested in Egypt he was sent to Russia, and there sentenced to Siberia. Some of us tried in the House of Commons to get Sir Edward Grey to intervene or at least to have him tried in Egypt. Mr. Hardie continued: "Grey then said that this country could not interfere with the political affairs of another country. One of the biggest risks we run is being allied to a nation whose past and present record is a disgrace to civilization and progress. The alliance with Russia (under Czarism) is not to help Belgium. It is to open up fresh fields for exploitation for capitalists. We register our protest against all the infamies of the bloody cruelty of Russia." (Applause).

In the evening in the Labor Institute a large gathering was addressed by Mr. F. Jowett. Mr. J. Ramsay McDonald and Keir Hardie and as they spoke through the open window came the strains of the national anthem. A local clergyman fully berobed was leading his choir in loyal protest against these men who was giving utterance to the eternal verities of love and peace and internationalism, and protesting too in the name of the Prince of Peace.

When Hardie spoke it was noticed that he spoke quietly and without his accustomed fervor. "Twenty millions of men," he said, had been engaged in slaughtering each other. That in sane simple terms is what war meant. (Hear, hear). Who were these men? The upper and middle classes were taking their share, but the great bulk of them were the sons, brothers, and fathers of working men. Workmen were engaged in the war, workmen were supplying the munitions of war. If they had said, "we have no quarrel,

and will neither go to war nor make the munitions of war" there would have been no war. (Applause). Therein lay the solution of the problem, to get the workers to say that and to act upon it. (Hear, hear).

"In times of war one would have thought the rich classes would grovel on their knees before the working classes who are doing so much to pile up their wealth," continued Mr. Hardie. "Instead, the men who were working 84 hours a week were being libeled, maligned and insulted and on the authority of the employers, the lying word, accepted without inquiry by Mr. Lloyd George went round the world that the working classes were a set of drunken wasters (shame). That was the reward they got. The truth was the shifts could be arranged so as to overtake all the work on hand. Mr. John Hill, the secretary of the boiler-makers, had shown that if the shipbuilders would reduce their contracts ten per cent. the government would get all their work done, but the shipbuilders would not do that because ships were being sold at two and three times their value before the war. (Hear, hear).

"The one force left in Britain, the one streak of light in the dark gloom of national life was the message and the mission of the I. L. P. Here and there a minister of the Gospel was standing by the teachings of Jesus, and the number was growing. The invasion of Belgium by Germany was a horrible atrocity, but we did not enter war for the sake of Belgium. The Times had frankly stated we were in the war for our own selfish interests. The duty that lay before the I.L.P. was to so change the conditions of industry and of society as to make it impossible for the curse of war again to descend upon the world." (Applause). This speech was delivered on the Saturday evening, and on Monday afternoon he received the following telegram from Mr. Lloyd George, who was then Chancellor of the Exchequer:

"In your speech at Norwich on the 4th inst., you are reported to have used the following words, 'Instead of those men who were working 84 hours a week being praised and backed up and supported, they had been libeled, maligned and insulted, and the lying word on the authority of Mr. Lloyd George went all round the world that the British working classes were a set of drunken

bullies.' Would you kindly let me know where and when I am supposed to have uttered any such word or any thing that would justify so monstrous a deduction? Lloyd George."

To this telegram Hardie immediately replied:

"I pointed out that the employer when before you, concerning output of armaments, etc., had put the whole blame on the drinking habits of the workers, and that you, by accepting this statement without challenge, had given world currency to the fiction that the workmen were drunken wasters. I never said 'bullies' nor have I seen the report from which you quote. Keir Hardie."

Mr. Lloyd George, after asking Hardie for an explanation and after receiving a plain denial of the charge from Hardie, used the same plainly denied statement as a text for a long letter in which he accused the I. L. P. leader of "reckless association, wild accusation, mischievous statement, excited prejudice" and took pains to point out he had only referred to a small section of the working class.

In a spirited reply Hardie pointed out that Mr. Lloyd George had been strangely silent concerning the strong protests which had been made by the other critics. For instance, Mr. John Hill, the secretary of the Boiler-makers' Society, said:

"Language is quite inadequate to express our reply to the libel, particularly on riveters, which was the principal headlines in all our newspapers. Worse than the libel is the statement of the chancellor: 'I am convinced what you have told me simply represents the truth.' The tales told by the Shipbuilding Employers' Federation are the same misrepresentations, exaggerations, and contradictions that we have heard from them many times. They are the tales they usually gave us instead of money when we meet them in conference on wage questions. On the few occasions when drinking and the loss of time has been reported to us investigations have been made, sometimes with a joint committee of employers' and workmen's representatives. Eight per cent. of the charges have been unwarranted and untrue. We are, therefore, grieved that the chancellor on an ex parte statement, should have come to the conclusion and committed himself to the grave statements which he made."

Sir Benjamin Brown, supported the boilermakers' secretary in a letter to the Times. Sir Benjamin wrote:

"I can fancy few things more painful and disheartening to the workmen than to find themselves, as a class, condemned as a drunken, thriftless people, and I quite agree with Mr. J. J. Hill, of the Boilermakers' Society, that it is very wrong to malign the majority who are doing their best. I think myself that where work is really severe, as in rivetting, we ought to be careful in pressing men to work too long hours. For example, I think continuous Sunday work is a mistake. This is the opinion of most of my brother employers. To get the best work over a long period out of a man (or a horse) they should never be overtired."

This was the last controversy Hardie ever took part in, and his contention that exhaustion and overstrain were more responsible for slackening in the output than drink, and very often were themselves the causes of the latter evil was borne out in a government investigation shortly after Hardie died.

CHAPTER XIII.

Keir Hardie's whole life was devoted to the uncompromising defence of the interests of the working classes to the battle against war, and to the unflagging effort for the freedom of the people and the reconciliation of nations.—Emile Vandervelde, Chairman International Socialist Bureau.

After the Norwich conference of the I.L.P. Hardie's medical attendant advised him to rest. He journeyed to his home in Cummock (where it was thought that the change might revitalize him, but as the weeks passed it became clear that his work was done. Later on he went to Glen Leano, on the Isle of Arran, and returned shortly after that to his brother's house at Clarkston, Glasgow, where pneumonia developed and on Sunday afternoon, Sept. 1915, he passed away. A few days later his last remains were borne to the Glasgow Crematorium where his father and mother were cremated eight years before; both father and mother died on the same day.

The following Sunday, in the St. Andrew's Hall, Glasgow, thousands were unable to get inside to the memorial service. The Glasgow Socialist Choir,

led the people in the singing of that beautiful hymn:

Calmly, calmly lay him down,
He has fought the noble fight,
He hath battled for the right,
He hath won the unfading crown.

Kind and gentle was his soul,
Yet it glowed with glorious might
Filling clouded minds with light,
Making wounded spirits whole.

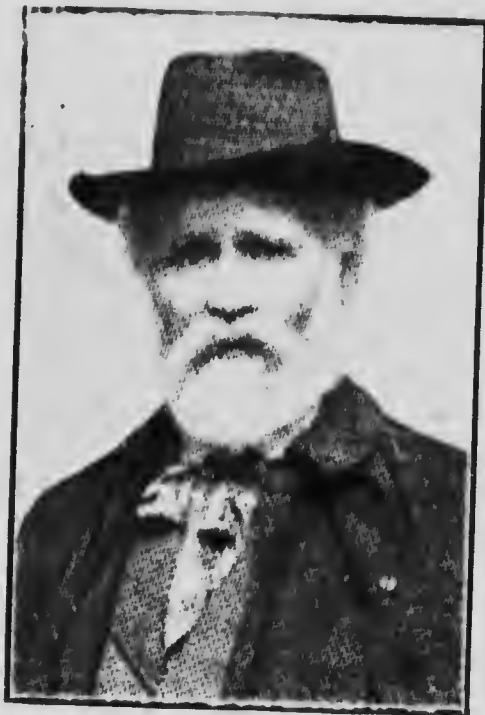
Dying, he can never die,
To the dust his dust we give;
In our hearts his heart shall live,
Moving, guiding, working, aye.

Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald, Bob Smiley, and Miss Mary MacArthur were the speakers. Smillie declared "that the war killed Hardie as surely as if he had fallen in the trenches. He died at fifty-nine, but he lived more in fifty-nine years than another man might live in five hundred years."

The same evening, at Old Cummock, where for over thirty years Hardie made his home, the Rev. J. Spence Robertson, the minister of the Established Church, which is the State church, made reference to the late Mr. Hardie:

"Believing it to be the duty of every Christian church, and especially of the national church, to rise above all prejudice, narrowness and partisan ship in the presence of death, and to recognize worth and greatness wherever they are found, I desire to make reference today to the removal by death from this district of one who is generally acknowledged to have been a 'great personality', the late Mr. Keir Hardie. The press references I have seen were all highly appreciative and very sympathetic. One could not read them, however, without wishing that these kind things had been said to the living Keir Hardie, and not to the dead. They might have helped and cheered him. But the world has always been inclined to stone its prophets while they were alive, and after their death, build sepulchres in their memory as a salve to its troubled and guilty conscience. In a letter I received the other day from an old friend, who is now in other parts, the writer alludes to Mr. Hardie's death and says: 'He was a much-abused man, and infinitely superior to many of his detractors.' Such abuse, it must be remembered, is simply the penalty which greatness has to pay. No

man animated with high ideals and determined to carry them out, can hope to escape. The case of our Savior is the highest illustration in point. That Mr. Hardie committed many indiscretions of speech, his best friends are ready to admit; but that only means that he was human. Many of the wrongs against which he fulminated had been burned into his soul by the red hot iron of bitter experience, and under such conditions men are apt to speak



J. KEIR HARDIE, 1915

wildly. It is simply marvelous what he accomplished, although I daresay he was a disappointed man. Keir Hardie's name is a household word all over the world to-day, and had he enjoyed the advantages of many who sat in the same House with him there is no saying to what heights he might have risen. One is touched by the pathos of

his life which began so sadly and ended so suddenly. Our hearts go out to the tender child of seven, cuffed upon to bear burdens which would not now be permitted to be laid on such young shoulders. Even as a boy and youth he seems to have been robbed of those joys that ought to be their common heritage. Probably Keir Hardie was misunderstood by many because he was known to few. Besides, we can never know a man we hate. Love alone can reveal man's heart and God's. Those who did know him say he was a kindly and a loving man, and where he was best known in the bosom of his own family, he was much beloved. We could all have wished that he had been spared a little longer to enjoy the leisure he so richly deserved, but heaven has willed it otherwise. We sympathize with those left behind to mourn his loss, and pray that they may be abundantly comforted by the memories of their dear departed and by the grace of God, who is still 'the husband of the widow and the father of the fatherless.' "

Without a doubt the death of Hardie was a great loss to the nation. He was the seer and prophet of the new social order. He was the doughty champion of social righteousness, fired by the loftiest religious passion and fervor. More than any other living man, he called to mind Amos, Micah and Hosea, those stalwart and uncompromising prophets of far-off ages. For a generation Hardie had been in the life of a nation as a mighty impetuous torrent of social cleansing and redemption, a man sent from God to lead the people into the "Land of Promise." During his life he shared the prophets' fate: persecution and misunderstanding. Many hurled the contumelious stone, but when in future days we get the right focus of these times, he will rank as one of the saviors of the race. His life and work will be as a city set upon a hill that cannot be hid. Many yet unborn will sing his praises.

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