

Archives of the British Labour Party

Series Editor:

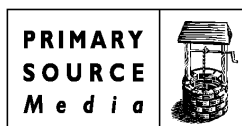
Stephen Bird

Librarian/Archivist, National Museum of Labour History

A temporary guide to accompany the microfilm collection

General Correspondence and Political Records, Part 9, Section A: The J.S. Middleton and Arthur Henderson Papers

General Correspondence and Political Records, Part 9, Section B: The Marion Phillips Papers and Ellen Wilkinson Scrapbooks



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Part 9, Section B:
The Marion Phillips Papers and Ellen Wilkinson
Scrapbooks**

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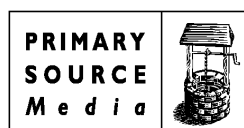
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This Title Information Sheet is issued with the silver-halide microfilm collection *Archives of the British Labour Party, General Correspondence and Political Records, Part 9, Section A: The J.S. Middleton and Arthur Henderson Papers and General Correspondence and Political Records, Part 9, Section B: The Marion Phillips Papers and Ellen Wilkinson Scrapbooks* published in 1998 by Primary Source Media Ltd

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PRIMARY SOURCE MEDIA LTD
50 Milford Road
Reading
Berkshire RG1 8LJ
England
Tel: +44 (0)118 956 8844

PRIMARY SOURCE MEDIA INC.
12 Lunar Drive
Woodbridge
Connecticut 06525
U.S.A.
Tel: (203) 3972600

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General Correspondence and Political Records, Part 9, Sections A and B:

The J.S. Middleton, Arthur Henderson and Marion Phillips Papers (including the Consumer Council Papers) and Ellen Wilkinson Scrapbooks

Taken together, these four collections give an all round picture of the Labour Party in the period 1919-1939 and as such supplement material already made available by Primary Source Media, namely the War Emergency Workers National Committee, Part 3 of this series, the Women's Labour League collection, Part 4 and the Labour Party Subject Files, Parts 5 and 6. There is now available a continuous historical record in correspondence, as well as committee minutes from the Labour Party's foundation in 1900 to the beginning of the Second World War. J.S. Middleton, Arthur Henderson and Marion Phillips all worked for the Labour Party in the immediate aftermath of the First World War when the Party, armed with the national organisation under the new constitution, started to make effective electoral headway and thence formed governments in 1924 and 1929.

These papers are exceptional and some of them are unique, although there are no Ellen Wilkinson papers. This collection of Labour Party historical records or even any British Political records of the 1920s and 1930s are essential resources and should be put at the disposal of all students studying this period.

James Smith Middleton (1878-1962) was the first employee of the Labour Party, taking up the post of Assistant Secretary under Ramsay Macdonald in 1903. He remained in this post until 1935, when he belatedly became the Labour Party General Secretary, which he held until his retirement in 1944. He was de facto in charge of the every day administration of the Labour Party throughout his forty-one years employment with it.

The 122 files deposited with the Labour Party by his widow Lucy cover a wide range of subjects. There are, for example, three files on Public Health (JSM/PH), which follow Labour's policy, leading to the formation of the National Health Service. There are also eight files relating to women's issues (JSM/IWO; JSM/MAT; JSM/WIC; JSM/WILP; JSM/WJ; JSM/WOC; JSM/WOR; JSM/WS). Middleton's first wife, Margaret, had been actively involved with the Women's Labour League. There are files on strikes (JSM/STR) and unemployment marches (JSM/UM). There is a large file on Jewish affairs, Palestine and Zionism (JSM/ZIO). These however only represent a small part of Middleton's political activities. He remained a faithful servant of the Party throughout his life, even when his friend and former master Ramsay Macdonald left it in 1931. He never got on with the other General Secretary for whom he worked, Arthur Henderson.

These papers supplement the official Labour Party correspondence already available, namely the Labour Representation Committee letters, Part 1 of this series, the Labour Party General Correspondence, Part 2 and the Labour Party Subject Files, Parts 5 and 6. These are in effect Middleton papers as well.

Arthur Henderson (1863-1935) holds a unique position in the Labour Party in that he was the only person to be both Leader and General Secretary of the Labour Party at the same time. He was General Secretary of the Labour Party from 1911 to 1935 and Leader on three occasions from 1908 to 1910, from 1914 to 1917 and from 1931 to 1932. He represented five seats in parliament, Barnard Castle from 1903 to 1922, Widnes from 1919 to 1922, Newcastle East in 1923, Burnley from 1924 to 1931 and Clay Cross from 1933 to 1935. He held four government posts, Minister of Education in the First World War Coalition Government, from 1915 to 1916, Paymaster General from 1916 to 1917 in the same government, Home Secretary in the 1924 Labour Government and Foreign Secretary in the 1929 to 1931 Labour Government.

The papers that found their way into the Labour Party archives, probably by way of his son W.W. Henderson, who was an employee of the Party are not very extensive and are not continuous, but they are the only papers relating to Henderson outside the official government archives in the Public Record Office.

The papers basically cover two periods: the First World War, Henderson's first experience of government and immediately afterwards and the second Labour Government and the following four years from 1929 to 1935. (There is one item on the General Strike of 1926).

When Henderson was Paymaster General in the wartime coalition Government, he was advisor on labour questions in the Cabinet. (It also seems he had this responsibility whilst he was Minister of Education). Most of these papers of that period are about this with letters to John Hodge, the Minister of Labour (a former trade unionist, World War I's Ernie Bevin) and certain civil servants, including D.J. Shackleton, the former Labour MP. Henderson also went to Russia after the 1917 March Revolution to persuade Russia to stay in the war. There are some interesting letters from Petrograd during this visit.

The papers relating to his period as Foreign Secretary are mainly letters of an unofficial nature with members of the Labour Party offering opinions about ambassadorial posts and policies, including Josiah Wedgwood MP, who offered himself for the embassy in Moscow.

Although this collection is relatively small, it does contain relevant and interesting material and offers useful information about industrial policy during World War I and the Labour Party's attitude towards Russia before and after the October Revolution.

Marion Phillips (1881-1932) was the first chief woman officer of the Labour Party. She was also MP for Sunderland from 1929 to 1931. Born in Australia, she came to England to study at the London School of Economics, where she worked with the

Fabians, Graham Wallas and Beatrice Webb. She also joined the Women's Labour League and became the first editor of *Labour Woman*. She became secretary of the Standing Joint Committee on Industrial Women's Organisations on its formation in 1917. In this capacity she served on the Consumer's Council of the Ministry of Food.

Sidney Webb's writing of the new constitution of the Labour Party introduced the representation of women on its National Executive Committee, necessitated by the advent of female suffrage. Marion Phillips was appointed Chief Woman Officer. This involved her going around the country encouraging the newly-emancipated women to become more active in Labour politics. She was responsible for getting the women's section of the Labour Party NEC firmly established and there is good evidence for increasing activity among women in the Labour Party constituencies.

In 1929 she was elected as one of the two MPs for Sunderland. Her two years in parliament was not a happy time for her. The constituency party was short of money and her health was failing. Nevertheless she attempted to be characteristically active and her loss of the seat in 1931 was due to the large swing against Labour when Ramsay Macdonald left the Party to form the national government.

The Marion Phillips papers in the Labour Party archives are in two collections - those covering her work as a constituency MP (MP/1-16) and those relating to the Consumer's Council (CC). Those covering her constituency activity show a wide range of activity from shipping to road traffic.

The Consumer's Council was established as a consultative body in January 1918 by Lord Rhondda, former food controller, in conjunction with his successor J.R. Clynes, to enlist "the co-operation of the organised working classes and the co-operative movement in the gigantic task which lay before the Ministry". Marion Phillips was the representative of the Standing Joint Committee of Industrial Women's Organisations.

As there appears to be no surviving records of the Consumer's Council in the public records these papers, as well as having significance in relation to Marion Phillips' activity during and immediately after World War I, have national significance for that period as well.

Other references to Marion Phillips can be found in the records of the War Emergency Workers' National Committee papers (WNC 1-35), available in Part 3 of this series.

Ellen Wilkinson (1891-1947) was Member of Parliament for Middlesbrough East from 1924 to 1931 and for Jarrow from 1935 to 1947. She served as Minister of Home Security in the wartime Coalition Government from 1940 to 1945 and then as Minister of Education in the post-war Labour Government from 1945 to 1947.

Born in Manchester in a Methodist family, she served as a pupil teacher before attending and graduating from the city's university. In her young days she was very active in the Fabian society, the ILP and in the cause of women's suffrage. She was in the Communist Party from 1920 to 1924, leaving it because the Labour Party made it ineligible to be a member of both parties.

Her time in parliament was most noted for the Jarrow March in 1936, led by "Red Ellen" as she was known. This was the march of the unemployed of her constituency from Jarrow to London, with the object of bringing the town's plight to the attention of parliament.

Ellen Wilkinson was also a writer contributing to most of the leading left-wing journals.

She wrote a book about the unemployment in Jarrow called *The Town that Was Murdered* and a novel called *Clash*.

The eight scrapbooks cover her political life from 1924 to 1947. They include one on the Jarrow March, another on the Labour Party Conference 1936 and a third on her novel *Clash*. The remaining five scrapbooks cover her career in and out of parliament. They are the only extant pieces of historical material relating to her career. There is no other collection of Ellen Wilkinson materials.

**Stephen Bird, Museum of Labour History, Manchester
Series Editor**

**General Correspondence and Political Records,
Part 9, Sections A and B:
The J.S. Middleton, Arthur Henderson and Marion Phillips Papers
and Ellen Wilkinson Scrapbooks**

Contents of Reels

The Arthur Henderson Papers

Reel Number	Reference	Brief Content Description
1	JSM/TWO/1-36	File on Standing Joint Ctte of Industrial Women's Organisations, 1919-1939
1	JSM/JSM/1-14	File of J.S. Middleton personalia, 1922-1930
1	JSM/LAN/1-28	File relating to Land Policy, 1928-1943
1	JSM/LEG/1-2	File on the Labour Party Advisory Ctte on the Legal System, 1920-1921
1	JSM/LG/1-100	File on the Labour Party Advisory Ctte on Local Government, 1918-1930
2	JSM/AG/1-21	File on the Labour Party Advisory Ctte on Agricultural Policy, 1920-1928
2	JSM/AP/1-14	File concerning Robert Applegarth, the pioneer trade unionist, 1914-1928
2	JSM/ARM/1-46	File on the Labour Party Advisory Ctte on Army, Navy and Pensions Problems, 1919-1925
2	JSM/DF/1-5	File on German Refugees, the Dora Fabian Case, 1935
2	JSM/FIN/1-73	File on the Labour Party Advisory Ctte on Trade Policy and Finance, 1919-1921, 1930
2	JSM/FIS/1-2	File re Labour Party Advisory Ctte on the Fishing Industry, 1928
2	JSM/HOM/1-16	File on the Labour Party Advisory Ctte on the Home Office (except the Factory Department) and the Coal Controller, 1920-1924
2	JSM/IMP/1-2	File on the Labour Party Advisory Ctte on Imperial Questions, 1928
2	JSM/IND/1-51	File on the Labour Party Advisory Ctte on Industrial Policy, 1919-1921
2	JSM/INT/1-80	File on the Labour Party Advisory Ctte on International Questions and Sub-Ctte on Imperial Questions, 1920-1929
2	JSM/MAT/1-16	File on Maternity and Child Welfare, 1932, 1936-1940

Reel Number	Reference	Brief Content Description
2	JSM/MG/1-63	File on the Labour Party Advisory Ctte on the Machinery of Government, Sub-Ctte A on Adaptation of the Civil Service to New Functions and the Sub-Ctte on Devolution of Government, 1919-1926
2	JSM/NH/1-35	File on National Health Insurance, 1921-1938
3	JSM/NO/1-6	File relating to Philip Nodin, 1922, 1930
3	JSM/PAU/1-55	File relating to L.G. Paul, 1928-1930
3	JSM/PAL/1-24	File relating to Miss Minnie Pallister, 1928-1929
3	JSM/PH/1-144	Three files relating to Public Health, 1918-1949
3	JSM/PL/1-23	File relating to Poor Law Reform, 1925-1933
3	JSM/MCN/1-5	File relating to John McNeill, 1919
3	JSM/MON/1-10	File relating to Sir Alfred Mond, 1924
3	JSM/REF/1-43	File on Refugees from Nazism, 1934-1942
3	JSM/RIC/1-94	File concerning the Tom Richardson Fund, 1924-1929
4	JSM/ROW/1-16	File relating to Cosmo Rowe, 1924, 1944
4	JSM/RUR/1-12	File on the Labour Party Advisory Ctte on Rural Problems, 1919-1920
4	JSM/SCI/1-7	File concerning the Science Advisory Ctte, 1929
4	JSM/SIM/1-38	File relating to E.R. Simmons, 1922-1928
4	JSM/SL/1-119	File relating to Henry H. Slessor, 1918-1924
4	JSM/SMA/1-6	File relating to Capt Lothian Small, 1929
4	JSM/SMI/1-18	File relating to Robert Smillie
4	JSM/SOCI/1-24	File relating to Social Insurances, 1941-1942
4	JSM/SS/1-44	Files relating to Social Security, 1935-1953
4	JSM/TEM/1-10	File relating to Temperance, 1919-1920
4	JSM/TR/1-3	File relating to Transport Policy, 1928
4	JSM/TU/1-27	File relating to Trades Unions, 1922-1925
4	JSM/UDC/1-15	File on the Union of Democratic Control, 1920-1922
5	JSM/UNE/1-219	File relating to Unemployment Insurance, 1919-1931
5	JSM/UNI/1-5	File relating to the Universities, 1920-1930
5	JSM/VAC/1-20	File relating to Vaccination, 1916-1924
5	JSM/VIC/1-34	File concerning Victimisation, 1921-1930
5	JSM/VIE/1-39	File relating to the appeal for assistance for hospitals in Vienna, 1919-1920
5	JSM/VIV/1-10	File concerning Vivisection, 1919, 1927
5	JSM/VOT/1-21	File concerning Voting Records, 1919-1930
5	JSM/WA/1-16	File on War Aims, 1918, 1923
6	JSM/WAG/1-90	File relating to Wages and Salaries, 1917-1928
6	JSM/WAL/1-24	File relating to Patrick Walls, 1927-1930
6	JSM/WCL/1-2	File relating to the Association of Women Clerks and Secretaries, 1920
Reel	Reference	Brief Content Description

Number		
6	JSM/WCOM/1-100	File concerning Workmen's Compensation, 1917-1947
6	JSM/WE/1-20	File relating to Sidney and Beatrice Webb, 1918-1928
6	JSM/WED/1-3	File concerning Col Josiah Wedgwood, 1924
6	JSM/WEI/1-30	File concerning B. Weingartz, 1917-1919
6	JSM/WEL/1-2	File concerning H.G. Wells, 1927
6	JSM/WG/1	File concerning War Graves, n.d.
6	JSM/WI/1-2	File concerning Ellen Wilkinson MP, 1927
6	JSM/WIC/1-5	File concerning Women's International Council of Socialist and Labour Organisations (British Section), 1919
6	JSM/WILP/1-12	File concerning Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1920-1921
6	JSM/WJ/1-4	File concerning Women on Juries, 1921
6	JSM/WLP/1-37	File concerning the Westminster Labour Party, 1918-1921
6	JSM/WO/1-14	File concerning the War Office, 1918-1929
7	JSM/WOR/1-32	File relating to Women's Rights, 1918-1929
7	JSM/WR/1-37	File relating to War Resistance, 1927-1940
7	JSM/WS/1-28	File relating to Suffrage, principally Women's, 1916-1925
7	JSM/WTa/1-13	File relating to Workers' Travel Association Ltd, 1929-1940
7	JSM/YB/1-56	File relating to Year Books, 1926-1930
7	JSM/ZI/1	File relating to Zinoviev Letter, 1924
7	JSM/YO/1-24	File relating to Youth Organisations, 1924-1943
7	JSM/GHBW/1-48	File relating to G.H.B. Ward, 1920-1930
7/8	JSM/MISC/1-164	Group of Misc. Correspondence, 1906-1947
8	JSM/MISC/AD D	Miscellaneous Papers
8	JSM/WAK/1-33	File relating to Egerton Wake, 1918-1929
9	JSM/WOC/1-54	File relating to Women's Conferences, 1920-1930
9	JSM/WW/1-24	File on Women's Work, 1916-[1923]
9	JSM/ADV/1-192	File relating to the Labour Party Advisory Cttes, 1918-1930
9	JSM/ADM/1-31	File on Labour Party Administration, 1914-1940
9	JSM/CO/1-73	Files on the Co-operative Movement, 1912-1914
10	JSM/CP/1-262	File on the Communist Party and United Fronts with Left-Wing Organisations, 1923-1942
10	JSM/GR/1-17	File relating to Arthur Greenwood, 1931-1940
10	JSM/ILP/1-44	File concerning relations with the Independent Labour Party, 1932-1939
Reel Number	Reference	Brief Content Description

10	JSM/UM/1-38	File on Unemployment Marches and Demonstrations, 1932-1938
10	JSM/MAC/1-105	Misc. Correspondence of, or relating to, James Ramsay MacDonald, 1918-1937
11	JSM/MLL/1-10	File relating to the Militant Labour League, 1938-1939
11	JSM/SCO/1-36	File on the Labour Party Scottish Council, 1920, 1927-1930
11	JSM/TUC/1-17	File on Trades Union Congress, 1937-1938
11	JSM/SCF/1-74	File on the Save the Children Fund, 1919-1941
11	JSM/PM/1-52	File relating to the Prime Minister, 1922-1930
11	JSM/GFTU/1	File containing an analysis of the G.F.T.U., n.d.
11	JSM/HEN/1-62	File relating to Arthur Henderson, 1928-1935
11	JSM/OFF/1-35	File relating to Labour Party Officers, 1918-1922
11	JSM/RR/1-2	File on the Increase of Rent and Mortgage Interest (Restrictions) Act, 1920
11	JSM/OB/1-237	File of Obituaries, 1938-1943
12	JSM/LH/1-89	File on Labour Halls, 1925-1941
12	JSM/MT/1-51	File on the Unemployment Assistance Regulations (Mean Test), 1934-1938
12	JSM/PR/1-107	File concerning Prisoners, 1918-1929
12	JSM/MISC	Miscellaneous Papers
12	JSM/SA/1-88	File relating to the South African labour Movement, 1907-1914
13	JSM/SU/1-29	File relating to Socialist Sunday Schools and the Woodcraft Folk, 1926-1938
13	JSM/ACP/1-23	File relating to Anti-Communist Propaganda, 1931-1940
13	JSM/ISP/1-17	File relating to the International Association for Social Progress (British Section), 1929-1930
13	JSM/MAR/1-20	File relating to Lord Marley, 1933
13	JSM/NUC/1-24	File relating to National Union of Clerks, 1933-1934
13	JSM/PE/1-79	File relating to Peace Societies, 1902-1916
13	JSM/ZIO/1-203	File relating to Jewish affairs, Palestine problems and Zionism, 1929-1943
14	JSM/STR/1-154	File concerning Strikes, 1919-1926, 1933
14	JSM/SAR/1-106	File relating to the deportation from South Africa and reception in England of the nine South African trades union leaders, 1914
14	JSM/LYB/1-16	File relating to Labour Year Book, 1915-1917
14	JSM/DB/1-23	File relating the Derbyshire Miners' Association and the Derbyshire Chesterfield Division By-Election, 1913-1914
14	JSM/OAP	File relating to Old Age Pensions, 1922-1926
Reel Number	Reference	Brief Content Description
14	JSM/MM	File relating to Margaret Macmillan

14	JSM/MIN/1-12	Artificial file relating to Miners, 1920-1941
15	JSM/VET/1-47	File of correspondence with or relating to Veterans of the Labour Movement, 1921-1957
15	JSM/CON/1-3	File relating to the Labour Party Constitutional Cttee, 1935
15	JSM/RC/1-10	File relating to the Roman Catholic Church, 1937
15	JSM/BIB/1-117	Artificial file of Bibliographical, Reference and Research Correspondence, 1914-1944
15	JSM/MEM/1-32	Artificial file relating to Membership of labour Party, 1931-1943
15	JSM/TP/1-6	Artificial file of material relating to Town Planning, 1918-1929
15	JSM/PA/1-46	A file concerning personal assistance rendered by JSM to Labour Party workers or supporters, 1934-1941
15	JSM/RAI/1-11	Artificial file relating to Railway Unionism, 1906-1919
15	JSM/SAD/1-27	File relating to the dinner given by the Joint Board for the South African deportees, 1914
15	JSM/SAM/1-45	File relating to the public meeting held in the London Opera House to protest at the deportation of South African Labour leaders, 1914

The Arthur Henderson Papers

Reel Number	Reference	Brief Content Description
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16	HEN/1/1-122	Misc. Papers of Arthur Henderson
16	HEN/2/1-7	A. Henderson Papers: File re Trade Disputes
16	HEN/3/1-5	A. Henderson Papers: Misc. Cabinet Papers
16	HEN/4/1-16	A. Henderson Papers: File re Industrial Council
16	HEN/5/1-17	A. Henderson Papers: Machinery for Negotiation, Industrial Council
17	HEN/6/1-18	A. Henderson Papers: File re War Wages
17	HEN/7/1-3	A. Henderson Papers: File re Unemployment Insurance
17	HEN/8/1	A. Henderson Papers: File re Hours of Labour
17	HEN/9-10	A. Henderson Papers: Press-cuttings
17	HEN/11/1-2	A. Henderson Papers: Richmond Speech, May 19, 1917
17/18	HEN/12/1-215	A. Henderson Papers: Misc. War Cabinet Circulars and Papers
18	HEN/13/1-25	A. Henderson Papers: Corres. Re National Brotherhood Council
18	HEN/14/1-8	A. Henderson Papers: Misc. Items
18	HEN/15/1-15	W.W. Henderson Papers: Misc. Corres. And Papers
18	HEN/16/1	W.W. Henderson Papers: Notes by Hugh Dalton

The Marion Phillips Papers

Reel Number	Reference	Brief Content Description
19	MP.1/1-336	Agent's reports

19	MP.2/1-7	Allotments for the Unemployed
19	MP.3/1-17	Court of Referees, Sunderland
19	MP.4/1-97	Literature Distributed: Elections 1929 and 1931
20	MP.5/1-4	Load Line for Ships
20	MP.6/1-23	Ministry of Labour Correspondence
20	MP.7/1-42	Pickersgill, F.
20	MP.8/1-11	Public Assistance Committee, Sunderland
20	MP.9/1-26	Questionnaires and Replies, May 1929
20	MP.10/1-3	River Wear Commissioners and Unemployment Grants
20	MP.11/1-8	Road Traffic Act
20	MP.12/1-63	'Sunderland Echo' Correspondence
20	MP.13/1-4	Sunderland Housing
20	MP.14/1-10	Sunderland I.L.P. (Harle)
20	MP.15/1-39	Town Clerk, Sunderland
20	MP.16/1-19	Turpin, J.G. Town Hall
21/22	CC/CR	Food Supplement - Commissioners Reports
22	CC/WR	Food Supplement - Weekly Reports
23	CC/CCC. 1/1-78	Ministry of Food: Central Classification Cttee for Supplementary Rations for heavy Workers
23	CC/F. 1-15	Consumers' Council: File of Papers on Fruit, soft and dried
23	CC/GEN. 1-150	Consumers' Council: General Papers, 1918-1919
24	CC/J. 1-36	Consumers' Council: File of Papers on Jam
24	CC/ME. 1-99	Consumers' Council: File of Papers re Meat and Bacon, 1918-1920
24/25	CC/CP. 1-320	Consumers' Council: Circulated Papers
26	CC/MIL. 1-172	Consumers' Council: File of Papers re Milk production and distribution
27	CC/NK. 1-406	Consumers' Council: Files re National Kitchens
28	CC/POT. 1-10	Consumers' Council: Potatoes 1918
28	CC/PP. 1-57	Consumers' Council: Folder of Printed Papers
29	CC/RAT. 1-41	Consumers' Council: Rationing, 1918-1919
29	CC/REF. 1-114	Consumers' Council: File of Papers re Sub-Cttee on Reforms (S.C.R.) made by Min. Of Food
29	CC/SU. 1-39	Consumers' Council: File of Papers on Sugar
29/30	CC/FS	Consumers' Council: <i>Food Supplement to the Review of the Foreign Press</i> , issued by the General Staff, W.O.

The Ellen Wilkinson Scrapbooks

Reel Number	Reference	Brief Content Description
30	W1/1	Her Career, 1924 April - 1925 April
31	W1/2	Her Career, 1925 February - 1926 May

31	WI/3	Her Career, 1926 May - 1927 December
31	WI/4	Her Career, 1928 January - 1930 November
32	WI/5	Her Career, 1930 November - 1947 February
32	WI/6	Her First Novel "CLASH" Published 1929
32	WI/7	Jarrow March, 1936 October
32	WI/8	Labour Party Conference 1936 October