

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

Socialism, Internationalism, Votes for All.

Vol. IV.—No. 18

SATURDAY, JULY 28th, 1917

Price One Penny

AMERICAN SUFFRAGISTS IMPRISONED

American suffragists have been picketting President Wilson's official residence, the White House, unmolested since January; indeed, they have even been allowed to keep their banners on the premises. But when their banners welcomed the Russian envoys with the statement that America is not a democracy, since 20,000,000 of her women cannot vote, President Wilson, unpleasantly conscious that Russia has granted equal adult suffrage, ordered that the picketting should be stopped. On five occasions, therefore, the suffragist pickets were arrested. On the first occasion six women were sent to prison for seven days in lieu of paying a fine of 60 dollars; on the last occasion 16 women were sent to prison for 60 days. The arrests were unpopular, and on a protest by the husband of one of the prisoners, the President gracefully abandoned his opposition, and declaring himself shocked at the imprisonment of the women, ordered their immediate release. More important still, he is reported to have promised Government support for the constitutional amendment which will extend votes for women to every State. Amongst the first six women to be arrested was the veteran Lavinia Dock, who often came down to speak for our organisation on her visit to this country in pre-War days, and whose reputation is international. Miss Dock in her defence said:

"I must conclude that I have been mistaken, heretofore, in crediting the American man with a sense of the ridiculous that would prevent him from committing the grotesque stupidities of his British brother in dealing with the woman suffrage demand. The course of events in England during the activities of the militants showed clearly that men in power deliberately and systematically compelled each advance step in militancy—first by their stubborn denial of justice, and next by reason of repression. I saw something of that struggle, and often said, 'The American man will not be so densely stupid, because he has a keen sense of the ridiculous.'"

"Wrong! The American brother at the very helm of the Government is making the identical blunder in persistent denial and shutting aside of a demand which is sharpened by the most dire emergencies. And as a result of this, repressive measures are now being resorted to, though it has been a thousand times proved that each act of force and denial kindles fresh fires of determined resolution on the part of those who are bound to be free. How far will an American administration go in copying the stupidities of Englishmen? Why not imitate instead the splendid example of Russia?"

Miss Kitty Marion, a well-known British suffragette, was also arrested.



DEMOCRACY!

Ryan Walker in the "New York Call."

IN THE TRAIL OF THE WAR

SOLDIER LEARNS THE TRUTH

This statement is made by Second-Lieutenant Siegfried Lorraine Sassoon, M.C., 3rd Batt. Royal Welsh Fusiliers:

"I am making this statement as an act of wilful defiance of military authority, because I believe that the War is being deliberately prolonged by those who have the power to end it.

"I am a soldier, convinced that I am acting on behalf of soldiers. I believe that this War, upon which I entered as a War of defence and liberation, has now become a War of aggression and conquest. I believe that the purposes for which I and my fellow-soldiers entered upon this War should have been so clearly stated as to have made it impossible to change them, and that, had this been done, the objects which actuated us would now be attainable by negotiation. I have seen and endured the sufferings of the troops, and I can no longer be a party to prolong these sufferings for ends which I believe to be evil and unjust. I am not protesting against the conduct of the War, but against the political errors and insincerities for which the fighting men are being sacrificed. On behalf of those who are suffering now I make this protest against the deception which is being practised on them: also I believe that it may help to destroy the callous complacency with which the majority of those at home regard the continuance of agonies which they do not share, and which they have not sufficient imagination to realise.—SIEGFRIED SASSOON, July, 1917."

BRITAIN'S SHAME

The following letter from a German workman interned at Alexandra Palace must arouse a feeling of national shame in all genuinely patriotic British persons:—

"My wife gets no allowance, and has had none for the last fourteen months. My wife was here to-day telling me that she has been ill all the week. That means no work and no money coming in this week. I try to help her by doing a little work, and have given up smoking since last November; that is all I can do. She has made up her mind to go to my people in Germany, as her own people do not trouble about her because I am a German. My people will look after her, and she will get her allowance over there."

We trust that this man's faith is justified, that his family will welcome his wife, although she is an alien enemy to them as he is to her people, and that she will get an adequate allowance from the German Government. We urge our friends to pass resolutions calling upon our own Government to pay allowances equal to those of soldiers' wives to the wives of men interned here. Stop the War to end these cruel injustices.

THE MOTHERS

Very serious delays are occurring in the issue of separation allowances to soldiers' mothers. Here are some of the cases with which the National League of Rights has had to deal during the last few days. In each case separation allowance has as yet failed to come through:—

Mrs. S.—Son enlisted 23rd March.

Mrs. D.—Son enlisted eight weeks ago.

Mrs. D.—Son enlisted March.

Mrs. K.—Son enlisted 24th April.

Mrs. E.—Son enlisted April.

On our making complaint, the paymaster in one case replied that he had twice urged the pensions officer, whose duty it is to investigate the mother's

claim to separation allowance, to deal with the question, but apparently the pensions officers have more work to do than they are able to accomplish.

This League has repeatedly protested against the practice of basing mothers' allowances on what it can be proved their sons gave to them, less what it is estimated by the authorities the mothers spent on their sons' keep. By comparing the mother's total income with the number of people she had to keep when her son was at home, it will usually be found that the pensions officer has over-estimated the soldier or sailor son's share of the family resources. In many cases the lad's work has been casual, and the mothers are unable to prove the exact amount of the pre-War earnings. Moreover, the present system of assessing the mothers' separation allowances makes no provision for the increased cost of living, though were the lads at home they would be receiving higher wages and giving more to their mothers. The League therefore urges that

"persons mainly dependent on soldiers and sailors, adults shall receive the same flat rate of allowance and pension as wives, and brothers and sisters under 16 shall be treated as though they were the children of soldiers and sailors. Separation allowance shall be granted in respect of dependence which arises subsequent to enlistment."

Particulars of the League may be obtained from the Hon. Secretary, 400 Old Ford Road, E.

Since the authorities are finding it so difficult to cope with the work of investigation under the present system, it is obvious that a flat rate minimum would be best. If the nation cannot afford it, it ought not to continue the War.

"In my judgment the War is not going to end this year, but it will be going on this time next year."—Lord Selborne at the Central London Association meeting, July 20th.

Of Special Interest This Week!

SECOND LIEUTENANT SASSOON DECLARES THIS A WAR OF AGGRESSION.

LOVE THE FAY.

Love's too light for rank and gold,
Love's a fay can not be sold;
Wings of truth divinely peared,
Glancing, flashing thro' the world.

Lightly touching lovers' eyes,
Waking babes to glad surprise;
Kissing here a noble brow,
Whistling there beside the plough.

Love sets fire to many a mind,
Makes it fearless, great and kind;
Gives the strength of will to dare
Human progress everywhere.

Love's the light against dark hate,
Love's the architect of fate;
From the wreck of hate's mad hell,
Leads the world to build up well.

Love leaps over rank and gold,
To the outcasts in the cold;
Gives them help before they fall,
Claims the world for each and all.

ALEXANDER HUNTER.

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

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STOP THE WAR

"This Conference pledges itself to give no further support to the War, and urges all Labour, Socialist and Democratic bodies to instruct their Members of Parliament to vote against the War Credits and to demand an immediate truce."

The above resolution, based on the decisions of the International Socialist Conference at Kienthal, if leave be given, will be moved by the Workers' Suffrage Federation at the Conference which are being held to form a British Council of Workers' and Soldiers' Delegates. We believe that the success or failure of the proposed Council may easily hinge on the policy herein laid down. Unless it be clearly recognised that this is a capitalist War, which the workers should oppose, and unless the new Councils are built upon that basis, the policy of the Councils must of necessity be vacillating and contradictory. "Make a king; if not, make peace" is an eternally true saying.

Russia to-day is plunged into hideous misery and may even suffer the loss of her new-won freedom, because the all-powerful Council of Workers' and Soldiers' Delegates has not, as a whole, realised this truth. Whilst apparently recognising the aims of the Allied Governments to be wholly capitalist-imperialist and devoid of ethical purpose, the majority of the delegates yet lack the courage to break away from the War, and still allow the Russian people to be urged on after the vain chimera of victory, though every day of War brings an added danger to the Revolution. Food scarcity, the inevitable accompaniment of war, profiteering, under capitalism an equally certain corollary, and the killing and maiming alike of combatants and non-combatants, are sure, in the long run, to make any war Government unpopular.

Delegates from the Russian Workers' and Soldiers' Council will address the British Conferences. If these Russian delegates feel free to explain their policy and the confused and tragic happenings in their country during recent weeks, they will have much to tell. If we understand their policy aright, it awaits action from the other peoples of the Allies; it dictates a continued prosecution of the War by Russia, in the hope that the French, the Italians, and we British will insist that our national War aims shall be re-modelled so that they may be summed up in the Russian

phrase: "no annexations, no indemnities; the right of the peoples to decide their own destiny." The Russians have insisted on the calling of a Conference of the Allied Governments in order that the joint War aims may be revised. They hope, no doubt, that the democracies of the Allies will force their Governments to abandon aims of capitalistic aggression before the Conference meets.

Whilst young Free Russia awaits our tardy action, she is herself attempting an impossible task: to take a leading part in prosecuting the most gigantic War of all the ages, and at the same time establish a free community upon the ruins of the autocratic past.

Whatever their constitutions may nominally provide, Governments become progressively autocratic during War: only autocracies can successfully wage modern wars, which are a business of machine-like discipline. Some of those who would keep Russia in the War admit this, saying: "Let the development of free institutions come after the War." But the tide of human needs and passions will not wait: the people are hungry and war-weary; they long for freedom. Through the bias that colours all the capitalist press narratives, glimpses of truth come to us. Dr. Harold Williams, the "Daily Chronicle's" representative, abuses the Leninists for stirring up disaffection, but mentions, without comment, the people, crouching on the Petrograd pavements, waiting all night in the long queue for the morrow's bread. Those who are starving cannot be silenced indefinitely with talk of glory. The people demand enormous increases in wages, which the capitalists refuse; strikes or lock-outs follow, but should the workers obtain all they ask, the rising prices would still leave them short of food. Corruption, mismanagement, and the War itself, which has accentuated the evils always attendant on the capitalist system, have produced an industrial crisis in Russia which threatens to be overwhelming.

The capitalists and their press, both in this country and in Russia, revile as traitors those who appeal to the Socialist solution to meet the economic difficulties, now paralysing Free Russia, and with equal bitterness they denounce those who would save Russia by bringing her out of the War, with the Allies if they choose to join her in making peace, or without the Allies should they refuse. The "Dien," Kerensky's organ, complains that Sir George Buchanan, the British Ambassador, is intriguing with the reactionaries to re-establish the Czarism. The Italian "Corriere della Sera" reports that the British Ambassador is urging our Government to take action to protect British capital invested in Russian factories lest the workers should secure the nationalisation of Russian industry. These reports are ominous. The British people must not allow its Government to play the part of Judas towards the young democracy on which our Ministers have lavished so many empty compliments.

The Council of Workers' and Soldiers' Delegates, handicapped by co-operation in fighting the War with the capitalist Governments of the Allies, is drawn into strange inconsistencies. It maintains, even creates, a coalition Government, though possessing the power to form a Socialist Administration, whilst the Leninists are alleged to be using violence or threats of violence to force the Council to become the sole Executive Government of Russia. It forces the resignation of the Minister of Justice, M. Perevezeff, for having accused Lenin of being an agent of the German General Staff on evidence which the Council declares to be insufficient. (With memories of the old regime, the Council perhaps believes it manufactured.) At the same time, the Council declares that the soldiers, who in large numbers are leaving the trenches and returning to their homes, are to be regarded as traitors, to whom no mercy will be shown. Kerensky has ordered the shooting of deserters, and has revealed in the terms of his message the widespread character of the soldiers' revolt against the War. He says:

"Most of the military units are in a state of complete disorganisation, their spirit for an offensive has utterly disappeared, and they no longer listen to the orders of their leaders... an order to proceed with all haste... has been discussed for several hours at meetings... some elements voluntarily evacuate their positions without even waiting for the approach of the enemy..."

It is reported that even when Russian troops have fought victoriously they evacuate the trenches they have won. These things give us good ground for hope that the truce in the trenches may soon be re-established on the Eastern front, and that the soldiers may force those at home to act decisively in bringing the War to an end. The British capitalist newspapers report that Leninists have been lynched in the streets, and that the people are turning against the Socialists. The wish is probably father to the thought, but the reaction will fight hard to capture votes at the elections for the Constituent Assembly in September.

Meanwhile, Prince Lvoff and other Ministers representing the capitalist parties, have resigned

because Chernoff, the Socialist Minister of Agriculture, is pressing forward a scheme of land nationalisation, and because autonomy is promised to Ukraine. The "Daily Chronicle" smugly remarks that though the power was on the side of the Socialist Ministers, "the experience was on that of their non-Socialist colleagues, to whom they were constantly indebted for advice in the technical matters of government and administration." The advice, from the Socialist point of view, was probably of doubtful value. The "Chronicle" adds that the policy of the Socialist Ministers, establishing autonomy for Ukraine and the nationalisation of the land, "brought to a head the impossibility of the non-Socialists remaining partners in responsibility, without having any share in the deciding power." Yet this is supposed to be a War for democracy and the freedom of small nationalities!

On these two issues, the freedom of a small nationality within the Empire and the freeing of the land to the land worker, progress appears to have triumphed in Russia. In this country reaction claims the victory on both points. The Indian Home Rule movement is being ruthlessly crushed down, and the new Defence of the Realm Regulation enjoining secrecy and forbidding public comment on the proceedings of the Irish Convention, is of unhelpful augury. In the Corn Production Bill the issue between the landowner and the land-worker has been acutely raised, and the landlord has secured all the spoils.

Mr. Wardle's Amendment to raise the proposed minimum wage of the agricultural labourer from 25s. to 30s. a week, is the first attempt of the official Labour Party to protect the workers from the reactionary coalition to which the Party has bound itself, but even in this most humbly modest effort he was opposed by men of his own party—Mr. Barnes, Mr. Brace, Mr. Hodge, Mr. Parker, elected as an I.L.P. representative; and Mr. G.H. Roberts, who represents agricultural Norfolk and was himself once a farmer's boy. Five members of the Party voted against the amendment, and only 16 for it, many stayed away. Mr. Henderson need not wonder that the Russian people are, as he says, "suspicious of the French and British workers for no other reason than that they support the same policy as the 'bourgeoisie'."

In Russia the Socialist Ministers are struggling to obtain the land for the workers; in this country Labour leaders are found to vote against an advance for land workers which would apply only to the able-bodied and would amount to no more than a pre-War 18s. The soldier's wife with five children gets 28s. 6d., and finds it hard to make ends meet, even without her man to keep. Mr. Prothero, arguing against the beggarly 30s. minimum, protested that the labourer's average wage was only 17s. 6d. before the War, and that if the price of wheat and oats should fall to the pre-War level of 32s. 6d. and 19s. 4d. respectively, the Government would only be called on to pay the farmers £68,000,000, whereas to increase the minimum wage to 30s. would cost the farmers £100,000,000, instead of £59,455,000. The minimum wage were fixed at 25s. The farmers "who have reconciled themselves to the Bill, but who do not like the minimum wage at all," cannot be asked to accept those conditions, says Mr. Prothero, and by their votes the Labour Ministers have adopted his point of view. Yet not merely is the 25s. minimum inadequate to the point of starvation, but the whole Bill is a fraud upon the people by which they will be forced to pay dearly for their bread till 1920, without any guarantee of the increased production which is the pretended reason of this infamous piece of legislation. The organs of the capitalist parties with which Labour leaders have allied themselves, openly rejoice over the rejection of the 30s. amendment. The "Daily Express," unfortunately a paper much read by working people, congratulates the Prime Minister on "facing the issue" and securing a "thumping majority" against the 30s. amendment for which the agricultural labourers have been agitating for many months. "The Times" refers to this amendment, and to the attack on the Corn Bill in general, as "questionable in their motives" and as being inspired, "so far as they are sincere," by attempts to combine "philanthropic social ideals with economic theories." The "Daily Chronicle" says that "cool onlookers" could have expected no other result than the defeat of the amendment, and that the Government was "quite right to insist at all hazards on the early passage of the Bill."

In the early days of the Labour Party we Socialists were all agreed that the workers must look for aid to neither capitalist party. In these days of muddled thinking the point must be driven home anew, though it is stranger than ever that the workers should fail to realise it. Mr. Henderson's visit to Russia has opened his eyes to the fact that the Socialist International movement can no longer be ignored with impunity. He has apparently set himself to secure the capture of the re-born International by his colleagues, the old-fashioned Labour leaders of the Allied countries, who have sacrificed the interests of

(Continued on page 814.)

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY

SOLDIERS' WIVES AND RUSSIAN COUNCIL OF WORKERS' AND SOLDIERS' DELEGATES.

On May 19th (May 26th, Russian style) a general meeting of delegates from town and suburban Soldiers' Wives' Protection Societies was held in Petrograd. The question of increased separation allowances was discussed, and the Executive was instructed to impress the Socialist Ministers with the necessity of settling this question without delay, as the present separation allowances meant starvation. Some of the soldiers' wives' delegates had an interview with the Minister Skobeleff, who promised an immediate settlement of the question. The delegates were addressed by representatives of the different parties in connection with the municipal elections, and decided that all soldiers' wives should take an active part in the elections, and should vote for one of the Socialist Parties which wholeheartedly support the Council of Workers' and Soldiers' Delegates. A report was made of the proposed constitution for a Soldiers' Wives' Union, and it was decided to enrol members after the adoption of the constitution by general meetings of the Soldiers' Wives' Protection Societies.

A clever attempt of the reactionaries to capture the vote of soldiers' wives was defeated by the perspicacity of the women. Representatives of the "Block of Toil" made a thorough canvass of the women, and assured them that their Block was identical with "The Group of Toil." The women went to the latter for information, and soon found out that the "Block of Toil" had a great deal in common with the "Novoye Vremya," one of the most reactionary papers in Russia.

We take this information from the official "News of the Council of Workers' and Soldiers' Delegates."

CABINET CHANGES.

Mr. Dillon says that if Commissions were appointed to inquire into the Syria and Salonika campaigns their conduct would be found to be almost as bad as those of Mesopotamia and the Dardanelles. We believe that this is true: of all the War campaigns, the War itself is the great atrocity. Mr. Winston Churchill was left out of the first War Cabinet, and therefore resigned his office, because he was discredited by the reckless Dardanelles campaign. Now that Mr. Austen Chamberlain has been discredited by the Mesopotamia campaign, Churchill again becomes a Minister. Chamberlain will probably return to office when the next Commission reports. All this diverts the attention of the people, whose misery causes them to seek a scapegoat. We cannot welcome Sir Edward Carson's inclusion in the War Cabinet, but good men do not enter War Cabinets.

THE GERMAN CHANCELLOR'S SPEECH.

On July 19th Mr. Lloyd George told the world many exciting things that he found in the German Chancellor's speech. But when we come to read the speech for ourselves we find that, in truth, there is very little in it. All that matters is contained in these words:—

"Germany did not wish for war and did not strive for expansion of her power by violence. Therefore, she will not prosecute the War a single day longer after an honourable Peace is obtainable merely to make conquests by violence... First of all, the territory of the Fatherland is inviolable... If we make Peace, we must in the first line make sure that the frontiers of the German Empire are made secure for all time. We must by means of an understanding and give and take, guarantee the conditions of existence of the German Empire upon the Continent and overseas. Peace must build the foundation of lasting reconciliation between the nations... It must... prevent the nations from being plunged into further enmity through economic blockades... we cannot again offer Peace. We have loyally stretched out our hand once and not with no response... if our enemies abandon their lust for conquest... and wish to enter into negotiations, we shall listen honestly."

The Chancellor is a politician, of course, and like our own politicians, adopts the usual "we alone are worthy and we can do no wrong" attitude," but his words are not discouraging, if only he means what he says. The "Daily News," in its leading article of July 21st, said: "The terms he offers are strangely moderate." But Mr. Lloyd George says that the phrase about making the German frontiers secure provides for the annexation of Belgium, and "will once more precipitate Europe in a welter of blood within a generation." Mr. Lloyd George is himself a consummate phrase-maker, and so we will leave him to interpret the German Chancellor. We advise the German people to get rid of Michaelis, but we still more earnestly advise the British people to get rid of Lloyd George. The German Socialist organ "Vorwaerts" chides Michaelis with a half-hearted acceptance of the Reichstag peace resolution. But we must draw attention to the fact that the German Reichstag peace resolution marks a willingness to negotiate in Germany which has not yet been authoritatively expressed in this country. The German Minority Socialists say that the peace resolution was only adopted to induce the German Socialist Majority to continue

its support of the Government, but, unfortunately, no such resolution has yet been necessary for retaining the support of the British Labour Party.

WAR COSTS.

The Government's demand for a further War Credit of £650,000,000 comes as a reminder of the appalling cost of the War. Mr. Bonar Law confessed that the budget estimates had been exceeded by 2,000,000 a day during the early part of the year; he could not say what the future expenditure might be. Mr. McKenna said that it would be upwards of £8,000,000 a day, but it has reached £8,000,000 a day already! He added that the Government proposal to subsidise bread so that the 4 lb. loaf might be sold at 9d. would mean a cost to the Exchequer of £38,000,000 a year, or the equivalent of a shilling income-tax. We should not object to a further shilling tax on the large incomes, but, after all, it is the workers who pay the income-tax of their employers. If private profit were eliminated from the bread supply, as was done by the Belgian Relief Commission, the price would come down without the need of further taxation.

LABOUR UNREST.

In the report of the Commission on Labour Unrest a series of very suggestive recommendations are made. Such phrases as: "Labour must take part in the affairs of the community as partners, rather than as servants," suggest the beginning of a new era for the workers, but when one goes on to find that the proposed remuneration of the "agricultural partner" is 25s. a week, and recalls the fact that Mr. G. N. Barnes, who edits the report, voted against raising this minimum to 30s. in the Corn Production Bill the other day, one realises that the report is merely an affair of tinkering little changes dressed up in high-flown words. There are some dangerous phrases: for instance, "Each trade should have a constitution." That sounds like giving the Government and the employers further control over the workers. "Coloured labour should not be employed in the ports." Why not insist that coloured labour should not be employed anywhere at less than white labour's trade union wage? The engineers who refused to hear Sir William Robertson

making use of patriotic talk in the attempt to induce them to forego their struggle for fair conditions would be able to explain to the Prime Minister what the Commissioners have failed to tell him—namely, that industrial unrest will continue until all industry is owned by the community and managed by the workers in the industry.

TEXTILE EMPLOYMENT EXCHANGES.

We are glad to learn that Councillor Ben Turner has been elected Chairman of the Textile Industries Central Advisory Committee (Operatives), which has been formed to assist the Ministry of Labour in matters affecting the workers, though we see no reason to anticipate that the Ministry will follow the advice of Ben Turner and his Committee. We have already expressed our view that the trade unions should run their own labour exchanges, as the Dockers' Union already does. Employment exchanges in the hands of a capitalist militarist Government are but instruments towards industrial conscription. The workers cannot and should not trust them.

THE WEST HAM FOOD DEPUTATION.

A deputation from the Food Processions which marched to the Town Hall to urge the West Ham Borough Council to obtain powers from the Government to organise the food supply, knock down prices, and abolish the profiteer was received by the Mayor, Aldermen, and Councillors on July 24th. The Mayor told the deputation that the Council had passed its resolutions, Mrs. Drake, W.S.F., replied that it was not a case of passing resolutions, but of going on a deputation to the Government, which proposition was supported by Mr. W. Thorne, M.P. The Mayor promised on Wednesday, 25th, the Council should meet to set up a Food Committee to act on the suggestions put forward and to carry them out. The deputation returned to the people awaiting them at the Grove, Stratford, and reported what had taken place, urging them to give the Council a chance of carrying out their wishes, and if it failed to do so, to take action on their own account.

WOULD YOU LIKE TO BE A PEDLAR?

In order to bring the DREADNOUGHT and other Internationalist, Socialist, and Feminist literature to the knowledge of the villagers of Kent and Surrey it is suggested that some of our friends might care to act as amateur pedlars during the holidays. Those who would like to spend an enjoyable holiday in this way at little cost should write for particulars to the Editor at 400 Old Ford Road.

A WORKERS' DREAM: By John Lizerovitch

Since my sojourn in this land my health has suffered most severely as a result of the fickle climate, but that night I fell into a deep and troubled slumber, and I dreamed a dream.

And it so happened in my sleep that I was carried away from the realms of these shores by unseen hands—and it appeared that I did fall. Down, down, I went with ever-increasing velocity, so that by degrees a great fear took possession of me. I attempted to cry out in my agony, but my voice was dumb and answered not. It seemed that I was destined to visit the very bowels of the earth, but suddenly my precipitous flight was arrested, and lo! I stood upon the soil of my native land.

Wondrous was the change that had come upon the land of my birth, for there was rejoicing and gladness upon the countenance of the people, for be it known that day the capitalist and bureaucratic yoke had been successfully overthrown, and the proletariat revelled in the glory of Freedom and Liberty. Behold, also, a great change had come upon the soldiery, for they fraternised freely with the people, and even made rejoicing with them. And it became known also that the blood-thirsty slaughter against the German people had ceased, and the Russian men-at-arms did make merry in the camps of the German soldiers, and did eat and drink and live as brothers, as it should be and is written in the Chronicles of the Socialists, the learned men of the age.

And it came to pass because of the glorious revolution that the capitalists of the Allied lands were in sore need of cannon fodder wherewith to carry on their campaign of destruction and massacre, and had recourse to cajolery of the Russian people—but the Russians did heed them not, whereupon the capitalists cried out in their impotence, and swore great oaths. And unto themselves did they summon a council.

And it was decreed that the hirelings, by name, Henderson, Thomas, and Vandervelde, do proceed unto this "unruly" land, and make endeavours to seduce the people, for these mercenaries were gifted in oratory and in the saying of soft words and sweet phrases.

And these men did sail unto Free Russia, surrounded by a bodyguard of war vessels supplied by their masters, lest harm should befall them from the iron fish of the enemy. And these emissaries did arrive and were looked upon with disfavour by the people, and they did speak unto the by name, stood thereby and hearkened diligently unto the sayings of the emissaries, for their words were as music unto his ears, and he would fain have unto himself the power and dictatorship of the tyrant and oppressor of the English, one Lloyd George.

And Kerensky did speak unto the people. And he spake vehemently against Germany and did urge the Russian men-at-arms against the German soldiers. And there arose one Lenin, a good man and friend of the people, and he spake thus: "Brethren! Harken ye not to the enticing words of Kerensky—for he would bring sorrow and suffering upon the land." But the masses heeded him not, for they were drunk in their admiration for this manly Kerensky.

And behold on the morrow did the Russian troops attack with shot and shell and other death-dealing machines, and the Germans did reply likewise—and blood did flow deep, for many were the killed and mutilated, and numerous were those who had disappeared—nobody knew where.

But presently a great understanding dawned upon the Russian soldiery, so that they one and all felt ashamed because they had slaughtered their brethren with whom they had no quarrel. And they held council together, and decided that no longer would they take up arms against their German brothers. And Kerensky was wroth when they came to his ears and did call them cowards and traitors, whereupon they made him prisoner and sent him into exile. And unto the remaining men in power who were not true to the people did they do likewise. And to the foreign emissaries did they speak, and said: "Corrupt ye not our people with your evil machinations. Get ye back to your masters! Depart in peace!"

And it came to pass because of the example set by the Russians that the fighting men of other lands at war did rise up in all their glory and power and did likewise do away with their oppressors. And the world was at peace! and the peoples did do good unto each other.

And the clarions of the Socialists did proclaim with exhilaration International Brotherhood and Goodwill.

Great was the rejoicing throughout the universe.

NEW BOOKS

"TRADE UNIONISM ON THE RAILWAYS: ITS HISTORY AND PROBLEMS."

By G. D. H. COLE and R. PAGE ARNOTT. Published by the Fabian Research Department, 25 Tottenham Street, Westminster, S.W., gives particulars as to the number of men employed on the railways in various capacities, the history of railwaymen's organisations dating from 1861, strikes, conciliation schemes, the relations between various trade unions, the N.U.R., the A.S.L.E. and F., the Triple Alliance, and so on. One of the most interesting chapters deals with women on the railways. It records that in 1914 women formed less than 2 per cent. of railway employees, but that in the spring of 1915 they began to be employed on a large scale. At the Annual General Meeting in June 1915, 25 branches of the N.U.R. appealed to have the rules altered so as to admit women to the Union. This was agreed to by 33 votes to 23, Mr. Albert Bellamy, the President, stating that the employment of women must be without prejudice to the return of men in the army and that they must not be paid at lower rates than men. In July, 1915, at a meeting with railway managers, the N.U.R. insisted that women should be paid at the minimum rates of the grade on which they were working and that their employment should be declared an emergency provision for the duration of the War, but the managers refused to agree. The N.U.R. then informed the Board of Trade that any provision which did not accede to these demands would be considered a breach of the trade of October 1st, 1914. The Board of Trade merely offered to arrange another meeting with the managers, whereat the N.U.R. Executive resolved that unless guarantees were forthcoming within fourteen days the trade would be cancelled. On the thirteenth day ten of the principal companies and the Board of Trade agreed to equal pay in the grades in which women had not been previously employed. At that time the N.U.R. Executive regarded the employment of women as temporary, and confined the financial membership of women to Scale D, which does not provide unemployment benefit. Ten months later Mr. J. H. Thomas stated that the women had come to stay and must have equal rates. At the time women had not received the War bonus and were consequently getting 4s. a week less than the men. The Great Western Railway refused a demand for the women's War bonus sent to them by the N.U.R. in April, 1916, and when the matter was referred to arbitration, the Committee on Production supported the company. The women were granted a weekly 3s. bonus in September, 1916, when the men's bonus was raised by a further 5s. The chapter entitled "Railways in War-time" shows that when the railways were taken over the Government arranged to pay the railway companies the same profits as their last financial year, which was a record one, and had given them 52 million pounds, as against 48 millions, the average profit for the four preceding years. The men were asked to abandon their new programmes, which were designed to remedy long hours, low wages, and an outworn conciliation scheme. Only after a series of crises, accompanied by the threat of striking, have the railway workers received War bonuses, which, after successive increases, now total 15s. a week for men, 7s. 6d. for boys and women, and 3s. 9d. for girls. This means for men a 50 per cent. increase on the low pre-war level, the price of food having now reached 104 per cent. A chapter on "Irish Railways" shows that the Government did not take full control till the Irish railway workers had handed in notices to strike on December 17th, 1916. The bonuses received only amount to 12s. a week for men, 6s. for women and boys, and 3s. for girls.

"NAVAL AND MILITARY PENSIONS AND SEPARATION ALLOWANCES: AND HOW TO GET THEM." This excellent pamphlet should be in the hands of all those whose relatives are fighting. It is a key to the rules of the War Office, Admiralty, the Statutory Committee, and Pensions Ministry, and contains simple and full explanations of whom to write to, and what to do in every difficulty which may arise in connection with pensions, allowances, &c. It is published by the National League of Rights, 400 Old Ford Road, London, E., and costs 1d.

"ADULT SUFFRAGE." A review of the existing franchise anomalies, with strong arguments for Votes for All. Published by the London Labour Council for Adult Suffrage. Copies of this pamphlet 1d. each, or 9d. per dozen, postage extra, from 400 Old Ford Road, E.

"HOW THE ENGLISH POSTAL WORKERS CLOTHED THE BELGIAN REFUGEES." By JIM CANT, Inland Section, G.P.O., London.—Mr. Cant explains at the outset that he is an International Socialist and opposed to all war. He then tells how he enlisted the help of the Civil Service Socialist Society, the Post Office Sorters' Trade Union, and the Fawcett

Association, and explains how five tons of clothing were (sent) to Belgium. Mr. W. H. Morris, Inland Section Book Room, G.P.O., London, will supply copies of the pamphlet for a stamped addressed envelope and a donation for the benefit of Mrs. Cant, who has broken down under the strain.

"THE INDUSTRIAL COUNTERPOISE." By J. A. J. Morton. (The Athenaeum Press, Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane, E.C. 1s. 6d.)—These books and any others you require may be obtained through the Workers' Suffrage Federation, either from 400 Old Ford Road, E., or St. Stephen's Shop, 85 Hoxton Street.

Help the W.S.F. by buying all your books and pamphlets through our literature department. We can get any publication for you.

FEDERATION NOTES

THE BIG PUSH.

We started our Big Push on Sunday, July 23rd, at West Ham with a meeting at Beckton Road, Canning Town, where Mrs. Drake aroused interest by unravelling a "Save the Babies" poster she had used in Chester during Baby Week. That led the way to Mothers' Pensions and the reasons why such remedies were necessary. By the time Mrs. Nellie Best spoke on the horrors of War and the need for immediate action, the audience was quite ready to fight for food. "Give them cheap food and the War can go on for ever!" she said, but others spoke of the unrest in the Army and the Navy, and declared that the soldiers who had fought for Liberty would be ready to fight for it at home. Many helpers came from Bow, Stratford, and other districts to sell DREADNOUGHTS, "New Crusaders" chalked and distributed bills. Mrs. Anderson, of the Socialist Sunday School, and Tidal Basin members very kindly arranged the stalls.

MOTHERS' PENSIONS.

At Lees Hall, Judge Neil, in his simple history of Mothers' Pensions in America, made a great impression. Onomat thought that if people knew their own interests there would be a queue to the Dock Gates of those who came to hear the Judge. Mrs. Hobhouse deepened the impression by her address. It was suggested that we should ask Judge Neil to come to Poplar to give others a chance of hearing him.

BOW SOCIAL.

The Social held at 400 Old Ford Road on the 23rd was a great success. The children's dancing was so much appreciated that they will perform at the At Home on Friday, July 27th, when we hope that all members and friends will be present.

NEXT SATURDAY WATERLOO ROAD DISTRICT. On Saturday, July 28th, we continue our Big Push in the Waterloo Road district. Friends are invited to meet at 2.45 p.m., at 29b Lincoln Inn Fields, W.C., for the meetings, literature distribution, and propaganda work. Everyone should be there!

NEW BRANCHES.

Friends who live in Camberwell and would like to help with the new branch are asked to send to Mrs. Edwards, 30 Clifford Gardens, Kensal Rise.

SPEAKERS' CLASS.

Several members have expressed a wish to join the speakers' class, which Mr. Edgar Lansbury is arranging. We should like as many as possible to give in their names so that we may make a good start.

WORKERS' AND SOLDIERS' COUNCIL.

WELCOME TO THE RUSSIAN DELEGATES.

The delegates of the Russian Council of Workers' and Soldiers' Delegates, appointed to visit the Socialist Parties of the Allied Countries, are expected to be in this country whilst the District Conference of the British Workers' and Soldiers' Councils are being held, and arrangements are being made for them to address the Conferences.

DISTRICT CONFERENCES.

SCOTTISH DISTRICT CONFERENCE, St. Mungo Hall, South York Street, Glasgow, Saturday, August 11th, instead of August 4th, as previously stated. Sec. Wm. Shaw, 16 Church Street, Partick, Glasgow.

NORTH-EAST DISTRICT CONFERENCE, Central Hall, Westgate Road, Newcastle, Saturday, July 28th, 3 p.m. Secretary, Dr. Ethel Williams, 3 Osborne Terrace, Newcastle.

YORKSHIRE DISTRICT CONFERENCE, Leeds, Secretary, D. B. Foster, 14 Upper Fountain Street, Leeds. LANCASHIRE, CHESHIRE, AND NORTH WALES DISTRICT CONFERENCE, Milton Hall, Deansgate, Manchester, Saturday, August 11th, 2.30 p.m. Secretary, H. Derbyshire, 4 Banff Road, Rushmore, Manchester.

NORTH AND EAST MIDLANDS DISTRICT CONFERENCE, Trade Hall, St. James's, Leicester, Saturday, July 28th, 3 p.m. Secretaries, 88 Rutland Street, Leicester.

SOUTH AND WEST MIDLANDS DISTRICT CONFERENCE, Priory Rooms, Birmingham, Saturday, August 18th, 3 p.m. Secretary, Private C. J. Simmons, 101 Colonial Road, Bordesley Green, Birmingham.

EAST ANGLIA DISTRICT CONFERENCE, School of Music, Rampant Horse Street, Norwich, Saturday, July 28th, at 2.30 p.m. Secretary, G. F. Hipperson, 91 Connaught Road, Norwich.

LONDON DISTRICT CONFERENCE, Memorial Hall, Farringdon Road, Saturday, July 28th, 3 p.m. Secretary, Provisional Committee, 4 Duke Street, Adelphi, London, W.C.2.

SOUTHERN COUNTIES CONFERENCE, Sunday, August 12th, at the King's Theatre, Kingsland Square, Southampton, at 2.30 p.m. Secretary, L. Brighton, 54 Belle Vue Road, Southampton.

BRISTOL CONFERENCE, Kingsley Hall, Old Market Street, Bristol, on Saturday, July 28th, at 3 p.m. Secretary, F. Lewis, 136 Lawrence Hill, Bristol.

WALES CONFERENCE, The Elysium, High Street, Swansea, on Sunday, July 29th. The Central Hall was cancelled. Secretary, J. G. Davis, 50 Terrace Road, Swansea.

IRISH CONFERENCE, the Provisional Committee has decided, in view of the development of the Sinn Féin Movement to abandon the Irish Conference for the time being.

Nominations for District Representatives on the Provisional Committee will be printed and circulated amongst the delegates to the Conference, who will vote by show of hands.

STOP THE WAR—continued from page 812

Socialism and the workers, for the opportunity to co-operate with the capitalist parties in carrying on the War. Mr. Henderson, no doubt, calculates that the Jingo-Socialist-Labour men of the Allied countries will be able to outvote the similar factions in the "enemy" countries at any Conference, since the Allied nations, of course, outnumber the opposing belligerents. He probably considers that an International Workers' Conference in which the Governments of the Allies were whitewashed and the Governments of the Central Powers strongly condemned, would form a useful answer to the International Socialists, who declare that the workers of all nations should oppose the War. Mr. Henderson is an astute politician; whatever may be his motive, he has made common cause with the unscrupulous forces of capitalism. His manoeuvres can only be met effectively by building the workers' new Socialist International on a clearly defined basis, uncorrupted by considerations of temporary political expediency. Mr. Henderson has declared that if the proposed British Workers' and Soldiers' Councils are to be formed on the Russian model there will be "no harder fighter against them" than himself. He says:

"What has happened in Russia has shown the folly of allowing an Army to take part in political discussions, and this ought to be a warning to us. I am going to fight most strenuously against any course of action which will paralyse our military force, as it has paralysed the military force of Russia."

The paralysis of the military force in this and every country is, however, precisely one of those objects which we, as opponents of militarism, desire to achieve. We believe that the conscientious objector who refuses to become a soldier, the soldier who establishes a truce in the trenches, and the people which forces its Government to make peace, whether it be a separate peace or a general peace, are all making the same fight, and their fight is our fight—the fight for the civilisation and the upward evolution of humanity.

We desire to see achieved in this country what has been achieved in Russia: the bringing together of the workers, whether they wear khaki or fustian, in a council so strong as to be able to control the national affairs. We desire to avoid the mistake which has been made in Russia of dissipating the unity and constructive force of the newly arisen democracy, by involving it in the prosecution of a disastrous capitalist war. Our wish is to see the British Democracy taking strong and immediate steps to secure a stoppage of the War, and joining the workers of Russia, Germany, and the other nations, in establishing International Socialism, with equal rights for all men and women. E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

MRS. SHLETTE.

Members and friends who know her work and have often enjoyed her speaking will sympathise with our old member, Mrs. Shlette, in her long illness. The Editor would be glad to give her address to any who would like to send her some flowers or a word of cheer.

IMPROVING THE RACE?

A clever article in "The Tribunal" of July 19th shows the absurdity of the baby-saving outcry on the part of those who are urging on the extermination of the race on the battlefield.

MISCELLANEOUS ADVERTISEMENTS

FAMILY LIMITATION DOCTRINE. Post free, 1d. Malthusian League, Queen Anne's Chambers, Westminister.

SUFFRAGE WORKERS should spend their holiday at "Sea View," Victoria Road, Brighton. Hostess, M. Turner.

SOUTHERN: Apartments or Bed-Sitting Room, near bandstand, pier—C., 1 Grange Gardens, Southend.

SOUTHERN: Furnished Apartments, 8 minutes from sea and train; a furnished house conveniently situated. Apply "400" to this Office.

BEDROOM, use of sitting. Convenience for cooking; pretty country, close sea. C/o Newton, Tankerton, Kent.

YOUNG LADY GRADUATE desires Holiday Engagement, salary unnecessary.—Apply, Veg., this office.

FREE WORLD: Law Love, Temple Truth, Sovran Self. Recitals by Alexander Hunter.

TO LET—HALL for meetings, etc., holds 60. Terms moderate.—Apply Miss Beamish, St. Stephen's Shop, 85 Hoxton Street, N.

TYEWITTING REQUIRED at home; M.S.S. and Plays accurately done.—Apply Miss A. O. Beamish, 85 Hoxton Street.

WANTED, Experienced MANICURIST; also GIRL IMPROVERS.—Apply 45 Norman Road, Dane Place, Roman Road, Bow, E.

Charge for advertising in this column, 1d. per word; four insertions for the price of three.

ELECTRIC MACHINE BAKERY

91 BURDETT ROAD, MILE END

W. WOODS & SONS, Family Bakers

"Plebs" Pamphlet. Price 1d. (1d. post paid)

What does Education Mean to the Workers?

From Sec. Plebs League, 127 Hamlet Gardens, Ravenscourt Park, London, W.6.

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT

July 18th.—Mr. Dillon (N.) asked whether a date has yet been fixed for the Conference in Paris to reconsider the Allies' Peace aims; and whether the representatives of the American, Belgian and Serbian Governments have been invited to attend. Mr. Balfour (U.) replied that no date has yet been fixed; that as the whole suggestion comes from Russia, she will presumably issue the invitations.

In reply to Mr. Snowden (Lab.), Mr. Beck (L.) stated that a passport to Canada was refused to Mr. Hunt, aged 44, who wanted to join his wife and children, because he was engaged in useful employment here.

In reply to questions on the proposal to alienate 1,000,000 acres of land from the native reserve in Rhodesia to the Chartered Company, Sir A. Steel-Maitland (U.) said he did not think that any "sanction had yet been given, definitely," by the Government.

THE REASON FOR HIGH PRICE OF BREAD.—Sir L. Chiozza Money (L.) gave most unsatisfactory replies to questions on the freightage charged for wheat and flour from the United States. Members stated that the price paid to shipowners was 9s. a ton (as against 6s. 6d. war rate), though the Ministry of Shipping charged 9s. 5d. on wheat and 10s. 9d. on flour. Every extra 100s. means at least one-halfpenny on the 4 lb. loaf.

Master would not say why, if the freight is only 9s., the cost of bread is high, except that "the bill of lading is a purely fictitious figure," and that "the Wheat Commission charges the actual net cost of carrying the goods. If the shipowners are only getting 9s. a ton, someone else is concealing a profit!"

Mr. Macpherson (L., Min.), in reply to Mr. Lynch (N.) and Mr. King (L.), said that Sir W. Robertson had asked the Press not to publish his intended speech at Woolwich Arsenal which the engineers would not hear.

MESOPOTAMIA REPORT.—Mr. Bonar Law (U., Min.) said that the Government had decided not to continue investigations in regard to civilians, and to leave soldiers to be dealt with by the Army Council in the usual way. He said that the refusal of Lord Hardinge's resignation was the personal act of the Foreign Secretary. Small fry are always chosen as scapegoats.

In reply to Mr. E. Harvey (L.), Mr. Macpherson (L.) admitted that James Brightmore, conscientious objector, had been confined in a pit 12 feet below the level of the ground for eleven days and nights in Clothopbes Camp, and for four days of that time obliged to stand ankle deep in mud and water; that he had not been given the option of trial by court-martial, but dealt with summarily by his Commanding Officer. The Army Council took a grave view of the action of the authorities responsible for these irregularities, viz., the brigadier-general and the officer commanding the battalion. Mr. Macpherson refused to say whether any compensation will be paid to this man. He blamed the Government, which refuses to release the "C.O.s."

FOOD QUESTIONS.—Mr. Clynes (Min., Lab.) said that the Food Controller would avail himself of the assistance and experience of the co-operative societies in dealing with food supply and distribution.

In reply to Mr. W. Thorpe (Lab.), Mr. Clynes stated that some of the West End clubs and hotels had been fined 10s. to £10 for using more than their meat and sugar allowances, and that they were supplied in the same way as private households. Have any private householders been fined?

BUSINESS OF THE DAY.—Mr. Bonar Law stated that the House could not rise until the Corn Production Bill had been passed, which he did not think could be before the end of next month. He hoped to get as far as Clause 26 in the Representation of the People Bill, and to take the Education Bill before the Adjournment. The Criminal Law Amendment Bill would be taken after the Adjournment.

MESOPOTAMIA.—On the Adjournment of the House to consider the refusal of the Government to accept Lord Hardinge's resignation, Mr. Dillon (N.) stated that the Government had employed, one for civil servants and another for soldiers, which was admitted by Mr. Balfour (U.) in his defence. Mr. Dillon stated that the men who called attention to the state of things which existed were and are still being persecuted by the War Office, despite Mr. Chamberlain's assurance to the contrary. Mr. Dillon upheld the Commissioners, who had been appointed by the Government and not by the House of Commons, and yet were condemned by the members of the Government. He considered that the pith of the Report was the medical part of it, which had been given the go-by. Lord Hardinge accepted responsibility for the medical arrangements by deprecating the need for assistance and saying in his telegram: "My Government arranged for doctors and medicines," and refusing the assistance of the British Red Cross, though at the time the vital conditions in Mesopotamia were common knowledge in India.

Mr. Dillon drew attention to Lord Hardinge's co-operation with M. Stuermer, the Russian Prime Minister, in forcing Rumania into the War, when he was at the Foreign Office. He said that the Prime Minister's speech would mean that the House abdicated their powers of criticism altogether and gave a blank cheque to the Government. Mr. Anderson (Lab.), in seconding the Motion, deprecated the Foreign Secretary having more power than the House of Commons.

Mr. J. H. Thomas (Lab., Min.) emphasised the feeling in the country that by the Government's action privateers who do something wrong are promptly punished, while those in high places go free, and Mr. Sherwell (L.) in supporting this view, reminded the Government that it could only prosecute the War if it had the confidence of the people. Mr. Joynton-Hicks (U.) showed that the Government seemed to prefer appointing Ministers whose conduct had been censured in Reports of Commissions, notably Mr. Churchill, who, if he were wise, would have said, "Look here, if you are taking me in you must not turn Hardinge out!" He considered they had only one course open to them: to get rid of all or keep all, whereas the military officers had already been suspended pending their trial. He claimed that Lord Hardinge was responsible as Breck responsible for the Irish Rebellion. In the Report which he signed.

Mr. Molteno (L.) objected to the Foreign Secretary's theory that however much an official may have made mistakes in one Department, if he is only transferred to another it does not matter in the least. A man who has made mistakes will probably make them again.

Mr. Balfour (U., Min.) made a poor defence, adding little to his previous statements, but still refusing to dismiss Lord Hardinge.

July 19th.—Mr. Baldwin (U.) stated that a White Paper on Old Age Pensions is being prepared, but could not say when it would be ready. This means more delay in granting the extra paltry 2s. 6d., as many cases cannot be decided until the White Paper has been issued. As Mr. Hogge (L.) remarked, "This is a Business Government!"

Mr. Snowden (Lab.) asked the Home Secretary to call for a Report on the trial of Henry Garman at the Diss Police Court on July 11th, when he was sentenced to a month's imprisonment without the option of a fine for damage to a memorial tablet to his son; and in view of the fact that the prosecutors were willing to settle the case but for the difficulty raised by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in regard to the faculty, recommended Garman's immediate release from Prison? Sir George Cave (L., Min.) replied that Garman had appeared to Quarter Sessions and was released on July 14th pending his appeal.

IRISH REBELLION.—

Mr. Flavin (N.) asked whether the constable on whom the coroner's jury brought in a verdict of wilful murder on the death of Daniel Scanlon, had been put under arrest. Mr. Duke (U.) would only say that he had not read a report of the proceedings.

THE RIGHTS OF SOLDIERS.—

The following questions in the House of Commons indicate to what extent soldiers can participate in the work of the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils:—

Mr. Anderson asked the Under-Secretary of State for War whether any non-commissioned officer or private is at liberty to offer himself as a candidate for Parliament if invited to do so; whether he is free to join any association for the furtherance of his political views, and whether he can state what restrictions are imposed on the soldiers as to the advocacy of opinion on social, industrial and political questions?

Mr. Macpherson: The answer to the first portion of the question is, as far as I am able to ascertain, in the affirmative. The extent to which a soldier is free to join associations and advocate his opinion, as mentioned by my hon. friend, is governed by paragraph 451 of the King's Regulations.

Mr. Anderson: Is it not the view of the War Office that some of the old restrictions are now obsolete, in view of the character of the New Army, and will not the War Office be willing to take that into account in considering the question of the present status of the soldiers?

Mr. Macpherson: I think I covered those points in the answer.

Mr. Consonly: May I ask, since we are prepared to give votes to soldiers as soldiers, whether that does not carry with it a right of association?

Mr. Macpherson: I have never denied the right of association. I said the subject is governed by paragraph 451 of the King's Regulations.

Mr. Billing: Has a soldier the right to attend a political meeting in uniform?

Hon. Members: Yes.

OLD AGE PENSIONS.—

In reply to questions, Mr. E. H. Webb (L.) hoped that the extra 2s. 6d. to old age pensioners would be payable from Friday, August 10th. He would consider putting up a statement in post offices explaining who are entitled to the extra pension.

IRISH EDUCATION.—

On the Irish Education estimates, Mr. Duke (U. Min.) dealt with teachers' salaries in Ireland which range, in Grade III, from £63 to £84 for men, and from £61 to £72 for women. Mr. Duke proposed to raise men's wages to £78 rising to £102, and women's to £64, rising to £88. In the other grades the maximum salaries are to be raised to £108 for men principals and £108 for women principals; in addition, principal teachers receive capitation fees, and it is proposed to establish a supplemental salary for principals of £600, rising by annual increments of £50 to £500, a very complicated system! There are 2,300 untrained girl assistants at present receiving £24 a year with a supplementary grant of £4 for those who have given two years' satisfactory service; the rate is raised to £40, which will be paid by annual increments to £61 a year at the end of five years. A miserable pittance! Junior inspectors' salaries are to be raised to £200 a year, commencing salary and £400 maximum.

Mr. O'Connell (N.) complained that the salaries of Irish teachers compare very badly with those of English and Scotch teachers, and it take an Irish teacher 20 years to reach the low maximum. He urged that a year at a university should be granted to men and women training as teachers.

Mr. Cooté (U.) declared that Irish elementary education was thoroughly bad, and advocated the establishment of non-sectarian schools managed by elected Boards as in England and Scotland, in order that Catholic and Protestant children might be taught side by side, the small schools merged into one, and decent teachers secured. He urged that a great sum should be earmarked for Irish technical education. Captain O'Neill (U.) called upon the Government to purge the Irish schools of Sinn Féin teachers, whom he alleged to be teaching sedition.

He desired that the historical text-books used in Irish schools should be re-written, lest they encourage disloyalty. This drew forth a debate on Sinn Féinism. Mr. Devlin (N.) defending the fight for liberty for Ireland. He also appealed for increased pensions for ex-teachers, the maximum at present being £44 and the minimum £13. Mr. Dillon (N.) asked for a Committee of Enquiry to be set up similar to the one for Scotland and for the publication of the report of the Board of Education in Ireland. He stated that four-fifths of the schools in Ireland have an average attendance of less than 70.

CORN PRODUCTION BILL

July 18th, 19th, and 23rd.—Clauses 3, 4, 5 and 7 of the infamous Corn Production Bill were carried in Committee. Clause 3 renders a person making false claims for payments from the Exchequer in respect of acreage under wheat or oats "liable on summary conviction to imprisonment with or without hard labour for a term not exceeding six months, unless he proves that he did not know and could not with reasonable diligence have ascertained that the statement of representation was false." Mr. Gardner (U.) wished the payment only to be made if the claimant had paid adequate wages to his employees, but his amendment was negatived.

Clause 4 deals with the minimum wage of 25s. a week for an able-bodied workman, the penalty for not paying it being a fine on summary conviction of not more than £20, and £1 a day for each day on which the offence is continued after the conviction. There is no minimum fixed for women, girls, and boys, or for men not considered able-bodied; these rates are to be decided by Wages Boards, which, of course, will be dominated by the farmers. The Boards are also to determine how much of the wage is to be paid in cash and how much in kind, a perpetuation of the "truck" system which may greatly reduce the value of the 25s. Sir Tudor Walters (L.) thought that a strong Trade Union would safeguard the interests of the labourers far better than any Act of Parliament, and that is certainly true with Parliament constituted as at present!

Mr. Hemmerde (L.) pointed out that the Agricultural Labourers' Union of 12,000 members condemns the system of allowances and asked for a cash wage, but the House does not care what the labourers want; it represents the landed interests!

Mr. Rowntree (L.) moved an amendment to sub-section (6), which provides that Agricultural Wages Boards shall secure for able-bodied men wages which, in their opinion, "shall be at least sufficient to enable a man to provide for himself and his family sufficient food, clothing and housing accommodation to maintain physical efficiency, and in any case" equivalent to wages for an ordinary day's work at the rate of at least 25s. a week. Mr. Prothero promised to consider the amendment with "very sympathetic" attention before the Report Stage. He said that his idea is "to provide such means as will train a man for his hours of leisure as well as for his hours of work," but he said: "Whether we get there this year or ten years hence, 'what matter?' If it does not matter to Mr. Prothero, it matters very greatly to the labourer! Oh, for an end to such cant!"

Mr. Peto (U.) moved that the minimum wage be applied to a 48 hour week. Mr. Prothero promised to insert words requiring a definition of the hours of an ordinary day or week to be worked with provision for overtime, but he made no pledge as to 48 hours. Moreover, he opposed Mr. Snowden's amendment to limit the week to six days, Sunday being overtime, the hours of the week to be 48 in winter and 54 in summer. With the Government against it, the proposal had no chance.

Mr. Wardle (Lab.) moved that the minimum wage be 30s. instead of 25s. Mr. Buxton (L.), in supporting it, said that a labourer with 30s. had not an hour left when he had paid for 147 meals a week, three meals a day for himself, his wife and five children. Sir E. E. Smith's defence of the 25s. minimum was that the Wages Boards were inadequate, and that the labourer was not adequately protected by 25s. a week. This throws the labourer back on his own efforts to secure a bare living for his family. We advise the farm worker to go on strike.

Strong action should be taken against this Bill. We urge W.S.F. branches to pass resolutions against the subsidies which it makes to farmers, its differentiation between men and women workers, and the scandalously low minimum of 25s. a week.

FOREIGN NEWS

The "Journal du Peuple" reports that at the Moscow municipal elections universal suffrage, in which women and soldiers were included, was applied for the first time. These elections were of great importance, as they were fought rather on national than on municipal issues. They were won by the Socialists as a preliminary estimate of the respective political forces. Sixty per cent. of the votes were cast for Revolutionary Socialists, 17 per cent. for the Cadets or Liberals, and 12 per cent. for the Maximalists, the remainder for various political factions.

The "Journal du Peuple" reports that Socialist agitation in Finland is growing, and creates alarm in Petrograd.

The "Journal du Peuple" reports that the Allied Governments will shortly hold a conference in Paris to consider military and political questions concerning the Balkan States. The desire of the Balkan peoples is to form an independent Confederation of Balkan Republics: will the Allies agree to this?

HUNGER RIOTS IN HOLLAND.—The "Berliner Tagwacht" (Swiss Socialist) reports hunger riots in Holland. Quantities of food having been exported for belligerent countries whilst the workers, especially in industrial centres, are starving. Strikes are reported from Rotterdam, where a general strike is expected.

The "Berliner Tagwacht" reports that the Municipal Council in Zurich has adopted the eight-hour working day for tramway employees from January, 1918; for all other municipal employees from January, 1921.

According to the "Berliner Tagwacht" the Italian deputy Turati declares that there is the possibility of a revolution in Italy.

"Journal du Peuple"—Angelica Balabanof, writing on the position in Russia, says:—"Two

THE WORKERS' SUFFRAGE FEDERATION

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The W.S.F. appeals for members and workers and invites friends to visit its offices and social institutions.

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WHAT'S ON? W.S.F. FIXTURES OUTDOOR

FRIDAY, JULY 27th

Hague Street, 7.30 p.m., Mrs. Cressall.

SATURDAY, JULY 28th

Waterloo Bridge Road Meetings, 3 p.m. and 8 p.m. (see "Great Push").

SUNDAY, JULY 29th

Osborne Street, Whitechapel, 11.30 a.m., Mrs. Cressall, Hoxton Street, 12 (noon), Mrs. Bouvier, Miss Beamish. MONDAY, JULY 30th

Dock Gates, 7.30 p.m., Ex-Inspector Syme, Mrs. Walker.

TUESDAY, JULY 31st

The Clock Tower, Burdett Road, 7 p.m., Mrs. Bouvier.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 2nd

Cannon Street Road, 7.30 p.m., Mrs. Cressall, Mrs. Walker.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 3rd

"Salmon and Ball," 7.30 p.m., Mrs. Bouvier, Mrs. Drake.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 4th

Hoxton Meetings, 3 p.m. and 7 p.m. (see "Great Push"). Demonstration in Hyde Park, Sunday, 29th, at 4 p.m., on the Food Supplies. Processions leave Beckton Road and Stratford Broadway at 12.30, East India Dock Gates 12.45, Gardiner's Corner 1.30, The Embankment, 2.30 p.m.

53 ST. LEONARD'S STREET, BROMLEY.—August 2nd, 8.15 p.m., Mrs. Bouvier.

WHITECHAPEL MEETING.

Public meeting will be held in the Lecture Hall, Toynbee Hall, Commercial Street, Whitechapel, on Monday, July 30th, at eight p.m. Speakers: Miss Sylvia Pankhurst and Mrs. Bouvier. Songs by M. Grishin (a Russian singer).

KINGSLEY HALL, BOW.—Sunday next, at 8.15 p.m. Dr. Hodgkin will speak. Discussion, 9.30.

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Summer Campaign for Education!

Meetings! Literature Distribution! Individual Talks with Everyone!

SATURDAY, JULY 28th, WATERLOO ROAD DISTRICT—Meet: 298 LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS, 3 p.m.; Meetings: WATERLOO BRIDGE ROAD, 3 p.m. and 8 p.m. Secretary for the day: Miss CASEY, 298 Lincoln's Inn Fields.

Speakers: 1st Meeting—Miss LYNCH and Rev. CHEETHAM; 2nd Meeting—Miss SYLVIA PANKHURST, Mrs. BOUVIER and Miss LYNCH.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 4th, HOXTON AND SHOREDITCH DISTRICT—Meet: 85 HOXTON STREET, N., 3 p.m.

Meetings: HOXTON STREET, 3 p.m.; WHITMORE HEAD, 7 p.m. Secretary for the day: Miss BEAMISH, 85 Hoxton Street.

Speakers: 1st Meeting—Mrs. WARD, Rev. CHEETHAM and Miss LYNCH; 2nd Meeting—Mrs. BOUVIER, Mrs. BUTLER and Miss LYNCH.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 11th, ST. PANCRAS DISTRICT—Meet: 3 p.m.

Meeting: 7 p.m. Secretary for the day:

SATURDAY, AUGUST 18th, WEST CENTRAL AND HYDE PARK DISTRICT—Meet: 298 LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS, 3 p.m.; Meeting: HYDE PARK, 6 p.m. Secretary for the day: Miss CASEY, 298 Lincoln's Inn Fields.

Speakers: Mrs. WARD, Mrs. BOUVIER, and others.

PEACE DEMONSTRATION

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 16th.

Secretary: Mrs. FINEBERG

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NATIONAL LEAGUE OF RIGHTS

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MORE WORKERS WANTED in writing & organising.

Help by Your Work!

Give What You Can!

ADULT SUFFRAGE and DOWN WITH THE HOUSE OF LORDS GREAT TRAFALGAR SQUARE DEMONSTRATION

SUNDAY, AUGUST 19th, 4 p.m.

Organised by W.S.F. and Workers' National Adult Suffrage Movement.

Speakers: Mr. C. G. AMMON (I.L.P.), Mr. G. BELT ("Herald"), Mrs. BOUVIER (W.S.F.), Mrs. BOYCE (W.S.F.), Mrs. BUTLER, Mr. E. W. CANT (B.S.P.), Coun. W. CARTER, Mr. W. CARTER (N.U.R.), Aid. D. J. DAVIS, J.P. (West Ham Trades Council), Mrs. DRAKE (W.S.F.), Mr. J. FINEBERG (B.S.P.), Coun. BEN GARDNER, Mrs. GATTY, Mr. R. M. GENTRY (Co-operative Bakers' Union), Mr. C. W. GIBSON (Workers' Union), Mr. W. HOLMES (Labour Party), Miss MANICOM (Workers' Union), Mr. V. L. McENTIE (B.S.P.), Mrs. MONTEFIORE, Miss E. SYLVIA PANKHURST, Rev. W. PIGOTT (U.D.C.), Rev. C. A. WILLIS, and others.

PROCESSIONS FROM NORTH, SOUTH, EAST AND WEST LONDON
NORTH LONDON: St. Pancras Archway, 2.10 p.m. Organiser: Mr. W. CHURTON, 14 Ascham Street, Kenilworth Town. EAST LONDON: Beckton Road, Canning Town, 1.15 p.m.; Dock Gates, Poplar, 2 p.m.; Gardner's Corner, 3 p.m. Organiser: Miss NORAH SMYTH, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E. SOUTH LONDON: The Dun Cow, Old Kent Road, 2.10 p.m. Organiser: Mr. ROWLING, 182 Rolls Road, Bermondsey. WEST LONDON: Prince of Wales, Harrow Road, 2 p.m.; Paddington Green, 2.50 p.m.; Tottenham Court Road and Euston Road, 3.10 p.m. Organiser: Mr. E. J. HODGKIN, 162 Bathurst Gardens, Willesden.

Chairman: Mr. W. CARTER, 38 Leverton Street, Kenilworth Town.
Hon. Secretary: Miss E. SYLVIA PANKHURST, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.
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