

Workers' Breadnought

THE RIGHT TO CONSUME.

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WEEKLY



My Heresy (By Bishop Brown).

Five Bishops being appointed by the House of Bishops to investigate the Charge of Heresy against Bishop Brown. He has addressed them as follows:—

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF BISHOPS OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

GREETING—

The subject of this letter is my heresy and yours, and your mistake in dragging me into court for mine. The copies which I am handing you with it will complete your file of my letters on this vexed subject.

The heresy for which I am to be tried is briefly summed up in the first part of this slogan: Banish Gods from the Skies and Capitalists from the Earth.

This is the slogan of the booklet, Communism and Christianity, from which the Presentment Committee of the House of Bishops collected twenty-three passages that, in the opinion of its three members, are so many heresies upon which I should be tried, deposed and ex-communicated.

The tap root of the tree of my heresy is naturalism—the naturalistic contention that man has within himself all the potentialities necessary to the making of the most of his life, and that this is as true of his physical or body life.

As man must feed, clothe and house his body without any help from a conscious, personal God, so he must, by his own unaided efforts, climb every rung of experience, observation, investigation and reason of the long ladder which reaches from the lowest pit of the hell of animalism to the seventh heaven of humanism.

My heresy does not consist in rejecting the theology of the Christian interpretation of redemptive religion, but in emptying it of its traditional supernaturalism and filling it with scientific naturalism. In this way I still hold to the Gods of the Old and New Testaments, but I empty them of their Mosaism and Paulinism and refill them with Darwinism and Marxism.

Though this emptying is all-inclusive with me so far as the supernaturalistic elements of the Bible are concerned, yet it is done to some extent by all my brethren, for example, they empty the Bible of its Ptolemaic astronomy and refill it with the Copernican; and, this, notwithstanding the new astronomy renders it impossible that there should be a heaven above the earth or a hell below it, in accordance with the supernaturalistic representations of the Bible.

This emptying and refilling process was the expedient to which I resorted in order to make it unnecessary to attempt the doing of what I could not do if I would and should not if I could, scrap the superstitions of the soul which I have inherited from my progenitors.

My body has been inherited from animal ancestors, as is evident from the fact that it contains two hundred and seven vestigial or useless organs, twelve of which have been of no value to any among my lower progenitors since the fish stage. Any physiologist would tell me that I should be very foolish, if I attempted to rid my body of these inheritances.

My soul has been inherited from my civilized, barbarian, savage and animal ancestors, as is evident from the fact that it is full of uncivilized and inhuman dispositions and instincts. Any psychologist would tell me that I should be very foolish, if I attempted to rid my soul of these inheritances.

We have museums in which the physical remains of our animal ancestors are preserved. They are of great interest and the world would not willingly part with them. What would it think of me if I advocated their abolition and refused to visit and study in them?

We have churches which are, so to speak, museums in which the psychical remains of our human, barbarian and savage ancestors are preserved. They are of great interest and the world would not willingly part with them. What would it think of me if I advocated their abolition and refused to visit and study in them?

There is a sense in which I worship in both museums, but not essentially otherwise in the latter than in the former. There is, indeed, a great difference in the worships, yet only in degree, not kind.

Everything is dead in both museums, except the people and the dearest thing in either is the man or the woman who in the museum of ancestral souls looks to its dead god for any supernatural help.

The time is coming when people generally will go to church for what a few (among them myself) now go for, to learn about the evolution of the human soul by the study of the doctrines of supernaturalistic religion, not for worship in accordance with them; and, for what inspiration and uplift they can get from its drama, art and music.

The interpretations of redemptive religion like the species of animal and vegetable life, have a common origin and an all comprehensive relationship.

The sun-myth is one of three superstitious worships which are constituent elements in all interpretations of redemptive religion, the other two being in order the ghost-myth and the phallic-myth.

As all the species of vegetable and animal life are related, the lowest being the parent of all the higher, so the phallic-myth is the child and the sun-myth the grandchild, of the ghost-myth.

Ancient fear and ignorance, the parents of fictions and superstitions, filled all things on the earth and in the sky with ghosts or immaterial souls; but modern science, the virgin

mother of truth, the Christ of the world, proves that there are no such souls, divine or human, angelic or diabolic; and so the ghostly bottom has dropped out of the parent religion of which supernaturalistic Christianity is one of a lot of grandchildren.

The comparatively new but rapidly developing and brilliantly illuminating sciences which have for their field of investigation the origin and growth of religious beliefs, institutions, traditions and literatures have established immovably a whole mountain of facts upon which I have taken my stand, and from which I see as clearly as I ever saw anything by the light of the sun on a cloudless noon-day that there is nothing of an unique character about the Christian God, Church, Ministry, sacraments or Bible.

If those who are working in the different parts of this great field of science are unearthing real facts and correctly interpreting them, all the old supernaturalistic ideas of the world about everything religious are on the eve of a revolutionary change.

Speaking especially of Christendom, the greatest and most salutary among these imminent and inevitable changes will be the transfer of religion from its old basis of belief in a conscious, personal Father-Son-Spirit fiction, God, and obedience to the law of his willings with primary reference to life in a celestial heaven, to a new basis of a knowledge of an unconscious, impersonal matter-force-motion reality, nature, and obedience to the law of its doings with sole reference to a terrestrial heaven.

So far as morality or religion is dependent upon living with reference to a future life it is wholly a question of having one's conscious and unconscious influence upon others what it should be—good, not bad; true, not false.

To live with reference to the avoiding of a hell below the earth and the gaining of a heaven above it is in no way to any degree necessary to religion and mortality; yet, according to Christian orthodoxy, the promotion of living to these ends is a great, if not the chief, mission of the Church.

Religion and mortality are almost synonymous designations for one and the same undertaking, the greatest of all undertakings, the making of the most of the life which is here and now by having it as long and happy as possible, and this undertaking has no necessary or even possible concern for any life which may be elsewhere or elsewhere.

Religion is the desire and effort to make the most of terrestrial life by having it as long and happy as possible for self, and morality is the desire and effort to help others to do this for themselves.

The realisation of these desires and efforts are wholly dependent upon knowing, living and teaching, not the law which is constituted of the willings and revealings of a conscious, personal Father-Son-Spirit God, but the law which is constituted on the doings of an unconscious, impersonal matter-force-motion nature, to know, live and teach which law is to attain to the fullness of life, all there is of it, in the largest possible measures, pressed down, shaken together and running over, and it is to have all there is of religion, morality and immortality—all there can be of sainthood and heaven.

Let me give my brethren of the House of Bishops some further idea of what I think this change will be by taking the Christian ministry as an example.

According to orthodox Anglicanism, the Christian ministry is an inheritance from the apostles of Jesus through a long and unbroken series of ordinations.

According to orthodox scientism, the Christian ministry of the Anglican churches is, like the ministries of all the Christian churches, indeed, like the ministries of all the churches

of the supernaturalistic interpretations of religion, an inheritance through a long and unbroken series of evolutions from the medicine men and rain doctors of our barbarian and savage ancestors.

The Primate of the English church, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Most Rev. and Right Hon. Dr. Davidson, and the Primate of the Anglo-American church, the Bishop of Bethlehem, the Rt. Rev. Dr. Talbot, are (as to their ministerial succession, grace, authority and efficiency) big medicine men and rain doctors and their services to the world, while exercising their ministries in magnificent cathedrals, vested with gorgeous robes of silk and purple, as representatives of a celestial divinity, are worth to it neither more nor less than were those of their predecessors in feathers and paints, that is they are without any value at all.

If I must be tried and if, in that case, the world will insist that I shall have a fair chance to justify, by the evidence afforded by competent exponents of the relevant sciences, I will, and I hereby do promise, to see to it that mine will be the last Anglo-American church trial for the rejection of a supernaturalistic representations of the Old and New Testament, the Prayer Book and the Catholic Creed.

A dear friend of mine, an outstanding lawyer, who unfortunately cannot qualify as my legal counsel because he is a Presbyterian, writes:

"It occurred to me again in reading this letter to Dr. Murray, as it has occurred to me before, that the theory upon which your conviction of any charge in this ecclesiastical trial might be founded, would be a point to which you have not directed your thought in any of the communications which I have seen, although I have no doubt this point is present to your mind. The position is likely to be taken that although it is true that none of the Bishops accept the supernaturalism of the Bible in a literal sense, excepting in a certain very restricted field, from which it, of course, follows that your conviction of heresy on the ground that you refuse to accept such supernaturalism would be absurd, nevertheless this is a trial of your right to remain in a certain ecclesiastical organization which has adopted a certain standard of belief and has also perhaps tacitly adopted a certain construction to that standard of belief and that it has a right to determine whether or not persons who fail to subscribe to that standard of belief as thus interpreted shall remain in its membership; this regardless of any question of consistency between the standards and their interpretation, or between these standards and logical truth. It is as if a society of red-headed men should be formed and should adopt a constitution authorizing the expulsion of any member whose hair should turn grey. They would not be obliged to prove that there was any logic or common sense or good reason in their rule, but they might nevertheless enforce it against all members so long as it remained a portion of the constitutional requirements to which all members were required to assent on joining."

Holding to the striking analogy of the great lawyer, it is true, if the supernaturalism of the Bible must be interpreted literally, I am a gray headed heretic without one orthodox red hair. But, then, if this interpretation is a prerequisite to Christian orthodoxy, there is not a representative of it in our House of Bishops, for all my would-be completely red-headed brethren have many grey hairs among the red, and even one of these is enough to condemn its possessor as a heretic:

"Whosoever shall keep the whole law, and yet offend in one point, he is guilty of all."—The Bible.

"Whosoever will be saved: before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholic Faith.

Which Faith except every one do keep whole and undefiled: without doubt he shall perish everlastingly."—The Creed.

The doctrinal standard of the national churches of the Anglican Communion, not excepting the American, is not the Prayer Book or the Catholic Creed, nor both together; but, ultimately, it is solely the Bible, and it only according to the meaning of its representations when the words used in the making of them are literally understood in their ordinary sense:

"Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation: so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of the Faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation."—The Sixth of the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion.

Nor can there be any doubt about the necessity of the literal interpretation of the Bible to orthodoxy.

And I believe also and profess, that all and singular the words and sayings of this God the Father (be they laws, precepts, promises, prophecies, or threatenings) and all that ever was spoken of Him or by Him in the whole body and Canon of the New and Old Testament, is most certainly true, and of such infallible verity and truth, that the same cannot be altered or convolved by any contrary opinion, power or authority."—The Institution of a Christian Man.

No member of the House of Bishops fully measures up to this standard: therefore, all are heretics; and, this being the case, I should not be tried and put out of the House and Church for my heresies, even though they may be more numerous and radical than those of other members.

The line between permissible and unpermissible heresies has never been drawn; and, therefore, it seems to me that if the trial must proceed, it should not go any further until after the General Convention has settled two questions: (1) whether, since Article VI. makes the Bible the standard of doctrine, the Presentment Committee had a right to set on foot their movement against me on the basis of the Prayer Book and Creed, and (2) where the line is to be drawn between the literal and symbolic interpretations of the supernaturalistic representations of the Bible.

It is, indeed, true that in the case of the Rev. Howard MacQueary this line was drawn at the virgin birth and bodily resurrection, and again in that of Dr. Algernon Crapsay at the virgin birth, but there are hundreds of clergymen now who do not believe these doctrines literally interpreted, and I do not reject them, or any others, if I may interpret them symbolically, parabolically or allegorically.

According to the Bible standard as we now have it, there are no degrees of heresy marked on it. All who fall short of reaching its top by so much as the breadth of a hair are as really heretics as am I.

If belief in a conscious, personal God who created the world out of nothing and sustains and governs it is necessary to theism; I am an atheist; yet I am not godless, for this creation, if the world was created, not evolved, is my god, and the laws by which it is sustained and governed constitute the revelation to learn and to live which is my religion.

The late Dr. Paul Carus, one of the great scientists and thinkers, once wrote me that an outstanding Bishop of the Anglican Communion, who is still living, had said to him that, because of his adherence to the god of free-thought, there was no reason why he might not be regarded as a theist and have a place in the Episcopal church and ministry. I cannot at this writing, put my hand on the letter, but I have succeeded in finding a passage in

one of his books which shows that Dr. Carus, though he was, as I am, a materialist and atheist, he was not, as I am not, godless and religionless. I can subscribe to every word of it:

"Freethought is not the renunciation of all authority, it is only the renunciation of human authority. It is not the abdication of obedience, it is only the abdication of blind obedience."

"Freethought refuses to recognize special revelations not merely because it disbelieves the reports made about these special revelations, not merely because it declares them to be doubtful and unreliable."

"Freethought would be weak if it were based on mere negations and disbeliefs, and that freethought which never ventures farther than the negations is weak indeed."

"Freethought refuses to recognize special revelation, because it believes in the universal revelation of truth."

"The God of freethought is not a God who contradicts himself, who makes exceptions of his will by miracles for those who seek after signs."

"The God of freethought is not far from every one of us. We can seek him, if haply we might feel after him and find him. For in him we live and move and have our being. He appears in the realities of nature and of nature's laws, and his revelation is not dual; it is one, it is throughout consistent with itself and every one is welcome to search for the truth."

"Because God has been conceived as a miracle-working magician, and because the ecclesiastical authorities have again and again maintained that such a God alone can be called a God, freethought has been driven into the negativism of atheism."

"But if God is conceived as the objective reality in which we live and move and have our being as that power and cognition of which is truth and conformity to which it morality, free-thought is by no means either negative or atheistic."

"Freethought is by no means a mere negation of belief, it is by no means an overthrow of religion, or a reversal of religious authority. Freethought is a strong and potent faith. It is the faith in truth."

It is Lent. On Good Friday we commemorate the great tragedy, according to the version of Christian orthodoxism, of the sacrifice, by crucifixion, of the saviour-god for the redemption of humanity from the destroyer-god and the propitiation of the creator-god on account of the disobedience of its first parents.

If taken literally, as undoubtedly Christian orthodoxy intends, the whole representation is degrading superstition, without a grain of elevating truth.

My faith in this great tragedy as symbolism is ten times greater and more helpfully influential than it was as either literalism or spiritualism.

The Beelzebub of this world, the father of devils, is the economic system which has during many and long ages divided mankind into two rival classes, the owning master class, a small one, ever growing smaller, and the working slave class, a large one, ever growing larger.

The victims of the unhistorical Judean crucifixions are the symbols of the historical victims, which are ever hanging on the cross in all capitalistic countries. In the midst there is the Christ of labour, the real saviour-god of the world. At the right, hangs liberty and at the left, science, the robbers of ignorance and superstition who are destined to rise to power and glory with the Christ, and to banish the capitalists with their hell from the earth and the gods with their heavens from the skies, in order that we may have a class-

less world, and so a fit place in which to live, a classless heaven instead of our class hell.

In the name of all that is true and reasonable, I ask you how it is possible for an educated and honest man to be other than a revolutionary heretic in religion, since, if he is orthodox, it is necessary for him to believe the utterly impossible doctrines of Christianity about the creation, fall and redemption of man and his destiny to a celestial heaven or hell?

And in the name of all that is true and reasonable, I ask you how it is possible for

an educated and honest man to be other than a revolutionary heretic in politics, since, if he is orthodox, it is necessary for him to believe the utterly impossible doctrines of capitalism about the right of the owning, parasitic class, though doing nothing useful, to have everything and the necessity of the working, producing class, though doing everything useful, to have nothing?

With every good wish for all, I am,

Very cordially yours,

WM. M. BROWN.

Lessons for Proletarian Schools.

Protoplasm.

Protoplasm is what Huxley called the physical basis of life.

It was named protoplasm by Hugo von Mohl.

Its composition is always changing. It is constantly added to by food and oxygen.

It is always breathing out carbon dioxide and it gives off other excreta.

Protoplasm may be observed under the microscope in some animals which consist of but one cell and in some of the larger cells among the plants.

Seen under the microscope it is soft and whitish, semi jelly, semi fluid—sometimes as clear as crystal, sometimes opaque. Darker specks are seen in it. Some of these may be food.

The protoplasm is always moving. If it is not confined by a cell wall its shape will be changing, thrusting out a protuberance on one side, withdrawing one on the other and so it moves slowly forward or backward. If shut up in a cell, it will flow up one side, down the other or up both sides and down the middle.

Our brain cells and muscle cells are also protoplasm, though more specialised. They obey the same laws and do the same basic things as those of the plants and simple animals. Protoplasm is called **motile**, which means capable of spontaneous motion.

The slow extension of a protuberance or lobe on one side and the withdrawal of a protuberance on the other by the protoplasm under the microscope is the first beginning of **muscular contraction**.

The simple movement of the protoplasm does not, so far as can be judged, always result from direct or immediate external causes, but also from something in the protoplasm itself, which, however, may perhaps be acting from an indirect cause or something that affected it some time before. Such action, resulting from what is apparently an inward impulse is called **automatism** and the protoplasm is called **automatic** or self-moving.

The protoplasm also reacts readily to external impressions. It will move towards a piece of food. It will contract into a sphere to present the smallest possible surface of contact if an electric current or other disturbing element passes through the water where it is.

Because it responds to outward impressions the protoplasm is called **irritable**.

Protoplasm is **respiratory**; that is to say it breathes. Breathing consists in taking in oxygen and giving out carbon dioxide.

Should the supply of oxygen in the world cease all life would cease. The whole fabric of the earth would become mineralised.

Energy is expended by the protoplasm by its activities. It maintains this energy by taking in food. Living protoplasm must have food.

It takes in complex food substances and reduces them to simple substances, and during the process, energy and heat are set free.

It also builds the dead food into itself. That is called **assimilation**.

Certain cells and organs **secrete**: that is to say they bring forth products which play a part in the life of the animal or plant.

The nectaries of flowers are so called because they secrete a sugary fluid or nectar. The nectaries are secretory cells or glands. This sugary fluid is attractive to insects who bring them pollen from other plants which fertilises the flower.

Plants called insectivorous, because they eat insects, have glands which produce a fluid by which the plant digests the insect.

In the higher animals the **salivary glands** secrete saliva in the mouth. The saliva moistens the food and turns starch in the food into sugar.

The walls of the stomach secrete **gastric juice**, which, together with the products of the liver and the pancreas (one of the glands of the abdomen), help to render undigested food soluble so that it may be taken up in the blood-stream.

Some small glands have no opening, but their secretions pass into the blood and play a large part in the various functions of the body, such as growth.

Excretion is the formation of bodies which do not build up the plant or animal, but must be discharged from it, otherwise it will become clogged. These bodies are waste products like the ashes of the fire.

Plants usually store away their excreta in parts of themselves where it is harmless. Plants which shed their bark and leaves get rid of a good deal of excreta each year.

Animals excrete sweat and urea. They excrete also products from the alimentary canal. Most of these have never formed part of the organism, but have passed through as undigested portions of food.

A few animals store away the urea where it is harmless, but in the majority the urea is taken from the blood by the kidneys, and passed to the exterior.

Carbon dioxide is an excretion which passes out through the gills of fish or the lungs of animals, or from the skin like sweat.

Some animals and some worms get rid of excreta by casting their skin.

Living matter grows and reproduces. The most primitive method of reproduction is for the animal or plant to divide in two after it has grown to a certain size.

Living matter is **rhythmic**. It is always doing something at stated intervals, as in breathing or the beating of the heart.

Sometimes these intervals appear to have no relation to outside influences.

Sometimes these intervals depend on cosmic changes (cosmic of course relates to the cosmos, which is the world as an ordered, systematic whole). Thus night and day control sleep; Summer and winter, seed time and harvest, control the breeding season and the shedding of fur and leaves. The tides influence the habits of many invertebrate animals which live by the sea shore. (Invertebrate animals have no spinal column).—Based on "Life," by A. E. Shipley.



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Our View.

THE MOST NOTEWORTHY THING about the Labour Party Government is that it dare not be a Labour Government. It is pledged up to the hilt to the Nationalisation of the Mines, but it dare not introduce or make itself responsible for this measure, leaving it to a private member to fight the battle, and thereby abandoning the measure to purely academic discussion and dismissing it from the field of practical politics.

Had the Labour Government attempted legislation to nationalise the mines its proposal would, of course, have suffered defeat at the hands of the Liberal-Tory majority. Would the Government then have remained in office as it did after its defeat on the rent Bill, or would it have gone to the country?

To create a general election on such a great popular issue as mines nationalisation, would be of great propaganda value, because the whole question of private ownership of the means of life would then be discussed in every household in the land.

It would be for the Left Wing bodies to show, of course, that piece-meal nationalisation on the projected lines is unsound and will not emancipate the worker, and that what is required is a change of system. Even should the Labour Government, after winning an election on mines nationalisation, succumb to the pressure of vested interests, and fail to put the project into realisation, the nationalisation campaign would serve to quicken the ripening popular consciousness on the failure of capitalism.

The Labour Government has, however, chosen to seek a prolonged term of office rather than to work for an enlightened democracy. Its policy is to conciliate vested interests by every possible method.

As to the mines nationalisation measure which sustained a heavy defeat in the lobby; it provides for the compensation of the capitalist, which, as we have repeatedly shown, is unsound, because the parasites who live purely by drawing interest, thereby retain their hold on the community, and the exploitation of the producer remains the same.

In regard to management, the measure is a step in advance of the old conception of management of State owned industries on Post Office lines, but it is far from embodying the Workers' Council scheme we desire. Moreover as it proposes to operate within the capi-

talist system and to produce for sale, making a profit to pay interest on the State bonds given to the old shareholders, it is necessarily defective.

The scheme is based on the proposals laid before the Sanky Commission by the Miners' Federation in 1919.

It proposes to set up a Mining Council consisting of 20 members, appointed for five years, 10 by the Government, 10 by the Miners' Federation, with a president appointed by the Government. The Government and the Federation may remove any member of the Council at will and appoint a successor.

IN NOTHING DOES THE LABOUR GOV-

British
Airship
Service.

ERNMENT put into practice its declared policy of nationalisation. The latest example is in regard to the airship service. It is true the Government has rejected what is known as the Burney Scheme put forward by a capitalist concern, "The Airship Guarantee Company." Nevertheless it has adopted a plan by which, in the words of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald "private initiative will be linked with lighter than air development from the start."

The Government decision is that the Air Ministry shall undertake research at Cardington to experiment with an existing airship to be re-conditioned for the purpose, and to construct a new ship with a capacity of 5,000,000 cubic feet. The Air Ministry will also construct a terminal and an intermediate base overseas.

At the same time the Air Ministry will give the Airship guarantee Company a contract to build an airship for commercial purposes.

"This contract shall include a clause under which the constructors will be permitted to re-purchase the ship from the Air Ministry at a reduced figure on the completion of satisfactory flying trials, provided it is operated in connection with an approved British commercial airship service, and shall be available for the use of the State if required."

The latter proviso goes without saying. The State can always take power to use what means of transport it pleases, but the capitalists always see to it that the State shall pay a high rate.

That is a very curious bargain. The State is to pay the company to construct the airship. If it proves a success, the company may buy it back under cost price. The State provides the capital and takes the risk, then gives the company a monopoly to run the airship.

There are no arguments in favour of this scheme. The Labour Government has simply succumbed to the pressure of a capitalist combination with great political influence. We do not suggest that "palm oil" has played any part with the Labour Ministry, but "palm oil" has probably played a large part with those who have the ear of Ministers and Departmental officials.

THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT'S HOUSING SCHEME is gradually

Housing at
Pre-War
Rents.

taking shape. It was a great castle in the air, but its dimensions wane as it is brought down to reality and faced with the hard inexorable conditions of the capitalist system. The project was to give us abundant houses at pre-war rents, but abundance has been whittled down to considerably less than adequacy and pre-war rents are only to be obtained if they are a financially paying proposition after a subsidy of £13 10s. per house has been made. Obviously they will not be an economically paying proposition even after that rather large subsidy has been made. Pre-war rents under the present system are actually a more visionary ideal than communism itself.

FROM THE PUBLISHERS THE FANATICS.

A Comedy in Three Acts, by Miles Malleon.
(Ernest Benn, 5/-).

This play is an interesting discussion on sex and marriage. It is a little incoherent at one of the boldest things written in dramatic times and not quite fully thought out, but it is form in this country. Mr. Malleon does not make it quite clear whether he is able to believe in completely free and unfettered sex unions, or whether he is only pleading for a probationary period to proceed to a legal marriage from which children are to result. At any rate his characters discuss the question frankly and fearlessly.

Mr. Malleon's bitterness against those who made the war and sent millions of young men to the risk of death or maiming flares up in the words of his hero.

This is, in our opinion, Mr. Malleon's most successful and original play.

THE YOUNGEST DRAMA.
Studies of Fifty Dramatists by Ashley Dukes.
(Ernest Benn, Ltd. 8/6).

Though the accounts of the many dramatists given in this book are necessarily very brief, they are both acute and vivid. Mr. Ashley Dukes does not scruple to defy the accepted opinion in many of his estimates, but we believe that time will prove much of his judgment to be sound. Mr. Dukes has an exceedingly wide knowledge of modern drama to which this book is a most useful guide.

Indian Labour Conditions.

There are 65,786 men, 42,000 women and 11,071 children under 12 years of age in the mines of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa in India. Apparently a worker over 12 years is reckoned as an adult in India. These represent 90 per cent. of the Indian mines.

The hours of labour vary from 12 to 16 per day.

In ten years ending 1921, 1,871 workers were killed, 2,306 seriously injured.

In 1922 there were 228,511 persons working in the mines of India; 142,103 adult workers, 78,806 women and 7,602 children under 12 years of age.

243 persons lost their lives in the mines that year, 218 were males, 25 females. The number of children is not stated.

The death rate was 14 per million tons raised. In Britain it is 5.10.

Dividends in some cases are 165 per cent.

Salt: Britain v. India.

In Britain salt costs £1 10s. per ton, in India £21 per ton. The Indian tax has just been doubled.

Contrasts.

The average income in India is 7/6 per head per month.

Mr. S. L. Moore at the shareholders' meeting the Burmah Oil Company said he had made £20,000 out of his shares in a few months. As the company had now given him 4 shares for every 5 he held he had got 900 shares for nothing.

* SPICE. Master and Servant.

The attitude of masters to their servants is loathsome. The workman at any rate knows where his job is; he does something; he can do it more quickly, and then be free, besides he can dream of becoming his own master. The servant can never finish his work, he is like a squirrel in a wheel; life makes dirt, it makes dirt incessantly and the servant is incessantly cleaning up after it. He is obliged to take upon himself all the petty discomforts of life, all its dirty and tedious aspects. He is put into livery to show he is not his own man but some one else's. He waits upon a man who is twice as strong and healthy as himself, he must step into the mud that the other may go dry-shod, he must be cold that the other may be warm."—Alexander Herzen.

Parliament as we see it.

Our Parliamentary Reports and Comments are based on the official Verbatim Reports.

THE NATIONALISATION OF THE MINES BILL.

The Labour Party Bill for the Nationalisation of the Mines was not sponsored by the Government. Mr. Shinwell (secretary for Mines) said the Government could not accept responsibility for it as it had no mandate for that. The Party Whips were not put on and the measure was defeated by 168 votes to 264.

Mr. G. Hall (Lab.) in moving the Second Reading, gave the following facts and figures:

The loss from coal left as boundaries between the various collieries is 3,500,000,000 to 4,000,000,000 tons of coal. If these boundaries were done away with the annual output directly and indirectly would be increased by 10 per cent.

Waste.

8,000,000 tons of small coal is left in the pits annually. The top and bottom of certain seams is left behind. Pillars are left behind. If there were washeries, bye-product and carbonisation plants at the pithead, considerable waste would be obviated.

Professor Knox of the Mining School Treforest, has said:

"If we went on working the seams with the same loss we had up till 1913, the amount we would not get that ought to be got would be 19,000,000,000 tons, equal to 30 years output. . . . One of the best equipped collieries in South Wales is producing power to-day at one farthing per unit, chiefly from the waste heap as the result of coking their coal at the collieries."

Mr. Evan Williams, a member of the Sankey commission said:

"Before the war that same company were producing electricity at one-tenth of a penny per unit."

During the past fifty years no fewer than 60,000 miners have been killed while following their employment; 3,500,000 have been injured so as to be away from work more than seven days. In 1913, 1,297 fatal accidents took place in the mining industry. In 1922 and 1923 there were 2,402 fatal accidents and 897,753 serious accidents.

Average Annual Profits of Coal Owners.

For 25 years before the war	£9,250,000
" 15 " " "	£12,500,000
" 5 " " "	£13,000,000
For the year 1923	£26,500,000

During the past twelve years a profit of £260,000,000 has been made which is twice as much as the capital invested in the industry.

Hundreds of thousands of miners will not get more than £2 8s. a week for a full week.

Out of each man employed in the coal industry in South Wales in 1923, 8/7 per week profit was made; 2/11 a week was taken in royalties.

Thus 11/6 was taken out of each man's labour for the profit of those who did not work, and the miner only got 48s. for his work.

Six persons draw more than £500,000 a year in mining royalties.

In Leicester the miners' minimum wage is 6/6½ daily. In Cannock it is 6/3½ daily; in Warwickshire, 6/2½ daily.

Had the £26,500,000 profit made last year been distributed to the 1,200,000 workers, in the industry, it would have made a great difference to them Mr. Hall thought. That is a question that requires arguing, but a capitalist industry run without profit is unthinkable.

Sankey Commission to Alay Revolution.

Mr. S. Roberts (Con.), said that the Sankey Commission had been appointed in fear of revolution, and that Justice Sankey had submitted to black-mail and thereby given a public invitation to all workers to try to obtain nationalisation by means of strike and strife.

Lloyd George's Promise of 1919.

Mr. Shinwell read from a Parliamentary declaration of Mr. Lloyd George in 1919, in which he said the result of the Sankey Commission would be that the miners would get "A Miners' Charter, which would be the beginning of better things for them."

Lloyd George Government Pledge to Nationalise Mining Royalties.

Sir R. Horne, on June 30th, 1920, had said on behalf of the coalition government:

"They mean to nationalise the minerals of the country and the only reason why provisions to that effect do not appear in this Bill, is that, as I have explained to the House, the legislation which we now require is a matter of urgency, and must be got before the 31st of August. If this Bill were complicated with provisions for the nationalisation of minerals and all the intricate matters which follow upon that, it would be impossible, in our view, to get the Bill through in time."

So much for coalition pledges; both Liberals and Tories voted against the present Bill and even the Labour Party would not risk a defeat on its behalf.

The miners are quiet now and politicians have therefore ceased to take them seriously. It was ever so.

Nyasaland Hut and Poll Tax.

Mr. J. H. Thomas (Colonial Secretary and ruler of a quarter of the globe's population defended the hut and poll tax of 6/- year for any native who owns or occupies a hut or lives in the Nyasaland Protectorate for six months in any year.

Six shillings to a Nyasaland native is a substantial sum.

Poll taxes are no longer tolerated in the so-called civilized countries, but Mr. Thomas is "satisfied that it follows precedent."

"Monds Makeshift" Extended.

A Bill has been introduced by the Labour Government to extend for two years what Mrs. Susan Lawrence (Lab.) described as "Sir Alfred Mond's Makeshift." By this compromise measure the richer London boroughs contribute towards the excessive Poor Law liabilities of the poorer ones. This scheme is again going through as an agreed measure.

A Scottish Emigration Bill.

With no dissent a Bill to give Scottish Parish councils power to assist in emigration has been passing through the House.

Mr. George Hardie (Lab.) said that young men from his constituency had been assisted to pay their passage to Australia. On arrival they were herded into sheds on the quay. They were given some coffee and bread, and then around came overseers shouting along the lines "Jobs at 15/- a week!" "Jobs at £1 a week!" Some of the young men refused to take 15/- or a £1. They went out on their own. After travelling from place to place and doing odd work an dworking their way back to the coast they found it impossible to return home. Three of them came back as stowaways and are being pursued in order that they may repay the money given to assist their passage out to Australia.

The Secretary for Scotland (Mr. Adamson) said it was proposed to recommend the parish councils to work in close touch with the Overseas Settlement Committee. "In view of this," he said, "I do not know that I need go further into the matter."

It is strange that a Labour Government should not regard it as necessary to provide the intending emigrants with particulars as to the state of the labour market in the lands to which they are going. It is strange that a Labour Government should leave the overseas Labour organisations out of account.

Access to Mountains.

A Bill was brought in to give the public access to mountains and moorlands. They call us civilized.

McKenna Duties.

Mr. Baldwin moved the Tory amendment to retain the McKenna duties. After much talk the amendment was defeated by 252 votes to 317.

Mr. Purcell (Lab.) said he cared neither for Free Trade nor Protection: he would use whichever would give employment. As representing Coventry workers he refused to support the removal of the duties. He abstained from voting. Neither Free Trade, Protection, nor Mr. Purcell's mixture will solve the social problem.

The 500 Limit.

Mr. Tom Shaw (Minister of Labour) has laid it down that a maximum of French subjects only may come to this country to work with the object of learning the English language and English Commercial methods. A permit must be granted by the Ministry of Labour, in each individual case and may be withheld at will. Mr. Shaw reserves the right to restrict the number of applications granted generally or in any particular occupation in the light of the volume of unemployment that may prevail.

The French Government does not seem to have retaliated.

How grinsly ridiculous that one man should be permitted to make such regulations.

Mr. Shaw, since the war was over, has taken to calling himself an internationalist.

Regulating Reports of Indictable Offences.

A private Members' Bill to regulate reports of indictable offences was brought in. Sensational reports of murder trials were spoken of, but such regulation will certainly be applied in political cases should the Bill become law.

An Unemployment Scandal.

Three unemployed miners living in the county of Durham were ordered by the Unemployment exchange to take work in Nottingham. They refused because the wage was insufficient to maintain their families at home in Durham and themselves in Nottingham. Their unemployment benefit was stopped.

Another miner, a widower with three young children, was ordered to go to Doncaster. Though the Miners' Secretary at the colliery reported that there was no work for him at the Doncaster colliery, had he gone there, unemployment pay was stopped.

Government Housing Scheme.

An agreement between the Government and the local authorities includes the following provisions:

Local authorities shall decide how many houses they will build subject to a maximum imposed by the Minister of Health.

Local authorities are to retain as much authority as they had under the Act of 1923. No Statutory or other committee set up by the Government is to interfere with, or affect the powers and duties of the local authorities.

The dimensions of houses shall be the same as in the Housing Act of 1923.

The rents shall be fixed on the same basis as the Housing Town Planning Act of 1919. If the rents of houses under that Act are reduced, the Government shall increase its subsidy to local authorities.

The Government subsidy shall be £9 per house for 40 years, provided the local authorities provide a further subsidy of £4 10s.

The aim is to provide houses at pre-war rents, but such rents will be charged as will prove remunerative, allowing for the subsidy of £13 10s. for 40 years.

If pre-war rents can be secured for a lesser subsidy the local authorities' contributions shall be reduced accordingly till wiped out.

Mr. Abraham Egros is claiming repayment by the British Government of £30,000 advanced for operations in Russia in July and August 1918.

Where Dogma Bars the Way.

By Sylvia Pankhurst.

**Children Sacrificed to the Vested Interests of the Church.
Will Labour Government Tolerate Insanitary Schools?
1,350,000 Boys and Girls Victimised.**

Year by year the teachers' conference gives food for the renewal of faith in the coming Social Order in which "All shall be better than well."

The zeal of the teachers' conferences in the cause of education, the proposals they make for the well-being of their pupils, greatly out-distance those of Governments. The teachers' conferences devote far more time to discussing projects for the children's advancement than to their own hours, wages, pensions and other conditions of employment.

Even under the stultifying influences of capitalist society, in which the weeds of competitive self-interest are apt to crush out the flowers of enthusiastic service and the natural desire to work, to experiment, to create and to make life beautiful, they encourage us to look forward to the autonomous teacher's councils which will manage the schools in the Communist time to come, in conjunction with the pupils themselves.

From the glimpse of what might be that the spirit emanating from the teachers' conference brings us, it is sad to turn to the havoc wrought by powers which enter upon the field of children's education, in order to serve the interests of the Church.

The Labour Movement and Secular Education.

Until recently the entire Labour movement of this country stood united for secular education, from the primary school to the university, and for the banishing of all religious teaching from the schools.

There lies before us a programme for "Children's Sunday," organised in connection with the Trade Union Congress, at Newport, in 1912. It was intended that "Children's Sunday" should be an annual event, and the National Union of Gas Workers and General Labourers had taken the initiative in organising a demonstration. The resolution included the abolition of denominational schools and the establishment of free secular education from the primary school to the university. The speakers to the resolution included Messrs. George Lansbury, M.P., J. R. Clynes, M.P., and Will Thorne, M.P.

"Copec."

Yet to-day we find the religious organisation called the "Copec" treated almost as an ally to the official Labour movement and boomed in such Labour Party organs as the "Daily Herald," and the "Labour Woman." The "Copec" conference declared, as was to be expected, for religious teaching in the schools. The influence of "Copec" will certainly be used to secure from the Labour Cabinet concessions in the interest of the religious bodies, especially the Church of England. As emancipation from religious dogma spreads, the Churches make common cause in their efforts to maintain and extend their hold upon the rising generation. The activities of the Churches are not directed only towards extending their religious influence, but towards preserving the established social order. There is no over-looking the fact that politically they are a conservative force.

In February last the Church Assembly debated a motion of its Education Committee—

"To consider and report how best to promote a policy for bringing about full equality as between denominational and unde-

moninational schools in regard to definite religious instruction."

The Assembly carried the previous question because it was realised that a campaign for promoting denominational religious teaching in the Council schools might stir up an agitation against the terrible state of affairs in regard to sanitary and educational requirements in the schools owned by the religious denomination. The motion, actually challenging comparison between the secular and church schools was declared by the Bishop of Wakefield to be "singularly unwise." The Dean of York deplored the financial burdens entailed by "Government Requirements," as though these were not, as they are, much below the minimum which the interests of the children should rightly demand. The Archbishop of Canterbury observed that the money given to Church schools might ultimately be "thrown away" through a change in the educational system of the country.

Condemned Schools.

Beneath this discussion is the fact that the Church of England is maintaining a large number of schools which are grossly insanitary and unfit for the reception of children. It was, indeed, callous to suggest that money which might save the children attending those schools from their injurious effects should be withheld because these schools might presently pass out of church hands. Amongst the wealthy ecclesiastical bodies behind these schools is the National Society with an income of £20,000 a year, which some years ago, boasted that it had spent £1,500,000 "in educating the children of the poor in the principles of the Established Church."

Yet how pitiable are the schools controlled by the powerful State Church and the other religious bodies!

On May 26th, 1914, the London County Council published a report on 124 denominational schools in London accommodating 54,545 children, which had been condemned by the Board of Education and which are still unremedied.

No Playgrounds.

In thirteen of these schools there are no playgrounds. No proper provision can be made for games and physical exercises. In some cases the "infant classes go by turns for play into the tiny yards containing the offices, which are stated to be "too near the school and an unpleasant smell at times pervades the corridor."

At the "Holy Family" school the boys spend the school recreation time in the street, the girls in the corridor or the offices."

One of these schools without playgrounds is that of St. Mary Magdalene, Paddington, which in the Church Review for December, 1921, was held up for admiration because of the manager's boast that "many a little dissenter has been taught the Catholic faith in these walls."

Shocking Lack of Sanitation.

That, however, is not in the L.C.C. Report which refers to the existence in one school of a boy's urinal five feet from a class room window and in another school of lavatories opening direct from the infant's class room. In one school it is reported that there is only one closet for 40 children; in another one for 60 children.

A Death Trap in Case of Fire.

A girl's school "on the first floor of another building, is approached by a single stairway with numerous turnings."

Dark Class Rooms.

Darkness in class rooms, even infants' class rooms, is a complaint because the church is so near.

This means defective eyesight. The material shadow of the church dims the children's vision, the shadow of its dogma's shuts out the light of knowledge.

The schools condemned by the Board of Education before the war are still in use.

The inspectors of the Board of Education have ceased to mention these schools in their reports.

The Joint Committee Report.

Mr. Leslie's Paper.

Further light on these disgraceful conditions is thrown by an inquiry into the state of the denominational schools conducted by a joint committee of teachers and education committees. This committee has not yet published, but a paper dealing with the report was read at the North of England Educational Conference in Blackpool, early this year by Mr. Frank J. Leslie, M.A., hon. secretary of the Association of Public Education Committees and of the Burnham Committees.

6,000 Church Schools Unfit.

Mr. Leslie therein stated:

"We are faced with the fact that there are 6,000 schools (out of a total of 12,000 denominational schools) professing to educate 1,350,000 children, which in the opinion of those best qualified to judge, are unfit for the purpose for which they are being used—and their condition will become steadily worse."

Mr. Leslie bases his estimate on the following facts—

Information was requested from local authorities. The chief officers of 151 such authorities, maintaining 2,032 schools, replied stating that 1,005, less than half, of these schools were structurally satisfactory with certain reservations. The remaining 1,027 schools were pronounced ill-lighted, ill-ventilated, insanitary or otherwise defective. Many of them had been condemned by the Board of Education before the war.

Mr. Leslie estimates that the conditions of the whole 12,000 denominational schools are no better than those of the 2,032 in respect of which replies from the local authorities have been received.

As to the authorities which did not furnish particulars he observes—

"A considerable number of authorities excused themselves from replying to the questions on the plea that the proposal to do so would certainly provoke an acrimonious discussion in their education committees, and opposition from the representatives of public bodies which they would prefer to avoid."

Mr. Leslie from a study of the reports testifies that the schools are "ill-lighted, ill-ventilated, with insufficient lavatory accommodation."

Broken Drain Pipes Pollute Playground.

"In one case there has been a shrinkage of ground resulting in the breaking of drain pipes, with the result that the soil is being polluted, but the managers will do nothing."

One of the county authorities states: "Out of 131 playgrounds attached to the voluntary schools, 95 per cent. are in bad condition."

Children Suffering in Health and Education.

"To the question whether the children are suffering in health or educationally from the condition of the schools, the answer is frequently 'yes!'"

Creeds and Doctrines put before Education.

Many education authorities complain that the denominational schools put orthodoxy in regard to religious doctrine before efficiency in educational standards. One authority states:

"When appointing teachers undue importance is attached to creeds and religious doctrines, and to the interests of the local church members, and not sufficient to educational attainments."

Others say:

"A new vicar is resisting the Education Authority's requirements, and inviting the managers of other schools to do the same."

"The managers here interest themselves in their own point of view, rather than in the general welfare of the schools."

"Managers will not allow the children to attend practical subjects at centres because they would miss a small portion of religious instruction."

"There are far too many separate small schools for the size of the area. This involves the amalgamation of the higher standards."

The amalgamation of the higher classes is, of course, detrimental to the education of the children as one teacher cannot give the necessary attention to many children at different stages of progress.

"The managers of the small denominational schools, have refused to allow their upper standard children to be transferred, because the religious instruction in the Central school is not denominational."

"Standards are combined under one teacher, and scholarships for secondary schools are seldom gained from the voluntary schools for this reason."

Condemned before the War—Still in Use.

Mr. Leslie complains that the Board of Education is turning a blind eye to the defects of the voluntary schools. He says—

"A number of the schools are noted as having been condemned by the Board of Education before the war, but are still in full use. The complaint is made that the Board's Inspectors have ceased to mention the condition of these schools in their reports, presumably on instructions from headquarters."

Government "Tenderness" to Denominational Schools.

"Truth," which has been concerning itself in the scandal of the insanitary denominational schools, declares that "The Board of Education has always been tender towards the denominational schools." Yet it must be remembered that since the Tory Education Acts of 1902 and 1903, the denominational schools have been placed on the same basis as the Council schools in regard to State and rate aid. In return the managers of the denominational schools were made responsible for keeping those schools in proper repair.

The owners of the denominational schools have evaded this responsibility and successive Governments have permitted them to do so with impunity.

What will the Labour Government Do?

Will the traditional tenderness of the Board of Education towards the denominational schools be continued under a Labour Government?

Mr. Trevelyan writes and speaks of desiring a forward move in education, both in staffs and also in school buildings. He asks the Labour Party to bring the necessary pressure to bear on the Chancellor of the Exchequer in order that if the Labour Party remains in office, Mr. Snowden, instead of cutting down expenditure on Education, will provide the Department with increased monies.

Here, however, is an opportunity for securing improvements which Mr. Trevelyan may take without appealing to Mr. Snowden

for supplies. Mr. Snowden has but to use the legal power which he possesses to force the denominational school authorities to put their own schools in order. There is no question here of a grant from the national exchequer. It is the religious organisations which can be made to pay. Their supporters are wealthy, they can find the money. If they fail to do so the denominational schools can be closed. In the long run, and on the whole that would be an event of great benefit to the children who attend them.

Influences are, of course, at work to deter the Labour Government from forcing the religious denominations to put their schools in repair. Votes are at stake of course. Votes in the constituencies and votes in the division lobbies of the House.

"Let sleeping dogs lie" is usually the motto of the politician in doubt. Thus the interests of the children will probably be ignored.

The system which divides our children into classes, and makes the saving and getting of money the guiding principle of the day is responsible for these things.

WHAT WE STAND FOR.

The abolition of the capitalist or private property system.

Common ownership of the land, the means of production and distribution. The earth, the seas and their riches, the industrial plant, the railways and ships, aircraft, and so on, shall belong to the whole people.

Production for use, not for profit. Under modern conditions more can be produced than can be consumed of all necessities if production is not artificially checked. The community must set itself to provide all the requirements of its members in order that their wants may be met without stint and according to their own measure and desire. The people will notify their requirements, and the district and country, the world must co-operate to supply them.

Production for use means that there will be neither barter nor sale, and consequently no money. An immense amount of labour in buying, selling and advertising will therefore be saved.

Plenty for all. Thus there will be no insurance, no poor and no poor law, no State or private charity of any kind. Humiliation, officialdom and useless toil, which means putting parasites on the backs of the producers, will be obviated thereby.

No class distinctions, because there will be no economic distinctions. Everyone will be a worker, everyone will be of the educated classes, for education will be free to all, and since the hours of labour at relatively monotonous tasks will be short, everyone will be able to make use of educational facilities, not merely in early youth, but throughout life.

No patents, no "trade secrets," scientific knowledge will be widely diffused. Since the class war will be no more, the newspapers will be largely filled with scientific information, art, literature and historical research.

Society will be organised to supply its own needs. To-day the essential needs of the people are supplied by private enterprise. Ostensibly we are under a democratic Government, but the most outstanding fact in the average man's life is that he is largely at the disposal of his employer. The government of the workshop where he spends the greater part of his time and energy is despotic.

Under Communism industry will be managed by those at work in it. The workshop will contain not employees, subject to the dictation of the employers and their managers, but groups of co-workers.

We stand for the workshop councils in industry, agriculture and all the services of the community. We stand for the autonomous organisation of the workshops and their or-

dered co-ordination, in order that the needs of all may be supplied.

Parliament and the local governing bodies will disappear. Parliament and the monarch, the Privy Council, the Cabinet, the Houses of Lords and Commons, provided no true democracy. "Self-government is better than good government" is to be found in a society in which free individuals willingly associate themselves in a common effort for the common good. On the basis of co-workers in the workshop co-operating with co-workers in other workshops, efficiency of production and distribution, which means plenty for all, can go hand in hand with personal freedom.

Elected on a territorial basis, Parliament could not manage efficiently the industries and services of the community. The services at present controlled by it are managed by salaried permanent officials. The condition of the worker employed in such services is the same as in privately owned industry.

A centralised Government cannot give free dom to the individual: it stultifies initiative and progress. In the struggle to abolish capitalism the workshop councils are essential.

The trade unions are not based on the workshop, and are bureaucratically governed. Therefore they are not able efficiently to manage the industries. They are ineffective implements in the effort to take industry from the management of the employers and vest it in the workers at the point of production.

Therefore we stand for—

The abolition of the private property system.

Production for use, not profit.

The free supply of the people's needs.

The organisation of production and distribution on a workshop basis.

Aims of the Communist Workers' Movement.

To spread knowledge of Communism amongst the people.

To create an All-Workers' Industrial Revolutionary Union of employed and unemployed workers:

(a) Built up from the workshop basis, covering all workers, regardless of sex, craft, or grade, who pledge themselves to work for the overthrow of Capitalism and the establishment of Communism administered by the workers' councils.

(b) Organised into departments for each industry and service.

In other words, to create the councils in the workshops in order that they may dispossess the capitalist and afterwards carry on under Communism.

To take no part in elections to Parliament and the local governing bodies, to expose their futility to protect, or to emancipate the workers, or to administer Communism.

To refuse affiliation or unity with the Labour Party and all Reformist and Parliamentary Parties.

To emancipate the workers from the Trade Unions, which are merely palliative institutions.

For further particulars apply to the Communist Workers' Movement Secretary, at 152, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4.

"The tiny connecting links that make up the chain of historical movements are the particles of yeast which are lost in the dough. They have raised it, not for their own benefit. Men who awoke early in the dark night and groped feeling their way to work, stumbling against everything in their road; they awakened others to quite different labours."
—Alexander Herzen.

"I would no more trust to railway proprietors in railway matters than I would to a Gracchus speaking of sedition."—W. E. Gladstone on the Bill which gave the State power to buy the railways 80 years ago.



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