

# THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

Socialism, Internationalism, Votes for All.

Vol. IV.—No. 43.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 19th, 1918

Price One Penny

## THE WORKING WOMAN ON FOOD

### OUR DEMANDS FOOD

(1) The complete socialisation of the food supply, with the entire elimination of private profit in food, whether imported or home produced.

(2) Production, large scale manufacture and preparation of food, and distribution to be managed by Workers' Committees appointed by the Trade Union Congress and the local Trades Councils; half the members of the committees to be women.

(3) Equal rationing whilst the food scarcity continues, to be organised by the Workers' Committees on a practical and scientific basis, so that, for instance, the butter ration shall include all substitutes, and the bread ration shall cover and include all breadstuffs, biscuits, buns, etc.

(4) Food to be supplied free, and paid for by a per capita levy in the rates, in order that the poor may not suffer more than the well-to-do.

### PEACE

(1) That the British Government shall accept the invitation of the Russian Socialist Government to join in the negotiations at Brest-Litovsk, and shall support the efforts of the Russian Socialist Government to secure a people's peace on the basis of no annexations, no indemnities, the right of all peoples (including those within the British Empire) to decide their own destinies.

(2) That passports be granted to the representatives of all Labour and Socialist organisations to proceed to an international workers' conference, wherever held.

### ACTUAL FACTS

The following facts and letters speak for themselves. We would bring them to the notice of Lord Rhondda, Mr. J. R. Clynes, M.P., and Sir Arthur Yapp:—

#### HEARD IN A 'BUS.

First Woman: "Oh, look at them lining up! I 'aven't the time; but last week I bought my dinner on Wednesday\* to make sure."

Second Woman: I bought mine a' Friday\*—it was a rabbit; I paid 3s. 9d. for it, too. It didn't go far, with my old man and the four children at home." (Deep sighs.)

\* This means that these families have only one cooked dinner a week.

One of our speakers, Miss Miriam Price, who has a very wide experience, supplies the following home truths about food in various districts:—

#### MARGARINE.

2 lbs weekly for average family of four; then about 1 lb. weekly for 10 weeks and have been without, next 3 weeks averaging 1 lb. weekly.

Co-operators, not able to get any for weeks. Mrs. X. postman's wife, 1 lb. this week, family of 8. Often refused at multiple shops because didn't buy tea and sugar there. Family of 2 gets 1 between them a week (starting last week.)

#### SUGAR.

Co-operators have had only 1 lb per head for 6 months. Retailers in competitive firms have unfairly distributed sugar. Peaks at Highbury, sold 2 lbs. of sugar to each customer on December 22nd as "Xmas boxes," customers were told, also 2 lbs. last week. Probably supplies released on reported approach of Inspector. Middle-class customers, with large orders, no difficulty about sugar and margarine. My sister at Bradford no difficulty also another at Golders Green, only last few weeks had smaller supply of margarine.

#### MILK.

Average 1 pint per family of 4. Milk-sellers giving short measure.

#### MEAT.

4 hour queues common during last 2 weeks. Last 2 Sundays quite common for weaker women tired out, who cannot stand long, to have bloaters for Sunday's dinner (about 1 bloater per person) and about 1 lb. sausage-meat in the week if lucky enough to see it displayed.

Rich customers and better off workers are served first every time.

#### CASES OF HARDSHIP AND QUEUE INCIDENTS.

FACTORY GIRL in Highbury, living alone, no fat for 3 weeks. "Took" half-day to go margarine hunting. Employer bullied her and said she was wasting "his valuable time." She answered: "The half-day was more valuable to me as it meant my food, which means my livelihood, for without it I cannot work."

Mrs. B. had brother home on leave, who went to the Home and Colonial shop in Holloway, with his ration paper. Ration refused, although plenty of food in shop. He went home and then went to Food Controller's office. They, after being worried, gave him a paper which entitled him to call in a police officer to a employee who refused him. A day was wasted and the small family's supply eaten into by soldier. His sister has husband at Front and mother with Old Age Pension, for whom she has to wait in queues as well, there is one child of three. They are able to get 1 lb. margarine, some weeks, but have not had any for last three weeks. His sister overheard conversation of two women. One said: "I am all right for 'marg.' this week, I have brought 6 lbs. and the Maypole will have some next Monday and I shall get another lb." Soldier's wife said: "You ought to be ashamed of yourself." To which came the reply, "Mind your own business we must fight for ourselves these times."

Mrs. C., about 60, very frail, said she always arrived too late at queues. Her husband had been ill but had

lately got work at making dugouts for factories. They had no "marg" for three weeks and he was "fed up" with only having bread and jam.

Buying up in unequal quantities was, until this week, encouraged by multiple firms to enable them to sell out quickly.

Several women at Finsbury Park said to me in margarine queues: "What are we fighting for, if women and children are treated like dirt, what price victory when we are starving. Will that bring back our health?"

#### PECKHAM SOLDIERS.

Four soldiers just home from front, were angry at sight of queue, saw margarine under counter of multiple shop dragged it out, after leaping over counter and threw it over to women. The ring leader said to the manager "now you can arrest me," he would not and the policeman said neither would he as "I am in sympathy with you."

Women often have influenza after waiting and many pregnant women in my neighbourhood have fainted, through long standing and under nourishment.

Women are bullied by school attendance officers, for keeping children home from school to wait in queues, although mother is too ill to go. Girls in munition factories and women on Tubes and Trams often tell me, "I always get home when 'marg.' meat, bacon, and sugar are sold out. Women living alone with no children to wait have gone weeks without fat of any kind."

#### INCIDENT AT WOOD GREEN.

Last week a "Co-op." woman overheard women in a queue talking and found they came from Holloway, Finsbury Park, Bethnal Green and Elephant and Castle and had come to buy margarine to sell again. She had with the police officers' help their addresses taken and only local people served.

I believe that a growing number of working people are doing on very small quantities of food, partly owing to muddle of Governmental Departments and partly owing to the fact that pushing strong women make a business of food hunting.

stood from 7.30 or 8 o'clock for several hours waiting on the chance of getting margarine. The mother has stood for hours waiting to get meat, and in almost all cases has come away without. When she returns she has all her work to do: washing, dinner of some sort for school children, out again in afternoon, and has now got a severe cold. Her husband comes home to dinner. She is most bothered about the three coming home from work; she says she feels she will go mad. I went out this morning myself about 10 o'clock and saw women in queues everywhere outside butchers and grocers. One woman told me she had stood there from 7 o'clock and she had five children at home and a man that wanted meat, etc., because he worked on the fires at Beckton Gas Works. She was shivering with cold. In fact, it is always queues and every day the same; this applies in all cases.

JESSIE CLARK.

## Of Special Interest This Week

### What Will Labour Say?

By E. SYLVIA PANKHURST

### Peace and Arbitration

### Montessori Method

By MURIEL MATTERS



How Capitalists Control the Food Supply; Let Labour Do it

—From the "Canadian Forward."

## LETTERS FROM WORKING WOMEN

Dear Editor,—I have just returned from trying to do some shopping. Sick at heart, I cannot get any fat of any kind. Day after day I have gone out only to come home and face a sick husband, with nothing to give him that he can eat. I have another Sunday to face this week and no dinner. My income is only 14s. to live on and do everything with, except rent, and the price of food is in some cases far too high for one. I do think it very hard that two old people, 66 years of age, can only get frozen liver or heart. It is impossible for my sick husband to eat it.—10 meatless days.

ALICE SCOTT.

Dear Editor,—I think it is nearly time that something should be done to stop people waiting in queues. I have been every day waiting in different queues for hours, and then returning home without anything. My daughter went out at 7 a.m. to the Maypole Dairy Co. shop, and after waiting till 10.30 a.m. was turned away without any margarine; came home chilled to the bone besides losing her education. If we could have a system of rationing I believe these hardships could be overcome.

SARAH GRAY.

Dear Editor,—My neighbour (five boys and husband) two boys working. Every morning this week her boy of 13 has

Dear Editor,—I am writing to ask you to organise a deputation to Lord Rhondda. The workers at Hampstead Garden Suburb are being treated shamefully, on Saturday morning the Press stated there would be plenty of meat for the poor and workers. But we found all the butchers in the Suburb and Golders Green with closed doors and drawn blinds, though there was plenty of meat inside every shop. We watched load after load of nice fresh joints being sent out on the quiet to the rich; no one else got any. Towards evening the shops opened for the workers with the promised meat which consisted of dirty black bits and dirty animals heads and bad liver, which smelt disgustingly.

The bad liver at price 2s. lb., though liver could be bought fresh and nice, in peace time, at 4d. lb. As the meat was uneatable everybody refused to buy, and as they came out I heard women say: "And this is the justice our men are fighting for!" We went to all the shops and then to Smithfield Market, where the same thing was going on, and I heard some munition workers telling each other that they had been working on dry bread all the week.

Hundreds of people here have not tasted meat for three weeks, and there are no queues here. On Monday morning it was stated in the Press that the shops were closed on Saturday because there was no meat, that was to throw dust in the eyes of the workers.

Next Saturday I intend to stick slips of paper with the words "plenty inside," on the doors of the butchers' shops that are closed. I will join you in a deputation.—Yours, etc.—A WIDOW



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## WHAT WILL LABOUR SAY?

Page 13, Resolution 3: "That this Conference, believing that the continuance of this War can only bring further disaster to the workers of the world and to the countries involved, demands that the Government shall publicly use all its efforts and influence with the Allies and the Central Powers to bring it to an end, and shall accept the proposal of the Russian Government for an armistice to negotiate a people's peace on the basis of 'no annexations, no indemnities, the right of the peoples to decide their own destinies.'"—Resolution by BRISTOL LABOUR REPRESENTATION COMMITTEE, as amended by EALING, ACTON, AND CHISWICK TRADES AND LABOUR COUNCIL.

The above demand for co-operation by this country in the heroic effort to secure a Peoples' Peace, which the Russian Socialist Government is making at Brest-Litovsk, is the most important item on the Agenda of the Labour Party Conference. The Russian Socialist Government is animated solely by desire for the welfare of all the peoples of the world, whose interests it rightly considers to be one and indivisible; it recognises no frontiers where right and justice are concerned, and is wholly unaffected by special nationalistic aims, whether political, territorial, or commercial; such sectional aims are always capitalistic and the Russian Socialist Government refuses all connexion with capitalists and capitalism. The Russian Socialist negotiators have a difficult task in dealing with the delegates from the Central Powers, whose Governments are animated, as ours is, by the barbarous ideals of capitalism and autocracy. The original agreement of the Central Powers to enter into Peace negotiations on the basis of "no annexations, no indemnities, the right of the peoples to decide their own destinies," was contingent upon the Peace being a general one. The Allies having failed to join in the negotiations, the Central Powers remind Russia that the primary condition has not been fulfilled. Taking advantage of the fact that they are dealing with a Power which is economically weak, which lacks the engineering facilities for competing in this War of modern machinery, and which is handicapped by difficulties of transport, and by civil war carried on against the Socialist Government by the capitalist counter-revolutionaries, the Central Powers are endeavouring to secure terms which they could not possibly obtain if Russia were supported by the might of Britain, France, Italy and America. The delegates of the Central Powers urge that should Peace be concluded between their Governments and that of Russia, and the armies of the contracting parties be withdrawn from each other's territories, the Central Powers would be under no obligation to withdraw their troops from Russian Poland and the Baltic Provinces of Russia. In justification they allege that the peoples of these territories have already severed themselves from the Russian Empire, and they remind the Russian Socialists of their declaration of the right of the people to self-determination. General Hoffman quoted in support of this contention declarations by the Courland Diet on September 21st, 1917, requesting the protection of the German Empire; of the Lithuanian Diet, on December 11th, 1917, proclaiming severance from the Russian Empire; of the Municipal Council of Riga on December 27th, the Riga Chamber of Commerce, the great Guilds representative of the rural population, and 70 Riga societies, asking protection of the German Empire; also declarations of the orders of knighthood and ecclesiastical communities in the islands Oesel, Dago and Moon severing themselves from Russia. Trotsky and the other Russian delegates replied that the declarations had been made by privileged

sections of the community, not representative of the people as a whole, and declared that they could not recognise as expressions of the people's will declarations made by one or other social group, by bodies whose rights do not rest on popular election, or any declaration made under foreign occupation. The Russians insisted on the decision of the matter by a referendum vote of the peoples concerned to be taken under conditions ensuring that there should be no domination or restraint.

Not merely those who call themselves Socialists and adherents of Labour applaud the Russians in taking this stand, but also the Capitalist Press, which now fiercely reviles the Germans for their reluctance to assent to the Russian view. Let us clear our minds of hypocrisy and realise that the Irish Convention, which is supposed to be settling the destiny of Ireland, is not a body elected by the people of Ireland, but a body nominated by the British Government, and that its membership is too largely composed of representatives of the capitalist and landed interests of the very type which in Courland, Lithuania, and Riga prefers to ally itself with autocratic Germany than to remain a part of Socialist Russia.

### TROTSKY'S CALL TO LABOUR.

Trotsky asks:

"What is the peace programme of France, Italy, Great Britain, and the United States? Are they asking, like ourselves, that the right of determination of their own destinies should be given to the peoples of Alsace-Lorraine, Galicia, Posen, Bohemia, and South-Slavonia? If they are doing so, are they willing also to recognise the right to self-determination of their own destinies in the case of the peoples of Ireland, Egypt, India, Madagascar, Indo-China and other countries, just as under the Russian Revolution this right has been given to the peoples of Finland, Ukraine, White Russia, and other districts? . . ."

"Up to the present the Allied Governments have in no way shown, and, in view of their class character, they could not show, their readiness to accept a really democratic peace. They are not less suspicious and hostile in regard to the principle of national self-determination than are the Governments of Germany and Austro-Hungary. Upon this point the awakened proletariat of the Allied countries have as few illusions as ourselves. . . . If the Allied Governments are willing to make use of the last opportunity, general negotiations could be started immediately in one of the neutral countries. In these negotiations, with the conditions that there should be complete publicity, the Russian Delegation would continue to defend the programme of International Social Democracy as opposed to the Imperialistic programme of the Governments, Allied and enemy alike. The success of our programme will depend upon the degree in which the will of the Imperialistic classes will be paralysed by the work of the Revolutionary proletariat in every country. If the Allied Governments, with the blind tenacity which is characteristic of decadent perishing classes, again refuse to take part in peace negotiations then the working classes will be placed under the iron necessity of grasping the authority from the hands of those who cannot or will not, give peace to the peoples."

British Labour should surely uphold this view, and, in doing so, should bring every means at its disposal to support the Russian Socialist Government, the first working-class Government that the world has ever seen. The Ealing, Acton and Chiswick amendment declaring that this country shall join Russia in her negotiations is the most direct opportunity to support the Russian workers which the Agenda gives to British Labour. The resolution should be passed, and, when passed, should be acted upon with fervour and determination. Will these things be? Has British Labour yet awakened from its long sleep?

### CALL FOR WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE.

The Glasgow Trades Council declares that it is essential to a democratic Peace that the representatives of Labour in all countries should meet in conference at an early date. The Lincoln Trades Council adds an amendment calling for the election of such representatives by a ballot vote of the organisations affiliated to the National Labour Party, arranged in divisional areas, each of which will elect its own representative. Should the Government refuse passports, Lincoln also moves for the calling of a National Conference "to formulate a policy which will compel the Government to give way." This hint of militant determination is refreshing, but the resolution and amendment would have been more effective had they been linked up with the Brest negotiations and had they expressed solidarity with the efforts of the Russian Socialist Government.

In sharp conflict with these and many other resolutions calling for a speedy Peace, comes the Dockers' resolution, declaring the War to be "in defence of civilisation, liberty, and the rights of the smaller nationalities," and re-affirming Mr. Asquith's Guildhall declaration. Oh, Dockers, do you still take a capitalist politician as your spokesman? Have you forgotten your own great wars with the power of capitalism, the latest of which you waged when Mr. Asquith was Prime Minister, and your comrades, the German dockers, sent a contribution from their funds to help you to hold out against your oppressors?

### SHALL LABOUR MINISTERS WITHDRAW?

The central point of interest of the Conference must be the Peace and War issues, but bound up with these, and scarcely separable from them, is the question of official Labour's connection with the Government. A growing determination to be rid of the so-called truce is

manifest, and the withdrawal of the Labour Members of the Government is demanded in resolution after resolution. The East Ham Trades Council demands the expulsion and repudiation of any member of the Party who continues to hold office in the Government; and the Edinburgh Labour Party desires an amendment to the Party Constitution which shall make it impossible for any of its members ever again to accept Government office, save "by the express authority" of a specially convened National Conference."

With these resolutions we ourselves are in strong agreement. We consider that Labour should under no circumstances accept office in a capitalist Government, and that this great capitalist War was the worst of all occasions for hauling down the independent flag. The result of the compromise has, unfortunately, more than justified every argument against it.

### THE NEW CONSTITUTION.

Such immediate subjects of vital policy will, we imagine, arouse much greater interest than the discussion of the draft for the new constitution of the Labour Party, which is supposed to be the chief business of the Nottingham Conference. The Railway Clerks' Association has tabled a resolution declaring that:

"No scheme will be acceptable which, by providing sectional preferences or privilege, either in nomination, in voting power, in membership of the National Executive, or in Parliamentary candidatures would be a violation of the democratic principles which the Party is specially concerned to maintain."

This resolution is in part aimed at the special arrangements proposed for individually enrolled members, which certainly appear to contemplate that such persons will receive representation in excess of their actual numbers, as compared with the affiliated organisations. The rules for Local Labour Parties provide that the basis of representation on the general committee of the local Party shall be: for Trade Unions and other affiliated organisations, 1 representative for every 100 members, with a maximum of 5 from any one society. The representation for co-operative societies is to be the same, but if the membership exceeds 5,000 representation is to be on a special basis. Individually enrolled men are entitled to 10 representatives; or, if there are more than 1,000 men enrolled, to 1 representative per 100. Individually enrolled women are to be represented on the same basis. It would appear that if the individually enrolled members comprise but a very small number, they will yet be entitled to 20 members of the Committee. On the Executive Committee of the Local Labour Party, the Trade Union organisations are to have 3 representatives; the other affiliated societies 3; the co-operative societies 3; the individually enrolled men 3; the individually enrolled women 3, and the Trades Council 1. All this without regard to the actual numerical strength of the various bodies.

Representation at the National Party Conferences for affiliated organisations is to be on a basis of 1 per 1,000 members. The basis of representation for Local Labour Parties is peculiar. In borough or county constituencies returning one Member to Parliament the Local Labour Party is entitled to one delegate at the Party Conference. If the constituency is entitled to 2 Members of Parliament, 2 delegates may attend the Conference. In divided boroughs returning several Members of Parliament, there is to be a Local Labour Party in each constituency and a Central Labour Party for the whole borough—the Local Parties will be entitled to nominate delegates, but the Central Labour Party will appoint the delegates for the borough. This appears to us a most undemocratic method of procedure. In addition to the delegates which it has appointed to represent the Local Labour Parties, the Central Labour Party will appoint a delegate to represent itself.

An additional woman delegate is to be appointed in any constituency where the number of affiliated and individual women exceeds 500.

Nominations for the National Executive are also to be sectional. There are to be 11 representatives of the affiliated organisations; 5 representatives of the Local Labour Parties, and 4 women—again without regard to the numerical strength of each section. Women may be nominated amongst the 11 representatives of affiliated organisations or the 5 representatives of the Local Labour Parties, but it is evidently assumed that unless special provision is made for them, they will be left out. That is a reflection upon the ability and activity and numerical strength of women in the Labour Movement which women should take steps to wipe out.

No Parliamentary candidate can be adopted as Labour Party candidate for a constituency until his candidature has been sanctioned by the National Executive. This seems to us to vest too little power in the rank and file who have created the Movement in the locality; too much power in the far-off National Executive, which, as events have proved, is only too likely to have lost touch with the mass of the workers.

(Continued on page 928.)



## OFFICIAL LABOUR'S MESSAGE TO RUSSIA

The Message to the Russian People which has been issued by the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress and the Executive of the Labour Party is in some respects an advance on previous statements emanating from that quarter, though it is still marred by nationalistic prejudice and cant and the habit of looking through the spectacles of the governing classes.

The most striking passage is that which supports the efforts which the Bolsheviks are making to secure a Peoples' Peace:—

"In this crisis the British people must speak."

"The Russian people can only succeed in its great and perilous endeavour if it is supported by the people everywhere."

"The British people must proclaim to the peoples of Russia and Central Europe that its aims are identical with those of Russia; that we, too, see no solution for the evils of militarism except in the principles of 'No annexations or punitive indemnities' and 'The right of peoples to determine their own destinies.'"

We welcome the declarations that:

"The British people accepts the principle of 'No Annexations' for the British Empire," and that:

"We repudiate still more emphatically the secret treaties, published by the Bolsheviks, in which the policy of 1907 was unhappily carried, during the war, to its logical conclusion."

(These shameful treaties are now well-known to our readers, for we published them in our issue of January 5th, copies of which may still be obtained.)

We welcome the admission that "we see no evidence that German administration in Tropical Africa has been so much worse than that of other European Governments," and "we believe that the Peace Conference will be better advised to place all Tropical Africa under a uniform International Control." That is the one really honest part of the manifesto, and we present our compliments to the joint Executives in respect of it. But there ends our praise. The statement ex-

presses "understanding" and "sympathy" for oriental peoples whose independent countries have been absorbed by European Empires, but it makes no pledge of insistence that Britain, the greatest offender in this respect, shall restore to these peoples their independence. It is said that the Arabs of Hejaz and Irak, the Jewish colonies in Palestine, the Armenians and others shall never again come under Ottoman rule, but independence is not offered them, and it is suggested that the Peace Conference will place them "under the permanent international organisation that we hope will be constituted by it." Is that to be a genuine International organisation, or merely a new name for the present Alliance? Would British Labour welcome the placing of Britain under the control of such an organisation? It seems to us that the Jewish Colonists, the Armenians, and others are as capable of self-government as any peoples, and we think it an outrage to place them under a subjection which, though it is set forth in fair words by Mr. Lloyd George and other capitalist politicians, is, in our opinion, only a cloak for oppression by the great capitalist exploiters, and which would undoubtedly hinder the free development of the peoples concerned.

In regard to India and other British Dependencies, official Labour says:

"We accept the principle of self-determination . . . though we believe that the record of British government here gives little occasion for reproach" (oh, Labour! Labour!) "and the application of the principle is peculiarly difficult. . . . Our purpose is to raise these Dependencies to the status of Dominions. We cannot give them this status at once, because it is impossible to end in a day the position which has been created by a long period of British administration."

It cannot be too emphatically stated that this is not self-determination as the Russians see it. This is merely giving to the nationalities within the British Empire, not the measure of self-government which they desire, but that which the

British think fit to give them. The Indians are perfectly capable of self-government, either within or apart from the British Empire; surely, members of the Trade Union Congress and Labour Party Executives have not failed to meet the Indians who come over to this country and gain distinction at our universities? Pledges such as those contained in this manifesto are not worth the paper they are written on. In 1858 Queen Victoria promised that Indians of whatever race or creed should be "fully and impartially admitted" to Government posts. The promise was repeated by King Edward in 1908, fifty years later, and later still Lord Cromer admitted in the House of Lords:—

"India . . . is . . . the only important country in the world where education has considerably advanced, which is governed in all essential particulars by non-resident foreigners . . . the only country where the Civil Service in all its higher administrative branches is in the hands of aliens appointed by a foreign country. . . ."

That, by the way, was a pledge given by the Government in power. This is the pledge of a minority party which has no strength save the power of organised Labour, which it does not use. It is noticeable that Ireland is not referred to in this document. The manifesto is rendered useless by its concluding phrase, which means that official Labour intends to support the War to the bitter end:

"Peoples of Central Europe . . . do not let your Governments drive the British people, as they are driving the Russian people, into the terrible choice between continuing the War and abandoning the only principles that can save the world. If this choice is forced upon us . . . we shall continue—but the responsibility will be yours."

Let the Labour Executive be not too sure. The temper of the people is turning towards an immediate stoppage of the War, as the Government will discover which dares to apply a further comb-out and make a further reduction of the food supply!

## Dr. MONTESSORI AND HER EDUCATIONAL PRINCIPLES

By MURIEL MATTERS

## III.—THE MATERIAL.

It is thought by the uninitiated that the Montessori material is simply a collection of miscellaneous objects, gathered at random, calculated to amuse and interest the small child. If this view be held, it is no wonder that people tell us seriously either that they have manufactured, long ago, similar material of as much value as the Montessori apparatus, or that they are equally sure they could provide some in the future. These people also see no reason why we shouldn't mix any other kind of Kindergarten material with that of Montessori.

Now, the fact is that there is nothing haphazard about the collection of material—it has not been gathered in a reckless way at all, but represents years of experiment on the part of Dr. Montessori. And, strange though it may sound, it is the result of the children's choice. Dr. Montessori from time to time manufactured material and placed it before the children with whom she was experimenting. In some cases it attracted the attention of the child, but the attraction was of a fugitive nature,—the attention was not held by the material for a sufficiently long time to make education by its means possible. To accomplish this it is necessary that the stimuli presented should correspond to an inner need of the child, and when this occurs education, or growth, results. For, needless to say, Montessori's concept of education is not the injection into the child's consciousness of facts, figures and information. No, the method consists in the presentation of stimuli to which the child reacts, causing the intelligence to work and develop, resulting, not in the mere acquiring of information, but of actual transformation of the entire nature, a culture of the whole personality. The system which achieves this is scientific.

Because of her love of humanity Montessori has been enabled to see clearly the child's needs. There is no truth in the old saying, "Love is blind." Unselfed love gives the most penetrating vision. The infant's first and greater hunger is that of his senses. That need has been met by means of the sensorial material, and by satisfying that hunger Montessori secures at the same time his intellectual growth. But the development does not stop there,—it is not tethered to mere sense impressions—if it were so it were to my mind a barren thing.

"Aesthetic and moral education are closely related to this sensory education. Multiply the sensations and develop the capacity of appreciating fine differences in stimuli, and we refine the sensibility and multiply man's pleasures. Beauty lies in harmony. Harmony is refinement: therefore, there must be a fineness of the senses if we are to appreciate harmony. The aesthetic harmony of nature is lost upon him who has coarse senses. The world to him is narrow and barren. In life about us there exist inexhaustible fonts of

aesthetic enjoyment, before which men pass as insensible as the brutes, seeking their enjoyment in those sensations which are crude and showy, since they are the only ones accessible to them. Now, from the enjoyment of gross pleasures vicious habits very often spring. Strong stimuli, indeed, do not render the senses acute, but blunt them, so that they require stimuli more and more accentuated, and more and more gross. Such pleasures kill the man within the individual, and call to life the beast."

So in contrast to the method employed hitherto, Montessori commences with the education of the senses. The older methods tried to teach intellectually, to give, as it were, the sum total of adult man's experience, and to hope and expect the poor un nourished infant to grow on this. Can one do the growing for others? Emphatically no! A sound educational method must be based on life and its needs, and the child must experience for himself from the very beginning. His first need, then, is of the senses, and this must be satisfied. When the sensory material, the solid insets, the pink tower, the long stair, the broad stair are in turn presented, the child works with the particular piece, exercising himself, his sense hunger is appeased, and his sense training assured. If any doubt this power of the material—when rightly presented—let them watch the children at work with either of these objects. When the child has grasped the use of any piece of this material he begins to repeat the act again and again. In this repetition consists the development, and a cursory glance at the child convinces the observer of the satisfaction he is deriving from the repetition of the exercise. It is evidently corresponding to some psychic need, and it seems clear that he is not only working with the two extremes of his nervous system,—the sensorial on the one hand and the motor on the other; but he is also working with his centre—if I may so put it—where the elaboration takes place. The inner need is being met and satisfied, and the result is not merely observed in the fact of the child learning all dimensions: size (the pink cubes), length (the long stair), breadth (the broad stair); but there is a definite expansion of the entire nature.

The same phenomenon occurs when the child works with, and repeats, his exercises with the rough and smooth surfaces and the box of fabrics (for the tactile sense), the wooden tablets (for the baric sense), the colour and sound boxes, and the geometric insets. We have proof of his growth, for he is able not only to distinguish between rough and smooth surfaces but he goes further to the appreciation of minute differences in colour and sound, and applies this knowledge spontaneously to objects in the environment. It is hardly possible for a visitor to enter the room without our having proof of this. The little ones gather round the new-comer in no ill-bred way, and, showing no discourtesy, I hope, to examine the visitor's apparel—for they have not been told

"little children must not touch," nor that "little children should be seen, but not heard." No, on the contrary, they may, and are encouraged to touch, but to touch so carefully that the frailest stalk of the most delicate flower or leaf shall escape injury or bruise. They are encouraged to speak, and the hope is that the voice shall fall on the ear like music, for have they not learnt the difference between loud and soft and sounds and noises. What mental self-discipline such ultimate achievements involve, we, directing them, know full well. Yes; they gather round the visitor. One may say, touching the dress, "This is silk," or "This is velvet." A frail little girl may exclaim, "You have a green bird in your hat" (alas! only too true), "may I kiss it," or, on seeing a visitor's muff with a tiny head of some poor little animal, "It is like a pussy cat." "Your boots are brown like mine," or "You have a gold chain," etc., etc. That the education of the senses makes men observers, who could deny in the presence of this little group making their independent discoveries every moment. The child who this morning has had his first lesson on the circle—from the tray of geometric insets—discovers that his plate is also a circle, and this is new to him, notwithstanding he has seen and used plates for a long time. To another child the sky for the first time is "blue"; he has this moment applied his newly-acquired knowledge. A little girl demonstrating our contention that auto-education is established by means of this method exclaims with intense feeling, "Now I'm going to know all the colours there are in the world." And yet another makes a greater discovery than she has known before. With a fine toothed yellow comb, and a blue sky—both objects of joy—provide untold joy to the girl, whoon her own initiative proceeds to contrast, in her mind, the two colours. Then holding the comb between her fingers she peers at the blue sky, when lo! she sees green! Her cries of delight and surprise bring another child to her side to witness the miracle; a blue sky through a yellow comb, makes green.

Montessori's claim is more than proved—"These mental gymnastics are not merely psychosensory, but they prepare the way for spontaneous association of ideas, for ratiocination developing out of definite knowledge, for a harmoniously balanced intellect. They are the powder trains that bring about those mental explosions which delight the child so intensely when he makes discoveries in the world about him, when he, at the same time, ponders over and glories in the new things which are revealed to him in the outside world, and in the exquisite emotions of his own growing consciousness, and finally, when there springs up within him, almost by a process of spontaneous ripening, like the internal phenomena of growth, the external products of learning—writing and reading."



## What Will Labour Say?—Continued from page 926.

But our greatest criticism of the new draft constitution is that it does not with sufficient clearness and definition make the Labour Party a Socialist party. Until the Labour Party is emphatically an anti-capitalistic Socialist party we think it unwise to admit to its ranks individually enrolled members, who may come in neither specifically as workers nor specifically as Socialists, and who are to be given representation which, for some time to come, will almost certainly be greatly in excess of that to which their numbers would entitle them.

The War has rendered acute the conflict between the Party officials who have forgotten the historic struggle of Capital and Labour, which will continue until all men and women are part of the world-wide solidarity of Labour; and the rank and file workers who still bear the full burden of capitalist oppression. This conflict is evidenced in the resolutions condemning Messrs. Barnes, Brace, Hodge, Parker, and Roberts for voting with the Government against the Party's most mild resolution, which would have raised the beggarly minimum wage proposed for the agricultural labourer from 25s. to 30s. a week.

### PARLIAMENTARY MACHINERY.

Discontent with Parliamentary machinery, and the desire to amend it, is expressed in many resolutions. The Edinburgh Labour Party believes that the will of the people would be best interpreted by a Government elected by the votes of the Members of the House of Commons. Why not by the directly exercised votes of the people? The Edinburgh Labour Party should think again! The National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives calls for the abolition of the House of Lords, and the Ealing, Acton and Chiswick Trades Council, in view of certain compromise proposals, warily adds an expression of "confirmed opposition to any form of Second Chamber, whether elected by the House of Commons or otherwise." This amendment deserves support, as the original resolution does not touch the proposal which the reactionaries are about to bring forward to bolster up the Second Chamber.

### INITIATIVE, REFERENDUM AND RECALL.

The proposal to establish the Initiative, Referendum and Recall is new to the Labour Party Agenda, and, therefore, in spite of its importance, it may not be taken seriously as yet.

### CONSCRIPTION, CIVIL LIBERTIES, TRADE UNION CONDITIONS.

The demands for the repeal of the Military Service Acts, and the restoration of civil liberties and trade union conditions are unfortunately postponed till after the War. The Amalgamated Society of Engineers desires that Trade Unions shall have the right:

"To prosecute before a Munitions Tribunal any employer who fails to restore Trade Union conditions and that this right shall continue for at least a full year after the suspension of Trade Union customs has come to an end."

Would it not be a dangerous thing thus to sanction the keeping in being of the Munitions Tribunals after the War? Would it not be wiser to demand the right to prosecute either through the existing civil Courts or through some tribunal created for this purpose alone? The Engineers also ask that the existing Wages Orders regulating the employment of semi-skilled, unskilled, and women workers shall remain in force as minima for at least a year after the restitution of Trade Union customs. We should have greater sympathy with this demand if the Orders had secured equal pay to men and women.

### FOOD AND PROFITS.

The food question will bulk largely at the Conference. The best proposal from the working-class standpoint is embodied in the I.L.P. resolution, as amended by the Ealing, Acton, and Chiswick Labour Council, which is to be found on page 16 of the agenda, and which is—

"recognising that the exploitation of the poor is certain to continue so long as the making of private profit in food is allowed, calls upon the Government, in conjunction with the local authorities, to take entire control of the food supply, to take over the import of food, the farms, food factories, bakeries, and distributive agencies, under some such system as that organised by the Belgian Relief Commission engaging where possible those already employed in the food industries to do the work at adequate salaries as servants of the nation without any power to make private profit out of the food supply; and further, to cope with the present food shortage by establishing the distribution of available food supplies on a family basis of share and share alike without regard to the financial position of the families."

This resolution, as amended, might well be further amended by the demand for the food to be paid for by a tax on income and by the insistence that the food supply be managed by representatives of the workers—say, the Trade Union Congress and the local Trades Council—for only the workers can be trusted to give fair and equal measure to the poor.

### WANTED, MORE SOCIALISM!

Resolutions under the title, "Conscription of Wealth," disappointingly fail to warrant such a description. The I.L.P. asks that the National Debt be consolidated at a lower rate of interest, that the income tax be increased, and a substantial

levy be made on capital. Lambeth Trades Council declares that taxation of land values and Free Trade provide "the true basis for national prosperity." (Oh, Socialism, are you disowned? Is the burden of capitalistic wage-slavery forgotten?) There are demands for the raising of the limit below which income may be taxed, and protests against the levying of excess profits tax on co-operative societies.

But all this is tinkering. There is too little Socialism on the agenda and too little Socialist thought is applied to the solving of immediate problems. The Socialist bodies do not, in Conference at any rate, efficiently fulfil their mission to convert the Labour movement to Socialism; indeed, some of the resolutions sent in by Socialist bodies appear designed rather to disarm criticism than to lead on to more advanced thought. Nevertheless, various resolutions support the nationalisation of shipping, land, and the mines and minerals; and Great Yarmouth and Norwich Trades Councils desire the Labour Party to press for

"the nationalisation of all the means of production, distribution and exchange."

Such resolutions may be dismissed as impractical and Utopian, but when the Labour movement takes them to heart and determines to put them into practice the day of Socialism will be at hand. At present the attitude of the Labour movement in meeting the problems which perpetually arise to confront it is too often non-Socialist.

### MINISTRY OF HEALTH.

Resolutions concerning a Ministry of Health are put down by the Women's Labour League, the Steel Smelters, and the Glasgow Labour Party. We have small faith in the mere creation of new Government Departments. The National Health Insurance Commissioners have proved to be as callously, stingily bound by red tape as the Local Government Board and the Poor Law Guardians, and the Pensions Ministry is no better. Rather than agitate for new machinery, we prefer to make some definite, tangible demands, which may be as drastic as you please. For instance: (1) that health insurance be made non-contributory; (2) that every person who works for his or her

### PEACE AND ARBITRATION.

Dear Editor,—Before the War, everyone agreed that there was but one reasonable way to secure the maintenance of peace. That way was to arrange for the settlement of international disputes by arbitration.

The value of arbitration is, that it gets rid of prejudice. Each nation is prejudiced in favour of its own cause, and only a neutral can hold the balance evenly between them and deliver an impartial judgment, based upon the principles of international law and custom. Such a judgment may not be ideal, but it is the best there is to be had, and is as fair for one side as for the other.

But since the War a remarkable development of hypocrisy has descended upon the public mind. We still believe in the settlement of disputes, and the enforcement of arbitration, by a "League of Nations"; BUT, this dispute, this present devastating strife is to remain for ever outside the scope of arbitration.

Arbitration is for the future, but not for the present! In the future, settlement is to be by international law, but this quarrel is to be fought to the bitter end, for whatever advantage we can gain! What is the excuse for deserting the principle of arbitration, at the very moment when we profess to be fighting for it? Is it that Germany would not accept arbitration? Or is it that we ourselves, being on the winning side, don't want arbitration? Germany has never been offered arbitration. Yet no nation that believes in arbitration has any right to wage a war, except on the clear understanding that it is only to be fought, until the enemy agrees to submit to arbitration.

If the German people were offered arbitration, does anybody seriously believe they would refuse it? Would you refuse it, if you were in their shoes? Why, then, is it not offered, as an alternative to the continuance of this ghastly and Godless slaughter?

The answer is simple. It is not offered, because there is no public demand that it shall be offered. Pacifists have been clamouring vaguely for "Peace by Negotiation," now, for a year and a half; and meanwhile, each side has been fighting for a favourable position to negotiate from.

If one-half the energy had been put into a demand for arbitration that has been wasted in vaguely bleating for "Negotiation," the War would have long been over.

T. H. FERRIS.

[In reply to this letter we ask our correspondent: "Who is to arbitrate?" Early in the War it was hoped that America, in conjunction with the other neutrals, would undertake this office. It is rumoured that the neutrals were several times given to understand by the Allies that their offer to mediate would not be acceptable. Now that America has come into the War only relatively weak nations which are dependent for supplies upon the Allies are left; could their conduct of the arbitration be entirely free from pressure by the Allies; would their decision be entirely free from self-interest? The Pope has also offered to mediate. His offer has not been accepted. We think there is more likelihood of gaining a satisfactory peace from the negotiations initiated by the Russian Socialist Government, especially if the peoples of the other countries will bring pressure to bear upon their own Governments, than could be hoped from the arbitration of any capitalist power.—Editor, "Workers' Dreadnought."]

### OUR WOUNDED HEROES.

Edmonton War Pensions Committee has been informed by the Ministry of Pensions that it is not desirable to grant supplementary pensions to partially disabled men who are temporarily out of work, as this might "promote habits of idleness and dependence on casual employment."

### GIVE THIS PAPER TO A FRIEND

living who can prove that he or she is ill and unable to work shall have sick benefit equal to double wages during the time of his or her illness, half the money to be found by the employer, half by the Government. If anyone asks why people should have double wages when they are ill, our reply is because they require extra care and nourishment at that time. (3) That anyone who is ill shall be entitled to free medicine, medical attendance, and nursing if required, at the expense of the State; and if the illness is of such a character that the patient ought not to leave the house the doctor shall call. (4) That women who do their own housework and are paid no wages shall receive as sick benefit a sum equal to the amount of their husband's wages, in order that they may pay for their housework to be done, and obtain extra nourishment, as well as such free doctoring, nursing, medicine as may be required. (5) These provisions to apply in the case of maternity, as well as in other illnesses, £5 being added in order to buy necessaries for the child. Here, of course, we should desire to proceed with the complete endowment of maternity and childhood. (6) Sick benefit to be paid immediately on the commencement of the illness; maternity benefit to begin a month before the birth of the child. At present the unfortunate worker has to wait a fortnight before sickness benefit begins—time enough in which to die for lack of nourishment!

### DEMobilISATION.

Preston Trades Council wisely urges that at the conclusion of hostilities soldiers and sailors shall have adequate maintenance for their wives and families until they are able to return to industry, and that "the working hours in all employments shall be reduced without reduction of wages until every worker has been absorbed into industry."

That is a most important resolution; it should be carried with enthusiasm and acted on with vigour.

There is no resolution about the comb-out; the sending in of resolutions and amendments many months before the Conference often deprives the rank and file of the power to initiate resolutions on immediate questions. An emergency resolution of the Executive, amendment being ruled out of order, will probably be the only expression of opinion on this important matter allowed to Conference by the officials. E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

### OIL AND TOBACCO.

Dear Editor,—Our war aims have seldom been more clearly put than in "The Observer," December 23rd, 1917, "From our Own Correspondent, Philadelphia," as follows:—

"Our nations are as one in demanding the restoration, compensation, and democratisation, and an end to militarism in Germany. The security of the American tobacco and oil trade requires the retention of Mesopotamia by the British, and America's Christian fellowship, rejoicing in the conquest of Bagdad and Jerusalem, demands the emancipation of Armenia and Syria from ancient intolerable misrule. . . . The result of the Canadian elections in its rebuke to anti-conscriptionists is inspiring."

Here we have the new Jerusalem set forth in all its glory. The destruction of militarism in Germany synchronises with the establishment of conscription among ourselves; while America's Christian fellowship, founded upon a Rockefeller, will go down like a good Samaritan from Jerusalem to Jericho pouring in oil into the wounds of those who have fallen among thieves, and dividends into its own pockets. And at the same time the sacrifice of Isaac by Abraham having secured Mesopotamia for the tobacco trade we may rest assured that all our lofty professions will end in smoke. The walls of Jericho will soon disappear before the 15-inch guns of the new Christian fellowship.—Yours, etc., JOSEPH E. SOUTHALL.

### SWEATING IN AUSTRALIA.

"The Tribune," a Roman Catholic weekly paper published in Melbourne, Australia, reports that a decision of the Rag-making Wages Board declares it legal to pay women workers as little as 10s. a week. Women are making 2,000 sacks a week or from 2,700 to 4,000 calico bags a week for a wage of 13s. a week. "The Tribune" reports that Father Lockington at a meeting in Cathedral Hall, Fitzroy, read the award of the Confectionery Wages Board fixing wages for women under 21 as low as 9s. a week. The confectionery trade workers are on strike. These are scandalously low wages, especially in War time and especially in Australia, where the cost of living and the ordinary wage rates are higher than in this country. Moral: Get rid of capitalism which flourishes on the starvation of the bottom dog! The question of the confectionery wages was raised in the Legislative Assembly, and it was said that the workers were unskilled. Mr. Elmslie wisely replied that he had yet to learn that it cost unskilled workers less to live than skilled workers. We want an equal standard of living for all. We wish we could induce all workers to assent to that principle and to fight for it!

### FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

A MEETING FOR TEACHERS AND ALL INTERESTED IN EDUCATION will be held on

SATURDAY, JANUARY 26TH, 1918, AT 3 P.M.

at the

HALL OF THE KING'S WEIGH HOUSE

CHURCH

DUKE STREET, W.1.

(Entrance to the Hall in Thomas St., near Bond St., Tube Station.)

ADDRESS

BY

JOHN RUSSELL, M.A.

(Headmaster King Alfred School, Hampstead.)

on

"MUNITIONS OF PEACE: EDUCATION"



## QUESTIONS OF THE DAY

## VOTES FOR WOMEN.

If the Franchise Bill reaches the Statute Book, not being shelved on Irish re-distribution or any other question, a limited measure of women's suffrage is now assured. We deeply regret that the measure should be a limited one, and that the franchise question should not be settled once for all. Assuredly it cannot be settled until complete adult suffrage is established. The proposal of Lord Balfour of Burleigh for the taking of a Referendum first of the women municipal electors, then of the men electors, as to whether the women's franchise clauses should become law, and the proposal of Lord Halifax to take a Referendum of the women electors were, of course, defeated. The introduction of the Referendum to British legislative procedure is too democratic a proposal to commend itself to the Lords, and the lesson of the Australian Referendum which has prevented conscription there has been taken to heart. We should welcome a proposal to submit the question as to what sort of franchise the women should have to all women, for we are confident that the answer would be ADULT SUFFRAGE.

## THE MINNIE PIT EXPLOSION.

We express our deep sympathy with the victims of the Minnie Pit explosion and with their relatives. Searching inquiry should be made as to the cause of the disaster. If, as is probable, defective ventilation or other negligence by the employer is responsible for the accident, a great demand should be raised for the mines to be taken over by the community and controlled by the workers who risk their lives daily in getting coal.

## IRELAND.

The Committee of the Ulster Liberal-Unionist Association is urging the Government to extend conscription to Ireland.

If the Government takes this bad advice there will be a revolution in Ireland!

The Sinn Feiners are taking a Referendum of the people of Ireland as to whether Ireland is

entitled to claim complete freedom at the end of the War. It is rumoured that the Convention will not come to an agreement. When will our Government take a Referendum of the Irish people and abide by it?

## IN AMERICA.

Nation-wide Adult Suffrage for Americans has passed the House of Representatives; it is practically assured.

## 14s. A WEEK.

Women workers from the firm of Achille Serre, Carpenter's Road, have complained to us that most of them were paid 12s. per week and others 14s. a week until about five weeks ago, when their wages were increased by 2s. a week. They are cleaning and repairing soldiers' uniforms which have come all muddy from the trenches.

This is Government work, and should be better paid; but it will be necessary for one or more of the workers to call on us before we can deal with the matter effectively.

## THE COMB-OUT.

The Government appears determined to continue with the comb-out in spite of the manifestations of strong opposition from the workers affected, including a resolution of the Clyde District Committee affiliated to the Engineering and Shipbuilding Federation, instructing their executive council to call on the Government to withdraw the new Man-Power Bill before the end of January, and, failing this, intimate a "down tools" policy; also asking the Government to call an international conference to discuss the question of Peace.

If the Government will not end the War, the workers may shortly change the Government.

At a well-attended open-air meeting of the Bradford Women's Humanity League the following resolution was passed with only two dissentients:—"That this meeting of Bradford citizens, on this sacred day of 'National Prayer' petitions the Government to start negotiations for the People's Peace, based on the eternal principles of justice and international brotherhood."

## CARSON'S COLLEAGUES: By St. Mungo

The Right Honourable George Nicol Barnes, P.C., Labour member of the War Cabinet, was at one time an engineer—one of the common people, known to his associates as plain George Barnes. Then he was a quiet, steady man possessed of a conviction that only the working class could free the working class from political and economic subjection. Men with a similar conviction had confidence in plain George Barnes, and appointed him by popular vote to act for them in several capacities. His first great appointment for, and by, the working class was that of Secretary to the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, and later he was elected by the same people to represent them in Parliament. He got these appointments because he expressed a belief in the power and independence of Labour to emancipate itself, and he owed them to the drudgery and sacrifice of the down-trodden who believed what he said. With their confidence and support he became a Man of Influence: otherwise he had been unknown.

In the far-off days before the War, this plain George Barnes knew that the people had made him, and that his duty was to serve them. He believed they were overworked, underpaid, ill-housed, poorly fed, badly educated, deprived of leisure, refinement, pleasure and health, and he told them they suffered from these grievances because of the existence of capitalism, which regarded them as "hands," and enslaved them accordingly. Therefore, he added, if you want to remove the grievances which afflict you sadly you must first destroy capitalism, which is their foul parent. This monster, he would continue, is your great enemy; indeed, your only enemy, for if you destroy it your minor foes will destroy themselves. The people who heard him talk in this fashion put the sword of Democracy in his hand, assured him of maintenance and support, and urged him not to sheath the sword until the monster of capitalism had been slain and buried. For years he wielded that sword like a true Knight of Labour.

But for more than three years the sword which the people gave him has been rusting in its sheath. The Knight of Labour has become the colleague of Carson, Curzon, and Milner, the Privy Councillor of the King, and a member of the most autocratic and unscrupulous Cabinet that any British Parliament has ever known. Elected to Parliament to redress the wrongs of the poor, he is now the partner of men whose lives have been spent in repressing the poor, in exploiting them. Elected to Parliament to abolish the House of Lords as an aristocratic ex-crescence on the face of Democracy, he consorts with men who want to maintain the legislative privileges of those who have become lords because of rapacity and corruption. Elected to

help to win Home Rule for Ireland, he is now the friend of Carson, the potential traitor, whose ignorance and bigotry made Home Rule impossible. Elected to maintain Peace among the nations, he wages war with the enthusiasm of any Jingo. Elected a democrat, he has become an autocrat. Elected to be independent, he accepts the doormat favours of his quondam opponents.

Was there ever such a tale of recantation; of Pacifist turned Jingo; of Labourist turned Snob? Yet it is the man of whom this tale is told who has the impudence to address a New Year message to his "fellow-workers in the cause of Labour," begging them "to continue their steady support of the war for Democracy"! Could anything be more impudent than that? Fellow-workers! We are to rise above such petty things as "the doormat incident," and unite to crush the common foe. He regards Russia as "the plaything of the despotic power," which has smashed the rule of the Czar, which is comrade Barnes' way of complimenting the Russian Socialists who have gained the greatest democratic triumph of the century. In face of the declaration of Trotsky, he denies that there have been secret meetings of financiers, and that Britain had refused to discuss War Aims with our Allies, including Russia. We believe Trotsky on this point, which is more than we can say of Barnes. He "grieves" to see the women in the queues patiently waiting for scraps of food, but bids them to cheer up, for—Lord Rhondra is going to see that they get their fair share of supplies! And so on ad infinitum.

The ironical thing about this message from the "Labour member of the Cabinet" is that it is penned by a man who cannot get a decent hearing in his own Parliamentary area, Blackfriars and Hutesontown, where the people who sent him to Parliament consider he has deserted their cause. Since the War began he has addressed one public meeting of his constituents, at which he was practically howled down, and he has not ventured to risk a similar experience. Mention of his name at a co-operative assembly in the division a few weeks ago was received with a storm of hisses. The local Labour Representation Committee have, with practical unanimity, told him they do not intend to run him again as a Labour candidate, and they have decided to find another nominee. The Glasgow Labour Party has repudiated his War policy, and his new views find scanty support among the trade unions in the city. The Socialist bodies have the same confidence in him that they have in Carson.

This, then, is the man who regards himself as the "Labour" member of the Cabinet, and as such the proper person to urge the workers to

(Continued at foot of Col. 3).

## PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

## NEUTRALITY (?)

January 14th.—An economic agreement was concluded (the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Blockade stated) between the United States and the Swiss Government on December 5th last. Therein the imports of foodstuffs and raw materials into Switzerland from America are restricted; and guarantees against re-export to the enemy given. Will Switzerland be the next "neutral" to join in this bloodshed?

## THAT 12½ PER CENT. INCREASE.

Sir W. Evans, of the Ministry of Munitions, was asked to give a clear statement about the 12½ per cent. bonus to munition workers engaged on time rates. He referred the questioners to the announcement in the Press. Thereupon Mr. Pringle (L.) said that the Munitions Department had calculated the cost to be £120,000,000! Sir W. Evans knew nothing of this. We should like to know whether this estimate is for a week or a year?

## EQUALITY (?)

Mr. Hogge (L.) drew attention to the decision that separation allowances are to be granted to officers' children, boys up to eighteen and girls up to twenty-one and longer for invalid children. Whilst the grants to children of private soldiers cease at fourteen, regardless of sex or health. No answer was given.

## EDUCATION BILL.

Mr. Hayes Fisher introduced a new Education Bill which contains amendments to his first Bill and the omission of certain clauses against which criticism was raised. He said: "It imposes upon the councils of counties and county boroughs the duty of providing for all forms of education. It abolishes exemptions from school attendance between five and fourteen years of age. It provides for further restrictions upon the industrial employment of children during the elementary school age, and the gradual introduction of a system of compulsory day continuation classes for adolescents. In the new Bill, as in the old one, local education authorities are empowered to give assistance to nursery schools . . . indeed, attention to physical welfare is a special and distinctive feature of both measures." This last sentence sounds encouraging; but it is wanted at once, not when the constitutions of the children become totally undermined by the present lack of nourishment!

## MAN-POWER.

Sir Auckland Geddes made his maiden speech in the House to introduce a new Military Service Bill. In the main no great changes are contemplated, a further "comb-out" is being organised by the help of the Trade Union leaders. This will call on the men exempted on occupational grounds. Many certificates of exemption, Sir Auckland fears, were obtained by their holders "through influence." Further, the automatic addition of two months' exemption which was granted to certain classes of men is to be abolished. If young men—and Sir Auckland said young men were needed, not boys—should try to obtain immunity from serving, they would be the cause of sending out "their fathers," and the "wounded men" over and over again, whilst they stay at home and enjoy good wages. If there are any such young men, surely no one can sympathise with them. However, we know that the threatened stand of Labour against a further "comb-out" is to force the Government to think about peace negotiations, not to send other men to the trenches. Sir Auckland Geddes spoke of this Bill having the object of securing "equality of sacrifice"! It cannot do so now—too much inequality has been rampant. Why does he not call to the well-to-do, if he would even try to equalise the hardships?

It was evident, as Mr. Pringle (L.) pointed out, that the Minister of National Service had not practice in the usual Government language. He no longer harped on the old story of Belgium as origin of the War, but boldly said that more men were wanted for the front because of the defection of Russia from the alliance of those "nations which came into the War as a result of Russia's action in 1914"! He also admitted that there had hitherto been thoughtlessness and carelessness in the command in France, "but all that would be stamped out." It is refreshing to hear this candour, though Sir Auckland failed to give the House any facts showing the present position of the Army at home or abroad. Mr. Pringle (L.) made a startling statement that shells have been produced in this country far in excess of what could be used, no matter how long the War lasted! Mr. C. Edwards (Lab.) regretted that Conscription was not to be applied to Ireland. He tried to imply that the rank and file of the workers are more warlike than their leaders! The Bill was given a first reading.

## A.S.E. Resolution.

The Amalgamated Society of Engineers, London and District Vigilance Committee, has adopted a resolution demanding that the Government hand over the control of food to the Labour Organisations. This was coupled with the suggestion that unless the Government should consent within fourteen days all National work should be stopped.

Dear Editor,—I should like to bring to your notice the hardships that we who are ill have to put up with. I was in bed all through Xmas—three weeks altogether—and am still unable to get out. My children were only able to get me 4lb. tea, 1lb. sugar 4lb. margarine, and if it had not been for the kindness of a neighbour we should have indeed gone hungry. My sailor son was home on 10 days' leave and applied at the Post Office for a food card but they had none so he also had to have his share. My little girl went out at seven this morning to see if she could get any margarine, came back home at 12 with nothing; then the authorities wonder that the children cannot attend school regularly. It is criminal to keep them standing about all that time. My husband is on piece work, doing at times heavy lifting, and requires meat each day, so as to be able to work. Yet again we are faced with a meatless week-end and dry bread for him on Monday; it's time something was done, otherwise some of us mothers will go mad with the worry of it all.

ANNIE MARTIN.

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go on making sacrifices for the sake of militarism and imperialism. The man who is discredited by the Labour forces in his own constituency requires some audacity to describe himself as the "Labour" member of anything, let alone a Cabinet. The Labour Member of Parliament who is the political friend of Carson, Curzon, and Milner is a Tory in mufti, and for such the Labour Party, if true to itself, has no place.



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

CENTRAL OFFICE: 400 Old Ford Road London, E.3.

THE MOTHERS' ARMS: 438 Old Ford Road, E.3. Mother and Doctor's Consultations and Baby Weighing, Mondays 2.30 p.m. Infant Clinic and Day Nursery, 8 a.m. to 7 p.m.

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COST PRICE RESTAURANT: 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.3, and 20 Railway Street, Poplar.

ST. STEPHEN'S SHOP: 85 Hoxton Street, off Old Street, off Shoreditch. Literature on Communism, Feminism, Internationalism, Socialism.

CO-OPERATIVE TOY INDUSTRY: By appointment with Miss Norah Smyth.

THE WORKERS' CHOIR: Applications for Membership to Mrs. Hercbergova, 45 Norman Road, E.

SOCIALIST SUNDAY SCHOOL: 20 Railway Street, Poplar. Sunday Afternoons, 3 p.m.

## WHATS' ON? W.S.F. FIXTURES

### OUTDOOR.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 19th.  
Great Push for Peace, Socialism and Votes for all in Poplar and Bow. Meet at 2 p.m. at 20 Railway St. Speakers: Mrs. Bouvier, Miss Price, Mrs. Walker, and others.

SUNDAY, JANUARY 20th.  
Osborn St., Whitechapel, 11.45 a.m. Mrs. Bouvier. Finsbury Park, 3 p.m., Mrs. Walker. The Flagstaff, Hampstead, 3 p.m., Miss Price.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 25th.  
Hoxton Church, 11 a.m., Miss Price, Miss Beamish.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 26th.  
Great Push in the S.E. District.

### INDOOR.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 19th.  
Bulwell W.S.F. Social and Dance, Albert Street Schools, Central Hall, 7 p.m. Speaker: Miss Sylvia Pankhurst.

SUNDAY, JANUARY 20th.  
Bulwell Men's Adult School, 9 a.m. Albert Street Schools, Central Hall, 6.30 p.m. Speaker: Miss Sylvia Pankhurst.

MONDAY, JANUARY 21st.  
Bow Women's Hall, 8 p.m. General Meeting, London Section.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 22nd.  
85 Camberwell Grove, 7.30 p.m. Miss Thomlinson. Comments on Bertrand Russell's "Principles of Social Reconstruction."

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 23rd.  
Bow Women's Hall, 8 p.m. Speakers' Class. Instructor: Mr. L. Hogben.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 24th.  
29b, Lincoln's Inn Fields, 7.30 p.m. Mr. A. L. Bacharach, "Industrial Unionism." Mrs. Bouvier, "The Present Outlook."

## OTHER ORGANISATIONS

Walthamstow League of Rights.  
TUESDAY, JANUARY 22nd.  
William Morris Hall, 2.30 p.m., Mrs. Bouvier.

## CHILD WITNESSES IN POLICE COURTS.

The Association for Moral and Social Hygiene draws attention to the manner in which discretionary powers are exercised by magistrates as to the attendance of women in courts under the provisions of the Children Act, 1908, according to which Act charges against children and young persons under 16 years of age must be heard in a special court to which no member of the general public has access without leave of the Court. Where there is a woman probation officer she is frequently in Court during the hearing of such cases, her presence as a woman helping to support the child through the ordeal of examination. The Justices of Leeds, Cambridge, York, Manchester, Birmingham, and other centres have made special provision for the attendance of women social workers in their Courts, and have spoken most appreciatively of the presence of responsible women during the trial of certain cases where girls and children have appeared as witnesses. On the other hand we have the experience of the Hendon Women's Local Government Association, which some two years ago formed a Rota to watch cases locally in the interest of women and children. The members of the Rota were treated with consideration by the officials until June, 1917, when the Bench refused the quiet, polite request of a rota representative to remain in the Adult Court during the hearing of a case of indecent assault of two little girls by an elderly man. The children's mother and the probation officer were also excluded from the Court; but, although there was no woman present, any man or lad was allowed to remain while these little girls gave their painful evidence. The magistrate apparently excluded women throughout the whole case, whereas the Children Act only confers discretionary power on magistrates to exclude any section of the public while a child is giving evidence. Several societies interested in such cases have suggested

## OUR FUNDS

Donations to be sent to the Hon. Financial Secretary, Miss N. L. Smyth, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.3. All parcels to 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.3.

GENERAL FUND.—Irene, per Mrs. Drake (weekly), 21s.; Miss F. Raisin (5s. monthly), 10s.; J. Thurgood, Esq., 2s. 6d.; "Herald" Reader, 1s.; Mrs. Gilling, 1s. "DREADNOUGHT" FUND.—James E. Phillips, Esq., 3s.; Mrs. Baillie Weaver (monthly), 2s. 6d.; Mrs. Heathcote, 2s.; Miss M. A. Barker, 1s.

"DREADNOUGHT" GUARANTEE FUND.—Previously acknowledged (weekly), 42 15s., 7d.

MILK AND GENERAL DISTRESS.—Mrs. Baillie-Weaver (monthly), 42s.; Mrs. Boswell (monthly), 42s.; Miss Mgt. Smith and Friend, 15s.; Nurse Hebbes (weekly), 10s.; Miss J. T. Drewry (monthly), 5s.; Mrs. Mary Parr and Friend, 5s.; Misses Barrowman (monthly), 5s.; Miss Hilda A. Jenkins, 5s.; A. J. Marriott, Esq., 3s., 6d.; D. Wilkie, Esq. (monthly), 2s. 6d.; Mrs. Hague, 2s. COLLECTIONS.—L.S.A. Toolroom, 41 10s. 8d.; Misses E. and K. Lagsding, J. Watts and T. Barker (Green's Yard and Cubitt Town), 12s. 11d.; Misses Vine and Lynch, 7s. 11d. CLOTHES, ETC.—Anon; Mrs. Boswell.

## FEDERATION NOTES

### PEACE LOBBY.

Members and friends who desire peace are urged to come to the House of Commons to lobby the Members. For time, etc., please write to Miss Lynch, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.

### DOVER.

Will all sympathisers living in or near Dover who are interested in the formation of a branch, please communicate with Mr. James H. Matson, 3 Primrose Road, Dover.

### SOUTH NORWOOD.

A very successful social evening was held at 141 Portland Road, South Norwood, on January 10th. The members responsible for the refreshments and entertainment are to be congratulated on their efforts. The secretary, Mrs. Montague, 20 Bungalow Road, South Norwood, will be glad to receive gifts for the sale of work to be held shortly in aid of the funds.

### BOW AND POPLAR JOINT SOCIAL.

Bow and Poplar members and friends had a very enjoyable evening at 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E., on Saturday, 12th. We wish to thank those members who helped to make it a success, especially those in charge of the refreshments and Mr. A. A. Watts, who acted as M.C. Those desiring to join Poplar Branch should apply to Miss Lagsding, 20 Railway Street, Poplar. Those desiring to join Bow Branch should apply to Miss Lynch, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.

### SPEAKERS' CLASS.

The Speakers' Class is now held at 400 Old Ford Road every Wednesday evening. We shall be pleased to welcome members and non-members. We hope as many as possible will take advantage of this opportunity. Mr. L. Hogben is the teacher; fee 3d. per class.

### WHITECHAPEL AND THE FOOD QUESTION.

Mr. A. Moscovitch, 39 Fairclough Street, Commercial Road, desires to get in touch with members and sympathisers in that district who will join him in forming a W.S.F. Branch and Committee to press for the management of the food supply to be handed over to the Labour organisations.

Women who are ready to go to Westminster to demand PEACE and FOOD should communicate with the W.S.F. at 400 Old Ford Road, E.3

## MISCELLANEOUS ADVERTISEMENTS

FAMILY LIMITATION DOCTRINE. Post free, 1jd. —Malthusian League, Queen Anne's Chambers, Westminster.

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

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WORKING HOUSEKEEPER (live in) REQUIRED by Lady; ten-roomed house near Baker Street Station; no meals required to be prepared beyond breakfast; salary by arrangement; accommodation could be provided for friend; suitable for mother and daughter, two sisters.—Apply Box 400.

PRODUCE FROM A CO-OPERATIVE GARDEN.—To assist in working this you are invited to buy fruit and vegetables now to be supplied in season at market rates.—Apply Box 100.

## INTERNATIONAL YOUNG AGE PENSIONS.

Dear Friends of Humanity,—Before the storm bursts let us endeavour to place the children and all those who are helpless in comparative safety by securing SEVEN SHILLINGS A WEEK each for them from the State, that we may be free to work for other reforms. At present, whilst they are exposed to cold, poverty and hunger, we can think of nothing else. 7s. a week would ENABLE FAMILIES TO MOVE AT ONCE INTO BETTER HOUSES, and to obtain better milk and food. This would stimulate local trade and reduce expenses of WORK-HOUSES, HOSPITALS, PRISONS and LUNATIC ASYLUMS, and do away with all poor rates to such an extent as to be A GREAT SAVING to the taxpayers, and would enable sensible girls to marry where they would otherwise not dare to do so, and to bring up healthy happy children to become stalwart citizens and parents in their turn, besides relieving untold pain and suffering, and being an estimable benefit to the State.

The fact of a married man becoming automatically POORER at the birth of each child constitutes a cruel wrong to all children, and until each child has 7s. a week in its own individual right, as an infant citizen, suffering, war, disease, and poverty can never be abolished. Let us all demand this from the Government now before it may be too late.—

S. MACKENZIE KENNEDY.

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## LINES WRITTEN IN LEWES GAOL BY THOMAS ASHE.

Let me carry Your Cross for Ireland, Lord;  
The hour of her trial draws near;  
And the pangs and the pain of her sacrifice  
May be borne by comrades dear.  
But Lord, take me from the offering throng,  
There are many far less prepared;  
Though anxious and all as they are to die,  
That Ireland may be spared.

Let me carry Your Cross for Ireland, Lord;  
My cares in this world are few!  
And few are the tears will fall for me  
When I go on my way to You.  
Spare, oh spare, to their loved ones dear,  
The brother and son and sire,  
That the Cause we love may never die,  
In the land of our heart's desire.

Let me carry Your Cross for Ireland, Lord;  
Let me suffer the pain and shame!  
I bow my head to their rage and hate,  
And I take on myself the blame.  
Let them do with my body whate'er they will,  
My spirit I offer to You;  
That the faithful few who heard her call,  
May be spared to Roisin Dhu.

Let me carry Your Cross for Ireland, Lord;  
For Ireland weak with tears;  
For the aged man of the clouded brow,  
And the child of tender years;  
For the empty homes of her golden plains,  
For the hope of her future, too;  
Let me carry Your Cross for Ireland, Lord!  
For the Cause of Roisin Dhu.  
\* Roisin Dhu is a poetical name for Ireland.

Give this Paper to a Friend—To-day

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