THE WORKERS'

DREADNOUGHT

Socialism, Internationalism, Votes for All.

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THE ENGINEERS AND MAN-POWER

By W. F. Watson

On March 21st, an unofficial conference of A.S.E. District Committees was held at Manchester, whereat a resolution was adopted to the effect that unless the Government honoured the agreement of May 5th, 1917, and all eligible dilutees were taken into military service before calling upon the skilled men; a down-tools policy would be adopted on April 6th.

As usual, the capitalist press filled its columns with vituperation and base lies about the selfish unpatriotic engineers. It is amazing to think that the Compositors, Printers, Packers, and Transport workers who produce and distribute these papers are mostly Trades Unionists! But, of course, it is part of the vicious system. The only solution is for the workers themselves to secure control, and just as it is essential for engineering workers to secure control of the engineering industry, so is it necessary for the workers in the printing industry to secure control of all the printing plants, including those of the big newspapers. Officialdom also hastened to the aid of the State and employers. The A.S.E. Executive passed a special resolution repudiating the action of the unofficial conference, and the General Secretary expressed the pious opinion that no strike would take place. It is remarkable how these people fall over each other in their indecent haste to repudiate any manifestation of activity on the part of the rank and file. The astute Winnie Churchill, thinking that the movemight spread, issued an eleventh-hour appeal to engineers to forego their Easter holidays on the plea that munitions were needed for the great offensive. It is not many weeks ago since we were told by the politicians, with pre-knowledge of the requirements of the great offensive, that there was an abundant supply of munitions. The workers, having very short memories, swallowed the bait and the strike was called off. And I am glad it was declared off. I am quite confident that it was not selfishness, but the action of the unscrupulous employers who are using this War and dilution to secure cheaper labour, to undermine the power of the Trade Union movement and to increase their profits, that determined the action of the Manchester Conference. We have ample evidence of this. In one particular shop I know of there are two publicans, both eligible and fit, who have gone into the trade to avoid military service, whilst in the same shop a young member of the A.S.E. is being harassed into the army. In spite of all this, the "dilutees first" position is wrong absolutely, and if persisted in will court disaster. Can you not see, my brothers, that by taking up that position you acquiesce in the continuance of this horrible slaughter? In which case our enemies can and do rightly say if you wish the War to continue you must be prepared to do your share of the fighting. If, on the other hand, you think this useless murdering should cease, why do you not come out boldly and say so? Why did you not say so eight weeks ago? At that time the workers had the finest opportunity that has yet presented itself to bring this War to an end. At that time the Bolsheviks were appealing to the democracies of Europe to rise up in revolt against the ghastly slaughter and the German and Austrian workers responded by extensive strikes.

Some of us in Britain endeavoured to follow suit. On January 6th, the National Workers' Committee resolved to resist the Man Power Bill and demanded that the Government accept the Russian Government's invitation to negotiate for peace. The Clyde workers had resolved to down tools on February 12th, unless the Government declared an armistice. On January 27th, at the Albert Hall, 10,000 workers adopted a similar resolution, as did also numerous mass meetings throughout the country. On the morning of February 5th, I was informed upon unimpeachable authority that the Employers' Federation fully expected a national strike of engineering workers to commence during that week.

That same evening there was a mass meeting of the London Shop Stewards, and the success of the whole movement depended, I am certain, upon the result of that meeting. A resolution was adopted recommending a down-tools policy to give effect to the Albert Hall resolution. When it came to fixing February 12th, although I, and others, did all we possibly could, we were unsuccessful. The weak-kneed opportunist politicians moved an amendment, which was eventually adopted, referring the question back to a workshop ballot, knowing full well we had not the requisite machinery to secure a complete return, in consequence of which the movement fell through. One would have thought that the Labour Party would have risen to the occasion, but these politicians have not the imagination of a fried eel. All they are concerned about is rushing to the aid of the State when the workers revolt. Ramsay Macdonald told the Clyde workers through the columns of "Forward," not to strike; but to develop their political activities. Henderson urged us all to be good little boys and girls until July, August or September, when there may be a General Election, when 300 Labour candidates would be put in the field and, oh wonderful joy, probably sufficient would be returned to form a Labour Cabinet with, presumably, dear old Arthur as Prime Twister.

It is a remarkable coincidence that the German papers subsequently reported that there were peace riots in England. *On February 12th* everything pointed at that time to an international peace offensive, and I am absolutely certain that had it not been for the time serving politicians, and, had those who claim to be guiding the destinies of the rank and file movement possessed a little more courage and imagination, we should have developed such a movement as would have compelled the powers that be to declare an armistice and open up peace negotiations. That the rank and file would have responded I am certain. And who can now tell my brothers but this awful, criminal, ghastly, useless slaughter may have been averted. Brothers, I appeal to you with all the eloquence and sincerity I am capable of; do not trust the politicians, do not permit of our movement being deflected by such questions as "dilutees" first. That the dilutees' question is menacing I admit, but it can be easily solved by organising regardless of craft or sex into the Workers' Committee movement.

I am more than ever convinced that this War will never be settled by the victory of one form of militarism over another, neither will it be solved by scheming diplomats. It can and will only be solved by an International Workers' Conference. So brothers let us drop all internal squabbling; let us commence our peace offensive *now*; let us develop our industrial activities and power; let us build up a British Soviet, decide upon a common policy and then, in spite of all obstacles, apparent or real, proceed to take the whole affair out of the hands of those unscrupulous individuals who were responsible for the War. And, above all, let us see to it that such a war shall not occur again.

THE SINN FEIN WAY IN IRELAND

By May O'Callaghan

Whether you go to Liberty Hall or to 6 Harcourt Street, Dublin, you will find carpenters and builders busy repairing these two seats of Irish (Sinn Fein) activities. That building may be regarded as exemplifying the methods of the Sinn Feiners in respect of their country. Everywhere educative influences are now at work. From every Sinn Fein platform the word goes out that the Executive may any day be removed by that "foreign" Government, therefore those listening must learn to be prepared to take their places when the time comes. I felt that in a motive force such as this lay the success of "movements," but most of all the realisation of restoring a nation. The feeling that one's personal actions help or mar has made Sinn Feinism what it is: the most powerful democratic influence ever at work in Ireland. There will be those who will criticise the word "democratic," but if they would realise what the Proclamation of Easter week really means, they must agree with me. It is a favourite saying of Mr. George Russell's ("Æ") that the Irish are "aristocratic in thought, that is individualistic, but democratic in action." And I felt the truth of that phrase when he repeated it during my conversation with him on St. Patrick's Day.

What can be more democratic than the action of the Sinn Fein Food Controller, who refuses to let shipments of food go to England until the Irish people have had their share? Or the order to commandeer land in the name of the Irish Republic for the people, with the proviso that no injury be done thereby to the livelihood of the owner? If the owner merely turns his lands into cattle ranches to fatten cattle for huge profits, is it fair, Sinn Feiners ask, that his neighbours cannot even have land to grow the daily necessaries? No. And the cattle drives so much written about in the daily Press have been undertaken in this spirit, and the land commandeered has been tilled and rent paid. Thus big landowners—who by influence escape tilling the requisite slice of land—find their lack of "patriotism" of use to the last people in the world that they would ever want to help. The downtrodden are awakening, and the old ascendancy is being made to feel it!

My visit to Ireland filled me with hope. At every station and in every street I saw small girls and boys wearing the green, white, and gold of the Republic. The countryside is not one whit behind—the Sinn Feiners have captured the real people—what does it then matter if a few puppets cant about "loyalty"? How they laughed in Liberty Hall about the police-station being done with barbed wire in honour of St. Patrick's Day, though resentment filled them at the foolish and needless arrests that were being made. "Why, there was a young fellow whom I knew since he was a child—he's only sixteen now—got taken by a big six-footer when coming home last night from the Park. He would not hurt a fly, and now he is charged with assaulting the police!" That and similar vivid stories were told me of these arrests which in England we are led to believe are made of most lawless and rough bands.

Where a real determined show is made, nothing happens, as at the funeral of Thomas Ashe. The thousands that marched behind his coffin did so with set teeth, and many with loaded revolvers. If any minion of the "foreign" Government had dared violate the solemnity of that last tribute to the murdered man, no power on earth could have saved the situation. For once, however, the Government understood the people, and refrained from interference.

Countess Marckievicz told me that at the Armagh election the most vile treatment was meted out to the Sinn Feiners. Roughs were ambushed behind ditches and hedges to attack them on their way to and from meetings. On one occasion she was rather badly accosted by volleys of stones and clods. But when she rose to speak at her meeting she put her hands in her pockets, saying: "I care no more for your clods and stones than I did for British bullets and bayonets in Easter week. I was ready to die for Ireland then, and I am ready now." An appeal in such a spirit must win any audience, most of all an Irish one, and it did.

LABOUR AWAKENING.

In this difference of temperament lies the difficulty of fully appreciating the aims of the Irish struggle for "self-determination." The everyday Irishman can see no chance of deliverance by means of land nationalisation nor Socialism, as the Englishman may do. He is only beginning to be less suspicious of trade unionism. The Irish Transport Workers' Union—which has smart, businesslike offices now at Liberty Hall—had thirty branches four months ago, now there are seventy. The Dublin Trades Hall has arranged Sunday night lectures on trade unionism, at which lively discussions take place. The keynote of one on "Industrial Unionism," which I attended, was that the Irish worker must guard against accepting his trade unionism from England without fully examining the rules and seeing that they are or could be made applicable to his own country. The exigencies of trade differ in both countries; therefore thought must be given to the advisability of Irish unions.

A "lock-out" of the licensed victuallers'

(Continued on back page.)

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A BUDGET OF NEWS

Momentous events crowd upon us. The War has grown yet more horrible. Newspapers gloat over the enormous slaughter of Germans, but of course the rate of slaughter has been immensely increased on both sides. Parents whose sons are home on leave thankfully sigh: "I'm glad he is out of it at present," but they dumbly acquiesce in the fact that presently "he" will return. Those whose sons, husbands, brothers are out there make no audible protest. Renewed appeals to patriotism, pledges of American re-inforcements, eulogies on the appointment of General Foch to the supreme command of the Western Front are made to keep the public quiet, and apparently they succeed. Apparently the stay-at-home public is still prepared to allow the torture of others to continue, and to go on enduring with scarce a question, the steady, progressive robbery of its own freedom and comfort. The security of the civilian is even more dangerously menaced. The fact that the Germans have now produced tanks more terrible than the British, the bombardment of Paris by 75 -mile guns, the killing by gunfire of 75 persons and wounding of 90 in a Paris church on Good Friday, and the announcement that the Americans are now at work on an 150 mile gun indicate that present-day power to devise more devastating means of destruction is by no means exhausted. If the War is allowed to continue, gunfire may yet destroy London, as at the beginning of the War, when destructive engines were less gigantic, the Belgian villages were destroyed. In time gunfire may render the greater part of England untenable.

The raising of the military age by ten years will transform some pseudo patriots into peace advocates; it reduces the number of those who stay at home and piles further sorrows upon them. How long will they suffer the War to continue?

THE STATE REGULATION OF VICE.

A severe and contemptuous blow has been struck at what is known as the Women's Movement in this country, the movement largely composed of middle-class women which worked in various ways to obtain the franchise, and warmly espoused but two other principles, namely that women should be admitted to the professions and that there should be no State regulation of vice. Largely composed of, and chiefly led by, narrowly conventional women, the movement feared to split the demand for the vote by taking a decided line on any other subject, and undoubtedly the warmth and unity of feeling expressed by the women's organisations for these two causes was in part explained by the fact that the battle of opinion on each issue appeared to have been won. Josephine Butler had not at her side, in her struggle for the repeal of the C.D. Acts, the huge army of women who afterwards expressed gratitude and admiration for what she had achieved. But it is certain that the vast majority of the members of women's middle-class organisations have long been genuinely opposed to the State Regulation of Vice. What attitude will they adopt now that State Regulation has been thrust upon the country by Order in Council, after an attempt to introduce similar regulations by legislation had been rejected by Parliament? Will the glamour of war continue to blind the average middle-class woman to its evils? Will she still continue her War work?

Women of the poorer classes are the section of the population attacked by the new Order. They will be the usual sufferers from the net-work of injustices which will grow up around it if it be allowed to stand. The Order makes it a punishable offence for a woman suffering from venereal disease in a communicable form to have or solicit intercourse with any member of His Majesty's forces. Be it noted that members of His Majesty's forces are exempt from punishment, however recklessly they may spread the disease! A woman charged under the new regulation may be remanded, if she so desires, for not less than a week, in order that she may be medically examined by her own or the prison doctor. That means that an innocent woman must submit to a week's imprisonment in order to prove her innocence! This Order establishes a degrading espionage of women by the police. It permits any man or any police constable to charge any woman, whether a known and habitual prostitute or not, with solicitation, or with the communication of the disease. Blackmail and tyranny will result from it. The disease will probably be communicated to healthy women by the use of infected instruments during the examination. All sorts of miseries will accompany the degradation. We have it from one of the Sinn Fein prisoners who was recently incarcerated in an English prison that several women there attempted suicide during her imprisonment because of their horror of the examination and treatment forced upon them. Women once charged will find their reputation gone. The persons who carry out the Regulation will be degraded, as well as the women caught up in the network of the Regulation. And all this is to be done, not to stop prostitution, which inevitably creates venereal disease, no, for Mr. Macpherson, the Under Secretary of State for War has said in the House of Commons: "Human nature being as it is, I am not at all sure that it is such a bad thing to have a certain house where women are registered and kept clean." The military standpoint is, that to keep the troops contented, illicit sexual intercourse must be carried on, and the women who minister to the supposed need of the "fighting animal" must be cast aside when they become diseased, their place being taken by other women, just as the places of the men who are killed in the trenches are taken by other men in this capitalist War.

MR. SNOWDEN AND THE NEXT GOVERNMENT.

We welcome Mr. Snowden's declaration at the I.L.P. Conference that in his view a Labour Party Government is "neither possible nor desirable," because of its association with "the sins of the present administration." We entirely agree with Mr. Snowden in this matter, but we regret that he should couple the name of Lord Lansdowne with his suggestion for a Peace Government. We regret his statement that he would be prepared to support any Government set up specifically to explore every avenue to peace, "even if there were at its head a statesman of aristocratic Tory tradition." Politicians of "the aristocratic Tory" tradition were largely responsible for the weaving of the network which gradually drew nations into war. To allow such men to make the coming peace is to lay the foundations of future wars, Lord Lansdowne and men of his type may be less bellicose and more cautious than those like Lloyd George and Lord Northcliffe, but their ideals are the same. Humanity is needing a new policy and new ideals. Socialists should demand a Socialist administration and support no other. People say that they cannot endure the prospect of the War's continuance until a Socialist administration is established. They urge that Lansdowne will make peace at once. Our reply is to point out the absurdity of asserting that to refuse to agitate for a Lansdowne Government entails any toleration of the continuance of the War. Lansdowne's policy is not a "stop the War" policy, Lansdowne's policy is merely a modification of the policy of the present Government: he declares his views to be the views of President Wilson and President Wilson has in no way dissociated himself from the policy either of the British Government as a whole, or from that of Northcliffe and Lloyd George. In his letter to Bishop Henderson, which has been widely quoted, he says: "Our present immediate duty is to win the War, and nothing shall turn us aside until our purpose is accomplished." "German power is a thing without conscience, however, or capacity for covenanted peace, and as such must be crushed." The document is as bellicose as any of Lloyd George's utterances.

Moreover, Lord Lansdowne is not in power; we fail to see why Pacifists and Socialists should help to put him there, for he is neither. Lord Lansdowne's efforts towards peace are exceedingly tentative in character. There is no certain guarantee that he would make an immediate peace if he were created Premier to-morrow. Industrial unrest and the growth of Socialist feeling amongst the masses would do far more to spur men like Lord Lansdowne to make peace than the support of Socialists and Socialist M.P.s! But it is time that British Socialists should work definitely to secure Socialism; for what else do our Socialist organisations exist?

RUSSIA'S REPLY TO WILSON.

The basis of President Wilson's protestations of friendship for the Russian Socialist Government is clearly revealed by his offer sent to the all-Russian convention of Soviets at Moscow, of American aid to Russia, if Russia would re-enter the War. The Soviet Convention wisely replied by expressing the hope that the working classes of all countries would "soon break the yoke of capitalism." In spite of this snub, President Wilson has made another effort to induce the Russian people to abandon their principles to secure economic aid, using the Russian need and its fear of Germany as a lever. He has repeated his offer to the Councils of Soviet Communes. The Bolshevik Government has replied by sending another copy of the Soviet Convention's reply. The Bolshevik power to steer a straight and unswerving course is something that old-school politicians fail to understand.

We need more of the Bolshevik spirit in the country.

BRITISH ATROCITIES.

Rumours of ammunition being served out to British soldiers with warnings that they may have to fire on British munition workers or miners are constantly recurring, and now comes news from Canada that Quebec civilians are resisting conscription that soldiers have fired on them and that machine guns are placed in readiness to fire on the populace. The agitation by British militarists to impose conscription on Ireland continues; any serious attempt to do this will set Ireland aflame; already the operation of the Cat and Mouse Act against Joseph McDonagh has caused disorder in Dublin. When will the British workers open their eyes to the need for Socialism?

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

THE IRISH DEMOCRACY

By Maude Gonne MacBride

After three and a half years' absence from Ireland I feel a remarkable change has taken place.

Ireland is awake to-day, as I have never known her before; awake and burning for freedom.

The great enchantment is at an end; she no longer believes in England's all power—her own weakness. The incompetence of the English Government in all departments during the War may have helped to bring this about, but I think it required more than this to destroy the old malifice. It required nothing less than the coming of the Holy Grail; it required the sacrifice of the pure lives of our boy heroes, and of the greatest poets, thinkers of our nation, to awaken Ireland from the hypnotic trance which had held her so long. Maxwell's bullets did their work, but not the work he and the English Government intended.

A member of the Citizen Army, a friend of Connolly's, who received a sentence of twenty years' penal servitude for his part in Easter week, said to me, "From Ireland's point of view Maxwell saved the situation. If, instead of shooting the leaders, he had let us all out in the ruins of O'Connell Street and told us to go home, we should very likely have been mobbed by a crowd of soldiers' dependants and respectable citizens, indignant over the stoppage of business in the city, and, anyway, the country would not have rallied to us as it has."

Every meeting I go to I am struck by the change which has come over the thought of the people. They seem to know definitely what they want. Orators are no longer certain of applause by the use of certain catch-cries as they used to be. The people attend meetings in greater numbers, with equal enthusiasm as formerly, but they are more discerning, more critical. They have thought more; they have decided what they want.

Home Rule was an elastic term, and could mean many different things to different people. An Irish Republic is more definite, and to-day the vast majority of the Irish people have decided that they are going to have an Irish Republic. That is a great step forward. The next is to consider what sort of Republic it is to be—and that is what the Irish democracy to-day are talking about, thinking about. The people are thinking about this more than some of the leaders seem to understand, but the people will make them understand it, or they will cease to lead.

Connolly's work is bearing fruit. His works are being bought up eagerly; cheap editions of them succeed each other, and cannot keep pace with the demand.

The ideal before Ireland to-day is a Social Co-operative Commonwealth.

The intense feeling of the people of Dublin was shown by the extraordinary numbers who attended the great meeting in the Mansion House to welcome the Russian Republic. The vast round room was packed, and two great overflow meetings had to be held as well.

In the country the movement to use the land for the people is part of the same conscious struggle for freedom. England is filling the prisons, but that will avail her little, for men in prison are serving Ireland as well as the men outside, and they are often more dangerous when the whole country is solid and with them, as Ireland is to-day.

Ireland has trodden a hard road; she has passed through the Valley of Darkness, the Promised Land is in sight.

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY

WHO CAUSES DISORDER IN RUSSIA?

The Bolsheviks are accused of throwing Russian affairs into chaos, but there is abundant evidence, not merely that pogroms and disorders were everyday occurrences under the Czardom, but that the counter revolutionaries are now the main cause of disturbance. The Jewish Press Bureau in Stockholm reports anti-Jewish pogroms in Galicia in connection with the cession by the Central Powers of the Cholm districts of Poland to the Ukraine and states:—

"The excesses took place chiefly in the western-Galician towns and village communes. Instigating leaflets were also spread broadcast in Lemberg, but happily they did not provoke any riots. In Krakau and Rzeschow, windows were smashed in Jewish houses and many passers-by were assailed. In Strzyzow crowds were incited by priests who accused the Jews of the loss of the Cholm province. The priest from Lotcha incited the people immediately to settle their accounts with the Jews. The crowds began at once plundering. An eye-witness describes the events in Dynow of February 18th, 1918 ("Lemberger Tageblatt" February 28th.) Though the Jewish Communal Councils joined in the general Polish protests against the Cholm policy of the Central Powers, the Polish intellectuals openly incited the villagers round Dynow to riot. The windows were broken in almost all Jewish houses and hardly one Jewish business establishment remained undamaged. The Jewish citizens were maltreated. Simultaneously excesses began also in many neighbouring villages and the gendarmes were helpless to protect the Jews against the masses of the peasants. The disorders lasted all the day and only towards the evening the local police, reinforced by the gendarmes from a neighbouring township restored order. The township now represents a picture of misery and ruin. Old men and children suffer very badly from the cold as it is impossible to find new glass for the windows. The shops are closed and Jews dare not even appear in the streets. The Jewish deputy, Straucher, has handed a memorandum to the Austrian Minister of the Interior pointing out that the organs of public safety and the Attorney Generals' Institutions are active with regard to proceeding in the matter of the anti-Jewish riots and he demands energetic measures for the protection of the Jewish population. The Polish deputy, Breiter, who is friendly to the Jews and who not long ago returned from Russia where he was a prisoner, has drawn the attention of the Government to the disturbances in Galicia.

"The Polish Press assumes a negative attitude towards these attacks on the Jews. It suggests that a foreign country is interested in stirring up dissension between Poles and Jews, and that the leaflets which appeared in Lemberg were written in bad Polish and points out that the leaflets were spread in the streets by Polish intellectuals and students, and that the officials who knew all propaganda, did nothing to prevent it. The Jewish Press comes to the unanimous conclusion that though the Polish parties for good reasons are not quite satisfied with the disturbances, it may be taken for granted that the organizing centre of the excesses is not to be looked for abroad. The disturbances must be ascribed to the old antisemitic propaganda in Galicia itself."

INCREASED REVENUE

It must be remembered that the workers indirectly provide the enormous revenue brought in by the income super-tax (£239,509,000 an increase of £34,476,000) and Excess Profits Duty (£220,214,000 an increase of £80,294,000). This is especially the case with the Excess Profits duty—excess profits ought never to be made, for these are provided by the consumers paying excess prices. It may be said that the nation as a whole benefits by the increase revenue, but the Government is to-day the largest purchaser of commodities. The Government pays the price which creates the excess profits on the goods it buys and the Government takes back only a part of the excess in the form of taxation.

THE POWER OF THE SOVIETS

Arthur Ransome in the "Daily News" explains that the Soviet Governments are compelled to seek the aid of foreign troops. In the Ukraine, the Rada is supported by German troops, the Soviet by the Ukrainian people. The task of the invader is no easy one and the Soviets are evidently far less powerless than has been pretended. They have retaken Kherson, Nikolaieff and Odessa.

How definitely the war has become a class war in the East is shown by the fact that the capitalistic Ukraine Rada is encouraging an expedition of their late enemies, the Turks, to the Crimea which would deprive the Russian Fleet of its base. The forces of the Finnish capitalists the White Guards, are endeavouring to secure a federation of the northern provinces of Russia with Finland. This would cut off from the Russian Socialist Republic the northern ports.

Since Russia ceased to pay interest on the money borrowed by the Czar's Government from British investors, the British Government has been paying the interest out of the taxation raised from the British public. When workers were thrown out of employment at the outbreak of war their distress was relieved under an inquisitorial system under which no family might receive more than £1 a week. The interests of Russian shareholders have been hitherto more carefully safeguarded, and though the Chancellor of the Exchequer has now announced that he cannot continue to make good the loss, his statement shows that the British Government will endeavour to force the Russian Government to pay the debt. It is conceivable that after (or before) peace has been made with Germany the capitalist governments may attack Russia in order to secure the payment of interest on money lent to the Czardom.

WAR PARTY v. PEACE PARTY

Dear Editor.—Why does the Peace Party allow the War Party to make capital out of the treaty which Germany and Austria have concluded with Russia? I know of no other treaty so magnanimous. Yet the War Party, with the approval of Arthur Henderson and Co. are using it very successfully to flog the nation on to war, hypocrisy and brutality and thereby the desire for peace has been quenched. Why are the War Party always too clever for the Peace Party? Yours, etc., Ronald Campbell Macfie.

THE CRY OF A BRITISH ALIEN

"Iam getting to feel quite worn out. Sometimes I feel I must run away. I wish we could all go away from London. The boys want to go into shipping work. Of course Robert has still another year at school; but then when one is German it's difficult to live. Will this terrible war never cease? . . . Why don't they send us all away? Why doesn't the Almighty turn their hearts? Seems to me the church as well as people thirsts for blood. Where are we going to unless our wickedness is carrying us to the end of time? How can women bring up little children? What are they going to be? I feel to-night I shall go mad. Everything worries me and I feel quite certain there is a lot of trouble in store for us yet. I feel very grateful for all your kindness to us."

This letter from the British wife of an interned German was sent to the friends Emergency Committee.

WAR WEARINESS

Somewhere in France.

Dear Editor.—Just a line asking you if you could do something for us men in this country. We all volunteered for this terrible war to save our wives and little ones at home. We have fought hard, but now are broken in health, and marked "Permanent Base" by Medical Boards. There are hundreds of us here and don't you think it is time they let us come home out of it, to try and regain our health at home, instead of staying in this miserable land? We wouldn't mind if we got marked fit again if the Government would only allow us to have a sick leave at home before we went into the line again, but they won't do it, they send you straight in the line again, no pity for you! I know you will try and ask the heads if some of us P.B. men can't come home, we ain't doing anything of importance here, walking about spare, costing the country a lot of money. Why not put us on the farms at home?—An old friend.

SEVERAL AUTHORITIES

The Committee on work of National Importance has written to some of the C.O.s employed under its direction warning them that as: "several authorities appear to have been entrusted with the duty of ascertaining what men are at present engaged in various forms of work of National Importance," they will get forms which are not really intended for them and should reply that they are working under the Committee's supervision. There seems to be a good deal of overlapping and confusion in the working of Conscription and National Service which it was said would put everything to rights.

* * * *

The Textile Operatives' Society of Ireland, representing 12,000 women, has passed a resolution protesting against the proposed appointment of Mr. I. Macpherson, M.P., as Chief Secretary for Ireland, because of his defence in the House of Commons of the atrocious step of legalising brothels in France close to a convalescent camp for 7,000 British soldiers. According to Hansard, dated February 25th, 1918, (pages 1183-1184), Mr. Macpherson said: "human nature being as it is I am not at all sure that it is such a bad thing to have a certain house where women are registered and kept clean."

IRISH DEPUTY RECEIVED BY PRESIDENT WILSON

We have received the following petition from America. It was presented on January 11th, 1918, by a leading Irishwoman to President Wilson. Very favourable Press notices were given in American papers, and we understand President Wilson granted a public reception to the bearer. The signatories include Countess Marckievitz.

TO THE PRESIDENT AND HOUSE OF CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

We, the undersigned, representing a large body of Irish women whose President was condemned to death for her share in a struggle for the freedom of our country, make an appeal to you, and we base our appeal, first, on the generosity of the American Administration in all things affecting women's lives and welfare, and secondly, on your recognition, many times extended, of the justice of Ireland's demand for freedom.

For many lamentable generations the women of Ireland have had to bring up their children in a country in a perpetual state of economic and political dis-arrangement consequent on its being governed in the interest of another country. Your declaration concerning a war settlement, which has called into being and endowed with hope the spirit of Democracy in every country, has made us feel that a new era is opening for us. Our appeal now is to remind you of a cause which should not be overlooked when so many European nationalities are to be reconstructed in accordance with your Declaration. Our country, having behind it twenty generations of repression, has, we believe, a profound claim upon those who have declared their will to make the world safe for Democracy. We appeal to you to recognise the political independence of Ireland in the form of an Irish Republic, and encouraged by the knowledge that the States of Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho, Washington, California, Arizona, Kansas, Nevada, Montana, Oregon and New York, have granted full suffrage to women, we feel that your generous sympathy will be extended to the women of our country in our demand before the world for the recognition of an Irish Republic virtually in existence since April, 1916—the only Republic which from its inauguration was prepared to give women their full place in the councils of their nation.

Signed on behalf of the CUMANN NA mBAN.

(The Irishwomen's Council).

THE THOUGHTS OF TO-DAY

"EXILES OF THE SNOW AND OTHER POEMS." By Lancelot Hogben. (London: A. C. Fifield, 13 Clifford's Inn. 2s. net.)

These poems seem to tell us that the author has spent the greater part of his life amid pleasant rural scenes which have greatly charmed him, and have so much impressed themselves upon him that they continually recur to his mind when he is treating of other themes. Of late, however, it appears that he has felt the call of the city and the problems both of social organisation and of the personal relationships of human beings. These things but just begin, to colour his work, and he is still more accustomed to, and has greater facility in dealing with, the verbal landscape painting which seems to have monopolised his earlier artistic endeavours and inner emotional life.

The title poem, "Exiles of the Snow," is too much coloured by his gentle landscape treatment and lacks the rugged terror and energy of the theme which the poet is endeavouring to portray. "In Dewerstone" the poet is thinking of human problems in the midst of his descriptions of pine woods and mountains, as is revealed by the closing lines:—

"We've newer wisdom where the lamps burn dim
Within the halls of learning: Truth grown grim
And grey and cold sits reared above
The older gods who hated or could love.
Yet still though you may eagerly frequent
Doctor and sage and hear great argument,
And learn the Cosmos is a huge machine,
With more finality, 'tis true, I ween,
You'll count yourself most happy when you've found
Why in the world the wheels thereof go round."

The new attractions which have caught our author, and the old attractions which recur, appear in "On the Embankment," "A Ballad for Spring-time," and "Loneliness." The fact that our poet is one of the moderns is shown, too, in the prose allegory, "Dawn," and in the sonnet in which he says:—

"I passed them by; for in the heart of me
Was no persuasion the elusive flame
Of conquest to pursue . . .
And I feared lest love should pass my way
Like as the singing of an olden lay,
Blown in the dewfall under burnished skies
With faltering cadence on the night wind dies.
Others shall sing passion's fierce mystery;
The comradeship of equal lovers, I."

Many writers have recently served, or are now serving, terms of imprisonment. In some form or other they will all strive to portray the impression which the experience has made on them. This is what prison was to Mr. Hogben:—

"SHADES OF THE PRISON HOUSE."

"All reform aims in some particular to let the great soul have its way through us . . . the oversoul."

"A very world of spectres this—not such
As flit among the crusted tombstones grey,
Pass shadowless with palpitating touch
Where owls squint at the approaching day
With beryl eyes—sepulchral marionettes,
Who rise and walk and pray or kneel to pray
And bob or bend before the snubs and threats
Of gilded buttons—men with eyes of clay.

"A world of sextons! Not a thankless task,
For hire: the doctor starched, the chaplain, too,
Who wears upon his face the hangman's mask,
Warders and governor, men with crooked hearts
Like the gnarled roots of an old churchyard yew—
These to the soul's interment bring their arts."

WOMEN TEACHERS

We welcome the demands of Miss E. R. Conway, the president of the N.U.T. for equal pay and opportunities of promotion for men and women teachers. The N.U.T. has been slow to realise the wisdom of this demand. We hope that it will now adopt it officially. At the same time we are even more anxious to find amongst the teachers a rapid growth of Socialist feeling for the boys and girls who will soon be citizens will be largely what the teachers make them.

THE SCHOOLING OF THE FUTURE

with special reference to the Education Bill

By E. SYLVIA PANKHURST

ONE PENNY EACH, Ninepence per dozen, from the W.S.F., 400 Old Ford Road, E.

Shows the opportunities for stereotyping and militarising education introduced by Mr. Fisher's Bill. Every Socialist and Educationalist should read it.

GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED

GENERAL FUND.—Irene, per Mrs. Drake (20s. weekly), £5; Misses Gliksten (20s. monthly), £12; Miss Thomas, 15s.; Lanark I.L.P., 10s. 2d.; Miss Rintell, 10s.; Staff-Sergeant Dale, Malta, 5s.; Leyton No. 1 Branch N.U.R. (Food Demonstration), 5s. COLLECTIONS.—Miss Price, £4 14s. 3d.; General Meeting, 1s. 8½d.; Sunday Meeting, 10s. 7d.; Members' Meeting, 2s. 6d.; Profit on Bow Poplar Social, £8 2s. 3½d.

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Will someone kindly lend the W.S.F. a garden in London to hold a Garden Party in June or July?

WHATS' ON?
W.S.F. FIXTURES
OUT DOOR

FRIDAY, APRIL 5th.
Hague Street, Bethnal Green, 11.30 a.m., Miss Price.
Pretoria Road, Walthamstow, 5.30 p.m., Mrs. Cressall.
SATURDAY, APRIL 6th.
Great Push for Peace, Socialism and Votes for all in Poplar and Canning Town. Meet at 2.45 p.m. at 20 Railway Street, speakers: Miss Price, Mrs. Walker, and others.
SUNDAY, APRIL 7th.
Osborn Street, Whitechapel, 11.45 a.m., Mrs. Walker.
Finsbury Park, 3 p.m., Miss Price.
FRIDAY, APRIL 12th.
St. Stephen's Road, Bow, 11.30 a.m., Miss Price.
SATURDAY, APRIL 13th.
Great Push.

INDOOR
NOTICE.

The meeting announced for Sunday, 7th, at 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, will not take place.

FRIDAY, APRIL 5th.
4 Calderon Place, Shepherd's Bush, N.U.R., 8.30 p.m., Miss Horsfall.
SUNDAY, APRIL 7th.
Working Men's Club and Institute, Lismore Circus (Kentish Town N.U.R.) 11.30 a.m., Mrs. Bouvier.
Hansler Hall, Hansler Road (Dulwich I.L.P.), 8 p.m., Mrs. Bouvier.
MONDAY, APRIL 8th.
400 Old Ford Road, 8 p.m., Bow Branch Social and Business Meeting.
TUESDAY, APRIL 9th.
53 St. Leonard's Street, Bromley W.S.F. 7 p.m. Mrs. Hooper.
WEDNESDAY, APRIL 10th.
44 Malden Road, St. Pancras W.S.F. 7 p.m., Rev. Wm. Piggott.
THURSDAY, APRIL 11th.
Chandos Hall, W.S.F., West Central Branch, 7 p.m., "At Home."
Friends' Meeting House, Hanover Street, Rye Lane, (F.O.R.), 8 p.m., Mrs. Bouvier.
FRIDAY, APRIL 12th.
Billiard Saloon, High Road, Leyton, (N.U.R.) 8 p.m., Mrs. Bouvier.
SATURDAY, APRIL 13th.
400 Old Ford Road, 7 p.m., Recital and Dance.
SUNDAY, APRIL 14th.
400 Old Ford Road, 7 p.m., "Anarchism versus Parliamentary Government," Mrs. Bessie Ward will open the discussion. Chair: Miss Lynch.
Co-operative Institute, Hull I.L.P., Miss Sylvia Pankhurst.
MONDAY, APRIL 15th.
400 Old Ford Road, 8 p.m., General Meeting, London Section.

A RECITAL AND DANCE

will be held at

400 OLD FORD ROAD, BOW, E., on SATURDAY, APRIL 13, at 7 p.m. Mr. EDWARD SOERMUS, the Russian Violinist, will play selections of Russian Revolutionary Music. Tickets, 8d. each (including tax). Games and Refreshments.

AT HOME

CHANDOS HALL, 21a MAIDEN LANE (off Bedford Street, Strand), W.C., on THURSDAY, APRIL 11th, at Seven p.m.

Speaker: Miss SYLVIA PANKHURST.

Music: Mr. EDWARD SOERMUS (Famous Violinist). Boys from London College for Choristers.

Admission Free. Light Refreshments.

The lectures will be resumed on Thursday, April 18th, 7.30 p.m. at Lincoln's Inn Fields, when Miss Miriam Bloch will give a reading from her own works. Mrs. Bouvier on the "Present Outlook."

KINGSLEY HALL, BOW.—Sunday, April 7th, 8.15 p.m. Stephen Hobhouse: "The Principle of Christian Rebellion."

FEDERATION NOTES

WORKING-CLASS EDUCATION.

Many of our branches have co-operated in the organisation of working-class educational lectures; some have taken the initiative in starting such classes in co-operation with other organisations. Everyone of our branches should be active in this direction. "A Worker Looks at History," by Mark Starr (Plebs League, 127 Hamlet Gardens, Ravenscourt Park, W., price 1s. 2d. post paid); "The Politics of Capitalism," by J. T. Walton Newbold, M.A., from B.S.P., 21a Maiden Lane, Strand, W.C. and Newbold's "How Europe Armed for War," (National Labour Press) will all be found useful in connection with these study classes.

HOLLOWAY.—Next branch meeting Monday, April 8th, at 8.30 p.m., 144 Seven Sisters Road. All sympathisers and new members welcome.

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MISCELLANEOUS ADVERTISEMENTS

THE MOTHERS' ARMS CLINIC, DAY NURSERY, AND MONTESSORI CLASS; also CLINIC, 20 RAILWAY STREET, POPLAR, and CLINIC, 53 ST. LEONARD STREET, SOUTH BROMLEY.—Garments for Babies, Children, and Adults, Maternity Outfits, etc., Children's Toys, Pot Plants, Flowers and Branches, etc., always wanted.

FAMILY LIMITATION DOCTRINE. Post free, 1½d. —Malthusian League, Queen Anne's Chambers, Westminster.

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

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A MASSEUSE WANTED. Apply M.G. Box 10 Workers' "Dreadnought" Office.

WOMEN DESIRING LAND WORK AND GARDENING should apply to Miss A. Tollemache, Federation House, George Lane, South Woodford, Essex.

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The Sinn Fein Way in Ireland

(Continued from front page.)

assistants was in progress about the period of my visit to Dublin. And insular differences were forced upon me, as it were, at the huge protest meeting in Phœnix Park. Does any wage slave in England realise the conditions under which these assistants exist? They are mostly of the small farming class; boys who are not thought suitable to be sent on to be priests, so business is chosen. Mayhap the boy goes to the drapery, but oftener the publican's business is his fate—there is always the chance that the lad will "open out" for himself! His life at a publican's means long hours, from early morning until towards midnight, for the miserable sum of £5, £10, £15, or £20 per annum with board. Of what use is an English union to these chaps? They must fight this local evil with local weapons. Their present demand of 45s. per week after three years seems as likely to be realised as the instant separation of England and Ireland. One speaker in the Park related tactics of years ago, when a paper called "Sinn Fein" was started. A few men or boys would call on newsagents, one only going in at a time. He would order a few "real classy" papers like the "Review of Reviews," and finish up by asking for "Sinn Fein." "Don't stock it," was the usual answer, until the frequent repetition of similar tricks made them think. "You have only to do the same now with the publican," the Park orator said; "when you have your bottles on the counter, ask for the assistant; if you hear that he is 'locked out,' walk out, leaving your bottles." I wonder how many have acted on this!

Even the farmers are beginning to move, and members of the Farmers' Association actually deigned to meet the County Dublin farm labourers at Liberty Hall on St. Patrick's Day, with the result that a 30s. minimum with a harvest bonus has been fixed for Dublin County. If I were asked whether the Labour awakening were a result of the Sinn Fein agitation, I should say that it is so. Although the labourer who stands out for his rights may not even approve of Sinn Fein, yet, in spite of himself, the movement has stirred him from his lethargy and given him self-confidence. The Labour world does not demand its members and supports to uphold the tenets of Sinn Fein, neither does it veto Sinn Fein, for did not Connolly's death prove that both issues—the industrial and the national—must rise and fall together?

THE CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH.

Seemingly quite apart from these two militant movements, exists the Co-operative. That is quite a unique society in Ireland for it is non-political! It moves on its way quietly, though with remarkable rapidity it is laying the foundation on which Ireland set free hopes to build the future Co-operative Commonwealth—towards which Sinn Fein is tending.

"Æ" pictured his ideal for Ireland as a land divided up into small co-operative districts, self-supporting as far as possible. Many of the leading Sinn Feiners are of his way of thinking, though whilst "Æ" longs for a world where poetry and the beautiful may blossom undisturbed, I will not deny that some ardent Sinn Feiners think of prosperity undisturbed, not Art. Both sides are necessary to a country, and knowing Ireland I doubt that poetry and dreams and legends will be outweighed. English ways are, and will always be "foreign" to the Irish. "We must have a form of society peculiarly our own," "Æ" exclaimed. "In ancient Ireland we had the clan system and elected our chiefs and kings, which proves our democratic spirit." He is anxious to provide each district with its co-operative mill; but no metal can be spared from making the instruments of destruction! Any new venture of the Co-operative Societies is being harshly dealt with by the Government. Witness the action taken forbidding bacon-curing to be carried on, except by those in the trade prior to 1916. Now that order hit the Co-op. which had started to help its members by providing them with bacon at 1s. 7d. per lb., whilst American cost 2s. 2d. and the controlled price was 2s. 6d.! "But," "Æ" continued, "it is not only in Ireland that the Government forces up food prices. Look how you are being made to pay for butter in England." Thereupon he laid bare the latest plan about the surplus of Irish butter to be exported during the coming months. A committee — consisting mostly of butter dealers—has enumerated the various items of expenditure incurred in the transport, thus keeping up the price to the British consumer. "Mixing" greatly excited "Æ," for Irish butter is never mixed, hence the Committee's charge of sevenpence is purely fictitious. Then "pilfering," according to "Æ's" calculation, will amount to £90,000 a year at the rate the Committee anticipates, "and that on Government railways," he laughed!

THE CONVENTION.

As we know, "Æ" has resigned from the Convention. Can anyone hope for a decision satisfactory to Sinn Feiners then? From what he told me I should say that he had no time for, nor interest in the very imperfect measure of Home Rule allowed to be considered. Sir Edward Carson's return to Ireland seems to have convinced "Æ" that there was no hope for his plan of Irish independence from that "packed" Convention.

A few quotations from a message to Sir Horace Plunkett, Chairman of the Convention, from Mr. Lloyd George will show the absurdity of the newspaper cant: "Agreement on all material points" has been reached.

In a letter dated February 25th, 1918, Mr. Lloyd George wrote to Sir Horace Plunkett:

"A settlement can now be reached which will reserve by common consent to the Imperial Parliament its suzerainty, and its control of the Army, Navy, Foreign Policy and other Imperial Services, while providing for Irish representation at Westminster, and for a proper contribution from Ireland to Imperial expenditure. . . The Government feel that this is a matter which cannot be finally settled at the present time. They therefore suggest for the consideration of the Convention that, during the period of the war and for a period of two years thereafter, the control of the Customs and Excise should be reserved to the United Kingdom Parliament. . . . . The Government consider that during the period of the war the control of all taxation other than Customs and Excise could be handed over to the Irish Parliament. . . For administrative reasons during the period of the war it is necessary that the Police should remain under Imperial control, and it seems to the Government to be desirable that for the same period the postal service should be a reserved service."

Is this what is meant by "self-determination"? Is this a decision arrived at by "a body of Irishmen sitting in Dublin"? Even if these men were elected by the Irish people, surely dictated action cannot be regarded as "conclusions arrived at by the Convention"? Does anyone wonder why the Police are required for "administrative reasons"? The Government makes the condition that Ulster should be able, by means of an Ulster Committee within the Irish Parliament,

"to modify and if necessary to exclude the application to Ulster of certain measures either of legislation or administration which are not consonant with the interests of Ulster."

The other provinces seem to require no such safeguard! Belfast is to have a Department of Manufacture, where then do the industries of Southern and Western Ireland come in?

I have already said that Mr. George Russell shook the dust of the Convention off his feet. He must have foreseen this Government dictation, perhaps he had had some experience of it before he took his decision. One thing, however, is certain, that his dream is not of Empires. Referring to the present state of the world he said: "The great avalanche has been put in motion, no one can tell where it may end." Will the Peace Conference regard the question of Ireland's independence as solved should the Convention Report, shortly to appear, coincide with that edict of the Government? Where will there then be any argument for Poland, Bohemia, or Alsace Lorraine? When even now those countries enjoy more of the idea of "self-government than to be granted to Ireland!

"Æ" told me of a vision he had had about twenty years ago, I may not disclose it, but I cannot refrain from mentioning the part which beheld the dissolution of all Empires. Will the Great Avalanche perchance accomplish that, thus solving all problems, national and international?

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