THE WORKERS'

DREADNOUGHT

Socialism, Internationalism, Votes for All.

Vol. V.—No. 6 SATURDAY, MAY 4th, 1918 Price Twopence.

KARL MARX IN FLEET STREET, 1865-1867.

By SILVIO CORIO.

When we look forward to an anniversary, by a mental illusion we seem to be nearest to the past. Often, by a similar process of the mind, through our need of easy and rapid classification of events, we are apt to set down the birth of great historic movements as the work solely of a single person; whereas, nearly always, they are the almost unconscious product of the masses, in their ascent to an ever-widening view and a deeper conception of life, through pains and labour, from error to error, by stages often interrupted by sad retrogressions.

Conversely, in the welter of the "truth in the making" of a given age, the piercing thoughts of a man of genius—the Carlylian hero—acting, as it were, as catalyctic agent, bring together, give direction, and interpret the ill-expressed, the confusedly felt ideals and needs of the hour.

Such was the case with the International, the origins of which are somewhat vague and uncertain, if the matter be closely examined.

They resided rather in the masses than in any single person; or to be more exact, they sprang from various fields, just as the sources of a river, mighty at the estuary, flow uncertain from many inclines of the valley.

Two forces: one the definite thought of the thinker; the other the spreading, on-pressing ideals of the masses, seem to have been closely united at the beginning of the International.

In 1840 the "Arbeiter Bildungsverein," a club of German political exiles, was founded by a proof-reader, a shoemaker, and a watchmaker. In the rooms of this organisation in Great Windmill Street, and at the request of the Communist League (a purely working-class organisation, formerly the "International Alliance," which was in its turn an offshoot of the "Young Europe" organised in 1834 by Mazzini)i, it held its second Annual Conference. To that body Dr. Marx—Citizen Marx as we see him styled—then a man of 30, submitted the draught of the "Communist Manifesto" which he had prepared jointly with Engels, a recent friend of his and two years his junior.

"Workers of all Countries, Unite!" such are the ringing words the two friends sent cleaving into the world!

Their driving power is immense!

Yet, how faltering, uncertain are the first steps of some of those who assisted in the spreading of this message.

Some of the delegates at the Geneva Congress of 1866 concerned themselves with matters of world-wide importance—and also with obtaining from various Governments "greater postal facilities"

In spite of their somewhat deficient outlook, they gave the Marxian message the necessary support, without which it might have spent itself in the sterility of the student's closet.

Marx knew that in order to work for the basic emancipation of the workers he had to take part in the political life of his time, and to adapt himself, in a measure, to circumstances.

In a letter to a friend, dated October 9th, 1866, we find him saying:—

"The movement for electoral Reform, here in England, which the General Council of the International has created and set in motion, is growing bigger every day, and it is now irresistible."

That is quite in keeping with his oft repeated saying: "The movement is worth ten programmes."

The Reform Movement was much more than an effort to secure electoral reform: it was a wave of newly-awakened self-consciousness that swept over the country. It was by taking part in it, without being absorbed by it, that Marx came to Fleet Street.

There existed in London, in the late sixties, a weekly paper chiefly sold amongst miners, which had a checkered career, changing hands and modifying its title several times. On the whole favourable to modern views, it always had "an hospitable and friendly corner for other people's ideas." Its title was "*The Miners' and Workman's Advocate*—devoted to the interests of the working classes of the United Kingdom."

Small paragraphs dealing with the newly founded International frequently appeared in it. From the issue of January 7th, 1865, we gather that at a meeting of the "International Working-Men's Association" at 18 Greek Street a communication from the Italian section was read, in which it was stated:—

"To establish a general practical brotherhood, a general unity of aims amongst working men of all nations, that points to the dawning of a new era which will cancel inequalities, compulsory ignorance, and the present wage system, and to the substitution of equal duties and equal rights for all. May your union last for ever!"

Marx afterwards resumed the debate on the address proposed to be sent to the National Government of Poland. His speech was pregnant with important historical facts and the paper expressed the view that it "would be valuable in printed form." From another issue of this paper we learn that the Committee of the International had received a letter from 2 Nassau Street (where the German Communists and the French Democrats shared a clubroom), stating:—

"It is by means of these international gatherings that our society has been able to propagate amongst German working men those principles and ideas which agitated England and France at a time when all public discussion of social and public questions was next to impossible within the confines of the German Confederation. We hail with joy the prospect of an enduring union between the too-long estranged working classes of the different countries of Europe, being convinced that only the combined action of the working men of the whole of civilised Europe will be able to resist the combined action of all the oppressors of Europe."

The same paper stated that at that time the International had already "four" affiliated societies and that it was the prevailing opinion of the members of the General Committee that the independence of Poland was "of paramount interest for the peace of Europe."

On February 25th the Operative Bricklayers joined the International and Marx took part in a debate, at the end of which it was agreed on his motion:—

"To keep a watchful eye on those who are to be in our front rank: working men having been so often deceived, it becomes their duty to be doubly watchful."

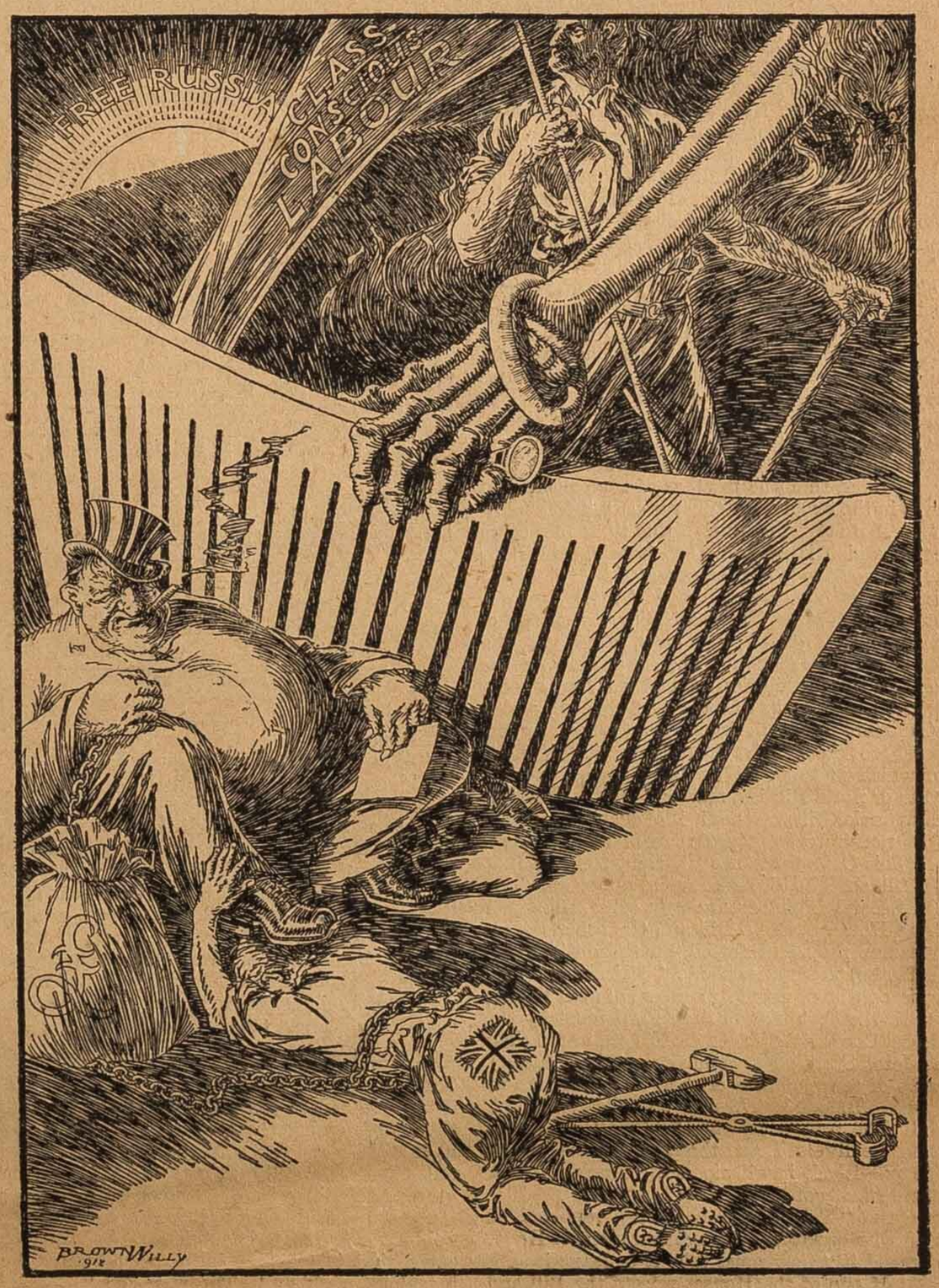
By September 9th, 1865, *The Miners' and Workman's Advocate* had dropped the first part of its title, but it had not lost its healthy radicalism, for does it not say:—

"At this moment every member of the reigning family of this country is absent from it; there is no Parliament duly sworn and authorised in existence; scarcely any of her Majesty's ministers are resident in Town and yet, notwithstanding the machinations of the Fenian Brotherhood, peace reigns in all our borders."

"Evidently a good paper to get hold of," we can fancy Citizen Marx saying. In fact, on September 16th, 1865, the "Industrial Newspaper Company," with a capital of £1,000., issues a prospectus saying that they have been able to purchase it.

The Board of Directors is composed of nineteen persons, and Dr. Marx is one of them; amongst a group of self-taught men he only having an

(Continued on page 997.)



THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

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Vol. V., No. 6. Sat., May 4th, 1918.

HOUSE OF LORDS "REFORM."

We are opposed to any reform of the House of Lords: we demand the abolition of that institution.

We are opposed to the creation of any second chamber, whether elected or otherwise. So long as the House of Commons exists (it will give place at last no doubt to an Industrial Parliament) the only check upon its decisions which we could countenance would be one furnished by the rank and file people from whom the elected Chamber is supposed to derive its powers. The Referendum is, of course, the most direct and democratic means of popular expression and we desire to see the Referendum established without delay.

We should have sympathised with the members of Lord Bryce's Committee if they had sought to devise, in place of the House of Lords, some instrument more democratic than the House of Commons; if they had suggested, for instance, the creation of a delegate body larger than the House of Commons, its members elected by adult suffrage, which would meet periodically to hold inquiries and to make decisions, and the members of which would report back to those who elected them and to whom they return.

But no striving to secure a more complete democracy is revealed in the Report of Lord Bryce's Conference. It proposes to set up a Second Chamber, consisting partially of persons elected by the members of the House of Commons, partly of persons elected by what is to be called the Joint Standing Committee, which is to be drawn from members of both Houses. In the first instance, this Committee is to be formed by agreement between the Lords and Commons; afterwards five of its ten members are to be chosen from the House of Commons by the Speaker, five by the Committee of Selection of the Second Chamber. The Joint Standing Committee shall be rechosen at the beginning of each Parliament. Members of the Second Chamber will sit for twelve years! The Law Lords, the Lord Chancellor, and the Ex-Lord Chancellors will retain their *ex officio* seats so long as they perform judicial functions. At the first election the members of the Second Chamber to be elected by the Joint Standing Committee must all be chosen from amongst the holders of hereditary peerages and bishops occupying diocesan sees (not less than five of the members must be bishops). At the second and third elections not less than half those chosen must be such peers and bishops. Thereafter it is only provided that the number of such peers and bishops in the Second Chamber must not fall below thirty. A pretty constitution this to be offered to a nation which is assured that it is fighting "to make the world safe for democracy"!

But this is not all! There is further to be a Joint Committee on Financial Bills, composed of seven members chosen by each House at the beginning of each session. The old power over the purse, and the prohibition against the Lords being allowed to meddle in questions of finance, which the Commons long cherished, is attacked by the proposal to erect this Committee on Financial Bills, which is to be given the power to decide whether or not a Bill is a financial Bill, and even if it is a financial Bill whether it is of such a character that its non-financial aspects are of most importance. This Committee has the right to insist that such a Bill shall be discussed, rejected, or amended by the Second Chamber like any other Bill.

If one House passes a Bill and the other refuses the measure may be referred, on the initiative of either House, to what is called a "free conference." This will consist of twenty members of each House, chosen at the beginning of each Parliament by the Selection Committee of each House, and called "The Joint Standing Committee of Conferences," and also of ten members of each House chosen at the time. Indeed! What a complicated hotch potch! The proceedings at the Free Conferences must not be divulged, and though an official report will be published, it will not state how particular members have voted!

After the "Free Conference" has reported on the Bill, with or without amendment, neither House may amend it; they must take it or leave it as it stands. If one of the Houses rejects the Bill and the other accepts it, it can be referred to the "Free Conference" in the following session, and then, if the Conference passes it by a majority of more than three and if the House of Commons accepts it, it will become law. If the "Free Conference" fails to pass the Bill by a majority of three or more votes, the Bill will die unless both Houses of Parliament will adopt it as accepted by the Conference. The scheme is so absurdly complicated that it seems to have been drafted by an ingenious madman! Throw it out!

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

INTELLECTUAL UNIONISM. By W. F. WATSON.

The Editor of THE DREADNOUGHT has asked me for "something good" for the Marxian issue, but for once in a while I am at a loss for something to write about. It is not that I lack inspiration, ideas, or concentration; but I seem to have just a slight touch of the hump, a thing that rarely occurs with one so optimistic as myself. And one has to be so very careful of what one writes. Were I to write exactly what I want to write it is tolerably certain that objection would be made, and I might be required to endure the agonising torture of listening to another homily from Sir John Dickenson or Sir F. E. Smith. This ghastly offensive, with its fearful toll of human life, has apparently reduced the people to a state of coma from which it is for the moment well nigh impossible to arouse them. Some of those who claim to be guiding the destinies of the Workers' Committee Movement suggested a little while back that we demand that the Government should declare a General Election!!!

There is, however, a gleam of hope in the dark clouds of reaction. The abject failure of the leaders is compelling the workers to realise their own responsibility in achieving their emancipation, and the most encouraging sign is the springing up of Marxian educational classes in every industrial centre and the enormous demand for Marxian literature. The workers are beginning to realise that the orthodox economics emanating from University professors and dished up through such agencies as Ruskin College and the W.E.A. are specially prepared for the purpose of sidetracking the thinking student from the path of working-class emancipation. The worker can only become an educated class-conscious revolutionary by studying Marxian economics and industrial history from the workers' standpoint and their application to everyday workshop problems. Therefore I would urge all workers to commemorate the centenary of Karl Marx by resolving from now onwards to devote a goodly portion of energy to extending the influence of his teachings, by assisting in the formation and development of these educational classes.

And I would here say that it is not essential that there should be a special teacher for the classes. It is not good that we become the slave of a teacher any more than it is good that we become the slave of a book. It is most essential that the workers should reason things out for themselves. We have no teacher at our classes at 7 Featherstone Buildings. The Students decide the subject and draw lots for the one to open the discussion and it is very successful. We are aiming at an association of minds—intellectual unionism as one of our comrades calls it—and the development of initiative, confidence, self-reliance, and moral courage in the student. It is the absence of these qualities that makes the worker apathetic and a pliant tool in the hands of Capitalist and unscrupulous Labour leaders. This is evident in everyday life. There is some trouble in a shop and the shop steward wishes to get the feeling of the men. He goes to Bill the turner, explains the position, and asks his opinion. The usual reply is: "What's Jack going to do?" Jack says: "What's Bob going to do?" and so on, each one waiting to see what somebody else is going to do before deciding himself. Between them all action is delayed and often nothing is done. This must be changed. Bill, George, Bob, Tom, Dick, and Harry must, by understanding their true position in society and the destiny of the class to which they belong, develop their individualities and that moral courage which will enable them to decide for themselves. That is the great hope of the Workers' Committee Movement. Based as it is upon Marxian philosophy, it is calculated to be sound and lasting. Its fundamental principle, that control of policy and action shall be vested in the workshop, throws the responsibility on to the workers. Its policy of appointing numerous shop stewards increases the responsibility, develops initiative, and thus moral courage begins to manifest itself.

The one great thing "bosses" fear is that the workers will not only closely study Marxian economics, but in applying them to everyday life will disregard the orthodox capitalist machinery of the State and will proceed to erect their own machinery. They fear an educated class-conscious, fearless proletariat, steadily pursuing the straight course towards freedom, refusing to be sidetracked by any specious imitations, and determined to work out its own destiny in its own way. So, Comrades, let us shed our pessimism, let us ignore those who have sold out to the State, and let us buckle on our intellectual swords for the great work ahead of us.

THE FRENCH WORKING WOMEN. By MARIANNE RAUZE.

Member of the Executive Committee of the French Socialist Party, and Co-Editor of 'Le Populaire.'

When the war came French working women were ignorant and quite unorganised. There were no special groups of women workers; the most that could be said was that a few isolated women were to be found, inert and practically lost, in the trade unions and in the political organisations of the working class. Women still seemed determined to remain antisocial beings, devoid of interest in the common lot, and restricting their outlook to their families and to their immediate personal concerns.

Nevertheless, attempts had been made to arouse women from this torpor. For many years there had existed a feminist movement which, basing its activities upon claims for the suffrage, had ultimately come to conceive somewhat more extended aims. But despite all the efforts made by the supporters of this movement, working women had remained indifferent if not positively hostile to it, and it was conducted almost exclusively by women of the middle and lower middle class.

"You ought to agitate for the vote!" said the suffragists.

"What's the good of the vote?" answered the working women.

But now, all of a sudden the night of their ignorance has been dispelled as by a lightning flash. They know now what politics means, that it involves the alternatives of peace or war, of life or death. They know that politics provides the key to justice or injustice, to freedom or slavery. They have understood the need for the vote. But they understand that need differently from the women of the middle class; they do not want the vote simply in order to secure a change in the mechanism of capitalist administration, for their aim is to use the vote in order to effect a fortunate, enlightened, and complete social transformation. The working women have in their turn become suffragists, and have grasped the value of organisation.

"Join forces with us," say the ladies of the suffrage societies.

"All that you want," answer the working women, "is to make use of the vote for the maintenance of your own privileges, and you would like to hoodwink us, to induce us to join your army of social conservatism. Your hope is vain. Your interests are not ours. What we wish is to work with all our proletarian brothers on behalf of the emancipation of our class. You are nothing but a lying mask of progress; we are its reality."

Thus there has occurred a notable awakening among the women of the French proletariat. All that is now needed is for a few able and zealous propagandists to turn this movement to account, and to assist French working women to organise themselves effectively alike in the political and in the economic field.

Is it not a striking symbol, is it not a splendid gift, for the centenary of Karl Marx, that we should find in this particular sphere that there is in progress the realisation of his words: "The emancipation of the workers will be brought about by the workers themselves"?

THE INDIAN DEPUTATION.

The Times publishes a circular issued by the Bombay National Union calling on Indian Home Rulers to arrange for a stream of telegrams to be sent to Mr. Llak who was coming with a deputation of his fellows to this country, authorising him to demand Home Rule. *The Times* indignantly describes this as a "sham method of manufacturing Indian opinion." But surely this is one of the commonest methods of political agitation in this country, a method which has been used by many movements patronised by *The Times*.

IMPORTANT.

Poplar Socialist Sunday School now meets at 11 A.M. on Sundays, at 20, Railway Street. The secretary appeals for adult support.

THE SOCIETY OF NATIONS. By Charles Rappoport.

Translated from "Le Journal du Peuple" by Eden and Cedar Paul.

In France three men in especial have moulded the mentality of the Socialist Party: Edouard Vaillant, diplomatist and finished revolutionary statesman; Jules Guesde, pitiless logician; and Jean Jaurès, a seer, combining a genius for intuition with robust common sense.

Jaurès was taken from us at the opening of the war. Vaillant, who lived through its first years, followed during these years a policy which contradicted the tactics of his whole life, for hitherto he had devoted himself to combating political and economic reaction. The only way to do full justice to the memory of Vaillant is to follow the advice of Renan, who hoped to be judged, not by the doings of old age, subject to the fatal and common law of human weakness, but by the vigorous activities of his entire life. Jules Guesde, again, in his new nationalist phase, is in flat contradiction to the Socialist and Internationalist trend of his life prior to the war, and has voluntarily renounced the role of guardian of the conscience of that party which he helped to found.

These few years of disturbance and pain cannot efface the activities of an entire epoch. How can we sum up, in a word, the general tendency of the life of Vaillant and Guesde? It has been devoted to the search for tangible economic and social realities; it has ever been characterised by contempt for vain and stilted phrases, for bourgeois ideology. But when a political party, instead of formulating its demands in concrete terms, instead of stating them simply, clearly, and directly, informs us that its entire programme may be summed up in the desire to realise right, justice, and truth—it cuts a ridiculous figure. For where shall we find the party to declare itself *opposed* to right, truth, and justice? These phrases are the small change of oratory. For all parties alike, the difficulty begins when we ask for a definition of the terms right, truth, and justice. The vaguer the politician's answer, the more suspect is his political creed. If he continue to take refuge in nebulous phrases, we write him down a humbug, and consider that his party exists only to trick the public.

Are we to believe that the French Socialist Party is in such a case, now that it has replaced its programme based upon unsparing analysis of realities by the catchword "Society of Nations"? I find it difficult to take so gloomy a view. For the moment, indeed, the party is affected by the prevailing current of political and doctrinal reaction. In allying itself with the bourgeoisie, in allying itself with all the parties of reaction, the French Socialists, whom Guesde all his life has been warning against such dangerous alliances, adopt the whole stock of bourgeois phrase-making, sacrifice the substance for the shadow. It seems to me that to-day our party resembles one of those sanguine authors who think that their work is done as soon as they have found an imposing title for a new book. Let us be generous enough to concede to our opponents that *The Society of Nations* is an excellent title!

But it is a title without content. In times of peace all the nations form a "society." There exists a society within that society known by the sinister name of secret diplomacy.

At the Congress of Vienna (1814-15), when the nations, assembled in a society, were parcelling out the world, they formed something more than a simple society of nations; they formed a society of nations at a dance, a national ball which lasted for years. Masked by the sound of the violins, intrigues went on gaily. Talleyrand, one of the most gifted of the intriguers, was even able to impose upon Europe the will of France, France invaded and broken by the reactionary coalition. Net result: the celebrated Holy Alliance of the governments against the peoples; half a century of savage reaction; the congresses of Verona and Laibach, where the anti-revolutionary weapons were forged.

Why did all these things happen? They were the outcome of the economic and political forces of the epoch. These forces determined the content of the society of nations established at the Vienna Congress in the second decade of the nineteenth century.

At the forthcoming peace congress, the content of the Society of Nations which will there be re-established will inevitably be determined by the terrible struggle for the world market, by the struggle for existence, by the interplay of economic, political, and national rivalries. This struggle will determine the political and economic regime of all the nations participating in the new capitalist society.

The use of the word "society" does not suffice to annul the existence of a situation whose essence is struggle. The struggle will continue as long as the causes which have led to it. Capitalist society, like feudal society, exists only by and for struggle. As long as the ownership of the globe remains open to dispute, the Great Powers, here constituting the owners, will strive one with another for dominion. Socialism alone, substituting for this struggle to acquire a larger property, to gain a larger share of power (Imperialism), an agreement to secure the ends of life, to secure the happiness and the unrestricted development of all—Socialism alone will create a positive and indestructible foundation for a true society of nations. Outside Socialism, we find nothing but words, words, words.

Worse than this. These words will serve as a trademark to promote the sale of doubtful wares, as a mask for politicians desiring to dispose of nonentities, and as weapons to be used by one coalition against another. Now, as always, such phraseology is a mere refuge of ignorance, an easy means of eluding reality. Words are the false assignats of bankrupt political parties, currency notes which cannot be cashed in gold.

Our criticism of the Society of Nations has nothing in common with the criticisms uttered by the reactionary parties. The champions of the international reaction declare that war is eternal, just, and divine. In their presumption they believe themselves to be eternal, and they infer the eternity of human folly and bad feeling. We take a different view. We are evolutionists and revolutionists. We are determinists, men who believe that effects will disappear when their causes disappear, and will not disappear before. War will continue as long as its causes continue in operation. Socialism explains its causes. Those who imagine that they can put an end to war by affixing to the brazen forehead of capitalist society a label bearing the inscription *Society of Nations* are not merely ignorant of the first words of our doctrine, but do not know what it means to study a problem scientifically.

Peace is no chimera. War is a crime and a folly; it is utterly insensate. But it is a crime and a folly for which mankind has paid too dearly to be content with a phrase which would leave things just as they are.

Socialist society organised upon an international basis is our Society of Nations. There is no other

KARL MARX IN FLEET STREET—(*Continued from Front Page.*)

academic degree. There is W. R. Cremer of the Joiners, who ended with a seat in Parliament, Eccarius and Jung, both of whom in later years left Marx and went over to Bakounin's side. The Chairman is E. Odger of the Shoemakers, Secretary of the London Trades Council, then sitting at 115 St. Martin's Lane.

The prospectus, prepared by Marx, says:—

"The Directors want to establish a newspaper devoted to the interests of the Working Classes and to secure for them a truthful exponent of their wrongs and a faithful champion of their rights....They have made arrangements with some of the most advanced writers to contribute to its columns. The well-known character of the men connected with the management renders it needless to indulge in professions. The paper will be Democratic in Politics and ever prepared to maintain principle against expediency. To those who have been accustomed to view the efforts of the poor as a series of vain struggles of Labour against Capital, it may be observed that those efforts have failed, not from want of justice in the object to be obtained, but from want of a legitimate organ to influence public opinion. To say that the Newspaper Press represents public opinion is to administer insult to intelligent men. It is the property of speculators, political leaders, large contractors, and railway directors. Can we expect truth through the channels of falsehood, light from the regions of darkness or fairness from those whose business is to caluminate pervert, and deceive? Certainly not. Hence the need of an organ that should be beyond the taint of corruption, invulnerable against attacks, and inspired by men who feel it their mission to teach the truth they have acquired by hard toil and bitter suffering. *The Workers' Advocate* boldly takes its stand upon this necessity. It will look to Labour and to Labour's friends for its associate. The class, that has produced E. Elliot, J. Clare, J. Burns, amongst poets, that has given Defoe to fiction, Stephenson to science, and Shakespeare to literature, can still claim within its ranks many a noble son who can wield the pen as well as the shuttle or the hammer.

"The Industrial Newspaper Company is an application of the co-operative principle: a sign of the times that men of action are likewise men of thought, who will tell their own 'unvarnished tale' in an organ of their own. On the questions of the day the 'Worker's Advocate will have a pronounced opinion. With a view to promoting the complete political and social enfranchisement of the toiling millions, it will energetically support: manhood suffrage, vote by ballot, representation based upon numbers, direct taxation, the nationalisation of land, the development of co-operative self-employment to national proportions, the reduction of the number of working hours, the Saturday half-holiday movement, political and trade international associations, and everything that tends to advance the cause of progress. Enrolling amongst its literary associates some of the brightest intellects in all countries, its articles on foreign affairs will be the matured opinions of profound thinkers, and from its close association with the International Working Men's Association, which has correspondents in all parts of the world, this department will be one of its most valuable features. To bring the proprietorship of *The Workers' Advocate* within the reach of the masses the shares are being issued at £1 each and to make the mode of payment as easy as possible the Directors have determined to accept deposits of 2*s.* 6*d.* per share."

Due allowance being made for the somewhat pompous style required in a prospectus, we see here what were at that time Marx's thoughts and those of his closest associates, the founders of the International, as to the best means to penetrate into, and to captivate the public opinion of their day.

We are at the close of 1865 and happenings have recently taken place that eventually will set a mark upon history.

At the Freemasons' Tavern on August 5th, 1862, Eccarius, the self-educated German who could debate with John Stuart Mill, had promoted a "Fête of the International Fraternity of the Workers."

On September 28th, 1864, at St. Martin's Hall, at the corner of Long Acre and Endell Street (later on the Queen's Theatre), at a meeting presided over by Prof. E. S. Beesley, Trades Union advocate and Positivist lecturer, the International had been founded; the appropriate name "International Working Men's Association" being chosen at a meeting held the following week. Marx had not attended these meetings. Probably, he was too much absorbed in the preparation of his 'Capital,' which he had begun whilst living in Dean Street, at a period of so great poverty that he had to borrow 2*l.* from a French refugee in order to bury his little daughter Francisca.

His entry into "Fleet Street" corresponds therefore with a period of his renewed activity; for, some ten days after, he participated at a Conference of the International held in London at 8 Adelphi Terrace, the home of the Reform League, to prepare the Congress of the following year, to celebrate the founding of the Association, and to congratulate the people of America on the abolition of slavery and the triumph of the Republic. England, France, Switzerland, Poland, Italy, Spain had delegates. The German Choral Society sang and the band of the Italian branch made merry at the closing scene.

To be concluded in our next issue.

MAY CELEBRATION.

GREAT RANK & FILE LABOUR

DEMONSTRATION

IN

FINSBURY PARK,

Sunday next, MAY 5, 3.30 p.m.

Supported by 8 Trade Councils and over 100 Trade Union Branches, Co-operative Societies, &c.

8 Platforms **50 Speakers** **7 Processions**

Well-known speakers in the Trade Union & Political World.

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Miss SYLVIA PANKHURST, W.S.F.

Mrs. BOUVIER, W.S.F. Mrs. DESPARD, W.F.L.
Miss M. PRICE, W.S.F. Mrs. WALKER, W.S.F.

GREAT PROCESSIONS

With Bands and Banners will start from the following points:—

Edmonton Town Hall, 1.30 p.m.
Camden Town N. L. Railway Station, 2.15 p.m.
Hackney Town Hall, 1.30 p.m.
Highgate Archway Tavern, 2.30 p.m.
Holloway Prison, 2.45 p.m.
Tottenham, Northumberland Park, 2 p.m.
Walthamstow, Standard Corner, Blackhorse Road 1.30 p.m.

Workers of London rally behind your Banners! Demonstrate your belief in the Solidarity of the Working Class the World over—of Internationalism, Brotherhood amongst all Peoples.

RALLY! RALLY!! RALLY!!!

For full Particulars, Names of all Speakers, &c., see this week's **HERALD,** or apply to Hon. Secretary, LEONARD S. HOWARD, North London Labour Demonstration Committee, Liberty Club, 318, Green Lanes, N.4.

WHATS' ON?

W.S.F. FIXTURES

OUT DOOR

FRIDAY, MAY 3rd.
St. Stephen's Road, Bow, 11.30 A.M., Miss Price.
Pretoria Road, Walthamstow, 5.30 P.M., Mrs. Cressall.
SATURDAY, MAY 4th.
Great Push for Peace, Socialism and Votes for All in Hammersmith.—Meet at the Grove (near both Stations), at 3 P.M. and 6 P.M. Speakers: Miss Birch, Miss Horsfall, Miss Price, Mrs. Walker.
SUNDAY, MAY 5th.
Finsbury Park, 3.30 P.M., May Day Demonstration.
FRIDAY, MAY 10th.
Rathbone Street, Canning Town, 11.30 A.M., Miss Price.
Queens Crescent, Kentish Town, 6 P.M., Mrs. Cressall.
SATURDAY, MAY 11th.
Great Push.

INDOOR

FRIDAY, MAY 3rd.
400, Old Ford Road, Bow, 7.30 P.M., Mr. J. W. Williams, 'The Great Menace and the Necessity for Sex Education.' Chair: Miss Sylvia Pankhurst.
MONDAY, MAY 6th.
44, Malden Road, St. Pancras, W.S.F., 2.30 P.M., Business Meeting.
WEDNESDAY, MAY 8th.
44, Malden Road, St. Pancras W.S.F., 7 P.M., Rev. Wm. Piggott, 'Let an Old Woman Speak.'
THURSDAY, MAY 9th.
29b, Lincoln's Inn Fields, 7.30 P.M., Mr. John Arnall, 'France and Militarism'; Mrs. Walker, 'The Present Outlook.'
SUNDAY, MAY 12th.
400, Old Ford Road, Bow.—The Lady Margaret Sackville will read her War Plays; Mr. Ph. Frankford, 'The Importance of Organising the Young.' Chair: Mrs. Bouvier. Admission, One Penny.

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

Gratefully Acknowledged

GENERAL FUND.—Mr. A. Gliksten, £10; Poplar Branch W.S.F., £1; Walthamstow Food Vigilance Committee (Food Dem.), 5*s.*; Miss L. Isaacs (Peace), 5*s.*; Miss Janet Mardon, 2*s.* 6*d.* COLLECTIONS: Bow Social Evening, 5*s.* 2½*d.*; Mrs. Bouvier, 2*s.*

'DREADNOUGHT' FUND.—Mr. W. A. Albright, £10; Mrs. Frances Rowe, £2 3*s.* 4*d.*; Mrs. and Miss Casey, £1; Mr. and Mrs. Wyndham Albery, £1; City of London I.L.P., 10*s.*; Mrs. Hully Rawlins, 10*s.*; Mrs. Mary Evans, 5*s.*; Mr. Middleton, 5*s.*; Mr. and Mrs. Cole, 4*s.* 6*d.*; Miss G. J. Titford, 3*s.*; Mrs. Brimley, 2*s.* 6*d.*; Mrs. Timkay, 1*s.*

CLINICS AND SOCIAL WORK.—Miss I. V. Yeoman, £10 10*s.*; Misses Gulland, £1 15*s.*; Miss M. A. Pelly (monthly), £1 10*s.*; Eva M. Vigor, 17*s.* 6*d.*; Nurse Hebbes (weekly), 10*s.* COLLECTIONS: L.S.A. Tool-room (two), £2 19*s.* 5*d.*; Misses E.; Lagsding and J. Watts (Greens Yard), 9*s.* 0½*d.*; Miss K. Lagsding and Miss Bertram (Cubitt Town), 6*s.* 7*d.*

CLOTHES: Mrs. White, Miss Spencer. RHUBARB: Miss Napier. POTATOES: Mrs. Unwin.

* * * *

BULWELL.—Mr. W. Carter of Kentish Town visited this branch last week end. On the Saturday evening Mr. Carter took the chair at a benefit concert held at Annesley on behalf of a woman worker, who had had the misfortune to lose her foot. During the evening the claims of the W.S.F. were put before the audience, who later showed their appreciation by freely patronizing Mr. Croft who was in charge of the DREADNOUGHTS. On Sunday morning Mr. Carter addressed the Bulwell Branch of the N.U.R., and in the evening at the Albert Street Schools gave an address on 'Trade Union and Political Action.' Aarhough the evening meeting was disappointing as far as numbers were concerned, those present were very interested in what Mr. Carter had to say. DREADNOUGHTS and other literature sold well. E. F.

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

April 23rd.—Mr. Lees-Smith (L.) drew the attention of the War Office to the fact that the recent Royal Commission on Venereal Diseases had reported against every Regulation on the lines of 40D, on the ground that it did nothing to diminish venereal disease.

WHITLEY REPORT.

Replying to questions as to the progress made in forming industrial councils on the lines of the Whitley Report, Mr. Bridgeman stated that in only one industry had such a council been formed! He further added that interim industrial reconstruction committees would be promoted in industries, which through lack of organisation could not form industrial councils in time to help reconstruction in the period directly after the war. Whilst admitting that the Government was doing this as a temporary measure this declaration shows once again the necessity of building up industrial organisation in order to strengthen labour.

THE BUDGET.

Very little profitable criticism was directed against the new taxations. Mr. Herbert Samuel (L.) spoke, as one-time Post Master General, against the abolition of the penny post, declaring the Post Office profits as quite considerable without that extra tax. Mr. Bonar Law was illuminating in replying to accusations in respect of increased war expenditure. He said: "Every one of the belligerents the longer the war lasts, will devote more and more energy and money and labour to the production of these instruments of destruction, and that the expenditure will only be limited by the powers of production." When will people understand this very honest statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer?

NO MUSIC FOR C.O.S.

When asked whether the Princetown C.Os. were to be allowed to have a brass band, Sir G. Cave stated that he had given orders forbidding it. "A brass band under present conditions would, I think, be intolerable," he said. Why?

COMPENSATION FOR WOMEN AND CHILDREN

Mr. Brace introduced a bill entitled Workmen's Compensation (Illegal Employment) Bill to meet cases of children employed under age and women or men illegally employed. Hitherto accidents to these workers have not been compensated on the ground that their employment was not under a valid contract. The bill which was passed enables the arbitrator to deal with the case as though the employment were legal, "if he thinks it proper to do so."

FOOD PROFITS.

A new D.O.R.A. Bill was read a second time which gives the Food Ministry the power, not only to fine and imprison those guilty of food profiteering; but also "to make the offender a debtor to the Crown to the extent of double the amount of the illicit gains which he has been able to secure." We wonder will even this measure suffice to protect the needy consumer from inflated prices?

MUNITIONS.

April 25th.—Mr. Churchill made a long statement about the work of the Ministry of Munitions and the various feats it had performed during recent months. Although men are being "released" at the rate of more than 1,000 a day, increased production has been assured! One of the reasons of this is that women have become more efficient. Great waste of energy must have taken place somewhere! Mr. Anderson (Lab.) in a very detailed critical speech pointed out that the principles of circular L2 had been violated; that it was due to the fact that the Government had differentiated between men and women workers. He said: "My own view is that sex should not enter into workmanship at all. It does not matter in the least whether a piece of work is done by a man or a woman. You ought to pay for the work done.... It is complained less by the women than by the men, that the spirit of that circular is being violated by the fact that women are being excluded from all national advances. Advances which are being given to the men are not being given to the women." We agree whole-heartedly with Mr. Anderson, and urge that women should use this unique opportunity of placing their services on the basis put forward in Mr. Anderson's statement.

KEIGHLEY.

Congratulations to Mr. Bland (I.L.P.) and to the 2,349 electors of Keighley who voted for him. If nearly half the electorate is prepared to vote for peace and socialism now we may hope for a victory shortly.

NAVAL AND MILITARY PENSIONS.

We are glad to notice an increase in the scale of Naval and Military Pensions to date from May 1st, though the increase is but small. The many changes are as follows:—

	Per week. Old Scale.	New Scale.
	s. d.	*s. d.*
First child	5 0	6 8
Second child	4 2	5 0
Third child	3 4	4 2
Each other child	2 6	
Motherless children, first child	7 0	10 0
" " each other child	6 0	9 2
Illegitimate children ..	5 0	6 8

Widows alternative pension two-thirds instead of one-half what he might have been paid had he survived and remained incapable of earning.

Parents may receive pension if in need apart from pre-enlistment dependency. Medical treatment during the war may be granted to men whose disease is not attributable to military service. During the treatment allowance may be granted to family. Why not after the war also?

The temporary allowance of 14*s.* which is paid during the time of discharge till the pension is settled is to be 27*s.* 6*d.* This temporary allowance plan is wrong in principle. Let the authorities continue pay and separation or issue full pension whichever be greater, during the interim period.

Grants up to £10 may be made for buying tools for discharged men who have been trained by the pensions authorities. Why not if he has not been specially trained but happened to know a trade before?

TO OUR READERS.

The difficulties of production have proved too great for us to give the extra two pages this week.

MISCELLANEOUS ADVERTISEMENTS

THE MOTHER'S 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.

FUR MACHINIST WANTED. Apply East London Toy Factory, 45, Norman Road, E.3.

HALL TO LET for meetings, concerts, dances, etc.—Apply, Mrs. Hooper, 400 Old Ford Road, London, E.3.

MONTESSORI METHOD.—Day Pupils or Boarders, aged 2½ to 5 years, received; also vacancy for Student Teacher.—Apply to Miss Muriel Matters, Federation House, George Lane, South Woodford, Essex.

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INTERNATIONAL YOUNG AGE PENSIONS

Dear Friends of Humanity,—In order to relieve the terrible poverty and suffering that is devastating Europe, 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. 7*s.* 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 WORKHOUSES, 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 7*s.* 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 our different Governments now, before it may be too late.

S. MACKENZIE KENNEDY.
[Advt.

CITY OF LONDON I.L.P.
TOM MANN at the Memorial Hall
SATURDAY, MAY 11th, at 2.45
(Doors open at 2.15)
Full particulars and 6d. tickets from ARTHUR FIELD, 28 Ilminster Gdns., Battersea, S.W.11

Jewish Socialist Labour Party, Poale Zion.
EAST LONDON BRANCH.
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AT THE MONNICENDAM ROOMS,
GREAT ALIE STREET, LEMAN STREET, E.,
On SATURDAY, MAY 11th, 1918, at 6 p.m.
Mr. TOM MANN will give a Short Address

GIVE THIS PAPER TO A FRIEND.

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