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DREADNOUGHT
For International Socialism.

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EUGENE DEBS: THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST. By JOHN REED.

[Eugene Debs, the American Socialist, has been sentenced to 10 years imprisonment for obstructing the U. S. War Programme.]

Everybody knows Gene Debs in Terre Haute. Sixty-two years ago he was born in Terre Haute, of parents who came to America from Alsace, Gene's father was of upper middle-class family and owned mills in Colmar. He fell in love with a girl who worked in one of his mills, and renounced his heritage to marry her. They came to Indiana as immigrants, and lived through hells of poverty...

This was all before 1870. But old man Debs never admitted that Alsace could be German. On his tomb-stone he had engraved, "Born at Colmar, Alsace, FRANCE."

Gene, his father and his mother went through their political and economic evolution together. Together Gene and his father voted for the Greenback Party, then for the Populists....and that was the characteristically American way, Gene Debs and his father and mother came to Socialism.

Terre Haute is a rich little country town in the Hoosier land, where Eugene Field came from, and James Whitcomb Riley, and a whole raft of novelists and poets. Going through that country on the train I can never resist the feeling that after all, *this* is real America. Trim villages, white farm-houses set in trees, fields of tasselled corn; shallow rivers flowing between earthern banks, little rolling hills spotted with lazy cows, bare-legged children; the church-spires and graveyards of New England, transported hither by Protestant folk, mellowed and grown more spacious by contact with the South and West; rural school-houses, and everywhere hideous and beloved monuments commemorating the Civil War; locusts jarring in the sycamores, an almost overwhelming fertility rioting in the black earth, steaming in the procreative heat of flat-country summer, and distilling a local sweetness that is distinctively American—sentimental and humorous.

The Middle West, with its tradition of settled, country-living folk, and behind that, the romance of the Civil War, and still further back, the epos of the race moving West and conquering....

Here lives Gene Debs, authentic kin of Field and Riley, American, Middle Western, shrewd, tender-hearted, eloquent and indomitable. When I was a small boy my conception of Uncle Sam was just what I found Gene Debs to be—and I'm not at all sure my instinct was wrong.

It was on the Fourth of July that Art Young and I went to Terre Haute to see Gene. Barely a month before, the terrible rumour had gone round, chilling all our hearts—"Gene Debs is going back on the party!" That lie he nailed in the stinging statement published in the New York *Call*....Then came his tour through the middle states, menaced everywhere with arrest, violence, even lynching....and Debs calmly speaking according to schedule, fearless, fiery and full of love of people....Then his Canton speech, a clear internationalist manifesto, and the Cleveland arrest.

"Gene Debs arrested! They've arrested Gene!" people said everywhere, with a shock, a feeling of pity, of affection. Nothing that has happened in the United States this year has stirred so many people just this way. The long sentences given to conscientious objectors, the suppression of the Socialist press, the indictment of editors, lecturers, Socialist officials under the Espionage and Sedition Acts—people didn't seem to be deeply moved by these things; but the arrest and indictment of Gene Debs—of Gene Debs as a traitor to his country! That was like a slap in the face to thousands of simple people—many of them not Socialists at all—who had heard him speak and therefore loved him. Not to mention the hundreds he has personally befriended, helped or even saved from every sort of evil....

"Gene Debs arrested! Our Gene! That's going too far."

It appears that Allan Benson had come out with a piece in the paper criticising the authorities for arresting Debs at the moment when he was "just on the point of going over to the National Party!" Sitting there in his darkened sitting-room, with the busts of Voltaire, Rousseau and Bob Ingersoll just behind him, he chuckled over Mr. Benson's perspicacity. I couldn't help seeing a ludicrous mental picture of Gene Debs in the company of pious Prohibition preachers and Socialist renegades. "Cheap skates," was Gene's dismissal of the whole tribe.

He was in bed when we arrived, but insisted on getting up. Not very well, his wife said; had not been well a whole year. How gaunt and tall he was, how tired his long burned-up body looked; and yet with what a consuming inward radiance he came forward and greeted us, holding both his hands on ours, looking at us so eagerly, as if his affection for us was so deep....We felt wrapped in Gene Debs' affection. I had never met him, but I had heard him speak. How from that body and soul then he had poured out vitality, flaming across all his time, warmth and courage and belief!

Now he was older, more ravaged by the strain of giving and fighting; but his smile was still as delighted, and his sympathy as wonderful, and the tides of his indomitability at the service of anyone....

Gene talked. You who have never heard him talk don't just know what that means. It isn't erudition, fine choice of words, or well-modulated voice that makes his charm; but the intensity of his face, glowing, and the swift tumbling out of his sincere words. He told about his trip, describing with boyish pleasure how he outwitted the detectives watching for him in Cleveland; and how mayors and patriotic committees in little towns had warned him not to speak—and he had spoken, just the same.

"Aren't you afraid of lynching?" I asked him.

Gene smiled. "Now that's a funny thing," he said. "I just don't happen to think about it, some way. I guess I'm sort of psychically protected, anyway. I know that so long as I keep my eye on them, they won't dare to do anything."

Outside as he talked to us the automobiles went by, covered with flags, and the sound of the parade came drifting down....Looking through the darkened windows we watched the people. As they passed the house they motioned or pointed toward it, with expression compounded half of eager malice, and half of a sort of fear. "That's where Gene Debs lives," you could see them saying, as one would say, "The House of the Traitor...."

"Come on," said Gene, suddenly. "Let's go out and sit on the front porch and give 'em a good show, if they want to see me." So we went out on the porch, and took off our coats. And those who passed only looked furtively our way, and whispered, and when they caught Gene's eye, bowed over-cordially.

There was something tragic, and funny, in the way Terre Haute regarded Gene. Before the war Gene added luster to the name of the town, as well as having an immense personal popularity. In the beginning, practically the whole population, all through that section, was against going to war....But since the war the usual phenomenon has happened in Terre Haute. The whole place has been mobilised physically and spiritually. Except Gene Debs. The simpler people couldn't understand it. Bankers, lawyers and merchants felt for him a terrible rancour. Even the ministers of the gospel, who had often implored him to address their conventions, now held meetings denouncing "the enemy in our midst."

No names were mentioned. No one dared to call Gene Debs "enemy" to his face. When he went down the street, everyone was studiously polite. Department of Justice operatives, volunteer detectives of all sorts, Liberty loan agents, prowled all round his house—but did not dare to enter and front the old lion. Once a business men's "patriotic" committee descended upon a German-born workman, and threatened him. Gene heard about it, and sent word to the committee: "Come down to *my* house, why don't you, instead of to the place of a poor man. I have a shot-gun waiting for you fellows." The committee did not come....

I have a picture of Gene Debs, his long bony head and shining face against a background of bright petunias in a box on the rail, his lean hand lifted with the long, artist's fingers giving emphasis to what he said:

"Say, isn't it great the way most of the boys have stood up? Fine! If this can't break them down, why then I know nothing can. Socialism is on the way. They can't stop it, no matter what they do. The more breaks the other side makes, the better for us...."

And as he went down the steps, wringing our hands, clapping us on the shoulder, winning and warm, he said—and all the neighbours could hear him, too—

"Now you tell all the boys everywhere who are making the fight, Gene Debs says he's with you, all the way, straight through, *without a flicker!*"

[From *The Liberator, U.S.A.*]

SOCIALISM IN THE MAKING.

DECREE CONCERNING THE REGISTRATION OF CIVIL MARRIAGES AND CHILDREN.

The Russian Republic recognises only civil marriages as legal. The following are the regulations concerning civil marriages:—

1. Persons who intend to marry must notify either verbally or in writing the registry office for marriages and for births attached to the county, district or parish council in the district of their abode.

Remark.—Civil marriage is absolutely obligatory. The secondary performance of a church ceremony is the private affair of the individuals concerned.

2. Notifications of marriages are not accepted:—

(*a*) From males younger than 18 years of age and from females younger than 16 years of age. For the natives of Transcaucasus the legal age for marriage is 16 years for males and 13 years of age for females.

(*b*) From relatives of linear descent, and neither from brothers and sisters nor from half brothers and half sisters, the same regulations as above apply to relatives of a similar degree even if one or both of the parties are born outside wedlock.

(*c*) From married persons.

(*d*) From lunatics.

3. It is necessary for those intending to marry to call at the registry office for marriages and to sign a form declaring that they are free from the impediments to marriage as stated in article 2 of this decree and further that their marriage is a voluntary act on their part.

Persons deliberately giving false statements concerning the non-existence of impediments stated in Article 2 will be proceeded against, for making these false declarations and their marriage will be declared void.

4. The officer in charge at the registry office for marriages, after obtaining the required signatures, enters the fact in the registry book and then declares the marriage already to be in force.

In entering upon wedlock the couple may freely decide what surname they will adopt, the name of the husband, the name of the wife or the joint surname of both.

To prove the performance of the marriage, a copy of the marriage lines is issued directly and given to the couple.

5.....

6. If the registry books for marriage are destroyed, lost in any way, or if a married couple for any reason are not able to obtain a copy of their marriage lines, the persons concerned are entitled to make a statement of their marriage within a certain date, at the registry office of the district where they both live, or where one of them lives. They must again give their signature as stated in Article 4 of this Decree, and also in addition their signature must state that the book has been lost or that for some other reason, worthy of consideration, they were unable to obtain their marriage lines. This will be considered as sufficient ground for registering their marriage and for issuing again a copy of their marriage certificate.

ON CHILDREN.

7. The birth of a child must be registered at the registry office for marriages and births in the district inhabited by the mother. The birth of a child must be separately registered.

8. The birth of a child must be notified at the local registry office by the parents, or by one of them, or in case of the death of the parents by the person who is in charge of the newly born child. The name and surname of the child must be given and two witnesses must attest the birth.

9.....

10. Illegitimate children are to be treated in a similar manner as legitimate children in regard to their rights and obligations towards their parents and also in regard to the rights and obligations of the parents towards these children.

The persons who notify and give their signatures as the parents of the child are recognised as the father and mother of the child.

In case of an illegitimate child, where the father omits to give the above mentioned notification the mother, the guardian or the child itself has the legitimate right to prove the paternity.

Chairman of the Council of Peoples Commissaries,
VL. OULIANOFF (LENIN).

[*Chairman of the Central Executive Committee,*
J. SVERDLOFF.

Manager of the Affairs, V. BOUCH-BRUEVITCH.
Secretary of the Council, N. GORBOUNOFF.
December 18th, 1917.

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

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THE LUST OF VICTORY IS POSTPONING PEACE.

On Saturday and Sunday when the news came through that the German Government had definitely accepted President Wilson's terms, and was willing to evacuate the invaded territories before opening peace negotiations, people were full of joyous expectation of an immediate peace. Every where—by the road side and in the 'buses and the trains—one heard them saying: "The War will be over in a week!" "It can't last a month!" Some who had not read the newspapers expressed doubts, but they were reassured by the printed words:—

"The German Government has accepted the terms laid down by President Wilson in his address of January 8th, 1918, and in his subsequent addresses on the foundation of a permanent peace of justice.

"Consequently its object in entering into discussions would be only to agree upon practical details of the application of these terms."

Men and women who read them were satisfied that those phrases contained no evasions, but a definite acceptance of President Wilson's terms, his own words, "only to agree upon practical details of the application," being actually incorporated in the German reply.

Concerning the evacuation also the German answer was definite:—

"The German Government, in accordance with the Austro-Hungarian Government, for the purpose of bringing about an armistice, declares itself ready to comply with the propositions of the President in regard to evacuation.

"The German Government suggests that the President may occasion the meeting of a Mixed Commission for making the necessary arrangements concerning the evacuation."

These words can only mean that the invaders agree to withdraw from the occupied territories before peace negotiations commence.

But on Monday the cordial welcome, described by *The Times* as "light headedness," which masses of men and women had given to the hope of peace by conciliation, was largely dispelled by the hostile reception given to it by the press. "Entry into Berlin necessary"; "Unconditional surrender!"; "Utterly inadequate," so ran the sayings in headline by Lord Leverhulme, Lord Beresford, and many Lord Mayors. Dr. Clifford declared: "I dread Germany as a peacemaker even more than as a fighter." Mr. H. M. Hyndman amazingly said: "I do not consider we or the other Allies are bound by President Wilson's fourteen points."

Strangely enough Brigadier-General Page Croft, M.P., who throughout the War has been one of the foremost in bellicose speeches, spoke now more mildly than the others, saying that he was "pleased with the German reply so far as it went."

The Allied capitalist press has all but unanimously demanded a refusal. President Wilson, postponing a definite answer as to terms, added yet further conditions to an armistice.

"The only condition on which an armistice can be granted is that atrocities on land and sea must cease, and also that the autocracy must go before final peace can come."

What are atrocities? War itself is an atrocity. Therefore, to comply literally with this demand, it would seem to us necessary that Germany should case fighting, whether the Allies continue their attack on her or not. But perhaps the President merely means that the German submarines must cease to operate, and that the retiring Germans armies must cease to destroy or despoil the country they are forced to evacuate. If such be the meaning of this condition, the German Government in its present mood, we think, will comply.

Towards the second condition that the autocracy must go, Germany is, we believe, hastily speeding onward, impelled, not so much by the Allied armies without, as by popular forces within. As we anticipated last week, Prince Max's Chancellorship will apparently be short, already his resignation is demanded. Some of the German Majority Socialists ask for one of their number, Herr Ebert, as Chancellor; whilst some of the Minority Socialists are openly calling for revolution. Great changes must now be looked for in Germany; we may expect to see Government succeed Government, with a tendency ever more towards that revolutionary rank and file Socialism which is now usually described as Bolshevik, and which has established the Soviets in Russia.

Soon the German autocracy may be gone; will President Wilson's peace conditions then be accepted? *The Daily News* rightly observes that the Allied Governments have never formally adopted them as their own. Mr. Lloyd George is deeply committed to them, however, and it is a rule that the Prime Minister's public utterances shall be in accordance with the accepted policy of his Government. On July 7th, in a speech addressed to the American troops in France from a motor car, Mr. Lloyd George said:—

"President Wilson yesterday made it clear what we are fighting for. If the Kaiser and his advisers will accept the conditions voiced by the President, they can have peace with America, peace with France, and peace with Great Britain to-morrow. But he has given no indication of any intention to do so. Because he won't do so is the very reason why we are all fighting.

"What are we here for? Not because we covet a single yard of German soil. Not because we desire to dispossess Germany of her inheritance. Not because we desire to deprive a people of its legitimate rights. We are fighting for the great principles laid down by the President. I am delighted to have seen these men here near the field of the greatest battle the world has ever known. We stand here, as a great American has said, at Armageddon, and we are fighting for the Lord."

This and other declarations by Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. George Barnes, and others, have been widely published and never repudiated. Will they be made good now? The fate of millions hangs upon the answer.

Grieved by the thought of the wasted lives, and deep sorrows that will eventuate from the prolongation of hostilities, we sadly give it as our view that members of the Allied Governments are now determined to continue fighting until they secure from the Central Empires unconditional surrender, heavy indemnities, and great territorial and trade concessions; and perhaps also until they are able to make some spectacular demonstration of victory, which will probably include the occupation of Berlin. It may be that we are mistaken in this regretfully-stated view of ours. How long it may take to accomplish this purpose; how far the German Government is now ready to bow to the might of stronger forces; how swiftly the internal currents of popular rebellion will hurry the Central Powers onward to revolution time alone can tell. Perhaps a few weeks, even days, may bring peace upon us. Perhaps ere long our Government will no longer be fighting the Kaiser, but will be intervening in Germany, as now in Russia, to "establish order". Whilst the forces of German Capitalism will be contending as Russian Capitalism is to-day with an awakened proletariat.

At the present time Germans are evacuating parts of Russia which they have occupied and are leaving them to the Soviets. Arthur Ransome says that it is thought that they are leaving the Ukraine in fear that Bolshevist ideals will infect their troops.

Only we who can trust the peoples' revolution, we who desire the triumph of the workers, can look hopefully on through the growing sorrows of the present towards the new day.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

MARXIST INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM.

J. T. Murphy of the Sheffield Workers' Committee and G. D. H. Cole of the Fabian Research Department and the National Guilds League debated their respective policies at the Kingsway Hall on October 10th.

They were strangely matched. On the one hand Murphy, newly arrived from the dismal iron country, heavily built, strong and hard, pale-faced, with the look of overstrain common to those who toil long hours in the roar of factories, and besides, while others rest, study and strive with deep thought, and organise for the social revolution. He was ill at ease on this dilettante platform and thoughout the evening remained serious and fierce-eyed.

To contend with him, Cole, the elegant man of letters, without experience of the hard work by which he and his kind are maintained, slight and erect, with an imperious lift of the head, very complacent, very much at home, surrounded by those to whom he is the high priest of social theory. Repeatedly Cole used the phrase "guild orthodoxy," assuming an air of challenge, half arch, half pompous, as though referring, not to a little clique of a few hundred persons, but to something world-wide and all-important, and as much as to say: "We guildsmen are the only ones who know." At once haughtily and good humouredly patronising, he refused the challenge of a Clyde engineer to debate whether the policy of the S.L.P. is worthy of working-class support, saying that he was sure the S.L.P. was worthy of the support of working people, though "not, of course, *as* worthy as the National Guilds League." His was not, we think, the intended patronage of the University don to the workman; rather the playful impudence of one who enjoys the debate. But to the class-conscious workman, whose mind is seething with the sense of class oppression, and warmly aglow with revolutionary ardour, the statement of this young man that his own academic society, mainly composed of middle-class people, is worthier of the workers' support than the revolutionary bodies they have formed for themselves could not fail to present itself as intolerably ridiculous.

Cole asserted that the difference between Murphy and his fellow industrial unionist on the one hand, and he, Cole, and the National Guilds League on the other, is that the industrialists are thinking primarily of the overthrow of the existing order of society, whilst the Guildsmen are occupied, not merely with the destruction of what exists at present, but also with what is to be put in its place. This is, of course, a very comfortable and fascinating occupation for the "Guildsmen." The industrialists, in the actual work of changing the social order, are risking prison and deportation; they are employing the "down tools" method, which means, for those who use it, the method of starvation: at least of temporary deprivation; perhaps of permanent victimisation, of consequent fruitless tramping hither and thither in search of work, of seeing the children hungry and the household goods sold up. On occasion, when the struggle is keenest, it means facing the batons of the police, or even a volley from the soldiery. All this can be watched with philosophic detachment, accompanied by many speeches and the publication of many books and pamphlets, by those who choose to concentrate on what will happen after the struggle is over; but the active protagonists in this workaday world are the real architects of the future.

Cole inferred, and some of his colleagues in the debate contended, that the National Guilds League has gone further in the realm of prophecy and constructive theory than the Marxist industrial unionists. But this is not so. In reality the National Guilds idea is merely an attempt to [illegible] the ideology of two conflicting schools of thought: firstly, that of the nationalising collectivists, the most typical representatives of whom are the Fabians, though their point of view is widely held by persons who know nothing of the Fabians; secondly, that of the toilers in the workshops, who do not desire merely to pass from under the mastership of the Capitalist to the mastership of the bureaucrat, but who are striving to secure a complete release for the workers from their position of servitude. The industrials, learning either from Marx and his followers or from the logic of events, the doctrine of the class struggle, are forging, in their daily effort to free themselves, the mould of the coming order of society.

Murphy's main attack was directed against the "Guildsmen's" idea of a "National State" and a "National Guild Council," a balance of power between producing and non-producing bodies. He declared that whilst a government formed on a territorial basis must create industrial departments, which are superficial, because imposed from without, such a government, having no power to enforce its decisions, must obtain power from without by the creation of police and an Army and Navy. To retain the territorially constructed State, which according to S. G. Hobson, is to deal with education, the fine arts and the more spiritual things of life, Murphy asserted, would be in conflict with the spirit of real democracy; these things should not be reserved as the special province of a specialised fraternity of non-producers. Cole protested that Hobson's phraseology was not in accordance with "guild orthodoxy" and that spirituality must enter into every department of life. The balance of power between the State and the Guild Council, he said, was to represent, not differences in point of view between man and man, but the difference of point of view "in the same man"—a truly curious proposition! During the debate another guildsman, construing the Industrial Unionist's attitude to be an attack on the middle class, protested impatiently, "We come of the class that produced Marx and Lenin and Trotsky whom you say you are proud to follow."

It was generally assumed by both sides that the guildsmen's State would be composed mainly of non-producers. In the course of the discussion Murphy was somehow entrapped into the statement that an organisation might be necessary for expressing "desire." The guildsmen eagerly seized upon this. The expression of desire was, of course, the province of their desired National State. "What is desire?" someone asked a prominent "guildsman." He answered with a confident air of wisdom: "I want a pair of boots." "But have you, then, no industrial desires?" urged the questioner. Another "guildsman" suggested that divorce was a question for dealing with which a territorially elected "State" would be needed. So they disputed; all unconscious, it seemed, of the fact that away there in Russia, the Soviets, built up on the basis of delegates sent by the workers in industry and in the villages, are actually wrestling with the creation of the coming social order, and incidentally are dealing with those knotty disputed questions of education and divorce!

The National Guild's League *versus* Marxian Industrial Unionism! It is rather like a pop-gun against the thunder!

RAIDED!

On Thursday, October 10th, detectives visited the offices of THE DREADNOUGHT in Fleet Street and the W.S.F., apparently in search of Russian information. This was supplied; we hope it has been carefully studied.

THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION IN COURT. By JOHN REED.

The Federal court-room in Chicago, where Judge Landis sits in judgment on the Industrial Workers of the World, is an imposing great place, all marble and bronze and mellow dark wood-work. Its windows open upon the heights of towering office-buildings, which dominate that court-room as money-power dominates our civilisation.

Over one window is a mural painting of King John and the Barons at Runnymede, and a quotation from the Great Charter:—

"*No freeman shall be taken or imprisoned or be disseized of his freehold or liberties or free customs, or be outlawed or exiled or any otherwise damaged but by lawful judgment of his peers or by the law of the land—*

"*To no one will we sell, to no one will we deny or delay right or justice....*"

Opposite, above the door, is printed in letters of gold:—

"*These words the Lord spake unto all your assembly in the mount out of the midst of the fire, of the cloud and of the thick darkness, with a great voice; and he added no more. And he wrote them in two tables of stone, and delivered them unto me....*"—*Deut. v.* 22.

Heroic priests of Israel veil their faces, while Moses elevates the Tables of the Law against a background of clouds and flame.

Small on the huge bench sits a wasted man, Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis, name for a battle—a fighter and a sport, according to his lights, and as just as he knows how to be. It was he who fined the Standard Oil Company thirty-nine million dollars. (No, none of it was paid.)

Upon this man has devolved the historic role of trying the Social Revolution. He is doing it like a gentleman. Not that he admits the existence of a Social Revolution. The other day he ruled out of evidence the Report of the Committee on Industrial Relations, which the defence was trying to introduce in order to show the background of the I.W.W. "As irrelevant as the Holy Bible," he said. At least that shows a sense of irony.

In many ways a most unusual trial. When the judge enters the court-room after recess no one rises—he himself has abolished the pompous formality. He sits without robes, in an ordinary business suit, and often leaves the bench to come down and perch on the step of the jury box. By his personal order, spittoons are placed beside the prisoners' seats, so they can while away the long day with a chaw; and as for the prisoners themselves they are permitted to take off their coats, move around, read newspapers.

It takes some human understanding for a Judge to fly in the face of judicial ritual as much as that.

As for the prisoners, I doubt if ever in history there has been a sight just like them. One hundred and one *men*—lumber-jacks, harvest-hands, miners, editors; one hundred and one who believe that the wealth of the world belongs to him who creates it, and that the workers of the world shall take their own. I have before me the chart of their commonwealth—their industrial democracy—One Big Union.

One hundred and one strong men. Most of our American social revolutionists are in the sedentary trades—garment-workers, textile-workers, printers. At least, so it seems to us, in the great cities. Your miners, your steel and iron workers, building trades, railroad workers—all these belong to the A.F. of L., which believes in the capitalist system as strongly as J. P. Morgan does. But these Hundred and One are out-door men, hard-rock blasters, tree-fellers, wheat-binders, longshoremen, the boys who do the strong work of the world. They are the kind of men the capitalist points to as he drives past some great building they are putting up, or some huge bridge they are throwing over a river.

"There," he says, "that's the kind of working-men we want in this country. Men that know their job, and work at it, instead of going around talking bosh about the class struggle."

They know their job, and work at it. But strangely enough they believe in the Social Revolution too.

They file in, the ninety odd who are still in jail, greeting their friends as they pass; and there they are joined by the others, those who are out on bail. The bail is so high—from $25,000 apiece down—that only a few can be let free.

Inside the rail of the court-room, crowded together, many in their shirt-sleeves, some reading papers, one or two stretched out asleep, some sitting, some standing up; the faces of workers and fighters, for the most part, also the faces of orators, of poets, the sensitive and passionate faces of foreigners—but all strong faces, all faces of men inspired, somehow; many scarred, few bitter. There could not be gathered together in America one hundred and one men more fit to stand for the Social Revolution. People going into that court-room say, "It's more like a convention than a trial!" True, and that is one of the things that gives the trial its dignity; that, and the fact that Judge Landis conducts it in a cosmic way.

To me, fresh from Russia, the scene was strangely familiar. For a long time I was puzzled at the feeling of having witnessed it all before; suddenly it flashed upon me. The I.W.W. trial in the Federal court-room of Chicago looked like a meeting of the Central Executive Committee of the All-Russian Soviets of Workers' Deputies in Petrograd! For a moment it seemed to me that I was watching the Central Committee of the American Soviets trying Judge Landis for—well, say counter-revolution. The great enclosure of the court-room assumed the character of delegates' seats; the high bench was the bar, or docket, whose one occupant, Judge Landis, was typical of the old régime—the best of the old régime.

And I looked through the great windows and saw, in the windows of the office-buildings that ringed us round, the lawyers, the agents, the brokers at their desks, weaving the fabric of this civilisation of ours, which drives men to revolt and dream and then crushes them. From the street came roaring up the ceaseless thunder of Chicago, and a military band went blaring down invisible ways to war.

Talk to us of war! These hundred and one are veterans of a war that has gone on all their lives, in blood, in savage and shocking battle and surprise; a war against a force which has limitless power, gives no quarter, and obeys none of the rules of civilised warfare. The Class Struggle, the age-old guerilla fight of the workers against the masters, world-wide, endless....but destined to end!

The creed of the I.W.W. took hold mostly among migratory workers, otherwise unorganised; among the wretchedly exploited, the agricultural workers, timber-workers, miners, who are viciously underpaid and overworked, who have no vote, and are protected by no union and no law, whose wage and changing abode never allow them to marry, nor to have a home. The migratory workers never have enough money for railway fares; they must ride the rods, or the "side-door Pullman"; fought not only by Chambers of Commerce, Manufacturers' Associations, and all the institutions of the law, but also by the "aristocratic" labour unionists. The natural prey of the world of vested interest; of this stuff the I.W.W. is building its kingdom.

And *singing*. Remember, this is the only American working-class movement which *sings*. Tremble then at the I.W.W., for a singing movement is not to be beaten.

I can hear them now:—

Casey Jones kept his junk pile running,
Casey Jones was working double time;
Casey Jones, he got a wooden medal
For being good and faithful on the S.P. line!

They love and revere their singers, too, in the I.W.W. All over the country workers sing Joe Hill's song. Over Bill Haywood's desk in National headquarters is a painted portrait of Joe Hill, very moving, done with love.

Not only popular singers, but also painters, musicians, sculptors, poets. This, for example, by Charles Ashleigh:—

TO BEAUTY.

Your name, they say, is pale and old,
And speaking of you leaves men cold.
New things, they say, have filled your place;
New thoughts and words, across the space
Of swaying time, have marched and sat
In the high place we worshipped at.
But still for me your name can sing
A hymn that blots my cavilling,
An ecstasy that rocks my heart
And tears the squalid veil apart.
So long as I can feel your reign
And sense your holiness again,
I'll throw my youth into your hands
And bear your glory through the lands.

Wherever, in the West, there is an I.W.W. local, you will find an intellectual centre—a place where men read philosophy, economics, the latest plays, novels; where art and poetry are discussed, and international politics. In my native place, Portland, Oregon, the I.W.W. hall was the livest intellectual centre in town. There are playwrights in the I.W.W. who write about life in the "jungles," and the "wobblies" produce the plays for audiences of "wobblies."

What has all this to do with the trial in Chicago? I plead guilty to wandering from the point. I wanted to give some of the flavour that sweetens the I.W.W. for me.........

From the very beginning, behind shallow legal pretexts, loomed the Class Struggle, stark and implacable. The first battle was in the choice of a jury, which dramatically revealed the position of both sides. In examining talesmen, the attorneys for the prosecution asked such questions as these:—

"Can you conceive of a system of society in which the workers own and manage industry themselves?"

"You believe, do you not, that the founders of the American Constitution were divinely inspired?"

"Don't you think that the owner of an industry ought to have more say-so in the management of it than all his employees put together?"

Another time Attorney Nebeker delivered himself of the following: "A man has no right to revolution under the law." To which Judge Landis himself made remark, "*Well, that depends on how many men he can get to go in with him—in other words, whether he can put it over.*"

The defence sternly held to the Class War issue. Among questions asked the jurymen by Vandeveer and Cleary were:—

"You told Mr. Nebeker that you had never read any revolutionary literature. Have you never read, in school, about the American Revolution of 1776? Or the French Revolution which deposed the king and made France a Republic? Or the Russian Revolution that overthrew the autocracy and the Tsar?"

"Do you recognise the right of people to revolt?"

"Do you recognise the idea of revolution as one of the principles of the Declaration of Independence?"

"You don't believe then that property interests are greater than human interests?"

"Suppose these defendants believed that a majority of the people would be right in abolishing modern property rights in the great industries in order to free a great number of working men from industrial slavery—would that prejudice you against them?"

"Do you believe workers have the right to strike?"

"Do you believe they have the right to strike even in war times?"

"Which side usually starts violence in a labour dispute?"

"Would you be opposed to the application to industry of the underlying principles of American democracy?"

"Do you consider that one individual has an inalienable right to exploit 200 or 300 men and make protected profits off their labour?"

"Don't you know that 2 per cent of the people of this country control 60 per cent of the nation's wealth? That two-thirds of the people own less than 5 per cent of the country's wealth?"

"Do you know what effect the wage system has had upon infant mortality?"

"Do you know that prostitution is largely caused by the fact that women in industry do not receive living wages?"......

[*Reprinted from 'The New York Liberator.'*]

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY

RENT STRIKE.

We learn that Chiswick tenants have told their landlord not to call again for rent for six weeks. The cause of this decision is the action of the landlord in trying to force the tenants, mostly soldiers' wives, to pay rates, which in some cases amount to £2 and £3, to be paid by November 15th. The landlord in trying to make the tenants pay rates which he used to pay hitherto, is behaving illegally. In many cases rents have been raised to our knowledge owing to the increase in local rates. The equalisation of local rates, a long overdue reform, would obviate much hardship.

We wish the Chiswick strikers success in their struggle. They have received notice to quit, but have refused to accept it!

THE EMBARGO.

The McCardie Committee Report is that the embargo is necessary, but must be tactfully imposed. We shall see!

SEVEN YEARS FOR A DEFEATIST.

The court martial of Catane (Italy), says the *Populaire*, has condemned M. Vella to seven years' imprisonment and to a fine of £20 for having made defeatist proposals. The sentence will be suspended if the prisoner is able to do war work.

SOCIALISM IN THE MAKING.

An English correspondent of *The Morning Post*, in a melodramatic account of affairs in Moscow, states that the House Food Committees, which buy the food on a co-operative plan, "have practically all become exploiters, only to be bribed into sharing out the spoils they always acquired for themselves."

We must point out that the House Committees are chosen by the residents from amongst themselves and can be changed at any time.

HOME RULE AND DEVOLUTION.

Mr. Henderson, in a circular addressed to the local Labour Parties, asks them to pass resolutions on Home Rule for England, Scotland, and Wales. He also speaks of self-government for Ireland. It is important that the question of Irish self-government should in no way be confounded with that of devolution. The Irish question is an open sore, which must be healed by the grant of the complete independence the majority of the Irish people demand. If, as is contended, [illegible] considerations make it best that there sho[illegible] between Great Britain and Ireland, let th[illegible] made by agreement between both nation[illegible] has been made a free agent. Devolution [illegible]estion which the English, Welsh, and Scotch workers must consider very carefully from the industrial point of view. How will it affect the railwaymen, the miners, the school age, minimum wages, and a host of other questions? The Parliamentary congestion, of which Mr. Henderson speaks, largely arises from the Parliamentary habit of speech-making for its own sake! But the proper substitute for the House of Pretence, is, neither a time limit for speeches nor devolution, but an organisation like that of the Russian Soviet.

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Denmark.—Four women have been elected to the Lower Chamber and five to the Upper Chamber. Among the latter is Ninna Bang, a Social Democrat.

Canada.—All adult women have got the vote. The law recognises all women of English nationality, whether by birth or by naturalisation. English women retain their nationality even if married to a foreigner, unless he is an enemy alien.

United States.—A federal law giving votes to all women throughout the States is before the Senate. From all districts delegations are pressing for its adoption.

Hawaii.—The U.S.A. Congress has authorised the Legislature of Hawaii to give the vote to the women on the same conditions as men. The native representatives in the Chamber had addressed several memorials on the subject to Congress.

NEW ZEALAND NOTES.

Mary M'Carthy of Dunedin writes: "Military and judicial authorities are welding in the fires of persecution the forces of future reform. So far none of the clergy, but the best of our M.P.s, teachers, students and workers generally are meeting as conscientious objectors in tree-planting and other prison camps and are learning what they could never have hoped to learn as free citizens. Out of this strange medley of forces religious objectors of several denominations, Sinn Feiners, and rebels against all sorts of shams and tyrannies, the reformers, the philanthropists and perhaps future Members of Parliament are being moulded. Every prisoner known to me is earnestly pursuing some course of study. They will speak with first hand knowledge of the need for prison reform and they will not speak in vain."

WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

LONDON MEETINGS.

OUT DOOR.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 18th.
White Cross Street, City Road. (Food Campaign).—12.30 P.M., Miss Price.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 19th.
Great Push for Socialism, Peace and Votes for All in Hampstead.—Meet at the Flagstaff at 3 and 6 P.M. Speakers: Mrs. Cole, Miss Price, Mrs. Walker, and others.

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 20th.
Osborn Street, Whitechapel.—11.45 A.M., Miss Price.
The Grove, Hammersmith (Food Campaign).—11.45 A.M., Mrs. Walker.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 22nd.
Tower Hill (Food Campagin).—11.45 A.M., Miss Price.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 25th.
Ossulston Street (near St. Pancras Goods Station).—11.45 A.M., Miss Price.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 26th.
Great Push in Holloway.

INDOOR.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 18th.
400, Old Ford Road.—8 P.M., General Meeting, London Section.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 21st.
44, Malden Road.—2.30 P.M., St. Pancras W.S.F. Business Meeting.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 22nd.
400, Old Ford Road.—3 P.M., Miss N. Smyth.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 24th.
29B, Lincoln's Inn Fields.—7.30 P.M.
Cavendish Moxon "Socialism and The New Psychology."
76, Whitechapel Road.—8 P.M., Mr. Moscovitch, and others.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 22nd.
Walthamstow League of Rights, William Morris Hall, Somers Road.—3 P.M., Mrs. Clara Cole, 'The Stand of the C.O.s.'

Workers' Socialist Federation for the International Socialist Revolution. Membership 4*d.* per month open to men and women over 18 years. For membership forms and literature apply to Secretary, 400, Old Ford Road, E.3. Donations to N. Smyth, 400, Old Ford Road, E.3.

GENERAL FUND.—Anon. £5; Tower Hill Peace Demonstration, £4 2*s.* 2*d.*; Irene, per Mrs. Drake (20*s.* weekly), £4; Misses Gliksten (20*s.* monthly), £4; W.S.F. S. Norwood Branch, £2; Profit on Bow At Home, £1; Frank Lawes, Esq., £1; Mrs. Opperman (card), £1; W.S.F. St. Pancras Branch, 12*s.*; Profit on September meeting Central London Branch, 10*s.*; Miss Payne (Peace), 10*s.*; Profit on Bow Social, 7*s.*; Misses Le Pla, 6*s.*; Mrs. Branch, 5*s.*; Miss M. Hoy and Friend, 5*s.*; Miss Zietal, 4*s.* 10*d.*; Mrs. Pickles, 2*s.* 6*d.*; Miss Lillie Perkins, 1*s.* COLLECTIONS: Miss Price, £6 5*s.*

COCKNEY FAIR.—Mrs. M. Murray, £2; Miss Margaret Hodge, 5*s.*; Miss Freeston, 5*s.*; Dr. S. V. Pearson, 5*s.*; Miss Adeline Cannon, 2*s.* 6*d.*

SOCIAL WORK.

The Mothers' Arms, 438, Old Ford Road, E.3.

Poplar Cost Price Restaurant, 20, Railway Street, South Bromley.

Donations to Miss Norah Smyth, 400, Old Ford Road. Parcels to Miss Lucy Burgis, 400, Old Ford Road.

Wanted: eggs, fruit, vegetables, groceries, &c. flowers and branches, toys and games. Babies' squares, towels, sheets, blankets, cot-covers. Picture frames, black or plain wood, cots and perambulators, soft white rags.

SOCIAL WORK.—Messrs. J. Gliksten, £18 18*s*; Messrs. A. Gliksten, £12 12*s.*; Woolwich Social per Mrs. Watkins, £10; Miss I. V. Yeoman (10*s.* weekly), £9 10*s.*; Mrs. Boswell, £5; Nurse Hebbes (10*s.* weekly), £2 10*s.*; Mrs. Baillie-Weaver (monthly), £2; Misses Gulland, £1 15*s.*; per Miss Weir, £1 10*s.*; Miss Pelly, £1 10*s.*; Mrs. Preston, £1 1*s.*; Contessa Tomasi Isolani (monthly), £1; Miss E. M. Morgan (5*s* monthly), £1; Miss A. Goodall, 13*s.*; Miss Hilda Jenkins, 10*s.*; Mrs. Richmond (fortnightly), 10*s.*; Miss J. T. Drewry (monthly), 5*s.*; Willesden United Social Service Committee, 5*s.*; Miss Turner, 4*s.* 6*d.*; Mrs. Keeling, 2*s.* 6*d.*; Miss M. Burgess, 2*s.* 6*d.*; COLLECTIONS: L.S.A. Toolroom, £4 16*s.* 9½*d.*, Misses E. Lagsding and J. Watts (Greens Yard), £2 7*s.* 5*d.*; United Methodist Church per Mr. Fisher, £1 3*s.*; Mrs. Sarah Beck, £1; Anon., 7*s.* 2*d.*

The League of Rights for Soldiers and Sailors and their Wives and Relatives.—For the redress of grievances and improvement of conditions. Hon. Secretary, E. Sylvia Pankhurst, 400, Old Ford Road, E.3; Hon. Treasurer, A. A. Watts, 32, Selwyn Road, Bow, E.

CLOTHES, &c.—Miss Burgess, Anon., Mrs. Parry.

"THE DREADNOUGHT."

Donations towards our Press Fund are urgently required owing to the high cost of paper.

Waste paper, old newspapers, letters, notebooks, exercise books and rags are needed for making into new paper for printing THE DREADNOUGHT. Friends are urged to collect all waste and apply to us for the address to which the waste paper is to be sent. Neat wooden boards advertising THE DREADNOUGHT can be supplied on application to the Manager, 152, Fleet Street. Apply for one and display it in your window or on your garden gate.

DREADNOUGHT FUND.—Mrs. Campbell, £3; Central Branch N.U.R., £2; Mrs. and Miss Chappelow, £1; A Friend, £1; Mrs. K. Foley, 13*s.* 5*d.*; Dr. and Mrs. Schutze (monthly), 10*s*; Wolverton No .2, N.U.R., 10*s.*; Mrs. Brimley (2*s.* 6*d.* weekly), 10*s*; Mr. and Mrs. Durant (monthly), 10*s.*; Woolwich Trades and Labour Council, 10*s.*; Profit on Chandos Hall Meeting, 10*s.*; J. de Gruyter, Esq., 5*s.*; Miss Lewis, 5*s.*; Mr. J. Jarvis, 5*s.*; Miss M. Brett, 5*s.*; J. H. Morton, Esq. (monthly), 5*s.*; Miss O'Brien, 5*s.*; Society of Amalgamated Toolmakers, Kensal Rise, 5*s.*; Mrs. J. Adamson, 5*s.*; Mrs. Richmond (fortnightly), 4*s.*; Mr. Emmerson, 3*s.*; Miss L. Bent, 3*s.*; Horace G. Alexander, Esq., 2*s.* 6*d.*; Mrs. Baillie-Weaver (monthly), 2*s.* 6*d.*; Mr. W. Toop (monthly), 2*s.* 6*d.*; Mrs. Console (1*s.* weekly), 2*s.*; Miss Newsome (monthly), 1*s.*

WOMEN AND INDUSTRY AFTER THE WAR.

A conference of "leading trade union women" and employers of labour was arranged by the National Alliance of Employers and employees. According to *The Times* this conference "realised that the Government must fulfil its pledges to the trades unions, but this was seen in no way to apply to new industries, or to the extension of old industries that have led to the employment of an increased number of workers, compared with pre-war figures." This is interesting! The partial restoration of trade union conditions would in practice tend to be no restoration at all! We are not amongst those who set great store by the restoration of pre-war conditions. We want something very much better than pre-war conditions. We want to socialise industry, sweeping away capitalism and all that pertains to it. But we cannot think that "leading women trade unionists" can have given their sanction to the narrowing down of the pledges given by the Government or to the restoration of trade union conditions. Who were these "leading trade union women?" The conference was of opinion that a minimum wage is desirable. It also urged that during the period of demobilisation and dislocation, it would be best "to institute a system of part-time work, so that the whole of the work-people should be employed for part of the day, or part of the week, rather than that some should be employed full-time and the rest turned out on the unemployment market. It was anticipated that this period would be only temporary, and ultimately all would be re-absorbed." The conference did not state that "the system of half-time work" would entail also half-time pay; but in the absence of any statement to the contrary we infer that that is what is meant. The workers are made to fight and induced to work, and after all their suffering they are to be told: "Now that the war is won you are to go on to part pay which means part-rations."

Mr. Kellaway, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Munitions told the Women's Liberal Federation that in the munitions trades proper the wages of women had been raised from 10*s.* to 35*s.* per week. He said that the Ministry had had to face a "double problem—to secure a living wage for the women without utterly ruining every women's trade in the country, and at the same time to put women on to men's work at rates that would fulfil the Government's pledges and secure the consent of the men."

That statement is illuminating. It shows us that when women are agitating for equal pay with men they have to contend, not only with the contention that their labour is worth less to the employer than the labour of men, but still more with the pressure of those who have hitherto employed women at low wages, and who declare that their trade will be ruined by the raising of women's wages in other trades, because women will refuse any longer to accept the lower paid work!

WOMEN ON THE LAND.

The Agricultural Wages Board has fixed 5*d.* an hour as the rate for adult women workers on the land. This is equal to less than 2½*d.* before the War and is scandalously low. Agricultural workers should demand equal pay for men and women.

GIVE THIS PAPER TO A FRIEND.

AN EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY. THE WORKERS' CORRESPONDENCE SCHOOL.

When the workers gain control of industry and of the community itself they will need much technical skill and knowledge to enable them to control and develop the complicated machinery of modern life. This has been one of the great lessons of the Russian Revolution. In Russia the counter-revolutionaries paid the staffs of Government departments, even the teachers in the schools and the operators of the telephones, to remain away from work, in the hope of bringing the revolution to chaos and destruction. Moreover, the Soviet Government fixed a standard wage for all, but the non-Socialist technical experts were still able to put any price they chose upon their services, because the Soviet's supporters could supply but few able to replace them.

Education, so important to all, is difficult for the worker to obtain. We are glad to be able to announce that a committee of persons well qualified for the work has agreed to open a Workers' Correspondence School, in which first-rate teaching will be provided at popular prices. Courses will be opened at once in French and Shorthand, other branches of study being added from time to time as opportunity and the wishes of students direct. The fees for each opening course will be 1*s.* per lesson, or 10*s.* 6*d.* for the course of twelve, payable in advance. All communications should be addressed by letter only to the Workers' Correspondence School, 152 Fleet Street, London, E.C. It is particularly important that communications should be addressed as above and sent under separate cover to avoid confusion and delay.

THE LEINSTER.

We want to know why *The Evening Herald*, the evening edition of *The Irish Independent*, was stopped on the day of the sinking of the Leinster. What mystery accompanied the loss of the ill-fated vessel?

KNOWLEDGE IS POWER.

An Educational Opportunity.

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ADDRESS BY

JOHN B. MOONEY,

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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. 7s. a week would ENABLE FAMILIES TO MOVE AT ONCE INTO BETTER HOUSES, and to obtain better milk and food. This would stimulate local trade and reduce expenses of 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 7s. a week in its own individual right, as an infant citizen, suffering, war, disease, and poverty can never be abolished. Let us all demand this from our different Governments now, before it may be too late.

S. MACKENZIE KENNEDY.

[Advt

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